The Semantic Domain 'tree': Hokan Lexical Evidence

Nancy M. Webb

I. In a recent study titled "Some Northern Hokan Plant-Tree-Bush Forms" (1974) Shirley Silver displayed and discussed cognate sets from several Hokan languages of northern California glossed 'sugar pine nut', 'sugar Pine' and botanical affix forms. She discussed the internal development of the etyma and, also, possible intersection of these forms with other California language superfamily members. She pointed out the need for further study. Some expansion of this subject is presented here.

The cultural area of the plant domain contains in the published literature suggested cognate forms from almost all of the hypothesized Hokan languages. I have been assembling lexeme sets of determined cognates, the determination based on regularly recurring sound correspondence, from some sixteen Hokan languages of the first order and isolates in pursuit of postulating some proto Hokan phonological rules and lexical elements. Here I shall present and discuss items in the botanical domain from this assembled data in hope of extending insight in Proto Hokan form and intersection.

II. Parameters. a. The Hokan languages are isolates or of the first order representing some twenty-nine synchronic languages. b. The cognate lexeme sets are recognized on the basis of recurrent consonant sound correspondence. c. The selection of the items semantically is to be strict within the range or domain, here glossed 'tree' unless otherwise noted, some kinds of trees and some parts thereof. In "Major Focus of Reconstruction and Change" (1974) Hamp points out that change tends to move from left to right, most frequent and regular on the left, the phonological field and least on the right or semantic area. J. Deese in "Thought into Speech" (1978) in discussing the burden of speech to convey meaning to the hearer finds that the fewest corrections are semantic and the most frequent are phonological. Uncorrected semantic errors are often of the paired sort—left and right, husband and wife, even assumedly for presumably. Therefore, the sets used here while strict semantically are not so rigid as would be required for glottochronological statements. The semantic interchange allowed is rather of the "paired sort"; as 'tree' and 'wood' or 'stick'; where there is interchange of denotata it is so marked. d. Finally, only sets with data in at least half of the languages considered Hokan are used. Many sets are almost complete. Included, also with some sets are suggested cognate forms, at least "look alikes", from some presumed non-Hokan languages for intersection discussion.

III. Data. In the following display the abbreviations used are:
Chim., Chimariko; P Pal., Proto Palaihnihan; Ac., Achumavi; At., Atsugewi; P Pomo., Proto Pomoan; Ess., Esselen; Sal., Salinan; Chun., Chumash; P Yuma., Proto Yuman; Teq., Tequistlatec; Sub., Subtiaba; Jica., Jicaque; Tlapa., Tlapana; P Ural., Proto Uralic; Pm., Proto Mixtecan; Pmn., Proto Miwok-Wintun; Pn., Northern Pomo; Psw., Southwestern Pomo.
Lexeme sets.

'tree' #1

Karok ʔi pahą ʔa hup (wood) k a· f (a sp.)
Shasta ʔi p xa (euros root) ʔa wa (wood) ʔa k’a·ha
Chin. ʔi p xae‘i (bark) xo su ʔa q eu (cone)
P Pal. ahawa (At.) a pu (wood) q ha le
P. Pomo. hi?bu (potato) ʔa hay (wood, stick) –q aw- (stick)
Yana ʔi (wood, stick) ʔa xa caxak’ha 1 (cone)
Washo ʔi·p ʔa ʔa·g (wood)
Ess. i· y xay (wood, stick)
Sal. paxakil (oak) ha t’ (Pinart) ké (pine nut)
Chum. do n’ a ni (Purissi.) k’el (cottonwood)
P. Yuma. ʔi· a x/ha.
Seri -i·p xo (stick) ʔa he· (also, wood) ʔo k’bő (wood)
Teq.
Sub.
Jica. ʔa·awa (fire) k he·w el (yucca)
Tlapan. i t/ci (Sanir) stil’ka ku’wí (spruce)
O. Ural. puu xa la· ‘wild potato’ co/aq (wood, stick)
P. SW Takelma xo (fır tree) ha 1q (fır tree)
Cooos

#4 'sugarpine'

