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Proto-Wintun Kin Classification: A Case Study in Reconstruction of a Complex Semantic System

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Proto-Wintun Kin Classification:
A Case Study in Reconstruction of a Complex Semantic System

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This work could only be dedicated to
the Wintun peoples, for whom these
kin systems were once a living reality.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation is an attempt to break some new ground in the reconstruction of kin classificatory systems. It was inspired in part as a response to the claims of Dyen and Aberle (1974), whose monograph was devoted to exposition of a new method of lexical reconstruction of kin classification and application of that method to the Athapaskan kin systems. Dyen and Aberle's claims have met with much sceptical reaction (cf. for example, Scollon 1975, Campbell 1976, 1978, Howren 1979 and Landar 1979), but few if any attempts have been made to remedy the defects of their method and to provide a sounder technique of reconstruction.

Basically what I have done here is to apply comparative historical linguistic technique to kin classifications conceived of as complex semantic and morphological systems. The innovation in technique consists primarily of using the best of current formal semantic theories of kinship analysis to provide a finely specified semantic analysis of the kin systems to be compared, and then combining that analysis with traditional but oft-neglected, rigorous philological and morphological analysis of the kinterms themselves. On this foundation, well-established comparative techniques can be brought to bear to systematically reconstruct a kin classification in toto. The method hopefully avoids the pitfalls of Dyen and Aberle's model with regard to kin classificatory reconstruction specifically. It also has implications for the historical linguistic reconstruction of any complex semantic system, however--not merely kin classifications.

I have elected here not to review the numerous previous approaches

to kinship reconstruction. Dyen and Aberle (1974, Chapter 10) themselves have provided an extensive review of a number of approaches and have pointed out the drawbacks of non-lexical approaches to kin classificatory reconstruction. Furthermore, I have not organized this work, except peripherally, as an explicit argument for the particular systematic lexical method I advocate, as contrasted with Dyen and Aberle's or any other reconstructive method. I feel that one demonstration of technique, carried through to completion and adequately documented, is worth any number of programmatic statements. Therefore, almost all of this dissertation is organized around a particular substantive problem--the systematic reconstruction of the Proto-Wintun kin classification. The successful completion of that task constitutes a kind of existence proof; it shows that the method works in this one case, and that there is reason to believe that it could be applied in other cases as well.

There are built-in standards of adequacy for historical comparative linguistic reconstruction, so that the Proto-Wintun kin classificatory reconstruction offered here can be judged on its own merits. However, since several other researchers have explicitly dealt with the issue of Wintun reconstruction before--if somewhat perfunctorily--using several different reconstructive methodologies, including that of Dyen and Aberle (1974), the substantive conclusions I reach here can be compared with those earlier results to show the relative efficacy and accuracy of techniques. In §670 I briefly review those earlier approaches to Proto-Wintun with such a comparative goal in mind.

The substance of the reconstruction has, I hope, a certain value in and of itself, however, beyond being a demonstration of technique. The prehistory of California is extremely complex, and systematic reconstruction of various kinds of cultural systems, including kinship, for many

different California groups will be needed in order to assist archaeologists and ethnologists in the task of developing an understanding of culture prehistory and social evolution in the area. The historical comparative linguist has a unique set of tools for recovering information about the past, and the proper wielding of these tools can yield a vastly improved time perspective in certain areas; the reconstruction of kin classifications is an example of what the linguist can do in deepening time perspective. Reconstruction of the kin classificatory protosystem for a large, centrally located California linguistic family such as Wintun provides the kind of information which is needed to develop more sophisticated models of social change in Central California. And eventually, perhaps, a series of such particular studies will contribute to more adequate general theories of social change and evolution in preliterate societies.

The basic plan of this dissertation is as follows. Chapter 2 outlines briefly the methodological steps involved in systematic reconstruction and justifies some of the theoretical stances taken. Chapter 3 is a survey and new classification of the Wintun family. It also includes a new map of the family and a set of synonymies to aid in interpretation of the Wintun sources. Chapter 4 is devoted to philological analysis of Wintun kinterms and to formal semantic analysis of the kin classifications themselves. Chapter 5 concentrates on a purely linguistic issue, the analysis of the morphological system of Wintun kinterms. Chapter 6 undertakes all phases of the reconstruction and interprets the results. Included there are an etymological demonstration of the reconstruction and a discussion of other aspects of Wintun social structure, interpreted historically in the light of the proposed kin classificatory reconstruction.

Chapter 2: Methodological Steps of Systematic Lexical Reconstruction

A certain number of steps must be followed in order to complete an adequate systematic lexical reconstruction of a kin classificatory system. These steps are listed and discussed in this chapter, together with some justification of the theoretical outlook involved.

1. The linguistic family in question must be subclassified in detail. This is a necessary input to step 2, as well as to the historical linguistic reconstruction itself. Lexicostatistics as a method of subclassification is considered a useful potential adjunct to traditional methods of subclassification of a language family, but is not to be relied on exclusively for that purpose. Part of the problem is that lexicostatistical calculations, by attaching somewhat dubious numbers to depth of linguistic divergence, are chronically overprecise; seldom if ever is the statistical significance and variance of the lexicostatistical scoring itself given serious consideration by the lexicostatistician. Furthermore, lexical shifts are only one dimension along which languages change and can be classified. For Wintun, I have chosen to subclassify the family on the basis of general historical comparative considerations without formal lexicostatistical calculations. See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of the Wintun classification.

2. Next, after gathering all available linguistic data on kinterms and ethnographic data on kin classifications, it is necessary to philologically interpret and reconstitute the data. The reason for this is that typically (and certainly in the case of the Wintun) the linguistic and ethnographic data are compiled originally by many different collectors with quite widely varying levels of professional training and attention to

detail. The essence of the philological task is to identify and cross-match the best of the linguistic data on kinterm forms with the best of the kin classificatory data on designation of kintypes. Seldom is the best data of both types available in the same source. See §430 for a more detailed discussion of this problem and its resolution for Wintun.

3. Once the best possible interpretation has been made of the available linguistic and ethnographic data for the attested kin systems to be compared, each system is independently analyzed semantically, using the formal extensionist model of Lounsbury (1964) and Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971). The bulk of Chapter 4 is devoted to this task.

Lounsbury and Scheffler's particular model of kin classificatory analysis is not the only one which could be used for this purpose, of course; for example the kinship algebra developed by Romney (see e.g. Romney and D'Andrade (1964), Hammel (1965), D'Andrade (1970), etc.) is also adequate to the task and in some ways makes postulation of historical shifts by rule change easier to visualize. Nevertheless, the formal semantic analyses developed by Scheffler (see e.g. Scheffler 1972, 1978 and in press) are particularly appropriate as input to historical reconstruction, since they also highlight the formal kin class and superclass inclusion relations which figure prominently in the historical change of kin classifications. This advantage must be balanced against the greater difficulty of explicitly specifying rule changes in Scheffler's kin-algebraic format. One point on which the analyses of Chapter 4 differ from Scheffler's approach, however, is in their lack of componential analyses of the kinterms; I view componential analysis as mostly irrelevant to the historical linguistic reconstructive task as applied to kin classifications. On the other hand, I consider the formal kin class inclusional analysis and the equivalence rules (or extensional or

reduction rules) to be the really crucial parts of the synchronic analyses of kin systems for the purposes of historical reconstruction.

Whatever kin-algebraic conventions or mode of rule specification is chosen, the minimum requirement is that the synchronic kin analytic approach be capable of providing a complete formal semantic analysis of the kin classifications, using theoretically justified analytic and semantic units. The kinds of synchronic analyses of kinship systems which have been proposed by the various descent or alliance theorists or by the French structuralist school of kinship analysis do not fill the bill, since they are mostly preoccupied with the terminological manifestations and functions of kin groups, patterns of alliance and marriage or universal "kinship structures", rather than with the essentially semantic task of providing a complete and systematic logical specification of the denotation of each kinterm. In this respect the formal linguistic approaches of the American cognitivist school are far superior in their accuracy of semantic analysis and are to be preferred as means of kin classificatory analysis for input to historical linguistic reconstruction. (In passing, I am aware of the counterclaims by Needham (1971:xxi-xxxiv) and others to the effect that formal semantic approaches to kinship analysis are totally wrong-headed and mostly vacuous; what is to be reconstructed here, however, is not a set of kinship functions, but rather a kin classification, which is pre-eminently a semantic structure. To reconstruct a proto-kin classification, the compared systems must be semantically analyzed, and that requires a semantically-oriented approach to kin analysis. I will let the reconstruction itself stand as evidence as to whether the synchronic analytic approach it depends on is vacuous or not.)

At this point it would be useful, however, to divorce the historical

use of formal semantic analysis from some of the more extreme psychological claims of the American cognitivist school. The specification of formal semantic structures in a kin classification is viewed here as only a formal description of the implicit logical relations between the denotative meanings of kinterms. I claim that these logical relations must be clearly stated before historical reconstruction can proceed, just as, for instance, the formal phonemic analysis of the kinterms must be stated before reconstructed lexical protoforms can be postulated. But the units of formal analysis themselves do not necessarily have any particular psychological reality, either as significant cultural categories or as cognitive principles of kin reckoning. Thus the particular use to which formal semantic analysis of kin classification is put in this work must be dissociated from the concerns expressed by Goodenough (1956), Wallace and Atkins (1960), Wallace (1962, 1965), Romney and D'Andrade (1964) et al. for determining which of alternative possible analyses is "psychologically real". My exclusive concern with what Wallace (1965) has termed "structural reality" means that in some respects my analysis is avowedly "hocus-pocus" in the sense of Householder (1952) and Burling (1964a). [Cf. also Hymes 1964, Lounsbury 1964, Burling 1964b, Hammel 1966 for more on this issue.] However, as Hammel (1964:1169) has pointed out, in some respects the "hocus-pocus" vs. "God's Truth" distinction is a bogus one. I would claim that semantic structures do exist "out there"; they are structurally implicit in the linguistic data, namely in the kinterms themselves together with their extensionally defined set of denotata. The semantic analyst does not invent semantic structures themselves as an artifact of his analysis; instead he provides, through formal semantic analysis, models of semantic structure. It is these models which may be more or less adequate, consistent, complete, and elegant, and

which may or may not reflect "psychological reality". An analysis concerned with psychological reality assumes that a native speaker (or kin reckoner) also has an implicit model of the semantic structure of his kin classificatory system and the analysis attempts to determine what that particular "psychologically valid" model is. For historical reconstruction of kin classifications, that problem is completely irrelevant. One of the reasons then for choosing the approach of Lounsbury & Scheffler to formal kin classificatory semantic analysis is that, with its strong roots in linguistic analysis per se, it generally finesses the whole issue of psychological reality. The analytic method is set up to provide well-defined models of the semantic structure of kin classifications; cognition is set aside as a separate problem.

As an illustration of the distinctness of a formal semantic analysis of a kin classification versus a specification of presumably "psychologically real" rules of kin reckoning, I have including in §443.5 a discussion of a possible practical reckoning analysis of the River Patwin kin classification. That should serve to make it absolutely clear what the formal semantic equivalence rule analyses of the Wintun kin classifications are <u>not</u> intended to do when used as formal descriptive devices in support of a systematic historical reconstruction.

I follow Scheffler (1972) in maintaining that the formal logic of the <u>denotative</u> semantics of kinterms should be strictly distinguished from the <u>connotative</u> semantics and the <u>metaphorical</u> semantics of kinterms. Connotation and metaphor are not to be ignored, but are treated as separate aspects of meaning from the classificatory system per se. This distinction is often blurred by some of the formal cognitivists, as well as by such kinship analysts as David Schneider and Rodney Needham. But if historical reconstruction of a set of kin classifications is to proceed

successfully, the different types of meaning involved must be kept distinct. One of the reasons for this is that particular linguistic etyma can, as it were, historically pop into or out of a formal kin classificatory structure by lexicalizing the addition or loss of a denotative signification. Or the connotations associated with a particular kin class may lead to the lexicalization of some non-kinterm as a full, formal kinterm. Specification of such semantic shifts is an integral part of kin classificatory reconstruction; they seem to be one of the most important sources of lexical changes in kinterms over time.

4. The next step in the systematic reconstruction is to give a formal morphological analysis of the kinterms as a system. This is done separately for the Patwin, Wintu and Nomlaki kinterms in Chapter 5. The necessity of this step is further justified in that chapter. The main point to be made is that kinterms do not exist or change as isolated units, since they generally partake of a tightly-knit and specialized set of morphological relationships. Failure to account for this fact can cause problems for the reconstruction both of lexical forms for kinterms and of their exact system of denotations.

5. Once steps 1 to 4 are satisfactorily completed, the reconstruction proper can begin. The first part of this process is to reconstruct protoforms for the kinterms. This is done for the Wintun system in §620, after a review of the relevant Wintun historical phonology which makes such lexical reconstruction possible.

6. Next, in a complete reconstruction, the morphological protosystem should be reconstructed. This is a more complex task than lexical reconstruction, and it is not carried out to completion here for Wintun. Parts of the morphological protosystem are presented, however, in §620 and elsewhere in Chapters 5 and 6 as appropriate.

7. Step 7 is the heart of the reconstruction--the systematic reconstruction of the kin classificatory semantics of the protosystem. This process draws on the results of the formal, synchronic semantic analyses of the individual kin systems. The interaction of equivalence rules, overt and covert subclass and superclass inclusion relations and of reciprocal kin relations are examined to reveal patterns of innovation or retention. This enables logical inference of a protosystem from which all of the descendant systems can be derived by an orderly sequence of minimal changes. See §630 for details.

8. The results of the lexical, morphological and semantic reconstructions (steps 5, 6 and 7) are combined then to give a complete picture of the protosystem. This is not actually treated as a completely separate step in the Wintun analysis presented here; instead, the integration of parts is worked into the narrative as the systematic semantic reconstruction proceeds in §630.

9. After completion of the reconstruction proper, an "etymology" is presented to demonstrate the validity of the reconstruction. Since an etymology of a kin classification is a somewhat unusual concept, it may be useful to explain what I have in mind. Ordinarily in historical linguistic reconstruction putatively related sets of words (cognates) in various languages are assembled, and from the regular sound correspondences that such words manifest between languages, protoforms can be postulated. A <u>protoform</u> is a word (or morpheme) in the posited ancestral protolanguage which serves as the historical source for all the developments leading to the set of descendant words claimed to be historically related (as cognate forms). An <u>etymon</u> can be conceived of as the protoform projected through time, through the formal and semantic changes and the dialectal and language splits leading to the attested cognate forms

(the reflexes of the protoform); in other words the etymon is "a word" (or a morpheme) conceived of diachronically, as it passes through various historical manifestations and is traced into successively diverging, "related" languages. (Note that the notion "related language" is intimately bound up with the possibility of identifying etyma shared by the languages claimed to be related.) An etymology is the detailed explication of the history of an etymon--that is, starting with a reconstructed protoform (or in some cases with a directly attested earlier antecedent linguistic form), what semantic shifts, morphological splits or coalescences, formal phonological changes, etc. have occurred through time to lead to all of the attested reflexes (i.e. the cognate forms with which the process of reconstruction started). The etymology serves to demonstrate the validity of a postulated relationship and the accuracy of a reconstruction. It can also often serve as a heuristic device for refining the reconstruction further, since the discipline of stating the history of linguistic forms in detail may turn up unexpected irregularities or overlooked elements which require modification of the posited protoform(s) or which lead to evidence of diffusion (e.g. lexical borrowing, etc.).

The meaning of an etymology of a kin classificatory reconstruction should now be surmisable by analogy to lexical etymologies. The Wintun kin classification itself is treated as an etymon--an extremely complex etymon to be sure, composed of numerous lexical etyma related to each other in complicated morphological and semantic patterns. The attested Wintun kin classifications are the "cognates"; the reconstructed protosystem is the "protoform"; and the task at hand is to show how all of the attested systems are derived historically from the protosystem. That is done by explicit postulation of sequences of classificatory innovations

or retentions and the establishment of intermediate stages of development, all within the context of individual etymologies of the component lexical units (the kinterms themselves) and of a morphological "etymology" of the kinterm morphological system. The etymology for the Wintun kin classification is worked out in detail in §640.

10. The final step of the systematic lexical reconstruction is an interpretive one. The reconstructed kin classification and its development are reconsidered in their social context. In some ways this is a reversal of the process whereby the kin classificatory systems were originally abstracted out of their social context to serve as formal "objects" for comparative reconstruction. The social contextual interpretation of an historical reconstruction can also be seen as the diachronic analogue of the ethnologist's social functional interpretation of a particular synchronic kin analysis in the context of that culture's social organization as a whole.

This interpretation for Proto-Wintun is taken in two directions. First, the kin classificatory reconstruction serves as an historical guide for other social structural developments in the prehistory of the Wintun groups. Kin classification is not, of course, the be-all and end-all of social structure or even of kinship, but significant changes in kin classification, identified and explicitly specified by the historical linguistic analysis, generally imply that other aspects of social structure have undergone some change as well; the reconstruction may help to discriminate between alternative hypotheses regarding the social prehistory of a group.

Second, some consideration is given to causal factors which must have been at work in order for the kin classification to change when and as it did. The reconstruction itself does not directly impute causes for

various changes in the system, except in those occasional cases when an internal linguistic factor can be seen at work. Otherwise we must assume that some social factors (and indirectly other non-social factors) are influencing the classificatory changes, and a search for such factors may eventually make a true explanation of the observed and reconstructed historical developments possible.

Chapter 3: The Wintun Language Family

300. Introduction

An assessment of the internal classification and geographic relations of a language family is an important part of any linguistic reconstruction, including that of kin classifications. The internal linguistic classification is a rough guide to time of divergence and development of parts of a linguistic family; it sheds light on the historical status of various linguistic or ethnolinguistic recordings of a particular language or dialect within the family. The classification itself, in turn, is developed and refined in the course of historical linguistic investigation and reconstruction. Accurate mapping and ethnogeographic study of a linguistic family suggest possibilities of cultural contact which may be reflected in evidence of linguistic diffusion. Correlated with a detailed internal classification, the geographic study may also pinpoint centers of deep linguistic diversity or relative dialectal uniformity which suggest early or more recent occupation of the areas in question. Such information provides important clues about prehistory which can be worked into the overall explanation of patterns of kin classificatory developments as they emerge from the comparative reconstruction.

This chapter addresses these classificatory and geographic preliminaries to the lexical reconstruction of Proto-Wintun kin classification and its historical interpretation. First, a new, more detailed classification of the Wintun family is presented, along with a set of synonymies. The languages and dialects of the new classification are then located on a new map of the Wintun territory, and a few errors of previous maps are pointed out. There follows a brief discussion of the inadequacies of

language mapping and the relation of language distribution to actual settlement pattern. Finally, a number of outstanding problems of Wintun ethnogeography are pointed out, problems whose eventual resolution will provide further hints about Wintun linguistic prehistory.

310. Classification of the Wintun languages

311. Introduction

The classification of the Wintun languages presented in Table 3.1 is intended to be as detailed as possible, given the conflicting and sometimes fragmentary nature of the linguistic recordings and ethnographic reports. It is based on my survey and historical investigation of most Wintu sources and essentially all Nomlaki, Patwin and Southern Patwin linguistic sources, on fieldwork on three dialects of Patwin, and on philological interpretation of previous statements which have been made about the classification of Wintun dialects. There are undoubtedly gaps in the record, especially regarding the Southern Patwin and the Nomlaki, both of which groups faced cultural and linguistic annihilation earlier than at least some of the Patwin and Wintu groups.

Early ethnographic reports about the languages of California sometimes include statements to the effect that each tribelet was linguistically distinct to some degree. The Wintun are no exception. Thus Kroeber (1932:264-266) lists 15 "Wintun" (here referring to what is now known as "Nomlaki") tribelets and later states: "Each of these possessed a recognizable dialect, according to my chief informant." (1932: 355) Most such linguistic distinctions were probably at a subdialectal level, but their actual character will never be fully known, since most Wintun tribelets vanished long before any systematic linguistic recordings

were made. All we can do now is work back from the few major linguistic corpuses which do exist, try to interpret the short, poorly recorded vocabulary lists for other dialects and then interpolate a classification for those tribelets for which not even a simple wordlist was ever recorded. If anything, the formal classification offered here may err on the side of underestimating the full dialectal and subdialectal diversity in pre-contact Wintun speech.

I will not attempt a full review of the growth of detail in the classification of Wintun languages in the time since their "discovery" by Arroyo de la Cuesta on January 17, 1821. Instead, I just note here some of the more important sources which contain classificatory information about some or all of the Wintun family.

1. Powers (1877[1976]:218-219; 228-231)	Southern Wintun (Patwin) and Northern Wintun
2. Powell (1891[1966]:145-146)	Copehan (= Wintun) defined; based largely on Powers' data
3. Barrett (1908: passim)	Southerly Wintun (Patwin) and Northerly Wintun (Nomlaki)
4. Kroeber (1925:353-356)	all of Wintun classified and mapped
5. Kroeber (1932:257-270; 349-356)	Patwin, Southern Patwin and Nomlaki dialects
6. DuBois (1935:1-8)	Wintu dialects
7. Goldschmidt (1951:314-316)	Nomlaki dialects
8. Pitkin (1962:43-44)	Wintun classification
9. Pitkin (1963: introduction)	Wintun and Wintu dialects
10. Merriam (1966:18; 50-59; 76; 1967:259-263)	all of Wintun classified and mapped

11. Whistler (1976a)	Patwin dialects
12. Whistler (1976b, 1977, 1978)	new Wintun classification
13. Shipley (1978:82-83; 89)	Wintun
14. Schlichter (1979)	Wintu dialects
15. Levy (1979:4; 20-22; 28)	Wintun lexicostatistics

312. Time depth of Wintun

Before presenting the new classification, perhaps some word about the time depth represented in the Wintun family would be appropriate. Impressionistically, Wintun shows approximately the same order of linguistic divergence as that within Romance languages. Given the contiguous, relatively small area of distribution of the Wintun languages, the time of divergence is probably somewhat greater than that inferred for the Romance family. A rough estimate of 2500 years for the development of the Wintun languages from Proto-Wintun seems a reasonable guess. For comparison, Wintun shows greater time depth than Maidun (<2000 years), approximately the same time depth as Miwokan or Yokutsan, but considerably less than that for Utian (= Miwok-Costanoan, >3500 years ?) or Pomoan (>3000 years).

This estimate of Wintun time depth accords fairly well with earlier estimates. Pitkin (1963) proposed the analogy with the Romance family and a time depth of "perhaps no more than two thousand years." Levy (1979:22), on the basis of lexicostatistical calculations, gave a separation date of 2532 years B.P. for "Proto Wintuan." While such a lexicostatistical calculation is subject to numerous sources of error, in this instance it seems to match the time depth one would otherwise infer for the Wintun family.

313. Guide to the classification table

The classification presented in Table 3.1 (see following pages) is arranged in outline form, but the formal depth of an entry in the outline is not necessarily indicative of the dialect or language status of that division. See the statements about subdivisions included in the table and the notes in §315 for details about what each division means. The abbreviations for the various languages and dialects constitute a slight modification of current, standard abbreviations to bring them into line with the expanded classification and to serve as a reference for abbreviations used in the body of this work. The English names comprise my suggestions for appropriate terms for these dialects; most of the names are well-established in the literature on Wintun languages, but a few are newly proposed here as the classification requires. The native Wintun names are a mixture of geographic, ethnic, and language terms; again, the choices have depended on a number of factors, but appropriateness has been more heavily weighted in making the decision than priority of usage. The notes following the classification provide etymological and explanatory information, including alternative common names for some of the divisions. Following those notes, §320 provides a formal correlation of divisions in Table 3.1 with names applied to the Wintun linguistic groups by the most important early linguistic and ethnographic sources.

314. Table of Wintun linguistic classification

See Table 3.1 in the following pages.

Table 3.1 Wintun Linguistic Classification

Abbrev.	English name	Native name(s)	Subdivisions	Notes
	I. Northern Wintun division			1
WW	A. Wintu	wint^{h}u·h	1 language, with 3 or 4 relatively close dialects & probable further subdialectal variation	2
	1. Wintu proper		probably had subdialects	3
WWSac	a. Upper Sacramento	nomtipom		
WWMc	b. McCloud	wenemem		4
	c. Stillwater	dawpom		5
	d. Keswick	ʔelpom		6
	e. French Gulch	ʼλabalpom		7
WWTri	2. Upper Trinity	nomsu·s		8
WWHay	3. Hayfork	nore·lmaq		9
	4. Bald Hills	dawpom ~ dawnom		10
WN	B. Nomlaki	wint^{h}u·n	1 language, 3 distinct dialects, with further subdialectal variation in Hill Nomlaki	11
WNNoe	1. "River Wailaki" (~Noema)	me·mwaylaka		12

Table 3.1 Wintun Linguistic Classification (cont.)

Abbrev.	English name	Native name	Subdivisions	Notes
	I. Northern Wintun division (cont.)			
WNR	2. River Nomlaki			
	a. Red Bluff	da·maq		13
WNRTeh	b. Tehama	puymaq		14
WNH	3. Hill Nomlaki	nomlaka	1 dialect, with subdialectal variation	15
	a. Elder Creek	wayqewel		
WNHPas	b. Paskenta	nomqewel		
WNHGri	c. Grindstone	noyqewel		
	II. Southern Wintun division			
WP	A. Patwin	patwin	1 language; 2 distinct dialect complexes, with further dialectal and subdialectal variation	16
WPH	1. Hill Patwin		3 distinct dialects, 1 with further subdialectal variation	17
WPK	a. Lodoga	kabalme·m		18
WPT	b. Lake County	t^hebt^hi		19

Table 3.1 Wintun Linguistic Classification (cont.)

Abbrev.	English name	Native name	Subdivisions	Notes
	II. Southern Wintun division (cont.)			
	c. Southern Hill Patwin		3 close subdialects	
WPC	i. Cortina	ʾλet		20
WPCC	ii. Rumsey	ko·pe		21
WPPut	iii. Putah	topay		22
	iv. Napa	napa		23
WPR	2. River Patwin		2 close subdialects	24
WPRCol	a. Colusa	koru·		
WPRGri	b. Grimes	saka		
WPS	B. Southern Patwin	puywin	1 language, probably with several dialects	25
	1. Knight's Landing	yo·doy		
	2. Dixon	pu·		
	3. Suisun	suyisun		

315. Notes to the linguistic classification

1. The Northern Wintun division is clearly and sharply divided from Southern Wintun by a number of phonological, grammatical and lexical isoglosses. Proto-Northern Wintun must be reconstructed as a separate branch, coordinate with Proto-Southern Wintun within the family as a whole.

2. The early extinction of the Valley Wintu dialect(s) and of Upper Trinity Wintu with virtually no reliable linguistic records resulted in a much diminished picture of dialectal diversity in Wintu by the time trained ethnographers and linguists began working among the Wintu. During the period of most recent linguistic work (c. 1960–1980) there seem to have survived two dialects of current sociolinguistic significance to the remaining Wintu speakers. These are known locally as "Shasta County language" and "Trinity County language". The term "Shasta County language" apparently is used by the Hayfork Wintu in referring to Wintu proper (i.e. /nomtipom/, /wenemem/, etc.) and also to the currently extinct Upper Trinity Wintu dialect (i.e. /nomsu·s/). [Cf. Schlichter (1979:242); also Goldschmidt (1951:316).] "Trinity County language" refers to Hayfork Wintu (i.e. /nore·lmaq/). /wint^{h}u·h/ is the Wintu word for 'person', especially 'Indian person'.

3. This is Shasta County Wintu, narrowly defined, probably encompassing all Wintu subdialects in the Sacramento River drainage above Redding. Merriam (1966:18) refers to this group as Num'-te-pum', and Schlichter (1979:241) adopts this terminology in identifying one of her linguistic informants as speaking Numtepom (/nomtipom/). However, judging from DuBois (1935:6), /nomtipom/ should probably more properly be limited to the Upper Sacramento division of the Wintu. The term /nomtipom/ (literally, "place to the west") would make geographical sense as the McCloud term for the Upper Sacramento division of the Wintu. It is

important to make this distinction clear, since Gifford's kin classificatory data are very different for the Upper Sacramento and the McCloud divisions. Pitkin and Schlichter's linguistic data, however, seem to come primarily from McCloud subdialect speakers.

4. /wenemem/ (< /wenem/ 'middle' + /me(·)m/ 'water') refers to the McCloud River itself, the central of the three large tributaries to the Sacramento River (namely the Upper Sacramento, McCloud and Pit rivers). Powers (1877[1976]:230) also mentions a small Wintu group called Pu'-i-mim (/puy-mem/ 'east water' = the Pit River) living on the Pit River; it is not clear, however, that that group was dialectally distinct from the McCloud.

5. Schlichter argues that DuBois' Daupom should be interpreted as /taw-pom/ 'flat, low ground'. However, DuBois seems correct in interpreting the placename as meaning "in-front-of-place", i.e. /daw-pom/ phonemically. The basic sense of the Wintu morpheme /daw/ is 'in front', but comparative evidence from Patwin suggests that it may well have a broader range of connotations, including 'in front', 'out of' and 'facing'. Cf. for instance:

WPK	/daw-kir/	'to take out'
WPCC	/ʔol-da·wu/	'lying on one's back' (literally: up-facing)
WWMc	/ʔol-dawa/	'face up'

That /daw/ is the morpheme involved in DuBois' placename citation seems further supported by such Patwin placenames as WPK /puybe daw wilak/ 'Sacramento Valley' (literally: eastern-(out) in front-valley). The sense involved here seems to be that the Sacramento Valley floor represents an open, flat surface which faces the foothills and mountains surrounding it. The valley floor thus "fronts" the hills, or more properly, from the point of view of the hill dwellers, lies "out in front" of the hills.

6. ʔelpom is another placename, which DuBois (1935:7) translates as "shore-place", but the term could probably also be interpreted literally as merely 'inside-place'. This would refer to the location of the Keswick Wintu group along the Sacramento River from Redding on up into the Sacramento River canyon north of Redding, as conceptually opposed to the dawpom location (out in the flat country abutting the hills east and northeast of Redding).

7. Neither DuBois (1935) nor Schlichter (1979) offers a translation for Klabalpom, but the most promising phonemic interpretation of the term seems to be /ƛ̓abal-pom/. La Pena (1978:324) offers a translation as 'good (peaceful) ground', but I consider a more appropriate translation to be 'broken up-place (or country)'. This could refer either to the natural topography of the French Gulch area, or, if the term is a late coinage, to the local disruptive effects of 19th century mining in the area. The root /ƛ̓ab-/ seems to be somewhat uncommon in Wintu, but survives as a common root in Patwin. Cf. WPCC /ƛ̓aba·/ 'to break (one thing) to pieces; to shatter' and /ƛ̓ab-ču/ 'broken into pieces; shattered'. The -al ending on the Wintu form is presumably related to the Wintu {el} stative root-deriving verbal suffix (Pitkin 1963:103ff).

8. Upper Trinity Wintu is probably dialectally distinct from Wintu proper. This is based on DuBois' (1935:7) reports by her Shasta County Wintu informants:

> "The Wintu to the east [of the Upper Trinity] recognize a slight dialectic variation in the language and usually refer to the drawl, which in their minds characterizes the speech of their western neighbors."

However, the Upper Trinity dialect was probably closest to Wintu proper--not as distinct from it as the Hayfork or Bald Hills dialects.

/nomsu·s/, as Schlichter (1979:237) reports, means 'those being west' or just 'westerners', a term of reference used by the Wintu proper.

9. The Hayfork Wintu dialect seems to have been recognizably distinct from Wintu proper, on both lexical and phonological grounds. Schlichter (1979:242-244) claims, on the basis of her linguistic work with two McCloud informants and one Hayfork informant, that the distinctions are largely idiolectal, but this is controverted in part by the Hayfork speaker's own statements regarding lexical variation between her dialect and that of the "Shasta County language". /nore·lmaq/ means 'in the south people' or perhaps better , 'far to the south people', again, no doubt, a term of reference used by the Wintu proper.

10. The Bald Hills Wintu (also known as the Baldhill Wintu, the Ono Wintu or the Cottonwood Creek Wintu) spoke a Wintu dialect which was apparently transitional to the dialect of the River Nomlaki groups to the southeast of them (see discussion below). DuBois (1935:7) records the name Dau-nom "in-front-of-west", whereas Merriam refers to the same group as Daw'-pom, whose interpretation would be the same as that recorded by DuBois for the Stillwater group (cf. note 5).

11. Nomlaki is the currently accepted term for the language of the southern half of the Northern Wintun branch of Wintun. The Nomlaki language has variously been called Central Wintun, Wintun and "Northerly Wintun" (Goldschmidt 1978:347). It appears to be a single language with three distinct dialects, but this picture is rendered somewhat murky by the paucity of good linguistic data for any Nomlaki dialect. There apparently was no clear line of mutual non-intelligibility between Bald Hills Wintu and the Nomlaki dialects. In particular, the "River Wailaki" at Jelly and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek apparently spoke a dialect quite close to Wintu; the Red Bluff dialect was also "close to Northern

Wintu". So in a sense all of Northern Wintun constituted a dialect continuum. The picture of two discrete languages--Wintu and Nomlaki--is partially the artifact of only the extreme ends of the Northern Wintun dialects, namely McCloud Wintu and Paskenta Nomlaki, being adequately documented for comparison, since the intermediate dialects disappeared early.

12. Merriam (1966:50ff) characterizes a River Wintun dialect he calls No-e'-ma, distinct from Tehama, on the basis of two early vocabularies. The vocabularies referred to are those recorded by H. B. Brown (1851-2), reprinted in Powers (1877:520-528) as Vocabulary #4, and by A. Johnson (1852), a version of the "Reading" [Maj. P. Redding] vocabulary, reprinted in Schoolcraft (1854, Vol. 4:414-415) and again in Powers (1877) as Vocabulary #2. Portions of these vocabularies are also printed in Merriam (1966:58). The vocabularies were gathered in the vicinity of "Mag Readings", probably referring to what is now the town of Cottonwood near the junction of Cottonwood Creek and the Sacramento River. The vocabularies are exceedingly fragmentary, but seem to indicate a dialect lexically intermediate between Wintu and Nomlaki proper, leaning slightly more toward Nomlaki altogether. The dialect does seem to be distinct from Ono Wintu (= Bald Hills) as recorded in a vocabulary by Merriam. This picture of "Noema" being a transitional dialect is consistent with DuBois' (1935:5) statement: "...a Bald Hills informant thought [the Wintun, i.e. Nomlaki] spoke a very similar language and that 'after a while you can understand everything they say.'"

Presumably the "Noema" vocabularies represent the speech of the mêmwaylaka ('water north language', or more loosely, 'River Wailaki') which Goldschmidt (1978:341) reports the Hill Nomlaki claiming to be a River Nomlaki group distinct from the Tehama. Noema is a corruption of

/noy-maq/, which is Nomlaki for 'south people' or 'southerners'. This geographic reference would be with respect to the Wintu, whom the Nomlaki referred to as /way-laka/ 'north language' (hence "Wailaki"). DuBois (1935:5) recorded that the Bald Hills Wintu referred to the Wintun (= Nomlaki) as Normuk (/nor-maq/ 'southerners') and Puimuk (/puy-maq/ 'easterners'). These terms could well have referred to the Hill and River Nomlaki groups respectively, but of especial interest is the phonological form of the 'southerner' term, /nor-maq/. The /nor/ form for 'south' marks this unambiguously as a Wintu citation, whereas the /noy/ form for 'south' in /noy-maq/ (as inferred from Brown's Noe-ma and from Redding's Noemuc spelling) is clearly Nomlaki. This /-r/::/-y/ phonological isogloss is an important marker of Wintu vs. Nomlaki speech (cf. §6.14). Thus /noymaq/ appears to be the Noema (River Wailaki) version of the Wintu term /normaq/, which may have been applied to the Noema as well by their northern (Wintu-speaking) neighbors. To add to the general terminological confusion, /noymaq/ is also recorded as the Paskenta Hill Nomlaki term referring to the Patwin, who lived to the south of the Nomlaki.

13. No recording of Red Bluff (or /da·maq/) Nomlaki survives, unless it turns out that the "Noema" vocabularies actually represent this group. The Red Bluff dialect is reported by Kroeber (1932:266) to be more like "Northern Wintu" than other Nomlaki dialects (with the possible exception of the "River Wailaki" whom he does not mention). All of the River Nomlaki were called "Tehama Indians" by the local whites, but here the term "Tehama" is reserved for those River Nomlaki tribelets south of the /da·maq/. The classification chosen here is a compromise effort to make sense of the various data in the "Noema" vocabularies and the reports of Goldschmidt, Kroeber, and Merriam. Conceivably, on the other hand, Kroeber's statement could mean that Red Bluff should be lumped in

directly with the "River Wailaki", rather than being grouped dialectally with Tehama (cf. §323, note 3 for more details).

14. /puymaq/ 'easterners' is recorded by Goldschmidt (1951:314) as the Hill Nomlaki term for the Tehama.

15. Hill Nomlaki probably comprised a number of distinct subdialects, but only Paskenta and Grindstone are at all documented. /nom-laka/ 'west language' is the Tehama term for the Hill Nomlaki. The subdialect terms are geographically based names for Hill Nomlaki tribelets, as referred to by the Paskenta tribelet. (As noted above, there were many more tribelets than the three units singled out here as possibly significant dialect divisions.) /qewel/ means 'house, village, place'; /way/ 'north', /nom/ 'west' and /noy/ 'south'.

Merriam (1966:261) lumps the Wi-e'-ker-ril (/wayqewel/) with the Nom'-lah-ke (= Paskenta).

16. Here Patwin is considered a single language, since there are indications that speakers of even the most distinct dialects, Lodoga and River Patwin, could understand each other, if with difficulty. /pat-win/ is the general term for 'person, people, Indian people' (literally: "outside-people"), but is not generally applied by the Patwin themselves to refer either to their own ethnic identity or language.

17. The Lodoga and Lake County dialects are quite distinct from each other and from Southern Hill Patwin, both lexically and grammatically. Southern Hill Patwin forms a group of closely related subdialects. Cortina shows an intermixture of River Patwin traits, possibly as a result of post-contact moves of River Patwin people to the Cortina Rancheria.

18. /kabal-me·m/ 'gap spring' is the successor village to an old village /č^{h}uhe·l-me·m/ 'gravel spring', located near Lodoga.

19. /t^{h}ebt^{h}i/ 'confluence' is the name of an old village at the

confluence of Long Valley Creek and North Fork Cache Creek.

20. /ʔλet/ 'groundsquirrel' is the name of a village near Cortina. The people who lived there were known as /ʔλetwin/ or /ʔλetsel/ 'ground-squirrel people'.

21. /ko·pe/ 'root' was a major village south of Guinda in the Capay Valley, along Cache Creek.

22. /topay/ is the name of the main village in Berryessa Valley, probably in the vicinity of Monticello (now underwater), along the Putah Creek.

23. /napa/ 'werebear' is a village name at Napa. Merriam's few linguistic forms labeled as "Napa Valley" are indistinguishable from his recordings for the Cortina subdialect, so it is doubtful whether Napa ever constituted a distinct subdialect of Patwin. (Cf. §323, note 5.)

24. Colusa and Grimes River Patwin were distinguished only by a handful of lexical differences. /koru·/ was the main village at Colusa; /saka/ a major village near Grimes.

25. Suisun is the only Southern Patwin dialect documented in any detail, but there is some evidence that Knight's Landing and Dixon may have constituted separate dialects. /yo·doy/ is a village name at Knight's Landing (and the source of the modern town and county names, Yolo); /pu·/ 'fishegg' was a rancheria near Dixon; /suyisun/ 'womb' (?) was a village near Suisun. The Dixon dialect, on geographic grounds, may have included the tribelets centered at /liway-toy/ (= Winters) and /ʔulula-toy/ (= Vacaville) in aboriginal times. /puy-win/ 'east-people' was apparently the Hill Patwin (probably especially Rumsey and Putah) term for the Southern Patwin, whose villages lay in part on the lower courses of the Cache and Putah Creeks east of the foothills. Southern Patwin was clearly a language distinct from Patwin. There are a number

of reports of lack of mutual intelligibility between them, and there are clear grammatical and phonological differences from Patwin identifiable in the meager Southern Patwin recordings.

316. The "reality" of Wintu dialects

As suggested already in the notes to Table 3.1, Schlichter (1979) attempts to show that Wintu basically constituted a uniform language with virtually no geographically based dialectal variation. Schlichter does admit that there is idiolectal variation between speakers and possibly social variation as well, but goes to great lengths to demonstrate errors in Merriam's lexical lists for Wintu dialects and in his interpretation of them. She supports Kroeber's observation of relative linguistic uniformity among the Wintu:

> In summary, there appears to be no lexical dialect variation within Wintu, and Kroeber was certainly correct when he noted that the language was remarkably uniform.
>
> --Schlichter (1979:243)

The reference made there is to the Handbook of the Indians of California (1925:353-354), where Kroeber states:

> From all the evidence available, the language [Wintu] was remarkably uniform for a tract of this vastness, as it may justly be described under California conditions. But the very size of the territory precludes absolute identity of tongue.

Kroeber's statement was based on evidence which predated nearly all systematic ethnogeographic and linguistic work among the Wintu and was appropriately qualified to reflect that fact. That Kroeber fully expected further evidence of dialectal distinctions to show up in the

Wintun languages (presumably including also the "vast tract" of Wintu) is further shown by the following extract:

> ...there is no reason to doubt that when the two former tongues [Wintun and Maidun] are recorded with the same nice discrimination of petty differences that has been directed to the other languages, the same conditions of local diversification will become evident, and the abnormal extension of the Wintun and Maidu "dialects" will be seen to be more apparent than actual.
>
> --Kroeber (1925:353)

While it seems basically correct to suppose that the dialect variation among Wintu groups was in fact less marked than that among Patwin groups (and probably Nomlaki groups as well, although the Nomlaki data is sketchy), Schlichter reaches her conclusion of no dialect variation in Wintu by overemphasizing evidence of identity and by downplaying or rejecting all evidence of differences. Some of the evidence that runs counter to her contention includes:

1. Statements by DuBois' informants regarding dialectal distinctions between Wintu groups. (Cf. DuBois 1935:7-8.)
2. Statements by Schlichter's own informants, as reported in Schlichter (1979).
3. The currency of "Shasta County language" and "Trinity County language" as sociolinguistically significant dialect labels. This usage, for instance, parallels the Patwins' use of "Lake County language" as their term for the /t^hebt^{h}i/ dialect of Hill Patwin, which is demonstrably distinct from other Hill Patwin dialects.
4. Merriam's explicit statements about dialect boundaries, which undoubtedly were based largely on direct informant reports, and

on a mechanical interpretation of his own vocabulary transcriptions of such dialects.

5. Schlichter also fails to explain away a number of lexical distinctions in the Merriam vocabularies:

> Thus I have been able to eliminate all of the "dialect differences" in Merriam's data except for some ten sets for which I could not reelicit one or the other of the terms Merriam gives. These are words for less well known or rare animals or plants. All sets in the general word list of basic items from various semantic areas can be explained without assuming the existence of dialects.
>
> --Schlichter (1979:242)

Note that in the case of relatively close dialects or subdialects, it is not the basic vocabulary where one might expect the most evidence of lexical variation, but in such vocabulary as that for various less common plants and animals and less common descriptives or verbal action terms.

6. There are lexical and phonological distinctions reported both by Pitkin and by Schlichter between Hayfork and McCloud Wintu, which are ascribed to dialect origin by Pitkin, but claimed to be idiolectal by Schlichter.

7. Finally, Gifford's (1922) data on kin classifications, to be examined in detail below, also shows considerable differences in lexical usage of kinterms among Wintu groups, differences which he unhesitatingly attributes to dialectal distinctions. He describes, for instance, "Northern Wintun of Shasta County" (= /nomtipom/) as a "subdialect of Northern Wintun"; likewise

he regards "Northeastern Wintun" (= /wenemem/) as "the eastern subdialect of Northern Wintun" (1922:100,102).

Altogether, I think the evidence is good that there was regular dialect variation within Wintu aboriginally, although it was minimal for the group of subdialects I have labeled "Wintu proper". For most semantic fields the lexical variation was small, but as we will see below, for the kinterm vocabulary and associated kin classifications, a number of major differences distinguished the Wintu (sub)dialects. That these differences yield to a coherent comparative reconstruction suggests the reality of the putative dialect divisions of Wintu, at least for the semantic field of kinship, and does not strongly support Schlichter's (1979:244) conclusion that, "...The variation was 'continuous rather than discrete.'" Wintu did constitute a dialect continuum--that is not in contention, but to say that it constituted a dialect continuum is very different from claiming that it did not exhibit dialectal variation at all.

320. Language and dialect synonymies

321. Introduction

Table 3.2 presents a synonymy, organized dialect by dialect, of the most significant alternative appellations used by the early ethnographers and linguistic recorders. The synonymy is not intended to be exhaustive in coverage, especially as regards language or division names, since those are fairly well-treated elsewhere in the literature on Wintun (see e.g. Pitkin 1962:43-44; La Pena 1978:339; Goldschmidt 1978:347,349; Johnson 1978:358-359). The intention here is to correlate the classification above accurately with the dialect sources, including most importantly the major ethnographers' designations, the Merriam dialect designations,

Powers' "tribe" designations, and the Powell vocabularies, since these involve the greatest degree of cross-confusion in terminology. Later collections by trained linguists, to be discussed below in Chapter 4, are nearly all unambiguously identified and easily correlatable with one or another of the surviving dialects in the classification.

322. Table of language and dialect synonymies

See Table 3.2 in the following pages.

