Proto Utian Derivational Noun Morphology
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The Ohio State University

Miwok is a family of languages formerly spoken in Central California. Aboriginally, it consisted of at least seven languages, roughly at the time depth of the Germanic family. On the basis of lexical items, structural similarity, and sound correspondences, these may be grouped as follows:

I. Eastern Miwok (Mie)
   A. Sierra Miwok (Mis)
      1. Northern Sierra Miwok (Mins)
      2. Central Sierra Miwok (Mics)
      3. Southern Sierra Miwok (Miss)
   B. Plains Miwok (Mip)
   C. Sacian (Misac)

II. Western Miwok (Miw)
   A. Coast Miwok (Mic). Coast Miwok was probably a single language with various dialects.
      1. Bodega Miwok (Mib)
      2. Marin Miwok (Mim)
   B. Lake Miwok (M11)

The Sierra Miwok languages were spoken on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada Mountains from the Fresno River north to the Cosumnes River. Plains Miwok was once spoken in several dialects between Ione and Stockton. Lake Miwok was the language of a small group of Indians south of Clear Lake. Sacian, now extinct, might once have been spoken in a small area west of Mount Diablo.¹

Modern recordings exist for six Miwok languages: Southern Sierra Miwok, Central Sierra Miwok, Northern Sierra Miwok, Plains Miwok, Lake Miwok, and Bodega Miwok.² Reconstruction is possible at four levels: Proto Sierra Miwok (PMis), Proto Eastern Miwok (PMie), Proto Western Miwok (PMiw), and Proto Miwok (PM1).³

Costanoan is a family of languages formerly spoken from San Francisco south to Big Sur. We have modern recordings by J. P. Harrington for two Southern Costanoan languages, Mutsun or San Juan Bautista Costanoan (Csjb) and Rumsen or Monterey Costanoan (Cru), as well as one Northern Costanoan language, the Chocheño dialect of East Bay Costanoan (Ceb).⁴ As a result, it is possible to reconstruct much of the morphology and lexicon of Proto Costanoan.⁵

Latham suggested kinship between some Miwok and Costanoan languages in 1856, but his evidence was flimsy.⁶ In 1910, Kroeber assembled sets of resemblant forms between the two families and noted certain sound correspondences,⁷ and he and Dixon united them into a single family in 1919, which they called "Utian" on the basis of words for "two".⁸
The principal sound correspondences linking the subfamilies within Miwok, and linking Miwok with Costanoan now follow. It should be emphasized that the latter are very tentative.

**Principal Utian Sound Correspondences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environments</th>
<th>Csjb</th>
<th>Cru</th>
<th>Ceb</th>
<th>PCo</th>
<th>Mie</th>
<th>Miw</th>
<th>PMi</th>
<th>PU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a, o /i, e, u /j, r /V+hi /V+hi /# elsewhere</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
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<td>p</td>
<td>*p</td>
<td>*p</td>
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</tr>
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<td>*t</td>
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<td>*t</td>
<td>*t</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a, o /i, e, u /j, r /V+hi /V+hi /# elsewhere</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a, o /i, e, u /j, r /V+hi /V+hi /# elsewhere</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a, o /i, e, u /j, r /V+hi /V+hi /# elsewhere</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>*k</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>*k</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>*w</td>
<td>*k</td>
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<td>/a, o /i, e, u /j, r /V+hi /V+hi /# elsewhere</td>
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<td>k, w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>*k</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>*w</td>
<td>*k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a, o /i, e, u /j, r /V+hi /V+hi /# elsewhere</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>*ć</td>
<td>*ć</td>
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<tr>
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<td>s, š</td>
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<td>k</td>
<td>*k</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>č</td>
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<td>*č</td>
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<td>*č</td>
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<td>h</td>
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<td>*š</td>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>*m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>*m</td>
<td>*m</td>
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<tr>
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<td>*n</td>
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<td>/a, o /i, e, u /j, r /V+hi /V+hi /# elsewhere</td>
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<td>w</td>
<td>*w</td>
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<tr>
<td>/a, o /i, e, u /j, r /V+hi /V+hi /# elsewhere</td>
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<td>r</td>
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<td>*r, *l</td>
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<td>l</td>
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<td>/a, o /i, e, u /j, r /V+hi /V+hi /# elsewhere</td>
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<td>j</td>
<td>*j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>*j</td>
<td>*j</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Since the Proto Utian case system is extremely complex, I will restrict myself to a discussion of the derivational noun morphology that can be reconstructed to Proto Utian. Until all the Harrington data have been collated, any such discussion is tentative. A chart now follows:
### Derivational Noun Morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Csjb</th>
<th>Cru</th>
<th>Ceb</th>
<th>PCo</th>
<th>PMis</th>
<th>PMie</th>
<th>PMiw</th>
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<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>*-wa</td>
<td>Mip</td>
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<tr>
<td>suffix</td>
<td>'worm,'</td>
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<td>-ja</td>
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<td>*-j'a-</td>
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<td>'personal plural'</td>
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<td>attribu-</td>
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<td>Mics</td>
<td>*-wak</td>
<td>*-wa</td>
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<tr>
<td>tive</td>
<td>-was</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>'side of'</td>
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<td>he</td>
<td>*-wa</td>
<td>'locational'</td>
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<td>augmenta-</td>
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<td>to go out</td>
<td>?iĉ-o</td>
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<td>ground</td>
<td>šičikna</td>
<td>sič'okan</td>
<td>*cīte</td>
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<td>/P</td>
<td>-kam</td>
<td>-kam</td>
<td>*-kam</td>
<td>*-ko</td>
<td>*-ko</td>
<td>*-ko</td>
<td>*-ko</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>/V</td>
<td>-kma</td>
<td>-kaj</td>
<td>*-kma</td>
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<tr>
<td>/C</td>
<td>-mak</td>
<td>-akaj</td>
<td>*-mak</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first set, *-wa* 'animal suffix', appears in three Mutsun words designating a snake or a type of worm.10

