The word for 'man (male)' and 'man (person)' are the same in several European languages. Buck comments on this fact in his introduction to "Mankind: Sex, Age, Family Relationship"

"The more general notion of 'man' as human being ('man') and the more specific notion of 'man' as an adult male human being ('man') may be combined in the same word, as in NE man, Fr. homme, etc.; or they may be differentiated (1) by related forms, such as NHG mensch vs. mann, (2) by unrelated words, as Lat. homo vs. vir, etc."¹

Clearly, Buck considers such identity or derivational relationship to be part of the natural order of things, an instance of the generic as opposed to the specific. He never asks why the specific should be an adult male rather than a female.

While looking through Buck's sets of synonyms, I noticed some interesting facts: (1) The reconstructed Proto Indo-European words for 'man', 'woman', and 'person' were unrelated, as were most of their descendants in the ancient languages. (2) In Vulgar Latin, Germanic, and Slavic, the word for 'person' expanded its focus to include 'man (male)' in the early centuries A.D. In Germanic, the meaning shifted entirely to 'man (male)' and a new word was coined for 'person' (i.e., German Mensch). Slavic languages underwent a similar shift, and in some cases there was a second shift in meaning to 'husband', as in Russian муж (PIE *mon- 'person'), which now means exclusively 'husband'. (3) I could find no case where a word meaning 'person' had come to mean 'woman', although some words for 'woman' were derived from words meaning 'person' or 'man (male)', such as Sanskrit nari 'woman' < nar 'man'.²

It is my hypothesis that words meaning 'person' often shift their focus to 'man (male)' in patridominant societies, especially when patridominance is increasing. In Germanic and Vulgar Latin, such shifts roughly followed the spread of monotheistic Christianity which entailed an intensification of patriarchy at least in religious matters. Goddess worship was forbidden and priestesses lost their status and power. In the New World, Proto Quichean *winaq 'person' came to mean 'man (male)' exclusively in Usatepec and Keke.³ In both cases, the new word for 'person' was kristian. Old Persian was an exceptional ancient language with the same word for 'person' and 'man (male)', namely martiya- (PIE *mr- 'mortal'). Old Persians were Zoroastrians who worshipped the one true (male) god Ahura Mazda.

We have here a specialization of a generic (person) to the most desirable members of the class (adult males). In like manner Old English dēor 'animal' became Modern English deer, the most desirable game animal.
Such changes, however, are not inevitable. Irish kept the words 'man' and 'person' distinct, as did Lithuanian. Moreover there are occasional anomalies, such as Modern English 'girl' from Middle English gerle 'a young person' (of either sex), despite the general preference for boys over girls.  

If my hypothesis concerning the usual direction of such semantic shifts is accurate, we would expect a different development in a more matrict society. Homer reports that Seneca forms which originally meant 'person' or 'people' came to mean 'woman'. If his statement is accurate, the development is probably related to the fact that the pronominal prefix 'she' functions as the sex-indefinite in the singular (although the masculine is used in the sex-indefinite plural).

Iroquoian women held the cultivated land, and clan membership was reckoned through the female line. Head women selected male chieftains and could depose them if they proved unsatisfactory. Women as well as men were religious functionaries. Some Iroquoian societies were also matrilocal. In such cases, women would be perceived as the stable clan members.

It is in order to investigate the history of words for 'man', 'woman', and 'person' in other non-Western societies.  

Miwok is a family of Indian 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 similarities, and sound correspondences, these may be grouped as follows:

I. Eastern Miwok (Mis)
   A. Sierra Miwok (MIs)
      1. Northern Sierra Miwok (Misn)
      2. Central Sierra Miwok (Mics)
      3. Southern Sierra Miwok (Miss)
   B. Plains Miwok (Mlp)
   C. Saclan (Misac)

II. Western Miwok (Miw)
   A. Lake Miwok (Mil)
   B. Coast Miwok (Mic)
      a. Bodega Miwok (Mib)
      b. Marin Miwok (Mim)

The Miwok family is in turn related to the Costanoan languages, once spoken from San Francisco south to Big Sur. The Costanoan languages can be subgrouped as follows:

I. Southern Costanoan
   A. Mutson (San Juan Bautista Costanoan) Csjb
   B. Rumsen (Monterey Costanoan) Cru

II. Northern Costanoan
   A. Soledad (Csol)
   B. Santa Cruz (Cscr)
   C. Santa Clara (Cscl)
D. Bay Area
1. San Jose (Csj)
2. Chocheño (Ceb)

E. San Francisco (Csf)

III. Karkin (CKar)

Soledad is the southernmost of the Costanoan languages, but certain sound shifts and morphological features place it with Northern Costanoan languages. However, it has undergone an extensive lexical overlay from Southern Costanoan.