Table 3.2 (part 1): Language and dialect synonymies, Wintu

This work		DuBois	Merriam
1. (Okwanuchu)		Waimuk (1)	---
2. Wintu	wint^{h}u·h	Wintu	Wintoca
3. Upper Sacramento	nomtipom	Nomtipom	Num'-te-pum'
4. McCloud	wenememem	Winimen	
5. Stillwater	dawpom	Dau-pom	
6. Keswick	ʔelpom	Elpom	
7. French Gulch	ʼλabalpom	Klabalpom	
8. Upper Trinity	nomsu·s	nomsus	Num'-soos
9. Hayfork	nore·lmaq	Hayfork	Nor'-rel-muk
10. (Athapaskan)		---	Ni-i'-che (2)
11. Bald Hills	dawnom ~ dawpom	Dau-nom	Daw'-pum

	Powers	Powell	Powell vocabularies
2.	Win-tūn'; Wai'-lak-ki	Wintu; Wailaki	#1 Win-tūn'; #9 Digger
4.	Win'-ni-mim; Pu'-i-mim (Pit River)	---	#12 Win-tūn'
8.	Wai'-kēn-mok; Ti-en'-Ti-en'	Waikenmuk	#11 Num'-su; #3 Trinity Indians"
9.	Nor'-mok; Nor'-rel-mok	Normuk; Norelmuk	---
11.	Daú-pum	Dawpom	---

Table 3.2 (part 2): Language and dialect synonymies, River Nomlaki

This work		Kroeber	Goldschmidt
1. Nomlaki	wint^{h}u·n	Wintun	Nomlaki
2. "River Wailaki"; Noema	me·mwaylaka	---	mêmwailaka
3. Red Bluff	da·maq	Dā-mak	---
4. Tehama	puymaq	Tehêmet	puimôk
5. (Chico Maidu & Patwin)		(Valley Maidu)	(Valley Maidu)

Merriam	Powers	Powell	Powell vocabularies
1. Central Wintoon; Nomlakke	---	---	---
2. Mem'-wi'-lakkah	---	---	#2 Sacramento R.; #4 Noema, Wylacker (3)
3. Dah'-muk (= No-e'-muk ?)	---	---	---
4. Poo'-e-muk; Te-ha'-mah	Pu'-i-mok	---	#6 Tehama
5. No-mel'-te-kĕ'-wis (4)	(Patwin)	---	---

Table 3.2 (part 3): Language and dialect synonymies, Hill Nomlaki

This work		Kroeber	Goldschmidt
1. Hill Nomlaki	nomlaka	Hill Wintun	Nomlaki
2. South Fork Cottonwood Cr.	wayqewe‡	Chuidau	---
3. Redbank/Elder Cr.		Wai-keweL	waikêwê‡
4. ---	nomqewe‡	Walti-keweL	waltoikêwê‡
5. Paskenta		Nom-keweL	nomlaka; nomleak'
6. Newville		Kalaiel	kolaiêl
7. Grindstone	noyqewe‡	Pomtididi	noikêwê‡
8. Elk Creek		Tolokai	
9. Stony Creek		Dahchímchini	

Merriam	Powers	Powell	Powell vocabularies
1. ---	Noam'-lak-ki	Nomlaki	---
2. ---	Num'-mok (?)	Nommuk	---
3. Wi-e'-ker-ril	---	---	---
5. Nom'-lak-ke; No´m-lik-kah	---	---	#7 Nome Lackee
6. Kah'-li-el'	---	---	---
7-9. Dah'-chin-chin'-ne (~Noi'-muk)	---	---	---

Table 3.2 (part 4): Language and dialect synonymies, Hill Patwin

This work		Kroeber	Merriam
1. Patwin	patwin	Patwin	---
2. Hill Patwin	---	Hill Patwin	---
3. Lodoga	kabalme·m	Chuhel-mem	Choo-hel'-mem-sel
4. Lake County	$t^{h}ebt^{h}i$	Tebti	Chen'-po-sel; Lol-sel
5. Cortina	ʼλet	Let	'Klet'-win
6. Rumsey	ko·pe	Kope	Ko-pā; Win-ko-pah
7. Putah	topay	Topai	Nan-noo-tā'-we (5)
8. Napa	napa	---	Nap'-pa

Powers	Powell	Powell vocabularies
1. Pat-wīn'	Patwin	---
4. Chen'-po-sel; Ol'-po-sel; Lol'-sel	Chenposel; Olposel; Lolsel	#10 Pat-wīn'
5. Wai'-ko-sel	Waikosel	---
6. Wí-lak-sel	Wailaksel [sic]	---
7. To-pai'-di-sel	Topaidisel	#8 Ko-pe' (5)
8. Napa	Napa	---

Table 3.2 (part 5): Language and dialect synonymies, River Patwin and Southern Patwin

This work		Kroeber	Merriam
1. River Patwin		River Patwin	---
2. Colusa	koru·	Koru	Ko'-roo
3. Grimes	saka	Saka	Pat'-win
4. Southern Patwin	puywin	South Patwin	Poo-e-win
5. Knight's Landing	yo·doy	Yodoi	---
6. Dixon	pu·	---	---
7. Suisun	suyisun	---	---

Powers	Powell	Powell vocabularies
2. Ko-rú-si	Korusi	#5 Colouse
5. Yo-det'-a-bi	Todetabi [sic]	---
6. Ma-lak'-ka;	Malaka;	---
Ol-u-lá-to;	Olelato;	
Li-wai'-to	Liwaito	
7. Su-i-sun'	Suisun	---

323. Notes to Table 3.2

1. Waimuk (/way-maq/ 'northerners') refers to a group in the Upper McCloud Valley, about whom DuBois (1935:8) states:

> I am inclined to identify these so-called Waimuk of the Wintu with the Okwanuchu and to consider them a transition people among whom one tribal unit gradually faded into another.

The most reasonable interpretation of this group's ambiguous status is to posit, along with DuBois, that the /waymaq/ were in fact originally the Okwanuchu branch of Shasta, located in the Upper Sacramento River, McCloud River and Squaw Creek drainages, but that by the time of DuBois' ethnographic reports, the Okwanuchu themselves had largely disappeared, partly as a result of hostilities with the Wintu and the Modoc. The McCloud River Wintu at least had moved partly into the Okwanuchu area, intermarrying with the remnant Okwanuchu. Thus the linguistic boundaries and ethnic character of this area had become somewhat indeterminate.

2. Merriam claimed that the Ni-i'-che (/nayʔayči/ ?) were a separate group of Wintu, located at the very western tip of Wintu territory along the South Fork between Plummer Creek and Forest Glen. However, Merriam was unable to gather any linguistic vocabulary in support of that claim. The name does not seem to be Wintu in origin, as Schlichter (1979:237) points out, and Merriam's case seems weak. Ni-i'-che probably represents a small group of Nongatl from the Mad River, just over South Fork Mountain or of Lassik from further up the South Fork. This would accord with Goddard's opinion that this section of South Fork was occupied by the Athapaskans, although Kroeber's Wintu informants claimed the area for Wintu. Merriam himself put the Lassik on the South Fork above Forest Glen (Merriam 1966:76; 1974:11). Bauman (1980), in reviewing this issue,

concludes:

> The Athapaskans must then have been localized exclusively in the upper reaches of the South Fork in the vicinity of Forest Glen.

That puts them more or less in the right position to have been Merriam's mysterious Ni-i'-che group.

3. It is conceivable that the Powell vocabularies #2 and #4, labeled "Sacramento River" (originally "Noemuc & Wylacker" in Merriam's copy of Redding's m.s.) and "Noema, Wylacker" respectively, actually include a mixture of Nomlaki and Wintu forms, rather than each being collected from a single speaker or a group speaking the same dialect. This could explain the lexically intermediate status of the vocabulary lists, with some forms resembling Wintu and others Nomlaki. However, Merriam clearly believed that the vocabularies showed Noema to be a distinct Nomlaki dialect; thus see his discussion in Merriam (1966:55-58). Goldschmidt (1951:314) identified just two groups along the river:

> According to Hill Wintun informants, the River Indians were of two groups: the mêmwailaka (water north language) in the north, and the puimôk (east people).

Goldschmidt does not mention the Red Bluff group. Kroeber (1932:266), in identifying River Nomlaki tribelets, mentions four tribelets, including the Tehama, which were apparently associated with the Pui-mak (/puy-maq/), but of the tribelet at Red Bluff he states:

> 13. Where Redbank Creek comes in, below Red Bluff, were the Dā-mak, whose speech, while still Central Wintun, approached that of the Northern Wintu.

Kroeber does not mention the mêmwailaka. Of Nomlaki's northern neighbors, he notes:

> With the middle fork [of Cottonwood Creek] the 'Northern Wintun' or Wintu, of different speech, are said to have begun. These are all Wai-laka, northerners...
>
> --Kroeber (1932:266)

These statements raise the possibility that in referring to the "River Wailaki" further up the river from the Red Bluff tribelet, the Nomlaki informants of Goldschmidt may have had in mind a group linguistically closer to Wintu. That the Red Bluff tribelet and the "River Wailaki" were distinct is further suggested by Merriam's recording of placenames for both groups from a Paskenta informant:

	Dah'-muk	Tribe from Red Bank cr. to little above Red Bluff.
	Mem'-Wi'-lakkah	Tribe on both sides Sacramento R. at Jellie's Ferry 10 mi. above Red Bluff.
Cf.	Wi'-lak-kah	Tribe from Cottonwood Cr. N to Trinity River.

In this context, it is useful to note that Merriam usually used "tribe" in the sense of a dialect group, rather than a tribelet, although sometimes the two notions coincide in particular cases.

Another piece of the puzzle is H. B. Brown's (1852) map of the Wintun languages, reported on by Merriam (1966:52ff). On the map there is reportedly a dotted line "following the course of Red Bluff Creek (= Red Bank Creek)" dividing the "Noemuc" area from the "Wylacker" area. This suggests that Brown and Major Redding felt that the area along the river above Red Bluff (i.e. including Goldschmidt's mêmwailaka group) was "Wylacker", i.e. Wintu in affiliation. This leaves us with the probability of three river dialects (from the south: Tehama, Red Bluff, and "River Wailaki") grading towards Wintu. It also raises questions about

what exactly Brown and Redding were recording--"River Wailaki" in the immediate vicinity of Mag Readings, a mixture of that dialect and Wintu proper, a mixture of Red Bluff and Wintu, or possibly some other combination.

4. Merriam's No-mel'-te-kĕ'-wis group poses a problem. The group is alleged to have lived along the Sacramento River above the River Patwin, who are fairly reliably reported to have extended north along the river only to about Princeton. Kroeber (1932) assigns the stretch of the river from Princeton north to above Hamilton City to the Valley Maidu (= Chico Maidu). Merriam (1966:76) assigns all but the section nearest Chico to the No-mel'-te-kĕ'-wis, however, which he classes with his Central Wintoon (= Nomlaki) group. (Cf. also Merriam 1966:50,55.) Powers made an observation which seems to support Merriam on this, except that he affiliated the Wintun group in that area with the Patwin, not the Nomlaki:

> ...on Lower Stony Creek, the Nu'-i-mok (Southern People). The latter are intermarried with the No-yu'-ki (Southern Enemies), living at Jacinto, who belong to the Patwin nation.
>
> --Powers (1877[1976]:230)

Powers may have the native names reversed here (cf. Goldschmidt 1951:315), but otherwise the picture is consistent with a Patwin group in the Jacinto area. (Jacinto was formerly located on the west river bank between the current towns--actually hamlets--of Glenn and Ordbend.) Merriam's village data, as reported by Heizer and Hester (1970), seems to further support Powers' contention. This village data is mapped in Riddell (1978:370-371), although with some duplication of villages as recorded by different sources. A note from Merriam's River Patwin vocabularies also supports

the case for Patwin in the area:

Baht-che — At Jacinto (belonged to Patwin but shared by Mitchopdo).

A possible reconstruction is as follows: The Chico Maidu were originally centered around the Chico locale, along Chico Creek, but by relatively early times had settled on both banks of the Sacramento River itself around Ordbend and Monroeville (formerly at the debouch of Stony Creek into the river, just southeast of Hamilton City). Originally settled along the river south of Monroeville were a group of Patwin not directly connected with the Colusa division (who lived from Princeton south to Sycamore). This group of Patwin became allied with and intermarried with the Chico Maidu, whose villages had started to penetrate further south along the river. This assimilation by the Chico Maidu, as well as the effects of the 1830's epidemics, resulted eventually in a de facto shift in ethnic status of this stretch of the river by the time of Kroeber's inquiries and mapping a century later. If this scenario is accurate, there may well have been a separate dialect of Patwin spoken in the area, but no linguistic recording of any sort for that dialect seems tc have survived. Linguistic evidence for such a scenario might possibly be found, however, in a careful examination of Chico Maidu records.

The term No-mel'-te-kĕ'-wis (also appearing in Merriam 1966 as No-mel'-te-kĕ'-we) appears to be Nomlaki, phonemically /nome(·)l-ti-qeweɬ/, rather than Patwin, however. This is suggested by several lines of evidence. First, the use of /qeweɬ/ as a placename (or tribelet) suffix seems restricted to Nomlaki; the cognate forms in Wintu (qewel, -λ/) and in Patwin (WPK /kewel/; WPT, WPCC, WPC, WPR /kewe/; WPS /kewel, ke(·)l/) mean only 'house'. Second, the final -s in Merriam's transcription indicates a probable /-ɬ/ in the phonemic form, but since the final -l ~ -ɬ

aspect alternation is limited to Northern Wintun, again the term is unlikely to be Patwin. Third, in the Merriam River Patwin vocabulary which mentions Patwin rancherias near Jacinto, the term No-mel'-te-kĕ'-wis does not appear. But assuming that the term is Nomlaki, heard from a Nomlaki speaker referring to the Jacinto area Patwin (?), it makes little geographic sense, since the name means literally "off to the west village". Thus the term and its application remain somewhat of an enigma.

5. Note that the Powell vocabulary #8 "Ko-pe'" (reprinted from George Gibbs' 1852 vocabulary in Schoolcraft (1860:428-455)) refers to the Berryessa Valley dialect (= Putah), which, judging from the vocabulary, was distinct from the Capay Valley dialect (= Rumsey), although close to it. It is the latter dialect which Merriam labels Ko-pā, a name derived from that of a former village (/ko·pe/ 'root') in the Capay Valley between Brooks and Guinda. Merriam (1966:76) labels the Berryessa Valley and Putah Creek area of his map as Nan-noo-tā'-we (/na·nu ˌtewe/ 'my language'), which seems to be a misnomer, based on a miscommunication of some sort between Merriam and an informant. The Gibbs evidence that the Putah dialect was distinct, combined with Merriam's limited evidence that the Napa dialect (or at least that spoken by some residents of Napa) was identical to Cortina, suggests that the dialect boundaries on Merriam's map are not quite correct here. Napa should be distinct from the Putah Creek dialect, with it still being an open question whether all or only some of the Napa residents were recent settlers originally from the Cortina area. The picture is confused by the fact that some of these Cortina people were probably escapees or post-secularization neophyte refugees of the mission system, who had originally been hauled in from interior Hill Patwin territory by the Spanish press gangs for the Franciscan salvation army.

330. Map of the Wintun languages

331. Introduction

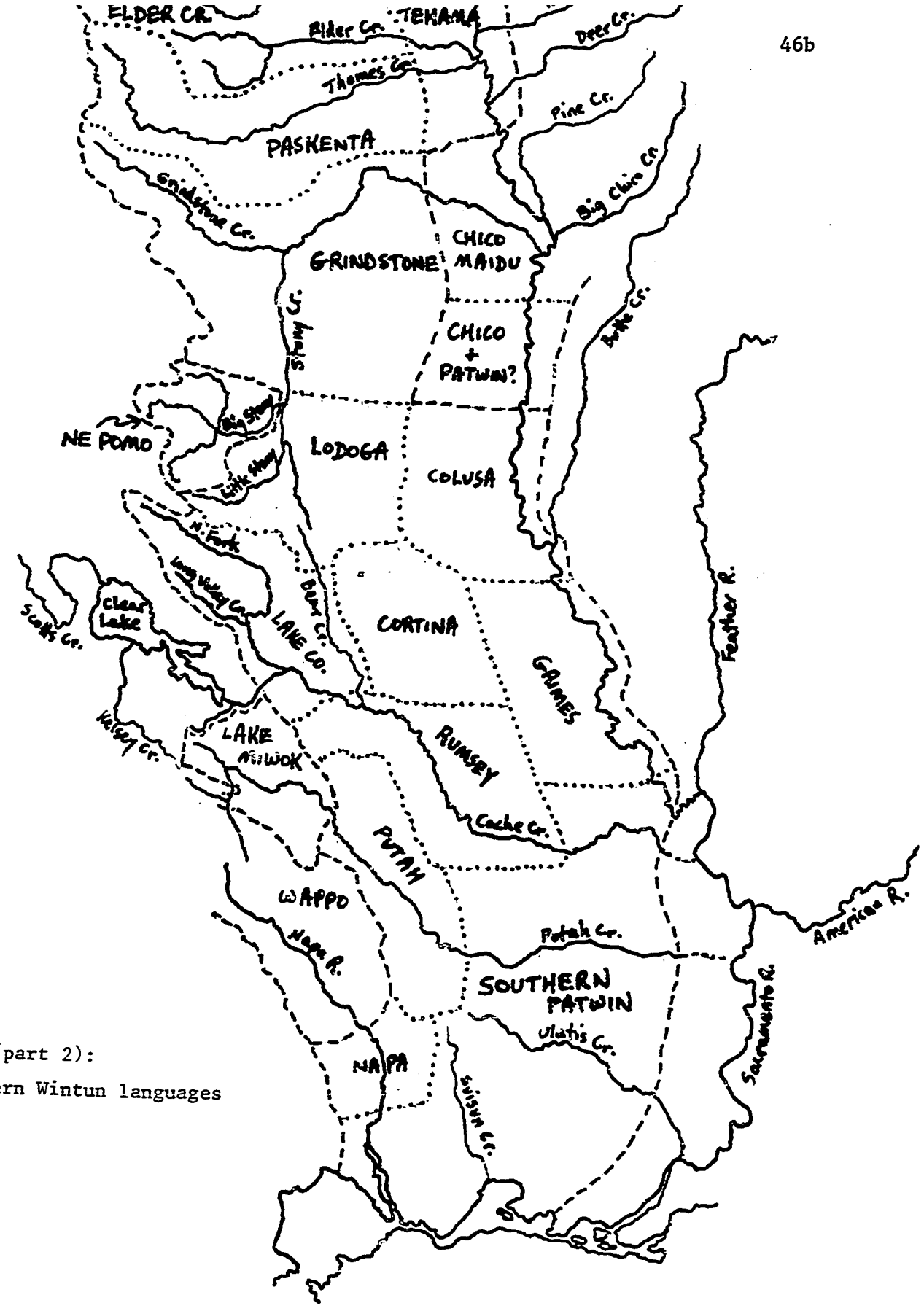
The new map of Wintun languages presented here is based primarily on Merriam's (1966, 1974) mapping of Wintun dialect boundaries, but relies also on information in Kroeber (1925, 1932), DuBois (1935), Goldschmidt (1951) and Bennyhoff (1977a) for the correction of a number of errors in Merriam's map. Also, the discussion in Bauman (1980), based on Harrington's data, is used to adjust the boundaries of the Hayfork and Upper Trinity Wintu. The map is not yet a definitive rendition, since much more ethnogeographic research must be done first, but it should be detailed enough to follow the classification presented in §310 and to provide the geographical basis for understanding the significance of the development of Wintun kin classification in relation to the social systems of neighboring groups.

Following the map are several notes which point out significant differences between Map 3.1 and earlier published maps.

332. Map 3.1: The Wintun language family

See the following pages.

Map 3.1 (part 1): Northern Wintun languages



Map 3.1 (part 2):
Southern Wintun languages

333. Notes to Map 3.1

1. Patwin. Map 3.1 differs from Kroeber (1925) in separating Southern Patwin from Hill and River Patwin as a distinct language group. The northern boundary of Southern Patwin basically follows Merriam (1966), but the southern boundary of Southern Patwin is seen as not extending all the way to the Sacramento River channel in the Delta. Instead, this boundary follows the line determined roughly by Kroeber (1932) and in more detail by Bennyhoff (1977a). Map 3.1 follows Merriam (1966) and Bennyhoff (1977b) in showing Napa Hill Patwin in Napa Valley between the Southern Patwin and the Wappo [but cf. §323, note 5]. Map 3.1 rejects Merriam's eastern boundary of River Patwin in favor of Kroeber's (1932) interpretation of the Marysville (= Sutter) Buttes area as unclaimed territory whose use was shared with the Valley Nisenan and Valley Maidu.

2. Nomlaki. The southern boundary of Hill Nomlaki is uncontested. The stretch of the Sacramento River above Princeton is a problem, however (cf. §323, note 4). Map 3.1 follows Riddell's (1978:371) interpretation of Heizer and Hester (1970), which basically agrees with Kroeber (1932) in most details. Rough dividing lines between the three most likely Hill Nomlaki dialect divisions are indicated. The greatest problem lies in the northern boundary between /wayqewel/ and the Bald Hills Wintu. Merriam (1966) shows the boundary following Red Bank Creek, well south of the South Fork of Cottonwood Creek. Kroeber (1925), DuBois (1935) and Goldschmidt (1951) show the boundary running along the south bank of the North Fork of Cottonwood Creek. Kroeber (1932) has the boundary running between the "Middle Fork" (= Dry Creek) and the South Fork of Cottonwood Creek. If Powers' (1877[1976]:230) mention of "Ruin River" actually refers to the South Fork of Cottonwood Creek, then Kroeber's (1932) line seems the best compromise; it is adopted for Map 3.1. The River Nomlaki and "River

Wailaki" groups are indicated in accordance with the discussion in §323, note 3 and the "tribe" locations in Merriam's vocabulary schedules; they thus differ somewhat from all previous maps of the area.

3. Wintu. The Wintu proper are mapped in accord with DuBois (1935), with tentative (sub-)dialectal divisions indicated along natural drainage divisions, so that the approximate geographic relations of the linguistically documented and undocumented groups can be envisioned. The western boundaries of Upper Trinity and Hayfork Wintu are adjusted eastward from those shown in Kroeber (1925) and DuBois (1935), to account for Bauman's (1980) and Merriam's (1966, 1974) claims about Chimariko boundaries. Merriam's Ni-i'-che group is assigned to the Lassik (either the Lassik proper or the Nongatl--cf. §323, note 2).

340. Language maps and actual settlement patterns

A basic problem exhibited by most linguistic maps is that languages and dialects are represented on them as covering entire blocks of territory, whereas the people who spoke those languages and dialects were actually spread in quite assymmetric and "clumpy" patterns across the landscape. A language map such as that prepared by Kroeber (1925) indicates only the affiliation of the dominant language in a given "tribal territory", without for instance indicating the average density of the settlement in any particular area. Furthermore, actual California native groups showed a time-dependent variation in settlement, mostly correlated with the annual cycle of seasons. In the territories of most typical California tribelets there was a winter village area, where most of the population concentrated in the winter, and a large area of outlying territory or "backcountry" wherein definite rounds of seasonal hunting and gathering exploitation of resources were followed by families, small

or large specially-constituted task groups, or even the entire community in the case of major harvests, as of acorns, or for salmon runs. This seasonally varying distribution of people across territory is also not represented on a language map. Finally, traditional language mapping does not take account of the fact that in certain areas patterns of social interaction and alliance served to create multilingual communities. In some areas of California, such as Clear Lake, it is known that there were communities where as many as five or six languages were used by various of the permanent residents (cf. Gifford 1926).

The map of Wintun languages presented in §332 is no exception in manifesting these drawbacks of a traditional language map. Therefore, this section is intended to highlight a few considerations which will make the use of such a map a little more realistic in the context of issues raised later in this paper.

Above all, in dealing with culture contact and linguistic prehistory, it should be remembered that the languages themselves, or the brightly-colored blotches on a map which are supposed to represent them, are not the primary mediums of interaction. It is the people speaking those languages, following specific cultural patterns and seasonal patterns of settlement, who actually interact, and the historical consequences of those interactions result in the observed and inferred evidence of linguistic and cultural prehistory in a region. Local geographic conditions (geomorphic, hydrologic, climatic, floral and faunal, and cultural) can have profound influences on the way in which people interact, and thus indirectly on the way patterns of linguistic prehistory develop.

Traditional ethnographic village maps, which usually list the permanent winter villages of a group, can serve as a helpful adjunct to a linguistic map, since they show local concentrations of people, often

along the major watercourses, and thus help to define at least part of the spatial and temporal distribution of members of a group in relation to their neighbors. Site distribution maps compiled by archaeologists can further refine that picture by extending the temporal dimension and by pinpointing different kinds of settlements and sites reflecting the shifting spatial distribution of a group during their annual round. Such maps have been incorporated in part into the California volume (1978) of the Handbook of North American Indians, thus providing a more detailed picture of language distribution in California than can be obtained from featureless language maps.

The "language boundary" itself poses another set of problems of interpretation. In some instances it is in fact possible to draw a sharp line of demarcation which clearly separates two groups and the languages that they spoke. Thus, for instance, the Yuki-Nomlaki boundary was probably fairly sharp: the two groups were hostile, and the boundary was located in remote, high country well away from the centers of permanent village sites. But in other cases the boundaries were less clear, with a tribelet boundary perhaps well-marked, but with the languages or dialects themselves spreading over the boundaries with the complex patterns of alliance that had built up; such a case is probably represented by the Lake County Hill Patwin, Southeastern Pomo, and Lake Miwok groups, where strong evidence of linguistic diffusion and multilingualism can be found, and where the tribelet boundaries did not serve as language "barriers". In yet other cases, the tribelet boundaries themselves were in a state of flux (as for the northern boundary of the Wintu) or the majority ethnic identity in an area was shifting from one group to another (as in the case of the Valley Maidu segment of the Sacramento River north of the River Patwin). Each type of situation has different potential

consequences for the inter-group linguistic contacts and for the historical interpretation of evidence of linguistic borrowing or of a reconstructed protolanguage system.

Another problem related to interpretation of boundaries is the fact that in some instances California groups shared well-defined special territories, often those with an abundance of particular resources. Sometimes such areas constituted small, special-purpose sites, as for gatherint basketry materials, lithic materials, etc. At other times, large areas may have been involved. Just such a "boundary" situation seems to have been typical for the division between the hill and river tribelets of the Patwin and of the Nomlaki, as a result of the geographic character of the western Sacramento Valley. The Sacramento River itself and the surrounding floodplain had abundant riverine and marshland resources, and was a focus of heavy settlement. To the west, in the foothill valleys, located roughly at a major ecotonal boundary along the upper reaches of the western tributary streams to the Sacramento, there was another focus of settlement. In between there stretches a wide flat plain which is very dry in the summers and which had few if any permanent settlements. This plain was apparently used by both the hill and river groups for hunting and for the late spring/early summer seed harvests. The boundary between the hill and river groups' territories is thus very vague, in most instances being arbitrarily drawn several miles east of the base of the first foothills. By contrast, tribelet boundaries which coincide with the ridges dividing major drainages can usually be defined much more exactly.

In other cases, one California group would allow another group limited but regular access to a location or transit rights across its territory for gathering expeditions. Yet other localities were

"international", special-purpose, limited-access areas; for example, neither the Patwin, Nisenan nor the Valley Maidu had permanent settlements in the immediate vicinity of the Sutter Buttes, which were shared by men of those groups as a hunting ground and as a shamans' training, dreaming and power-gathering area. Thus in a sense, the territories of some groups, and along with them the effective distribution of the languages they spoke, interpenetrated spatially, further complicating the picture of language geography in California. There is no reason to suppose that similar conditions did not obtain elsewhere in North America as well, although the unusually high population density in Central California seems to have amplified the effects of such linguistic interactions.

Finally, different languages can come to have special functions in cross-ethnic or intra-community communication. Such functions are also ignored in traditional language mapping. In certain circumstances, dramatic instances of widespread lingua francas show up in native America. Thus language mapping in the Northwest would be incomplete and misleading without considering the spread of Chinook Jargon and analyzing its relations to the local languages spoken by the groups who used Jargon. In California, the usual pattern of inter-group communication involved not special lingua francas but patterns of multilingualism, with some indication in Central California at least of incipient social class based distinctions in the distribution and function of multilingual personal linguistic repertoires. Also, there is evidence of a widespread kind of diglossia in California, with special-purpose "high" ritual languages associated with secret societies or other religious cults. Wintun is one of the groups where these ritual high languages were known to exist, although there is almost no documentation of their actual form or detailed functioning.

In summary then, the problems of language mapping in an area like California are multiple and complex. Interpretation of a given map of any language or language family should involve appropriate caution and consideration of the full range of social activities and geographic variables which influence the "ground truth" of language distribution for the actual people who spoke the language or languages represented on the map.

350. Outstanding problems of Wintun ethnogeography

351. Introduction

The Wintun family was a relatively extensive one by California standards, including a variety of local geographic conditions and contacts with at least 20 distinct language groups not of Wintun linguistic affiliation. Ideally a full ethnogeographic treatment and language map for the Wintun would show the detailed distribution of the various dialect groups within their respective territories, with names, types and significances of all villages, sites and geographic features, indications of density of settlement, seasonal round--including shared territories or use of the territory of neighboring groups--and a detailed characterization of the "boundary" types, both cross-ethnic and language-internal, which are significant to the distribution of language and dialect. Such an ideal is probably not obtainable, but a number of specific projects could contribute distinctly to our understanding of the ethnogeography of the Wintun.

352. A Wintun gazetteer

The evidence of Wintun placenames is scattered in dozens of sources,

including the major ethnographies, Barrett's (1908) ethnogeography of the Pomo area, the ethnographic and linguistic records of Merriam and of Harrington, the various terms collected in passing by those intent primarily on language recording, the mission records and various published and unpublished interpretations of them, the diaries and maps of early Spanish and American explorers, and a miscellany of minor records. In addition, various archaeological investigations have turned up large numbers of sites in parts of Wintun territory, some of which can be associated with named Wintun places, others of which are late and Wintun in affiliation, but which cannot be associated with any known names, and yet others of which clearly predate Wintun occupation of the area. A major effort is needed to pull all of this information together into a comprehensive and detailed gazetteer of Wintun territory, associating placenames with locations on the map, giving etymologies of placenames where possible, and collecting together ethnohistoric information associated with those places. Such a gazetteer would not only serve an important scholarly function, but also provide the surviving Wintun peoples a valuable source of information about their own history. The mapping in such a gazetteer should not be in terms of flat featureless blocks of territory, but at the minimum should include topographic, hydrologic and vegetation information to put the native places in a fuller context. One cultural feature of much interest in such a gazetteer would be reconstructions of important aboriginal trails linking different areas.

353. Wintun settlement patterns

Another project which would further the general goal of understanding Wintun ethnogeography would be a synthesis of Wintun settlement patterns, including the seasonal round followed by various groups and

identification of special use areas within the tribelets' territories, along with refinement of estimates of population densities. Such a project would proceed best after a basic gazetteer had been compiled and with the cooperation of archaeologists conversant with local patterns in different corners of the original Wintun territory. The ethnographic evidence for such a study among the Wintun is fragmentary, so that much of this work would have to proceed on the basis of archaeological reconstruction for local areas, combined with judicious use of analogic evidence from neighboring groups. Cooperation with the local Indian communities would result in better understanding of the significance of some areas and their relation to the overall settlement pattern of early groups.

354. Boundary issues and interactions with neighbors

A number of distinct, but relatively limited problems of Wintun interaction with neighboring groups can be identified. Most of these problems involve areas of unstable or poorly characterized boundaries between groups and thus ultimately may have implications for an overall model of local Wintun prehistory. These problems are only listed here--future research is needed to address each of them in detail.

1. North Wintu groups (especially the McCloud and Upper Sacramento) and the Okwanuchu. There is good evidence that the Wintu were expanding north into Shasta territory in recent times (cf. e.g. Kroeber 1925:284 and DuBois 1935:8), a population shift of great importance in interpreting the reconstructed Wintu (and Proto-Wintun) kin classification. Archaeological data from the area is also consistent with this presumption of late local Wintu movement northwards. The shifts involved were marked enough to create considerable confusion in the early ethnographic mapping

of the northernmost Wintu boundary. The key to unraveling this problem lies in the 1931 fieldnotes of J. P. Harrington, who, apparently intrigued by the problem, undertook a fieldtrip from the Pit River area across the top of Wintu territory to Hyampom in the west, working locally with the best informed of the local Indians, collecting information about placenames, boundaries, and local group interactions. Examination of some of this material by James Bauman (1980) regarding the data about Wintu-Chimariko boundaries at the western end of Harrington's trip has already yielded insights into the nature of that boundary, but considerably more work is needed to clarify the Shasta-Wintu interactions.

2. Upper Trinity and Hayfork Wintu and the Chimariko. There is evidence that these Wintu groups had recently entered the Trinity drainage from the Sacramento Valley to the east and were expanding to the territorial detriment of the Chimariko. (Cf. Kroeber's surmise to the same effect in the Handbook, pp. 109-110.) Corroboration of this has already been provided by Bauman (1980) working from the Harrington notes, but further work could be done from the Wintu side of the boundary.

3. Wintu/Nomlaki and the Yana. There is some archaeological evidence (cf. J. Johnston 1978) that the River Wintu and River Nomlaki groups were gradually displacing Yanans in the area immediately to the east of the Sacramento River. Confirming evidence might be found in detailed examination of placenames for the area.

4. Nomlaki/Patwin and the Valley Maidu. The evidence for Valley Maidu (= Chico Maidu) expansion south on the Sacramento River, assimilating a Patwin (or Nomlaki?) group, has already been reviewed in §323, note 4. The nature of this move needs to be further specified and correlated with evidence of linguistic diffusion in Chico Maidu.

5. River Patwin and Valley Nisenan. The boundary here does not seem

to have been unstable, but as a core of the Kuksu cult area, this locale involved extensive cultural interaction between these groups. This interaction will probably show up in evidence of linguistic diffusion, as well as ritual and folklore diffusion between the two groups.

6. The Southern Patwin expansion into the Delta. Archaeological and linguistic evidence both agree in seeing an extension of Patwin southward into the Sacramento Delta area about 1500 B.P. over a cultural substrate of Miwok affiliation. The linguistic evidence for this move needs to be more systematically compiled and analyzed.

7. Hill Patwin, Lake Miwok and Northeastern Pomo. The Hill Patwin groups clearly were latecomers to the foothills of the South Coast Ranges. In two cases their territory seems to have gradually expanded to the point of isolating small enclaves of people speaking languages related to other families--Lake Miwok and Northeastern Pomo. (Cf. Map 3.1.) Both cases should be examined as probable examples of the cultural and linguistic effects of early encroachments in California by large downstream language groups up the drainages, gradually assimilating (and ultimately leading to the disappearance of) remnant groups at the heads of those drainages. Callaghan (1964) has already demonstrated the massive Patwinization of the Lake Miwok language. And for the Northeastern Pomo, it is known that they were allied with their Hill Patwin neighbors against the Northern Pomo, their closest linguistic congeners and against the Clear Lake Pomo, their geographically closest Pomoan neighbors (cf. Kroeber 1932:364). A careful toponymic examination of the /kabalme·m/ territory should reveal clues to earlier periods of wider settlement of the Northeastern Pomo. As an example, the names of two important settlements in Lodoga Hill Patwin territory to the south of the boundary with Northeastern Pomo, /bahka/ and /c^{h}uhe·l-me·m/, contain elements unetymologizable in Patwin which are

apparently old Pomo placenames.

Chapter 4: The Wintun Kin Classifications

400. Introduction

Before attempting to reconstruct a complex system by means of the comparative historical method, it is essential to thoroughly analyze the individual attested systems which are to be compared. In the case of kin classificatory systems, composed of sets of kinterms, this task implies developing an understanding of at least three major aspects of those systems:

1. Phonology. Phonemically and phonetically accurate recordings of the kinterms are necessary for phonological reconstruction of protoforms. Where such accuracy is lacking, philological reconstitution of the data must be undertaken to separate the "information" from the "noise" before beginning systematic reconstruction.
2. Semantics. Accurate characterization of the kin classificatory semantics of the kinterms is also necessary if the reconstruction is to be anything more than just a list of protoforms for the kinterms. To fully specify the kin classificatory semantic system for each language requires a thorough formal synchronic analysis of those systems.
3. Morphology. The morphological system in which the kinterms are embedded should also be completely specified. This actually consists of two tasks: First, the accurate morphological segmentation of individual kinterms as part of the philological clarification needed to reconstruct the protoforms, and second, the further determination of the full kinterm morphological paradigm and

its functioning.

The view underlying all this is that kinterms are not lexical atoms, each to be considered separately; rather, kinterms are bound into highly structured, complex semantic systems and morphological systems. Only full attention to the details of the phonological, semantic, and morphological patterning in the daughter systems can provide all the clues needed for a comprehensive reconstruction.

This chapter deals with the philological reconstitution of the details of Wintun kinterm phonology and classificatory semantics. Some discussion of morphology is also presented, but the bulk of the examination of Wintun kinterm morphological systematics is postponed to Chapter 5. Here I first survey the kin classificatory sources for Wintun groups and the more important linguistic sources which provide exact information about kinterm phonology and morphology. Then a philological reconstitution of both the kinterms themselves and their classificatory semantics is discussed. Finally, each reconstituted system is analyzed using the formal synchronic analytic model of Scheffler and Lounsbury. The results of the analysis of each kin classificatory system are presented in a standard format to aid in the later comparison and reconstruction of the Proto-Wintun system. Also, a summary of the kin classificatory results is presented in map form at the end of this chapter.

410. Sources of Wintun kin classificatory data

411. Kroeber (1917)

Kroeber (1917), California Kinship Systems, includes the earliest anthropologically sophisticated characterization of a kin classificatory system for a Wintun linguistic group, namely the Colusa River Patwin

(see Kroeber 1917:368-370). Earlier kinterm data for Wintun languages invariably consisted of elicitation of items from a simple vocabulary list, without attention to the details of extension of kintype denotata for the various kinterms. Kroeber was the first to publish systematic information about kinterms in California.

While Kroeber's River Patwin kin classificatory data is incomplete in some respects, it is valuable, since it represents an elicitation independent of those summarized by Gifford (1922) [see below], although Gifford's data for River Patwin had already been collected by the time Kroeber published his own data. The two River Patwin records can be cross-checked to look for inconsistencies or details missed by one or the other scholar in their elicitations or analyses. Kroeber's phonetics leave something to be desired, but are generally interpretable without too much trouble. Another good point to Kroeber's presentation is that he also provides clearly identified first and second person possessed forms which illustrate part of the morphological system of the kinterms.

412. Gifford (1922)

Gifford (1922), California Kinship Terminologies, is the basic ethnographic source of kin classificatory data for nearly all California groups. Gifford collected kin data in meticulous detail, using Rivers' genealogical method as developed and reinterpreted by Kroeber. His coverage was wider than in Kroeber's monograph, extending to language by language sampling from virtually every language family in California; the coverage was also deeper, in the sense that Gifford used the testimony of multiple informants where possible and pushed the range of kintypes investigated as far as it proved feasible for each group.

For the Wintun language family, Gifford (1922:94-104) collected and

presented data from six separate groups:

1. "Southeastern Wintun"	WPRCol	Colusa River Patwin
2. "Southwestern Wintun"	WPC	Cortina Hill Patwin
3. "Central Wintun"	WNHPas	Paskenta Hill Nomlaki
4. "Northwestern Wintun of Trinity County"	WWHay	Hayfork Wintu
5. "Northern Wintun of Shasta County"	WWSac	Upper Sacramento Wintu
6. "Northeastern Wintun"	WWMc	McCloud Wintu

Of these, the River Patwin, Upper Sacramento and McCloud Wintu recordings are quite full and detailed, including information about the classification of second cousins. The Cortina recording is reported only briefly, since it is claimed to be virtually identical to that for River Patwin. The Paskenta data is less complete, but still full enough to enable a satisfactory formal analysis. The Hayfork data is also incomplete for cross-cousins, but the pattern is again clear enough for formal analysis.

Given Gifford's attention to kin classificatory detail and meticulous method, it is taken as a general principle here that the semantic interpretation which Gifford gives a kinterm (i.e. the list of kintype denotata) is presumed correct unless Gifford himself expresses doubt or there is a convergence of other compelling evidence to indicate that a particular citation is in error. Other sources are considered supplementary as regards the kin classification itself; they may be used to fill in gaps that Gifford overlooked or to provide alternative forms and analyses, but where they show classificatory differences from Gifford's data, they are subjected to a careful, skeptical scrutiny before Gifford's data is amended.

However, there are a number of ways in which Gifford's data fails of adequacy. First, Gifford's recordings are very poor <u>phonetically</u> and are

not even close to being a reliable guide to the actual phonological forms of the kinterms recorded. This no doubt was due to Gifford's near-deafness rather than any inattention to detail on his part; Gifford wore a hearing aid for many years (p.c., Hammel 1980). For example, to cite a few of the most problematical cases:

	Gifford's citation		actual phonemic form
WPRCol	xen	Sp sb	/ɬe·n/
WPRCol	tilantce	Ss h	/t^{h}ira·n-ču/
WWSac	bohûn	W (reference)	/ʔuqan/

Second, Gifford's forms are not reliably analyzed morphologically. He regularly cut off the possessive prefixes, so that the forms given are somewhat indeterminate (in this sense Gifford's data is poorer than Kroeber's), but in other cases he leaves in non-root morphemes as part of the cited forms without specifying their significance, as shown above for 'sister's husband' in River Patwin. As a result, Gifford's data is virtually useless for reconstructing in detail the phonological and morphological system of Wintun kinterms. We must look to other sources for the data to complete that task.

Gifford attempts to maintain a clear distinction between kinterms used for reference and those used for address ("vocative forms"), occasionally specifying forms for both, but he lapses often enough in this that the result is somewhat confusing. In fact, Wintun terms of address for kin are relatively complex and systematically distinct from the terms of reference (although based on the same roots, generally). Gifford's citations do not characterize the address forms very well, despite the fact that he usually cites an address form when available, in preference to the referential form. This problem is just another manifestation of Gifford's general inadequacy of morphological analysis. Again the

problem has to be rectified using later recordings by trained linguists.

Finally, although Gifford often consulted several informants, the data he presents in his monograph is just a distillation of "the system", with little or no reporting of intersubjective variation in actual use. This fault is not particularly significant for the Patwin and Nomlaki data, where the systems reflect a well-defined if rare structural type, but it is particularly egregious for the Wintu systems, which reflect odd structural types and show large differences between groups who spoke closely related dialects. This failure to report intersubjective variation probably does not mean there was none--especially for the Wintu systems. Instead, it is presumably the result of an anthropological paradigm which tended to view a culture as having a single, specifiable kinship system and which interpreted intersubjective variability as the product of informant error or lack of "sufficient knowledgability of the system". It is true that the California cultures were rapidly disappearing by the beginning of this century, but we now know that even in flourishing cultures, some intersubjective variation in use of a kin classification is to be expected. Reexamination of Gifford's original fieldnotes might make possible a partial recovery of the expected variation, as well as some of the morphological information filtered out of the data presented in the 1922 publication.

413. DuBois (1935)

DuBois (1935:57-64), in her Wintu Ethnography, presents an extensive discussion of McCloud Wintu kinship. DuBois collected kin classificatory data independently, so that her ethnography is an important second source for interpreting the McCloud Wintu system. The data is best described by the ethnographer herself:

> Gifford has described the kinship system of the Wintu and has discussed its categorical relationship to other California systems. In addition, one might consider the inner consistency of the kinship system itself and its relation to Wintu social organization. In order to present as briefly and clearly as possible the terms to be discussed, a genealogical table has been compiled which gives the majority of the terms used by a hypothetical ego. The terms collected do not coincide in every respect with Gifford's, but the system is essentially the same as that recorded by him. To the variations which Gifford collected among the Wintu, this system merely adds another. It indicates that kinship terms were by no means ironclad in their form and application in different subareas. The same variation between individuals was observed. Whether this represents an aboriginal vagueness in nomenclature, or whether it was the result of the breakdown of the older system, it is impossible to ascertain.
>
> --DuBois (1935:57)

As this passage shows, DuBois was careful to note and at least provide hypotheses about the origin of intersubjective variation in Wintu kin systems. Her analysis, in considering "the inner consistency of the kinship system" provides valuable insights into kin class inclusion relations, and by demonstrating some points of logical stress in the system indirectly indicates the probable loci of historical change underway.

However, DuBois' analysis has a number of features which are unfortunate in the sense that they tend to obscure the formal classificatory relations between terms rather than clarifying them. Thus, she tries to

explain kin class relations by lining up similar terms in paradigmatic charts which hint at but fail to fully characterize the interrelationships of the terms. Worse, some of these kin classes are then viewed as kinship "concepts" which require Riverian social explanations based on marriage practices:

> There remains the problem of why the parallel siblings, real or classificatory, should be amalgamated with the stepmother-mother's sister concept. It can be explained by postulating marriage between ego's father and ego's mother's sister's daughter, who might be ego's stepsister.
>
> --DuBois (1935:59)

This "explanation" is proposed despite DuBois' misgiving that:

> ...only one informant stated that a man might marry his real or potential stepdaughter while others denied the possibility of such a marriage and the genealogies did not reveal a single instance of it.
>
> --DuBois (1935:60)

Other such social "explanations" for unusual equations in the Wintu system are also proposed, despite lack of evidence that such marriage practices were actually prevalent--they must have "fallen into desuetude".

DeBois combines integrated functional considerations with hypothetical marriage practices in the following explanation of the semantic overlapping of McCloud la and nene:

> If hypothetical reconstruction may be ventured, it would seem that the extended use of la is a survival of an earlier form of marriage, that is, to one's wife's sister's daughter, and that the term nene is an attempt of more recent date to meet the marriage system as it exists with a terminology which is

> functionally related. It might be envisaged as an effort to equalize the pressure between two closely related sets of institutions in which the levels differ or, to use more strictly cultural terminology, in one of which a cultural lag has occurred. To what extent this equalization of pressure, or this interrelation of function, is a general cultural process, bears investigation. It is conceivable that the more closely related the two dislocated phenomena, the more rapid their readjustment will be.
>
> --DuBois (1935:62)

While the McCloud Wintu use of la and nene does show a certain logical incompatibility which is probably indicative of a system in the process of change and of the attendant variation in usage, it is not clear just what the nature of DuBois' postulated process of "equalization of pressure" could be. Hypothesizing such cultural integrative "forces" seems a poor substitute in this case for identifying the actual course of the historical change and then seeking a specific and verifiable set of cultural conditioning factors which would account for the change inferred.

