Some Notes on Hokan Person Terms

Nancy M. Webb

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I. In this article some evidence will be presented describing another homogeneous semantic domain shared by many of the posited Hokan languages. In an earlier paper I discussed the "plant/tree" domain to some extent. Here will be considered what might be called a "person term" category. This includes kin terms and more general relationship designations with the glosses such as "man, woman, spouse, person and body".

The object in presenting all this is simply to further attest to and illustrate the relatedness of these many families of languages of the first order and isolates that have for many years been posited as belonging in some degree to one superfamily, the Hokan superfamily. These relationships will be shown both phonologically and semantically from which can be inferred degrees of inherent affinity both lexical and cultural.

II. The evidence presented is in the form of phonologically determined cognate lexeme sets. In these sets the regularly recurring consonant phonemes are designated cognate. The etymon determined as phonologically cognate in each set in each language is, however, not necessarily semantically cognate with those others in the set. They are, never the less, all closely related and represent logical semantic interchanges or substitutions. These semantic shifts show some interesting patterns that in themselves suggest degrees of affinity among daughter languages.

The several lexeme sets on which this study is based are from a larger corpus of approximately 190 sets each of which is at least one half complete for 15 languages of the first order or their equivalent representing 29 synchronic languages. Most sets are almost complete or complete. These are part of a master corpus of about 300 glosses, variously complete.

Lexical sets glossed "father's sister, father's brother, husband, older sister, daughter, father's sister" are omitted from the following display but examples from each are included. This is not an exhaustive study of the domain for some fragmentary sets are not included here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#1</th>
<th>#2</th>
<th>'father's mother'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Karok</strong></td>
<td>ʔat i $k</td>
<td>?a kah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shasta</strong></td>
<td>ʔat-á</td>
<td>kariwa (bro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chim.</strong></td>
<td>magolai? (fa's bro)</td>
<td>?am mu mam-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P Pal.</strong></td>
<td>t ata (ac.)</td>
<td>k'es ke. (bro. y.) - mun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P Pomo</strong></td>
<td>cEk’i (fas bro)</td>
<td>mamac’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yana</strong></td>
<td>cigalsi</td>
<td>?amawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Washoe</strong></td>
<td>ʔat u (bro)</td>
<td>gō?y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Esselen</strong></td>
<td>t a (uncle)</td>
<td>qoqo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Salinen</strong></td>
<td>t ata</td>
<td>ek'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chumash</strong></td>
<td>t a (mo's fa bro)</td>
<td>?amawi (great great)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P Yuma</strong></td>
<td>-t á</td>
<td>ama ka' Sapir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seri</strong></td>
<td>-k-</td>
<td>n amaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teq.</strong></td>
<td>t ata</td>
<td>ama ka' Sapir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>n amaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P Jiq.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>n amaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'mother' #1</th>
<th>'sister, younger'</th>
<th>'mother' #2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Karok</strong></td>
<td>t á.t</td>
<td>či. š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shasta</strong></td>
<td>?at xa/i?</td>
<td>?a-ccuk’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chim.</strong></td>
<td>-sai (in gen.)</td>
<td>-annit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P Pal.</strong></td>
<td>t a tí (Ac.)</td>
<td>S e q (mo's sis) n e h (Ac.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P Pomo</strong></td>
<td>-iśi-</td>
<td>–ś ek i (&quot; &quot; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yana</strong></td>
<td>-š ek i (&quot; &quot; )</td>
<td>n ɬ k’- (Pe.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Washoe</strong></td>
<td>s di (fa's sis)</td>
<td>n ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Esselen</strong></td>
<td>-c'ug</td>
<td>me č.ix (aunt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Salinen</strong></td>
<td>t on (sis v.)</td>
<td>n ené? (mo's parent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chumash</strong></td>
<td>s a?au (girl)</td>
<td>(grand mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P Yuma</strong></td>
<td>s a?y (daughter)</td>
<td>-n?i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seri</strong></td>
<td>t ģa</td>
<td>-k’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teq.</strong></td>
<td>-t omi</td>
<td>-ńi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub.</strong></td>
<td>u-tu.</td>
<td>n en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P Jiq.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#1</td>
<td>'man'</td>
<td>#2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karok</td>
<td>?i p</td>
<td>(deer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shasta</td>
<td>? ú p si</td>
<td>(meat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chim.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Pomo</td>
<td>hi? ba ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yana</td>
<td>? y a</td>
<td>(person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washoe</td>
<td>ép s</td>
<td>(body)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esselen</td>
<td>epexe</td>
<td>(person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salinen</td>
<td>iu pe lo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chumash</td>
<td>iy'a</td>
<td>pakú was (old man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Yuma</td>
<td>? apá</td>
<td>? ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seri</td>
<td>? p xa</td>
<td>(person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?ihi y</td>
<td>yal (spouse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teq.</td>
<td></td>
<td>aku we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub.</td>
<td>i/abu</td>
<td>ax n'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Jiq.</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>yom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#1</th>
<th>'woman/female'</th>
<th>#2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karok</td>
<td>ik tāvan</td>
<td>?a rā ra (person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shasta</td>
<td></td>
<td>t a ríc'i?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chim.</td>
<td>pu n-c'í</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Pal.</td>
<td></td>
<td>amj téw jen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Pomo</td>
<td>?ak á-k</td>
<td>(old man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yana</td>
<td></td>
<td>t'a nu (person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washoe</td>
<td></td>
<td>t a nuč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esselen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salinen</td>
<td>k'we L</td>
<td>(person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chumash</td>
<td>-k u'</td>
<td>(person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Yuma</td>
<td>?ak</td>
<td>ny ave (wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seri</td>
<td>kwá. m</td>
<td>ipxa (person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tex.</td>
<td>ak a nō</td>
<td>p é no (wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub.</td>
<td>-gu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P Jiq.</td>
<td>k ep</td>
<td>t ol/r (people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kw ay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
#1 'boy/child' #2 'brother, older'