- lis'ok ~ lis'okwa ~ li'sokwa ~ lis'onwa
  - 'water snake'
- ko'achelwa
  - 'big snake sp.'
- lit-okwa
  - 'earthworm'

Pinart records several Santa Cruz Costanoan items that apparently have the same suffix.11

- uurua
  - 'grasshopper'
- hinčirua
  - 'snake'
- hippiua
  - 'rattlesnake'
- mexerua
  - 'lizard'

-*wa also occurs in Chochen ?pîihwa 'rattlesnake'. *-wa appears in four Plains Mivok words.
?et·ek·ili·wa~?et·ek·iliw·a- 'horned toad'
cok·olwa- 'potato bug'
holm·okili·wa- 'blowfly'?
sisliwa- 'horns on flinker stick'

The last two items were unknown to my second respondent, and there is a chance that holm·okili·wa- 'blowfly' was influenced by ?et·ek·ili·wa- 'horned toad'.

It would seem that PU ※-wa is an old animal suffix associated with reptiles and insects.

Mutsun -ja 'ones' occurs in the following expressions:12
čupkaja 'white ones'
čupkaja- 'to be white'
mišja 'pretty ones'
miš- 'to be pretty'
?uṭhinja 'both of them'
?uṭhin 'two'

Chochoeno ja- means 'they', and -ja 'pluralizer' is found in pinja 'those' from pin 'that'. nep·eja 'these' from nep·e 'this', and hem·enjja 'all' from hem·en 'one'. Rumsen -ja might have an animate meaning in ?utja- 'them'. (Note ?uṭ·is 'two'.)

These suffixes are cognate with Proto Sierra Miwok ※-j·a- 'animate plural'. Since length was apparently lost in Costanoan suffixes, we can reconstruct Proto Utian ※-j·a- 'plural, possibly animate', using the Miwok forms to determine consonantal length.

Mutsun wak- 'his, her, its' occurs optionally in non-pronominal possession phrases.13

hulja·na men·en
hulja·na wak-men·en

'Juliana's grandmother'

The second phrase translates literally as 'Juliana her grandmother'.

-was 'attributive case' is probably connected with was 'him, her, it', the objective case of wak.

hut·uwas to·te
belly attrib. meat
'meat of the belly'
jete murtej horpejwas ?etse
later at night in the middle sleep
'They will be sleeping at midnight.'
karmen·takwas ka·n
Carmel all. attrib. I
'I am a Carmel Person.'

Chochoeno -wiš in him·ewiš 'on one side' (from him·e·- 'one') and huj·uwiš 'ahead' (from huj·u 'first, ahead') appears to be a weakened reflex of ※-was. Supporting evidence comes from Chochoeno kíš 'me' beside Mutsun kas 'me'. The base -wa may be present in Chochoeno minwaj 'when?', where -j is an adverbial suffix.
Central Sierra Miwok -wak is a locational suffix usually referring to the sides of a ceremonial house. ¹

net'y-wak 'on the near side'
?ykytwak 'on this side'

-wa occurs in similar Lake Miwok constructions, i.e. kene'wa 'one side' from ken'e 'one'. In fact, -wa has been generalized to a Western Miwok locational suffix, as in Lake Miwok hel·awa 'bottom' from hel·a 'below'.

If the Miwok and Costanoan sets are etymologically related, we can reconstruct Proto Utian *-wa, *-wak 'attributive', with a semantic link to the Miwok 'locational' in such expressions as Mutsun karmentakwas 'of Carmel'. *-wa, *-wak are probably weak forms of some Proto Utian pronoun. (Note Proto Costanoan *wa·k, *wa·ka 'he, she, it'.)