For the purposes of this work, DuBois' reports of variation in use and her insights into kin class inclusion relations are used to fill out the picture of McCloud kin classification presented by Gifford, but her proposed "social explanations" are rejected in favor of a formal extensionist analysis and comparative historical reconstruction. (Cf. §449.)

414. Goldschmidt (1951)

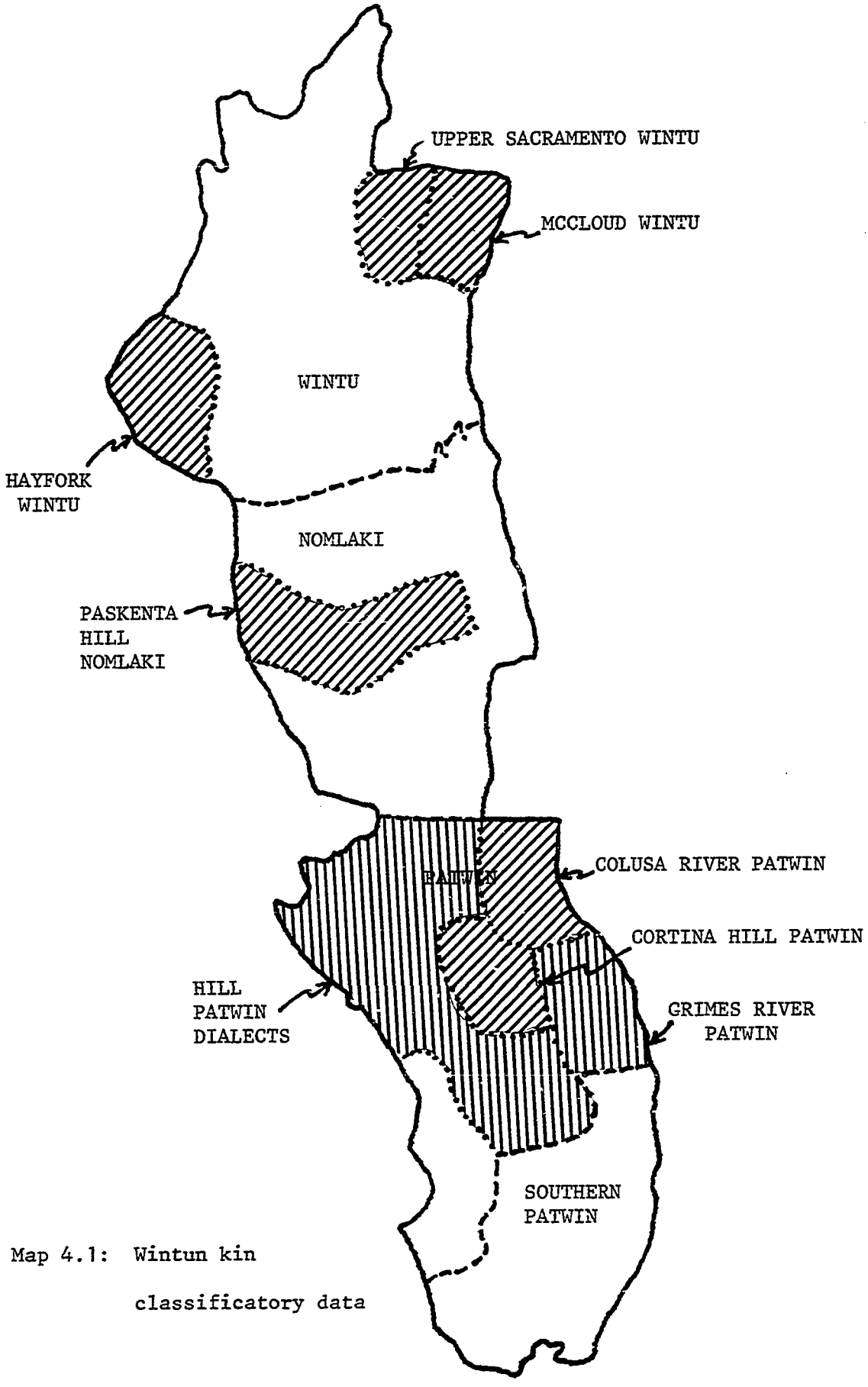
Goldschmidt's (1951) Nomlaki Ethnography includes a section on Nomlaki kinship. Goldschmidt's contribution, however, is to aspects of the kinship system other than the kin classification per se, analysis of

which is based almost exclusively on Gifford's data. The Nomlaki kin classification is reorganized into a genealogical chart presentation, which aids in its visualization, but the phonetic and kintype denotative semantic characterization of the system does not depart significantly from that presented by Gifford. The Goldschmidt data is most useful for relating the Nomlaki kin classification to the rest of Nomlaki social organization.

415. Map of availability of kin classificatory data

Map 4.1 presents graphically the distribution of information about Wintun kin classifications. The areas shaded are those for which a reasonably complete picture can be developed. These include the six groups (indicated with diagonal striping) which Gifford documented, for three of which Kroeber, DuBois and Goldschmidt provided supplementary data. Although Gifford only documented the Cortina subdialect of Hill Patwin, the linguistic work of Whistler et al., discussed below (cf. §424) allows a reliable reconstitution of the Lodoga, Lake County and Rumsey (sub-)dialects as well; these are indicated with vertical striping on the map. The Grimes subdialect of River Patwin is quite close to the Colusa subdialect, and the linguistic evidence would suggest that the kin classifications are virtually identical; therefore, Grimes River Patwin is also indicated with vertical striping.

Limited data on kinterms (as opposed to full kin classificatory systems) is available from other Wintun dialects, but the systematic data is limited to the four small contiguous areas shown on Map 4.1. These areas constitute the data points for the systematic reconstruction of the Proto-Wintun kin classification in Chapter 6.



Map 4.1: Wintun kin classificatory data

420. Linguistic sources for accurate kinterm data

421. Introduction

Since the major ethnographic sources of kin classifications, especially Gifford (1922), all fail of accurate and complete phonological and morphological characterization of Wintun kinterms, it is necessary to turn to the later recordings of trained linguists to recover that data. The linguists' data, especially that collected after World War II, has the disadvantage of having been gathered so late in the process of Wintun cultural disintegration that the full classificatory significance of the terms was no longer apparent, although the linguistic forms themselves could still be accurately recorded. Ironically, in most cases the linguists were also not trained in kin classificatory or genealogical elicitation, so that what semantic data there was could often be misinterpreted in the process of elicitation. Thus, contrary to the treatment of Gifford's data, it is the practice in this work to accept (with appropriate philological caution) the phonological and morphological judgement of the later linguists but generally to discount the semantic glosses provided by them; rather, the glosses of the earlier ethnographic reports by Gifford and others are used when available.

The post-war linguistic recordings by Berkeley-trained field linguists have been relied upon heavily here when available. In the case of languages or dialects for which such corpuses are not available, however, notably Nomlaki and Southern Patwin, more attention has been paid to collection and philological interpretation of early sources, using the better-recorded Patwin and Wintu data as a guide to phonetic and morphological interpretation.

The following sections characterize briefly, language by language,

the linguistic sources consulted in assembling accurate kinterm data preparatory to philological reconstitution of the kin classifications.

422. Wintu sources

Far and away the most important Wintu linguistic sources are the corpuses collected by Harvey Pitkin in the late 50's to early 60's and by Alice Schlichter in the late 70's. Both linguists concentrated on the McCloud Wintu (sub-)dialect, for which the best data was available, but also obtained some information about Hayfork Wintu as well. Pitkin's collection of kinterms is extensive; Schlichter's somewhat less so. But in both cases the level of phonological and morphological accuracy is high. Accordingly, these lexical sources are relied on for direct interpretation of Gifford's McCloud and Hayfork kinterms and for comparative philological recovery of his Upper Sacramento Wintu kinterms.

There are numerous earlier recordings of Wintu, the most important of which are manuscript vocabularies recorded by Jeremiah Curtin and by Albert Gatschet in the late 19th century. (See Pitkin 1962 for a listing of these sources and others.) Given the superiority of the Pitkin and Schlichter materials, however, the early recordings are not seen as contributing significantly either to the accurate specification of kinterm phonetics and morphology or of the kin classification itself, and so are not used in this study. However, their future usefulness may lie in the recovery of Wintu dialectal and diachronic variation in the use of certain kinterms, particularly the 'father', 'mother', 'nephew' and 'niece' terms, for which Wintu dialects show clear evidence of lexical innovation and variation in usage. Interpretation of the 19th century recordings within the context of the historical reconstruction proposed in Chapter 6 could potentially verify or disconfirm some aspects of the reconstruction,

especially the postulated directions of lexical innovations.

Another major Wintu source not systematically consulted for this study is the set of manuscript Wintu vocabulary recordings by C. Hart Merriam. These should be checked eventually, especially for clues about the possible dialectal status of some Wintu kinterms in the Upper Trinity and Bald Hills dialects. But the limited categorical accuracy of the Merriam recordings, together with their very poor phonetics, means that they will contribute little beyond the Gifford, Pitkin and Schlichter data for the basic task of reconstituting accurate Wintu kin classifications.

423. Nomlaki sources

For Nomlaki there is no single, extensive and accurate linguistic corpus, whether for kinterms or any other semantic field. Hence it has been necessary to assemble all available data containing kinterms in an effort to sort out as much as possible. For some kinterms the Gifford/Goldschmidt recordings are the only known attestations. Other primary sources consulted include:

1. WNHPas Whistler brief m.s. Nomlaki fieldnotes (1976) and transcriptions of brief tapes of Nomlaki recorded by Dorothy Hill (1971)
2. WNHPas Merriam m.s. vocabulary schedule (1919)
3. WNHPas Swadesh m.s. 200-word vocabulary schedule (n.d., but c. 1950)
4. WNH Barrett (1908) "Northerly Wintun" vocabulary list. The dialect is unspecified, but is probably either WNHPas or WNHGri.
5. WNRTeh Powell vocabulary #6
6. WNWay Powell vocabularies #2 and #4

Where possible, the phonetically more accurate Whistler and Swadesh recordings are used to interpret the forms in the other lists. Additionally, since Nomlaki is relatively closely related to Wintu, it is often possible to locate a cognate term in the Wintu record and use that to recover the probable phonetic form and morphological analysis of a Nomlaki term.

Two Nomlaki linguistic sources not currently available to me for this task are the following:

1. WNH(Pas?) Pitkin m.s. Nomlaki fieldnotes (c. 500 forms)
2. WNHGri Nomlaki recorded for the Round Valley Culture Project, Pat Wenger consulting linguist (c. 1977-1978)

When these sources are published, they should be searched for forms to add to or modify the conclusions I have reached on the basis of the other sources listed for Nomlaki.

424. Patwin sources

There are a number of Patwin linguistic sources, none of which is as yet published. The most important recorders have been a series of Berkeley ethnographers and linguists, listed below with approximate dates of fieldwork:

C. Hart Merriam	1903 - 1936
Jaime de Angulo	1929
Paul Radin	1931 - 1932
Elizabeth Bright	1951
Donald Ultan	1960 - 1961
Kenneth Whistler	1975 - 1979

This temporal progression also represents the approximate level of

phonetic and morphological accuracy, from worst to best (or at least better!). Merriam, on the other hand, obtained the best dialect sampling of any recorder.

All of these manuscript sources have been systematically searched for Patwin kinterms. In addition a number of non-kinterm human nouns were gathered systematically from the Patwin sources (as well as from Wintu, Nomlaki and Southern Patwin sources) in cases where there was good reason to believe that they were historically related to kinterms; these include terms of the type 'man', 'woman', 'old man', 'old woman', etc.

A few other fragmentary linguistic sources (e.g. Barrett 1908, Swadesh 200 -wordlist n.d., etc.) provide some confirmatory lexical evidence but no essentially new data. Some of my own elicitations during 1978 - 1979 were directed explicitly at clarification of the morphological system of Patwin kinterms.

The major Patwin sources are distributed among Patwin (sub-)dialects as follows:

1. WPK	Lodoga	Merriam	Bright	Ultan	Whistler	
2. WPT	Lake Co.	Merriam	Bright	Ultan	Radin	(Barrett)
3. WPCC	Rumsey	Merriam			Whistler	
4. WPC	Cortina	Merriam	Bright		de Angulo	
5. WPR	River	Merriam	Bright	Ultan	Whistler	

These are, of course, in addition to Kroeber's and Gifford's kin classificatory data, discussed in §411 and §412 above.

The relatively extensive linguistic coverage of the Hill Patwin dialects has enabled a reconstitution of not only the Hill Patwin kinterms, but also the kin classifications themselves in part. This can be done by combining three lines of evidence:

1. Gifford's Cortina data, which can be used as the analogical

frame for interpreting other Hill Patwin dialects;

2. The array of (sometimes contradictory) semantic glosses collected by the linguists;
3. Morphological patterning among the kinterms.

425. Southern Patwin sources

For Southern Patwin the linguistic data is even skimpier than for Nomlaki. Again, in the absence of a full, accurate linguistic recording, all relevant early sources were collated and compared. The single most important source is the Merriam Southern Patwin vocabulary schedule (1906, 1917). This is supplemented to a certain extent by fragmentary recordings by Arroyo de la Cuesta (1821), Jeremiah Curtin (1884), J. Alden Mason (1916, cited in Kroeber 1932:354-355) and Platon Vallejo (mss., n.d.), which include a few kinterms and/or human nouns.

Since Southern Patwin apparently was similar in overall phonological structure to Patwin proper, the various early recordings are phonetically interpreted on a Patwin model. However, the resultant level of accuracy is less than overwhelming. The data is also much too fragmentary to demonstrate the nature of the kin classification itself.

430. Philological reconstitution of kinterms and kin classifications

431. General considerations regarding philological reconstitution

Any major synthesis from data sources as disparate as those listed above in §410 and §420 for Wintun kin classifications and kinterms requires a careful and detailed philological evaluation of the data involved. The ultimate success and accuracy of the lexical and systematic classificatory reconstruction depends on eliminating as many errors

as possible from the data before beginning the reconstruction. The particular kind of philological evaluation involved was designated "reconstitution" by Broadbent (1957); Broadbent made one of the first attempts to apply philological techniques systematically to fragmentary linguistic recordings made by non-native speakers--namely the various explorers, missionaries, and later anthropologists who wrote down wordlists of Indian languages at one time or another. Such techniques are now considered virtually standard operating procedure in linguistic investigations which make use of these early records made by people without sophisticated linguistic training--and even the recordings of other linguists are subjected to a careful scrutiny to verify transcriptional usage and consistency of recording and analysis. Accuracy of the written linguistic record can never just be assumed, although it may take special training to spot the errors which might be there.

There can be no doubt that the Wintun linguistic sources abound in errors of many types--just a glance at the synonymy tables in §322 should demonstrate the typical differences in levels of phonological, morphological and semantic accuracy in the sources, as well as the problem of uneven coverage between the various recorders.

As anyone who has tried to compile a lexicon from linguistic fieldnotes should be firmly aware, the processing and rectification of raw linguistic data involves a painstaking item by item checking and cross-checking to seek out and eliminate possible errors of form or interpretation. Any large collection of linguistic data is more valuable in proportion to the effort which has been made to systematically eliminate biases and random variations in the data ultimately cited. The process of "cleaning up the data", however, raises questions regarding the validity of the outcome of the cleanup. There is a fine line between

elucidative recovery of data by properly cautious emendation of faulty sources and creation of false data by finagling to fit preconceived notions of the desired outcome, whether consciously or unconsciously arrived at. There is always the danger that the philological cleanup itself will introduce further errors or mask important distinctions in the data, but that danger has to be balanced against the manifest impossibility of doing valid historical reconstruction with unevaluated, unrectified and error-ridden data.

The process of philological rectification, while requiring specialized analytic techniques for linguistic data, is actually just one instance of the much more general scientific problem of data interpretation and cleanup prior to large-scale synthesis in any field. When dealing with large amounts of disparate data, there simply is no way to avoid the responsibility of data cleanup--the results of synthesis will be an unmanageable, incomprehensible mess otherwise. The appropriate ethical cautions to be observed in this process are, however:

1. Explicit acknowledgement that the error-correction is going on and discussion of the basis on which the corrections are made;
2. Presentation of enough of the data so that evaluation of it is possible and so that future researchers can catch and correct further errors in the data, including those introduced by the first data cleanup.

The results of this process--and eventually of the whole research enterprise involved--should be judged by the coherence and verifiability of the ultimate synthesis which is based on the rectified data. "Rectifications" which result finally only in a mass of incoherent data should be rejected as probably concealing more than they have revealed.

After the fact, in the presentation of the emended data and the synthesis based on it, it often appears that the philological reconstitution of the data and the synthesis and interpretation are clearly distinct steps. However, it should also be acknowledged that the entire process manifests a boot-strapping quality in the actual doing. Tentative emendations, when more or less correct, tend to yield insights into the direction the synthesis should take. But those insights in turn often help in the discovery of more subtle errors in the data whose correction further clarifies the synthesis--and so on. The trick here is to ensure that the process remains one of gradual correction towards the truth, rather than a wildly accelerative jiggling of the data to "demonstrate" conclusions which have no basis in fact. Maintaining the distinction is often difficult--and this is clearly one of the points where the "artificial" (in its original sense) character of scientific inquiry is evident.

In the following sections the philological methods applied to the Wintun data are described in some detail. First the recovery of phonetically and morphologically accurate kinterms is discussed and then emendations are proposed for Gifford's kin classificatory data. Full presentation here of all the lexical data involved would involve a morass of details, so I have had to be more selective. The emended basic lexical forms for kinterms in each language or dialect are listed systematically as part of the formal kin classificatory analyses in §440. Of course, the emended kin classifications are also discussed in detail there. The morphological systematics are discussed in Chapter 5, and a number of the lexical cognate sets which underlie the historical reconstructions proposed are presented in §624.

432. Rectification of kinterms

The process of philological rectification of kinterms has proceeded in the following manner. First, a tentative master ordering of the kinterms was developed for Patwin and for Wintu, based on an implicit kin classification. That is, terms were divided into generational sets as a practical organizational and data recovery aid. Human non-kinterms were ordered into this master list in positions which seemed relevant to the reconstruction. Thus, for instance, Wintu /ʔkiyeh/ MB is clearly cognate with Patwin /ʔčiya(·)k/ 'old man', so the 'old man' listings for Patwin were grouped with the sets for 'grandfather, MB' to aid in the comparison.

Proceeding then dialect by dialect, generally starting with the phonetically most reliable sources, a complete search for kinterms (and the relevant human terms) was made, and the various forms were entered into the master lists for each dialect. Possessed or inflected forms and/or compounds were listed together with the root forms as a preliminary to the morphological reconstitution. Moving on to the important but phonetically less reliable lexical sources (e.g. Radin, Merriam) and the ethnographic sources, the same kind of exhaustive search was made, but the process of entry into the master lists differed somewhat. Since the phonetic forms were often problematical, it sometimes became a matter of judgement as to where in the list a particular form belonged. Consider the following examples: For Lodoga Hill Patwin (WPK), Merriam records Awl'-tah'-choo 'uncle (father's brother)'. This form could be matched with Whistler's recording /ʔol-tá·-č^{h}u/ 'step-father', which was listed in category 8c of the master list. Merriam, however, also records Awl-tā'-choo 'niece, nephew'. This form could not be directly matched with any category already on the master list. By considering Merriam's symbol usage, this form had to be interpreted as /ʔol-té·-č^{h}u/ and

grouped with the Whistler recording /te·/ 'child', which was category 14 of the master list. The Merriam form, however, required redividing that category, so the /te·/ etc. became 14a, whereas the Merriam Awl-tā'-choo was assigned to a new number 14b. In all cases, however, as these master lists were expanded for each dialect, the forms recorded by each linguist or ethnographer were kept in their original orthography and were listed in a separate column with their original gloss, so as not to lose information during the compilation.

The end result of this compilation of forms was a large set of correlation tables for each dialect, organized in the overall context of the original master list ordering, but with individual extensions and subdivisions of the master lists for each dialect, as unforeseen or lexically innovative forms turned up. Each line in a dialect's master list was then considered to be a lexical item for that dialect, with information about possessed and inflected forms included where available. By careful cross-checking of forms within the tables, relying on the phonetically most accurate of them, it became possible to restore phonetic and morphological accuracy for nearly all citations, as exemplified by the Merriam WPK 'nephew, niece' form cited above. At this point in the analysis no attempt to restore semantic information was made--that was done later within the context of the kin classificatory rectification and reconstitution. But the semantic glosses of terms were considered in the assignation of doubtful forms within the master lists. Thus Gifford's Hayfork Wintu buhûn 'wife' and Upper Sacramento Wintu bohûn 'wife' have to be identified with the Pitkin and Schlichter recordings /ʔpuqan/ 'wife', despite the differences in apparent form. This one has to be chalked up to Gifford's hearing problems rather than being considered a separate etymon.

For Wintu and for Patwin, this comparative philological recovery of phonetic and morphologically accurate forms was largely complete; only a few of Gifford's (or other collectors') inaccurately recorded forms could not be reliably matched up with an accurately recorded form or be restored by comparison with similar forms. In those few cases where restoration was not possible without an undue degree of uncertainty, the forms were left as Gifford or the others recorded them and are identified as such in the kin classificatory tables. All other forms, philologically rectified, are presented phonemically, with any uncertainties in phonemic analysis (chiefly regarding vowel length) indicated in parentheses.

For the less well-recorded languages, Nomlaki and Southern Patwin, the philological reconstitution was necessarily less complete. For most Hill Nomlaki forms it was possible to recover a fair degree of phonetic and morphological accuracy by relying on careful comparison among the Nomlaki forms and comparison with Wintu cognates. For the Tehama and "Noema" recordings, however, a larger number of unrecoverable terms remained. For Southern Patwin, the data is even more fragmentary than for Nomlaki. All terms recorded could be matched with Patwin cognates, but their phonetic status remained somewhat uncertain. Best guess estimates were provided on the basis of familiarity with how Merriam in particular represented Patwin phones in his idiosyncratic and somewhat variable orthography. For both the Nomlaki and Southern Patwin cases, some of the uncertainty in the specification of lexical forms can be removed later by the evidence provided by comparative reconstruction when enough protoforms have been reconstructed to elucidate the conditioning of various Wintun sound laws. However, even then there will remain a small residue of unidentifiable terms which are probably a mixture of local lexical innovations and/or mistakes in the original linguistic

recording or later transmission of that recording.

433. Rectification of kin classifications

The philological rectification of the Wintun kin classifications proceeded cautiously, on the basic assumption that Gifford's classificatory data was correct unless proven otherwise. Few structural changes did in fact prove necessary, although a number of Gifford's kin classes turned out to have subclasses which Gifford missed for one reason or another. The most important additional element which turned up upon examination of the various linguists' data was a pervasive terminological sensitivity to opposite-sex versus same-sex status of ego and alter for some kin classes and some kinterm usages throughout the Wintun family. This factor was largely ignored by Gifford, but has to be considered as part of the overall picture of Wintun kin classification.

Brief characterizations of the additions and emendations made to the kin classifications are listed below separately for Wintu and for Patwin. More details can be found under the notes to the formal kin classifications in §440 and in the discussion of kinterm morphology in Chapter 5.

433.1 Rectification of the Wintu kin classifications

1. Gifford (1922) cites a number of forms for Hayfork and for Upper Sacramento Wintu meaning 'father' and 'mother'. Examination of the linguistic evidence shows that this proliferation of forms stems from several sources. First, the vocative forms for parents in Wintu are mostly based on roots distinct from the fundamental referential forms, which Gifford does not cite for the Wintu dialects. The referential forms in both dialects in fact reflect the old Wintun roots *-ta·n F and *-ne·n M. Second, there are a number of innovative dialectal forms for

F and M, e.g. WWHay /mi·mi/ M, WWMc /ču·ču/ M, etc. Third, Gifford's WWSac citations suhanas F, nenuhes M are secondary verbal formations. Fourth, Gifford's WWSac citation bolos M is a polite referential form.

2. Another problem in Gifford's Wintu data involves a series of phonologically similar terms for sons, nephews and male cross-cousins. The forms in question as cited by Gifford are:

WWHay	WWSac	WWMc
ku S	ku S	ku S
kude Mn b s, wm ss s, ...	kule or kute Mn b s, wm ss s, ...	kule or kute id. to WWSac
		kute Wm ♂ xc

These actually represent a number of distinct roots (which probably are ultimately historically related); their phonemic forms are shown below:

WWHay	WWSac	WWMc
kur	kur	kur
ku(·)te̓		
	ǩuleh	ǩuleh
	ǩuteh	ǩuteh

The historical origins and relations of these forms will be discussed below (see especially §642). For now, though, I note that DuBois' data shows that in McCloud Wintu at least /ǩuleh/ and /ǩuteh/ probably do not overlap semantically. The former is the nephew term; the latter is the woman's male cross-cousin term. Gifford's report of both forms being synonymous in WWSac is probably accurate, but this situation has resulted from an historical change in the system.

3. There is some evidence of terminological sensitivity to cross-sex status in Wintu beyond that reported by Gifford. Thus, the cross-sibling

term /soh/ is attested in WWMc (unreported by Gifford). Also, the two WWMc parent-in-law/child-in-law terms, /-ˀtes, -ˀteh-/ and /-tah/, seem to refer to parallel-sex in-laws and cross-sex in-laws respectively. Gifford reports only the former term for WWHay and only the latter for WWSac, but for WWSac there is a reasonable presumption that the actual classification of in-laws may have been similar to that in McCloud.

4. A number of other minor kin-related vocabulary items not a part of the basic kin classificatory structure were also identified (see the notes to the Wintu kin classificatory analyses), and the status of vocative forms was worked out much more systematically than in Gifford's report (see Chapter 5).

433.2 Rectification of the Patwin kin classifications

1. In Hill Patwin, there is a subclass of G^1 kin which is morphologically marked with the prefix /ʔol-/, literally "up". The marked forms (/ʔol-nen/, etc.) apparently refer both to step-kin, e.g. 'stepmother', and to parallel collateral kin, e.g. 'mother's sister'. Gifford missed those forms, apparently because he was working with a speaker of the Cortina dialect, the Hill dialect of Patwin most influenced by River Patwin. Also, these /ʔol-/ marked forms are referential, not vocative in function, but Gifford biased his lists towards vocative forms when available.

2. Gifford also missed the Hill Patwin cross-sibling term /so·/.

3. Both Hill and River Patwin had developed a distinction between ♀C (/te·/) and ♂C (/mu·ɬe/). Gifford only cites de (/te·/) meaning 'child'. Gifford's miss here may be explained by the probability that /mu·ɬe/ was innovated and may not have been yet fully integrated into the kinterm system. Also, there is the possibility that /te·/ was polysemous,

retained in careful usage as the name of the kin superclass CHILD, including both a man's <child> and a woman's <child> (equivalent to the archaic kinclass <child>).

4. In River Patwin there is a late-innovated set of descriptive terms for various G^1 in-laws (father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law). These constitute subclasses of the basic <in-law> term /ʔte·s/. Again, Gifford's informants may have felt that in careful, "proper" usage (i.e. that reflecting older speech), /ʔte·s/ was the correct referring term for all the kintypes in question. Later River Patwin informants, perhaps influenced by English usage, referred instead to the four pertinent subclasses of G^1 in-laws with descriptive terms. (See §443.2 for more details.)

5. Gifford's specifications of terms for two Patwin cross-cross second cousin kintypes (and their reciprocals), namely FMBSD (♀FFZSC) and MMBSD (♀FFZDC), seem to be in error. The reasons for this suggestion and the emendations proposed are discussed in detail in §443.2, note 5.

6. Clarification of vocative usage of Patwin kinterms is undertaken in Chapter 5. In addition, the use of plural pronominal forms in "direct" address of in-laws seems to have been sensitive to the same- vs. opposite-sex status of ego and alter.

440. Formal kin classificatory analysis

441. General considerations

In this section the result of formal kin classificatory analyses of each documented Wintun group is presented. The discussion of the analyses is somewhat brief, since the main point of this work is not how to do synchronic kin classificatory analyses, but instead how to reconstruct

the protosystem for a language family. The nomenclature and approach used are roughly that of Scheffler's more recent publications (e.g. Scheffler 1978), with some modifications as have seemed appropriate to the reconstruction task. For example, no effort was made here to provide formal componential analyses of the systems; I feel that such analyses only restate information abstractable from a structured table of kintype denotata and a kin class inclusion analysis. Furthermore, the componential analysis does not enter in any way into the historical comparative reconstruction itself, as suggested above in Chapter 2.

Genealogical trees representing the mapping of Wintun kinterms onto a kintype space are also not presented here. For Nomlaki such a tree is already published in Goldschmidt (1951:321); for McCloud Wintu in DuBois (1935:58). Dominguez (1974 ms) provides such trees for all three of the Wintu dialects documented by Gifford. New genealogical trees can be easily enough constructed from the data in Gifford (1922) and here. Portions of the genalogical trees for the various Wintun systems are in fact presented in §642, as they are relevant to the etymology of the reconstructed protosystem.

The remainder of this section is organized as follows: First, a list of abbreviatory conventions used in the analysis is presented. Then the individual systems are analyzed, beginning with the River Patwin and followed by Hill Patwin, Southern Patwin, Paskenta Nomlaki and the three Wintu systems. River Patwin is presented in the most detail, both to show how the analysis works and because it is so richly documented in Gifford (1922).

In the analysis of the Wintu systems, I am indebted to Dominguez (1974 ms), who did an extensive formal analysis of all three systems in the model of Scheffler and Lounsbury. A number of her insights are

incorporated in the relevant sections here as additions to and emendations of my own independent analysis in Whistler (1979). In particular, Dominguez' characterization of parallel transmission rules in Wintu is discussed when I present equivalence rules for the three Wintu systems.

For each of the Wintun systems, the following general outline is used for the analyses:

1. Table of kinterms and their kintype denotata, with focal and extended meanings, organized into significant subcategories;
2. Notes to the table of kinterms;
3. Table of kinterm reciprocal relations;
4. Kin class inclusion relations;
5. Formal equivalence rule analysis;
6. Summary of the characteristics and type of the formally analyzed system.

Some of these headings are omitted when, as in the case of Southern Patwin, the data is too incomplete for a full analysis.

442. Abbreviatory conventions

Table 4.0 presents the abbreviatory conventions used in the kin classificatory analyses and elsewhere throughout this work.

Table 4.0

1. Kintype abbreviations

GF	grandfather (=FF or MF)	GS	grandson	(=SS or DS)
GM	grandmother (=FM or MM)	GD	granddaughter	(=SD or DD)
GP	grandparent (=GF or GM)	GC	grandchild	(=GS or GD)
F	father	S	son	
M	mother	D	daughter	

Table 4.0 (cont.)

P	parent	(=F or M)	C	child	(=S or D)
B	brother		H	husband	
Z	sister		W	wife	
Sb	sibling	(=B or Z)	Sp	spouse	(=H or W)
			CoSp	cospouse	(=HW or WH)
Fil	father-in-law	(=SpF)	Sil	son-in-law	(=DH)
Mil	mother-in-law	(=SpM)	Dil	daughter-in-law	(=SW)
Pil	parent-in-law	(=SpP)	Cil	child-in-law	(=CSp)
Bil	brother-in-law	(=SpB or ZH)			
Zil	sister-in-law	(=SpZ or BW)			
Sbil	sibling-in-law	(=SpSb or SbSp)			

2. Prefixes to kintype elements

♂	male ego's...	
♀	female ego's...	
⚥	male or female ego's...	
½	half-	[e.g. ½B = PS, postdating secondary marriage, one parent shared]
step-	step-	[e.g. step-B = PSpS, predating secondary marriage, but regarded as structural equivalent after that marriage]

3. Suffixes to kintype elements and expressions

+	older; precedent (when referring to primary or secondary spouse)
-	younger; subsequent (when referring to secondary spouses)
( )+	person of designated kintype older than ego; classificatorily senior kintype

Table 4.0 (cont.)

( )- person of designated kintype younger than ego; classificatorily junior kintype

4. Genealogical tree nodes

 female kintype

male kintype

kintype of unspecified sex

5. Equivalence rule abbreviations

---... applies to designated kintype only as linking relative

---. applies only to designated kintype

...--- applies to propositus only as linking relative to ego

.--- applies only to propositus

⟶ is equivalent to, or merges with

≡ is reciprocally related to

6. Miscellaneous abbreviations

G^{2} 2nd generation senior or junior to ego

G^{1} 1st generation senior or junior to ego

$G^{=}$ ego's generation

G^{+2} 2nd generation senior to ego

G^{-1} 1st generation junior to ego

// parallel (referring to collateral kin classes)

x cross (referring to collateral kin classes)

voc. vocative form

ref. referential form

7. Relation and citational conventions

~ alternates with

⟷ is reciprocal to (in kin reciprocal relation tables)

Table 4.0 (cont.)

>	changes to; greater than
<	is derived from; less than
⟶	is manifested as (in phonological rules)
_____	used for literal orthographic citations and for emphasis
{ }	used for citation of the underlying morphological representation of a linguistic form
/ /	used for phonemic citations
[ ]	used for phonetic citations and for interpolated material or comments
( )	used for grouping of kintype expressions, for equivalence rule expressions, for publication citations, and for parenthetical comments
' '	used for citation of semantic glosses
" "	used for citation of textual material and for literal interpretive glosses
UPPER CASE	used for citation of kin super- or subclasses
< >	used for citation of the extended sense of a kin class
*	used for citation of reconstructed or hypothetically inferred forms
**	used for citation of second order reconstructed forms
?*	used for citation of nonexistent or ungrammatical forms

443. River Patwin

443.1 Table of kinterms and kintype denotata--focal and extended

Table 4.1 presents the kinterms of Colusa River Patwin, together with lists of their kintype denotata as defined by Gifford (1922). The kintype denotata are subgrouped to show various analytic classes of relevance to the structuring of the kin classification and to any potential componential analysis. The table itself is not claimed to be a complete analysis, however; it is just an ordered presentation of the basic data to be analyzed.

There are two major groups of kinterms: those whose focal denotata are lineal and colineal consanguineal kintypes and those whose focal denotata are affinal or spouse types. The "consanguineal" terms have a large number of extended senses, which are subdivided into categories in the chart:

1. lineal extensions (column B): This includes distant lineal ancestors and descendants.
2. co-lineal extensions (column C): This represents the class of half-siblings.
3. collateral extensions (column D): This includes various uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces; cousin kintypes are listed separately (see below).
4. step-relatives, type 1 (column E): These are the true step-relatives, representing structurally equivalent kintypes resulting from secondary marriages.
5. step-relatives, type 2 (column F): These include the spouses of uncles and aunts, plus their reciprocals. While technically affines, these kintypes are affines of a different kind than SpP,

etc., and are clearly merged with the consanguineal kintypes in River Patwin (and for that matter, in all of Wintun). Note in River Patwin that FZH and WBC are classed with the affines, however; the reason for this has to do with the generational skewing. (See §443.5; also see Lounsbury (1964:389, note 21) for a discussion of the distinction between "step" and "in-law" as affinal categories.)

6. grand-in-laws: This category constitutes the class of one's spouse's G^{+2} lineal relatives and one's G^{-2} lineal relatives' spouses. Again, these are technically affinal kintypes, but they are merged with the consanguines in Patwin. In Wintu, however, these kintypes are merged with the affinal classes. In either case, the kintypes are entered under column G.
7. cousins (columns H to K): To aid in visualization, these kintypes are divided into further subclasses--first cousin kintypes (H), first cousins with one or more levels of generational removal (I), second cousin kintypes (J), and "cousins-in-law" (K), i.e. spouses of cousin kintypes or cousins of one's spouse.

The "affinal" group of kinterms is mostly self-explanatory. Most of the terms apply to well-defined kintypes, with few extensions beyond their focal denotatum. The exceptions, most notably the set of various "cousins-in-law" which are labeled /te·s/, can be understood once the formal equivalence rule analysis of the classificatory system as a whole (cf. §443.5) shows how the various cousin kintypes are systematically reduced to one or another of the focal consanguineal kintypes.

Table 4.1: River Patwin "consanguineal" kinterms and kintype denotata

kinterm	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	notes
ʔa·pa-	GF	GGF,...		MB			SpGF,...	
ʔama-	GM	GGM,...				MBW	SpGM,...	1
ta(·)n	F			FB	step-F	MZH		2
na- ~ ne·n	M			MZ	step-M	FBW		3
la·be- ~ la·ba-	B+		½B+		step-B+			
ʔut^{h}u·n	Z+		½Z+	FZ	step-Z+			
ɬa(·)n	Sb-		½Sb-	♀BC	step-Sb-			
te· ~ teh	♀C,(C)			♀ZC,(♂BC)	step-C	WZC,HBC		
mu·ɬe	♂C			♂BC				4
t^{h}a(·)y	GC	GGC,...		♂ZC		HZC	GCSp,...	

Key to columns:

A. focal denotation
B. lineal extensions
C. co-lineal extensions
D. collateral extensions
E. step extensions, type 1
F. step extensions, type 2
G. "grand-in-law" extensions

Table 4.1 (part 2): River Patwin "consanguineal" kinterms--"cousin" kintype denotata

kinterm	A	H	I	J	K	notes
ʔa·pa-	GF	MBS	MBSS,MBSSS,...	FMBSS,MMBSS,MMBDS		
ʔama-	GM	---	PMBD	FMBSD,MMBSD	MBSW,MBSSW,...	5
ta(·)n	F	---	---	FMBDS	MBDH,MBSDH,...	
na- ~ ne·n	M	MBD	MBSD,MBSSD,...	MMBDD		
la·be- ~ la·ba-	B+	(FBS)+, (MZS)+	(MBDS)+	(FFBSS)+,(FMZSS)+, (MMZDS)+,(MFBDS)+		
ʔut^{h}u·n	Z+	(FBD)+, (MZD)+	(MBDD)+	(FFBSD)+,(FMZSD)+, (MMZDD)+,(MFBDD)+, FMBDD		
ɬa(·)n	Sb-	(FBC)-, (MZC)-	(MBDC)-	(FFBSC)-,(FMZSC)-, (MMZDC)-,(MFBDC)-, ♀MFZSC		
te· ~ teh	♀C,(C)	♀FZC	♀FFZC,♀FFFZC,...	♂MFZSC,♀MFZDC	WFZC,WFFZC,...	
t^{h}a(·)y	GC	♂FZC	♂FFZC,♂FFFZC,... FZCC,FZCCC,...	♂FFZCC,♀FFZCC, ♂MFZDC	HFZC,HFFZC,...	5

Key to columns: A. focal denotation; H. first cousins; I. first cousins with generational removal; J. second cousins; K. "cousins-in-law"

For underlined kintypes, see note 5.

Table 4.1 (part 3): River Patwin "affines" and "spouse" kinterms

kinterm	A	B	D	notes
t^{h}ira·n	ZH	FZH		
ʼpoksen	BW			
ɬe(·)n	SpSb	WBC		
wi· ~ wiy	H			6
ʔonok	W			7
nikaʼ(·)n	HW,WH	HBW,WZH		8
teʼ·s	SpP CSp	SpMBD,SpMBDH,SpMBSDH,... ♀FZCSp,WFZCSp,WFFZCSp,...	SbSpP CSpSb	9
teʼ·spokita ~ teʼ·skasas	SpM			
teʼ·swi·ta ~ teʼ·showêl	SpF			
teʼ·sloyta	SW			
teʼ·sserita ~ teʼ·swin	DH			
ʕayi	CSpP			10

Key to columns: A. focal denotation

B. extended senses (miscellaneous)

D. collateral extensions

443.2 Notes to the table of kinterms

1. Kroeber (1917) also lists sakan FM, but this appears in no other River Patwin record. The term is clearly a borrowing from Maidun (either from Nisenan or possibly Konkow), and is not taken here as representing an integral part of the River Patwin kin classification. Even if it were regularly used by some community of River Patwin speakers, the lack of any evidence of extended senses for the term might indicate that sakan was functioning only to designate the FM kintype, as a subclass of the more general /ʔama-/ <grandmother> kin class.

2. Gifford lists kumen as the referential form for 'step-father'. The phonological and morphological analysis of that form is unclear. Step-fathers were treated as a subclass of <father>, however, as reflected by the use of identical forms of address for true fathers and for step-fathers. This fact is the main basis for the kin class inclusion analysis presented in §443.4.

3. Gifford lists mokon as the referential form for 'step-mother'. Again, the term cannot be clearly etymologized. The same comments apply as for 'step-father' in note 2.

4. River (and Hill) Patwin /mu·ɬe/ ♂C designates an innovated subclass of <child>. It is apparently derived from a verb meaning 'to sire'. (But cf. §625, note 6 for a suggestion that the -ɬe portion has deeper Proto-Wintun roots.) Gifford does not record the term, instead citing only de (= /te·/) for all kintypes included in the kin class <child>. To some extent, usage may have varied on this point, with /mu·ɬe/ being applied only when emphasis was placed on the father's relation; otherwise, the general 'child' term may have been applied even to a man's children.

5. Gifford specifies that FMBSD & MMBSD = /ne·n/ and reciprocally

♀FFZSC & ♀FFZDC = /te·/. This specification appears to be an error. If it were accurate, an ad hoc addition to the Omaha skewing rules would be required to account for those equations. Fortunately, there is independent evidence that Gifford's data must be mistaken here. We know that MBSD = /ne·n/ (by Gifford's statement: "nake. ...d of ♂ descendant of m b through ♂ " p. 95); this is typical of all Omaha systems. But Gifford also says: "The term for gm (amake) is applied to the p m b d, since the p designates her as m..." [emphasis added]. But precisely the same situation holds for FMBSD and MMBSD. Ego's parent calls his or her MBSD /ne·n/ (= <mother>); therefore ego should call the kintypes in question /ʔama-/ (= <grandmother>). Of course the same argument applies to the reciprocal kintypes. If this reasoning proves valid--and I can see no way around it--then the resulting distribution of second cousin kintypes can be explained completely with the same Omaha Type IV skewing rules which account for all of the first cousin kintypes.

6. Colusa River Patwin seems to have retained the old Wintun form /wi·/ ~ /wiy/ for 'husband'. Grimes River Patwin had largely replaced it with the general term for 'man': /wi·ta/.

7. Grimes River Patwin also may have used /ʼpokita/ 'woman' in the sense of 'wife', probably by analogy with the 'husband' usage noted above.

8. /ʼnika(·)n/ is generally translated locally as 'friend' or 'partner'. The term apparently reflects in part the Patwin practices of the levirate, the sororate, and sororal polygyny. Similar terms appear in other California groups' languages.

9. /ʼte·s/ and the terms designating its various subclasses are referential only. In direct address a third person plural pronoun /pile/ was used. This linguistic practice was a part of the general social

avoidance of in-laws--especially of a mother-in-law by her son-in-law. The various compounds for individual in-law subclasses are a River Patwin innovation; they are morphologically transparent and may represent calques on the English in-law terms. Elements involved include:

pokita	'woman'	kasas	'old woman'
wi·ta	'man'	howél	'old man'
loyta	'girl'	serita	'boy'
-ba	plural suffix	win	'person'
-le	plural suffix	-win	plural suffix

Kroeber (1917:369) also records /te·sba/, which "denotes the daughter-in-law and either parent-in-law." The form is a plural and may in fact refer to the "in-laws" as a class. Cf. also Gifford's recording nai desli /nay te·sle/, which probably can also be glossed as "my in-laws".

10. /čayi/ is a nominalized form of the verb /čayu/ 'to feel shame, to be ashamed of'. Once again, this probably reflects feelings of social reticence regarding in-laws.

11. Miscellaneous notes:

/so·/ 'cross-sibling' is not attested in River Patwin.

/home·/ is a vocative form for 'spouse', used by either sex.

/leyta/ 'relative', /leyta-ba/ 'relatives' is the general term for all kinsmen, apparently including the affinal classes.

443.3 Kinterm reciprocal relations

Table 4.2: River Patwin kinterm reciprocal relations

(showing focal denotata)

Type	Senior			Junior	
G^2	ʔa·pa-	GF	⟷	t^ha(·)y	GC
	ʔama-	GM			
G^1	ta(·)n	F	⟷	mu·ɬe	♂C
	na- ~ ne·n	M	⟷	te· ~ teh	♀C
$G^=$	la·be- ~ la·ba-	B+	⟷	ɬa(·)n	Sb-
	ʔut^{h}u·n	Z+			
$G^=$ Affine	t^{h}ira·n	ZH	⟷	ɬe(·)n	SpSb
	poksen	BW			
Spouse	wi· ~ wiy	H	⟷	ʔonok	W
Cospouse	nika(·)n	SpSp			self-reciprocal
G^1 Affine	te·s	SpP,CSp			self-reciprocal
G^{-1+1} Affine	cayi	CSpP			self-reciprocal

G^1 Affine = "in-laws"; G^{-1+1} Affine = children's "in-laws"

443.4 River Patwin kin class inclusion relations

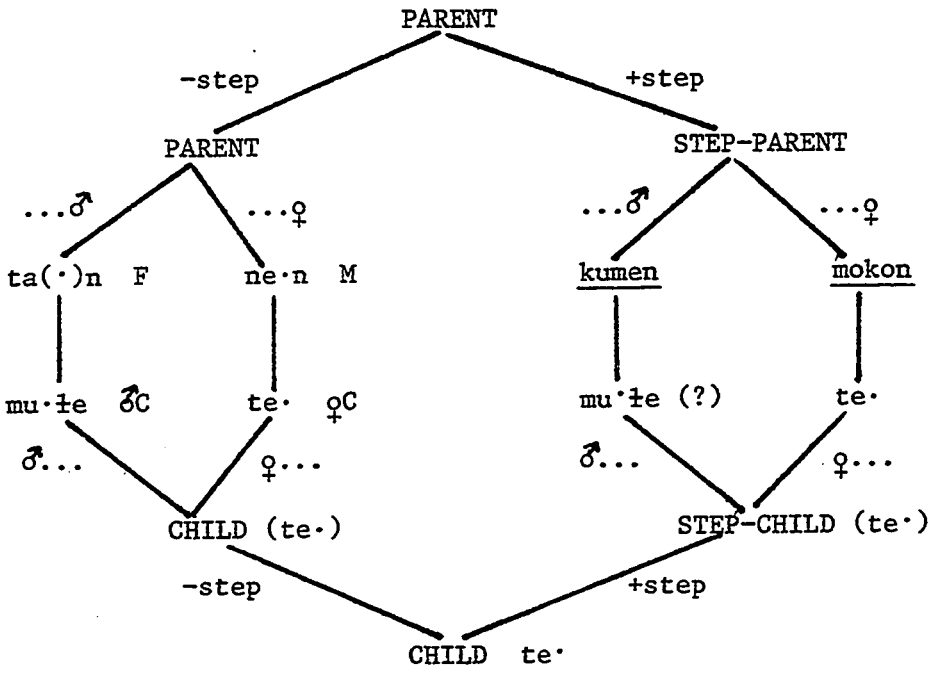


Figure 4.1 Kin superclasses: PARENT, CHILD

Figure 4.1 shows the kin class inclusion relations for the G^1 reciprocal set (parents and children) in River Patwin. This set is singled out because of important differences between River and Hill Patwin in the treatment of these terms. In particular, in River Patwin, apparently only true step-parents, not potential step-parents (i.e. FB, MZ) are singled out with special referential terms, if Gifford's data is correct.