Karok  axi-ča  k wan  tipah
Shasta s u kWa  ?umẹ- apo
Chim.  ic ila  x már
P Pal. k`swe j an  kào-swi j an wa / yau (younger)
P Pomo g uc'i (small)  ga wi ma-t'i  (younger)
Yana ix z annuipa  t'i  yau ("")
Washoe ná' min  -a' min  ?a tu
Esselen ehj  x ep na -pe yu (younger)
Salinen steká
Chumash č'i wun  c'iwun  -ape-u
P Yuma wa -š nu (Cochimi)  x mar (baby)  pį'- (bro's child)
Seri s a.k (son)  ?i pak (older sis)
Teq.  -a.k, wa  -k wa  bima
Sub.  se ku
P Jiq  qh kway (girl)  wea  t am

mother's father

father's father

Karok  xu kam (mo's bro)  kú-t
Shasta ma c mu  ma kwit
Chim.  xa wel
P Pal. wapu- (At.)  aQun
P Pomo ma c'i
Yana ma h z u (fa's fa)
Washoe s á-
Esselen ma -xay (fa's bro)
Salinen xa lá'
Chumash xax (large)
P Yuma napo
Seri ?ipa s
Teq.  ?i xá- k (fa's fa)
Sub.  epa s welo
P Jiq  axmba  kokoy
'mother's mother'                            'deer/meat'
Karok   kí: t                               ?i:s (body)
Shasta  ? ma cc                             ?i:š (person)
Chim.   ma s o la (daughter)               ?i c’i (man)
P Pal.   aQu n (fa’s fa)                    ʼi š (person)
a j u w                                    ši?ba (flesh)
P Pomo   ga- c’                                bah ši
Yana    ?a z awi                          ?iši (man)
Washoe  gu ? u                             ap š (body)
Esselen s o le (daughter)                y ši ("")
Salinen an u e                            se po (doe)
            s e el (girls)               šiw (elk)
Chumash  in ku s
P Puma   nak- w                              si
Seri    ?i k t                              isi
Teq.     Sub.                              isu (body)
P Jic.   ku s (daughter)                    p š (body)
                                      p’,š
'father's sister' -m- and -p- as in Shasta /?ampax/
'father's brother' -p- as in Karok /parah/
'husband' -w- and -s- as in Pomo /c'eki/
'sister, older' -t- and -s- as in Washoe /t'i-sa/
'daughter' **s-and **k-as in Salinen /sukumku/.

III. The minimum basic element shape seems to be of the CY(V) type. This for both root and affix. Within each set the form or word that is shown for each language, whether it be a single syllable of the CY(V) shape or a compound of syllables, contains at least one basic element or root that is common to all others in the set. Roots can stand alone as in /ya:/ 'person' Yana, /tata/ 'father' Tequistlec, Salinen, Proto Palaihnthan; be compounded with other basic elements /?ataxa/ 'mother' Shasta, /?sda/ 'father's sister' Yana or be compounds of roots and various inflections, /k'u?naap'diwic'gi/ 'old women' Yana (i.e. old man, woman, plural, diminutive plural). Each set seems to carry one root constituent common to most of the languages therein and of these languages at least one of them carries this plus another root which links the remaining members. This can be seen in the set 'mother's mother'. The element -kV- is basic to most etyma; Chumash and Proto Pomo include also a -sV (vowel lost) root constituent which in turn links the Yana, Chimariko and Proto Palaihnthan word into the set.

The root constituents for person terms which emerge from this assembled data can be listed as follows. The gloss or glosses generally associated with each accompanies each.

