The kinship system.

Kinship terms constitute a separate root-category in the language, because they occur with possessive prefixes and their inflectional paradigm includes the vocative in addition to the subjective, objective, and possessive cases. The case-paradigms and a complete list of kinship terms are given in systematic phonetic transcription in Tables 1 and 2. There is general agreement with the data collected by earlier workers (Barrett 1908:56-57, Gifford 1922:109-111, Curtis 1924:219, Halpern 1939-40); lexical and morphological divergencies in the various lists are discussed below.

In the tables the kinship terms are divided into two categories: the terms in group A may be considered regular, those in group B are for various reasons paradigmatically irregular.

The terms for consanguineal relatives of the ego and the two ascending generations (Table 1, group A) require possessive prefixes and are used in the vocative. Of the descending consanguineal relatives (Table 1, group B) kawf 'child', Ŧûwâhân 'man's sister's son', and occasionally -p'âni 'daughter', are used with possessive pronouns rather than possessive prefixes, and none of the descending kin terms occur in the vocative (although kawîdây was identified as 'son!' by informant AL). This conflicts with Gifford's data, where the vocative is used for both lineal and collateral descendants. Since Gifford's informants represent the extreme north of the Northern Pomo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. 'mother's mother'</td>
<td>-kaʔ</td>
<td>-káʔal</td>
<td>-káʔaʔ</td>
<td>káʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mother's father'</td>
<td>-caʔ</td>
<td>-cáʔal</td>
<td>-cáʔaʔ</td>
<td>cáʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'father's mother'</td>
<td>-maʔ</td>
<td>-máʔal</td>
<td>-máʔaʔ</td>
<td>máʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'father's father'</td>
<td>-baʔ</td>
<td>-báʔal</td>
<td>-báʔaʔ</td>
<td>báʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>-ʧ'e</td>
<td>-ʧ'el</td>
<td>-ʧ'eʔ</td>
<td>ʧ'édáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'father'</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-eʔel</td>
<td>-eʔeʔ</td>
<td>ʔédáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mother's elder sister'</td>
<td>-suʔ</td>
<td>-súʔul</td>
<td>-súʔuʔ</td>
<td>súʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mother's younger sister'</td>
<td>-šeʔ</td>
<td>-šel</td>
<td>-šeʔ</td>
<td>šéʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mother's brother'</td>
<td>-cuʔ</td>
<td>-cúʔul</td>
<td>-cúʔuʔ</td>
<td>cúʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'father's sister'</td>
<td>-muʔ</td>
<td>-múʔul</td>
<td>-múʔuʔ</td>
<td>múʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'father's brother'</td>
<td>-čeʔ</td>
<td>-čel</td>
<td>-čeʔ</td>
<td>čéʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'elder sister'</td>
<td>-deʔ</td>
<td>-del</td>
<td>-deʔ</td>
<td>déʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'elder brother'</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-kil</td>
<td>-kiʔ</td>
<td>kíʔdáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'younger sibling'</td>
<td>-ʧ'iʔ</td>
<td>-ʧ'il</td>
<td>-ʧ'iʔ</td>
<td>ʧ'ídáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. 'daughter'</td>
<td>-p'áni</td>
<td>-p'áníl</td>
<td>-p'áníʔ</td>
<td>*p'ánidáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'child; *son'</td>
<td>kawi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*kawídáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'man's sister's daughter'</td>
<td>-ča·man</td>
<td>-ča·madil</td>
<td>-ča·madiʔ</td>
<td>*ča·mandáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'man's sister's son'</td>
<td>šúwáhan</td>
<td>šúwahádil</td>
<td>šúwahádiʔ</td>
<td>*šúwahándáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grandchild'</td>
<td>*-č'úʔ'i (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*č'úʔ'idáy (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
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<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. 'spouse's mother'</td>
<td>-ša</td>
<td>-šal</td>
<td>-ša?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'spouse's father'</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-tal</td>
<td>-ta?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wife'</td>
<td>-dahán</td>
<td>-dahádi</td>
<td>-dahádi?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'husband'</td>
<td>-bahán</td>
<td>-bahádi</td>
<td>-bahádi?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wife's brother'</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>-hal</td>
<td>-ha?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'husband's brother; sister's husband'</td>
<td>-kon</td>
<td>ko·dal~il - ko·da?</td>
<td>kóndáy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wife's sister; brother's wife'</td>
<td>-šúť'i</td>
<td>-šúť'il</td>
<td>-šúť'i?</td>
<td>*šúť'idáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'husband's sister'</td>
<td>-wišiba·ni</td>
<td>-wišiba·nil</td>
<td>wišiba·ni</td>
<td>wišiba·nidáy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'child's spouse's parent'</td>
<td>-ʔo</td>
<td>-ʔol</td>
<td>-ʔo?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'daughter's husband'</td>
<td>-čeya</td>
<td>-čeyal</td>
<td>-čeya?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'son's wife'</td>
<td>-ʔon</td>
<td>-ʔodal~il -ʔoda?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. 'son's wife; **child's spouse'</td>
<td>šol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>**šólnama?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'daughter's husband'</td>
<td>**t'imo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'child's spouse'</td>
<td>**dumo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'relative; *spouse's sibling's spouse'</td>
<td>kanéma?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'friend'</td>
<td>wiñowa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Gifford 1922
** Halpern 1939–40
linguistic area (Ten Mile River, Sherwood, and Little Lake), it is probable that the contrast in vocative data is a northerm vs. southern dialect isogloss rather than a case of language-wide morphological change. Another such isogloss is probably the apparent alternation of the 1. person possessive prefix forms *a- ~ *a:mi- in Gifford's data, which does not occur in other lists. kawi in the southern dialect means 'child' rather than 'son' as glossed by Gifford (cp. also Barrett 1908: 56, 87, and Curtis 1924:219). -č'ü:t'i 'grandchild' is unique to Gifford's list and does not occur among the kinship terms elicited by other workers. Its transliteration is speculative, based on Gifford's -djuti' (see below).