Other implicit kin class inclusion relations at higher levels of inclusiveness can be inferred from Table 4.1, but none is presented here since they do not involve explicit terminological distinctions.

443.5 Formal equivalence rule analysis

The following formal equivalence rules are postulated for the River Patwin kin classification:

1.	Half-sibling merging rule	(PC --> Sb)		self-reciprocal
2.	Parallel sibling merging rule	(♂B... --> ♂...)	≡	(...♂B --> ...♂)
		(♀Z... --> ♀...)	≡	(...♀Z --> ...♀)
3.	Omaha skewing rule (Type IV) Part A	(FZ --> Z+)	≡	(♀BC --> ♀Sb-)
	Part B	(♂Z... --> ♂D...)	≡	(...♀B --> ...♀F)
4.	Stepkin merging rule	(PSp --> P)	≡	(SpC --> C)
5.	Grand-in-law merging rule	(SpPP --> PP)	≡	(CCSp --> CC)
6A.	Ancestor merging rule	(PPP. --> PP.)	≡	(.CCC --> .CC)
8.	In-law's sib/sib's in-law merging rule	(SbSpP --> SpP)	≡	(CSpSb --> CSp)

Rule 1 is required to account for co-lineal extended meanings (column C in Table 4.1). Rule 4 accounts for the mergings of stepkin terms (columns E, F and K in Table 4.1). Rule 5 is postulated to account for "grand-in-law" kintypes (column G in Table 4.1). Rule 6A handles extensions of the grandparent and grandchild terms to lineal ancestors and descendants (column B in Table 4.1).

Rule 8 reflects the fact that one's sibling's parents-in-law and one's children-in-law's siblings are classed with in-laws in River Patwin. (The rule is numbered out of order to match comparable rules in the Northern Wintun systems.) Actually, comparison with the Northern Wintun data, especially that for Nomlaki and for Upper Sacramento Wintu (cf. §446.5 and §448.5), suggests that there is a gap in Gifford's River Patwin data, and that SpPSb and SbCSp should probably also be included in the IN-LAW class for River Patwin as well. (Rule 8 accounts for the data in

column D of Table 4.1 (part 3).)

Rules 2 and 3 together account for all extended meanings of River Patwin kinterms to collateral kintypes (columns D, H, I, J and K (in part) in Table 4.1). The parallel sibling merging rule is characteristic of many kin classifications; it forms the typological basis of Morgan's discovery of "classificatory" kin systems. Some kin classification types, as currently designated, which exhibit the parallel sibling merging rule are the Iroquoian, Omaha, Crow, Dravidian, and most Australian section systems, as well as systems exhibiting parallel transmission.

The Omaha skewing rule (Rule 3) accounts for all the intergenerationally skewed extensions of kinterms in designating collateral kintypes. Lounsbury (1964) defined 4 subtypes of Omaha skewing rules; the River Patwin system exhibits the most extreme (Type IV) form of skewing rule, a type which evacuates all cross-collateral kin classes completely, merging them with various consanguineal kin classes. The Type IV skewing rule is the most distinctive, typologically significant equivalence rule of the River Patwin kin classification. Its effects are the source of River Patwin's "extreme condensation of this remarkable system" of kin terminology (Kroeber 1917:369), since no special kinterms are employed to designate any collateral kintype at all.

Rule 3 part A differs in one respect from Lounsbury's formulation of Type IV Omaha rules in that a reduction of FZ to elder sister is specified, rather than just to sister. Reciprocally, a woman's brother's child is merged with a woman's younger siblings. In the case of these particular mergings, the actual relative age of ego and alter seems to be overridden as a classificatory factor in Patwin.

The formal equivalence rules are conceived of as "everywhere" rules,

applying whenever their input conditions are met to reduce a complex kintype to a kintype "closer" to ego. Kintypes are reduced by using whichever rule or rules from the list can apply until no further reductions can be made; the final result is designed to be a reduction to one of the focal kintypes, conceived of as the focal denotatum of a particular kinterm. That kinterm in turn applies also to the complex kintype reduced by this process. No explicit ordering of the rules is required (although the rules and reductions in some cases may be simpler if some explicit ordering is allowed--cf. §448.5 and §449.5 for further discussion of this issue as it bears on the Wintu kin equivalence rule analysis). Actual reductions often show an implicit ordering of the rules, however, as they apply in cycles of reduction. A few sample reductions are given below to illustrate this process:

1. MBW
   MFW by rule 3B
   MM by rule 4
   = ʔama- 'grandmother'

2. ♀FFZC
   ♀FZ+C by rule 3A
   ♀Z+C by rule 3A
   ♀C by rule 2
   = te· 'woman's child'

3. FMBDD
   FMFDD by rule 3B
   FMZD by rule 1
   FMD by rule 2
   FZ by rule 1
   Z+ by rule 3A
   = ʔut^{h}u·n 'elder sister'

4. FMBDS
   FMFDS by rule 3B
   FMZS by rule 1
   FMS by rule 2
   FB by rule 1
   F by rule 2
   = ta(·)n 'father'

5. FMBSS

FMFSS by rule 3B

FMBS by rule 1

FMFS by rule 3B

FMB by rule 1

FMF by rule 3B

MF (~PF) by rule 6

= ʔa·pa- 'grandfather'

443.6 Summary and discussion of the analyzed system

The River Patwin kin classification can be categorized as a Type IV Omaha kin classification, based on its most characteristic equivalence rule. Since the reconstructed Proto-Wintun kin classification is also inferred to be an Omaha system (although of Type III rather than Type IV; cf. Chapter 6, esp. §633), this River Patwin analysis can provide a guideline to some of the characteristic structure expected in the original protosystem.

The analysis proposed here for the River Patwin kin classification may seem excessively complex and abstract, however. Certainly the formal manipulation of the postulated equivalence rules to reduce each of the various cousin types to a focal denotatum seems to involve a kind of kin algebra that one might not want to suggest reflects the "cognitively real" kinship reckoning of the Patwin. (This is true of course for any formal kin-algebraic analysis of kin classifications, not just for this particular analysis of Patwin in the model proposed by Scheffler and Lounsbury.) But it should be remembered what the postulation of equivalence rules is aiming at. The equivalence rule analysis is intended precisely as a formal account of the extended denotative semantics of the

Patwin kinterms as they are applied to kintypes beyond their focal denotata. The value of such an analysis lies in the simplicity and elegance of the characterizing parameters--namely the equivalence rules--rather than in its ease of use in actual, practical reckoning of kin relations. An equivalence rule formal semantic analysis does not attempt to model how people actually figured out who bore what kin relation to whom in their society.

Perhaps an analogy to phonological analysis will help to illustrate the point here. A formal phonological analysis of a language aims at an elegant and complete characterization of the patterning of linguistically significant sounds in that language. The structure of the phonological analysis depends on the phonological theory which underlies it, but in any case the analysis aims at questions and implications which interest other linguists. For instance, if a language is to be used as a data source in a comparative historical reconstruction, the historical linguist will require organized and concise information about the systematic phonemic and phonetic status of various sounds in that language. However, there is no guarantee that a scientifically elegant and linguistically perspicacious phonological analysis will necessarily reflect in any direct way a speaker's cognitive organization of sounds in use, or that such an analysis will be directly useful as a practical or pedagogical guide to the sounds of that language.

In the case of formal kin classificatory semantics, the questions aimed at here do in fact deal with historical reconstruction; I am seeking an elegantly articulated formal model that captures basic structural facts about the semantics of kin systems. The statements of structural detail can then be used as input to a rigorous reconstruction. However, to show that the kin classification being described here is coherent,

comprehensible and learnable without undue attention to an abstract kin algebra, I provide below a "user-oriented" alternative analysis of the bulk of the River Patwin kin classification. This practical model would provide a hypothetical ego in Patwin society simple, explicit criteria whereby he could determine the exact relationship of any kinsman to him merely by determining what his parents call that kinsman. Presumably this process reasonably reflects the actual means whereby children learn to use a kin terminology accurately. The necessary criteria are outlined in Table 4.3 (see following page).

Table 4.3 does not actually cover all River Patwin kin classes, but it does provide a practical guide to usage for all the consanguineal terms and the sibling-in-law affinal terms--those which are involved in the Omaha skewing which makes the overall kin classification look complex from a generationally-oriented point of view. Supplemental information needed by the hypothetical ego using this system of reckoning would be a specification of the relative age criteria for sorting types of <sibling> and knowledge of the reciprocal relations as specified in §443.3 above. This sum total of necessary criterial information is rather minimal--the apparently complex task of sorting out all the cousin kintypes reduces to finding out what ego's parent calls the relative in question and then performing a simple, one-step and unambiguous deduction. The few ambiguous cases arising when one's parent refers to a relative as <child> or as <grandchild> can be resolved by somewhat more complicated deductions or by stipulating that ego's parent does a simple deduction and then specifies for ego which kinterm would be appropriate for him to use. In no case is recourse to iterative kin algebraic reductions of complex kintypes necessary for the hypothetical ego to accurately determine the kin class of any particular relative. Of course, this model presumes access

to parental information about relatives, a presumption which seems valid for a functioning kinship system.

Table 4.3: Practical River Patwin kin reckoning

If either P calls x:	then ego calls x:
ʔa·pa-	ʔa·pa-
ʔama-	ʔama-
ta(·)n	ʔa·pa-
ne·n	ʔama-

If F calls x:	& M calls x:	then ego calls x:
te· (~mu·ɬe)	te·	sibling
<sibling>	ɬe(·)n	ta(·)n if x is male ʔut^{h}u·n if x is female
ɬe(·)n	<sibling>	ʔa·pa- if x is male ne·n if x is female
t^{h}ira·n	----	t^{h}ira·n
----	t^{h}ira·n	ta(·)n
poksen	----	ne·n
----	poksen	ʔama-

	♂ ego	♀ ego
My own C is called:	te· (~mu·ɬe)	te·
The C of anyone I call <brother> is:	te· (~mu·ɬe)	ɬa(·)n
The C of anyone I call <sister> is:	t^{h}a(·)y	te·
The C of anyone I call <child> is:	t^{h}a(·)y	t^{h}a(·)y

444. Hill Patwin

The Hill Patwin kin classificatory system is similar to that of River Patwin in most respects. Hence, the discussion of it here will be much abbreviated, highlighting just those points where it differs significantly from that of River Patwin.

444.1 Table of kinterm reciprocal sets and focal kintype denotata

Table 4.4 (see following page) presents all of the Rumsey Hill Patwin (WPCC) kinterms in reciprocal sets. The WPCC dialect was chosen as representative of Hill Patwin dialects; all of the other hill dialects have essentially similar systems. Only focal denotata are listed, since as far as the classification can be determined from Gifford (1922) and the various linguists' recordings, the major kin classes are structured identically to those of River Patwin. The few exceptions involve subclasses which are discussed subsequently (cf. §444.2 and §444.3).

444.2 Notes to the table of kinterm reciprocals

1. The vowel lengths of Hill Patwin kinterms are generally more certain than those of the corresponding River Patwin forms. Thus in /t^{h}a·y/, /ta·n/, /ɬa·n/ and /ɬe·n/ the vowel is definitely long in all Hill Patwin dialects. However, in /nikan/ 'cospouse', WPCC shows a short vowel where WPK has a long vowel: /nika·n/. Such variation between dialects may be due to recorder error, to the general indeterminacy of vowel length in Patwin before resonants, or to idiosyncratic speaker differences in manifestation of the vowel-lengthening effect of the {-·n} root-deriving suffix.

2. The comments regarding the status of /mu·ɬe/ 'man's child' in River Patwin as an innovated term and possibly a subclass of /te·/ CHILD

Table 4.4: Hill Patwin (WPCC) kinterm reciprocal relations

(showing focal denotata)

Type	Senior			Junior		Notes
G^2	ʔa·pa-	GF	⟷	$t^ha·y$	GC	1
	ʔama-	GM				
G^1	ta· ~ ta·n	F	⟷	mu·ɬe	♂C	2
	ne· ~ ne·n	M	⟷	te· ~ teh	♀C	
	ʔoltan	FB, step-F	⟷	ʔolmu(·)ɬe	♂BC, ♂step-C	3
	ʔolnen	MZ, step-M	⟷	ʔolte·	♀ZC, ♀step-C	
$G^=$	la·be-	B+	⟷	ɬa·n	Sb-	4
	ʔuču- ~ ʔuču·n	Z+				
$G^=$ Affine	t^hera·n, poksen	ZH, BW	⟷	ɬe·n	SpSb	5
Spouse	wi· ~ wiy	H	⟷	ʔonok	W	
Cospouse	nikan	SpSp			self-reciprocal	
Cross-sibling	so·	♂Z	⟷	♀B	self-reciprocal	6
G^1 Affine	te(·)s	SpP	⟷	CSp	self-reciprocal	7
G^{-1+1} Affine	čayi	CSpP			self-reciprocal	

apply to Hill Patwin as well.

3. One major distinction between Hill and River Patwin is the presence of a morphologically marked subclass of G^1 consanguineal kin in Hill Patwin. These terms are formed by prefixation of /ʔol-/ 'up', together with some secondary shortening of long vowels in closed syllables (at least in WPCC). The semantic focus of this set is more problematical. The translations most often recorded by the linguistic investigators are 'step-father', etc., but 'uncle' (i.e. FB), etc. is also recorded. That these terms are a subclass of the more inclusive G^1 set, e.g. /ta·n/ <father>, is clear from the fact that the same terms of address are used for the /ʔol-/ marked subclass as for natural parents and children. It is uncertain whether more distant kintypes included in the G^1 superclass, e.g. MBD, would be considered part of the /ʔol-/ marked subclass or not; however, if the conceptual core of the /ʔol-/ marking is the step-relation, then such kintypes as MBD would probably <u>not</u> be so marked. FB and MZ (and their reciprocals) would be included in the step-relation subclass on the basis of their status as <u>potential</u> step-parents (or children), given practice of the levirate, sororate and sororal polygyny. The resultant double foci of the /ʔol-/ marked subclass are difficult to specify in terms of simple semantic features.

4. Sibling terms show some phonological differences between Hill and River Patwin. In particular, Hill Patwin has what is probably a more conservative stem /la·be-/ for 'elder brother', whereas River Patwin seems to have assimilated the second vowel in some recordings to form a more typical phonological class of stem for Patwin: /la·ba-/ B+. The 'elder sister' term shows an irregular correspondence between the Hill and River forms. Hill Patwin shows /ʔuču·n/, the expected reflex of the Proto-Wintun etymon. (Cf. Table 6.4 and §626 for Northern Wintun cognates and

the etymology of this form.) River Patwin, however, shows a second consonantal fronting: č > t^h (cf. §613). The reasons for this second, irregular fronting are obscure; conceivably it could be influenced by the regular, synchronic morphophonemic alternation between /č/ and /t/ in Patwin verbs, although the conditioning factors are not really appropriate for the kinterm.

5. Hill Patwin /t^hera·n/ ZH also shows a minor phonological difference from River Patwin /t^hira·n/. Again, the Hill Patwin form is probably conservative, with River Patwin having raised the first vowel before a following long [a·].

6. /so·/ 'cross-sibling' is recorded in several Hill Patwin dialects (but not in River Patwin). As in the case of the G^1 step terms and the "in-law" term /ʔte(·)s/, /so·/ appears to be only a term of reference; no addressive form is based on it, and in this respect it is unlike the other sibling terms. /so·/ represents a subclass of a more inclusive SIBLING kin class. There is a possibility of address avoidance between a brother and a sister in Patwin (as for Yana and Western Mono--cf. Kroeber 1925: 841), but no firm evidence to demonstrate it.

7. /ʔte(·)s/ is only a term of reference. Unlike River Patwin, Hill Patwin has no terms indicating subdivisions of this class. G^1 affines ("in-laws") were subject to a speech taboo; thus there was no direct addressive form for this kinterm. Instead, plural pronouns were used in a kind of non-addressive circumlocution when speaking to an "in-law" was necessary. The Hill Patwin evidence indicates that there may have been a same-sex vs. cross-sex distinction in usage here, with the cross-sex address using third person plural pronouns to further divert the speech from any appearance of being "direct" address:

/mi-le/ 2nd plural used in same-sex address of /te(·)s/
(e.g. son-in-law to father-in-law)

/pi-le/ 3rd plural used in cross-sex address of /te(·)s/
(e.g. son-in-law to mother-in-law)

Cf. Kroeber (1925:841) for a claim that formally similar address circumventions were in use among the Kato, Pomo, Miwok and Western Mono.

8. Miscellaneous notes:

As in River Patwin, /home·/ is recorded as a suppletive vocative form for 'spouse', used by either sex.

/leyta/ 'friend, relative' (pl. /leyta-ba/) is probably the general term for all kinsmen, as in River Patwin.

444.3 Hill Patwin kin class inclusion relations

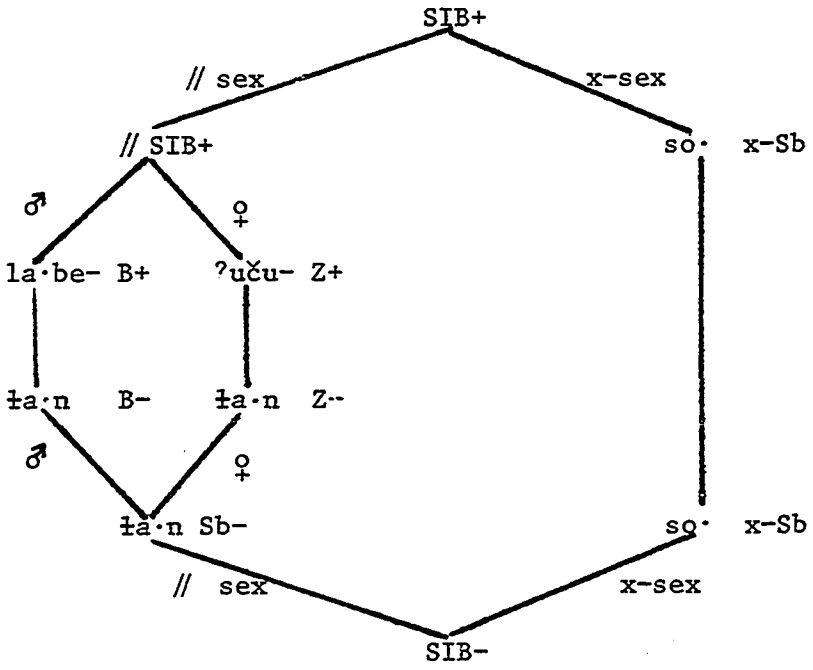


Figure 4.2 Kin superclass: SIBLING

Figure 4.2 gives the structure of the Hill Patwin kin superclass SIBLING, showing the relation between parallel-sex and cross-sex terms of reference.

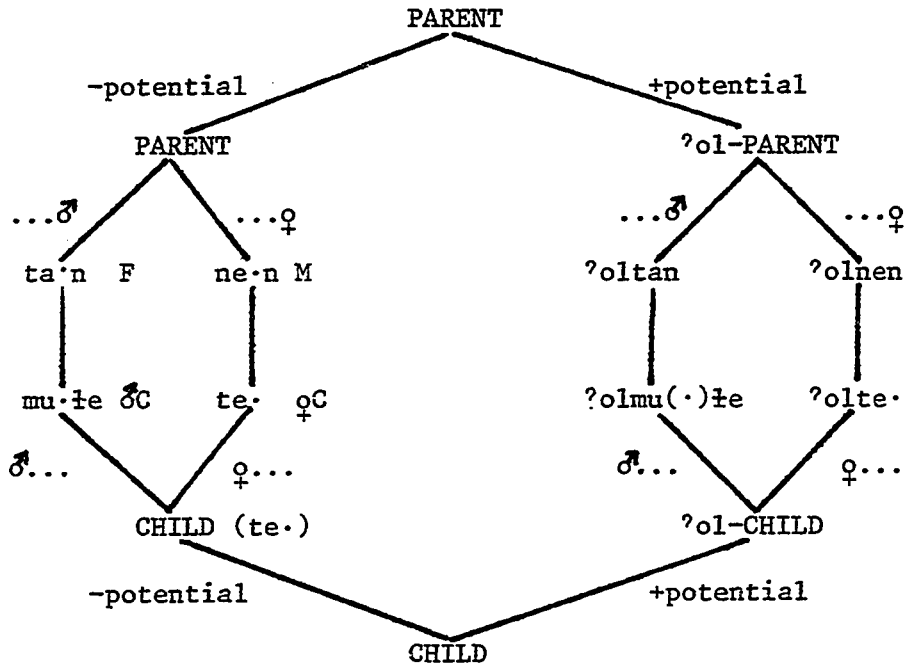


Figure 4.3 Kin superclasses: PARENT, CHILD

Figure 4.3 illustrates the inclusion relations for the G^{1} reciprocal set of kinterms. Unlike River Patwin, a feature [±potential] is used to distinguish the /ʔol-/ marked subclass of terms in Hill Patwin. This reflects the discussion above in §444.2, note 3, suggesting that /ʔolnen/, for example designates both 'step-mother' and parallel G^{+1} collateral kin, i.e. MZ, who is a potential <step-parent> and thus a potential <parent>. The subclass indicated by [-potential] conflates both actual P or C (i.e. ego's genitor/-trix and/or offspring) and those distant kintypes which are skewed into the PARENT or CHILD kin classes terminologically (e.g. MBD = /ne·n/), but which cannot ordinarily serve as potential step-parents or step-children. This usage appears to contrast with that of River Patwin,

where kumen and mokon seem to be referring terms only for actual step-parents, although Gifford's data could be incomplete here.

444.4 Formal equivalence rule analysis and summary

The formal equivalence rules needed to account for Hill Patwin kin class extensions are identical to those needed for River Patwin. See §443.5 for details of the analysis. Thus, Hill Patwin also has a Type IV Omaha kin classification. The minor differences in subclassing of step-relatives and siblings do not affect the overall equivalence rule analysis.

The implication we can draw here is that the Common Patwin system antecedent to all of the recorded Patwin systems was also a Type IV Omaha kin classification. To specify the Common Patwin system in detail, we need only take account of the few phonological differences noted above and eliminate the Hill Patwin innovations in step-kin terminology and the River Patwin subdivision of the "in-law" kin class. (See §635 and §640 for details.)

445. Southern Patwin

The Southern Patwin kinterms are only partially documented, with no extended senses recorded. In Table 4.5 (see following page) I present the philologically reconstituted forms, with their probable focal denotata and reciprocal relations.

Table 4.5: Southern Patwin kinterm reciprocal relations
(showing focal denotata)

Type	Senior			Junior		Notes
G^2	ʔa(·)pu	GF	⟷	t^hay	GC (?)	1
	ʔama	GM				
G^1	ta· ~ ta(·)n	F	⟷	muɬe	S ~ D ?	2
	na· ~ ne·n	M		te·	C ?	
	~ na·n ?					
$G^=$	la·be	B+ ?	⟷	ɬa·n	B- ?	3
	?	Z+				
Spouse	wi·	H	⟷	ʔonok	W	4

Other kinterms not attested

Notes:

1. /t^hay/ is recorded by Mason as meaning 'cousin', but, given the Patwin data, GC seems the most likely focal denatation in Southern Patwin as well as in Patwin proper.

2. Merriam glosses /muɬe/ as 'sister', but that is most likely a mistake. Arroyo de la Cuesta glosses what must be identified as the same term as 'son, daughter'. Cf. the confusion over the gloss for /la·be/ below. The form /te·/ is inferred from Merriam's recording Tā'-bah 'family' (/te·-ba/ ?), which can probably be analyzed as consisting of /te-/ 'child' + /-ba/ 'plural suffix', i.e. literally "kids".

3. Merriam glosses /la·be/ twice as 'brother' and once as 'son', including some forms in combination with other kinterms. Since /muɬe/

probably does not mean 'sister', no Southern Patwin sister terms are known.

4. /ʔoya·/ is glossed 'my wife??' by Merriam and is probably a vocative form for 'wife', parallel in some respects to Patwin /home·/.

5. In addition to the kinterms listed above, a number of non-kinterm human nouns are also attested in Southern Patwin:

/ʔela·n/	'child'	/ʔelay-ma/	'boy, child'
/ˀčiy/	'old man'	/ˀpot/	'old woman'
/wi·ta/	'man'	/ʔokita/	'woman'
/ˀčuray/	'young man'	/ʔoki(·)s/	'girl'

On the basis of this fragmentary Southern Patwin data, no formal synchronic analysis of the kin classification can be undertaken. However, as argued below in §453, it seems most likely that Southern Patwin also originally exhibited Omaha skewing. No formal reconstruction of Proto-Southern Wintun is undertaken; instead, the Common Patwin system, based on River and Hill Patwin, is taken as representative of Southern Wintun for the comparison with Proto-Northern Wintun.

446. Paskenta Nomlaki

446.1 Table of kinterms and kintype denotata--focal and extended

Table 4.6 (see following pages) presents Gifford's kin classificatory data matched against philologically rectified kinterms for Paskenta Nomlaki, using the same basic organization of terms and denotata as described for River Patwin above.

Table 4.6: Paskenta Hill Nomlaki "consanguineal" kinterms and kintype denotata

kinterm	A	B	D	E	F	G	H	notes
čəpasoko	GF	GGF	GPB			SpGF		1
čəpa ~ čəpan	(MB)		MB				MBS	2
čama ~ čəman	GM	GGM	GPZ		?	SpGM		
ta·n	F							
nah ~ ne·n	M						?	7
tomkin	(FB)		FB	step-F	MZH			3
ne·ntet	(MZ)		MZ	step-M	FBW			4
labən ~ ɬabən	B+						(FBS)+,(MZS)+	
čʼu·n	Z+		FZ		(HW)+,(HBW)+		(FBD)+,(MZD)+	
leh	B-		♀BS				(FBS)-,(MZS)-	5
lahay	Z-		♀BD		(HW)-,(HBW)-		(FBD)-,(MZD)-	
kuh (?)	C (S?)		♂BC,♀ZC	step-C	HBC,WZC		?	6,7
te·	S							
piče·n	D		♂BD,♀ZD	step-D	HBD,WZD		?	7
če(·)	GC	GGC	♂ZC,SbGC			GCSp	♂FZC	

For key to columns, see Table 4.1.

Table 4.6 (part 2): Paskenta Hill Nomlaki "affines" and "spouse" kinterms

kinterm	A	B	D	notes
somo·n	WB	WBS		9
toqoy	SpZ,BW	WBD		
ɬe(·)n	HB,ZH	FZH		
wi·	H			
ʾpoqan	W			8
ʾtes	SpF, (SpM?) DH, (SW?)	CSpP	SbSpF, SpPB SbDH, CSpB	10
tom-belum	HM, (WM?)		SbSpM, SpPZ	11
belum-ba	♀SW, (oSW?)		SbSW, CSpZ	

Key to columns:

A. focal denotation(s)

B. extended senses (miscellaneous)

D. collateral extended senses

446.2 Notes to the table of kinterms

1. The phonemic status of [ə] is uncertain in Nomlaki. I suspect that it represents an unstressed, short /a/, but otherwise the conditioning factors are unclear and the recordings inconsistent. Where evidence of a phonetic [ə] is present in the data, it is left as such in the rectified forms presented here.

-soko is clearly a suffix added to the term now restricted to MB, etc., in order to distinguish G^{+2} 'grandfathers'. In this function, it is similar to the Wintu suffix /-ʔčepet/, but is etymologically unrelated to that suffix. The phonological analysis of -soko is uncertain, given the lack of a well-recorded apparent cognate form in Wintu, but on the basis of slim evidence in the Merriam recordings, it may best be interpreted as either /-saqo/ or /-soqo/.

2. [čəpa] has MB as its focal denotatum, a collateral kintype which is not the focus of the GRANDFATHER class as a whole. (Cf. §446.4.)

3. On the basis of comparison with Wintu forms, dumkin must be at least bimorphemic. The first half can be reliably phonemicized as /tom-/, possibly ultimately related historically to the Wintun set for 'father'. The second segment, however, is of uncertain analysis and is thus left transcribed orthographically as -kin.

4. /ne·nʔtet/ represents a "little-mother" type of derivation, a very common way of expressing 'mother's sister' in the kin classifications of many languages. /-ʔtet/ appears elsewhere in Northern Wintun kinterms, also apparently in the sense of 'small, little'. Both tomkin and /ne·nʔtet/ designate kintypes including first ascending collaterals and steps of the FATHER and MOTHER classes except for the focal F and M kintypes. For those, the old parent terms /ta·n/ and /ne·n/ are retained. (The same is probably also true of kintypes not of the first ascending

generation which are skewed into the FATHER and MOTHER classes.) All kintypes included in the FATHER and MOTHER classes probably were addressed as one's own parents. This pattern would resemble that of the Patwin more than that of the Wintu, since in Wintu special address forms for one's true parents (and step-parents ?) were developed instead.

5. Unlike Patwin, Nomlaki (and Wintu as well) distinguishes younger siblings terminologically by sex. Gifford records no Nomlaki half-sibling terms, but it seems unlikely that these would not have been merged with siblings, given the other characteristics of the Nomlaki kin classification.

6. Gifford records ku (/kuh/ ?) as meaning 'offspring', i.e. C, and ku or bitcen (/piče·n/) variously for ♂BC, ♀ZC, step-C, HBC, and WZC. Thus, he seems to be claiming that S and D (and the extended senses of <son> and <daughter>) were not terminologically distinguished by sex. However, other records suggest that this is not the full picture for Nomlaki. Whistler records /te·/ 'son' (cf. the Patwin analyses above). A different etymon appears in Merriam's recording Netă-law'-hĕ 'son, daughter' and Brown's "Noema" recording tòh-lok-he 'son'; these can probably be interpreted as /(neč)-ʔtolo·qi/ '(my) child, baby' < 'bundle', a metonymic semantic shift originating from the practice of tying babies in baby baskets to be carried around on the back. (Cf. WWMc /ʔtoluwil/ 'to tie up a baby'; /ʔtula·/ 'to tie up'.) This is probably not a kinterm per se. However, another Brown recording WNRTeh pòo-e-pìc-nen 'daughter' probably represents /puy-piče·n/ "his-daughter", and suggests that Gifford's bitcen actually refers to female kintypes, as does the cognate form in Wintu. ku (/kuh/ ?) itself is clearly related to Wintu /kur/ 'son' (ultimately derived from an earlier semantic sense of 'child; small' ?).

The upshot of all this is that Gifford may have been correct in recording ku in Nomlaki for 'child' (either sex), but bitcen probably referred only to female <children>, perhaps including ego's own D, as in Wintu. Accordingly, Gifford's kintype denotata for /pičeˑn/ are amended to designate only female referents in Table 4.6. /teˑ/, which is presumably an archaic Wintun 'child' term, may have been retained as a specific 'son' term in Nomlaki, if my own recording is correct.

7. Gifford's data for Nomlaki cross-cousins is incomplete; there is no record for MBD or for ♀FZC, but see §446.5 below for their probable kin class affiliation.

8. In addition to /ʼpoqan/, a number of other variant phonological forms are recorded for 'wife'. Some of these include: /ʼpaqan/ ? and /ʼpokʰom ~ ʼpoxom/ ? However, the form /ʼpoqan/ seems best supported by the data.

9. /somoˑn/ is probably derived from *soh 'cross-sibling' (cf. the discussion for Wintu dialects below), but no 'cross-sibling' term is directly attested for Nomlaki.

10. Note that unlike the Patwin dialects, which have a separate term for CSpP, Nomlaki merges this class with the G^1 "in-laws" (/ʼtes/). This merger is characteristic of all the Wintu dialects as well.

11. Gifford glosses /tom-belum/ as 'mother-in-law' (i.e. SpM), etc., and /belum-ba/ as 'daughter-in-law' (i.e. SW). It seems reasonable to suppose that these terms actually were restricted to same-sex female "in-laws", i.e. to HM and ♀SW respectively. Goldschmidt (1951:323) reports that among the Nomlaki there was a custom of strict avoidance between cross-sex G^1 in-laws, i.e. WM ←---→ ♀DH and HF ←---→ ♂SW. Between a father-in-law and his son-in-law (WF ←---→ ♂DH) strict decorum and seriousness of demeanor was maintained. However, a mother-in-law had a much

closer relationship with her daughter-in-law (HM ←——→ ♀SW), acting as her "protector". This relationship may have been reflected in special terms of reference for just that subset of "in-laws". That this pair of terms is a reciprocal pair is also suggested by their sharing the morphological element, /belum/, although its meaning and etymology are unknown. /-ba/ is the same Wintun plural suffix which appears in WPR /te·s-ba/, also an "in-law" term.

Other than for this special subclass of "in-laws", the Nomlaki probably also used third plural pronouns in address of /tes/, as was done in other Wintun groups. But there is no direct linguistic evidence of this in Nomlaki.

12. Miscellaneous notes:

Also recorded are the following Nomlaki non-kinterms:

/kiyas/ ~ /kiy/	'old man'	/pota·s/	'old woman'
/win/	'man'	/dahki/	'woman'
/ʔilis-tet win/	'little boy'	/ʔilis-tet dahki/	'little girl'
/ʔelet/	'child, baby'	/lo(·)yba/	'young woman, young kids'
/so(·)s/	'twins' (probably also derived from *soh 'cross-sibling')		

There are also several "Noema" terms:

WNNoe	/ku·tet/	'baby'	
WNNoe	/dahki-tet/	'daughter'	(= "little woman")
WNNoe	/ɬe-ye/	?	'little boy'

And among the various Nomlaki records there are several other non-kinterm human nouns which are more difficult to interpret philologically.

446.3 Kinterm reciprocal relations

Table 4.7: Paskenta Nomlaki kinterm reciprocal relations (showing focal denotata)

Type	Senior			Junior	
G^2	čəpasoko	GF	⟷	če(·)	GC
	čəpa ~ čəpan	MB			
	čama ~ čəman	GM			
G^1	tah ~ ta·n	F	⟷	kuh	C ? te· S ?
	nah ~ ne·n	M			piče·n D ?
	tomkin	FB			
	ne·ntet	MZ			
$G^=$	labən ~ ɬabən	B+	⟷	leh	B-
	ču·n	Z+		lahay	Z-
$G^=$ Affine	somo·n	WB	⟷	ɬe·n	♂ZH
	toqoy	WZ,♂BW	⟷	ɬe·n	♀ZH,HB
	toqoy	HZ	⟷	♀BW	self-reciprocal
Spouse	wi·	H	⟷	poqan	W
G^1 Affine	tes	SpP	⟷	CSp	self-reciprocal
	tombelum	HM	⟷	belumba	♀SW

Apart from the GRANDFATHER, PARENT and CHILD classes discussed below in §446.4, a number of characteristics of Paskenta Nomlaki kin classification in Table 4.7 distinguish it from those discussed above for

River and Hill Patwin. Briefly, the most important points are these:

1. Nomlaki distinguishes younger siblings by sex.

2. Siblings-in-law are handled much differently than in Patwin. The organizing principle in Nomlaki can be seen to be primarily the relative sex of ego and alter. Sisters-in-law are always /toqoy/. A woman's brother-in-law is always /ɬe·n/. Only in the case of two brothers-in-law does the relative order of marriage and sibling link matter. Thus, a man's WB is /somo·n/, but he reciprocates with /ɬe·n/ for his ZH.

3. In Nomlaki co-wives and HBW are terminologically merged with (♀)Z; this practice differs from Patwin, which has a special "partner" term for this class.

4. Nomlaki merges CSpP with /ʔtes/, another characteristic not shared with Patwin.

446.4 Paskenta Nomlaki kin class inclusion relations

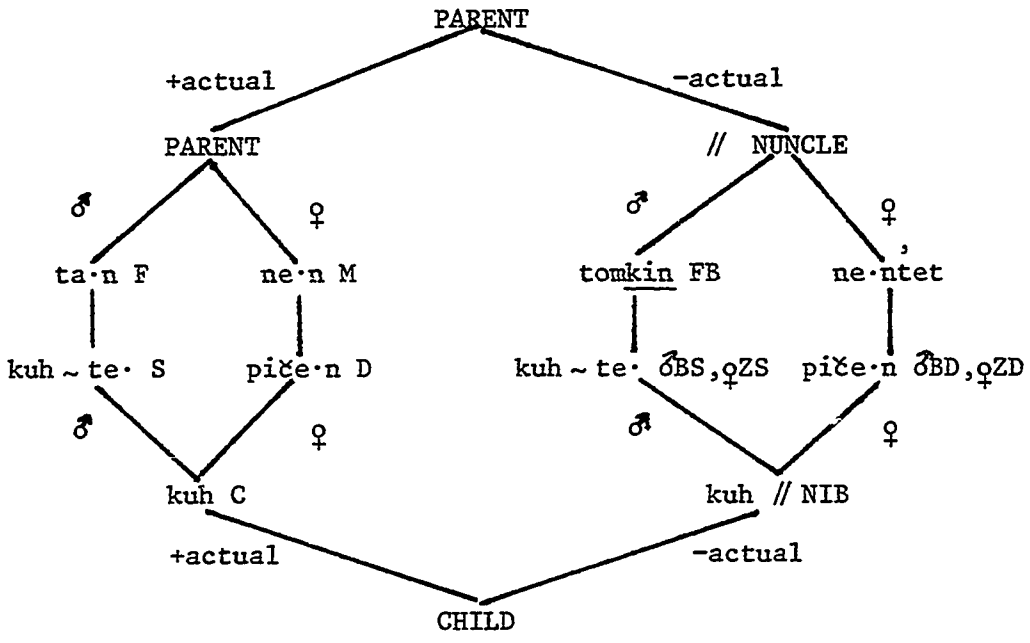


Figure 4.4 Kin superclasses: PARENT, CHILD

Figure 4.4 shows the structure of the Paskenta Nomlaki kin class inclusion relations for PARENT and CHILD. The main feature setting this system off from that of Hill or River Patwin has to do with which branch of the diagram is conceived of as the positively defined subclass and which as the privatively defined class of remaining kintypes. For Nomlaki, ego's actual parents are set off as a subclass, while all the remaining PARENT kintypes are lumped together with the parallel nuncles and step-parents. (This distinction could also be expressed as one between lineal vs. nonlineal kintypes, as in Dominguez's (1974:39) analysis of the Paskenta Nomlaki data.) For Hill Patwin, on the other hand, ego's potential parents (i.e. parallel nuncles and step-parents) constitute the marked subclass, and all other PARENT kintypes are lumped with the unmarked actual parent terms. Also unlike Hill Patwin, Nomlaki has no special forms for parallel nibs or for step-children, which are all lumped terminologically with ego's own children.

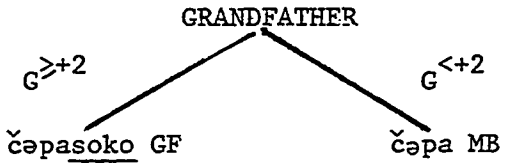


Figure 4.5 Kin class: GRANDFATHER

In Figure 4.5 the GRANDFATHER kin class is illustrated. The focal kintype for the class as a whole is GF, which is also the focus of the morphologically marked subclass designated by čəpasoko. The unmarked subclass, čəpa MB, MBS, probably also extends to MBSS, etc. These subclasses of GRANDFATHER are distinguished by generation, not collaterality, since MMB is merged with MF and not with MB. But as Dominguez (1974:42) notes, "-soko seems to connote age and respect more than [to] signify a

distinctive feature of a derived subclass."

446.5 Formal equivalence rule analysis

The following formal equivalence rules are postulated for the Paskenta Nomlaki kin classification:

1.	Half-sibling merging rule	(PC --> Sb)		self-reciprocal
2.	Parallel sibling merging rule	(♂B... --> ♂...)	≡	(...♂B --> ...♂)
		(♀Z... --> ♀...)	≡	(...♀Z --> ...♀)
3.	Omaha skewing rule (Type IV) Part A	(FZ --> Z+)	≡	(♀BC --> ♀Sb-)
	Part B	(♂Z... --> ♂D...)	≡	(...♀B --> ...♀F)
4.	Stepkin merging rule	(PSp --> P)	≡	(SpC --> C)
5.	Grand-in-law merging rule	(SpPP --> PP)	≡	(CCSp --> CC)
6A.	Ancestor merging rule	(PPP. --> PP.)	≡	(.CCC --> .CC)
6B.	Grand-nuncle merging rule	(PPSb --> PP)	≡	(SbCC --> CC)
7.	Child's in-law merging rule	(CSpP --> SpP/CSp)		self-reciprocal
8.	In-law's sib/sib's in-law merging rule	(SpPSb --> SpP)	≡	(SbCSp --> CSp)
		(SbSpP --> SpP)	≡	(CSpSb --> CSp)
9.	Co-wife merging rule	(HW --> ♀Z)		self-reciprocal

Since Gifford does not explicitly say that half-siblings were classed with full siblings, the form of rule 1 is somewhat indeterminate in Nomlaki. It must apply to half-siblings as linking relatives, but if half-siblings were terminologically distinguished from full siblings and were not implicitly included in the SIBLING class, then the rule could be blocked in application to half-siblings as designated kin. This seems extremely unlikely, however, especially since step-siblings were in fact merged with siblings.

Rules 2 through 6A are stated exactly as for River Patwin and are required for the same reasons. The case for rule 3, the Omaha skewing rule Type IV, is weaker, but the evidence definitely points towards its presence. In particular, MBS --> MB --> MF is characteristic of a Type III Omaha rule, while FZ --> Z(+) is characteristic of a Type II Omaha rule. The presence of both together suggests a Type IV system including both rules as subparts of the overall skewing rule.

Rule 6B is added to account for the merging of grandparents' siblings with grandparents (and reciprocally). Cf. column D in Table 4.6.

Rule 7 is needed to merge CSpP, i.e. children's parents-in-law, with <in-law>, while rule 8 accounts for the merging of all siblings of in-laws and in-laws of siblings into the same class. Cf. columns B and D of Table 4.6, part 2.

Rule 9 is postulated to account for the Nomlaki merging of HW (i.e. 'co-wife') with <sister> . Cf. column F of Table 4.6. In fact, the evidence from Upper Sacramento Wintu suggests that this rule in Nomlaki may have had a wider scope, effecting the merger (WH --> δB) as well, but the Nomlaki data is too fragmentary to prove this conjecture.

446.6 Summary and discussion of the analyzed system

In summary, on the basis of the characteristic equivalence rules, Paskenta Nomlaki can be seen to have a Type IV Omaha skewed kin classification, structurally similar to the Patwin systems in most respects--although Nomlaki does have several extra minor affinal merging rules.

While the overall pattern of Nomlaki merging of collateral kintypes resembles Patwin more than Wintu, in other respects Nomlaki resembles the other Northern Wintun systems. Thus the kin class inclusion relations and subclassing of GRANDFATHER and of PARENT are similar to those for the

Wintu systems. The structure of sibling-in-law reciprocal relations also is closer to that for Wintu. The distinction of younger siblings by sex is the same as in Wintu. And finally, Nomlaki shares phonology and some lexical innovations with Wintu.

Thus we can say that Nomlaki shares most superficial kinterm and kin class characteristics with Wintu, but shares its most typologically significant, structuring rule with Patwin.

447. Hayfork Wintu

447.1 Table of kinterms and kintype denotata--focal and extended

(see following pages)

Table 4.8: Hayfork Wintu "consanguineal" kinterms and kintype denotata

kinterm	A	D	E	F	H	I	notes
ʼkiyeh	MF	MB		FZH	?		1
ʼkiyemah	FF						1
ʼputah	MM	FZ		MBW		MMBD	2
ʼpuqayah	FM						2
-ta·n	F						3
-ne·n	M						4
tomɬeh	(FB)	FB	step-F	MZH			5
ne(·)eh	(MZ)	MZ	step-M	FBW	MBD		
ɬabeh ~ ɬabey	B+				(FBS)+,(MZS)+	(♀MFZS)+	6
la(·)h ~ la(·)ya	Z+				(FBD)+,(MZD)+		7
ʼleykut	B-				(FBS)-,(MZS)-		8
ʼlaykut	Z-				(FBD)-,(MZD)-	(♂MBDD)-	8
kur	S						
piče·n	D						
ku(·)ʼte	(♂BS,♀ZS)	♂BS,♀ZS	step-S	HBS,WZS	♀FZS		9,10
piče·ʼnte(h)	(♂BD,♀ZD)	♂BD,♀ZD	step-D	HBD,WZD	♀FZD		9,10
ča(·)y	GC	♀BC,♂ZC		WBC,HZC	?	♀FZCC	11

Key to columns: A. focal denotation
D. collateral extensions
E. step extensions, type 1
F. step extensions, type 2
H. first cousins
I. first cousins, once removed

Table 4.8 (part 2): Hayfork Wintu "affines" and "spouse" kinterms

kinterm	A	B	D	G	notes
somo·n	WB				
toqoy	SpZ,BW				
ɬe(·)n	HB,ZH				
wi(·)y	H				
ʼpuqan	W				
-mayhat	HW	HBW,WZH			12
ʼte(·)s	SpP,CSp	CSpP	SpPSb,SbCSp	SpGP,GCSp	

Key to columns: A. focal denotation(s)

B. extended senses (miscellaneous)

D. collateral extended senses

G. "grand-in-laws"

447.2 Notes to the table of kinterms

1. In Hayfork Wintu (and Northern Wintu dialects as well), /ʼkiyeh/ is the basic 'grandfather' term, extended to collateral kintypes as well, e.g. MB. /ʼkiyeh/ is derived from an old Wintun root *ʼkiy- 'old man; man to be old'. Gifford records a lexical distinction between maternal and paternal grandfathers: kiye (/ʼkiyeh/) MF vs. kiyima (/ʼkiyemah/) FF. Schlichter records /ʼkiyeh/ and /ʼkiyemah/ as alternative forms for 'grandfather' in Hayfork. There is some question, then, as to whether these are referentially distinct kinterms or affectively distinct. The derivation of the terms sheds little light: /ʼkiyeh/ is a particular aspect nominalized form meaning literally 'a (particular) old man'; /ʼkiyemah/ on the other hand is a more circumlocutional formation, roughly /ʼkiyem/ 'a (generic) old man' + /-a/ verbalizer + /-h/ particular aspect, i.e. literally "one who is an old man". The plot thickens when we consider the meaning of /ʼkiyemah/ in other Wintu dialects. In Upper Sacramento Wintu Gifford records it as a referential form for 'grandfather' (implying that /ʼkiyeh-čepet/ is addressive, which seems unlikely). Pitkin, for McCloud Wintu, records /ʼkiyemah/ as 'an old man, vocative polite address in speaking to a male in ascending generation'. I would be inclined to accept Pitkin's report, except that forms with the particular aspect final /-h/ should normally be referential and not addressive. In balance then, for Hayfork, the most conservative position, considering all the sources, is to posit the presence of two referring 'grandfather' terms and to tentatively accept Gifford's report that they are referentially distinct.

