

# UC Berkeley

## Survey Reports, Survey of California and Other Indian Languages

### Title

Notes on the Wintu Shamanistic Jargon

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2rd1890b>

### Author

Schlichter, Alice

### Publication Date

1981

Notes on the Wintu Shamanistic Jargon

Alice Schlichter

University of California, Berkeley

The religious practices of the Wintu and other native California groups centered around shamanism. The shamans or "Indian doctors", as informants prefer to call them, were both priests and doctors, working with the supernatural, influencing and being influenced by good or evil spirits. They could predict the future, see unknown past or present events, change the weather, cure the sick, and kill enemies by supernatural means.<sup>1</sup> In order to do these things they had to be in a state of trance, reached by self-hypnosis and drugs. In that condition they frequently spoke more than one language depending on the type of spirit they controlled, one of them being a more prestigious form of their native language which is occasionally mentioned as having existed by informants and field workers.<sup>2</sup> To my knowledge no data have ever been presented to investigate its nature.

In the 1930's Dorothy Lee collected many myths, legends, and ethnographic texts from several Wintu speakers and her best informant, Sadie Marsh, remembered some of the shamanistic language. Lee published a paper entitled "Some Indian texts dealing with the supernatural" (1941) where she presents in English and discusses a prayer, a shamanistic prophecy, two accounts of doctoring, and a text in which a shaman recounts his initiation. Since I have found unpublished Wintu versions of all but the last text I would like to present here one complete text which is a particularly good example of Wintu shamanistic speech, comparing it to the other accounts where useful.<sup>3</sup> Lee (1941:407) assures us of Sadie Marsh's

phenomenally accurate memory so that we can assume that most of her rendering was identical with the shaman's speech.

#### The data

Mrs. Marsh called her story "Charlie Klutchiehun lahí", 'doctoring by Charlie Klutchie'. The shaman's Indian name was Qorit and Lee's (ibid. p. 408) title is "Qorit doctors Mrs. Fan." I will now give this text collected by Lee, rewriting it in the orthography I have been using for Wintu and adding an interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme translation.<sup>4</sup> My free translation differs from that given by Lee (ibid. pp. 408-11) in only a few details.

1. qor-i-t Missus Fan-um wini'n-a ?i-kila-k tu-m tun-  
seed-sd-p Mrs. Fan-obj doctor-sd do-con-com eye-g ahead
- popil, Harry-h t'erm-e-s-to'-t. 2. ?una' ken-wan-i  
year Harry-p interpret-sd-g-dp-p and down-get-sd (evening)
- ?uk-in lah-a' ?i-kila-k ne-le-'n hen-e-t-'a. 3. ?una'  
then-loc doctor-sd do-con-com we-pl-gen arrive-sd-p-after and
- pu-t wini'n-a ?i-kila-k pu-t Missus Fan-um. 4. ?una'  
she-obj doctor-sd do-con-com she-obj Mrs. Fan-obj and
- k'eč-i ni-s yur-a' ?i-kila-k. 5. ?ut ni win-e-har-a'  
fern-sd I-obj send after-ad do-con-com and I see-sd-go-sd
- ?i-kila-k k'eč-i pu-r yum-u-s ?el-t'ub-e'-wer-e-s ?uni-buha  
do-con-com fern-sd he-pos saliva-sd-g in-spit-sd-rel-sd-g cot-and
- ya-pay-tu' doq-o-s-um. 6. ?una' lo:l bih-e ?i-kila-  
evil spirit-being arrow-sd-g-obj and tobacco smoke-sd do-con-
- k, lo:l hisa-m-hon-da bih-e-buha t<sup>h</sup>un-in dil-e ?i-  
com tobacco some-g-long time-ts smoke-sd-and whole-loc fall-sd do

kila-k.  
con-com

7. ?una· po'-qa-t      č'a-w-a-buha    ?i-kila-k    hon-da.  
and    now-as for-p    sing-sd-and.    do-con-com    long time-ts
8. pe-h-pe-h    yup-a'-buha.    9. "ha·haq",    ?uni.    10. "k'ay-i-s-  
thing-pl-p    speak-sd-and      look!    quot      healthy-sd-g-  
koy-i-kuy-a-r      mi-s    ho·la    mi-s.    t<sup>h</sup>il-a'-bih-e      ?i-  
want-sd-want-sd-sub    you-obj    pipe.    you-obj    eat with-sd-smoke-sd do  
bi'-da,    ?oq-ti-t    k'ay-i-s-kuy-a      suk-en-so",      ?uni t'erm-  
impf-I    same-at-p    healthy-sd-g-want-sd    stand-I'll-before    quot    inter-  
a-r.      11. ?u-he-t'an    ?el-ew      pe'-h    t'ip-n-a-min-a  
pret-sd-sub      do-id-though    exist-priv    thing-p    know-refl-sd-not  
ni    pu-r    iah-a'-r      ti'n-he-t'an,    ?il-e'-s    nom-ke'n-  
exist-sd    I    he-pos    doctor-sd-sub    say-id-though    be-sd-g    west-down-  
su'-m    iah-u't.  
be-obj    doctor-sd-p
12. ?una· pu-t    iah-a      kerum-a-buha    pu-r-kur-u-r  
and    he-obj    doctor-sd    finish-sd-and    he-pos-son-sd-pos  
ies-um    iah-a'    ?i-kila-k.    13. ?una· hisa-m    č'a-w-a    kerum-  
spirit-obj    doctor-sd    do-con-com      and...    some-g    sing-sd    finish-  
a-buha    po'-qa-t    ?uni,    "me'm    čal-i    bol-o-s-ku-da  
sd-and    now-as for-p    quot      water    good-sd    drink-sd-g-want-I  
len-da    ne-le-'n    bol-o-s-to'    sačaq-me'm."    14. ?ut iah-u-  
ancient-ts    we-pl-gen    drink-sd-g-dp    red rock-water      and doctor-  
her-e-s-to-t,    "ne-t-o-me-n    boh-e-h    yo'    xat-al-a-har-a'-be'  
sd-pas-sd-g-dp-p    I-pos-al-one-gen    big-sd-p    emp    weak-stat-sd-pro-sd-  
way-ti-q'ede,    no-ti-q'ede.    15. hesta-r    pu-r    naq-al-min-a  
impf    north-at-arm    south-at-arm      how-sub    he-pos    pity-stat-not-

?el-ew-a-r           ?iy-e ?i-biy-a-m?           16. te·d-i-me·m wer-e  
sd exist-priv-sd-sub do-sd do-impf-sd-dub           red-sd-water come-sd

bol-en."   17. ?una· po·-qa-t           bul-a           ?i-kila-k.   18. ?una·  
drink-I'll           and now-as for-p drink-sd do-con-dom           and

hi-we-hi   č'a·w-a   ?i-kila-k   hon-da.           19. ?una· pi·?uni ti·n,  
id-sd-id sing-sd do-con-com long time-ts           and that-cot say

"win-t<sup>h</sup>u·-n-un           pe·-h-um           wi·n-le·-s-p'in-a·-da, ?il-e·-s ni  
person-being-gen-obj thing-p-obj see-can-g-can't-sd-I be-sd-g I

win-t<sup>h</sup>u·-h           ?uwe-puk-i-t, ?il-e·-s ?ila·-h ni ku·-t'e-t  
person-being-p just-raw-sd-p be-sd-g baby-p I little-only-p

biy-a-r.   20. pe·-h po· ni t'ip-n-a-le·-s           21. ?uni-r ni  
be-sd-sub           thing-p now I know-refl-sd-can-g           cot-sub I

win-t<sup>h</sup>u·-n-un           t<sup>h</sup>o·s-in-pan-a-t   hen-um-a· ni wi·n-le·-s-p'in-  
person-being-gen-gen camp-loc-get-sd-p how-dem-sd I see-can-g-can't-

a·-ba·-k,   ?il-e·-s ni ?ila·-h q'o·t-?ila-h.   22. ?el-ew  
sd-dur-com be-sd-g I baby-p body dirt-dim-p           exist-priv