Possessive prefixes are obligatory also with the regular affinal kin terms (Table 2, group A), but the vocative is used only with -kon 'husband's brother; sister's husband'. The other two vocatives in Gifford's and Halpern's lists (ši- š'idáy, wišiba'niáy) may be local innovations, but their absence in the 1965-69 paradigm may also be due to the progressive disintegration of Pomo social structure. In Gifford's data the normal suffix used for affinal address-forms is -namá, which is apparently identical with the suffix in Halpern's šól:nama? 'daughter-/child-in-law!', but it does not occur in the 1965-69 data.

The irregular affinal terms (Table 2, group B) are, at least synchronically, not part of the kinship system proper. The three forms for children-in-law (šol, t'imoc, dumo) are
not in current use, and no inflectional forms (except schläge) have been recorded. Only schläge occurs in Gifford's list (as an alternative to -con 'daughter-in-law') and may be archaic, the others are probably foreignisms (cp. Eastern Pomo dimot' 'speaker's own son-in-law'). kanéma? is included in this group because of Gifford's definition 'spouse's sibling's spouse'; in the southern dialect it means 'relative'. -winowa 'friend' belongs here on morphological grounds: it is the only non-kinship morpheme that occurs with possessive prefixes.

The kinship terms, in addition to the glosses given in Tables 1 and 2, also denote more distant relatives. Such extended meanings are listed here separately, since they include data from Gifford and Halpern that were not elicited during the 1965-69 fieldwork, and the list may not be dialectally homogeneous.

The grandparent terms denote also grandparents' siblings according to their sex and lineage.

-ka? 'mother's mother':
  'mother's parent's sister'

-ca? 'mother's father':
  'mother's parent's brother'

-ma? 'father's mother':
  'father's parent's sister'

-ba? 'father's father':
  'father's parent's brother'

The tradition of sororate and levirate is indicated by the use of parent's sibling terms to denote stepparents. They
also refer to the spouses of aunts and uncles.