Schlichter reports /ʼkiyeh-čah/ as an alternative form for MB in the Hayfork dialect.

2. Gifford again reports a lexical distinction between maternal and

paternal grandmothers: puta (/ʔputah/) MM vs. puhaiya (/ʔpuqayah/) FM. Schlichter's Hayfork data supports the inference that both forms are present as 'grandmother' terms. And for McCloud Wintu, Pitkin reports /ʔpuqaya/ 'grandmother, old lady'. /ʔpuqayah/ seems to mean literally "one who is an old lady", thus paralleling the formation of /ʔkiyemah/. It apparently reflects an old Proto-Wintun root *ʔpoqay 'old woman' ? (= FZ??) clearly related to the root *ʔpoq- 'woman'. Once again, the most conservative position here, in the lack of contrary evidence, is to accept Gifford's statement regarding the classificatory distinction between maternal and paternal grandmothers in Hayfork.

3. Gifford reports tata F, but that is an addressive form, phonemically /ta·ta/. Schlichter reports the referential stem /-ta·n/ F for Hayfork, as well as another, unrelated (vocative?) stem /ʔanaq/.

4. Gifford's tutu is the addressive for 'mother', phonemically /tu·tu/. Once again, Schlichter reports the older referential stems for 'mother': /-ne·h ~ -ne·t/ in the particular aspect and /-ne·n/ in the generic aspect. A separate, innovated Hayfork addressive term for 'mother' is also known: /mi·mi/. Schlichter implies some degree of affective difference in the use of the various 'mother' and 'father' stems.

5. /tomɬeh/ is probably a descriptive term in origin, derived from 'father' + 'younger brother', but the details of the derivation are obscured by a reshaping of the stem.

6. /ɬabeh/ ~ /ɬabet/ are particular aspect; /ɬabey/ generic aspect.

7. Schlichter also records /lah(at)/ (particular aspect?).

8. /-ʔkut/ is a diminutive suffix added to the basic younger sibling terms.

9. The parallel NIB terms are derived from S and D terms by the

suffixation of /-te(h)/, which is probably related to the suffix /-tet/ with a diminutive sense noted in Nomlaki (and possibly also to the "in-law" term /te(·)s/, although this latter connection would have to be very old).

10. Gifford records kude or pukusta for ♂BS, ♀ZS. The second of these terms is recorded by Schlichter as /pukustah/ 'step-daughter' in Hayfork Wintu. It does not appear in the McCloud Wintu record except in DuBois (1935:49), where she records terms for male and female babies in her discussion of age grades:

males		females	
baby	kuretaila	baby	pukustaila

These forms can be phonemically interpreted as: /kureyta-ʔilah/ "young boy-baby" and /pukusta-ʔilah/ "young girl-baby". The parallelism here strongly suggests that the basic sense of /pukusta(h)/ is 'young girl' and that its usage for 'step-daughter' (or 'niece') is a secondary development. Clearly, Gifford must be mistaken in giving it as an alternate Hayfork term for male kintypes--it must be instead an alternate Hayfork term for parallel nieces, etc. (/piče·nte(h)/). [Cf. §446.2 above for a similar problem of interpretation in the Nomlaki CHILD and NIB terms.]

These considerations point the way towards an interpretation of the Northern Wintu terms for parallel nephew and niece, /kuleh/ and /pukuy/, respectively. /pukuy/ in particular seems to be historically related to the old Wintun etymon for 'young girl'. See §625, §626 and §653 for more details on the historical inter-relations of these terms and others in Wintun.

11. Gifford records only tcai GC (/ča(·)y/), whereas Schlichter records the sex-differentiated terms /niča(·)y/ GS and /niča·men/ GD,

terms which also appear in the Northern Wintu dialects. Gifford may have erred on this point, or Schlichter's data may represent a diffusion of the Northern Wintu terms into the Hayfork dialect. /ni-/ is a segmentable 'kinship prefix' of uncertain function. (Cf. §623.D.)

12. /-mayhat/ 'co-wife' is reported by Gifford to mean "partner". It is probably literally a verbal derivative meaning "follower".

13. Miscellaneous notes: Schlichter records /pite/ (= third person plural pronoun) for 'parent-in-law'. This undoubtedly is an addressive form, analogous to third person pronominal address forms for "in-laws" in other Wintun languages and dialects.

447.3 Kinterm reciprocal relations

Although Hayfork Wintu shows numerous lexical affinities to the Northern Wintu dialects, the structure of reciprocal relations bears some resemblances to Nomlaki as well. In particular, the Hayfork treatment of brothers- and sisters-in-law is identical to that of Nomlaki. Gifford's record of a single term for 'grandchild (either sex)' also resembles Nomlaki, although Schlichter's recording of separate terms for 'grandson' and 'granddaughter' renders Gifford's report somewhat suspect. As pointed out above, this difference can probably best be understood by taking Gifford's record as reflecting archaic usage, with Schlichter's informant later having picked up the 'grandson' and 'granddaughter' terms as diffused innovations from the Northern Wintu dialects.

Where Hayfork most clearly resembles Northern Wintu dialects is in distinguishing a lineal vs. nonlineal subclass of first descending generation kin, as shown in Table 4.9 (see following page) and in Figure 4.6A below.

Table 4.9: Hayfork Wintu kinterm reciprocal relations

(showing focal denotata)

Type	Senior			Junior	
G^2	ʼkiyeh	MF	<--->	ča(·)y	GC {niča(·)y GS; niča·men GD} ? (Schlichter)
	ʼkiyemah	FF			
	ʼputah	MM			
	ʼpuqayah	MF			
G^1	-ta·n	F	<--->	{kur	S
	-ne·n	M		piče·n}	D
	tomłeh	FB	<--->	{ku(·)ʼte	♂BS, ♀ZS
	ne(·)neh	MZ		piče·ʼnte(h)}	♂BD, ♀ZD
$G^=$	łabeh ~ łabey	B+	<--->	{leyʼkut	B-
	la(·)h ~ la(·)ya	Z+		layʼkut}	Z-
$G^=$ Affine	somo·n	WB	<--->	łe(·)n	♂ZH
	toqoy	WZ, ♂BW	<--->	łe(·)n	♀ZH, HB
	toqoy	HZ	<--->	♀DW	self-reciprocal
Spouse	wi(·)y	H	<--->	ʼpuqan	W
Co-wife	-mayhat	HW			self-reciprocal
G^1 Affine	ʼte(·)s	SpP	<--->	CSp	self-reciprocal

447.4 Hayfork Wintu kin class inclusion relations

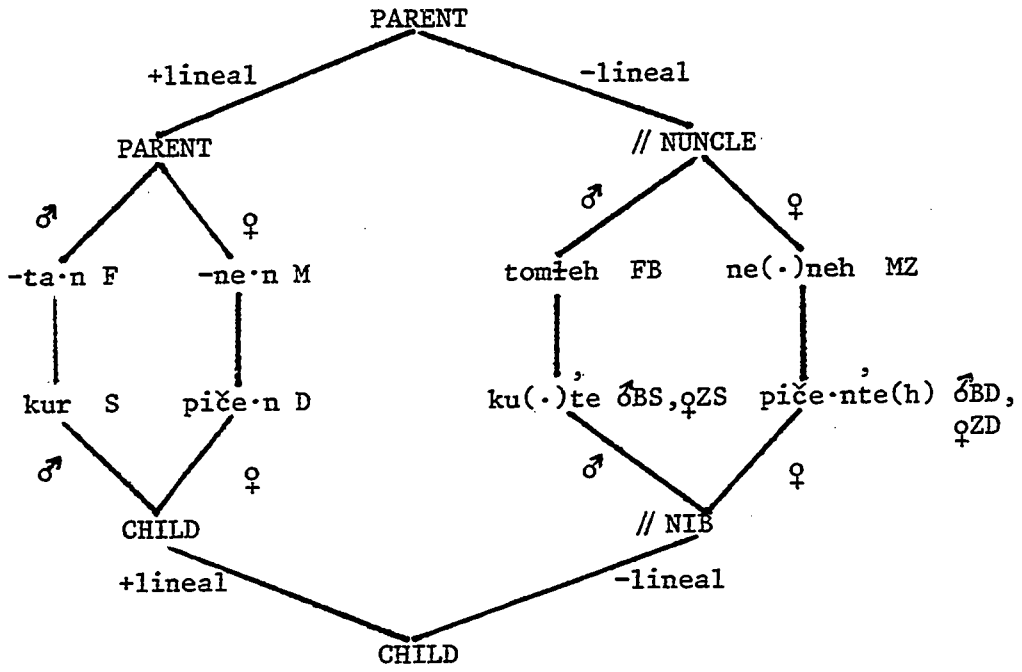


Figure 4.6A Kin superclasses: PARENT, CHILD

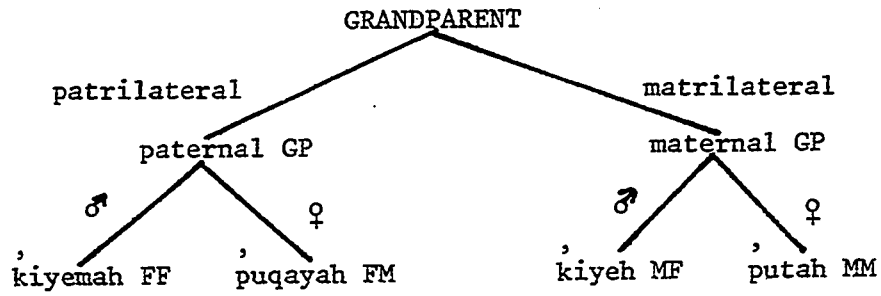


Figure 4.6B Kin superclass: GRANDPARENT

Note that, as in Nomlaki (but unlike Patwin), sex of alter seems to be the determining feature for classing junior generation terms. This contrasts with Patwin, where relative sex of ego and alter becomes the criterial feature.

Hayfork (and other Wintu dialects) have distinct terms for // NIB

kintypes; this differs from Nomlaki. In Hayfork at least, these terms are morphologically transparent derivatives of the 'son' and 'daughter' terms (cf. §447.2, note 8), whereas in the Northern Wintu dialects separate terms were developed, based on other Wintun roots.

447.5 Formal equivalence rule analysis

The following formal equivalence rules are postulated for the Hayfork Wintu kin classification:

1.	Half-sibling merging rule	(PC ---> Sb)		self-reciprocal
2.	Parallel sibling merging rule	(♂B... ---> ♂...)	≡	(...♂B ---> ...♂)
		(♀Z... ---> ♀...)	≡	(...♀Z ---> ...♀)
3A'.	Paternal cross-aunt merging rule part 1	(FZ. ---> MBW.)	≡	(.♀BC ---> .HZC)
	part 2	(FZH. ---> MB.)	≡	(.♂WBC ---> .♂ZC)
3B.	Omaha skewing rule (Type III)	(♂Z... ---> ♂D...)	≡	(...♀B ---> ...♀F)
4.	Stepkin merging rule	(PSp ---> P)	≡	(SpC ---> C)
5'.	Grand-in-law merging rule	(SpPP ---> SpP)	≡	(CCSp ---> CSp)
6.	Ancestor merging rule	no data		
7.	Child's in-law merging rule	(CSpP ---> SpP/CSp)		self-reciprocal
8.	In-law's sib/sib's in-law merging rule	(SpPSb ---> SpP)	≡	(SbCSp ---> CSp)
9.	Co-spouse merging rule	no data		

Rules 2, 4, and 7 pose no particular problems; they are exactly as in Paskenta Nomlaki. Rule 1, the half-sibling merging rule, must also be present, for the same reasons as presented in the Nomlaki analysis, although Gifford did not record actual half-sibling kinterm usage in Hayfork Wintu. There is no data on ancestors to directly show the

presence of rule 6, but its documented presence in Nomlaki and other Wintu dialects suggests that Hayfork Wintu must have had a similar or identical rule as well.

Rule 5', the grand-in-law merging rule, differs from those postulated for Patwin and Nomlaki. The merging of the "grand-in-laws" into the IN-LAW class rather than the GRANDPARENT class is characteristic of all Wintu dialects, setting them off from Nomlaki.

Rule 8, the "in-law's sib/sib's in-law merging rule", appears in a less complete form than in Nomlaki or Upper Sacramento Wintu, but this is probably the result of a gap in the Hayfork data, rather then being a significant difference in the rule. Gifford does not record data for SbSpP or CSpSb--but it is most unlikely that these kintypes would not also have been merged with /te(·)s/.

Rule 9 is postulated on a rather tenuous basis. There is no direct evidence of co-spouse merging with siblings in Hayfork; the only record is of an independent term for 'co-wife'. However, given the gaps in Gifford's data for Hayfork and his dependence on a single female informant, the actual presence of more or less complete co-spouse merging cannot be ruled out. The presence of full co-spouse merging with siblings in Northern Wintu dialects and of co-wife merging at least in Nomlaki suggests that Hayfork should have had a similar rule.

The really criterial distinction of the Hayfork Wintu kin classification lies in rule 3, the skewing rule for cross-collateral kintypes. Gifford's data is incomplete, but what data there is, including data for a few first cousin once removed kintypes, suggests that Hayfork Wintu skewing is consistent with a Type III Omaha skewing rule with one important exception: FZ is not a separate class, nor is it classed with Z+, as in the Type IV skewing of Patwin and Nomlaki; rather, it is merged

with MM. The simplest way to account for this fact would be to specify a merging of the paternal aunt as designated kin directly with the <grandmother> term(s):

3A* (FZ. ---> PM.) ≡ (.♀BC ---> .♀CC)

However, there is a problem with this approach. First, it gets us entangled with the question of whether maternal and paternal grandparents are classificatorily distinct in Hayfork (cf. §447.2, notes 1 and 2). Second, there is some difficulty in conceptually justifying the appearance of such a rule historically. Why should there be a sudden shift from classing FZ with Z+ to PM (or vice versa)? An alternative formulation avoids both problems and will prove to be useful for the historical reconstruction of the development of the Wintu kin classifications:

3A' (FZ. ---> MBW.) ≡ (.♀BC ---> .HZC)

This rule equates the paternal aunt (by blood) with the maternal aunt (by marriage), a process that can be conceived of as a logical overriding of the polarity of the collateral link (FZ vs. MB) to create a generationally-leveled terminological treatment of cross-aunts and cross-uncles (neutralized for consanguineal vs. "step"--i.e. by marriage--status). The new rule 3A' replaces the A subpart of the Type IV Omaha skewing rule noted for Patwin and for Nomlaki. Using the new rule, the reduction of FZ as designated kintype proceeds as follows:

FZ.
MBW. by rule 3A'
MFW. by rule 3B
MM. by rule 4
= ʾputah '(maternal) grandmother'

Another corollary rule is required to prevent the "stranding" of FZH and to ensure that it is merged with MB:

3A' part 2 (FZH. ⟶ MB.) ≡ (.δWBC ⟶ .δZC)

447.6 Summary and discussion of the analyzed system

The Hayfork Wintu kin classification can be typed as a very limited form of parallel transmission, grafted as it were, onto a structure which basically shows Type III Omaha skewing. The "parallel transmission" consists in the classing of all cross-nuncles with the second ascending generation terms, but with the exception of FZ (and its reciprocal), all Hayfork Wintu cross-collateral kin class extensions can be accounted for with just the Type III Omaha rule. This is undoubtedly why Gifford claimed that "the classification is of the central California type" (1922:99), although Omaha rules had not been formally characterized at that early date.

Another way of looking at the Hayfork classificatory system is to see it as basically Omaha Type III, but with one characteristic Crow equation, namely FZ = GM. However, this sheds little light on the historical status of the kin classification in relation to the other Wintun types.

Interestingly, the formal equivalence rule analysis shows that by using Lounsbury's formalization of Type IV Omaha skewing in a rule with two subparts, the distinction between a Nomlaki or Patwin type system and that of the Hayfork Wintu can be characterized by a simple, discrete change in one subpart of the skewing rule, while leaving the Type III subpart unaffected. This is of major importance for the postulated reconstruction of Northern Wintun kin classificatory developments.

In most other respects--namely lexically and in terms of kin class inclusion relations--Hayfork Wintu patterns very much like the other Wintu systems, as Dominguez (1974:42) pointed out. But see §447.3 for some

exceptions, where Hayfork resembles Nomlaki more closely.

448. Upper Sacramento Wintu

448.1 Table of kinterms and kintype denotata--focal and extended

(see following pages)

Table 4.10: Upper Sacramento Wintu "consanguineal" kinterms and kintype denotata

kinterm	A	B	C	D	E	F	notes
ʼkiyehčepet	GF	GGF,...					1
ʼputahčepet	GM	GGM,...					1
ʼkiyeh	(MB)			MB		FZH	2
ʼputah	(FZ)			FZ		MBW	2
(-ta·n)	F						3
-ne·n	M						4
tomɬeh	(FB)			FB	step-F	MZH	
neneh	(MZ)			MZ	step-M	FBW	
ɬabeh	B+		½B+		step-B+	WZ+H	
la·h ~ la·ya	Z+		½Z+		step-Z+	HB+W	
leyʼkut	B-		½B-		step-B-	WZ-H	
layʼkut	Z-		½Z-		step-Z-	HB-W	
peʼ·ɬa	(♂B,♀Z)				♂step-B,♀step-Z	WZH,HBW	5
(soh	♂Z,♀B)						6
kur	S						7
piče·n	D						
kuleh ~ kuteh	(♂BS,♀ZS)			♂BS,♀ZS	step-S	HBS,WZS	8
pukuy	(♂BD,♀ZD)			♂BD,♀ZD	step-D	HBD,WZD	9
ni-ča(·)y	GS	GGS,...		♂ZS,♀BS		HZS,WBS	
ni-ča·men	GD	GGD,...		♂ZD,♀BD		HZD,WBD	10

See Table 4.1 for a key to the columns.

Table 4.10 (part 2): Upper Sacramento Wintu "consanguineal" kinterms--"cousin" kintype denotata

kinterm	A	H	I	J
ʼkiyeh	MB	FZ+S,MB+S	MFBS,MMZS; FZ+CS,...; PFZ+S,... MB+CS,...; PMB+S,...	"senior" cross
ʼputah	FZ	FZ+D,MB+D	FFBD,FMZD; FZ+CD,...; PFZ+D,... MB+CD,...; PMB+D,...	second cousins
tomɬeh	FB	---	FFBS,FMZS	
neneh	MZ	---	MFBD,MMZD	
ʼkuleh ~ ʼkuteh	♂BS,♀ZS	---	♂FBSS,♂MZSS; ♀FBDS,♀MZDS	
ʼpukuy	♂BD,♀ZD	---	♂FBSD,♂MZSD; ♀FBDD,♀MZDD	
ni-ča(·)y	GS	FZ-S,MB-S	♂FBDS,♂MZDS; FZ-CS,...; PFZ-S,... ♀FBSS,♀MZSS; MB-CS,...; PMB-S,...	"junior" cross
ni-ča·men	GD	FZ-D,MB-D	♂FBDD,♂MZDD; FZ-CD,...; PFZ-D,... ♀FBSD,♀MZSD; MB-CD,...; PMB-D,...	second cousins
ɬabeh	B+	FB+S,MZ+S		
la·h ~ la·ya	Z+	FB+D,MZ+D		parallel
leyʼkut	B-	FB-S,MZ-S		second cousins
layʼkut	Z-	FB-D,MZ-D		
peʼ·ɬa	(♂B,♀Z)	♂FBS,♂MZS; ♀FBD,♀MZD		

Key to columns: A. focal denotation(s) I. first cousins with generational removal
H. first cousins J. second cousins

Table 4.10 (part 3): Upper Sacramento Wintu "affines" and "spouse" kinterms

kinterm	A	B	D	G	notes
somo·n	SpB,ZH				
toqoy	SpZ,BW				
wiy,wih	H				
puqan	W				
pe·ɬa	HW,WH				
la·h ~ la·ya	HW+				
laykut	HW-				
-tah	SpP,CSp	CSpP	SpPSb,CSpSb, SbSpP,SbCSp	SpGP,...; GCSp,...	11

Key to columns:

A. focal denotation(s)

B. extended senses (miscellaneous)

D. collateral extensions

G. "grand-in-laws"

448.2 Notes to the table of kinterms

1. The suffix /-čepet/ is ultimately derived from /čep/ 'bad, poor, dirty,...' The suffixed form can be seen as originally a perjorative suffix, 'a (particular) poor or sickly...', which developed as a not especially respectful distinguishing suffix for subclasses of older relatives in Northern Wintu, but which appears to have had much of the perjorative sense "bleached out" in usage. Gifford reports it as just meaning "older". DuBois reports that it "gives the terms a connotation of age and respect." (1935:61) (Incidentally, the Wintu stative verb root /čep/ is cognate with WPC /tep-?a/ 'stingy'.)

2. Gifford records kiyima (/kiyemah/) and puhaiya (/puqayah/) as referential stems. Cf. the comparable Hayfork Wintu data above and discussion in §447.2, notes 1 and 2.

3. Gifford does not record /-ta·n/ as a referential stem for 'father', but its presence in McCloud Wintu as well as Hayfork makes it unlikely that it was absent in Upper Sacramento Wintu. The other forms listed by Gifford can be interpreted as follows:

tata:	/ta·ta/	addressive form for F; "daddy"
hapa:	/ha·pa/	addressive form for F; "father"
suhanas:	/suhana·s/	'dead parent'

4. In addition to the basic referential form for 'mother', Gifford's various citations can be interpreted as:

dutu:	/tu·tu/	addressive form for M; "mama"
nenuhes:	/ne·nu-heres/	verbal derivative referential form, "one who is mother to..."
bolos:	/(net)-bolos/	archaic, respectful referential form for 'my mother', literally, "my drink", with reference to suckling.

5. /ʔpe·ɬa/ is not easily etymologizable, but it seems to be reshaped from a possessed form including the inclusive pronominal root /ʔpe-/ + /la(·)/ 'sister' (?), i.e. "our sister(s)". Thus it may have originated as a co-wife term and then been extended to all non-focal <parallel siblings>. It was not used in reference to one's own true siblings.

6. /soh/ 'cross-sibling' is not directly documented for Upper Sacramento Wintu, but its presence can probably be inferred. See McCloud Wintu for analysis of the full SIBLING class, including the 'cross-sibling term.

7. Gifford's recording yekli represents a special vocative form for 'child', phonemically /ye-ɬe/, including the vocative prefix /ye(·)-/. Another related form recorded for McCloud Wintu is /mi-ɬe/ 'my child'. Gifford's form ila (/ʔilay/ ~ /ʔila(·)h/) is a non-kinterm referring to a child or baby.

8. Gifford seems to have been correct in asserting that /ʔkuleh/ and /ʔkuteh/ are synonymous and interchangeable in Upper Sacramento Wintu. This situation probably resulted, however, from the collapse of two distinct kin (sub-)classes when Upper Sacramento Wintu developed bilateral cross-kin skewing. (Cf. §448.5 below.)

9. /ʔpukuy/ is derived from the Proto-Wintun form for 'young girl', ultimately from the root *ʔpoq- 'woman'. It is also recorded in McCloud Wintu as /ʔpuquy/, which may account for some historical doublets in the cognate sets. (Cf. §626.)

10. /ni-ča·men/ is derived from /ni-ča(·)y/, probably by the addition of the same Wintu suffix /-met/ (particular), /-men/ (generic) which is relatively productive in the derivation of terms for small animals. Schlichter gives the suffix a basic gloss of 'own, kind' and reports it suffixed in some instances to pronouns or kinterms: /net ʔkiye·r-met/

'my uncle'. This type of usage would be a good candidate for reanalysis as the marker of a subclass of a particular kin class.

11. Gifford records only da' (/tah/) for all "in-laws" in Upper Sacramento Wintu. The term appears to be an innovation, based on the Wintun 'father' term ultimately. The presence of both /-tah/ 'cross-sex in-law' and /-ṫes/ 'parallel-sex in-law' in the linguists' recordings of McCloud Wintu suggests that the actual range of /-tah/ in Upper Sacramento Wintu was also limited to cross-sex in-laws. Upper Sacramento follows the general Wintun practice of address of G^1 "in-laws" with third person plural pronouns.

12. Miscellaneous notes:

yenak is glossed by Gifford as 'sister-in-law'. It seems almost certain that this is only a vocative form (note the ye- prefix) and that /toqoy/ is the proper referring term for all <sister-in-law> kintypes. This interpretation would bring the structure of the Northern Wintu SIBLING-IN-LAW class more into line with that for Nomlaki and Hayfork Wintu and is further supported by the linguists' record for McCloud Wintu. Gifford's form may in fact be a mishearing or a mistranscription of /ye-toqoq/, the vocative for 'sister-in-law' recorded by Pitkin for McCloud Wintu.

yetdati is a vocative form for 'spouse'. Its phonemic analysis is uncertain.

448.3 Kinterm reciprocal relations

An examination of Table 4.11 (see following page) reveals a number of points where Upper Sacramento Wintu differs significantly from Hayfork Wintu (cf. Table 4.9). Briefly stated, these differences are as follows:

1. Lineal kin of the second ascending generation are terminologically

Table 4.11: Upper Sacramento Wintu kinterm reciprocal relations (showing focal denotata)

Type	Senior			Junior	
G^2	ʼkiyehčepet	GF			
	ʼputahčepet	GM			
	ʼkiyeh	MB	⟷	ni-ča(·)y	GS
	ʼputah	FZ		ni-ča·men	GD
G^1	(-ta·n)	F		kur	S
	-ne·n	M	⟷	piče·n	D
	tomɬeh	FB		ʼkuleh ~ ʼkuteh	♂BS,♀ZS
	neneh	MZ	⟷	ʼpukuy	♂BD,♀ZD
$G^{=}$	ɬabeh	B+		ʼleykut	B-
	la·h ~ la·ya	Z+	⟷	ʼlaykut	Z-
	(soh	♂Z	⟷	♀B	self-reciprocal)
	ʼpe·ɬa	(♂B,♀Z)			self-reciprocal
$G^{=}$ Affine	somo·n	SpB		somo·n	ZH
	toqoy	SpZ	⟷	toqoy	BW
Spouse	wiy,wih	H	⟷	ʼpuqan	W
G^1 Affine	-tah	SpP	⟷	CSp	self-reciprocal

distinguished by the addition of the /-čepet/ suffix; cf. the structurally similar treatment of 'grandfather' in Nomlaki, Table 4.7. GRANDCHILDREN in Upper Sacramento Wintu are clearly distinguished by sex.

2. G^1 kin are organized in the same way as for Hayfork Wintu, although the lexical forms differ for the parallel nibs.

3. The two $G^=$ affine terms (SIBLING-IN-LAW) technically do not comprise a reciprocal pair, since they are distinguished only by sex of alter. In other words they can be glossed as 'brother-in-law' and 'sister-in-law' respectively. Thus, in the table of reciprocals they have been entered on both sides of the arrow, with one side indicating SpSb and the other SbSp. The organization of the SIBLING-IN-LAW relations is considerably different in Upper Sacramento Wintu (and McCloud) than it is in Hayfork Wintu or Nomlaki. See §644 for a discussion of the development of these terms in Wintun.

448.4 Upper Sacramento Wintu kin class inclusion relations

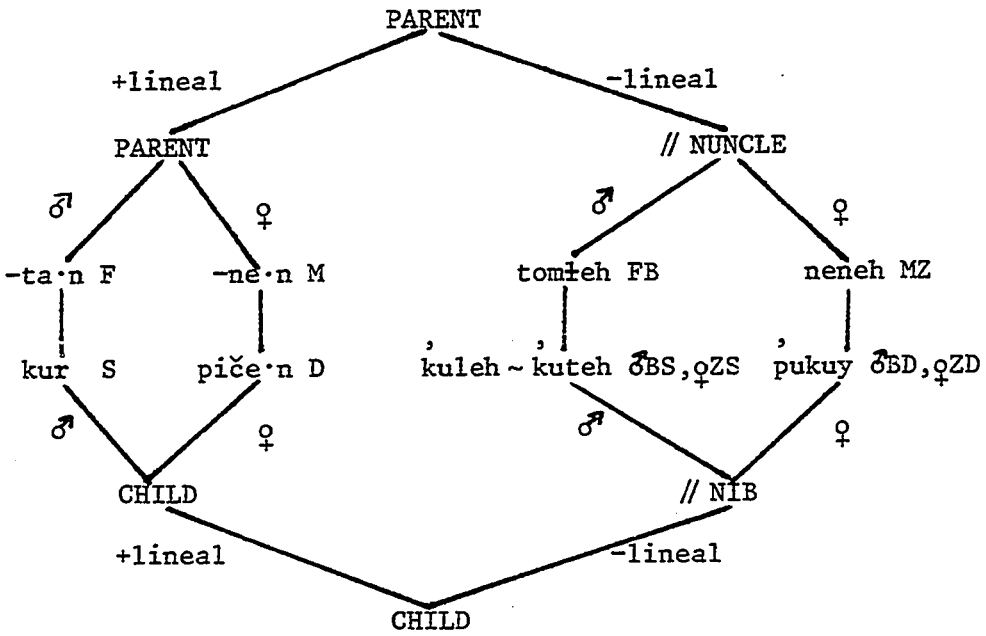


Figure 4.7 Kin superclasses: PARENT, CHILD

Figures 4.7-9 show the significant kin class inclusion relations for Upper Sacramento Wintu. Figure 4.7, showing the kin superclasses PARENT and CHILD, requires little comment by now. It should be clear that the overall structure is identical to that for Hayfork Wintu, with just lexical replacements for the // NIB class.

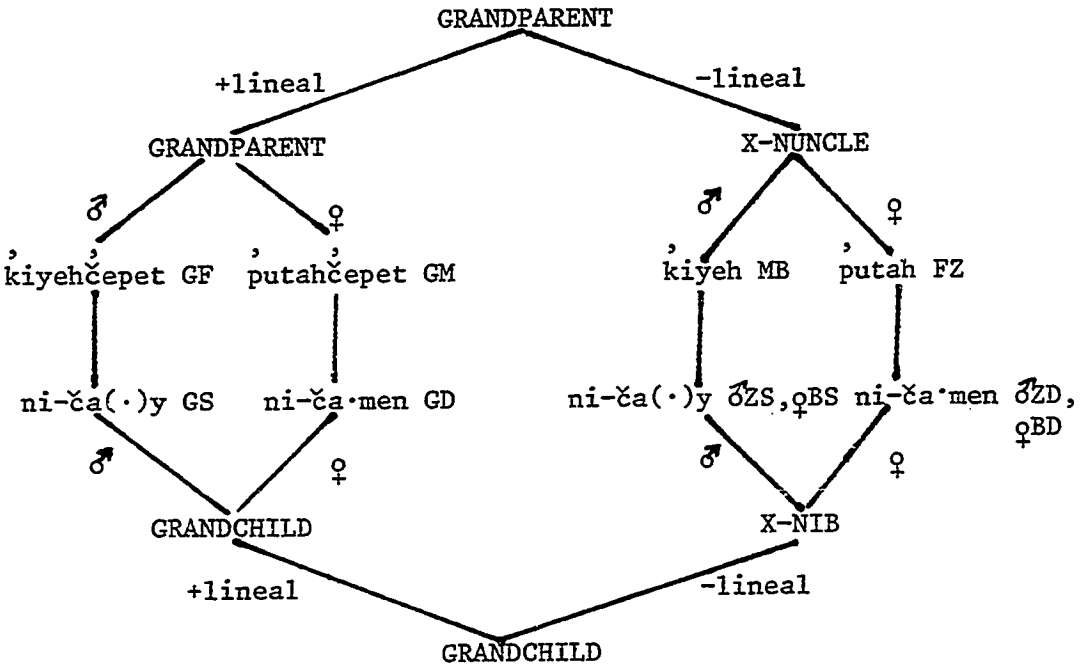


Figure 4.8 Kin superclasses: GRANDPARENT, GRANDCHILD

The GRANDPARENT and GRANDCHILD superclasses (see Figure 4.8) show the Northern Wintu innovation of distinguishing lineal kin of the second ascending generation terminologically from non-lineal kin of the GRAND-PARENT class. The formal parallel here with the treatment of G^1 kin classes should be apparent. Also, Northern Wintu introduces the sex distinction in the second descending generation. This can be seen as another analogic extension of formal structuring principles from the G^1 kin superclasses to the G^2 superclasses; in other words, the pre-existing gender discrimination of S and D is analogically extended to 'grandchildren'

as well. (The justification for the postulated directionality of this change is made in the historical reconstruction itself; see Chapter 6.)

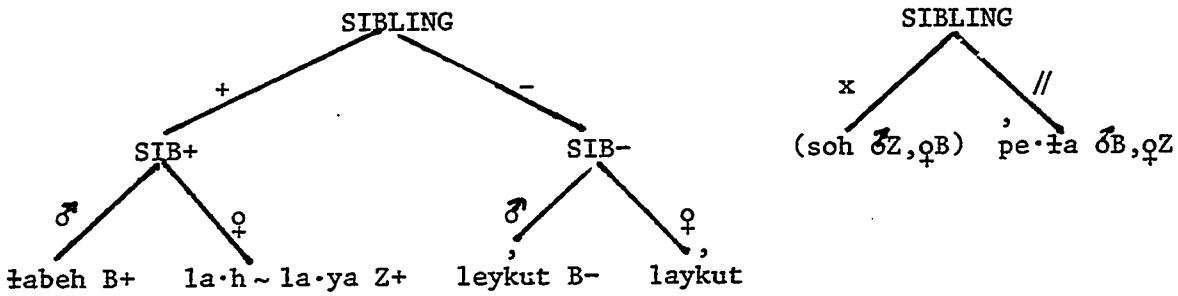


Figure 4.9 Kin superclass: SIBLING

Figure 4.9 shows a most interesting situation for the SIBLING superclass. In addition to the normal subclassing of the SIBLING superclass by relative age and sex, there appears to be a cross-cutting classification by relative sex of ego and alter. The parallel sibling subclass has a special referring term /pe·ɬa/, unique to the Northern Wintu dialects; the term's foci are the kintypes ♂B, ♀Z, but it is only used in reference to <u>non</u>-focal kintypes which are extensionally equivalent to parallel siblings, and not in reference to ego's own siblings. The cross-sibling term, /soh/, is not directly documented in Upper Sacramento Wintu, but its presence can presumably be inferred by comparison with the McCloud Wintu data.

448.5 Formal equivalence rule analysis

The following formal equivalence rules are postulated for the Upper Sacramento Wintu kin classification:

1. Half-sibling merging rule	(PC ---> Sb)	self-reciprocal
2'. Parallel sibling merging rule	(♂B+... ---> (♂...)+)	≡ (...♂B- ---> (...♂)-)
	(♀Z+... ---> (♀...)+)	≡ (...♀Z- ---> (...♀)-)
3A".Cross-nuncle merging rule	(PxSb.---> PP.)	≡ (.♂♀xSbC ---> .♂♀CC)
	(PxSbSp. ---> PP.)	≡ (.♂♀SpxSbC ---> .♂♀CC)
3B'.Bilateral cross-kin skewing rule	(PxSb-... ---> xSb-...)	≡ (...xSb+C ---> ...xSb+)
4. Stepkin merging rule	(PSp ---> P)	≡ (SpC ---> C)
5'. Grand-in-law merging rule	(SpPP ---> SpP)	≡ (CCSp ---> CSp)
6A. Ancestor merging rule	(PPP. ---> PP.)	≡ (.CCC ---> .CC)
6B. Grand-nuncle merging rule	(PPSb ---> PP)	≡ (SbCC ---> CC)
7. Child's in-law merging rule	(CSpP ---> SpP/CSp)	self-reciprocal
8. In-law's sib/sib's in-law merging rule	(SpPSb ---> SpP)	≡ (SbCSp ---> CSp)
	(SbSpP ---> SpP)	≡ (CSpSb ---> CSp)
9'. Co-spouse merging rule	(HW+ ---> ♀Z+)	≡ (HW- ---> ♀Z-)
	(WH+ ---> ♂B+)	≡ (WH- ---> ♂B-)

The Upper Sacramento Wintu kin classification shows a number of typical Wintun equivalence rules, together with several rules which mark it as distinctly different from any other Wintun kin classification. Here I will point out the similarities first, and then discuss the differences.

Rules 1, 4 and 6A are identical to those stated for River Patwin,

and are probably pan-Wintun in distribution. Rules 6B, 7 and 8 are shared with Nomlaki and with other Wintu dialects; they are common to Northern Wintun at least. Rule 5' is shared by all Wintu systems, including Hayfork, but not by Nomlaki or Patwin.

Rule 9, the co-spouse merging rule, appears in a full form in the Upper Sacramento Wintu data, merging 'co-wife' with ♀Z and 'co-husband' with ♂B. While co-wife merging with ♀Z makes immediate sense, given the practice of sororal polygyny among the Wintu, in the absence of fraternal polyandry the co-husband merging rule may seem unexpected. In fact, the net effect of the (WH ---> ♂B) merging, together with parallel sibling merging, is to merge (WZH ---> ♂B), which is conceptually consistent with the practice of the levirate and sororate. Indeed, these considerations suggest that the statement of rule 9 as a co-wife merging rule in Nomlaki (cf. §446.5 above) is probably incomplete, and that a full co-spouse merging rule can be postulated for all of Northern Wintun at least.

DuBois' (1935:55) statement that "the first wife was called older sister (1a) by the subsequent spouses, and that she referred to them as younger sisters (laikut)..." is the basis for further refinement of rule 9 to explicitly take account of relative seniority:

9'. Co-spouse merging rule $\left\{\begin{matrix}(HW+ \dashrightarrow ♀Z+) & \equiv & (HW- \dashrightarrow ♀Z-) \\ (WH+ \dashrightarrow ♂B+) & \equiv & (WH- \dashrightarrow ♂B-)\end{matrix}\right\}$

where W+ is interpreted as 'precedent wife' and W- as 'subsequent [secondary] wife', etc. Stating the rule this way, in conjunction with the revised parallel sibling merging rule 2' (see below) also automatically accounts for the correct mergings of the various relative age subclasses of "partners" (WZH and HBW). The merging of co-wives as 'elder sister' or 'younger sister' on the basis of marriage precedence rather than calendar age is conceptually consistent with the Northern Wintu

principles for merging of parallel cousins with elder or younger siblings by relative age of the collateral link rather than relative age of ego and alter. The two processes really both reflect a single comprehensive change in the way relative "age" (i.e. "seniority") of siblings is reckoned in the system.

The truly distinctive rules in the Upper Sacramento Wintu kin classification are rules 2', 3A" and 3B', which differ from any discussed so far. I take them up in order below.

Rule 2' is termed a "parallel sibling merging rule", but it differs in one important respect from those postulated for Patwin, Nomlaki and Hayfork Wintu. Specifically, the relative age of the collateral link through which a kintype is reckoned becomes a criterial factor for the merging of parallel kintypes. This is unlike the other Wintun systems, where the relative age of ego and alter is the criterial factor. This new factor for Upper Sacramento Wintu can be ignored (i.e. is neutralized) in the classing of generationally removed kintypes (or more strictly for the subclassing of kintypes included in kin classes which are generationally removed from ego's generation), but for classificatory siblings (e.g. parallel cousin kintypes), the status of alter as a classificatory elder or younger sibling depends on the relative age of the linking parents. This fact is expressed in rule 2', where the elder or younger status of the collateral link is copied as a senior or junior "feature" of the equivalent kintype as a whole. By convention then, at the end of a kintype reduction, if the resultant kintype is a SIBLING, it will be subcategorized by the senior/junior feature.

Rule 2' is shared with the McCloud Wintu system and must clearly be an innovative characteristic of the Northern Wintu kin classifications (<u>not</u> including Hayfork Wintu). Its presence in the Northern Wintu

systems means that in some respects the Northern Wintu kinship systems do fit Spier's (1925) criteria for being "Yuman" in type. Spier's Yuman type refers to kin classifications whose classing of collateral kintypes is sensitive to the relative age of the apical linking relatives. That definition of a "Yuman" kin system type must be clearly distinguished from Murdock's (1949) "Yuman" type of social organization, which refers instead to societies evidencing bilateral descent together with Iroquoian cousin terminology. The situation for Wintu is thoroughly confused, however, since Northern Wintu, on a not-too-strict evaluation, fits Murdock's criteria for being "Yuman" in type, as well as the wholly different criteria for being Spier's "Yuman" type.

In an earlier analysis of Wintun kin classification (Whistler 1979), I dealt with the problem of Northern Wintu classificatory sensitivity to relative age of the collateral link by postulating separate rules: a "collateral relative age rule" to copy the collateral relative age as a seniority feature on the kintype in question, and a "relative age interpretation rule" which then interpreted seniority of kintype in the case of classificatory siblings. It is clear to me now that all of these functions can be gathered together in the revised parallel sibling merging rule, with the proper conventions for reading off the reduced kintypes. This requires introducing the seniority feature in a modified way in the cross-kin skewing rule (see below), but it turns out that that rule, too, can be stated more generally than I had previously thought. These modifications allow the overall spectrum of Wintun kin classificatory rules to be carried over to Northern Wintu, with just discrete modifications of the individual rules proposed, rather than a more complete restructuring of the entire set of rules. That in turn encourages greater confidence in the validity of the historical changes proposed to account for the

historical development of the Northern Wintu systems from the Proto-Wintun system of kin classification (cf. §633).

Rule 3A", the "cross-nuncle merging rule", is of the same general order as the Hayfork rule 3A', but is generalized to merge all cross aunts and uncles and their spouses directly into the GRANDPARENT superclass (and reciprocally). In Hayfork, the rule was stated so as to represent a logical merging of the paternal cross-aunt (and her husband) with MBW (and MB), which were in turn automatically skewed into the GRANDPARENT class by the operation of the Type III Omaha skewing rule. (Of course, the reciprocal kintypes were likewise affected.) However, in Upper Sacramento Wintu, the skewing rule is drastically restructured, and the easiest way to account for the kin classificatory status of the cross-nuncles is to merge them directly into the GRANDPARENT superclass. If a cognitive interpretation is desired, this would be seen as a shift from a focus on the collateral leveling of cross-nuncles (as in Hayfork--and presumably for Pre-Wintu as well) to a kind of parallel transmission, where a woman assumes the kin classificatory status of her mother and a man of his father. The claim here is that this interpretation is almost forced in Upper Sacramento by the restructuring of the skewing rule, even though no formal parallel transmission rule of the type formulated by Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971:110ff) for Siriono need be stated to account for Upper Sacramento Wintu kin classificatory extensions. Before pursuing this question further, I first discuss rule 3B' itself.

Rule 3B', the "bilateral cross-kin skewing rule", accounts for the classing of all cross-cousin kintypes in Upper Sacramento Wintu. The rule is restated here for reference:

3B'. $(PxSb-\ldots \dashrightarrow xSb-\ldots) \equiv (\ldots xSb+C \dashrightarrow \ldots xSb+)$

This rule simply specifies that wen an intervening collateral link is a

younger cross-sibling (reckoned from ego's point of view), any intervening parental link is ignored in classing the designated kintype. Conversely, if the intervening collateral link is an elder cross-sibling, then the child links are ignored. Applied iteratively, the net effect of this rule is to "skew up" all descendants of elder cross-nuncles and to "skew down" all descendants of younger cross-nuncles. For example:

δFMFZ-S ---> δFMB-S ---> δFZ-S ---> δZ-S

♀MMMB-DS ---> ♀MMB-DS ---> ♀MB-DS ---> ♀B-DS

♀MMMB+DS ---> ♀MMMB+S ---> ♀MMMB+

The final output of repeated applications of rule 3B' (which effectively knocks all the P's off the left of a "junior" cross-cousin kintype expression and all the C's off the right of a "senior" type) is always of the appropriate shape for input to rule 3A", the cross-nuncle merging rule, which then classes the cross-cousin type as either a <grandparent> or a <grandchild>, depending on whether it started out with an elder cross-sibling or a younger cross-sibling collateral link. Thus, the new rules 3A" and 3B' together account for all the cross-collateral kin class extensions in Upper Sacramento Wintu.

The Upper Sacramento Wintu system has been claimed by Dominguez (1974) and Scheffler (in press) to exhibit parallel transmission, and indeed the structure of kin-class extensions for cross-collateral kin in Upper Sacramento is similar to those in the various South American groups which Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971) point to as evidencing parallel transmission rules. Dominguez (1974) has provided an explicit and extensive kin classificatory analysis of the Upper Sacramento Wintu system which includes a parallel transmission rule identical to that proposed by Scheffler and Lounsbury to account for the Siriono kin classification. I will review here the relevant portions of Dominguez' analysis and contrast

it with that I have proposed above for the Upper Sacramento Wintu.