?i-se·-da ne-t   ?uni-wer-e-s ni t'ip-n-a-min-a           ma·qa  
be-per-I I-pos cot-rel-sd-g I know-refl-sd-not-sd hence

ne-t   ?uni-wer-e-s biy-a-kir-[r]e·-m.  
I-pos cot-rel-sd-g be-sd-com-inf-dub

23. ?ut be·-di win-t<sup>h</sup>u·-h,           "?uk-in hadi  
and be-don't person-being-p           there-loc (exclamation)

t<sup>h</sup>o·s-in-pan-a-r   q'i·l-u-n-a·-kila           mod-u-m-a-he-le-ba·-da",  
camp-loc-get-sd-sub paint-sd-refl-sd-com heal-sd-g-sd-pas-can-dur-we

?uma· be·-di se-λ'am-ah-n-a-min-a,           ?il-e·-s ne-t-o-  
thus be-don't around-think-sd-refl-sd-not exist-sd be-sd-g I-pos-al-

me-n           boh-e-h   xat-al-a-har-a·           ?i-be,   ?ol-k'ok-u-wil-  
one-gen           big-sd-p   weak-stat-sd-pro-sd   be-impf up-lift-sd-with

- [l]e·s·p'in-a· pe·-h-um. 24. ?ol-k'ok-u-wil-i-s-to·-t ?e-w-e-t-hi  
 can-g-can't-sd one-p-obj up-lift-sd-with-sd-g-dp-p this-g-sd-p-
- yaleq-t-a ?i-suk ?us-len-da. 25. ?ut ne-t-o-me-n boh-  
 id loose-p-sd do-per last-ago-ts and I-pos-al-one-gen big
- e-h piy-o-ken hur-a·-r hi p<sup>h</sup>u·r-u-m xat-a-wil-n-a·-be·,  
 sd-p he-al-alone leave-sd-sub that heart-sd-obj weak-sd-with-refl-
- ?ol-p<sup>h</sup>ur-u-s xat-al-a-har-a·-nt<sup>h</sup>e·. 26. ne-t-o-me-n  
 sd-impf up-breath-sd-g weak-stat-sd-pro-sd-nvs I-pos-al-one-
- boh-e-m-um ni ?e-w-e-t ?el-bič-e·-ba·-k, 'way-k'od-u-t  
 gen big-sd-g-obj I this-g-sd-p in-exhort-sd-dur-com north-get-sd-p
- nor-k'od-u-t be·-di war hi-da-boy saq-me·m bol-min-a',  
 south-get-sd-p be-don't imp id-emp-much blood-water drink-not-sd
- ?uni-ba·-k ni. 27. ?u-he-t'an ne-t-o-me-n boh-e-h  
 quot-dur-com I do-id-though I-pos-al-one-gen big-sd-p
- ni-s ?el-e·-s-biy-a-k q'omih-min-a. 28. ?uni-r hi  
 I-obj exist-priv-g-impf-sd-com understand-not-sd cot-sub emp
- ?us-le·n-da ?e-h po·m-way-t'ir-a ?i-suk čok-i-?ila-y. 29. pu-t  
 last-ago-ts this-p ground-north-get-sd do-per near-sd-dim-g he-p
- ?el-ti-win-t<sup>h</sup>u-n-um kalay-?ii-n-a· hi, saq-me·m ?el-bul-  
 in-at-person-being-gen-obj among-get-refl-sd emp blood-water in-drink-
- a-?ilay-a kir-ke-nt<sup>h</sup>e·-m, pu-be ?uni-r xat-al-a-har-a·, ?ol-  
 sd-dim-sd com-pot-nvs-dub there-be cot-sub weak-stat-sd-pro-sd up
- p<sup>h</sup>ur-u-s woro·t-a-har-a·.  
 breath-sd-g short-sd-pro-sd
30. ?e-h ne-t nom-tay-?ilay-i xun-p'onor-t-a ne-t wer-e-  
 this-p I-pos west-loc-dim-sd here-run-p-sd I-pos come-sd
- s-in ?e-w-in pe·-t ni-s way-ti ?el-halap-t-a-nt<sup>h</sup>e·.  
 -sd-g-loc this-g-loc thing-p I-obj north-at in-whisper-p-sd-nvs

31. pe'-h ni-s ma'n leweq-a-r ?iy-e-?el. 32. ?ut ?iri-k-  
 thing-p I-obj now tell-sd-sub be-sd-exp and fright-  
 a-da. 33. ni-qa-t-i pe'-h ma-le-'t leweq-a-le'-s  
 ened-sd-I I-as for-p-sd thing-p you-pl-obj tell-sd-can-p
- p'in-a-da ?il-e'-s ?uwe-puk-i win-t<sup>h</sup>u'-h, ?ila'-h po' ni  
 can't-sd-I be-sd-g just-raw-sd person-being-p baby-p still I
- ?il-e'-s. 34. ?el-ew-qa-t kila-?el ?ila-wi hi-da-ko'-m  
 be-sd-g exist-priv-as for-p con-exp baby-pl id-emp-all-g
- t'ip-n-a-suk-min-a. 35. ?uni-r ni ma'n pe'-h mal-n-a'-wir-  
 know-refl-sd-per-not-sd cot-sub I now thing-p make-refl-sd-  
 a ?i-be-wi'", ?uni ?i-kila-k ?'a-w-a kerum-a-buha.  
 rel-sd do-impf-int quot do-con-com sing-sd finish-sd-and
36. ?uta po'-qa-t Missus Fan dollar-and-a-half mutn-a  
 and now-as for-p Mrs. Fan pay-sd
- ?i-kila-k. 37. "e-be mi-s ?e-w-i'n se-q'i'l-u-n-a'-s-  
 do-con-com this-be you-obj this-g-with around-paint-sd-refl-  
 kuy-a-r ?iy-e ?i-bi'-da tu-m kuy-a-r, pe'-h win-  
 sd-g-want-sd-sub do-sd do-impf-I eye-g hurt-sd-sub thing-p see
- le'-s-p'in-a' ?i-bi'-da. 38. pe'-h-un ni ma'n ?'o'm-u-t ?'itiq-  
 can-g-can't-sd do-impf-I thing-p-gen I now kill-sd-p do-refl-  
 n-a' ?iy-e biy-a-?el. 39. ?uni-r mod-i-kuy-a-r mi-s  
 sd do-sd be-sd-exp cot-sub heal-sd-want-sd-sub you-obj
- wini'n-u-n-a'-r ?iy-e-bi'-da. 40. hi-baqi ni ?ah-i-n  
 doctor-sd-refl-sd-sub do-sd-impf-I id-or I doctor-sd-gen
- keneh-a ?'o'm-u-t ?iy-e biy-a-?el. 41. ?uni-r mi ni-s hen-  
 maybe-sd kill-sd-p do-sd be-sd-exp cot-sub you I-obj how
- ?u-le'-s xan-p<sup>h</sup>u-i-u-min-a hi-baqi pu-t ni-s ?'o'm-i-to'-n-um  
 do-can-g off-blow-sd-not-sd id-or he-obj I-obj kill-sd-dp-g-obj

neq-u-wil-kila war pu-t-am yi'l-a", ?uni-ki-nt<sup>h</sup>i-k.  
 find-sd-with-con imp he-obj-obj send-sd quot-com-nvs-com

42. ?uta pu-t, "daw-in ?e-w-in ken-l-a", ?uni  
 and she-obj front-loc this-g-loc down-sit-sd quot

?i-kila-k. 43. ?uni-buha po'-qa-t p<sup>h</sup>oyoq ħin-e'-buha pu-t  
 do-con-com cot-and now-as for-p head take-sd-and she-obj

hay-a'-buha ?i-kila-k hon-da. 44. hay-a'-buha-r-kel-t'an  
 look-sd-and do-con-com long time-ts look-sd-and-sub-long-though

pu-t, "ho", ?uni ?i-kila-k. 45. "ma-t-a ma'n po'-loyme-s-  
 she-obj yes quot do-con-com you-pos-sd now young-girl-g-

a-r ba'-s-biy-a-nt<sup>h</sup>e'; hi-baqi ma-t ?ila-'m se-tep-ħ-u-n-  
 sd-sub eat-g-impf-sd-nvs id-or you-pos baby-obj around-come to

a'-biy-a-r ba'-s. 46. ?el-ew-qa-t kila-  
 life-mp-sd-refl-sd-impf-sd-sub eat-g exist-priv-as for-p con-