Karok -1 pa (bot. affix) ʔus ip fäh ip
Shasta -1 pu? (bot. affix) ʔa ccw’i· hu? wah’ a
Chin. pu súa (wood) a tsawu b pu q’he
P Pal. -o·p (bot. affix Ac.) -lo (bot. affix At.) a S wí (tree) na ja (Ac.) we’ar (At.)
P. Pomo. -?b- (bot. affix) še·wa (bark, Fn.) ba h sav
cu ye (Psw.)
Yana p’u·ra (wood) c au ʔi ba zai
Washo ʔi· p ʔa· ʔa (fır tree) k’a wá’ya
Ess. ʔa·mír šo‘ ʔa (tobacco) s ko yon
Sal. ketl•wui (cedar) šo‘ ʔo’ k pa’ ʔa
Chum. pono (Ubisp.) šo (tobacco) ʔa k’ēk (tree)
P. Yuma.
Seri haspén (stick) ʔaaš (mesquit) p tā· ct
Teq. fana (seed)
Sub.
Jica.
Tlapan.
Pural. puu (wood, stick)
PMW law’afe· s a/un? bo g’a/i
Yokut co no’xis ?aph’th ow
'willow'  'buckeye'

Karok  pa-ak  pa-h  (pepperwood)
Shasta  ?  wa-t'a?  wa-h  (pepperwood)
Chim.  nā’s  xa  v  a  s  il
P Pal.  0  xu  a  s  il
P Pomo.  k'uba  wati  b  a  h  ša
Yana  c'1  wa  ?a  p  a  h  s  i
Washo  hi  mu  š  ilka  (a plant sp?)
iss.
Sal.  pēs  xe't  pā's
Chum.  tāvit  p  a  s  n  (pepperwood)
P Yuma.  ?i  do
Ser.  -cāj  ?ap  aha  (pinole)
Leq.  ša  ba  (bamboo)
P Úral.  pu  s  ky  pu  l  (berry)
Yokut  sa  lam

'acorn'  'edible root'

Karok  xu  n  ta  n  m  p  u  m  (elderbush)
Shasta  ?ac  a  n  a  (tan oak)  sap  u-nil (elderbush)
Chim.  xa  ?  k'w  (potato)
P Pal.  ta  k'w  (potato)
P Pomo.  c  xu  b  i  (onion)
Yana  xamu  (raw)
Washo  ba  t  mu  (plum)
Sal.  s  xauw  it  pu?wli  (onion)

IV. Discussion. In the preceding data in the first four
groups the semantic interchange is considerable with much overlapping but
the range is limited almost entirely to the words for 'tree, wood and
stick'. They are rather of a paired sort. The Chumash /con'/ and the
Yuman "Y'une can mean any one of the three. In many others the word for
'tree, wood, stick' is the same form while 'tree' takes a different etymon. Yana
and Seri use distinct forms for each as does P Pal. Pal. uses the etymon
glossed 'sugarpine' here for 'tree' and Chim. uses a form cognate with that
of P Pal. for 'tree', also. Yana has a fourth form which is glossed both
'wood' and 'stick'. In these sets, 'tree' #1, #2, #3, and #4, where the
meaning is not one of these three it is a meaning denoting a specific kind
of tree or some tree part. The semantics are quite particular.

There would appear to be three separate shapes for this lexeme
in Proto Hukan. The reflexes in sets numbered 1, 2, and 3 describe them.
Set 4 really is just an expansion of set 1. The etyma are displayed with
the corresponding consonant proto phonemes aligned vertically. 'tree' #1
suggests a Proto Hukan "*tioo", an initial high front vowel preceded
usually by a glottal catch and followed by a bilabial stop plus a back
vowel. This basic shape develops variously with either the high front
vowel and/or the bilabial stop as a constant. Alone or together these
denote 'tree', kind of tree or part of a tree. Further, when affixed to
other stems they denote specific plants or parts thereof. Some develop-
ment of this basic form seems to be lacking, so far in my search, in none
of the 16 postulated hukan languages. The form is quite rare in meso
American languages. (See 'edible root' here for Jica, and for Sub. my
collection gives /pa'i/ 'ashes'). Among non-Hukan California languages I
find only Yokut manzanita (see data) and Wintun bagi 'bush'. Looking
much farther afield the Proto Uralic data is interesting. Collinder reconstruc-
tes a Proto Uralic *pu- 'tree' from Finnish /puu/ 'tree', wood, stick, fire-
wood'; Cheremis /pa/ 'wood firewood'; Votyak /pu/ 'tree', wood'; Yurak
Samoyed /pee/, /pee/ 'tree, wood, stick, firewood'; Tajgi Samoyed /fay/
'tree'; Yenisei Samoyed /pee/, /pee/ and Selkup Samoyed /puu/ and
Kamassian /pa/ 'tree, wood, stick, cane, forest'; Koibal /pa/ 'tree'.
Thus all across the north of Asia occurs a very intriguing set with the
semantics split or lumped as with Hukan. This is only one of many Proto
Uralic sets that lock 'cognate' with Hukan.