Dominguez' analysis for cross-collateral kin merging in Upper Sacramento Wintu ("Northern Wintun") posits a parallel transmission rule and two auxiliary rules:

1. parallel transmission rule (p. 20)

    (...♂S ---> ...♂)+ ≡ (♂F... ---> ♂...)-

    (...♀D ---> ...♀)+ ≡ (♀M... ---> ♀...)-

1a. opposite-sex sibling rule (p. 24)

    (...♀B ---> ...♀FS)+ ≡ (♂Z... ---> ♂FD...)-

    (...♂Z ---> ...♂MD)+ ≡ (♀B... ---> ♀MS...)-

1b. opposite-sex parent-child rule (p. 24)

    (...♀S ---> ...♀HS)+ ≡ (♂M... ---> ♂FW...)-

    (...♂D ---> ...♂WD)+ ≡ (♀F... ---> ♀MH...)-

In reduction of distant cross-collateral kintypes, these rules apply in complex cycles. Depending on the kintype involved, either 1a or 1b must apply first, followed by rule 1; then rule 1 may apply again one or more times, and its subsequent applications may or may not be preceded by a second application of one of the auxiliary rules.

Since application of either of the auxiliary rules must be followed directly by an application of the parallel transmission rule, we could combine the effects of the auxiliaries plus parallel transmission into single rules to show their net effects:

1a + 1: (...♀B ---> ...♀F)+ ≡ (♂Z... ---> ♂D...)- [Omaha III]

(...♂Z ---> ...♂M)+ ≡ (♀B... ---> ♀S...)- [Crow III]

1b + 1: (...♀S ---> ...♀H)+ ≡ (♂M... ---> ♂W...)-

(...♂D ---> ...♂W)+ ≡ (♀F... ---> ♀H...)-

An examination of the joint rule 1a + 1 shows that the first line is an Omaha skewing rule, Type III, while the second line constitutes a Crow

skewing rule, Type III. The rules, however, are cleverly constrainted by considerations of "seniority" in Upper Sacramento Wintu so that the proper kintypes are skewed either up or down.

Considering just first cross-cousin kintypes, combined rule 1a + 1 correctly accounts for the Upper Sacramento terminological treatment of MB+S, FZ+D, ♂FZ-C and ♀MB-C, but it does not properly account for MB+D, FZ+S, ♂MB-C or ♀FZ-C. Auxiliary 1b (plus rule 1) is postulated to handle the classing of this second group of cross-cousin kintypes correctly.

Dominguez' derivations suggest that these rules account for all Upper Sacramento Wintu cross-collateral kin class extensions. However, a couple of unexpected though not uncorrectable problems creep in when the application of the rules is examined in detail. First, the opposite-sex parent-child rule (rule 1b) in itself is not constrained to prevent improper skewing of some parallel collateral kintypes. Thus consider the kintype ♀Z+S and its reciprocal ♂MZ-:

♀Z+S		♂MZ-	
♀Z+HS	by rule 1b	♂FWZ-	by rule 1b
♀Z+H	by rule 1	♂WZ-	by rule 1
= /somo·n/ 'brother-in-law'		= /toqoy/ 'sister-in-law'	

But of course these are improper reductions--neither kintype is a classificatory <sibling-in-law> in Wintu. Instead, ♀Z+S = /ʼkuleh/ 'parallel nephew' and ♂MZ- = /neneh/ 'parallel aunt'. Dominguez recognizes this problem and solves it by appeal to explicit ordering of the same-sex sibling merging rule:

2. same-sex sibling merging rule (p. 20)

$$(♂B\ldots \longrightarrow ♂\ldots) \equiv (\ldots ♂B \longrightarrow \ldots ♂)$$

$$(♀Z\ldots \longrightarrow ♀\ldots) \equiv (\ldots ♀Z \longrightarrow \ldots ♀)$$

This rule must be ordered so as to always apply when possible before the

parallel transmission rule and its auxiliaries (p. 21). This ordering has the effect of distinguishing all "close-kin" relatives (i.e. parallel nuncles, nibs and cousins) from "non-close-kin" relatives, where [± close-kin] constitutes a major componentially defined semantic feature for the Upper Sacramento Wintu kin classification [it is not claimed to be a universal semantic feature of kin classifications]. While I am not opposed in principle to solutions which rely on extrinsic ordering of equivalence rules (cf. my McCloud analysis below, §449.5), I do object to the justification offered for this particular use of extrinsic ordering by Dominguez:

> It is important to apply the same-sex sibling merging rule where possible, before we apply the parallel-transmission rule. Otherwise, we would be applying a structural principle of one Wintun superclass to a kintype of the other Wintun superclass, which does not seem to feature such a principle. (p. 21)

In other words, the "close-kin" superclass is assumed not to feature the parallel transmission rule. However, this to me seems a strange conception of the relation between kin superclasses and kin equivalence rules. I would contend that the equivalence rules are what actually define the kin superclasses by establishing the extended set of kintypes associated with that superclass. To say that a given equivalence rule does not apply within a particular kin class domain is only the same as saying that it cannot be properly applied to any particular kintype included in that kin class to yield an accurate kintype reduction, and so is not part of the positive definitional criteria of that kin class. However, to write rules which can apply in multiple ways to yield some erroneous reductions, reductions which can be eliminated only by ordering

the rules, suggests that one or more of the rules is stated too inclusively in the first place. As a general principle then, I would prefer an analysis with more constrained rules which do not require extrinsic ordering to one with less constrained rules and with extrinsic ordering--unless there is a good historical reason for choosing a solution of the latter type.

Dominguez' analysis also requires the equivalence rules to discriminate between two types of "seniority". Thus, in reducing kintypes involving the cross-collateral relations MB- or FZ-, the rules must treat these kintypes as "senior" when they are designated kin, but as "junior" when they are linking kin to a cousin kintype. This is necessary to account for the fact that MB- and FZ- are merged into the GRANDPARENT superclass, but their children are merged into the GRANDCHILDREN superclass. Dominguez discusses this contingency in her text (p. 18) but does not formally express it in the parallel transmission rule or its auxiliaries. To be more precise, a separate set of rules applying to MB. and FZ. as designated kin could be written--these would have the same effect as rule 3A", the "cross-nuncle merging rule", which I have proposed above in my analysis of Upper Sacramento Wintu equivalence rules. In either case, however, some formal cognizance of the differences in "skewing" for cross-nuncles and for cross-cousins in Upper Sacramento Wintu must appear in the analysis. Dominguez' solution is to define "seniority" differently for G^1 kintypes and for $G^{<1}$ kintypes; my solution is to write a separate rule for cross-nuncles (and cross-nibs) as designated kin.

Whether or not Upper Sacramento Wintu constitutes a system of parallel transmission in some respects seems to be a moot question. The kin classification exhibits characteristics which could be cited as a

manifestation of a strong form of parallel transmission, and Dominguez has demonstrated that the required equivalence rules can be specified in terms of a formal parallel transmission rule and auxiliaries. However, the alternative analysis presented above in terms of a "bilateral cross-kin skewing rule" (rule 3B') accomplishes all of the required kintype mergings, but in addition it is easier to constrain properly without extrinsic rule ordering, and it strikes me as a more elegant solution (although elegance is of course a matter of taste). But then how are we to specify the overall type of the Upper Sacramento system of kin classification? Is it a system of parallel transmission, based on the analysis showing a parallel transmission rule, or should we consider it a system of bilateral skewing, based on the characteristic rule of my analysis. The moot point then revolves around whether or not a bilateral cross-kin skewing rule such as rule 3B' conceals an implicit parallel transmission rule if properly manipulated kin-algebraically. The answer is yes, but so what. The appropriateness of one or another equivalent analysis will be evident more in its usefulness in establishing an historical sequence of development, rather than in any formal criteria for choosing one over the other. I will continue to refer to the Upper Sacramento Wintu system as a "parallel transmission" system to emphasize its structural similarities to other examples of "parallel transmission" cited by Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971); but this is not to be construed as a claim that the best way to analyze the Upper Sacramento system is with a formal parallel transmission kin equivalence rule--either from a synchronic or an historical point of view.

The evidence of social correlates of a parallel transmission rule in Wintu is weak. Dominguez (pp. 33-34) raises the possibility of a "structural concurrence" between the Upper Sacramento Wintu kin classification

(analyzed as manifesting a parallel transmission rule) and Wintu social practice:

> For instance, the principle of lineality found to be the structural base of the Northern Wintun system has counterparts in other aspects of social life, such as, the custom for a woman to inherit her mother's name, and for a man to inherit his father's. This is not to say, however, that the principle of lineality of the kinship system determines the naming custom or that the custom determines the principle. It is to say, however, that there may be structural concurrence in different domains of social life.

This "concurrence" judgement is based, however, on DuBois' (1935:51) statement about name transmission among the Wintu:

> It was customary after the death of parents for a woman to inherit her mother's name, and for a man to take his father's. This was in no wise formalized, however.

DuBois' caveat that this was not a formalized practice undercuts its systematic social structural significance. Also the probability that DuBois' observation applies to the McCloud Wintu as much as to the Upper Sacramento, whereas McCloud kin classification does not evidence any strong form of parallel transmission, suggests that it cannot be very significantly correlated with the appearance of particular kin equivalence rules. (Consider our own culture, where sons are often named after their fathers and daughters often inherit their mother's heirlooms, but where no one would attribute a parallel transmission rule to the kin classification itself.) Certainly the Upper Sacramento Wintu case presents us with nothing like the formally elaborated and culturally significant system of parallel descent and transmission of names documented in the Northwestern

Ge societies of Brazil, wherein kin classifications with parallel transmission rules do seem to have identifiable direct social correlates.

448.6 Summary

In summary then, the analysis of the Upper Sacramento Wintu kin classification demonstrates that the system is of an unusual type. The classification of cross-collateral kin is characteristic of systems evidencing a parallel transmission rule, and indeed Dominguez (1974) has analyzed the system along those lines. However, as shown in §448.5, the merging of cross-cousins can be accounted for even more succinctly (and precisely) with a unique kind of bilateral skewing rule sensitive to collateral "seniority". The kin classification can still be characterized as showing parallel transmission in the sense that some kintypes do classificatorily accede to the kin class status of their same-sex parents. However, the bilateral skewing rule analysis (while formally translatable into parallel transmission, properly constrained) is to be preferred, since it clarifies the relation of the Upper Sacramento system to its neighboring systems and historical antecedents (see §630).

The Upper Sacramento kin classification is also characterized by merging of parallel cousins with elder or younger <siblings> on the basis of relative age of the collateral link, a characteristic shared with the McCloud Wintu systems.

449. McCloud Wintu

449.1 Table of kinterms and kintype denotata--focal and extended

The McCloud Wintu kin classificatory data presented in Gifford (1922) and in DuBois (1935) represents two very similar yet still distinct systems. Instead of lumping the two sets of data together, I treat Gifford's data as the core for analysis here and then point out the systematic differences in DuBois' data. Both systems are lexically and classificatorily similar to each other and to the system of the Upper Sacramento Wintu, but they show significant differences in their classification of cross-cousin kintypes, differences which must be accounted for with separate equivalence rules in a formal analysis.

Table 4.12 (part 1) presents the McCloud Wintu data for consanguineals (other than cousins) as described by Gifford. It is virtually identical to Table 4.10, which presented the analogous Upper Sacramento Wintu data. The differences in DuBois' data for these kintypes are discussed in the Notes to the Table (§449.2). Table 4.12 (parts 2 and 3) show the cousin kintypes; for those, Gifford's and DuBois' data are listed separately, and the cross-cousin kintypes whose classification differs in the two sources are underlined in the table showing DuBois' data (part 3). Affinal and spouse terms are omitted here, since neither Gifford nor DuBois reports any significant classificatory differences for those types between McCloud and Upper Sacramento Wintu. (But see §449.3 and §449.4 for a possible distinction between same-sex and opposite-sex G^1 affinal terms.)

Table 4.12: McCloud Wintu "consanguineal" kinterms and kintype denotata

kinterm	A	B	C	D	E	F	notes
kiyehčepet	GF	GGF,...					1
putahčepet	GM	GGM,...					1
kiyeh	(MB)			MB		FZH	
putah	(FZ)			FZ		MBW	
-ta·n	F						2
-ne·n	M						3
tomɬeh	(FB)			FB	step-F	MZH	
la·čepet	(MZ)			MZ	step-M	FBW	4
ɬabeh	B+		½B+		step-B+	WZ+H	
la·h ~ la·ya	Z+		½Z+		step-Z+	HB+W	
leykut	B-		½B-		step-B-	WZ-H	
laykut	Z-		½Z-		step-Z-	HB-W	
pe·ɬa	(♂B,♀Z)				♂step-B,♀step-Z	WZH,HBW	
soh	♂Z,♀B						
kur	S						
piče·n	D						
kuleh	(♂BS,♀ZS)			♂BS,♀ZS	step-S	HBS,WZS	5
pukuy	(♂BD,♀ZD)			♂BD,♀ZD	step-D	HBD,WZD	6
ni-ča(·)y	GS	GGS,...		♂ZS,♀BS		HZS,WBS	
ni-ča·men	GD	GGD,...		♂ZD,♀BD		HZD,WBD	

See Table 4.1 for a key to the columns.

Table 4.12 (part 2): McCloud Wintu "cousin" kintype denotata (Gifford)

kinterm	A	H	I	J
ʼkiyeh	MB	♂MBS	♂MBSS,...;FMBS,MMBS,MFZS	♂FMBSS,♂MFZSS,♂MMBSS
ʼputah	FZ	---	FMBD,FFMBD,...;FFZD,FFFZD,...	---
la·ʼčepet	MZ	---	MMBD,MFZD	---
ʼkuleh	♀ZS	---	♀MBDS,♀FZDS	---
ʼpukuy	♀ZD	---	♀MBDD,♀FZDD	---
neneh	(Z)	MBD,FZD	♂MBSD,♂MBSSD,...	FFZSD,FFZDD,FMBDD, FMBSD,MFZSD,MMBSD
ʼkuteh	(♀B)	♀MBS,♀FZS	♀FFZS,♀FFFZS,...	♀FMBSS,♀MMBSS,♀MFZSS ♀FFZSS,♀FMBDS,♀FFZDS
ni-ča(·)y	GS;(♂ZS,♀BS)	♂FZS	FZSS,...;♀MBSS,...; ♂MBDS,...;♂FZDS,...;♂FFZS,...	♂FFZSS,♂FMBDS,♂FFZDS
ni-ča·men	GD;(♂ZD,♀BD)	---	FZSD,...;♀MBSD,...; ♂MBDD,...;♂FZDD,...	---
<sibling>		---	---	MMBDC,MFZDC
<sibling>		// first cousins (as in WWSac)	---	// second cousins (as in WWSac)

Other // first cousin, once removed kintypes probably were assigned as in Upper Sacramento.

Key to columns: A. focal denotation(s)
H. first cousins
I. first cousins with generational removal
J. second cousins

Table 4.12 (part 3): McCloud Wintu "cousin" kintype denotata (DuBois) [see note 8]

kinterm	A	H	I	J
ʼkiyeh	MB	♂MB+S, ♂FZ+S	♂MB+SS, ♂FZ+SS	no data reported
			(FMB+S, FFZ+S, MMBS, MFZS)	
ʼputah	FZ	---	(FMBD, FFZD)	
(laʻh ~ neneh)	MZ	---	(MMBD, MFZD)	
ʼkuleh	♀ZS	---	♀MBDS, ♀FZDS	
ʼpukuy	♀ZD	---	♀MBDD, ♀FZDD	
neneh	(Z)	MBD, FZD	♂MB+SD, ♂FZ+SD	
ʼkuteh	(♀B)	♀MBS, ♀FZS	(♀FFZ-S, ♀FMB-S)	
ni-ča(ʻ)y	GS; (♂ZS, ♀BS)	♂MB-S, ♂FZ-S	♀FZSS, ♀MBSS; ♂MBDS, ♂FZDS;	
			♂FZ-SS, (♂FFZ-S), ♂MB-SS, (♂FMB-S)	
ni-čaʻmen	GD; (♂ZD, ♀BD)	---	♀FZSD, ♀MBSD, ♂MBDD, ♂FZDD	
			♂FZ-SD, ♂MB-SD	

Parallel cousins as in Gifford's recording for McCloud Wintu (see part 2 above).

Key to columns: A. focal denotation(s) I. first cousins with generational removal

H. first cousins J. second cousins

449.2 Notes to the table of kinterms

1. DuBois reports in her data a morphological distinction between GF, /ʔkiyehčepet/, and 'male ancestor' (i.e. GGF,...), /tun-ʔkiyehčepet/. /tun-/ is also prefixed to /ʔputahčepet/ to designate 'female ancestor' in the classification recorded by DuBois. For more on /tun-/, see §449.4. Pitkin reports /ho·n/ 'former' and/or /ho(·)npom/ 'ancient' as preposed modifiers to /ʔputahčepet/ to denote 'female ancestor'; these appear to be neologisms, however.

2. /-ta·n/ is explicitly recorded by the linguists as the referential form for 'father' in McCloud Wintu. Other reported forms can be interpreted as follows:

/ta·ta/	addressive "daddy"
/ye·ta/	vocative form based on /ta·ta/
/ha·pa/	addressive
/ha·pa-ʔčepet/	referential form, not respectful: "(my) old man"

3. Other forms for 'mother' are basically addressives:

/tu·tu/	addressive "mama"
/ye·tu/	vocative form based on /tu·tu/
/ču·ču/	addressive
/tu·tu-ʔčepet/	referential form, not respectful: "(my) old lady"

4. Gifford reports that /la·ʔčepet/ is used for MZ in McCloud, taking the place of /neneh/, which is used in Upper Sacramento Wintu and Hayfork for the same kintype (and for the various extended senses). DuBois (1935:57ff) instead records la (/la·h/) or nene (/neneh/) as alternative terms for MZ, step-M and FBW in McCloud Wintu. /la·h/ is formally identical to the McCloud 'older sister' term. Pitkin records /la·ʔčepet/ as

meaning 'great aunt' (i.e. GMZ), MZ+, and even Z+. Clearly /la·ˀčepet/ in some respects represents a "senior" subclass of <older sister>, marked with the same /-ˀčepet/ suffix as the various 'grandparent' kinterms. The problem of the classing of 'mother's sister' is discussed further in §449.4 and §449.5.

5. In McCloud Wintu /ˀkuteh/ is only a (male) cross-cousin term, clearly distinct from /ˀkuleh/, the parallel nephew term. There is one report (by Pitkin) that /ˀkuteh/ may also have been used for B+S, but this presumably represents a contamination from Upper Sacramento Wintu usage, where /ˀkuteh/ and /ˀkuleh/ were classificatorily synonymous. Use of /ˀkuteh/ meaning (♂)B+S would be inconsistent with both Gifford's and DuBois' reports for the McCloud Wintu.

DuBois (1935:61) also reports usage of /ni-ča(·)y/ in McCloud Wintu in the sense of 'nephew', extended to include 'parallel nephew'--probably as the result of influence from the "white usage in which both nephews are classed as one."

6. /ˀpukuy/ is also recorded as /ˀpuquy/ in McCloud Wintu.

7. /-ˀtes/ "in-law" also appears in a particular aspect form: /-ˀtehet/. See §449.3 and §449.4 for a discussion of the sub-classing of in-laws.

8. DuBois specifies terms for first cousins and for first cousins once removed. Terms for parents' first cousins are inferred (in parentheses) from reciprocal relations between the various kinterms. DuBois gives no data for second cousins, but in most cases these, too, could be easily inferred on the basis of principles implicit in the system. See §449.5 for a discussion of the kin equivalence rules which predict the kin class membership of all cousin kintypes, including second cousins.

9. Miscellaneous notes:

A number of terms referring to kin in general or to special classes of kin were also recorded by the linguists:

/-leh/ 'relatives, esp. younger male kinsman' (a metaphoric extension from the basic sense of the root, i.e. 'younger brother')

/ye-le·k/ vocative of the preceding (probably <{ye·-ley-k})

/ye(·)-la·k/ another vocative form for 'relative', reported by Schlichter. (Apparently this is based on another metaphoric extension, this from the vocative for 'older sister'.)

/wines/ 'kin, relatives, cousins, in-laws' (This is only a referential term, derived from the old root *win 'person'. The /-(e)s/ is probably a generic derivational ending; cf. /ʼkiyes/ 'old man' (generic).)

/-soh/, /-sohot/ [object form] 'cross-sibling' is recorded for McCloud Wintu.

A number of other kin-related terms are ultimately based on the cross-sibling root:

/so·ha/ 'to have a cross-sibling; a deceased cross-sibling'

/soheres/ 'relation, relative'

/sohaheres/ 'close (consanguineal) relatives'

And the 'brother-in-law' term, /somo·n/, may also be derived from this root, although the derivation clearly would predate Wintu, since the same term for 'brother-in-law' appears in Nomlaki, although with a less extended sense. Schlichter records a variant phonological form, /samo·n/, in McCloud Wintu.

449.3 Kinterm reciprocal relations

Table 4.13: McCloud Wintu kinterm reciprocal relations
(showing focal and subfocal denotata)

Type	Senior			Junior	
G^2	(tun-ʼkiyehʼčepet	GGF)			
	(tun-ʼputahʼčepet	GGM)			
	ʼkiyehʼčepet	GF	<-->	ni-ča(·)y	GS
	ʼputahʼčepet	GM		ni-ča·men	GD
	ʼkiyeh	MB			
	ʼputah	FZ			
G^1	-ta·n	F	<-->	kur	S
	-ne·n	M		pičˇe·n	D
	tomłeh	FB	<-->	ʼkuleh	♂BS,♀ZS
	laˑʼčepet	MZ		ʼpukuy	♂BD,♀ZD
	(la·h ~ neneh)				
$G^=$	łabeh	B+	<-->	leyʼkut	B-
	la·h ~ la·ya	Z+		ʼlaykut	Z-
	soh	♂Z	<-->	♀B	self-reciprocal
	ʼpe·ła	(♂B,♀Z)			self-reciprocal
	neneh	♂MBD,♂FZD	<-->	ʼkuteh	♀MBS,♀FZS
	neneh	♀MBD	<-->	♀FZD	self-reciprocal
$G^=$ Affine	somo·n	SpB	<-->	somo·n	ZH
	toqoy	SpZ		toqoy	BW

(Parenthesized entries are DuBois' data. Continued on next page.)

Table 4.13 (cont.): McCloud Wintu kinterm reciprocal relations

Type	Senior			Junior	
Spouse	wi(·)y ~ wi(·)h	H	<-->	puqan	W
G^1 Affine	-tah	WM	<-->	♀DH	self-reciprocal
		HF	<-->	♂SW	
	-tes	HM	<-->	♀SW	self-reciprocal
		WF	<-->	♂DH	

The most significant points of difference between the McCloud Wintu reciprocal relations and those of Upper Sacramento Wintu (cf. Table 4.11) are the following:

1. There is a change in the MZ term, which in McCloud is terminologically merged with 'older sister' (at least in part), but not classificatorily merged with it in either the Gifford or DuBois data. This is demonstrated both by the classification of MZC as <sibling> and by the fact that the reciprocals of /la·(čepet)/ MZ are the parallel nib terms and not the younger sibling terms.

2. A set cf terms for cross-cousins has developed. /kuteh/ and /neneh/ have cross-cousin kintypes as their foci.

3. There is fairly convincing evidence for the existence of separate terms for same-sex "in-laws" and opposite-sex "in-laws", both of which terms would be self-reciprocal. (Cf. §449.4.)

4. In DuBois' data, but not in Gifford's, the ancestral terms are separated as a morphologically marked subset of G^{+2} kin.

449.4 McCloud Wintu kin class inclusion relations

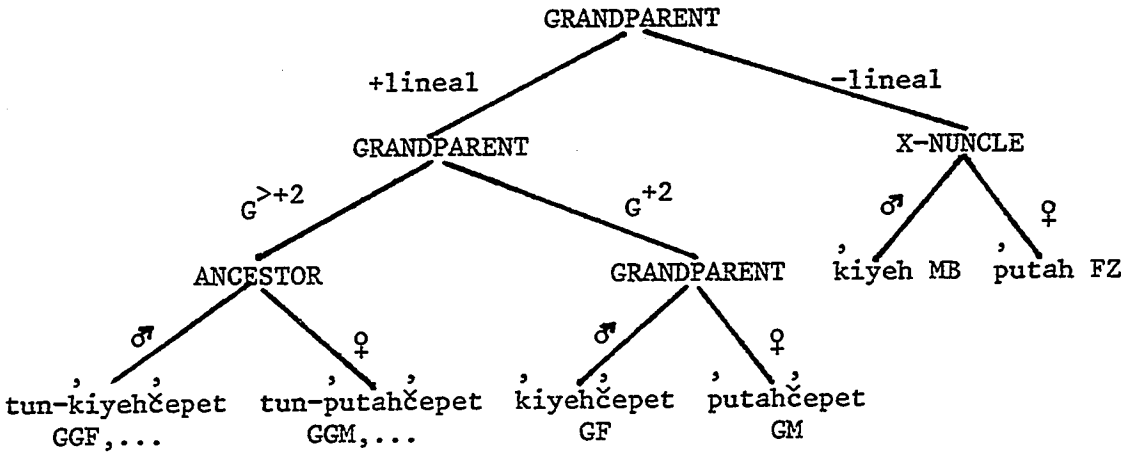


Figure 4.10 Kin superclass: GRANDPARENT [DuBois]

Gifford's data for McCloud Wintu shows no differences in the structure of the G^1 and G^2 kin superclasses from those of Upper Sacramento Wintu (cf. Figures 4.7 and 4.8). However, in DuBois' McCloud data, the GRANDPARENT superclass does differ from that of Upper Sacramento Wintu. Figure 4.10 shows the effect of the addition of a morphologically marked subclass of lineal ancestors of generation G^{+3} or greater. The prefix /tun-/ generally means 'first' or 'forward', and in this specialized context it can probably best be translated as 'former-' or 'prior-'.

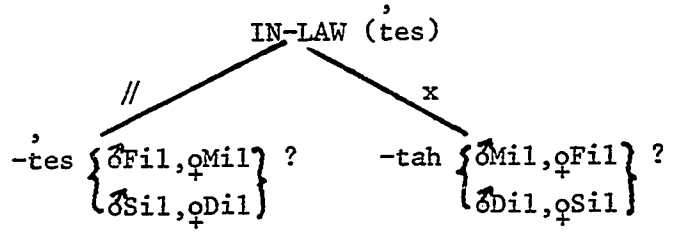


Figure 4.11 Kin superclass: IN-LAW

The linguists' McCloud data is confusing, but suggests that "in-laws"

may have been terminologically distinguished on a same- vs. opposite-sex basis. This distinction probably reflected the social difference between the two relationships, with stricter speech and behavior taboos associated with opposite-sex in-laws. DuBois (1935:55) reports that "the word for parent-in-law was the second or third person plural of the personal pronoun." The linguists' evidence suggests that in McCloud Wintu, the various third person plural pronominal forms, i.e. /pite/, /puba·t/, etc., had become lexicalized as referential terms for in-laws (as individual kintypes or as a group). There is no good evidence about the status of the second person plural forms in this respect. The referential use of third person plurals apparently represents a shift in usage from that in the rest of the Wintun groups, where the pronominal forms are only deferential, indirect addressive forms for "in-laws". It is possible that my interpretation of /-tah/ vs. /-ʔtes/ as an opposite- vs. same-sex distinction is mistaken, since there is some evidence that /-tah/ was being used as the deferential addressive form in McCloud--possibly only by women. The whole matter of IN-LAW subclassification thus remains somewhat obscure for McCloud Wintu.

The structure of the McCloud Wintu SIBLING superclass is complex and not easily amenable to a simple componential analysis or taxonomic display. Instead, to preserve as much information as possible, I have displayed it paradigmatically below in Figure 4.12 (see next page).

The major McCloud innovation is the merging of most cross-cousins with the SIBLING superclass. Gifford (1922:102-104) presents evidence to show that /ʔkuteh/ and /neneh/ were conceptually classed with siblings, including the fact that the children of /ʔkuteh/ and /neneh/ were merged with parallel nephews and nieces. Clearly, however, as the structure of Figure 4.12 shows, the main division of the new SIBLING superclass is

kinterm	classes designated		
<sibling>	true sib	step-sib	// cousin
ʔpe·ɬa	---	// step-sib	same-sex // cousin
soh	true x-sib	?	?
<sibling>	"partner"	---	---
ʔpe·ɬa	"partner"	co-spouse	---
soh	---	---	---
ʔkuteh	---	---	♀ x-cousin (♂.)
neneh	---	---	♂ x-cousin (♀.)

Figure 4.12 Kin superclass: SIBLING

between the cross-cousin "siblings" and other types of "siblings". This subclass division could perhaps be expressed with a feature [±cross-collateral].

The [-cross-collateral] subclass of SIBLING has a substructure identical to the corresponding SIBLING superclass of Upper Sacramento Wintu (cf. §448.4). /ʔpe·ɬa/, probably in origin a 'co-spouse' term, has extended in meaning so that it refers to any same-sex <sibling> except for ego's own true siblings (and half-siblings). This implies another important feature [±same-sex] running through the system. /soh/ is used to designate opposite-sex (i.e. [-same-sex]) siblings. (It is unclear whether /soh/ designates only ego's true opposite-sex siblings or also was extended to opposite-sex step-siblings and parallel cousins--although the latter alternative seems likely.) Cross-cutting the [±same-sex] dimension is another dimension relevant to the terminological subclassing of <siblings>: [±co-lineal], where [+co-lineal] designates ego's own true siblings and [-co-lineal] designates the various classificatory

siblings, i.e. steps, parallel cousins, and "partners" (= WZH, HBW) and co-spouses. There is no evidence that step-siblings and parallel cousins were distinguished by any systematic semantic feature, but both were probably implicitly distinguished from the "partner" + co-spouse subclass of <siblings>.

Of course <siblings> were further differentiated by relative age and by sex of alter (cf. the chart of reciprocal relations above, Table 4.13). These distinctions represent two more independent semantic dimensions used to subclass SIBLING.

Taking all of these considerations together, it would seem that the McCloud Wintu SIBLING superclass could only be given an adequate sub-classificatory semantic analysis by positing four independent semantic dimensions, some of which have multiple values. Schematically these would be:

Semantic dimension	values	
1. Relative age	a. elder	b. younger
2. Sex of alter	a. male	b. female
3. Relative sex	a. same	b. opposite
4. Co-lineality, etc.	a. co-lineal (i.e. true siblings)	[8]
	b. "step" (i.e. step-siblings + parallel cousins)	[8]
	c. "spousal" (i.e. "partners" + co-spouses)	[4]
	d. cross-collateral (i.e. most cross-cousin kintypes)	[2~4?]

Taking into account various neutralizations (e.g. "spousal siblings" cannot be opposite-sex; cross-cousins are not distinguished by relative age, etc.), McCloud Wintu <u>implicitly</u> distinguishes at least 22 kinds of

"siblings"! (The bracketed numbers specify the distribution of these implicit types among the various co-lineal, "step", "spousal", and cross-cousin types.) If we add in <mother's sister>, which was terminologically a kind of 'elder sister', though not technically merged into the SIBLING superclass, the number of "siblings" discriminated grows to 23.

This analysis of the McCloud Wintu SIBLING superclass suggests some interesting historical observations as well. The history of this superclass for McCloud Wintu has clearly been one of gradual accretion of new subclasses of kintypes, much as continental plates grow by collision and tectonic accretion of other plates. First, the "partner" and co-spouse subclass seems to have been added; then later, as McCloud started leveling its cross-cousin kintypes, the cross-collateral types were added. Note that as the accretion proceeded, however, the internal semantic structure of the superclass became more complex--in fact it stands as a kind of fossil geologic record which can be deciphered to reveal the process of historical development.

Finally, in regard to McCloud kin class inclusion relations, it must be pointed out that McCloud's leveling of cross-cousins (cf. §449.5 below) created a logical inconsistency at one point in the system. Female cross-cousins, /neneh/, were reclassed into the SIBLING superclass. However, /neneh/ was also the term for MZ, classed as a <mother> and ultimately included in the PARENT superclass. This inconsistency of superclass inclusion created a classificatory conundrum for MZ in McCloud which was being resolved by dropping /neneh/ as the designation for MZ. In Gifford's data /neneh/ had apparently been replaced entirely by /la·ʔčepet/, literally "senior-older sister", whereas DuBois reported the use of both /neneh/ and /la·h/ 'older sister' as alternative terms for MZ. In either case, while MZ was still classificatorily a kind of

<mother>, as revealed by its reciprocal relations (cf. §449.3) and by the classing of MZ's children, it was given a new terminological treatment which reflected its contradictory status also as a kind of "elder generation older sister".

If McCloud Wintu culture had not been destroyed, and if the kin classificatory system had had the time to develop further, the classificatory problem of the 'mother's sister' could possibly have been resolved in two distinct directions:

A. Three terminologically and classificatorily distinct classes could have developed:

/neneh/ referring only to female cross-cousins (& extensions)

/la·h/ referring only to older sisters (& extensions)

/la·ʔčepet/ referring only to mother's sisters (& extensions)

This solution would establish /la·ʔčepet/ as designating a distinct class (associated with PARENT), eliminate /neneh/ altogether as an alternative term for MZ, and proceed to ignore the etymological connection between the 'older sister' and the new 'mother's sister' terms--perhaps even further modifying one or the other term to emphasize their distinction. This seems to be the direction that Gifford's informants were taking.

B. Alternatively, the contradictory terminological status of 'mother's sister' as a kind of 'older sister' could have gained classificatory significance. The most obvious way for this to occur would be for /la·ʔčepet/ ~ /la·h/ to come to designate 'mother's older sister' (as Pitkin's data suggests may have already been occurring), with /layʔkut/ 'younger sister' reciprocally extended to designate 'mother's younger sister'. This classificatory principle could then be extended so that 'mother's sister's children' would all be classed as 'parallel nibs'. (Note that a female ego's sister's children would also then be <siblings>.)

449.5 Formal equivalence rule analysis

The following formal equivalence rules are postulated for the McCloud Wintu kin classification recorded by Gifford:

1. Half-sibling merging rule	(PC ⟶ Sb)	self-reciprocal
2'. Parallel sibling merging rule	(♂B+... ⟶ (♂...)+) ≡ (...♂B- ⟶ (...♂)-) (♀Z+... ⟶ (♀...)+) ≡ (...♀Z- ⟶ (...♀)-)	
3A'. Paternal cross-aunt merging rule: part 1	(FZ. ⟶ MBW.)	≡ (.♀BC ⟶ .HZC)
part 2	(FZH. ⟶ MB.)	≡ (.oWBC ⟶ .oZC)
3B. Omaha skewing rule (Type III)	(♂Z... ⟶ ♂D...)	≡ (...♀B ⟶ ...♀F)
3C. Cross-cousin merging rule: part 1 (x-// sex)	(♀MBD ⟶ ♀Z)	≡ (♀FZD ⟶ ♀Z)
part 2 (x-x sex)	(♂MBD ⟶ ♂Z) ≡ (♀FZS ⟶ ♀B) (♂FZD ⟶ ♂Z) ≡ (♀MBS ⟶ ♀B)	
4. Stepkin merging rule	(PSp ⟶ P)	≡ (SpC ⟶ C)
5'. Grand-in-law merging rule	(SpPP ⟶ SpP)	≡ (CCSp ⟶ CSp)
6A. Ancestor merging rule	(PPP. ⟶ PP.)	≡ (.CCC ⟶ .CC)
6B. Grand-nuncle merging rule	(PPSb ⟶ PP)	≡ (SbCC ⟶ CC)
7. Child's in-law merging rule	(CSpP ⟶ SpP/CSp)	≡ self-reciprocal
8. In-law's sib/sib's in-law merging rule	(SpPSb ⟶ SpP) ≡ (SbCSp ⟶ CSp) (SbSpP ⟶ SpP) ≡ (CSpSb ⟶ CSp)	
9'. Co-spouse merging rule	(HW+ ⟶ ♀Z+) ≡ (HW- ⟶ ♀Z-) (WH+ ⟶ ♂B+) ≡ (WH- ⟶ ♂B-)	

Rules 1, 2' and 4-9' are exactly the same in the McCloud Wintu system and the Upper Sacramento Wintu system. Together, this group of rules

sets off the Northern Wintu kin classifications from those of the other Wintun groups. In particular, McCloud Wintu shows the modified rules 2' and 9', reflecting the special treatment of relative age in the merging of classificatory siblings.

McCloud Wintu as recorded by Gifford does not, however, manifest the specialized treatment of cross-collateral kintypes shown in Upper Sacramento Wintu. Rules 3A' and 3B can be stated exactly as for Hayfork Wintu. The distinction between Hayfork and McCloud classing of cross-cousins is reflected, however, in rule 3C, the "cross-cousin merging rule", postulated for the McCloud Wintu system. This rule merges most cross-cousin kintypes (all female cross-cousins and all male cross-cousins of a female) with <siblings>. It applies both to the affected cross-cousin types as designated kin and as linking kin. The effect of its operation is to "level" most cross-cousins in the system, with special cross-cousin kinterms used, but with the further <u>implicit</u> grouping of these cross-cousin kintypes with the siblings (including parallel cousins, of course).

Rule 3C must be strictly ordered to apply before rule 3A' or 3B, since its effects predominate over those of the skewing rules. In other words, rule 3C bleeds rules 3A' and 3B, eliminating kintypes which would otherwise be skewed. The only cases in which normal Omaha Type III skewing still applies are for male cross-cousins of males.

As far as I can determine, rule 3C presents us with the sole instance of the need for extrinsic rule ordering in these kin equivalence rule analyses for the Wintun systems. Even this case could be eliminated by a suitable restatement of the constraints on the Omaha skewing rule 3B, but that would tend to obscure the formal similarity between the Hayfork and McCloud rules. To maintain this formal similarity and thus illuminate the

historical relation between the two systems, I choose instead to stipulate a rule-ordering precedence for the cross-cousin merging rule.

When we turn to DuBois' data for the classing of McCloud Wintu cross-cousins, we find significant differences which must be reflected in a different set of formal equivalence rules for the analysis of the system. The major structuring principle which distinguishes McCloud cross-cousin classification as recorded by Gifford and as recorded by DuBois is the sensitivity of cross-cousin classification to the relative age of the cross-sibling linking parents. Both Gifford and DuBois are very clear about this aspect of their data. First Gifford:

> Northeastern Wintun [in classing cross-cousins]...ignores entirely the relative ages of the connecting p, which in Northern Wintun [= Upper Sacramento Wintu], spoken west of the Sacramento, is a determining factor.
>
> (1922:103)

Contrast DuBois' statement:

> The kiye-nitcai reciprocal has a further extension in its application to a male cross-cousin, male speaking. ...the age of the connecting aunt or uncle, and not the ages of the two cross-cousins involved, determines the nomenclature.
>
> (1935:60-61)

DuBois' statement does not seem to be in error; it accurately reflects the detailed genealogical tabular information she presents, data which is reproduced in Table 4.12 (part 3) above. Likewise, it seems unlikely that Gifford's statement is in error, since his discussion of McCloud cross-cousin classification is extensive, detailed, and self-consistent out to second cousins; it is most improbable that he was making a major mistake in interpretation for first cousins. Thus there seems no

alternative but to conclude that these are two distinct variations on the same classificatory theme, and that they reflect either microdialectal and/or historical variation.

So what rules are needed to account for DuBois' data? Rules 1, 2', 3C and 4-9' can be stated <u>exactly</u> as for Gifford's McCloud system. The criterial rules are 3A' and 3B, both of which must be restated for DuBois' McCloud data in much the same way as for Upper Sacramento Wintu (cf. §448.5 above). DuBois' McCloud data manifests the "cross-nuncle merging rule":

$$3A''.\quad \left\{\begin{array}{ll}(\text{PxSb.} \dashrightarrow \text{PP.}) & \equiv (.\delta\!\!\uparrow\!\!\!\downarrow\text{xSbC} \dashrightarrow .\delta\!\!\uparrow\!\!\!\downarrow\text{CC}) \\ (\text{PxSbSp.} \dashrightarrow \text{PP.}) & \equiv (.\delta\!\!\uparrow\!\!\!\downarrow\text{SpxSbC} \dashrightarrow .\delta\!\!\uparrow\!\!\!\downarrow\text{CC})\end{array}\right\}$$

In addition, the "bilateral cross-kin skewing rule" discussed for Upper Sacramento Wintu is also present:

$$3B'.\quad (\text{PxSb-...} \dashrightarrow \text{xSb-...}) \equiv (\text{...xSb+C} \dashrightarrow \text{...xSb+})$$

If rule 3B' is stated this way, the same ordering constraints with respect to rule 3C, the "cross-cousin merging rule", must be in effect, since rule 3C must apply before rule 3B' to bleed all cross-cousin kin-types except male cross-cousins of males. The alternative to rule ordering would be to restate rule 3B' so as to apply only to male cross-cousins:

$$3B''.\quad (\delta\text{PxSb-S...} \dashrightarrow \delta\text{Z-S...}) \equiv (\text{...}\delta\text{PxSb+S} \dashrightarrow \text{...}\delta\text{MB+})$$

But once again, such a solution would tend to obscure the formal similarity of this rule to the "bilateral cross-kin skewing rule" in Upper Sacramento and would thus obscure also the historical relation between the two. So for both Gifford's and DuBois' McCloud data, an extrinsic rule-ordered solution is preferred for the cross-collateral merging rules 3A'('), 3B(') and 3C. The ordering principle is that whenever, in the course of a kin equivalence derivation, rule 3C <u>can</u> apply, it <u>must</u> apply

in precedence to any other rule which might also be able to apply; this has the effect of "bleeding off" any cross-cousin kintypes which do not show an unbroken line of male descent.

To show how the equivalence rules postulated for Gifford's and for DuBois' McCloud data result in distinct classification of certain cross-cousin kintypes, several derivations of the critical kintypes are presented below:

	Gifford		DuBois	
1.	♂MB+S		♂MB+S	
	♂MFS	rule 3B	♂MB+	rule 3B'
	♂MB	rule 1	(♂MF	rule 3A")
	(♂MF	rule 3B)	= ʼkiyeh	'mother's brother'
	= ʼkiyeh	'mother's brother'		
2.	♂MB-S		♂MB-S	
	♂MFS	rule 3B	♂Z-S	rule 3B'
	♂MB	rule 1	(♂DS	rule 3A")
	(♂MF	rule 3B)	= ni-ča(·)y	'man's sister's son'
	= ʼkiyeh	'mother's brother'		
3.	♂FZ+S		♂FZ+S	
	♂FDS	rule 3B	♂MB+	rule 3B'
	♂ZS	rule 1	(♂MF	rule 3A")
	(♂DS	rule 3B)	= ʼkiyeh	'mother's brother'
	= ni-ča(·)y	'man's sister's son'		

Example 1 shows a kintype where both sets of rules lead to an identical reduction, in this case ♂MB+S = /ʼkiyeh/. (The parenthetical steps

in the reduction represent the application of rules after the kintype has been reduced to a subfocal kintype which determines the appropriate kinterm to apply; i.e. the last steps show the SUPERCLASS affiliation of the kintype in question.) Examples 2 and 3 show two other first cross-cousin kintypes where the two sets of rules lead to exactly opposite kinterm application, as they must to accord with the data in Table 4.12 (parts 2 and 3) for Gifford and for DuBois. Finally, example 4 shows a reduction for a first cousin once removed kintype, where the two sets of rules lead to vastly different reductions:

	Gifford		DuBois	
4.	♂FZ+SD		♂FZ+SD	
	♂FDSD	rule 3B	♂MB+D	rule 3B'
	♂ZSD	rule 1	(♂Z)	rule 3C part 2
	♂DSD	rule 3B	= neneh	'man's female cross-cousin'
	♂CD	rule 6A		
	= ni-ča·men	'granddaughter'		

In the same way, equivalence rule reduction derivations could be provided for all the cross-cousin kintypes which show systematic differences between the two classifications (kintypes underlined in Table 4.12, part 3). Conversely, rules 3A", 3B' and 3C could be reversed to apply in an extensional mode to predict the designations for all second cousin kintypes in the McCloud Wintu system recorded by DuBois.

449.6 Summary and discussion

Both McCloud Wintu systems manifest characteristics which render them difficult to fit into established typologies of kin classification. They show a mixture of skewing of male cross-cousin types, of Iroquois-type cousin terminology for other cross-cousins, as well as the FZ = GM and

MB = GF equations which seem to be characteristic of classifications claimed to manifest parallel transmission. Thus, overall, McCloud stands as a "mixed" type. Such a judgement does not, however, imply an inconsistent or unstructured mix of contradictory kin classificatory principles--this section has shown that the McCloud systems can be given as rigorous a formal analysis as any other of the Wintun kin classifications.

In more detail, we can see that rule 3C, the "cross-cousin merging rule", is characteristic of both McCloud Wintu systems, setting them off from Upper Sacramento Wintu. The McCloud system recorded by Gifford shares rules 3A' and 3B with Hayfork Wintu, probably as a common heritage from the Pre-Wintu stage, whereas the system recorded by DuBois manifests the same rules 3A" and 3B' which presumably were first innovated among the Upper Sacramento Wintu. In the Upper Sacramento Wintu system, however, the total effect of rules 3A" and 3B' is quite distinct from that in DuBois' McCloud system, since they operate there in the absence of the McCloud "cross-cousin merging rule".

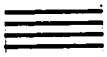
The implication of the analyses of the Northern Wintu kin classifications in this section and §448 above is that these kin classifications were historically unstable and were undergoing relatively rapid reorganization, probably on a time scale of a few generations at the time they were recorded, given the otherwise close subdialectal relationship of the Northern Wintu groups. The ethnographic record represents a series of still photos of a system in transition at the time of contact. The sequence of stages leading to the recorded systems and the probable directions in which the McCloud and other Wintu systems were evolving are discussed further in Chapter 6.