?el len-da-da ?uma' ħitiq-n-a-min-a win-t<sup>h</sup>u'-h loyme-  
 exp ancient-ts-emp thus do-refl-sd-not-sd person-being-p girl-

s-a-be-'t'an, hi-baqi ?ila-'m se-tep-ħ-u-n-a'-biy-a-r",  
 g-sd-be-though id-or baby-obj around-come to life-mp-sd-refl-sd-impf-

?uni. 47. "ma-t-a ?e-w ba'-s q'omih-n-a'-s koy-i-  
 sd-sub quot you-pos-sd this-g eat-g full-refl-sd-g want-

biy-a-nt<sup>h</sup>e'. 48. tu'n-?ila-n ni ma-t t<sup>h</sup>o's-in-pan-a-paq-  
 sd-impf-sd-nvs first-dim-loc I you-pos camp-loc-get-sd-or-

a-t hen-?u-le'-s. 49. po'-qa-t mi hi-da kuy-a-wenem-dil-  
 sd-p how-do-can-g now-as for-p you id-emp sick-sd-mid-fall-

m-a-be'-sken. 50. ?el-ew-qa-t-kila ?e-h le'n-da ħah-  
 g-sd-be-you exist-priv-as for-p-con this-p ancient-ts doctor-

a'-r win-t<sup>h</sup>u'-h, 'hi-da mod-u-m-ah-le-ba-da ?ume'na',  
 sd-sub person-being-p id-emp heal-sd-caus-sd-can-dur-I like that



?uni-r ma'n mi-s ?el-wan-u-we-n."  
cot-sub now- you-obj in-get-sd-rel-I'll

51. ?uni-buha po'-qa-t pu-t ĉin-e'-buha tu-m-to' xun-  
cot-and now-as for-p she-obj take-sd-and eye-g-dp toward-

ĉ'u'y-a ?i-kila-k. 52. ?una' pu-t "he's-in ma-t  
himself-suck-sd do-con-com and she-obj ever-loc you-pos

tu-win-her-e-s-top-i-m tu-win-min-a 53. tu-h bi-ke'  
ahead-see-pas-sd-g-with-sd-obj ahead-see-not-sd eye-p be-hearsay

?e-w wini'n-u-he-le'-s-p'e. 54. pe'-h tu-m-pan-ti tu-  
this-g doctor-sd-pas-can-g-without thing-p eye-g-top-at ahead

kur-a-m-a ?ule's ?uni-bi-nt<sup>h</sup>e'." 55. ?una' pu-t  
born-sd-caus-sd just like cot-be-nvs and she-obj

hisa-m-pom xun-ĉ'u'y-a-?a kerum-a ?i-kila-k.  
some-g-time toward himself-suck-sd-having finish-sd do-con-com

56. ?una' ?uk-in-a xaydan-i pi qor-i-t min-el.  
and then-loc-sd fall-sd he seed-sd-p die-stat

#### Free translation

1. Qorit doctored Mrs. Fan's eyes last year; Harry was the interpreter. 2. And he doctored in the evening after we had arrived. 3. And so he worked on her; he doctored Mrs. Fan. 4. Then he sent me after fern. 5. And so I went to get the fern into which he was going to spit his spittle and the supernatural arrows. 6. And he smoked tobacco; he smoked tobacco for quite a while and fell into a trance.

7. So now he was singing for a while. 8. He spoke prophetically. 9. "Look upon me", he said. 10. "I smoke a pipe in your company because I want you to be healthy, so that I can be healthy in the same way." Thus the interpreter. 11. But I did not understand any of his doctoring

as he spoke in the language of the northwesterners.

12. Then he finished commanding this spirit and addressed the spirit of his son. 13. Having finished singing a little he now said, "I want to drink the good water, our drink of red-rock water from long ago." 14. Then he who was in the shaman's command said: "My father's arms are getting weak. 15. Why don't you show pity for him? 16. Get red water so that I may drink." 17. And now he drank.. 18. And again he sang for a long time. 19. And the same spirit spoke: "I am unable to help anyone as I am a person who has not been perfected, a little baby. 20. What can I know now? 21. Thus when I come to people's camps, how can I attend to them, as I am a baby, a little body-dirt baby. 22. I never thought that this would be my destination; for this, I gather, has been my destination.

23. "So, you people, say not in your thoughts 'when we go to his camp and he rubs us with spittle, we shall be healed'; for my father is getting weak and can give no support to anyone. 24. She who was his supporter has recently relinquished her hold. 25. And so my father, left alone, is weak of heart and his breath is getting weak. 26. I have been exhorting my father, saying 'when you go north and when you go south, do not drink so much liquor', I have been telling him. 27. But my father does not understand me. 28. Thus only recently he went a short distance to the north. 29. He mingled with the white people, drank quite a bit, and so now he is getting weak and his breath is getting short.

30. "When I was running, coming here a short distance from the west, I heard something whisper into my northward ear. 31. It told me something. 32. And I was frightened. 33. As for myself, I cannot tell you anything since I am an unperfected person, being still a baby.

34. Kids do not know everything. 35. Thus what am I to achieve?" Thus he spoke after he had finished singing.

36. And now Mrs. Fan gave him a dollar and a half. 37. She said: "Here, by means of this I want to be rubbed with spittle, as I ail in my eyes; I cannot see anything. 38. I am being done to death by someone, I think. 39. So, wishing to be healed, I come to you to be doctored. 40. I consider that perhaps it is a shaman who is killing me. 41. If so, can you blow the evil force away for me; or, if you find what is killing me, send it back to the one who sent it." I heard her say.

42. And so he said to her: "Sit here in front of me." 43. And now he took her head in his hands and looked at her for a long time. 44. After looking at her he said, "Yes", he said to her. 45. "It is your own doing. I know that when you were pubescent, you kept eating; furthermore, when you brought your child to life, you were eating. 46. In the old days, people did not behave like that when they reached puberty or when they brought children into being." he said. 47. "This disease is your own doing, your desire to eat yourself full of food. 48. If I had come to your camp earlier, I might have done something. 49. Now you have fallen too deep into illness. 50. Neither did the doctoring people in the old days say, 'I promise a complete cure'; on this understanding let me doctor you."

51. And now he took hold of her and sucked her eyes. 52. Then he said to her: "You will never see again with your eyes. 53. It is said that eyes cannot be doctored. 54. There is something like a thin cover growing on top of them." 55. And after he had sucked her for some time he was finished.

56. And that fall Qorit died.

### Speaking in tongues

The first point to note in this text is that in sentence 10 Qorit speaks in a language other than Wintu. Wintu shamans always had interpreters with them to translate those parts of the speech for monolinguals in the audience. The interpreter traveled with the shaman to other tribes and thus learned the languages the shaman learned (Du Bois 1935: 107). The first spirit speaking through Qorit only says one sentence; as we learn later, Qorit is not well and is losing his power to command spirits. The nomyoh are particularly powerful spirits (Lee 1941:408) and apparently Qorit loses control of the first spirit before he can tell him anything. He is not able to cure the patient in the end because of this weakness. I believe this first spirit was the evil spirit that made Mrs. Fan ill. In another text only available in English (Lee 1941: 408) Qorit says that his "yoh" spirit power is killing him. Shamans would let the evil spirit speak through them to find out what it did to the sick person, hoping to find a cure knowing the cause and location of the disease.<sup>5</sup> This spirit speaks in the language of the nomke'nsu's which is another name for the nomyoh. Lee explains (ibid., p. 408, footnote 14): "The yoh, or, as they are commonly called, nomyoh (yoh of the west) are the potent spirits of the Indians of the northwest coast of California, who turned themselves at will into beasts. Children were warned: 'Never say nomyoh at night; say west-coast-beings instead.' yoh-old-man was a term applied to a great doctor."

My informant Grace MacKibben identifies the nomyoh as Hupa Indians who have turned into beasts and poison doctors by spending a lot of time out in the woods. Her "Hupa" does not necessarily refer to the Hupa

tribe. The Wintu identified most tribes by the direction they lived in seen from Wintu territory, often applying the same name to several groups all of whom were in the same general direction. The name is then translated into an English tribal name so that that name, too, comes to apply to more than one tribe. Thus Qorit could have been speaking in the language of any group west or northwest of Wintu territory. Sadie Marsh told Du Bois (1935: 95) that when Qorit was "half-crazy" mourning his son's death he was helped by a nomke·nsu·s doctor at Fort Jones and that for that reason he sometimes talks nomke·nsu·s when he doctors. Du Bois thinks that this doctor was "probably a Shasta Indian."