-su' 'mother's elder sister':

'stepmother older than mother; father's brother's wife older than mother'

-še 'mother's younger sister':

'stepmother younger than mother; father's brother's wife younger than mother'

-cu' 'mother's brother':

'father's sister's husband'

-mu' 'father's sister':

'mother's brother's wife'

-če 'father's brother':

'stepfather; mother's sister's husband'

Stepsiblings are referred to by the appropriate sibling terms. Gifford (1922:110) indicates that sibling terms also denote parallel cousins (i.e. the children of brothers and sisters to each other) as well as their wives, which further confirms the sororate-levirate tradition.

-de' 'elder sister':

'older stepsister; elder female parallel cousin; cousin's wife older than ego'

-ki 'elder brother':

'older stepbrother; elder male parallel cousin'

-ť'i 'younger sibling':

'younger stepsibling; younger parallel cousin; cousin's wife younger than ego'
For descending consanguineal kin terms Gifford lists
the following extended references.

-\textit{p'áni} 'daughter':
  
  'stepdaughter; brother's daughter; woman's sister's daughter; woman's father's sister's daughter; spouse's sister's daughter'

-kwí 'child, (son)'
  
  'stepson; brother's son; woman's sister's son; woman's father's sister's son; husband's sibling's son; wife's sister's son'

-\textit{ča'man} 'man's sister's daughter':

  'man's father's sister's daughter; wife's brother's daughter'

-\textit{šúwahán} 'man's sister's son':

  'man's father's sister's son; wife's brother's son'

The affinal kin terms are extended only to affinal relatives. The parent- and child-in-law terms denote also in-laws of the siblings as well as siblings of the in-laws of the appropriate generation (Gifford 1922:111). In the latter reference the sex distinction is lost in the descending generation terms.

-\textit{ša} 'spouse's mother':

  'spouse's mother's mother; spouse's parent's sister; sibling's spouse's mother'

-\textit{ta} 'spouse's father':
'spouse's father's father; spouse's parent's
brother; sibling's spouse's father'

-ʔon 'son's wife':
'sibling's son's wife; son's wife's sibling'

-čέya 'daughter's husband':
'sibling's daughter's husband; daughter's hus-
band's sibling'

The spouse's sibling / sibling's spouse terms denote also
the following additional affinal relatives (Halpern 1939-40).

-ʔon 'husband's brother; sister's husband':
'sister's husband's sibling; spouse's sister's
husband; mother's younger sister's husband;
father's sister's husband'

-šú:t'i 'wife's sister; brother's wife':
'brother's wife's sibling; spouse's brother's
wife'

In addition to the kinship terms discussed so far, forms
for great-grandparents and grandchildren are generated from
grandparent terms by the processes of compounding and deriva-
tion.

The great-grandparents are denoted by the kinship term
of the appropriate lineage plus yem 'root', which functions
as an adjectival modifier with the meaning 'old, ancestral',
e.g. -ʔaʔ yem 'mother's mother's parent/ancestor'. Sex dis-
tinction is possible by suffixed personal pronouns, e.g. -ʔaʔ
yémnamo: 'mother's mother's father', -ʔaʔ yémnaman 'mother's
mother's mother'. Used in the plural, the forms signify also
the family and relatives of the kin in question, e.g. -ka-
yémaynamp'ów 'mother's mother's parents' family/relatives'.
The paradigms of these terms lack the vocative, and the in-
flection is that of personal pronouns.

Grandchildren are referred to by reflexive constructions
consisting of an objective personal pronoun plus the grand-
parent term with the deictic possessive prefix and the verbal
suffix -k'. For grandparent X the literal meaning of the con-
struction is '(the one) X-ing me', and the terms are therefore
semantically correlated with the speaker's sex. The process
is also used in referring to other relatives, particularly the
siblings' children.