450. Map synthesis

451. Introduction

Map 4.2 is a compact syntesis of the geographical distributory information of Map 4.1 (cf. §415) and the most important aspects of the formal kin classificatory analyses of §440. The various areas on the map are identified as to treatment of cousin terms and of FZ, which are the typologically most significant distinguishing characteristics of the Wintun kin classifications. Below are the keys which provide finer details for each type:

I. Overall type of the kin classification

	Patwin & Nomlaki	Type IV Omaha classification
	Hayfork Wintu	parallel transmission (weak form, Omaha biased)
	Upper Scto. Wintu	parallel transmission (strong form)
	McCloud Wintu	mixed system derived from weak form of parallel transmission, Omaha biased

II. Father's sister (FZ)

	Patwin & Nomlaki	FZ = Z+
other	Wintu (all)	FZ = GM ≠ Z+

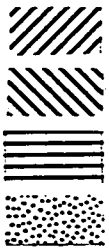
III. Parallel cousins

In all Wintun languages, parallel cousin kintypes are merged with siblings, but the determination of whether a particular parallel cousin is merged with elder or younger siblings of ego is made according to two different principles:

1. relative age of ego and alter

2. relative age of collateral link (i.e. the merging depends on whether ego's cousin's linking parent is an elder or younger sibling of ego's parent)

These principles are distributed among the Wintun systems as follows:



Patwin & Nomlaki, Hayfork Wintu } relative age of ego and alter

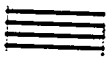
Upper Scto. Wintu, McCloud Wintu } relative age of collateral link

IV. Cross cousins

Since most Wintun languages show either Type IV Omaha skewing or "parallel transmission", both of which principles tend to evacuate all the cross-kin categories, merging them with other kin classes, there are no cross-cousin kinterms per se. The one exception is the McCloud Wintu kin classification. In more detail, the systems key as follows:

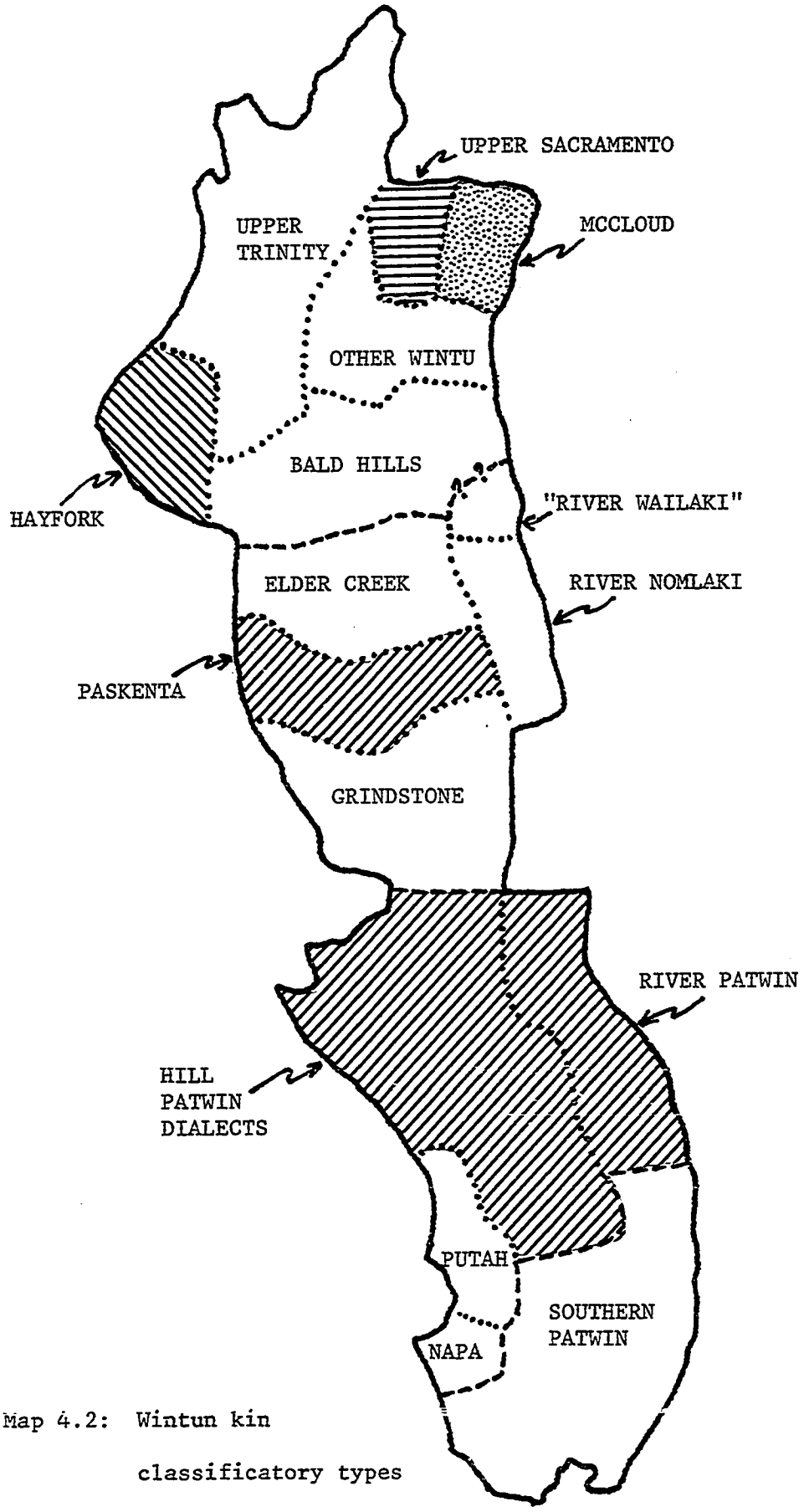
Patwin & Nomlaki — Omaha skewed — MBS ---> MB; MBD ---> MZ (---> M); FZC ---> ZC

Hayfork Wintu — Omaha skewed



Upper Scto. Wintu — bilaterally skewed by relative age of collateral link; descendants of cross-cousins are merged with cross-cousins and not further skewed

McCloud Wintu — male cross-cousins: Omaha skewed; female and cross-sex cross-cousins: Iroquois terminology (non-skewed, pure cousin terms, historically derived in McCloud from PNW M and S terms)



Map 4.2: Wintun kin classificatory types

452. Interpolation for areas where data is lacking

This section attempts to make reasonable inferences as to the probable kin classificatory types of those Wintun languages and dialects for which detailed evidence is lacking. Much of this is educated guesswork, and so the inferred systems are not used as part of the formal kin classificatory reconstruction of Chapter 6. The interpolations here are presented in the spirit of completeness, to try to fill in as many of the blank spaces of Map 4.2 as possible.

1. Napa: Since the evidence seems to be that this dialect is nearly identical to Cortina Hill Patwin (cf. §323, note 5), the Napa kin classification probably originally patterned with the rest of the Hill Patwin dialects. However, to the extent that the Napa dialect was affected by the mission system, an ethnographic recording of Napa kinship might conceivably have shown some Spanish influence on the kin classification.

2. Putah: There is no extant kin data, but Gibbs' wordlist shows this dialect to be reasonably similar to Rumsey Hill Patwin. The kin classification probably also patterned with the rest of Hill Patwin.

3. Southern Patwin: The limited kin data is not inconsistent with a Patwin-type Omaha skewed kin classification, but no firm inferences can be drawn directly, since only the basic senses (no extended meanings) of a few kinterms are recorded, and those imperfectly. Furthermore, Southern Patwin is a distinct linguistic group, so inferences from Patwin would be more of an extrapolative type rather than interpolative. However, perhaps on areal grounds we can make a case for Omaha skewing in Southern Patwin as well as in Patwin proper. The reason for this is that the Southern Patwin were mostly surrounded by Miwok speakers (Plains, Saclan and Western), with whom they seem to have interacted extensively. Also, there is some evidence that the original appearance of Southern

Patwin in the Delta area involved assimilation of a considerable Miwok population. But since the Miwok groups had Omaha skewed kin classifications (Type I) and since the original Common Patwin system was also Omaha skewed (Type III or Type IV?), there is no good reason not to suppose that Southern Patwin also showed Omaha skewing, although inferring the subtype would be risky.

4. Hill Nomlaki: The other Hill Nomlaki dialects besides Paskenta probably had systems comparable to the Paskenta system.

5. River Nomlaki and "River Wailaki": Here inferences become more problematical. The possibility of differential development and external influences (from Yanan or from Chico Maidu) cannot be ruled out. However, the most probable inference is that these groups had kin classifications similar to that of Paskenta Nomlaki. At least the presence of Omaha skewing seems likely. There is, however, a great deal of confusion in the recorded terms for 'son', 'daughter' and 'child'.

6. Bald Hills Wintu: Since this dialect is reported to have been close to Nomlaki in some respects, it seems likely that the kin classification may also have resembled that of Nomlaki more than that of the northernmost Wintu groups. Since the Hayfork Wintu classification is shown below (cf. §633) to be virtually identical to the Pre-Wintu system (which itself is typologically close to the Nomlaki system), the best inference for Bald Hills Wintu is that it, too, showed a weak form of parallel transmission, Omaha biased, as in Hayfork. This would mean that both Hayfork and Bald Hills would show a kin classification type minimally distinct from that of Nomlaki.

7. Upper Trinity Wintu: Since this group was located between the Hayfork and the Upper Sacramento Wintu, two groups with very different systems, no safe interpolative inference can be drawn.

8. Other Wintu subdialects (Stillwater, Keswick, French Guldch): Again, given the large typological distinctions between the documented Wintu groups, no reasonable inference can be made regarding the kin classifications of these groups.

Chapter 5: The Morphological System of Wintun Kinterms

500. General considerations

Although the major focus of this dissertation is on kin-classificatory analysis and reconstruction of the Proto-Wintun kin classificatory system, morphological analysis is an important component of the whole process. Essential to the successful completion of the philological rectification of forms discussed in §430 are morphological analyses of the languages involved--in enough detail so that the various roots and derivational and inflectional affixes (or prosodies) can be recognized and functionally categorized. That may be self-evident, but less obvious is the fact that the morphological analysis must also enter into the comparative historical reconstruction in an integral way. The reason for this is that the morphology of a language is itself a structured, evolving, semi-independent system which exhibits its own historicity. Features of morphology are innovated, lost, and/or diffused, much as lexical items or aspects of kin classificatory semantics are. To fully specify a reconstructed kin system, we must not only reconstruct the lexical items and the system of kin classificatory semantics, but also the entire morphological system in which those protoforms were once embedded.

Kinterm systems often constitute a specialized morphological subclass in a language. This is partly the result of the tightly structured internal semantics of the kin classification that kinterms serve to represent and partly the result of the special pragmatic and contextual status of kinterms. Thus, kinterms are necessarily [+human] (except in some metaphoric extensions) and [+animate] (except for special usages regarding deceased relatives--and even these may be grammatically animate) and are

necessarily relational--thus being prime candidates for inflection to show inalienable possession. The specialized semantics of a kin classification also encourage development of morphological markers applicable uniquely to kinterms: for example, the use of great-, grand-, step-, -in-law, etc. in English.

A morphological subsystem such as a set of kinterms must be treated as a system when being reconstructed. It exhibits regularities of pattern describable by rule, and those patterns interlock to help form the overall morphological system of a language. Changes in any one aspect of kinterm morphology may have repercussions in other parts of the system. This results from the fact that kinterms are not used, nor do they change through time, as isolated units; rather, they are used and change as systematically inflected forms (at least in most languages). The very fact that they are systematically inflected may affect the historical phonology of the kinterms themselves, and the morphological systematicity of the inflections means that changes in one kinterm in context may be reflected in chains of effects in the other kinterms as well. This morphological interconnectedness is further enhanced by the extremely strong semantic patterns of reciprocity and parallelism implicit in the kin classification, patterns which tend to enforce change by analogy between kinterms.

The historical reconstruction of kinterms and kin classifications thus implies historical reconstruction of kinterm morphological systems as well. Reconstructing a complete morphological system is, however, a very complex and delicate task--it can be done, but the full reconstruction of even Proto-Wintun nominal morphology is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Instead, this chapter presents briefly the relevant details of Wintun nominal morphology as it applies to kinterms, and in

Chapter 6 a sketch of the Proto-Wintun nominal morphology is presented in conjunction with the lexical reconstruction. That should be viewed only as a framework for a more rigorous and detailed morphological reconstruction to be undertaken as a separate work, once sufficient synchronic morphological and lexical analysis is done on the Wintu and Patwin corpuses. But even a preliminary sketch of the proto-morphological system should prove helpful in guiding the systematic reconstruction of Proto-Wintun kinterms and indirectly of the kin classification as well.

510. Wintun kinterm morphology--an overview

In all of the Wintun languages, kinterms constitute a clear subclass of nouns. As a group they show formal animate gender, whose manifestation is more in their co-occurrence restrictions with various animate vs. inanimate auxiliaries in the predicate, rather than in any overt marking of the kinterm stems themselves. Their status as animate is also shared with non-kinterm human nouns (which may, however, often take an explicit suffix marking them as animate nouns) and with various terms for animals, spirits, some bodyparts, etc.

The most distinctive characteristic of Wintun kinterms as a subclass is that they are generally (but not always) inalienably possessed. The inflection for inalienable possession consists of a paradigm of pronominal possessive prefixes to the kinterm stems. Wintun kinterms may, however, occasionally also appear in alienably possessed form, where the possessor is generally expressed with an independent, prepositive possessive pronoun. And there are a few instances of non-possessed, generic usage of kinterms as well.

Wintun kinterms, in common with all Wintun nouns, have overt case desinences. These appear as suffixes to the stem, representing

inflection for a half a dozen grammatical cases. Unlike most Wintun nouns, however, the kinterms (and Wintun pronouns as well) show distinct and presumably archaic case forms. The appearance of these archaic case forms is taken here as evidence for the archaic status of some lexical items as kinterms and is generally the best evidence for demonstrating that other forms are recent lexical innovations. In addition, Wintun kinterms may take dual or plural number suffixes. And for all Wintun groups there is a fairly elaborate set of vocative forms for kinterms. In Patwin at least these show a formal distinction between direct addressives and true (attention-calling) vocatives. Northern Wintun languages (but not Patwin) also inflect kinterms (and a number of other nominal subclasses) for particular vs. generic aspect.

Finally, in all Wintun languages, general mechanisms of verbal derivation can be applied to kinterms to yield verbal formations based on the kinterms. Some of these are productive derivations, while others represent lexicalized derivations with specialized meanings.

In the sections below, the morphological characteristics of the kinterm system are described in more detail for Hill Patwin and for McCloud Wintu. What little is known about Paskenta Nomlaki kinterm morphology is also presented.

520. Patwin kinterm morphology (Hill Patwin)

The presentation of Patwin kinterm morphology here is based largely on data from Rumsey Hill Patwin (WPCC), with supplementary data from other Hill Patwin dialects adduced where the Rumsey data is incomplete. Thus, the morphological analysis should be considered a somewhat generalized statement for Hill Patwin, with some of the minor variations within Hill Patwin set aside in the interest of a comprehensive picture of the

entire system.

521. Stem classes

Many Patwin kinterms appear in several basic stem forms, some of which are obligatorily possessed, and others of which are not. To aid in the discussion here, in the absence of any overall analysis of the morphology of Patwin stem classes, the kinterm stems will be given arbitrary numbers as follows (illustrated with the 'grandfather' term):

Stem 1: ʔa·pa-

Stem 2: -t^{h}apa-

Stem 3: ʔa·p(-)

Stem 1 is a bound form which must be accompanied by a suffix, often /-ču/, the general kinterm relational suffix (which usually also implies first person inalienable possession). Stem 2, the "possessed stem", is also a bound form, obligatorily preceded by a possessive prefix and followed by a suffix--often a case suffix. Stem 3, the "short stem", is the basis for some kinds of vocatives and also may be a non-possessed form inflected as a non-relational animate noun. (Other non-possessed forms are based instead on Stem 2.)

Not all Hill Patwin kinterm stems show three distinct stems, however. In some cases we can imply the presence of the three stems on the basis of morphological patterning, but two or more of the stem forms are phonologically identical. In many other cases, a kinterm seems to be truly defective, showing only a single stem class and lacking much of the full morphological patterning of the more archaic Patwin kinterms. In yet other cases, a particular kinterm shows conditioned phonological variation within a single stem class. To illustrate these various possibilities, the Hill Patwin kinterms are listed below with their associated

stem forms in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Hill Patwin kinterm stem classes (abstract representation)

focal denotation	stem 1	stem2	stem 3	notes
GF	ʔa·pa-	-t^{h}apa-	ʔa·p(-)	
GM	ʔama-	-t^{h}ama-	ʔam(-)	
F	ta·-	-ta·-	tah(-)	
M	na·-	{-ne·- / -ni·-}	neh(-)	1
B+	la·be-	{-ɬa(·)be- / -la·be-}	la·b(-)	1
Z+	ʔuču-	-ʔuču-	ʔuču	
Sb-	---	-ɬa·-	---	
SpSb	---	-ɬe·-	---	
ZH	---	-t^{h}era-	---	
BW	---	-ʼpokse-	---	
Co-Sp	---	-nikaʼ-	---	
GC	t̓^{h}a·y-	-t^{h}a·y-	t^{h}ay	
♀C	te·-	-teh-	---	2
♂C	---	-mu·ɬe-	---	
SpP,CSp	---	{-ʼte(·)s / -ʼtes-}	ʼte(·)s(-)	3
H	---	{-wiy / -wi·-}	[wi·ta(-) 'man']	4
W	---	-ʔonok-	[ʼpokita(-) 'woman']	4
♂Z,♀B	---	{-so·ho- / -so·-}	---	5
CSpP	---	?	čayi	6

Table 5.1 results from an attempt to provide a fairly abstract and systematic analysis of the Hill Patwin stem classes. As should be immediately clear, a subset of Hill Patwin kinterms, namely the senior consanguineals, show much greater formal variation in their stems. Among the junior and affinal terms there is much less formal variation. Some of those are old Wintun etyma whose root shape has resulted in less phonological variation in Patwin; others are more recent innovations or reshapings of stems.

A number of other comments regarding individual entries in Table 5.1 (keyed to the note numbers) are in order before proceeding with the morphological analysis:

1. The variant forms for 'mother' and for 'elder brother' are conditioned by the choice of possessive prefix; these will be discussed below in §522.

2. The form for 'woman's child' must be represented with a final /-h-/ in stem 2 because of such inflected forms as /-tehêt/ (objective case); however, a general phonological rule in Patwin drops syllable-final /-h/ with compensatory lengthening whenever that /-h/ is not followed directly by a vowel:

$$Vh \longrightarrow V\cdot \; / \; \_\_ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \# \\ C \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Thus in most instances, 'woman's child' is actually recorded phonemically as /te·/, without the h, or as the suffixed form /te·ču/ '(my) child'. Positing the underlying form as consonant-final has the added benefit of automatically blocking the suffixation of {-·n}, which would produce the nonexistent form ?*te·n. (See below for a discussion of {-·n}.) By way of contrast, the 'father' and 'mother' terms, while showing a final /-h/ in their stem 3 forms, must be set up as vowel-final in their stem 2

forms. Thus, when they are inflected for objective case, the 'father' and 'mother' kinterms are recorded as: /-ta·t/ and /-ne·t/ respectively, lacking the intervocalic /-h-/ and the copied vowel of /-tehét/.

3. The "in-law" term is recorded with variant vowel length. It seems to tend towards a long vowel when unsuffixed, but informant judgements vary regarding this point. The stem is also only a referential form, so no vocatives are based on its stem 3.

4. The 'husband' and 'wife' stems are also only referential, with no derived vocatives. /home·/ 'spouse (voc.)' is based on an unrelated stem. /wi·ta/ is a human (non-relational) noun stem 'man', based on the same root as the 'husband' relational kinterm, but with the human nominal suffix /-ta/ added. It has an irregular plural, /wiyaba/, which even more obviously ties it into the etymological set for 'husband'. However, the kinterm ('husband') and the non-relational human noun ('man') must be distinguished, as shown by the following minimal pair for their plurals:

/-wi·ba/ 'husbands'

/wiyaba/ 'men'

Both 'husband' and 'wife' are probably best analyzed as showing no non-possessed kinterm usage, i.e. no stem 3, with the separate lexical entries for 'man' and 'woman' serving in that function instead.

5. The short stem, /so·/, for 'cross-sibling' is often substituted for the longer form /-so·ho-/ for inalienably possessed usages. No vocatives seem to be based on either stem.

6. /čayi/ 'child's parent-in-law' is a nominalization of /čayu/ 'to be ashamed' and appears only as a referential stem. It has also not been recorded in any possessed form, so it may not allow possessive prefixes at all. Possession, if it were to be expressed, would probably be with

the independent possessive pronouns, which generally indicate alienable possession.

As suggested above, Table 5.1 represents an abstract morphological analysis; it is based in part on the rigorous segmentation of {-·n}, perhaps best analyzed synchronically as a 'kinterm absolutive suffix' in Patwin wherever it occurs. Separate stem 1 forms for kinterms in Table 5.1 were posited on the basis of their co-occurrence with /-ču/, the 'general kinterm relational suffix', without an intervening {-·n}. Actually, however, in the subjective case, most vowel-final kinterms (stem 2) appear obligatorily with the {-·n} suffix. The combined form with {-·n} may then constitute the basis for a composite stem 1 for those kinterms which lack a simple stem 1; in some cases a kinterm may even show two alternative stem 1 forms as a result. Since {-·n} is quite limited in distribution, and since the {-·n} derived absolutives are clearly old in the Wintun family, a less abstract morphological analysis, closer to the level of lexical representation, would include {-·n} in the basic stem 2 representations and would show the stem 1 doublets where they appear. This more surfacy morphological analysis for Hill Patwin is shown in Table 5.2 (see following page).

Table 5.2: Hill Patwin kinterm stem classes (less abstract)

focal denotation	stem 1	stem2	stem3	notes
GF	ʔa·pa-	-t^{h}apa-·n	ʔa·p(-)	1
GM	ʔama-	-t^{h}ama-·n	ʔam(-)	
F	ta·-	-ta·-n	tah(-)	2
M	{ne·n- / na·-}	{-ne·-n / -ni·-n}	neh(-)	3
B+	{la·be- / la·ba-}	{-ɬabé-n / -labé-n}	la·b(-)	4
Z+	ʔuču-	-ʔuču-·n	ʔuču	
Sb-	{ɬa·n- / ɬa·-}	-ɬa·-n	ɬa·n	5,6
SpSb	---	-ɬe·-n	---	5
ZH	{t^{h}era·n- / t^{h}era-}	-t^{h}era-·n	---	6
BW	{ʼpoksen- / ʼpokse-}	-ʼpokse-n	---	6
Co-Sp	{ʼnikán- / ʼnika-}	-ʼniká-n	---	6
GC	t^{h}a·y-	-t^{h}a·y-	t^{h}ay	
♀C	te·-	-teh-	---	
♂C	---	-mu·ɬe-(n)	---	
SpP,CSp	---	{-ʼte(·)s / -ʼtes-}	ʼte(·)s(-)	
H	---	{-wiy / -wi·-}	[wi·ta(-) 'man']	
W	---	-ʔonok-	[ʼpokita(-) 'woman']	
♂Z,♀B	---	{-so·ho-n / -so·-}	---	
CSpP	---	?	čayi	

The phonological effects of {-·n} are varied, but can be basically summarized as follows:

CV·	+	-·n	--->	CV·n
CVCV	+	-·n	--->	CVCV·n ~ CVCV́n
CV·CV	+	-·n	--->	CVCV́n ~ CVCV·n
CVCCV	+	-·n	--->	CVCCVn

Clearly the suffix has the effect of lengthening a final vowel (or at least of drawing the accent to the second syllable--accent is otherwise predictably initial except when the second syllable is phonologically "heavy"), hence its representation as {-·n}. The exceptions are:

/mu·ɬe-(n)-/, where the -n marked form only appears in the verbal derivation /mu·ɬen?a/ '(man) to have a son; to sire';

/-so·hon/, where the -n may have a separate historical origin (cognate with Wintu /-na/, rather than with the Wintu generic aspect forms in /-n/); and

/pó̓ksen/, where the medial consonant cluster may be blocking the the lengthening or accent shifting effect.

The variation between CVCV·n and CVCV́n forms is problematical still. All recorders show some inconsistency in transcribing these forms. Part of the problem is a pervasive tendency in Patwin to neutralize vowel length before resonants. Also, since stress is not normally phonemically distinctive in Patwin, the CVCV́n forms can in some sense be seen as manifesting an underlying long vowel in the second syllable, even when the phonetic length doesn't match that of a normal long vowel. More detailed notes on individual forms follow:

1. The long vowel in the second syllable of stem 2 for 'grandfather' (cf. the derivation for 'elder brother') may have been induced by analogy with stem 2 for 'grandmother'.

2. In Hill Patwin, stem 1 is regular for 'father', thus /ta·-ču/ '(my) father', but in River Patwin, the -n marked form is substituted for stem 1, probably on analogy with /ła·n/, etc., so that we find instead /ta·n-ču/ '(my) father'.

3. In Hill Patwin there is a doublet for stem 1 of 'mother'. /ne·n-/ appears in /ne·n-ču/ '(my) mother', but /na·-/ is retained for the vocative formation /na·-k^{h}e·/ 'mother!'. River Patwin substitutes a shortened stem instead: /na-k^{h}u/ '(my) mother'.

4. Stem 2 for 'elder brother' in Hill Patwin shows a definitely short second vowel, which is, however, accented. /-la·ben/ is also recorded in some Hill Patwin dialects. /la·ba-/ is a phonological variant for stem 1 in some Hill Patwin dialects.

5. /ła·n/ retains the -n when followed by the suffix /-ču/. /łe·n/, however, behaves differently. Its first person possessed form appears with a possessive prefix: /nay-łe·n/ 'my spouse's sibling' rather than the hypothetical but non-occurring ?*/łe·n-ču/. The latter form is actually recorded for the northernmost Hill dialect, Lodoga Hill Patwin, but in an obligatorily doubly-marked possessed form: /net-łe·n-ču/ 'my spouse's sibling'. /net-/ as the first person inalienable possessive prefix is odd in Patwin and may represent here a diffusion into Lodoga Hill Patwin from Nomlaki. (On the other hand, it could conceivably also be an archaic retention in Lodoga Hill Patwin.)

6. 'sister's husband' and the following two terms all use the {-·n} marked stem before /-ču/. But /t^{h}era·n/, /ṗoksen/ and /nika(·)n/ each bases its vocative on the stem minus the {-·n} marking--hence the double entries under stem 1 in Table 5.2. The double entry for /ła·n/ 'younger sibling' under stem 1 forms is based, however, not on the vocative form, but rather is posited to account for a dual formation (cf. §523 below).

/nikán/ shows a definitely short second vowel in Rumsey Hill Patwin, but is recorded in some other Hill Patwin dialects as /nika·n/.

522. Possessed and non-possessed forms

First, second, and third person singular possessed forms for Patwin kinterms are based on stems 1 and 2 of the kinterms. Since possession differs somewhat for each person, I take them up separately.

Third person singular possessed forms are based directly on stem 2. The possessor is generally expressed by an inalienable pronominal possessive prefix /ʔuy-/ 'his, her...', although instances of alienable possession, marked with the independent prepositive animate possessive pronoun /ʔu·nomin/ 'his, her', are also recorded for some kinterms. For 'mother', /ʔuy-/ is prefixed to the /-ne·n/ form, and for 'elder brother', to the /-labén/ form. All dual and plural possessor forms (of first, second or third person), marked with complex pronominal prefixes, pattern morphologically with the third person singular possessed forms.

Second person singular possession is somewhat more complex than that for third person. The second person inalienable pronominal possessive prefix appears in two forms, /mat-/ or /ma-/, the choice of which is lexically conditioned by the particular kinterm. The prefixes are allocated among the kinterms as follows:

kinterms taking /ma-/ (stem 2)		kinterms taking /mat-/ (stem 2)	
GF	-t^{h}apa-·n	Z+	-ʔučʉ-·n
GM	-t^{h}ama-·n	SpSb	-ɬe·-n
F	-ta·-n	ZH	-t^{h}era-·n
M	-ni·-n	BW	-pokse-n
B+	-ɬabé-n	Co-Sp	-nikán
Sb-	-ɬa·-n	♂C	-mu·ɬe
GC	-t^{h}a·y	H	-wiy
♀C	-teh-	W	-ʔonok
SpP,CSp	-te(·)s	♂Z,♀B	-so·

The conditioning factor here is obviously not semantic. Some regular phonological principles are identifiable, however:

1. If stem 2 of a kinterm begins with a non-alveolar consonant, then the prefix is /mat-/.
2. Only kinterms whose stem 2 begins with an alveolar consonant use the prefix /ma-/.

(For the purposes of these rules, /ɬ/ counts as "alveolar", but /s/ does not.) The cases not covered by these principles are /-ɬe·n/, /-t^{h}era·n/ and /-nikán/, which one would expect to show the prefix /ma-/, but which in fact are recorded with /mat-/. For each of these exceptions, however, there is reason to believe that the kinterm stem is less fully integrated into the morphological system than those kinterms which take /ma-/ for second person possession. In particular, /-nikán/ is clearly a Patwin lexical innovation--there is no cognate in Northern Wintun at all. Likewise, /-t^{h}era·n/, although probably derived from old Wintun morphs, is still innovated in Patwin as a kinterm meaning specifically 'sister's

husband'; although its morphological components have cognates in Wintu, the form as a whole does not. /-ɬe·n/ 'spouse's sibling', although clearly cognate with some Northern Wintun forms, shows morphological patterning in Patwin that suggests that its detailed history is distinct from that of the phonologically similar term /-ɬa·n/ 'younger sibling'. More specifically, the basic first person possessed form for 'younger sibling' is /ɬa·n-ču/, based on stem 1 plus the suffix /-ču/, whereas /-ɬe·n/ takes the first person inalienable possessive prefix /nay-/, i.e. /nay-ɬe·n/ 'my spouse's sibling'. This distinction means that /-ɬe·n/ patterns more like /-wiy/ 'husband', /-ʔonok/ 'wife' and other kinterms which lack a stem 1 and cannot take the /-ču/ suffix. (Actually the situation for /-ɬe·n/ involves further complications; cf. §521, note 5 to Table 5.2.)

The patterning of /-nikán/, /-t^{h}era·n/ and /-ɬe·n/ with the other kinterms taking /mat-/ in Hill Patwin, reflecting as it seems a lesser degree of historical antiquity for these terms and/or a less complete morphological fusion of these stems with their possessive prefixes, could probably also be described accurately, if somewhat arbitrarily, in terms of two different levels of juncture. Those stems which take /ma-/ could be represented with a closer {+} juncture, while the stems with initial alveolar consonants but which take /mat-/ manifest a {-} juncture. This approach, while somewhat cumbersome, does also suggest the probable historical origin of some of the stem 2 forms: they may ultimately have resulted from a metanalysis of possessed forms in *net- 'first person possessor' and *mat- 'second person possessor'. Sometime in the early history of Wintun, the -t- of the prefix was metanalyzed as part of the kinterm stem, with the following results:

t	+	t (~ t^h ~ t')	--> t (~ t^h ~ t')
t	+	n	--> n
t	+	l	--> ɬ
t	+	(h)V	--> t^h
t	+	other	metanalysis blocked

(For convenience's sake, these shifts are presented only schematically, using Patwin reflexes rather than reconstructed segments.) An analysis along these lines could explain both the appearance of various stems with initial /ɬ-/ as well as the loss of -t- in the Patwin second person possessive prefix for only a few stems of distinctive phonological shape. See also the Wintu morphological analysis below, §530, for evidence of a similar lexical conditioning of the phonological form of possessive prefixes in that language. The formal similarities of the conditioning in Patwin and in Wintu suggest that the process is archaic, dating from a Pre-Proto-Wintun stage. In other words, the allomorphy for possessive prefixes must be reconstructed as already present in the Proto-Wintun system. (See §654 for a more systematic attempt to internally reconstruct the pattern behind this Proto-Wintun allomorphy.)

Note that for the second person (singular) possessed form of 'elder brother', the stem 2 alternate /-ɬabén/ is selected, whereas for third person possession, the stem 2 alternate /-labén/ is selected.

A different kind of stem alternation is seen for 'mother', but again the stem form is conditioned by the possessive prefix:

/ʔuy-ne·n/	'his, her mother'
/ma-ni·n/	'your mother'

This vowel shift is a lexical idiosyncrasy of the stem for 'mother', and not a general phonological process, since it does not appear for second person singular possessed forms of /-ɬe·n/, /-teh/, etc.

For first person singular inalienable possession, the situation is further complicated. Ordinarily first person singular possession is expressed on stem 1 by the suffixation of /-ču/, which is not formally a possessive pronominal affix, but which has come to usually denote first person. Thus we have, for example:

/ne·n-ču/ '(my) mother'

/ʔa·pa-ču/ '(my) grandfather'

However, for those kinterms which cannot take the /-ču/ suffix (i.e. those lacking stem 1), first person singular inalienable possession is expressed instead by prefixation of the pronominal prefix /nay-/ to stem 2:

/nay-so·/ 'my cross-sibling'

/nay-łe·n/ 'my spouse's sibling'

/nay-te̓·s/ 'my in-laws' etc.

In addition to the inalienably possessed forms discussed above, the following non-possessed forms are definitely known in Hill Patwin:

/ʔa·p/ 'a grandpa'

/la·b/ 'an older brother'

/te̓(·)s/ 'an in-law'

/ne·n/ 'a mother' (= 'female of a species')

/čayi/ 'child's parent-in-law' may also be a non-possessed form

Others may exist as well, but especially for younger kin, age-graded non-relational human nouns are substituted instead:

/ʔila(·)y/ 'a child, a baby'

(Cf. also note 4 to Table 5.1 above for more regarding suppletive non-possessed forms.)

523. Case forms; duals and plurals

Hill Patwin kinterms are inflected for subjective, objective, locative, genitive and alienable possessive cases, as well as for several types of vocatives. Excepting the vocatives, these forms are based either directly on stem 2 or on forms suffixed with the kinterm relational suffix /-ču/, the dual suffix /-pel/ or the plural suffix /-ba/. The basic inflectional patterns are illustrated in Table 5.3 (see following page). Forms in Table 5.3 shown in parentheses are inferred from the pattern for other kinterms or suffixes.

The formations in Table 5.3 can best be understood by referring back to the abstract stem 2 forms of Table 5.1. 'father' illustrates the inflection of stem 2 forms ending in a long vowel. (Note that for case-inflected forms other than the subjective, 'husband' behaves as a long-vowel stem /-wi·-/, i.e. /-wi·t/ 'objective case' and /-wi·y/ 'genitive case'. For 'cross-sibling', the only recorded case-inflected forms are inconsistently based on /-so·ho-/ patterning as a short-vowel-final kinterm stem or on /-so·-/ patterning as a common noun.) 'grandfather' illustrates the pattern for stem 2 forms with a final short vowel. 'grandchild' illustrates the pattern for consonant-final stems with a long vowel or two syllables (i.e. /-t^{h}a·y-/ and /-ʔonok-/), whereas 'child' shows the pattern for consonant-final stems with a short vowel (i.e. /-teh-/ and /-t̓es-/, as well as the dual suffix /-pel/; for the loss of syllable-final /-h/, see §521 above.) In both of the consonant-final patterns, the stem vowel is copied before addition of the case suffix. One recording of an alternative objective case form for 'woman's child', /-tet/, suggests that the h-dropping rule may have been contributing to the reanalysis of /-teh-/ as a vowel-final stem.

Table 5.3: Hill Patwin kinterm case inflection

kinterm gloss	subjective	objective	locative
	-Ø	-t	-tin
'father'	-ta·n	-ta·t	-ta·tin
'grandfather'	-t^hapa·n	-t^hapat	-t^hapatin
'grandchild'	-t^ha·y	-t^ha·yat	-t^ha·yatin
'child'	-te·	-tehét	-tehétin
relational	-ču	-čut	(-čutin)
dual	-pel	-pelet	(-peletin)
plural	-ba	-bama	(-bamatin)

kinterm gloss	genitive	alienable poss. (inan. possessed)	alienable poss. (anim. possessed)
	-y	-tno	-tnomin
'father'	-ta·y	-ta·tno	-ta·tnomin
'grandfather'	-t^hapay	-t^hapatno	-t^hapatnomin
'grandchild'	-t^ha·yay	-t^ha·yatno	(-t^ha·yatnomin)
'child'	-tehéy	(-tehétno)	(-tehétnomin)
relational	-čuy	-čuno ~ -čutno	(-čutnomin ?)
dual	-peley	(-peletno ?)	(-peletnomin ?)
plural	(-bano)	-bano	(-banomin)

The final /-n/ on some of the subjective case forms listed in Table 5.3 is not a subjective case suffix per se, but rather the {-·n} 'kinterm absolutive suffix' discussed above in §521.

The syntactic functioning of the various case-marked forms is of little direct relevance to the morphological analysis, but at least a few comments are in order:

1. The objective case suffix /-t/ occurs only on kinterms, pronouns, and in one or two grammaticalized functions related to pronouns. It constrasts formally (but not functionally) with the much more productive Patwin noun objective case suffix /-ma/.

2. The kinterm locative case suffix /-tin/ is also quite limited in distribution and is apparently archaic. Contrast the general Patwin noun locative case suffix /-ɬa/. When in the locative case, a possessed kinterm in Patwin can be translated, for example, as "at his grandfather's (place)".

3. The genitive case suffix for kinterms, /-y/, is etymologically and functionally related to the /-y/ (< Proto-Wintun *-r) inalienable possessive suffix seen as part of possessive pronominal prefixes, e.g. /nay-/ 'my (inal.)...', /ʔuy-/ 'his, her (inal.)...' However, kinterms themselves cannot be concatenated into strings of inalienably possessed forms in Patwin; e.g. ?*/ʔuy-ta·y-poksen/ 'his father's sister-in-law' is a nonpermissible form. To express such a concatenative relation, the expression would have to be broken up and an alienable possessive (animate possessed) form used instead: /ʔuy-ta·tnomin poksen/. Since kinterms cannot function directly as inalienable possessors, the genitive case-marked forms are limited to the other major function of that case in Patwin: expression of <u>subordinate</u> subject. Whenever a pronoun or a kinterm functions as subject of a subordinate clause, it must be put into

the genitive case. (Incidentally, the genitive case in Wintu functions in a similar way.)

4. Alienable possession is expressed with the (alienable) possessive case suffix /-tno/ for kinterms. Forms are further distinguished as to the animacy of the possessed, with the possessor of an animate possessed nominal marked with /-tnomin/ instead. For common nouns (as opposed to pronouns and kinterms), the distinction between the genitive and (alienable) possessive cases is neutralized, with both formally expressed by suffixation of /-no/. For alienable possession of an animate possessed, the form of the suffix for common nouns is /-nomin/.

All kinterms with the /-ču/ 'kinterm relational suffix', that is, most first person possessed forms, can also in turn be inflected for case. The pattern follows that for the vowel-final kinterms, with the exception that {-·n} is never suffixed to the subjective case form. The alternative form, /-čuno/, recorded for the alienable possessive case, departs from the pattern for the other kinterms and is probably an analogic formation based on the case forms for common nouns.

Most kinterms have explicit dual (referential) forms, derived by suffixation of /-pel/. /-pel/ may also be inflected for case, following the pattern of consonant-final kinterm stems (see Table 5.3). The actual stems to which /-pel/ is suffixed show a number of unexplained irregularities. The attested forms are listed in Table 5.4 (see following page).

Table 5.4: Hill Patwin kinterm duals (summary of attested forms)

focal denotation	forms based on stem 1	forms based on stem 2	other irregular forms	notes
M		-ne·npel		
F	ta·nipel			1
B+	la·banipel	-ɬabénpel -labénpel -la·benpel		2
Sb-	ɬa·nipel		ɬantipel	3
Co-Sp			nika·napirta	4
GC		-t^{h}aypel		5
♀C		-te·pel		
SpP,CSp		-tespel		
♂Z,♀B			so·honapel	6
CSpP			čayipirpel	7

Notes to Table 5.4:

1. The correct analysis of this term seems to be {ta·-ni-pel}. It is based on the (vowel-final) stem 1 form of 'father'. /-ni-/ may ultimately be an allomorph of {-·n} 'kinterm absolutive suffix', but for Patwin it is recorded only in these dual formations.

2. These 'elder brother' forms are collected from several Hill Patwin dialects.

3. The /-ti-/ of /ɬantipel/ is unexplained, as is the shortened stem vowel.

4. Literally "being partners to each other" < /-a/ 'verbalizer', /-pir/ 'reciprocal' and /-ta/ 'continuative gerundial'.

5. The stem vowel seems definitely short in this term.

6. Literally "two (who) are cross-siblings".

7. Literally "two (who) are čayi to each other". This form demonstrates the lexicalization of /čayi/, since the reciprocal suffix /-ʼpir/ normally takes the /-u/ stem of verbs of the class which includes /čayu/ 'to be ashamed'. Thus the dual form of the kinterm /čayi/ 'child's parent-in-law' contrasts formally with /čayuʼpirpel/ 'two (who) are ashamed of each other'.

Some of the Patwin kinterms also show explicit plural formations in /-ba/, sometimes expanded to /-bale/. The stems are much less irregular than for the duals. Case inflection for plurals in /-ba/ follows the normal nominal pattern for Patwin, rather than that for kinterms and pronouns, as shown in Table 5.3. The attested Hill Patwin plural kinterm forms are listed below in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Hill Patwin kinterm plurals

focal denotation	form	
M	-ne·nba	
F	-ta·nba	
GC	t^ha(·)yba	
♀C	te·ba	
♂C	mú̱teba	
SpP,CSp	ʼte(·)sba	
H	wi·ba(le)	cf. wiyaba 'men'
W	ʔonokba(le)	

The distribution of attested plurals suggests that: 1) G^{+2} terms, sibling terms and sibling-in-law terms may have no plural forms in Patwin, and 2) the plurals are probably in some sense "aggregatives", with

the sense of 'a group of people who are characterized by such and such a kinterm relation' rather than being formal plurals of fully specified relational kinterms.

524. Vocatives

Patwin kinterms can take a number of different vocative formations, based on different stems and with different functions. The attested forms are first listed in Table 5.6:

Table 5.6: Hill Patwin kinterm vocatives

focal denotation	vocative I based on stem 1	vocative II based on stem 3	vocative III based on stem 3	
GF	ʔa·pa-k^{h}e·	ʔa·p	ʔa·p-e·	
GM	ʔama-k^{h}e·	ʔam	ʔam-e·	(ʔami in River Patwin)
F	ta··-k^{h}e·	tah	tah-e·	
M	na··-k^{h}e·	neh	neh-e·	
Sp	---	---	hom-e·	
B+	la·be-k^{h}e· la·ba-k^{h}e·	la·b	---	
Z+	ʔuču-k^{h}e·	ʔuču	---	
Sb-	---	ɬa·ɨ	---	
ZH	t^{h}era-k^{h}e·	---	---	
BW	pokse·	---	---	
Co-Sp	nika-se·	---	---	
GC	---	t^{h}ay	---	t^{h}aybase(·) plural
♀C	---	te·	---	
dual suffix	---	---	-pel-e·	
plural suffix	-bɛ-se(·)	---	---	

Vocative I forms are true, attention-calling vocatives. Vocative II represents shortened, more intimate and/or less polite attention-calling vocatives. Note that the Vocative II forms 'mother' and 'father' are exceptions to the general rule for loss of syllable-final /-h/. For kinterms which have a Vocative III form, these are used as polite direct conversational addressives. The Vocative III for 'spouse' is based on a suppletive stem. Vocative I forms could probably also have served as direct addressives on occasion--they represent the most commonly occurring vocative forms. The vocative formations are interesting from a phonological point of view as well: they represent one of very few exceptions to a rather strict phonological constraint in Patwin against the occurrence of long vowels in consecutive syllables of a single word.

The forms for 'brother's wife' and for 'co-spouse' are somewhat irregular. /ʔpokse·/ presumably represents a haplologic shortening from ?*/ʔpokse-se·/. That hypothetical form, as well as /nikaʔ-se·/ explicitly, is the result of applying a nominal-type case suffix phonological conditioning rule to the innovation of vocatives for /ʔpokse-/ and for /nikaʔ-/:

nominal case function	environments	
	/C_____	/V_____
vocative	-e·	-se·
instrumental	-in	-sin

The appearance of these nominal-case-like /-se·/ vocative endings is one more indication of the historical recency of /ʔpokse-/ and of /nikaʔ-/ in Patwin. /-k^{h}e·/, on the other hand, is archaic, and its components can be traced back to Proto-Wintun.

Certain kinterms are conspicuously absent from Table 5.6. As mentioned above in Chapter 4, there were speech taboos between most G^{1} in-laws among the Wintun groups, and this practice was reflected in the lack

of any vocative formations based directly on the kinterm /te(·)s/ "in-law". Instead, plural second and third person pronouns served for indirect, deferential address between "in-laws". /čayi/ CSpP also lacked any vocative form, and /soh/ 'cross-sibling' may also have lacked a formal vocative.

For direct address of relatives of classificatorily junior kin classes, names were often substituted for formal vocatives based on kinterms. Actually, the names used for this were almost certainly nicknames, given the widespread taboo in California against using another's true name, a practice which the Wintun groups apparently shared (cf. Goldschmidt 1951:372 regarding Nomlaki usage of names). The right to use nicknames in address of relatives may have depended upon true relative age of the kin involved, as much as on kin class status; presumably it was also affected by intangibles such as degree of acquaintance or personal preferences. More formal address of relatives of junior kin classes involved use of stem 1 forms with the /-ču/ 'kinterm relational suffix', thus: /te·ču/ '(my) child!' or /t^{h}a·yču/ '(my) grandchild!'.

525. Human nouns

In addition to the various kinterms discussed above, Patwin has a small class of age-graded (non-relational) human nouns which are etymologically old in the Wintun family and quite irregular, and which have a direct bearing on the reconstruction of Proto-Wintun kinterms. These are listed below for Hill Patwin, with additional or variant forms for I doga Hill Patwin (WPK) and for River Patwin (WPR). (See Table 5.7 on the following page.)

Table 5.7: Hill Patwin non-kinterm human nouns

	singular	plural	gloss	WPK	WPR
	ʔčiya(·)k	ʔčiyaba	'old man'	ʔčekos	howe(·)l
	ʔka·y	ʔka·yba	'old woman'	ʔkasal	ʔkasas
	wi·ta	wiyaba	'(mature) man'		
	ʔpokita	ʔkayaba	'(mature) woman'		
	serita	seriba	'young man'		
	lo·yta	lo·yba	'young woman, girl'		
	ʔčuray	?	'little boy'		
	ʔila(·)y	ʔilayin	'baby, child'		ʔila(·)k
WPT	ʔila·min	?	'little girl'		
WPCC	ʔilaymen		'butterfly sp.'		