We have modern transcriptions of Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chocheño from the J.P. Harrington archives. Harrington's Musken respondent also knew a few Soledad words and phrases. Proto Costanoan reconstructions are based on Southern Costanoan and Northern Costanoan cognates.

The Indians of Central California were generally patrilineal. The Costanoan and Eastern Miwok Indians were largely patrilocal and patrilineal as far as we can determine. (There is some evidence that the Indians near the San Jose mission were matrilineal, but confirmation awaits intensive examination of the Mission records."

Men usually held the most important tribal offices, although the chieftainship could pass to a daughter if a deceased chief did not have any sons.

There appears to have been a more egalitarian division of power among the Coast Miwok. There were both male and female tribal leaders, and the chief female leader (mäjön) was head of the women's ceremonial house and played a key role in preparation for festivals. Both men and women became dancers, curers, and impersonators of the dead. There was a mixed secret society and one for women only.

Little is known of aboriginal Lake Miwok culture, but it is considered part of the Pomo culture area. There was bilateral descent among the neighboring Eastern Pomo and either ambilocal or bifocal residence among the neighboring Southeastern Pomo."

A Lake Miwok woman might become a shaman, and there was also a female tribal leader (mäjön).

We can reconstruct Proto Utian words for 'man', 'woman' and 'person' (see chart). They are unrelated to each other, and it is not possible at this time to relate them to other Proto Utian roots."

Proto Costanoan muk’ is 'person' shifted to 'adult son' in its Mutsun reflex muk'em. muk’ is the root of Rumsen muk-jaŋk’ 'man (male)', where -jaŋk’ is a person marker, possibly from -ja- 'animate' and -muk’ 'person'. If this is the correct etymology, it would have been rendered opaque through Rumsen vowel loss. Lake Miwok went one step further, and mi'w now means only 'husband'. Lake Miwok has introduced a new word, kə-čs, for 'person, Indian'. It is cognate with Mutsun koŋno-kniš 'young man' and Santa Cruz kə-trak-sin 'young man'.

Kroeber cites Hale as giving 'person', early in the 19th century as the meaning of 'moe'. Henshaw, who collected his Soledad material
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much later glosses 'mu'-we' as 'married man'. It cannot be determined whether there was an expansion in the range of this word during the historical period, or whether it had both meanings at the time of contact.

Unexpectedly, the Proto Costanoan stem *mukʷ- is also the base for Mutsun mukur-ma 'woman' and for the Mutsun and Soledad words for 'old woman'.

Proto Sierra Miwok *sali- 'young man' and Saclan sali 'man' (Spanish hombre) allow us to reconstruct Proto Eastern Miwok *sali-. The relationship of Plains Miwok sav·eh is uncertain at this point.

Proto Utian *tpa(·)lis 'man (male)' was lost in Eastern Miwok, unless Proto Eastern Miwok *sali- is somehow related. Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chochenyo reflexes allow us to reconstruct man (male)' as the meaning for Proto Costanoan *pa·ris. Santa Cruz čaariš can mean either 'man' or 'boy', probably because it became a term of direct address by a father to his son.

Lake Miwok taj(h) 'man (male)' is aberrant and may well be a borrowing from Coast Miwok. Presumably, the original reflex was lost when pre-Lake Miwok *ml·w 'person' expanded its range to include 'man (male)'. Isabel Kelly gives 'married man' as the meaning of Marin Miwok tajis, indicating the beginning of a shift to 'husband'.

Similarly, Proto Utian *kul·es- *kul·ek was replaced in Eastern Miwok. Proto Sierra Miwok *og·a- meant both 'woman' and 'wife'. The Plains Miwok word for 'woman, wife' appears to be derived from the Eastern Miwok word for 'bad' (*yg·y-), a rather misogynist state of affairs. Western Miwok reflexes of *kul·es mean 'wife' exclusively. It is tempting to reconstruct 'woman' as the Proto Utian meaning and to assume a shift to 'wife' in Western Miwok.