Other shamans used other languages, whichever they happened to know. Du Bois (*ibid.*, p. 91) tells us that the shaman Albert Thomas, when in trance, spoke Achomawi or "the language of any western group", or English when being helped by a white man's spirit. It is possible that especially evil spirits always spoke through the shaman in a language other than Wintu. The Wintu language is a symbol of tribal identity and pride and as such could not be spoken by evil spirits. Evil comes from outsiders.

#### Wintu shamanistic register<sup>6</sup>

The second spirit Qorit addresses is that of his dead son. According to Du Bois, the Wintu could become shamans in two ways: through initiation and formal instruction in the sweathouse (*ibid.*, pp. 88-90) and through grieving over a dead relative. Qorit had become a shaman in the latter way when his son died at the age of ten or eleven and thus uses his son's spirit as a familiar and helper. As pointed out by Lee (*ibid.*, p. 409, footnote 17) Sadie Marsh was able to tell that Qorit

was addressing his son's spirit because he switched from the *nomyoh* language to *Wintu*. The son's spirit speaks through *Qorit* in what follows; that is, *Qorit* speaks as if his and his son's personalities had merged into one.<sup>7</sup>

How does the shaman's language differ from colloquial *Wintu*? The body of data is so small that whatever we can discover must remain speculative, but I believe that it can give us a few general ideas which point in the right direction.

First of all, *Qorit* obviously avoids the use of direct words when referring to taboo concepts such as body functions and death. In sentence 24 yaleqta 'to let go' is used instead of minel 'to die'. In sentence 45 po--loymesa 'to be a young girl' and in 46 loymesa 'to be a girl' replace hala 'to be pubescent, menstruate for the first time'. In the same two sentences 'ila'm se-tepčuna 'to bring a baby to life' is used as a substitute for ku-ra 'to give birth'. In 47 ba's q'omihna 'to fill oneself with food' is probably more formal than ba's ba 'to eat food'.

Further, there are paraphrases for two kinship terms, as already noted by Lee. In sentence 14 we find netomen boheh 'my alienable particular big one' for netta'n 'my father'. The reason for the alienable possessive pronoun may be that the son is dead, but boheh is not the usual way of referring to one's father. The second kinship reference is in sentence 24: 'ol-k'okuwilisto-t, literally 'one who lifts someone up', i.e. 'supporter', instead of p'uqat 'wife'.

Other "idioms" or "ceremonial phrasings", as Lee calls them, are ha'haq 'look upon me!' (sentence 9), an exclamation used only by shamans and not related to the word for 'to see, look'; and sačaqme'm 'red-rock

water' in sentence 13. In sentence 16 there is te'dime'm 'red water' which may have referred to the same thing. I am not sure what is meant by it. My informant Renee Coleman now uses it for 'alcohol' but I do not believe that that was its original meaning. She says sačaq refers to rocks used to heat liquid in cooking, so the 'red' might be that of the glowing hot rocks. Another kind of red rock is iron oxide clay which can color the water of springs. Du Bois (ibid., p. 116) reports the existence of red-clay water "used in burials and to propitiate souls which manifest themselves in swirls of dust." She also mentions (p. 117) "red-rock water" as part of the regalia of a shaman but since she does not give the Wintu terms, it is not clear if that is supposed to be identical with red-clay water. According to Du Bois (p. 104) the shaman used red-rock water to moisten his lips for sucking out pains; perhaps it also served to facilitate trance.

Further expressions part of the register of shamanism are t<sup>h</sup>o'sin-pana 'to get to someone's bed or camp' (sentence 21) and ma'qa 'hence, it follows' (sentence 22) which is now obsolete and was rare at Lee's time. Sadie Marsh, in order to explain its meaning, told Lee a story she had heard from her mother. About ?uniweres (sentence 22) Lee has the following to say (ibid., p. 409, footnote 26): "The term destination here is not to be taken as the equivalent of fate. The -weres of personal intention is used, not the -les of impersonal necessity, or the inescapable future. Perhaps he implies that his father, through his excessive mourning, deliberately made him into a spirit power."

In 26 saqme'm means 'alcohol, intoxicating liquor'. me'm is 'water', saq must be an archaic word for 'blood', perhaps related to the above-mentioned sačaq 'red rock'. My informant Grace MacKibben is

not familiar with saq but knows that the male proper name sa'qa once meant something like 'blood stain' or 'color of blood'.

In sentence 52 eyes are called tu-winnerestopi, literally 'used for that which is seen ahead', i.e., 'those with which what is ahead is being seen'. In 49 ?el-wana 'to get in, enter' is used instead of aha or wini'na 'to doctor'.

Lee also points out wi'ne·sp'ina 'not to be able to see' (sentence 19) instead of 'not to be able to help', noting that the form of the verb is obsolete. I am not quite sure which part of the verb she refers to but I believe it is p'ina 'not to be, to be without' which is used frequently in this text in favor of the negative ?elew . . . -mina. It is also used by informants who are not shamans in Lee's texts, but my informants do not use it. I conclude that obsolescent expressions survive longer in shamanistic speech.

A third class of characteristic features of shamanistic register comes under the heading of understatement: "ceremonial speech is given to self-belittling and understatement" (Lee *ibid.*, p. 409, footnote 25). Qorit's son speaking through Qorit refers to himself as ?ila'h. Lee translates this as 'child', but my informants say it means 'baby'. 'Child' would have been the truth--Qorit's son was about ten years old when he died--'baby' is an understatement. He continues to emphasize how little he knows while it is clear that he knows more than his father, advising him not to mix with white people and not to drink.<sup>8</sup> He also calls himself q'o·t'ilah (21) 'little body dirt' which may imply a reference to the way babies leave the mother's body.

When Qorit's son calls himself ?uwe-pukit 'just a raw one' (19, 33) he is also speaking for Qorit who was one of the "raw" doctors (Du Bois



ibid., p. 98, 103) because he did not go through the sweat-house initiation and instruction but became a doctor by grieving. However, Qorit was considered the greatest doctor of his time and ?uwe-pukit remains self-belittling.

Lee (p. 410) further notes ?el-bula?ilaya 'to drink in a little', in sentence 29, meaning 'drink a lot'. Another special expression is waytiq'ede notiq'ede 'northern arm, southern arm' in sentence 14. The son's spirit says that his father's arms are getting weak which may be true but has nothing to do with shamanistic powers. What matters is that Qorit's mind and concentration are weakening making it hard for him to cure people. His health is so bad that he has less power than his son. Qorit feels like a powerless baby which may be why he chose to address the spirit of his son. However, the idiom about weakening arms may have been a general expression not only used by shamans.

The list of special vocabulary used by shamans can be expanded with expressions found in other texts. In Ida Fan's prophetic speech (Lee ibid., p. 411) we find wayk'oho·la nok'oho·la 'wandering to the north, wandering to the south'. Lee notes (p. 411, footnote 36) that k'oho·la is obsolete and only used by shamans. The same is true for wayhami·la nohami·la 'drifting to the north, drifting to the south'.

In "Doctoring" (Lee ibid., p. 411), it is tu-k'udawirabint<sup>h</sup>e 'she will go onward, I sense' meaning 'she will die' and putun ~~jesto~~·t yel-ta·nk'uda sukebint<sup>h</sup>e 'her spirit stands a short distance behind her, I sense' meaning 'she is close to death'. From the last two examples we can infer that the shaman was free to choose among several possible variants when using circumlocutions.