-pV- 'man, male, person, older brother'; sometimes in 'male grandparent, woman, wife' and also in 'deer, meat'. This then, is a 'man' as an individual and as mankind element. The use in 'deer, meat' suggests the respect with which the animal was regarded.

-tV- 'mother, father, woman, wife'; sometimes in 'sister, younger brother'. This generally female constituent appears not to occur in the grandparent or child generations.

-kV-, -gV-, -qV- These elements appear in all categories except the 'mother's father, father's mother' sets and only rarely in the 'husband, mother's brother' ones.

-sV-, -c/cV- These, as the palatal obstruents noted above, are pervasive in all categories with the exception of, again, the 'mother's father and father's mother' terms.

-h/xV- 'boy, child, mother's father' and sometimes in 'man, person'. This, then, is another 'male/mankind' constituent.

-nV- 'mother, wife' and rarely in 'boy and uncle'.

-mV-, -wV- 'mother's father, father's mother, old person, boy, child.
-yV- 'man, person' in Proto Palaihnihan, Yana, Washoe and Proto Jicaque (Tol); 'brother' in Proto Palaihnihan, Yana and Washoe; and 'daughter' in Karok and Shasta. This is an element of very limited occurrence and represents an old borrowing.

These elements along with -h/yV- are the grandparent of the opposite sex from egos parents and their grandchildren roots.

The consonant used here is of a tentative form and suggests a probable shape of a Proto Hokan hypothesized consonant or group of similar consonants (as a voiceless bilabial stop, plain, aspirated or glottalized). Not all of the constituents included in the lexeme of a given language in the data are necessarily a root element denoting kinship or a person but may be a syntactic marker or a root denoting some other notion such as 'age' or 'body' human or in animal in general. This is seen in the sets for 'man, person' which overlap broadly with 'deer, meat'. It is for this reason that the latter is included for comparison.

The semantic generalizations made above are quite broad but are easily suggested by this evidence. The tenaciousness of retention of kin terminology is well attested by all these languages and serves to illustrate again the unity of these members of the posited Hokan group. This evidence from another semantic domain increases the conviction that a Hokan superfamily as a linguistic unit including all these 15 families is not in doubt.

Notes.
1. see Webb, N. M. 1979.

3. abbreviations used are: Chim., Chimariko; P Pal., Proto Palaihnihan; Teq., Tequistiletetec; Sub., Subtiaba; P Jic., Proto Tol (Jicaque).
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Addendum


Occasional Papers on Linguistics

Proceedings of the 1980 Hokan Languages Workshop, Held at the University of California, Berkeley, June 30-July 2, 1980.

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

Number 9

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
1980 HOKAN LANGUAGES WORKSHOP

James E. Redden, Editor

Held at
University of California, Berkeley
June 30-July 2, 1980

Copies of the 1979 and 1980 proceedings are still available in the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. The versions for the 1973 and 1975 workshops, which appeared in the Bulletin of the Northern Illinois Society for Applied Linguistics, are out of print, but copies can be obtained in microfiche or microfilm volumes from NAC, 1500 5th Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, USA.

The 1982 Hakan Language Workshop will meet jointly with the Third Annual Conference of the Illinois State University, Charleston, Illinois, on June 28, 1982. The proceedings of the 1982 workshop will appear as Occasional Papers on Linguistics in early 1983. For the first time, the proceedings of the Fourth Language Conference will be published in the same volume as the Illinois papers. Copies may be ordered from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

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Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

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PREFACE

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1980 Hokan Languages Workshop was not able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. All papers in this volume except two were presented in an earlier version at the 1980 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order they appeared on the program.

The paper by Birgitte Bendixen was presented at the 1979 Hokan Languages Workshop. The camera-ready manuscript for her article arrived at the editor's office more than three months before the publication deadline. The editor is so used to having to call up contributors and begging them to get their manuscripts in that he totally forgot Dr. Bendixen's paper was in his files and left it out of the 1979 volume. The editor humbly apologizes for this oversight. The second paper by Pamela Munro was discussed in part at the 1980 workshop, and the editor asked her to include it in this volume.

The participants of the 1980 Hokan Languages Workshop gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Leanne Hinton and several of her students, which made the workshop run so smoothly and enjoyably. We also wish to thank the College of Letters and Sciences at the University of California, Berkeley, for a grant to help defray the costs of holding the workshop.

Copies of the 1977, 1978, and 1979 workshop proceedings 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 series, University Museum Studies, are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hardbound volumes from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 3250 Prospect St., N.W., Washington, DC 20007.

The 1981 Hokan Languages Workshop will meet jointly with the Penutian Language Conference at Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California, June 29 to July 2, 1981. The proceedings of the 1981 workshop will appear in Occasional Papers On Linguistics in early 1982. For the first time, the papers of the Penutian Language Conference will be published in the same volume as the Hokan papers. Copies may be ordered from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, June 1981
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