Sierra Miwok *nap·a- 'man (male), husband' is closely parallel to *og·a- 'woman, wife', even in derivative formations. In both cases, diminutives are used for 'boy' and 'girl'. The Plains Miwok cognate na·nap· apparently shifted to 'husband' exclusively. Coast Miwok ?ama 'husband' is probably not cognate with the Eastern Miwok forms.

We now come to words for 'old man' and 'old woman'. Sierra Miwok, Coast Miwok, and Mutsun words for 'old man' look as if they may be cognate, but reconstruction is not possible. Plains Miwok ?otamci- 'old man' is derived from *otam·m-o- 'to grow older', and San Jose miti-s 'old man' is derived from Proto Costanoan *mit·en 'to grow'. In both cases, the derivation involves a shift from a generic function (growth, aging) to 'man (male)'. In like manner, Lake Miwok mel·lh 'young, young man' is related to mel·lh 'to grow, grow up'. Compare the English word 'youth'.

Sierra Miwok has etymologically opaque words (*onoq·o- *onac·o-) for 'old woman'. Plains Miwok ?tyt·j·a- 'old woman' is based on an Eastern Miwok form *yt(·)y- 'big, much'. Whether this fact illus-
trates the high status of older women, or simply their girth after years of pounding scorns and consuming the results is not known.

Mutsun mukju - knif ̃ 'old woman' is a diminutive of mukur- 'woman'. Lake Miwok words for both 'old man' and 'old woman' are compounds involving ̂o bu which means 'bad' as a free form.

We can summarize the results as follows:

(1) In Southern Costanoan, the word for 'person' has come to mean 'man (male)', and in Lake Miwok, it has gone one step further and now means 'husband'. These developments are similar to those which took place in several European languages. Since the Utian languages lack grammatical gender, the phenomenon can have no connection with sex-indefinite pronouns.

In like manner, certain nouns derived from verbs with the generic meaning 'to grow up' or 'to grow older' have been restricted to men.

(2) If 'young man' is the correct meaning of Proto Utian *kot'a, its Lake Miwok reflex kô- ca was generalized to 'person, Indian'. Alternatively, Proto Utian *kot-a could have meant 'person' and developed to 'young man' in Costanoan.

(3) Unexpectedly, Mutsun mukur-ma 'woman' and Soledad mukus-ma 'old woman' seem to be reflexes of Proto Costanoan muk* (·)e(h) 'person'.

(4) Words for 'woman' often mean 'wife', and words for 'man' often mean 'husband', as in many European languages.

(5) Words for 'old woman' are sometimes based on words for 'woman', but words for 'old man' are not based on words for 'man'.

Footnotes

1. Buck, 1949, p. 79.


3. Campbell, 1977, p. 58; and Terrence Kaufman, personal communication.

4. Christine Tanz reports that names which are ambiguous for sex (like Chris and Leslie) tend to become restricted to girls ("Gender Specificity and Gender Marking in Given Names: A Rose is not a Harry," Colloquium Paper, University of Arizona, 1982). The development of gerle to girl might be a similar phenomenon.


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6. Southern Sierra Miwok items were taken from Broadbent, 1964. Central Sierra Miwok is from Freeland and Broadbent, 1960. Lake Miwok forms are from Callaghan, 1965; Bodega Miwok material is from ibid., 1970; Plains Miwok items are from ibid., 1984; and Northern Sierra Miwok forms are from ibid., 1984.

7. See Callaghan, 1971, for the principal correspondences justifying the subdivision within Miwok and linking the Miwok and Costanoan families. A Proto Sierra Miwok form (PMs) can be reconstructed from two Sierra Miwok cognates. Plains and Sierra Miwok cognates lead to Proto Eastern Miwok (PMc). Lake Miwok and Coast Miwok cognates result in the reconstruction of a Proto Western Miwok item, and Eastern and Western Miwok cognates are necessary for a Proto Miwok reconstruction.