Only a few of the ceremonial phrasings replace direct words for

taboo concepts such as death and body functions while others must simply be part of the special register of shamanism. This aspect of the register was artistic, coming close to poetic style.<sup>9</sup> As shown, for example, by Emeneau (1964, especially pp. 336-40) for the Todas, poetry is universally characterized by the enigmatic and allusive, marked by suggestions and implications. Perhaps the closest parallel to the metaphors used by the Wintu shaman is found in the "kennings" of Anglo-Saxon and especially Norse skaldic poetry. Gordon (1957: xxxvi-xlii) explains that the kennings are logically metaphors but do not represent the emotional or highly imaginative perception frowned on in English as "poetic diction." Rather they are devices for introducing descriptive color and for suggesting associations without distracting attention from the essential statement. The kenning has the meaning of a subordinate clause but expresses it in a briefer space and with less emphasis. The Wintu were able to do just that because of the synthetic structure of their language. What would be a clause in a language with little morphology and much syntax (e.g., "used for that which is seen ahead" or "one who lifts someone up") can be a single word in Wintu (tu-winherestopi or ?ol-k'okuwilistot).

A parallel to this allusive character of the jargon's lexical material is found in Wintu myths: the main protagonist often remains unnamed and is referred to only by descriptive formations (e.g., č'arawah 'one who is in the fields' replaces sedet 'Coyote').

Another characteristic of shamanistic register is repetition. In the text given above we find k'ayiskoyikuyar . . . k'ayiskuya (sentence 10); boloskuda . . . bolosto; (13); ?ile's . . . ?ile's (19); wi'nle's-p'ina'da (19) . . . wi'nle'sp'ina'ba'k (21); ?ile's ?ila'h ni (19) . . .

?ile's ni ?ila'h (21); ?uniweres . . . ?uniweres (22); ?ol-k'okuwile's-p'ina (23) . . . ?ol-k'okuwilisto't (24); netomen boheh (14, 23, 25, 26, 27); xatawilna'be' . . . xatalahara'nt<sup>h</sup>e' (25); way-k'odut . . . nor-k'odut (26); waytiq'ede . . . notiq'ede (29); ?ila'm se-tepčuna'biyar (45, 46); po'loymesar (45) . . . loymesabe't'an (46); tu-winherestopim tu-winmina (52). In the text of Ida Fan's prophetic speech (Lee *ibid.*, p. 411) there is wayk'oho'la nok'oho'la and wayhami'la nohami'la (see above). While we usually avoid repetition in elevated styles of English, Wintu shamanistic register favored it. One reason was certainly emphasis; perhaps repetition was also part of the Wintu concept of euphony.

In the construction of the repeated phrases alliteration and assonance may play a role. For example, netomen boheh favors bilabials, nasals, and the vowels o and e; ?ile's (ni) ?ila'h (q'o't?ilah) has ?il-; wint<sup>h</sup>u'h ?uwe-pukit has the vowels i and u and the consonants w - w - p; ?ol-k'okuwile'sp'ina or ?ol-k'okuwilisto't has two l, two k, and two or three o. There may be other examples but they are not convincing. Especially assonance is difficult to tell apart from words in which ablaut has caused certain vowels to cooccur.

An alternative interpretation is echoism which characterizes glossolalia (Samarin 1973:79). Observe the vowels in the following expressions: netomen boheh, ?ol-k'okuwilisto't, xatalahara', waytiq'ede, notiq'ede, wint<sup>h</sup>u'h ?uwe-pukit, and many others. Echoic devices, as noted by Samarin (*ibid.*, p. 81), figure also in poetic discourse.

A second phonological characteristic of Qorit's speech--more obvious than alliteration and assonance--appears to have been the favoring of certain vowels and consonants. A calculation of the frequency of vowels

shows a to be the most often used by both Sadie Marsh and Qorit; i follows at about the same distance for both. The next most frequently used vowel is u for Sadie, occurring almost as often as i, but e for Qorit, used almost as often as i; Sadie uses e only about half as often as i while Qorit uses u about half as often as i. Thus the ratios of e and u per total number of vowels used are reversed. o is the least frequently used vowel for both, but its frequency is 1/3 of that of a for Qorit, 1/4 of that of a for Sadie. In short, the shaman's speech is characterized by greater frequency of the vowels e and o.

There are two interpretations of the increase of e and o. One goes as follows. Many Wintu i and u are derived historically from \*e and \*o. Patwin, the only extant cognate language, has e and o where Wintu has the morphophonemic alternation i~e and u~o. The Wintu innovation may have been quite recent, at any rate later than the split from Proto-Wintun. Perhaps shamans were instructed to use as many words with e and o as possible to give their register an archaic "flavor" reminiscent of a time when e and o were the most frequent Wintu vowels together with a. (If vowels were used for emphasis one would expect a preference for i - a - u, the extremes of the vowel system.)

A second explanation for Qorit's favoring of e and o is based on the argument made earlier that shamanistic speech in Wintu is an art form. The vowels e and o are also preferred in the linguistically meaningless syllables used in some Wintu songs. As pointed out by Hinton (1976:67ff), the high aesthetic value placed on low vowels is an almost universal phenomenon in singing. Havasupai songs show an increase of low vowels as part of the preference for the "maximization of resonance" (Hinton *ibid.*, p. 76) but in this language the increase is achieved by

phonological rules, such as vowel lowering and insertion, while in Wintu the same effect is reached only by the selection of lexical items containing the desired vowels.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast to the characteristics of the vocalic inventory, a calculation of the frequencies of consonants brings us to a major difference between the jargon and glossolalia.<sup>11</sup> In producing glossolalia, the speaker maximizes what is already common in his primary language (Samarin 1972:84). When the frequencies of stops and fricatives are compared for English and glossolalia, the number of fricatives decreases for glossolalia while the number of stops, more common than fricatives in English, increases. There is no evidence for any such trend in the shamanistic register. Instead we find an increase in the number of voiced consonants (m and w increase by 4%, d, l, and n by 2%, y and b by 1%) and a 3% increase for s, 1.8% for t<sup>h</sup>, 0.5% for x, 0.3% for ʃ, while the frequency of the other voiceless consonants decreases (k by 9%, p by 5%, ʔ and h by 3%, ʒ by 1.7%, t by 1.1%, ʃ' and q by 1%, ɣ by 0.4%, ʒ by 0.1%). The shaman favors the greater "resonance" (following Hinton 1976) of voiced consonants, just as he prefers e, a, and o, and the high frequency components of s, x [x̣], t<sup>h</sup>, and ʃ.<sup>12</sup>

There are other aspects of Wintu shamanistic register which can be compared and contrasted with glossolalia. Samarin 1972:122 defines glossolalia as "unintelligible extemporaneous post-babbling speech that exhibits superficial phonologic similarity to language without having consistent syntagmatic structure and that is not systematically derived from or related to known languages." Wintu shamanistic jargon certainly does not fit this definition. However, the jargon has several elements in common with glossolalia as described in detail by Samarin 1972,

1973, and since Samarin argues that glossolalia is continuous with other marginal linguistic phenomena, "anomalous speech", I would like to suggest that shamanistic jargon is part of the same continuum and not too far removed from glossolalia.

Samarin (1973:79) notes that glossolalia is not "meaningless" or "gibberish." Although it is unintelligible, the speaker or an interpreter can translate it into normal languages. The same is true for the shaman's speech when he uses languages other than Wintu.

Another feature the jargon shares with glossolalia is that the physiological state of trance is not the only causation for its characteristics. As noted by Samarin (1973:85), a person can use glossolalia in a fully conscious, normal state if he wants to. A speaker of Wintu can use a register similar to the shaman's for different purposes, such as praying (see below).

Glossolalia is learned behavior (Samarin 1969b, 1973:87). The speaker learns that he must produce some form of it to be accepted as a member of the Pentecostal Society. He learns favored phonological and paralinguistic features; and he learns to use certain sequences of syllables he hears from other glossolalists. The same three things must be learned by the shaman.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, glossolalia is just another "language" in the Pentecostals' linguistic repertoire (Samarin 1972: 121, 124). The glossolalist selects from this repertoire according to his needs in the same way as a bilingual switches codes depending on the subject under discussion. On the one hand, shamanistic jargon is one of the shaman's registers; on the other hand, it is a point in the Wintu stylistic continuum sharing many features with other registers.