A second Proto Hukan 'tree' would be of the shape "*tana; a
backed lower vowel preceded by a glottal catch and followed by a palatal
or pharyngeal spirant plus a back vowel. This form is more often glossed
'wood, stick'. In development it can lose part or all of its first element
and it often occurs in compound with 'tree' #1, above, in the denoting of
particular trees or plant parts. Reflexes can be found in all of the
languages used here except Washo, Sub., Jica, and Palapa. For the last
three my material is scant. Pin shows a seemingly related form. There
are, however, be found in Uralic, again, suggestive etyma. These are
Motor /ha/, /ha/ 'tree'; Taiji /ha/ 'forest'; Karagas /ny/ 'tree'. These
are languages from the east of north Siberia.

A third Proto Hukan 'tree' would be of the shape "*taka as
delineated by the data in set #3. This is a first element like that of #2
above followed by a palatal stop which is sometimes aspirate and then a
backed vowel. It denotes 'tree' specifically only in Shasta, P Pomo,
Ike., Jica, and Palapa. It means a kind of tree or plant in Akok, Chum,
Jica, and P Uralic. Otherwise it is 'wood, stick, or pine cone'. This is
the case in Proto Miwok-Wintun.
Distribution of forms and intersection of meaning

'tree'                                      'wood, stick'

**ʔipu**  Karok, At., Washo,                Chim., Yana, Seri,
**ʔi-**   Ess., Chum., P Yuma,,             P'uma.
**ʔ-1**   Tlap. As an affix only-
**ʔp-**   Shasta and P'Pomo.

**ʔaxa**  Chim., Yana, Sal., Chum. (?)
**-xa-**  Karok, Shasta, P Pal.,
          P Pomo., Ess., P Yuma,,
          Seri.

**ʔakha** Shasta, P Pomo., Teq.,
**ʔhV**   Sub., Tlapan.
**ʔ-hV-** P Pal., Washo, P Yuma,,
          Seri, Chim. (?), Yana (?).

The distribution of these three proto forms encompasses all of the Hokan superfamily almost with exception. This argues for three Proto Hokan words all of which could be glossed 'tree'. The geographic distribution by meaning is so diverse as to show no trends as to whether the gloss be 'tree', 'wood' or 'stick'. Any statement as to clustering trends would be most long and involved. The #1, high front vowel and bilabial stop, seems to be the most pervasive form and the most purely Hokan. Numbers 2 and 3 have so little representation in non-Hokan neighbors as to suggest that they did the borrowing from Hokan. The Proto Uralic forms make for interesting speculation.

The plant species and parts sets indicate several Proto Hokan forms composed of more than one element. At least one of the elements in each is one of the above three Hokan 'tree' forms, part of one or some of them in combination. 'Sugarpine' could be of the shape **ʔasawa.** That is, the first element of **ʔaxa** plus an unique element, -sa-, and then -wa as some kind of class marker. P Pal. and Chim. use a reflex of this to denote 'tree'. Chim. suffixes still another element, part of 'tree' #1, to form 'sugarpine' (the lexeme shown here). The gloss 'sugarpine' is carried on this etymon only in the area where the species of tree occurs.

The 'manzanita' set suggests two proto forms. One of the shape **ʔat-kʰ-ʔ** and the other **ʔ-kʰ-waʔa-vay-1.** Each again carrying elements of Proto 'tree', here #1 or #3, compounded with other stems and, perhaps, grammatical elements added. Only Teq. glosses it 'tree'. There are Penutian similars with the meaning 'manzanita'. P Pal. daughter languages each use a different form in this set. At. uses a reflex of one form and Ac. uses a reflex of the other. This situation frequently occurs in the proto language making then so dissimilar and reflecting their long separation as has been indicated in the work of Baumhoff and Olmsted. The Chum. and Washo evidence give some doubt as to the borrowing of either form from some non-Hokan language. On the other hand The Yokut and Proto-Miwok-Wintun evidence argue otherwise.

The set glossed 'willow' again indicates two words. One of the form **ʔasex-** and the other **ʔhvata-.** These with elements of the basic
'tree' forms compounded with unique stems. P Pomo, Yana and Sal. show overlapping of the two forms. Washo evidence seems to indicate more than one kind of 'willow' and this is the most persuasive explanation. The Tokut example is not very cognate 'looking' but the P Ural. is again very interesting.

A proto Hukan 'buckeye' of the form **paxis/\#il seems reasonable but the semantics are a problem. This example carries elements of both 'tree' \#1 and \#2. The Seri etymon means 'tree' only.