Sacian was a dialect of Bay Miwok, probably once spoken around the Lafayette-Walnut Creek area. We have only a short word list taken by Fray Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta in 1821. (Beeler, 1955 and 1959).

Entries in parenthesis probably do not contain reflexes of the Proto Utian reconstructed forms. My interpretations of forms recorded by Henshaw and Pinart are also enclosed in parentheses.


12. The following orthographic conventions have been used: j is [yl] and y is [s]. c is [s] in Sierra Miwok, [c-ta] in Plains Miwok, and [its-s] in Lake Miwok.

13. These reconstructions are tentative. Proto Costanoan reconstructions are based largely on Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chochoeno reflexes, the three languages for which we have modern transcriptions in the form of J. P. Harrington's field notes (see also Marc Okrand, 1977).

The following abbreviations have been used when citing the Costanoan material: Csol 'Soledad', Ceb 'East Bay Costanoan' (Chochoeno), Csjb 'San Juan Bautista Costanoan' (Mutsun), Cru 'Monterey Costanoan' (Rumsen), Cser 'Santa Cruz Costanoan', Csj 'San Jose Costanoan'; P, recorded by Alphonse Pinart (Heizer, 1952); HWH, recorded by H. W. Henshaw; K, recorded by Alfred L. Kroeber. Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chochoeno forms are from J. P. Harrington's field notes.


16. Mie s- is not an expected reflex of PM1 *t-*. 

18. The Soledad form is probably a loan word from Mutsun.
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Occasional Papers On Linguistics

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Department of Linguistics
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OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON LINGUISTICS

Number 13

PAPERS
FROM THE 1983, 1984, and 1985 HOKAN-PENUTIAN LANGUAGES CONFERENCES

James E. Redden, Editor

The papers were presented in the order in which they were read at the meetings except at the 1983 conference in Boston, which was planned at length by the organizers, and at the 1984 conference, which was planned at length by the organizers.

The 1983 Hoko-Batua languages conference was held at the University of California, Los Angeles, on May 26-28, 1983. We gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Margaret Huggett and others in the Department of Linguistics at UC; their work made the meeting enjoyable and productive.

The 1984 Hoko-Batua languages conference was held at the University of California, Berkeley, on May 26-28, 1984. We are grateful to Margaret Huggett and others in the Department of Linguistics for all the work they did to make the meeting enjoyable and productive.

The 1985 Hoko-Batua languages conference will be held at the University of California, Santa Cruz, on June 25-27, 1985, as part of the Mary Jane Weller Conference.

Only a few copies of the proceedings of earlier meetings are available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. We are extending our thanks and thanks to all people who have contributed to these annual events.

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PREFACE

In 1981 the Hokan-Yuman Languages Workshop began meeting jointly with the Penutian Languages Conference. In 1982 the Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference began meeting with specialists from other disciplines, anthropologists, archeologists, geographers, and others. Because of the very diverse nature of such a group, various specialists desired to publish their papers in a variety of places in order for specialists in their disciplines to have ready access to them. This meant that there were no proceedings for the 1983, 1984, and 1985 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conferences. Papers from linguists who gave papers at these three meetings have been assembled in this volume.

The papers are presented in the order in which they were read at the meetings except the Callaghan paper on patridominance and Proto-Utian, which was discussed at length at the 1984 meeting, though it was not formally presented.

The 1983 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference met at the University of California, San Diego, June 16-18, 1983. We greatly acknowledge all the work done by Margaret Langdon and others in the Department of Linguistics at USD, which made the meeting so enjoyable and useful.

The 1984 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference met at the University of California, Berkeley, June 22-24, 1984, and was held in honor of Abraham Halpern. Our thanks go to Leanne Hinton and others in the Department of Linguistics at UCB for all they did to make the meeting enjoyable and productive.

The 1985 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference met at the University of California, San Diego, June 19-21, 1985. We are again indebted to Margaret Langdon and the Department of Linguistics at USD for all the work they did in hosting another pleasant and useful meeting.

The 1986 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference will be held at the University of California, Santa Cruz, June 23-27, 1986, as part of the Mary Haas Festival Conference.

Only a very few copies of the proceedings of earlier meetings are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. We are endeavoring to have the ERIC Clearing House on Languages and Linguistics offer these publications in some demand form.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, May 1986
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