Samarin rejects trance as causation of glossolalia and favors defining it as regressive speech: "the speaker returns to processes that characterized his language learning in early childhood, at a time when he was first learning the part of language most obvious to a child--its phonetic representation" (1973:85). At this point the jargon has nothing in common with glossolalia. Even though the shaman is in trance when using his jargon while the Christian using glossolalia is rarely in a state of trance (Samarin 1972:123), he does not return to a more primitive stage of his language. Rather, the jargon represents an elevated style of Wintu. It comes close to poetry in its use of metaphors and echoic devices. It seems ironic that in a "primitive" culture the religious register is the most elevated style while in advanced civilizations religious glossolalia returns to the primitive "post-babbling" stage. ". . . it may be safely said that the inspired prophet and seer is the leading intellectual and artistic influence in primitive and backward society" (Chadwick 1942:57).

There are differences between shamanistic Wintu and colloquial Wintu beyond the use of special vocabulary. An obvious one is that in the text given above almost every single sentence spoken by Sadie Marsh when she is not imitating Qorit begins with the connective ?una' 'and, and then'. A few begin with ?ut which has the same translation but implies change of subject. When she is speaking for the shaman, ?ut is used three times (23, 25, 32), ?una' never; other connectives used by Qorit are ?unir 'thus' (23, 25, 32) and ?uhet'an 'however, but, although' (27). ?una' is the unmarked connective having no meaning other than 'connective' while ?ut, ?uhet'an, and ?unir have added meanings. Thus the main function of ?una' is to give the speaker an

extra second to think of what to say next while keeping the floor. Sadie Marsh uses it when telling her own experiences at the seance as long as it is up to her to decide what to mention and what to leave out, or to try to remember as much as possible. The shaman's speech she reports is fixed. She remembers it literally or as she heard it and understood it and is not free to choose what to say. ?una' is used only as an aid in the reconstruction of a sequence of events (cf. Chafe 1973:269) and, of course, it not used within a quote unless the speaker being quoted used it.

If one function of ?una' is to signify to the audience that one is not ready to give up the floor yet, a shaman need not use it since no one would interrupt him. Other reasons why Qorit did not use ?una' will become clear below.

Another feature of shamanistic speech as exemplified in our text is the greater length of some of the sentences. I counted the number of words per sentence for Sadie Marsh's own speech (sentences 1-8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 36, 43, 51, 55, 56) and for Qorit's speech (sentences 13-16, 19-35, 45-47, 50, 52-54) excluding of course the parts of those sentences spoken by Sadie Marsh introducing the quotations). I did not count the interpreter's or Mrs. Fan's sentences. The ratio of words per sentence for Sadie Marsh is 6.9 (and that includes the repetitive ?una'), the ratio for Qorit is 7.6. For the same sentences, I counted the number of morphemes per word; Sadie Marsh's ratio is 2.4, Qorit's ratio is 3.1.<sup>13</sup>

It now looks as if the relation of shamanistic Wintu to conversational Wintu is somewhat similar to that of written to spoken language in literate cultures and so we can look for other differences in the same direction. We know, for example, that in spoken English coor-



dination and right-branching subordination prevail while subordination and left-branching are more prevalent in written language (Pawley and Syder 1976). When Sadie Marsh is speaking for herself she uses right-branching subordination<sup>14</sup> in sentence 2 (nele'n henet'a 'after we had arrived'); in sentence 5 (pur yumus ?el-t'ube.weres . . . 'into which he was going to spit his spittle . . .'); in 11 (?ile's nomke'nsu'm lahu:t 'doctoring in the nomke'nsu's language'). Left-branching subordination is used twice, in sentence 43 (haya.buharkelt'an 'having looked for a long time') and in 55 (xun-g'u.ya'a 'after he had sucked'). In both cases the left, subordinate verb describes an event which is temporally anterior to that of the right, superordinate verb. Qorit uses right-branching subordination in sentence 19 (?ile's ni wint<sup>h</sup>u'h ?uwe-pukit 'as I am just a raw person' and ?ile's ?ila'h ni ku't'et biyar 'as I am a small baby'); in 21 (?ile's ni ?ila'h q'o:t'ilah 'as I am a little body-dirt baby'); in 23 (?ile's netomen boheh xatalahara' ?ibe 'as my father is getting weak'); in 33 (?ile's . . .); and in 46 (loymesabe-t'an . . . and se-tepçuna.biyar . . .). He uses left-branching subordination in 21 (wint<sup>h</sup>u'nun t<sup>h</sup>o'sinpanat 'approaching people's camps'); in 23 (t<sup>h</sup>o'sinpanar q'i.luna.kila 'getting to his camp when he rubs us with spittle'); in 25 (netomen boheh piyoken hurar 'my father being left alone'); in 26 (way-k'odut nor-k'odut 'going to the north, going to the south'); in 30 (net weresin 'when I was coming'); and in 45 (po--loymesar . . . se-tepçuna.biyar 'being a girl . . . bringing to life').

It looks as if Qorit uses more subordination and left-branching than Sadie Marsh, but the difference is unfortunately not statistically significant because she speaks as herself much less than as Qorit. When her own sentences consist of more than one clause, she prefers

conjoining by the suffix -buha 'and' to subordination (sentences 6, 7, 12, 13, 35, 43, 44, 51): as Qorit she never uses -buha.

#### Other types of speech

Before drawing final conclusions about shamanistic Wintu, let me digress briefly to look at other special registers of this language.

Aside from the work of the shaman, the Wintu had little division of labor: there were people whose job it was to spank children, a man for the boys, a woman for the girls; only authorized individuals were allowed to make headdresses out of eagle feathers; and only certain middle-aged women were assigned the job of splitting elderberry sticks to make rattles. No special registers are reported for these professions. However, Du Bois (*ibid.*, p. 11) mentions "circumlocutions" characteristic of bear hunt such as "let us visit our friends" meaning 'let us hunt bear', and "here is one of my people" or "I see that my friend has been here" meaning 'I see tracks of a bear'. (She does not give the Wintu equivalents.) The same type of hunting taboo is responsible for our word bear which is derived from an expression originally meaning 'brown one' which replaced the Indoeuropean word for 'bear'.

There may have been similar expressions for deer hunting, gathering, war, and other activities, but they have, to my knowledge, not been preserved. The only one I was able to collect from Grace MacKibben is a little poem her grandmother used to say when showing her wild potatoes (of a species called ko·nat) she had dug:

ʔoltepum xi·, ʔel yo· siktut.

pomisim xi·, xan yo· siktut.

'Spring sleep, sweep in for me (meaning 'let me sleep well').

Winter sleep, sweep away from me.'

Another register was that used in prayer. There were probably no formalized prayers, according to Du Bois (*ibid.*, p. 73), but qo·l žulu·li's prayer (Lee *ibid.*, p. 407) shows that praying was not identical with colloquial Wintu. It seems to represent a register intermediate between ordinary and shamanistic Wintu. Sadie Marsh explains (Lee *ibid.*) that her grandfather, qo·l žulu·li (literally 'mouth black'), used to get up early in the morning, wash his face and pray. It is not clear whether he said the same prayer every morning or made up a new one each time, so we cannot be sure to what extent his prayer was memorized and formalized. He uses a few circumlocutions similar to those of shamanistic speech: mi baheresas suke'el 'you whose nature it is to be eaten' instead of mi no·p 'you deer' when addressing deer, but he uses the usual terms when addressing other animals. He also speaks of wayti-q'ede notiq'ede 'north arm south arm' like Qorit above to describe himself as getting weak. Further, neto X'o·li·n ni ma·n ken-diler ?iye ?ibiya'el 'I am falling back into my cradle (basket) is used to mean 'I am dying', and neto qcmosto·t ho·n tu-k'odito·t 'my ancestors who have already gone ahead' for 'have already died'. He also employs the obsolescent p'ina· found in Qorit's speech. His average number of words per sentence is 7.4; that of morphemes per word is 3.04; both are intermediate between Qorit's and Sadie Marsh's figures. Left-branching is favored over right-branching. Coordination is without the use of conjunctions. The most characteristic feature of the prayer is frequent repetition of certain clauses, especially the repetition of frames for clauses with the substitution of single words for one another. For

example: If you are rock, look at me; I am advancing in old age. If you are tree, look at me; I am advancing in old age. If you are water, . . .