Mutsun -ič 'augmentative' (?) is attested in wara·kič 'one who cries much' from wara·k- 'crier'.¹² If -ič is a valid augmentative, it may be cognate with the Proto Sierra *-t·i- 'augmentative'. Metathesis can involve suffixes, as in the Costanoan plural suffixes. The sets for 'go out' and 'ground squirrel' offer support for *t + C[sjb] č/i-.

Chocheño -ti may be a rare nominalizer, attested only in ?am·aṭi 'food' from ?am·a 'to eat'. It may be cognate with Central Sierra Miwok -TY- 'nominal or adjectival suffix', as in ?yś·TY- 'bad, a bad one, rascal' from ?yś·Y- 'bad'. If so we can reconstruct Proto Utian *-TY- 'nominalizer'. We note that the alternation symbolized by //Y// apparently was not present in Proto Utian.

A fossilized Costanoan plural suffix -kan occurs in certain irregular plural pronominal forms, such as the following.¹³

Mutsun nepkam 'these' nep'e 'this'
nupkam 'those' nup·l 'that'

Chocheño nik·am 'these' nep'e 'this'

It probably also appears in reflexes of Proto Costanoan *mak·am 'ye'. The regular plural allomorphs, reflexes of *-mak ~ *-kma, apparently arose from *-kan through metathesis, with analogical reformation in the case of Rumsen. *-m may be an old nominal suffix, and *-ka- is probably cognate with Proto Miwok *-ko- 'plural'. Consequently, we can reconstruct Proto Utian *-ko 'plural'.

We are struck by the paucity of derivational noun morphology, as opposed to the sixteen or more derivational verb suffixes that can be reconstructed for Proto Utian. This is in keeping with the relatively minor role of nominal derivation in the daughter languages.
Footnotes

1. M. S. Beeler, 1955; ibid., 1959. James A. Bennyhoff (1977) suggests on the basis of place names that Saclan was a dialect of Bay Miwok, a speech area including much of the territory south of the Delta Estuary.

2. Southern Sierra Miwok items were taken from Sylvia M. Broadbent, 1964. Central Sierra Miwok is from L. S. Freeland and Sylvia M. Broadbent, 1960. Lake Miwok forms are from Catherine A. Callaghan, 1965, and Bodega Miwok material is from ibid., 1970. Plains Miwok and Northern Sierra Miwok items are from my field notes.


4. Rumsen and Chocheño material is from J. P. Harrington's field notes. Mutsun material followed by 'A' is from J. Alden Massor, 1916. Otherwise, all Mutsun forms are from Marc Okrand, 1977.


6. R. G. Latham, 1852 and 1853, 6.72-86.


9. Additional abbreviations are PCo 'Proto Costanoan', PU 'Proto Utian', CSCR 'Santa Cruz Costanoan'. C is any consonant, V is any vowel, and P is a pronominal stem of the canon CVC-. j is [y] and y is [ɪ]. Y is /uːo/ after Sierra Miwok stems whose last vowel is /u/ or /o/. (Modern transcriptions have been normalized but nowhere amended.) Elsewhere Y is /y/. Plains Miwok follows the Sierra Miwok pattern except that Y is /o/ after stems with /o/ in the final syllable.


13. ibid., p. 179-80.


17. ibid., p. 165-7.
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SIU

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

Number 10

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

1981 HOKAN LANGUAGES WORKSHOP

AND

PENUTIAN LANGUAGES CONFERENCE

James E. Redden, Editor

Held at

Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park

June 29-July 2, 1981

Department of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

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The 1981 Hokan Languages Workshop met jointly for the first time with the Penutian Languages Conference. Also, there were not only linguistic papers, but also anthropological and archaeological papers. These two groups of specialists on American Indian languages will meet together in the future and will also meet with anthropologists and archeologists.

Unfortunately, not everyone who presented a paper at this joint meeting was able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. Also, some of the Penutianists were not aware that the proceedings of the meeting would be published in this volume and had made arrangements before coming to the meeting to publish their papers elsewhere. The papers are arranged in the order that they appeared on the program at the meeting except for the Kendall paper, which was not read but sent in for the meeting.

The participants at the meeting gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Shirley Silver and her students in the Department of Anthropology at Sonoma State University, which made the conference run so smoothly and enjoyably. We especially appreciated the help of the students who ran the late-night van shuttle between the university and the motel where the airport bus stopped.

Copies of the 1977, 1978, 1979, and 1980 Hokan Languages Workshops are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. The volumes of the 1975 and 1976 workshops, which appeared in the SNU-C series, University Museum Studies, are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hard-bound volumes from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 3520 Prospect St., NW, Washington, DC 20007.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, April 1982
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