The set for 'acorn' is a good example of the difficulties that arise with sorting out the different varieties of one culture item that is a very important item in the lives of the people. My material for 'oak' is still quite confused. Even more than this for 'acorn'. I suggest several proto shapes from the data probably indicating acorns from different kinds of oak trees. **xan-po- **ta--pV with metathesis frequent, **cuxVJ-. These are formed as have the others we have been discussing and the semantics in general are constant in the areas where the tree grows.

An 'edible root' of the shapes **sipuxVJ- and **sipu-ma- can be postulated from the set here.

V. Conclusion. The evidence assembled and displayed here while confining itself to a single cultural domain demonstrates vigorously the relatedness of the languages that have been grouped in a postulated Hukan superfamily. It argues well in support of a Proto Hukan language hypothesis. Further, it suggests ways that some lexemes were formed. Forms or parts thereof that denoted a range or domain were combined variously with specific elements and syntactic markers to make words or names to signify particular items or parts thereof within that semantic area.

Patterns and/or trends of the spread of developments and therefore of degrees of relatedness among the various daughter members does not seem to be advanced by this material. Likewise intersection of these languages with geographical neighbors is only weakly illustrated by this evidence. Hopefully more work will elucidate to some extent these problems.

P. and S. Turner. "Dictionary: Chontal to Spanish-English, Spanish to
"The Hakan Affinity of Subtiaba in Nicaragua". A. A. n.s. 27:402-35.
B. Collinder. 1955. "Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary". Almqvist and Wiksell,
and the Pos. of Tlan" SUL 55.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bright, William, A Reverse Index of Yuma Stem Morphemes, based on A.M. Halpern, Yuma, IJAL 12 (1946) and IJAL 13 (1947).


Glover, Bonnie, 1977, Tolkapaya Demonstratives, m.s.


Hymes, Dell H., 1960, Lexicostatistics So Far, Current Anthropology 1:3-44.


Kauffman, Terence, and Alan Shaterian, English-Paipai Vocabulary, preliminary version, m.s.


——, 1972, Metathesis in Yuman Languages, ms.


Mixco, Mauricio, 1976, Glossary of Reconstructions, unpub. ms.

Munro, Pamela, 1975, From Existential to Copula: The History of Yuman BE, presented at the Symposium on Mechanisms of Syntactic Change, UCSB.


_______, 1966, Walapai II: Morphology, IJAL 32:2:141-63.


Sawyer, Jesse O, 1962, 100-Word Diagnostic List in Wappo, dittoed.


_____., Yavapai Phonology, unpub. ms. n.d.


Number 5

Occasional Papers On Linguistics


SIU

Department of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University
at Carbondale
OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON LINGUISTICS

Number 5

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

1978 HOKAN LANGUAGES WORKSHOP

James E. Redden, Editor

Held at
University of California, San Diego

June 27-29, 1978

Department of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

Library of Congress Catalog
Number 79-38629
PREFACE

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1978 Hokan Languages Workshop was not able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. All the papers in this volume were presented in an earlier version at the 1978 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order that they appeared on the program at the workshop.

The participants of the 1978 Hokan Languages Workshop gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Professor Carol Baker Slater and the students at the University of California, San Diego, which made the workshop run so smoothly and enjoyably.

Copies of the 1977 workshop are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. The volumes for the 1975 and 1976 workshops, which appeared in the SIU-C University Museum Studies, are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hard-bound copies from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 N. Kent Street, Arlington, VA 22209.

The 1979 Hokan Languages Workshop will be held at the University of California, Los Angeles, June 26-28. The proceedings of the 1979 workshop will appear in Occasional Papers On Linguistics in late spring 1980. Copies may be ordered from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, May 1979
CONTENTS

Webb, Nancy M.
The Semantic Domain 'tree': Hokan Lexical Evidence 1

Redden, James E.
Notes on Walapai Syntax II 8

Watahomigie, Lucille J., Malinda Powskey, and Akira Y. Yamamoto
The Structure of Nominal Modifiers 11

Hardy, Heather K.
An Integrated Account of the Morpheme Θ in Tolkapaya 19

Hardy, Heather K.
The Development of the Pai Vowel System 29

Munro, Pamela
Reduplication in Mojave—and Yuman 42

Oswalt, Robert L.
An Exploration of the Affinity of Wappo and Some Hokan and Penutian Languages 56

Bendixen, Birgitte
Aspects of the Rhythmical Structure of Cocopa 72

Bibliography 91