Another example of speech intermediate between Sadie Marsh's conversational Wintu and Qorit's shamanistic register is found in a prophetic speech by the shaman Ida Fan in a trance; she is speaking for the spirits of dead Wintu (Lee *ibid.*, p. 411). The text is very short (eleven sentences) and we can't really say anything about it with certainty. Her special vocabulary has been mentioned above. The average ratios of words per sentence and morphemes per word are 7 and 3.12, respectively. The latter is almost identical with Qorit's, but Ida Fan's sentences are somewhat shorter than his. Left- and right-branching subordination are used with equal frequency.

Wintu who were not shamans could, of course, switch register depending on the topic they were discussing. Du Bois (*ibid.*, p. 75) reports that Kate Luckie once paid two shamans to speak about the end of the world and, in repeating their prophesies, she switched to a high poetic style. (The prophesy is given in English only.)

Another type of specialized speech consists of a set of formulas spoken at the end of an evening of myth-telling.<sup>15</sup> My informants do not use these but Lee was able to collect the following.

- |                          |                               |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. pomisimyus pat-hubu!  | 'Winter mosquitoes swarm out! |
| po·pilyus ?el-hubu!      | Summer mosquitoes swarm in!   |
| witil ?ol-t'ipt'ipa war! | Be spring soon!'              |
| 2. witil ?ol-t'ipa war!  | 'Be spring soon!              |
| witil saniha war!        | Be daylight soon!             |
| witil bohema· war!       | Grow up quickly!'             |

Both of these are wishes that winter may be over soon--myths were told only in the winter. (I am not sure what the last part of the second formula refers to.) A third formula must have had a similar significance but its exact meaning was not determinable as early as Demetracopoulou [Lee] and Du Bois's Study of Wintu mythology (1932).

3. huh 'una· xanpumpu·mčū ('Blow it away!')

Another form of speech different from colloquial Wintu must have been that used by chiefs when making speeches. There is a special term for that activity, se-tina 'to talk in all directions'. There are not enough good examples of this style for discussion. The other two styles I can think of are the one used in songs whose discussion merits a separate paper, and the form of Wintu used in telling myths which has already been discussed by Demetracopoulou [Lee] and Du Bois 1932.

#### Conclusions

I have shown that Wintu shamans used more than one language when in trance, depending on the spirit they controlled. They were not interested in concealment and thus did not use an unintelligible glosso-lalia as many other religions. When they spoke in a language other than Wintu, interpreters were present to translate for monolinguals in the audience. The other languages functioned to make the switch from one spirit to another explicit, to represent evil spirits, and perhaps to impress with one's knowledge and number of spirit helpers and languages.

The shaman's special register of Wintu represents a point in two different continua. One is the continuum extending from normal to

abnormal speech, on which the jargon shares features with glossolalia but shows some important differences. The other is the Wintu stylistic continuum extending from ordinary speech used in everyday conversation to fixed formulas. Shamanistic register differs from the former by special idioms and metaphors, more "polite" words for concepts considered taboo, understatement, archaisms, repetition, a preference for certain vowels and consonants, perhaps alliteration and assonance, the lack of the hesitation-type connective ?una', longer words and sentences, and more subordination and left-branching.

Each of these differences has a different cause. Archaisms and special lexical items are learned from older shamans as part of the sweathouse initiation or, if they are used by an uninitiated "raw" shaman, they were probably heard from other shamans and remembered because of their impressiveness. These lexical items and the preference for words with low vowels and voiced and high frequency consonants are simply the speech of shamans, just as today every profession has its own register.

The lack of ?una' is due to the fact that a shamanistic ceremony is not a type of conversation. It is a monolog--except when the shaman speaks another language at which time the interpreter may ask questions--and the speaker need not struggle to keep the floor.

The greater length of sentences and words, the increase of subordination, and left-branching, elsewhere characteristic of written language, have their origin in the nature of the trance. When we write we have time to think, nobody is interrupting us, we are concentrating on what we are doing and on the subject we are writing about, and we can go back and look at what we have already written to change it or refresh our

memory. The shaman is in a similar situation: he is not being interrupted, he can speak as slowly or fast as he wishes, and he is completely concentrated.

The state of trance is adduced by singing, concentrating, and smoking, especially by "swallowing" rather than inhaling the smoke of the potent Indian tobacco (*Nicotiniana*; Du Bois *ibid.*, p. 108).<sup>16</sup> The degree of dissociation and the nature of the trance appears to differ widely in different parts of the world (Chadwick 1942) and I would like to suggest that the Wintu shaman's trance was very similar to hypnosis and by no means involved an unhealthy loss of control. Under hypnosis people are often able to remember things they cannot otherwise recall and this may also explain why the shaman can speak other languages well when in trance. He may never have actively learned to speak them; just hearing them spoken, understanding what is being said may be enough for storage in those parts of the memory activated by hypnosis.<sup>17</sup> The shaman Fanny Brown told Du Bois (*ibid.*, p. 94): "I don't know how or when I learned doctor's language. It is just my spirit talking to my heart." Being in trance may also be compared to dreaming. When asleep we are unable to monitor the output of the subconscious computer: it can put out things from our memory in any way they can be associated, whether it makes sense or not. But the shaman has more control in his trance; the output usually makes sense. It is conditioned by the contents of his subconscious storage space. The input consists of the knowledge acquired in the initiation or the memories and feelings of grief about the dead relatives whose spirits he controls; his knowledge of what is expected from him as part of his work; and everything else stored in his mind: experiences, memories, knowledge, wishes, hopes, fears. The concen-

tration on a particular kind of spirit he knows to be in his power influences the shaman's voice quality, language, and behavior--he can behave like an animal when contacting an animal spirit. Possibly the shaman also has more extrasensory perception in his condition of hypnosis, a type of knowledge not functioning too well and usually ignored as nonsensical in a fully conscious state. He may be able to "read the mind" of the patient and get clues as to the cause of the disease. This would be similar to the merging of minds of shaman and spirit: Qorit speaks as if he and his son were one person. What he said about his own illness when influenced by his son's spirit may have helped him to diagnose Mrs. Fan's illness. Qorit knows in his trance that he is drinking too much and losing his powers; Mrs. Fan is ill because she ate too much at the wrong time. Both are suffering from the ways of the white man.

#### Acknowledgements

For many valuable comments on earlier versions of this paper I am grateful to Wallace Chafe, Leanne Hinton, Carol Justus, Kathryn Klar, Robert Oswalt, and everybody who attended the meeting of the Berkeley Group in American Indian Languages on November 4, 1980.

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>There was no division of labor among shamans as in some other areas of North America. The same shaman could perform all these tasks if he wished.

Du Bois 1935 provides a detailed account of Wintu shamanism (especially pp. 88-117) and I will not paraphrase her findings but rather look at the linguistic aspects of shamanism.



<sup>2</sup>A special shamanistic language, usually called "high language" by informants, has been reported for other tribes of the area, e.g. by Elmen-dorf 1980 for Wappo (p. 4) and Yuki (pp. 7, 8, 13). He points out that in a situation of language obsolescence stylistic variation is always one of the first things to disappear.

<sup>3</sup>The Wintu versions of the texts published in English by Lee are on microfilms in the possession of the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

Some of the observations about vocabulary differences have already been made by Lee, but since she was mostly concerned with the expression of supernatural ideas, much remains to be said.

<sup>4</sup>Abbreviations used in the interlinear translation are: al(ienable), com(pletive aspect suffix or auxiliary), con(ditional aspect auxiliary), cot connective, dem(onstrative), dim(inutive), dp disjunctive postclitic, dub(itative), dur(ative), emp(hatic), exp(eriential evidential), g(ener-ric aspect), gen(itive case), id interrogative-demonstrative root, im-p(erative), impf imperfective aspect, inf(erential evidential), int(er-rogative), loc(ative), mp medio-passive, nvs nonvisual sensorial eviden-tial, obj(ective case), p(articular aspect), pas(sive), per(fective as-pect), pl(ural), pos(sessive case), pot(ential), priv(ative), pro(gres-sive aspect), quot(ative), refl(exive), rel(ational aspect auxiliary), sd stem-deriving suffix, stat(ive), sub(ordinating suffix), ts temporal-locative suffix.

The grammatical analysis relies on Pitkin 1963.

<sup>5</sup>In a story told by my informant, Grace MacKibben of Hayfork, a

werewolf speaks through a shaman allowing him to decide that the disease it gave to the patient is incurable.