Female speaker:
  to· maká?q'k'  'my daughter's child'
  to· mamá?q'k'  'my son's child'
  to· mašek'  'my elder sister's child'
  to· mašú?q'k'  'my younger sister's child'
  to· mamú?q'k'  'my brother's child'

Male speaker:
  to· macá?q'k'  'my daughter's child'
  to· mabá?q'k'  'my son's child'
  to· macú?q'k'  'my sister's child'
  to· mačék'  'my brother's child'

Sex of the offspring in these terms may be specified by
a preceding boy or girl reference, e.g. kawiyaba· to· maká?q'k'
'my daughter's son', kawiyama·ta to· makáʔk' 'my daughter's daughter' (by female speaker). The plural is formed with the verbal plural suffix -ta and the optional 3. person plural pronoun, e.g. to· makáʔk'·ta (p'ówna) 'my daughter's children', to· mašétak' (p'ówna) 'my elder sister's children'.

Verbal derivation is possible also with the causative suffix -ka, in the meaning 'call, refer to, claim as', e.g. made·ka- 'call someone elder sister', etc. Such kinship-verbs have been elicited for all monosyllabic consanguineal terms, and for the affinal terms -ba- 'wife's brother' and -ʔo- 'child's spouse's parent'.

The curious absence of the morpheme 'son' in the kinship terminology, and the minimal use of -p'áni 'daughter', are compensated by an array of generic terms that are used paraphrastically with possessive pronouns in referring to or addressing one's children or spouse. These include the following.

kawiyaba· '(pre-teenage) boy'
kawiyama·ta '(pre-teenage) girl'
dašósa? '(teenage) boy; young man'
dašóya? '(teenage) girl; young woman; virgin'
ba· 'man'
ma·ta 'woman'
busá? 'old man'
dať'á? 'old woman'
ča? 'person'

Conversely, the kinship terms may be used occasionally
with displaced reference, usually with affectionate or respectful connotation, e.g. ʔéday 'father!' to one's son or husband, ʔéday 'mother!' or káʔdáy 'grandmother!' to an unrelated old(er) woman.

All consanguineal and most affinal kinship terms of group A are monosyllabic. The polysyllabic forms, both consanguineal and affinal, are in some cases rather transparent compounds, in others it may not be possible to analyze them as such synchronically. Among those that invite analysis the spouse terms (bahán 'husband', dahán 'wife') clearly consist of the gender prefixes ba- 'male' and da- 'female' plus -han 'affinal relative (?)', which is possibly cognate with -ha- 'wife's brother'. bahán also appears to occur as a constituent of šúwaḥán 'man's sister's son', where the first syllable is identical to that in -šúṭ'i 'wife's sister'. The meaning of šú-, however, is unclear. If one connects it with šiwéy 'new', then the literal meaning of -šúṭ'i < šiwéy 'new' + ʔe 'mother' would make sense semantically in the light of the sororate tradition. (šiwéy does occur in paraphrastic kinship forms ma·ta šiwéy 'daughter', lit. 'new woman', ba· šiwéy 'son', and the raising of final /e/ > /i/ is plausible on the basis of Halpern's data, where šúte occurs.) Analogous interpretation of šúwaḥán (i.e. lit. 'new husband') is perhaps more credible in a broader meaning, e.g. as 'new head of the household', which might be taken as supporting evidence for the matrilineal aspect in Northern Pomo society (cp. Kroeber.
The transliteration of Gifford's -djuti as -č'úť'i 'grandchild' is based on the assumption that it is historically also a compound, consisting of bič'ú 'small' + -ť'i 'younger sibling'. The absence of the unstressed first syllable may be phonologically conditioned (cp. the colloquial alternant ley for dilyú 'all') or morphological (i.e. lack of the prefix). The compound has a parallel in č'úša 'surf fish', where the second syllable presumably is ša 'fish'.
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