<sup>6</sup>I am using ja-r̄on for the shaman's speech including other languages he uses, while register refers to his variety of Wintu; style will be reserved for written language except when quoting other writers.

<sup>7</sup>Some Wintu shamans had animal spirit helpers and when in trance would impersonate the animal in their control. The impersonation of the dead or of animals has a parallel in Uganda, as reported by Chadwick 1942:32-3.

The dead are universally the most common source of inspiration (Chadwick *ibid.*, p. 50).

<sup>8</sup>Du Bois (*ibid.*, p. 93) reports that shamans cannot cure white men's diseases and that alcohol makes them lose their powers (p. 115).

<sup>9</sup>The close relationship of poetry and manticism has been described in detail by Chadwick 1942. "Poetry and Prophecy are the expression of human thought at its most intense and concentrated moments, stimulated by excitement, and expressed in artistic form" (p. xi). "Over a wide area of the earth poetry and prophecy are the two essential elements in the coordination and synthesis of thought and its transmission" (p. xiii).

<sup>10</sup>However, lowering in Havasupai is undergone most often by "grammatical" lexical items, not "content" words (Hinton *ibid.*, p. 79).

<sup>11</sup>The percentage of consonants per total number of consonants are as follows. For Sadie Marsh: p 9%, p<sup>h</sup> 0.2%, p' 0, b 5%, t 8%, t<sup>h</sup> 0.2%, t' 2%, d 2%, l 9%, ð 2%, λ' 0, m 6%, n 16%, w 3%, y 3%, s 4%, k 13%, k' 0.5%, q 3%, q' 0, r 5%, x 0.5%, x̣ 0.2%, ʔ 14%, h 11%, ɛ and ɛ' 1%.

For Qorit: p 4%, p<sup>h</sup> 0.4%, p' 0.9%, b 6%, t 8%, t<sup>h</sup> 2%, t' 0.9%, d 4%, l 11%, ɬ 0.3%, ʃ 0.3%, m 10%, n 18%, w 7%, y 4%, s 7%, k 4%, k' 0.5%, q 2%, q' 0.9%, r 5%, x 0.1%, x̣ 0.7%, ʔ 11%, h 8%, č 0.9%, č' 0.

<sup>12</sup>I have no explanation for an increase in the shaman's speech of p by 0.9%, q' by 0.9%, p<sup>h</sup> by 0.2%. It may be the result of the repetition of favored words. The frequencies of t, k', and r remain the same.

<sup>13</sup>From these figures I would expect an increase in the number of different morphemes used for Qorit and I have no explanation for the opposite result. The percentage of different morphemes per total number of morphemes used is 19% for Qorit, 27% for Sadie.

I realize that distortions are possible because Sadie Marsh had to dictate the text to Lee. However, it is possible most of the time to write as fast as the informant talks, with the help of a few abbreviations. If the text had been tape-recorded, we could also check for differences in the length of pauses, the nature of hesitations, voice quality, etc. Further, Wintu shamans appear not to have chanted, but only a tape-recording could tell us whether Qorit was employing a normal speaking voice, assuming that Sadie Marsh would have imitated him.

<sup>14</sup>Verbs subordinated to their auxiliaries do not count as subordination.

<sup>15</sup>These formulas are not to be confused with phrases used to indicate that one has finished telling a particular story.

<sup>16</sup>The first hypnosis happens during the initiation in the sweathouse (Du Bois *ibid.*, p. 89). Indians for whom it does not work drop out and give up their plans to become doctors. Thus only those easily hypnotized

become shamans.

The external conditions helpful in adducing trance in the Wintu shaman are universal. As reported by Chadwick 1942, ecstasy is usually stimulated by intoxicating food, drink, or fumes, and the first prerequisite for purposes of concentration is solitude and quiet. "A large proportion of seers have been drawn from the shepherd class all over Europe and Asia" (p. 59).

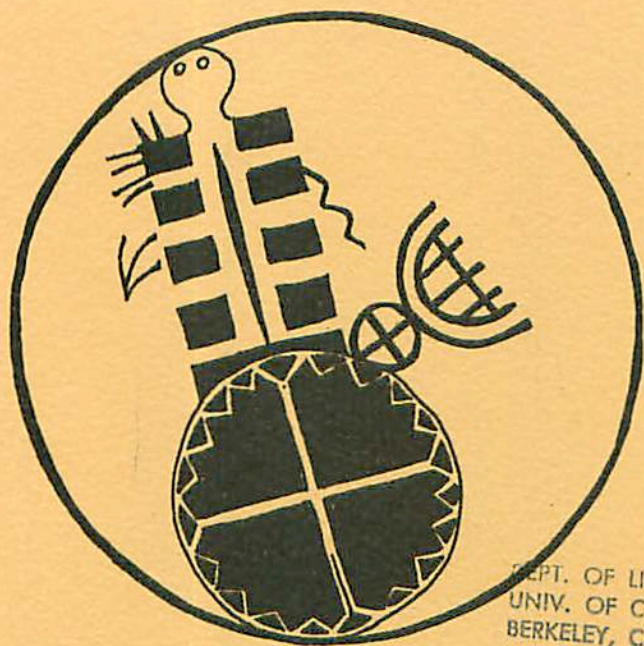
<sup>17</sup>The use of other languages by the Wintu shaman is not unusual. Chadwick 1942:18 reports that shamans in northern Siberia speak khorro, 'shaman's language'. "Khorro is generally the language of a neighboring people which the shaman does not himself understand. A Tungus shaman will sometimes speak, during his fit of inspiration, in Koryak, though he is said to be normally quite ignorant of the language."

#### References

- CHADWICK, N. KERSHAW. 1942. Poetry and Prophecy. Cambridge University Press.
- CHAFE, WALLACE L. 1973. Language and Memory. *Language* 49:261-81.
- DEMETRACOPOULOU [LEE], DOROTHY and CORA DU BOIS. 1932. A Study of Wintu mythology. *Journal of American Folklore* 45:375-500.
- DU BOIS, CORA. 1935. Wintu Ethnography. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 36:1.
- ELMENDORF, WILLIAM W. 1981. Last speakers and language change: two Californian cases. *Anthropological Linguistics* 23:36-49.
- EMENEAU, MURRAY B. 1964. Oral Poets of South India -- The Todas. *Language in Culture and Society*, ed. by Dell Hymes, pp. 330-343. New

York: Harper & Row.

- HINTON, LEANNE. 1977. *Havasupai Songs: A Linguistic Perspective*. University of California, San Diego, Ph.D. dissertation.
- LEE, D. DEMETRACOPOULOU. 1941. Some Indian texts dealing with the supernatural. *The Review of Religion* V.403-11.
- PAWLEY, ANDREW and FRANCES SYDER. 1976. *Sentence Formulation in Spontaneous Speech: The one-clause-at-a-time hypothesis*. Ms. Read at 1st Annual Congress of the Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- PITKIN, HARVEY. 1963. *Wintu Grammar*. University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. dissertation.
- SAMARIN, WILLIAM J. 1969. Glossolalia as learned behavior. *Canadian Journal of Theology* 15.60.
- . 1972. Variation and variables in religious glossolalia. *Language in Society* 1.121-130.
- . 1973. Glossolalia as regressive speech. *Language and Speech* 16. 77-89.



DEPT. OF LINGUISTICS  
UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

# SURVEY REPORTS

## 1981

Report #1

Survey of California and Other Indian Languages

**SURVEY REPORTS**

**1981**

**DEPT. OF LINGUISTICS  
UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720**

Reports from the Survey  
of California and Other Indian Languages

Edited by Alice Schlichter, Wallace L. Chafe, and Leanne Hinton

Report #1

copyright © 1981 by the Survey  
of California and Other Indian Languages

cover design (Santa Barbara Chumash rock painting) by Leanne Hinton



DEPT. OF LINGUISTICS  
UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

Contents

Michael J. P. Nichols

Old California Uto-Aztecan ..... 5

Kenneth W. Whistler

Ablaut in Hill Patwin ..... 42

Alice Schlichter

Notes on the Wintu Shamanistic Jargon ..... 95

Wallace L. Chafe

Differences between Colloquial and Ritual Seneca  
or How Oral Literature is Literary ..... 131

Jesse O. Sawyer

The Wappo Glottal Stop ..... 146