530. Wintu kinterm morphology (McCloud Wintu)

Although McCloud Wintu has been rather well-recorded by Pitkin and by Schlichter, no systematic analysis of the special problems posed by Wintu kinterms as a morphological subsystem is available. Pitkin's Wintu Grammar (1963) presents an analysis of McCloud Wintu nominal morphology and discusses the kinterms as a morphological class ("inalienably possessed nouns"); however, Pitkin does not present the full array of kinterm stem variants or show systematically how they are conditioned or how they mesh with the nominal aspect and nominal case systems in all instances. Filling this gap would require more data than currently available--or perhaps even require a new systematic elicitation dedicated to resolving problems of Wintu kinterm morphology. Such projects are beyond the scope of this dissertation. What I attempt in this section, instead, is to reorganize Pitkin's analysis and what lexical data is available into a framework which shows its genetically-based structural

similarities to the Patwin kinterm morphological system. This should aid both in developing a more complete analysis for Wintu and in reconstructing the Proto-Wintun system.

531. Stem classes

Wintu kinterms present a complex picture morphologically. There is a great deal of apparent irregularity in forms, with a number of suppletive or irregularly derived vocatives, compound stems, and stems derived from verbs. Also, in several instances what appear to be historically related words, one based on the generic aspect and one on the particular aspect, have come to be used to designate distinct kin classes. The overall impression one gets is of a morphological system which has innovated a large number of lexical items and distinctions, based on a variety of morphological bits and pieces in the language. Some of the kinterms, especially those whose pedigree indubitably goes back to Proto-Wintun, show a pattern of inflection which resembles the most archaic inflectional patterns of Patwin in many ways. Others seem to be treated much more like Wintu common nouns in their inflection. The pattern for still others is indeterminant for lack of data. Overall, however, it is as if a number of fresh ingredients had been added to the stew recently and hadn't yet had enough time to cook down to present us with a well-blended flavor. That is, the system was not yet morphologically leveled into a relatively coherent system whose structure could be described by a small set of general morphological rules. Instead, we need a larger set of limited rules to account for the various irregularities and innovations. Of course, Patwin poses similar problems in some ways, with some kinterms recently innovated and poorly integrated into the morphological system, but by comparison, the Wintu kinterms seem to constitute much more of a

morphological hodge-podge.

One of the consequences of the irregularity of Wintu kinterms as a morphological system is that there is only limited and somewhat equivocal evidence for a set of independent stem classes in Wintu. We have seen above that for Patwin, despite numerous exceptions and analytic problems, the kinterms could be felicitously described in terms of three stem classes. The patterning of kinterm allomorphy lent itself to postulation of these arbitrary stem classes, since the phonological changes involved would have been most difficult to specify in terms of rules associated with individual affixes. In Wintu, however, the situation is different. Generic versus particular aspect apparently is reflected in distinct stem forms for some kinterms; this could be described in terms of two stem classes, but Wintu nominal aspect is perhaps even better accounted for in terms of a small set of aspect suffixes and general phonological rules affecting the stem (cf. §534). The other distinction in Wintu kinterm stems which could perhaps be described as involving stem classes revolves around a short versus long stem variation manifested by some kinterms. These variations are summed up in Table 5.8 (see following page).

The short stem vowel forms listed in Table 5.8 are those apparently regularly used with inalienable possessive prefixes (hence their representation with a left hyphen). The long stem vowel forms, on the other hand, are manifested in verbal derivatives in /-a/, in particular aspect formations in /-it/--which are probably secondarily based on the verbal derivatives, and acting as noun stems taking the common noun case suffixes /-um/ 'objective' or /-un/ 'genitive'.

Table 5.8: Wintu stem classes (kinterms)

focal denotation	1. short stem vowel	2. long stem vowel
♂Z,♀B	-soh	so·h-
S	-kur	ku·r-
SpP,CSp	-tes	te·s-
Z+	-lah ~ la·	la·h-
Z+	*-lay	la·y-
B+	λabeh ~ λabe·	λabe·h- [See footnote.]
B-	-leh	le·h-
Zil	-toqoy	toqo·y- (?)
FB	-tomλeh	-tomλe·h-

In Table 5.8 a second hypothetical short stem *-lay posited for 'older sister' is based on the recorded forms /la·ya/ 'older sister', /pu-layar/ 'her older sister...', /ye-la·k/ 'older sister (voc.)', etc. However, *-lay does not stand alone in the sense of 'older sister', apparently because of the competing form /laykut/ 'younger sister'.

The etymology of the 'father's brother' term is unclear, but I consider the most likely historical source to be a stem restructuring of a hypothetical descriptive term: */neto ta·hun leh/ 'my father's younger brother' > */neto tamλeh/ > /ne-tomλeh/.

Wintu kinterms whose inalienably possessed forms already have a long stem vowel apparently show no difference in stem when taking derivational or inflective suffixes associated with the second (long vowel) stem class above. Examples include:

Note: All Wintu forms which were transcribed with ± in Chapter 4 are written with λ in this and the next chapter. See §612 for explanation.

/-ne·n/	'mother'	/ne·na/	'to have a mother'
/-ta·n/	'father'	/ta·nit/	'father (particular)'
/-piče·n/	'daughter'	/piče·na/	'to have a daughter'
/-somo·n/	'brother-in-law'	/somo·num/	'of (my) brother-in-law'

There are yet other departures from the general pattern. /-ʔpuqan/ 'wife' does not show a lengthened vowel in /ʔpuqana/ 'to have a wife'. /-wi(·)y/ 'husband' poses yet another problem, since it is inconsistently recorded with long or short stem vowels in its inalienably possessed forms. For /-ʔkuley/, /-ʔpukuy/, /-neneh/, /-ʔkuteh/, /-ničay/, /-niča·men/ and /-tah/ the data on inflected forms is lacking, so that a clear judgement cannot be made. /ʔkiyeh/ 'grandfather' and /ʔputah/ 'grandmother' show yet another pattern; they are ultimately nominalizations of /ʔkiye·/ 'man to be old' and of /ʔputa·/ 'woman to be old'. Finally /ʔaykut/ 'younger sister' and /ʔeykut/ 'younger brother' act like derived common nouns, apparently taking only the common noun inflections for case, rather than the special archaic Wintun inflections limited to pronouns and kinterms. The same may also be true of some of the other Wintu kinterms, but that can only be demonstrated by compiling more case-inflected forms.

The situation regarding stem classes is further confused by the suppletive vocative forms /tu·tu/ and /ta·ta/ or /ha·pa/ for 'mother' and for 'father' respectively. These forms apparently can each take an /-h/ suffix and are then inflected for case, following the pattern of common nouns, thus taking on a derived referential function.

Summarizing then, there is some equivocal evidence for short stem vowel and long stem vowel variants of many Wintu kinterms. These can be analyzed as two stem classes, although with numerous exceptions and irregularities. Alternatively, the vowel lengthening could be seen as a

morphological process associated with verbal derivations from kinterms or with inflecting kinterms for ordinary nominal case (probably in the absence of marking for inalienable possession).

532. Possessed and non-possessed forms

Pitkin (1963) divides McCloud Wintu nouns into three classes on the basis of types of possession: alienably possessed, inalienably possessed, and non-possessed. The third class constitutes a small group of grammaticalized elements which need not concern us here. The inalienably possessed nouns also constitute a closed morphological class, which Pitkin claims contains "only ten members, all of which are kinship terms." Unfortunately, Pitkin does not explicitly state which ten of the two dozen odd Wintu kinterms are to be included and which excluded. He does, however, also state general criteria for inclusion in the class of inalienably possessed nouns; they are, he states, "...always preceded by possessive pronouns, or a single prefix, the vocative {ye}." Also, "inalienably possessed nouns are characterized by having the allomorph /t/ of the object case inflectional suffix {um}..." Using these criteria, we could reasonably presume that the following ten kinterms were what Pitkin had in mind:

/-ne·n/	M	/-neneh/	MZ
/-ničay/	GS	/-niča·men/	GD
/-λabe·/	B+	/-lah/	Z+
/-leh/	B-	/-soh/	xSb
/-ʾtes/	SpP,CSp	/-somo·n/	Bil

In addition to these ten, however, the following four kinterms also show some evidence at least of either objective case forms in /-t/, vocatives in /ye-/, or of obligatory possession with the "dependent possessive"

pronouns:

/-toqoy/	Zil	/-ta·n/	F
/-p̓uqan/	W	/-wi(·)y/	H

The final resolution of which Wintu kinterms belong in this class awaits a fuller specification of the full range of possessed forms for all Wintu kinterms.

The form of the inalienable possessive prefixes can, however, be specified on the basis of Pitkin's and of Schlichter's data. These are the forms labeled "dependent possessive" by Pitkin:

	Wintu	Patwin cognate form
1 sing.	net-	(nay-) [not directly cognate]
2 sing.	mat-	mat-
3 sing.	pur-	ʔuy-
3 sing. proximal	ʔewer-	ʔewey-

These seem to behave as pronominal possessive prefixes to at least some of the Wintu kinterms, presumably those identified as "inalienably possessed nouns". The prefixes show some allomorphy:

|net-| --> /ne-/ / { ___-t̓es ; ___-toqoy }

|mat-| --> /ma-/ / ___-ta·n

|pur-| --> /pu-/ / ___ { l, λ ; n ; t̓, (t) ? }

While not fully specified or consistent for Wintu, this kind of allomorphy is reminiscent of the allomorphy detailed for Patwin /mat-/ (cf. §522 above). The loss of Wintu /-r/ before /l/, /λ/ or /n/ is accounted

for by general consonant-cluster simplification rules in Wintu.

Some Wintu kinterms, at least, can also take alienable possessive marking, expressed by the following "independent possessive" pronouns:

1 sing.	neto
2 sing.	mato
3 sing.	putun (Pitkin) ~ purun (Schlichter
3 sing. proximal	ʔewetun

In the dual and plural, Wintu possessive pronouns take "genitive" case endings identical to those of common nouns and show no specialized inalienable possessive formations.

It is not clear from the data scanned whether any of the Wintu kinterms could be used in non-possessed (referential) contexts, although clearly there are a number of non-possessed vocative formations.

533. Case forms; comparison with Patwin

Kinterms in Wintu, as all Wintu nouns, can be inflected for case. However, in Pitkin's analysis, cases are defined on a morphological basis, that is, in terms of the morphemes and allomorphs used to express those cases, whereas for Patwin I have been defining cases functionally, i.e. in terms of their syntactic functions primarily, rather than their morphological form. As a result, Pitkin's analysis of Wintu and mine of Patwin are somewhat incommensurate. To aid in comparability, I have reorganized Pitkin's analysis of Wintu nominal cases in a way which emphasizes the functional isomorphism with Patwin cases. This is displayed in Table 5.9 (see following page).

"Subjective", "objective" and "locative" in Table 5.9 correspond to Pitkin's "subject case", "object case" and "locative case" respectively and require no further discussion. The "alienable possessive" and

Table 5.9: Wintu nominal case inflection

	subjective	objective	alien. possessive	inal. possessive	agentive	locative
alienably possessed nouns dual/plural pronouns (generic aspect)	-∅	-um	-un	---	-un	-in
inalienably possessed nouns (kinterms)	-∅	-t	-tun	---	-r	-in ?
3rd person sing. pronouns	-∅	-t	-tun	-r	-r ~ -i·n	-in
1st/2nd person sing. pronouns	-∅	-s	-to	-t	-r	---

Allomorphy:

-um :	-um/C___ ;	-m/V___	
-un :	-un/C___ ;	-n/V___	
-in :	-in/C___ ;	-n/V·___ ;	-·n/V___
-t :	-Vt/h___ ;	-t/V___	} replace final consonants other than /h/
-r :	-Vr/h___ ;	-r/V___	

"agentive" cases in this analysis are combined by Pitkin, on morphological grounds, as his "genitive case" for alienably possessed nouns. For inalienably possessed nouns (kinterms) and singular pronouns, on the other hand, Pitkin divides the cases up: "Inalienably possessive" in Table 5.9 corresponds to Pitkin's "possessive case", whereas "agentive" corresponds to Pitkin's "instrumental case". I choose here the term "agentive" to suggest the syntactic functions involved, namely expression of subordinate subject and of the agent of a passive clause. "Instrumental" seems an infelicitous cover term for that set of functions, since no inanimate semantic instruments are involved. In Pitkin's analysis "alienable possessive" case forms for "inalienably possessed nouns" (kinterms) and singular pronouns are treated as bimorphemic, based on the "possessive case" /-t/ plus either /-un/ or /-o/.

In Wintu there appear to be no inalienable possessive forms for either common nouns or kinterms. Pitkin explicitly states that kinterms are inflected for locative case, but cites no forms. First and second person singular pronouns, however, apparently lack a locative case form. Third person singular pronoun agentive forms are: /pir/ and /ʔewi·n/ 'proximal'. The latter is irregularly formed--and may actually be based on suffixation of the nominal agentive case marker {un}.

There are complications in the particular aspect forms for dual and plural pronouns. They follow the pattern for generic aspect dual and plural pronouns in some respects but show important (and historically significant) deviations in the treatment of the subjective and objective, differences which cannot be followed up here, however, without getting too far afield into the analysis and origin of nominal aspect in Wintu.

Table 5.9 can be compared in detail with the Patwin case suffixes already discussed above for Patwin kinterms (cf. §523 and Table 5.3).

Table 5.10: Patwin nominal case inflection

	subjective	objective	alienable possessive		(genitive) inalienable possessive	(genitive) agentive	locative
			inan. poss'd	anim. poss'd			
inanimate nouns	-Ø	-Ø	-no	-nomin	---	-no	-ɬa
animate nouns	-Ø	-ma	-no	-nomin	---	-no	-matin
kinterms	-Ø	-t	-tno	-tnomin	---	-y	-tin
dual/plural pronouns	-Ø	-t	-no	-nomin	-y	-y	---
inanimate 3rd sing. pronouns	-Ø	-ma	-no	-nomin	-y	-y	-ɬa
animate 3rd sing. pronouns	-Ø	-t	-no	-nomin	-y	-y	---
1st singular pronouns	-Ø	-t	-no	-min	-y	-y	---
2nd singular pronouns	-Ø	{-t (Hill) / -s (River)}	-to	-tomin	-t	-t	---

Patwin also expresses comitative and instrumental case roles, plus a number of secondary locative relations.

To expand this comparison, a summary of Patwin cases for nouns and pronouns is compiled in Table 5.10 (see preceding page). The major structural differences in the Wintu and Patwin systems can be summarized as follows:

1. Patwin shows a pervasive sensitivity to grammatical animacy which is reflected in the case-marking. This is manifest both in formal distinctions for animate objects and locative NP's and in a formal case marking to indicate that a possessed nominal is animate. Wintu shows neither of these distinctions in its case system.
2. Patwin totally conflates the inalienable possessive and agentive case functions (in pronouns) into what might best be termed a "genitive" case. As in Wintu, Patwin common nouns do not formally distinguish alienable possessive marking from "genitive" case marking.

The cognacy of the two systems summarized in Tables 5.9 and 5.10, both in terms of form and function, should be abundantly clear by now. The formal cognates are as follows:

Wintu		Patwin
-Ø	::	-Ø
-m ~ -um	::	-ma
-n ~ -un	::	-no
-(·)n ~ -in	::	-[t]in
-t	::	-t
-t-un	::	-t-no
-s	::	-s
-to	::	-to
-r	::	-y

Other Patwin case suffix elements, e.g. /-min/ and /-ɬa/, are innovations in Patwin as part of the nominal case system, although they have probable Wintu cognates of different function.

The reason for presenting the comparison between Wintu and Patwin in this detail is twofold: First, the comparison provides the justification for the reanalysis of Wintu cases shown in Table 5.9. In a small way this echoes one of the historical linguistic themes of this entire dissertation: that proper synchronic analysis elucidates historical relationships of genetically-related systems and that comparative analysis in turn helps to provide the justification for particular approaches to synchronic analysis. While such a statement is extremely old hat for historical linguists, it is surprisingly often ignored in attempts at comparative reconstruction in other fields, including of course social anthropology. The comparative examination of Wintu and Patwin cases, then, comprises a small, morphological example of the kind of method more generally involved in the systematic comparative reconstruction of kin classificatory systems. The systems are analyzed and compared as systems, and the individual units within it are treated within their systemic context.

The second reason for dwelling on the systematic comparison of nominal cases in Wintu and Patwin is that it is the subsystem of Wintun nominal morphology most amenable to a demonstration of what must go into a complete and rigorous morphological reconstruction for Proto-Wintun. The comparison should thus give an idea of how explicitly morphological reconstruction can proceed, as well as show part of the actual morphological subsystem which we would ascribe to the reconstructed set of Proto-Wintun kinterms.

534. Nominal aspect; duals and plurals

Pitkin states that Wintu inalienably possessed nouns (i.e., at least some of the kinterms) "are never marked for aspect, but function as though inflected for the particular and may or may not have an alienably possessed counterpart functioning as a generic." This statement is hard to reconcile with what appear to be aspect doublets in the Wintu lexical material, e.g. /-ne·n/ 'mother' vs. /-ne·h/ 'mother (partic.)'. Cf. also /ʼkuley/ ~ /ʼkuleh/ 'parallel nephew', etc., as well as a number of secondarily derived particular aspect forms, e.g. /ne·nit/ 'mother', /ta·nit/ 'father', /piče·nit/ 'daughter', /ku·rit/ 'son', etc. Nominal aspect thus does seem to be a formal morphological variable in the kinterm system--at least for some kinterms, but its synchronic and historical status is somewhat indeterminant in the absence of more complete data.

Pitkin and Schlichter do not report any formally dual or plural forms for Wintu kinterms, although virtual duals can be formed with the reciprocal of verbalized kinterms, e.g. /λabe·nupʼulel/ 'to be two full brothers'.

535. Vocatives and respect forms

Vocative forms for Wintu kinterms are based on several different processes:

1. suppletive stems:	/tu·tu/	'mama!'
	/ta·ta/	'daddy!'
	/ha·pa/	'father!'
2. prefixation of /ye(·)-/		
'vocative':	/ye·-tu/	'mama!'
	/ye·-ta/	'father!'

	/ye-somo·n/	'brother-in-law!'
	/ye-la·h/ ~ /ye·-lah/	'older sister!'
	/ye-λabe·/	'older brother!'
	/ye-nčay/ ~ /ye·-ničay/	'nephew!'
	/ye-nčamen/	'niece!'
	/ye-tah/ ~ /ye·-ta/	'in-law!'
	/ye-λe/	'(my) child!'
3. prefixation of /ye(·)-/ and suffixation of /-k/:	/ye-la·k/ < */ye-lay-k/	'older sister!' / '(my) relative!'
	/ye-le·k/ < */ye-ley-k/	'younger brother!'
	/ye-toqoq/ < */ye-toqoy-k/	'sister-in-law!'
4. suffixation of /-a(h)/ to a generic noun stem: (respectful ?)	/ʾkiyema(h)/	polite vocative for 'grandfather' < 'old man'
5. prefixation of /mi-/:	/minčay/	'(my) grandson; nephew!'
	/minčamen/	'(my) granddaughter!'
	/mi·-ta/	'(my) in-law!' (?)

(Note that this last prefix seems to derive from the second person singular pronoun /mi/ 'you'; in other words, this construction could be construed as a "hey-you-ative"!) Whether these various Wintu vocatives could be subcategorized and reorganized into a paradigmatic chart of the sort presented above for Hill Patwin (cf. §524, Table 5.6) remains an open question requiring more detailed characterization of the Wintu forms.

As in Patwin, the practice of deferential indirect address of G^1 in-laws using plural pronouns is recorded for Wintu. Also, at least one instance of a suppletive polite referential (archaic) form is known: /net-bolos/ 'my mother', literally "my drink".

536. Derivative forms

Wintu seems to manifest a rather productive process of verbalization of kinterms by suffixation of /-a/ (to long-vowel stems). These forms can be translated as, e.g. 'to have a mother' (/ne·na/ < /-ne·n/ 'mother'). Particular aspect forms in /-it/ are based on these verbalized kinterms.

As mentioned above, at least two Wintu kinterms are themselves indirectly derived from verbs:

/ʔputa·/ 'woman to be old' > /ʔputah/ 'an old woman' > 'grandmother'

/ʔkiye·/ 'man to be old' > /ʔkiyeh/ 'an old man' > 'grandfather'

537. Tabular summary

To bring together the information about Wintu kinterm morphology and to demonstrate the gaps in the data which make a complete analysis difficult, the various attested kinterms are arranged in Table 5.11. Apparent generic/particular aspect doublets are indicated, even though these pairs may not function as such synchronically in Wintu. Possessed and case-marked forms are listed where known to me, as are various vocatives and derived forms. The order of kinterms differs from that presented in the Wintu kin classificatory analyses of Chapter 4 in order to highlight apparent etymological relationships, as well as groups of kinterms which show similar morphological patterning. I hope that further investigation of Wintu lexical and textual sources will enable the

filling of many of the gaps in this table and thus eventually contribute to a more complete synchronic morphological analysis of the Wintu kinterm system.

Forms listed in parentheses in Table 5.11 (see following pages) are inferred on the basis of other forms.

Table 5.11 (part I-A): McCloud Wintu kinterms

focal denotata	aspect	kinterm	inal. possessed	object	"instrument"	possessive	alienably possessed
M	g	ne·n	net-ne·n	-ne·t	pu-ne·r	pu-ne·tun	
			pu-nen				
	p	ne·h	net-ne·h				neto ne·h
MZ	g?	nene·					
	p	neneh		nenehet	neneher		
F	g	ta·n	net-ta·n				purun ta·n
			ma-ta·n				
SpP,CSp	p	tah	net-tah				
FB	g?	tomλe·					
	p	tomλeh		---	---	---	
D	g	piče·n	net-piče·n				
			pur-piče·n				
S	g	kur	net-kur				
SpP,CSp	g	tes	ne-tes				
			mat-tes ?				
			pu-tes	pu-tehet			
GD	g	niča·men	net-niča·men				
GS	g	niča(·)y	net-ničay				
			pu-ničay				

Table 5.11 (part I-B): McCloud Wintu kinterms

focal denotata	kinterm	verbalization	derived particular aspect	vocative	ye·-vocative	nominal object case	nominal genitive case
M	ne·n	ne·na	ne·nit	tu·tu	ye·tu	tu·tuhum	tu·tuhun
F	ta·n	(ta·na)	ta·nit	ta·ta	ye·ta	(ta·tahum)	
				ha·pa		ha·pahum	
SpP,CSp	tah			mi·ta	ye-tah ~ ye·ta		
FB	tomλeh					ne-tomλe·hum	ne-tomλe·hun
D	piče·n	piče·na	piče·nit				
S	kur	ku·ra	ku·rit				
SpP,CSp	t'es	(t'e·sa)					
GD	niča·men	niča·mena-		minčamen (also ref.)	yenčamen		
GS	niča(·)y	ničaya-		minčay (also ref.)	yenčay ~ ye·ničay		

Table 5.11 (part II-A): McCloud Wintu kinterms

focal denotata	aspect	kinterm	inal. possessed	object	"instrument"	possessive	alienably possessed
Z+	g	*(lay)	(la·ya)		pu-layar ?		
	p	lah ~ la·	pu-la(·)h	-lahat	pu-lahar ?		
Z-		lay'kut	pu-lay'kut	---	---	---	
B-	g	*(ley)					
	p	leh	pu-leh	net-lehet	pu-ler		
B-		ley'kut	pu-ley'kut	---	---	---	
♂BS,♀ZS	g	'kuley	net-'kuley				
	p	'kuleh					
B+	g	λabe· ~ λabey	pu-λabe·	λabet			
	p	λabeh					
Bil	g	somo·n		net-somo·t	-somo·t ?		
♂Z,♀B	p	soh	net-soh				
			pur-soh	pur-sohot			
Zil	g	toqoy	ne(t)-toqoy				
	p	toqoh					
(♀B)	g	'kute· ?					
	p	'kuteh	net-'kute(h)				
(♂B,♀Z)		'pe·λa					

Table 5.11 (part II-B): McCloud Wintu kinterms

focal denotata	kinterm	verbalization	derived particular aspect	vocative	ye·-vocative	nominal object case	nominal genitive case
Z+	*(lay)	la·ya		ni-la·k	ye-la·k ~ ye·-la·k		
	lah	la·ha			ye-la·h ~ ye·-leh	la·hum	la·hun
Z-	lay'kut	lay'kuteha			---	pu-lay'kutem	lay'kuten
B-	*(ley)				ye-le·k		
	leh	le·ha					
B-	ley'kut	ley'kuteha			---		
B+	λabe·	λabe·na			ye-λabe·		
	λabeh						λabe·hun
Bil	somo·n				ye-somo·n	somo·num	
oZ,♀B	soh	so·ha					
Zil	toqoy				ye-toqoq	toqo·yum	toqo(·)yun

Table 5.11 (part III-A/B): McCloud Wintu kinterms

focal denotata	aspect	kinterm	inal. possessed	object	"instrument" possessive	alienably possessed
H	g	wi(·)y	net-wi·	-wi·t		
		~ wiyi	net-wiyi	-wiyit		
	p	wi(·)h				
W	g	puqan	pur-puqan	-pu·qat	net-puqar	
				pur-pu·qat	pur-puqar	
♂BD,♀ZD	g	pukuy	net-pukuy			
		~ puquy	~ net-puquy			
GM	p	putah				
GF	g	kiyem-			net-kiye·r-met	
	p	kiyeh				
C		*(λe)	mi-λe			

focal denotata	kinterm	verbalization	derived particular aspect	vocative	ye·-vocative	nominal object case	nominal genitive case
H	wi(·)y	wi(·)ye	wiyit				
W	puqan	puqana	puqanit				
GM	putah	putaha-					
GF	kiyem-			kiyema(h)			
C	*(λe)				ye-λe		

540. Nomlaki kinterm morphology (Paskenta Hill Nomlaki)

Since Nomlaki is represented by such a fragmentary linguistic record, only hints of the morphological system can be pieced together. What can be recovered shows a system intermediate in some respects between that of Patwin and that of Wintu.

Nomlaki shows some evidence of the presence of stem classes a little more like those of Patwin than the paticular/generic stems of Wintu. The attested forms can be organized for Nomlaki as follows:

	stem 1 ?	stem 2	stem 3
GF	-čəpa(·)- ?	-čəpan	
F		-ta·n	-tah
M		-ne·n	-nah
B+		{-labən, -ɬabən}	-ləm ?

The stem classes posited here are actually little more than guesses based on comparative evidence, however, since the Nomlaki data is so scanty. The /-n/ marked stems are definitely associated with inalienable possession, as in Patwin, although a number of other inalienably possessed Nomlaki forms do not end in /-n/. The stem 3 forms are used in vocative inflections. The final /-h/ in the 'father' and 'mother' stem 3 forms is definitely present phonetically.

Nomlaki inalienable possessive prefixes are as follows:

1st singular	net-	~ ne-
2nd singular	(mat-) ?	~ ma-
3rd singular	puy-	~ (pu-) ?

The phonological conditioning of these prefixes differs somewhat from that for the corresponding forms in Wintu. /net-/ seems to alternate with /ne-/ when prefixed to some kinterms beginning with /t/, but in

other cases the /-t-/ of the suffix remains:

/ne(t)-ta·n/ 'my father'

but /net-te·/ 'my son'

The true status of this alternation is impossible to determine now, since the data is so poorly recorded phonetically, but it may be that forms like /net-te·/ represent citation forms, whereas the suffix /-t-/ was dropped in faster styles before kinterm stems beginning in /t/. However that may be, /ne-/ is the only form recorded prefixed to the Nomlaki GRANDPARENT terms:

/ne-čəpan/ 'my mother's brother'

/ne-čəman/ 'my grandmother'

This could be the result, not of a consonant cluster simplification, but rather an old metanalysis as follows:

**/net-hapán/ > */ne-t+hapán/ > /ne-čəpan/

(Note the similar 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' stems with initial /t^h-/ in Patwin, §521, Table 5.2; also cf. §654.)

Second person inalienable possession is only attested in the following forms:

/ma-ta·n/ 'your father'

/ma-ne·n/ 'your mother'

These two forms show that the presumed 2nd person prefix */mat-/ loses its final /-t/ somewhat more regularly before alveolar consonants than does the 1st person prefix /net-/.

The third person inalienable possessive prefix is /puy-/, showing the characteristic Nomlaki sound shift *-r > -y. /puy-/ is too poorly attested to determine whether the phonological variant /pu-/ actually occurs, as for Wintu.

The inalienably possessed kinterms contrast with alienably possessed

human nouns. Note for example a form cited by Merriam:

Nā'-tum ke'-ah 'uncle (FB)' /nehtum ʔkiya(h)/

/nehtum/ is the 1st person singular alienable possessive in Nomlaki, corresponding functionally to Wintu /neto/. /ʔkiya(h)/ is literally 'old man', here used metaphorically for 'uncle', but probably not as a formal kinterm. (The same etymon was lexicalized as a formal kinterm in Wintu.) Cf. also Nomlaki /ʔkiyas/ 'old man'.

I know of no citations of case-inflected kinterms for Nomlaki, although on analogy with Patwin and Wintu they must have existed.

Finally, Nomlaki seems to make extensive use of vocatives inflected with a /mi-/ prefix:

/mi-tah/	'father (voc.)'
/mi-nah/	'mother (voc.)'
/mi-ləm/ ?	'older brother (voc.)'

Compare the Wintu vocative forms in /mi(·)-/ listed above in §535. The "Noema" citation kleqe ~ kleye '(little) boy' may represent /ɬe-ye/, perhaps comparable to Wintu /ye-λe/ 'child (voc.)', but with /-ye/ as a vocative suffix, rather than as a prefix. Cf. Patwin vocatives with suffixed /-e·/ above (§524).

Chapter 6: Proto-Wintun Reconstruction

600. Preliminary considerations and organization of the chapter

This chapter is intended as the final synthesis of the results which have been assembled variously in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. The classification of the Wintun languages, the formal analyses of the kin classifications, the philologically reconstituted kinterms and the analyzed morphological systems are drawn together with considerations of Proto-Wintun historical phonology to gradually build up a picture of the Proto-Wintun kin classification and then to demonstrate its validity.

The chapter is organized as follows. In §610 Proto-Wintun historical phonology is briefly sketched. This is a necessary prerequisite to lexical reconstruction. §620 carries out the basic lexical reconstruction of the kinterms and human nouns relevant to the kin classifications. That process involves first a review of the kinterms and their basic denotata in the Wintun systems, then assembly of cognate sets, reconstruction of lexical forms, and tentative specification of basic meanings for each reconstructed form. Some of the obvious semantic shifts and innovations are pointed out, as well as some of the issues more difficult of resolution. §630 carries the reconstruction several steps further by reconstructing the systematic aspects of the kin classifications--the equivalence rules, reciprocals and sub- and superclass relations. Again, patterns of innovations, shift or retention are noted where appropriate. §640 constitutes the demonstration of the reconstruction via an etymology of the most characteristic part of the system, namely the cross-collateral kin classification. The development of all the daughter systems from the protosystem is specified in step-by-step detail. The etymology of other

aspects of the reconstructed systems (e.g. the development of <sibling> or of <in-law> terminology) is sketched out somewhat more briefly. §650 touches on the issue of internal reconstruction. Regularities and irregularities of pattern in the comparatively reconstructed protosystem can be pushed back to yield some tentative inferences about even earlier stages of Wintun kin classificatory usage and terminology. §660 then uses the results of the kin classificatory reconstruction as a basis for preliminary speculations about how other aspects of Wintun social organization may have developed--the main point there being that the inferred directionality of kin classificatory development helps narrow down the possibilities with regard to change in systems of descent, marriage "rules", etc. §670 puts the results of the reconstruction in perspective by comparing them with three earlier, independent reconstructions of Proto-Wintun kinship, showing the weaknesses inherent in less complete approaches to reconstruction. Finally, in §680 I sum up and point to future directions for this work.

610. Outline of Proto-Wintun historical phonology relevant to the kinterm reconstruction

611. Introductory

This section is intended not as a complete statement of Proto-Wintun historical phonology, but rather as a succinct outline of just those correspondences and processes which must be stated in order to understand the phonological reflexes of the reconstructed forms for kinterms. In any case a complete statement would not yet be possible, since numerous irregularities in the correspondences for Wintun verbs in particular point to unresolved problems of comparison. These problems will remain

unresolved until a more systematic picture of Wintun verbal morphological processes can be assembled.

612. Regular consonantal correspondences

The basic, unconditioned consonantal correspondences among the Wintun languages, together with the reconstructed protosegments, are listed in Table 6.1 below. Patwin reflexes are given as typical of Southern Wintun and Wintu reflexes as typical of Northern Wintun.

Table 6.1: Wintun consonant correspondences and Proto-Wintun reconstructions

Stops and Affricates

plain			glottalized			aspirated			voiced		
Pat	Win	P-W	Pat	Win	P-W	Pat	Win	P-W	Pat	Win	P-W
p	p	*p	ˀp	ˀp	*ˀp	p^h	p^h	$*p^h$	b	b	*b
t	t	*t	ˀt	ˀt	*ˀt	t^h	t^h	$*t^h$	d	d	*d
ɬ	λ	*λ	ˀλ	ˀλ	*ˀλ	----------			----------		
----------			ˀt	ˀč	*ˀč	t^h	č	*č	----------		
č	k	*k	ˀč	ˀk	*ˀk	č~s?	x	$*k^h$	----------		
k	q	*q	k	q	*q	k^h	x̣	$*q^h$	----------		

Other

nasals			glides			liquids			fricatives and glottals		
Pat	Win	P-W	Pat	Win	P-W	Pat	Win	P-W	Pat	Win	P-W
m	m	*m	w	w	*w	l	l	*l	s	s	*s
n	n	*n	y	y	*y	r	r	*r	h	h	*h
									[ʔ]	[ʔ]	*[ʔ]

Notes to Table 6.1:

1. Wintu /λ/ alternates phonetically between [ɬ] (a voiceless lateral fricative) and [t^{ɬ}] in initial position. It has been transcribed both as ɬ and λ in the published and unpublished Wintu linguistic records. Partly for orthographic convenience and partly to highlight the forms cognate with Patwin, I chose to use ɬ in the analyses of Chapter 4. However λ, the transcription established by Pitkin, is useful in the historical reconstruction for a couple of reasons. First, the protosegment *λ probably behaved phonetically like the Wintu reflex; in other words, it was an affricate with de-affricated allophones. This is based on the patterning of /λ/ with the other consonants, especially /č/--*λ does not show any particular phonological affinity with the true Wintun fricative *s. Second, reconstructing the Proto-Wintun segment as *λ may help explain the initial consonant allomorphy of some Proto-Wintun kinterm stems; more specifically, in some cases *λ seems to be a secondary development of an affricate from the coalescence of **t + **l (cf. §654). Therefore all Wintu segments written ɬ in Chapter 4 are written λ in Chapters 5 and 6, but keep in mind that this is just an orthographic convention--only one phoneme is involved in either case, and no phonetic distinction is implied.

2. Wintun affricates by and large do not show phonemically distinctive aspirated forms. Wintu /č/ is nondistinctively aspirated. Patwin /č/ varies between [č] and [č^{h}] but tends to be unaspirated. Only in Lodoga Hill Patwin (WPK) is it regularly aspirated, with only a few forms showing apparently nondistinctive lack of aspiration. This shift to phonetic aspiration of /č/ in Lodoga Hill Patwin at least may have been influenced by English. Proto-Wintun *č, together with its reflexes, is listed with the aspirated stops, however, since it patterns somewhat like

them in terms of phonotactics. This patterning is reinforced by the fact that the Patwin reflex of *č is distinctively aspirated /t^h/.

Wintu /č/ and Patwin /č/ often appear in various linguistic recordings, including my own, written as c, without the hacek; these recordings are invariably representing alveo-palatal affricates--written without the hacek since no Wintun lanauge shows a distinctive set of dental affricates with which they could be confused.

3. In simple CVC roots, glottalized, aspirated and voiced consonants do not occur syllable-finally. /r/ does not occur word-initially in any Wintun language. All other consonants can occur in either position. Constraints on intervocalic occurrence are somewhat more complex and depend in part on the presence of a morpheme boundary. There are no initial or final consonant clusters, and medial clusters are limited to -C+C- type clusters, with two consonants separated by a morpheme boundary. Consonant cluster constraints and/or simplification rules may be the source of some of the unusual and unexplained correspondences observed between the Northern and Southern Wintun languages, especially at verbal morpheme boundaries, but these will have to be worked out in more detail in the future.

4. Patwin /s/ and Wintu /s/ are somewhat backed, alveolar [s̻]--neither dental nor retroflex in articulation, but also not an alveo-palatal [š]. Presumably, the same articulation can be inferred for Proto-Wintun *s.

5. Patwin and Wintu [ʔ] do not have full phonemic status. They are automatically inserted at the onset of vowel-initial words and at some types of word-internal boundaries. Thus, while a sequence like /-ak+ʔa/ contrasts with /-aka/ in Patwin, for instance, the ʔ in the former instance is predictable from the presence of certain types of boundaries.

613. The Patwin fronting chain and Wintu velar aspirate frication

As should be clear from Table 6.1, the major, characterisitc, non-identical sound correspondences among the Wintun languages involve a systematic fronting chain in Patwin and a frication of velar aspirates in Wintu. Each of these innovations is briefly outlined here.

The Patwin (or more properly, Southern Wintun) fronting chain involves a linked series of articulatory frontings which affected plain, glottalized and aspirated stops (and affricates) alike. All proto-uvulars were fronted to velars, proto-velars to alveopalatals, and proto-alveopalatals merged with the alveolar series:

Proto-Wintun		Proto-Southern Wintun (& Patwin)
*q, *q̓, *q^h	--->	*k, *k̓, *k^h
*k, *k̓, *k^h	--->	*č, *č̓, *č~*s ?
*č̓, *č	--->	*t̓, *t^h
*t, *t̓, *t^h	--->	*t, *t̓, *t^h

The pattern is clearest for the glottalized obstruents. The fronting involving *k^h is less well-attested. Also, the fronting pattern is somewhat distorted by the lack of a distinctively aspirated /č/, either as a protosegment or as a reflex. This means that Proto-Wintun *k and *k^h may have merged (in part) as *č in Proto-Southern Wintun, whereas Proto-Wintun *č and *t^h definitely merged as Proto-Southern Wintun *t^h.

Wintu velar aspirate frication is somewhat easier to state:

Proto-Wintun		Proto-Northern Wintun		Wintu
*q^h	--->	*[q^x]	--->	/x̣/
*k^h	--->	*[k^x]	--->	/x/

/x̣/ represents a back uvular fricative, whereas /x/ is a velar fricative. In Nomlaki at least /x̣/ seems to have varied (freely?) with an uvular affricate [q^x]. Presumably, then, the Wintu frication of uvulars and

velars was a progressive change underway in Northern Wintun and most advanced in Wintu.

A number of as yet unexplained irregularities in the uvular and velar correspondences suggest that Wintu frication may have been in part conditioned by following vowels, but the nature of this conditioning has not yet been worked out.

614. Miscellaneous consonantal correspondences

In addition to the basically unconditioned sound shifts involved in the Patwin fronting chain, at least two conditioned sound shifts have been discovered which are relevant to the reconstruction of protoforms for kinterms.

Loss of p before rounded vowels. Patwin exhibits complete loss of syllable initial Proto-Wintun *p or *p' in some instances before rounded vowels:

$$\begin{Bmatrix} *p' \\ *p \end{Bmatrix} \xrightarrow{\%} \emptyset \quad / \begin{Bmatrix} \# \\ - \end{Bmatrix} \text{——} \begin{Bmatrix} u \\ o \end{Bmatrix}$$

This loss cannot be specified as a purely phonological conditioning, however, since Patwin retains /p/ or /p'/ as reflexes of initial proto-segments for many Proto-Wintun etyma. Some kind of morphological conditioning must be inferred; in particular, the loss of initial plain or glottalized bilabial stops is noted for third person pronouns and pronominal prefixes, and for a few (inalienably?) possessed nouns. The loss is exemplified in the following cognate sets:

Wintu	Patwin	
put	ʔu(·)t	3sg animate objective
pur-	ʔuy-	3sg inalienable possessive
pur-un ~ put-un	ʔu··no	3sg alienable possessive

Wintu		Patwin	
pukuy	'niece'	?učuːn	'older sister'
puqan	'wife'	?onok	'wife'
puqayah	'old lady'	ka(·)y	'old lady'
puqaqes	'women'	kayaba	'women'

The extra morphological pieces involved in 'niece/older sister' and in 'wife' will be accounted for below (cf. §615 and §626). The case of 'old lady' and of the irregular plural form for 'women' is interesting, since a second phonological development involving (unstressed) vowel loss seems to have occurred. In both instances (ignoring for the moment complications at the end of the stems, which are presumably derivational in origin), we can see the following developments:

P-W *poqay-	--->	Wintu	puqay-	[by mid-vowel raising]
	--->	P-So.W	*?okay	[by p-drop and uvular fronting]
	--->		ka(·)y	[by vowel loss and resultant glottalization]

That this is a real, if sporadic, process is further indicated by Nomlaki /ču·n/ 'older sister'. Nomlaki presumably borrowed the Hill Patwin term /?uču·n/ and then independently dropped the vowel and glottalized. For some reason, however, Patwin retained the vowel in this term.

The phonological process of vowel loss and glottalization can be summed up as:

$$?\breve{V}C^{=} \quad > \quad C^{=}$$

If it can be attested for other Wintun cognate sets, this process may help account for two puzzling facts about Wintun historical phonology and stem structure: 1. The rarity of vowel-initial lexical items and 2. The prevalence of doublets involving plain and glottalized initial stops.

Exemplary cognate sets showing retention of Proto-Wintun initial *p or *ʔp before rounded vowels in Patwin include:

Wintu	Patwin	
pot	pot	'guts'
pom	pom	'ground, earth'
pi	pi	3sg nominative
ʔpotxom	ʔpokʰom	'poison oak'
ʔpo·qta	ʔpokita	'woman' (cf. WPS ʔokita)
puy	puy	'east'

Note that Southern Patwin often underwent unconditioned loss of initial glottalized consonants, including at least *ʔp and *ʔt in some instances. This seems to have been a separate process from the more sharply constrained loss of initial bilabial elements in Proto-Southern Wintun.

Proto-Wintun *r > y. The sets listed above also illustrate an r : y correspondence. Further sets showing the Nomlaki reflexes include the following:

Wintu	Nomlaki	Patwin	
nor	noy	(wor)	'south'
yemer	yemey	yeme	'road'
ʔpuri	?	ʔpoyi	'nipple' < 'to suckle'

The protosegment involved is best reconstructed as *r, with both Nomlaki and (usually) Southern Wintun manifesting the rule:

$$*r \quad \longrightarrow \quad y \quad / \quad V \_\_ \begin{Bmatrix} \# \\ i \end{Bmatrix}$$

This rule must also be morphologically conditioned, since it is blocked for most verb roots at least.

A number of other less obvious consonantal correspondences will be taken up in the discussion of individual kinterm reconstructions below.

Most of them also show evidence of morphological conditioning.

615. Metanalysis

In at least one instance of relevance to the reconstruction of Proto-Wintun kinterms a phonological change in Patwin has resulted in a metanalysis that drastically reshaped the basic stem of a kinterm. The set in question involves the forms for 'wife':

Wintu	Nomlaki	Patwin	Southern Patwin
puqan	poqan	ʔonok	ʔonok

The Northern Wintun forms can be derived from Proto-Wintun *poq 'woman' by the addition of the productive verbalizing suffix /-a/ and the kinterm absolutive suffix /-n/:

P-W *poq 'woman' P-No.W >*poq-a 'to have a woman (i.e. wife)'
Nomlaki > poqa-n 'wife'
Wintu > puqa-n 'wife' [by mid-vowel raising]

In Southern Wintun, the semantic shift from 'woman' to 'wife' involved a shift to inalienable possession which apparently triggered the loss of initial *p. Normally this would have left a Southern Wintun reflex of the form ?*ʔok, but instead, a portion of the possessive pronoun seems to have been metanalyzed as part of the stem:

P-W *pur-un poq 'his woman' > P-So.W *ʔur-un-ok 'his wife'
> Patwin ʔuy-ʔonok 'his wife'

This set illustrates well the various sound shifts discussed for Southern Wintun, as well as the postulated metanalysis: *q > k; *p, *p > ∅; *r > y (the latter two shifts being morphologically conditioned). Finally the vowel shift *u > o of the metanalyzed stem is probably the result of much more general vowel assimilatory processes in Wintun whose effect is to harmonize stem vowels.

616. Vowel correspondences

All Wintun languages have five phonemic vowels, long and short:

i	u	i·	u·
e	o	e·	o·
a		a·	

The basic vowel correspondences are all identicals. The one major exception involves a morphophonemic rule affecting some mid vowels in Wintu:

$$\left.\begin{array}{ll} \square\,E\,\square & \text{--->}\ /i/ \\ \square\,O\,\square & \text{--->}\ /u/ \end{array}\right\} \ /\ \_\_\_\ Ca(\cdot)$$

This rule is most productive in the Wintu verb stem derivational system, but there are also traces in the Wintun kinterm sets. Thus the morphophonemic alternation may ultimately derive from a regular phonological process of vowel raising before low vowels in Proto-Wintun. Sets showing the mid vowel morphophonemes in Wintu are provisionally reconstructed as *e and *o in Proto-Wintun. Their reflexes are almost invariably mid vowels in Patwin, except for a few apparently fossilized remnants among the kinterms and human nouns which show the high vowel alternates. (N.B.: Many of the published Patwin forms showing high vowels, most notably those in Pitkin and Shipley (1958), represent a misphonemicization of relatively high allophones of the Patwin mid vowels rather than the working of a morphophonemic or historical vowel-raising process such as discussed here.)

A number of irregular correspondences involving non-identical vowel quality are scattered through the sets of Proto-Wintun cognates, but none is importantly represented among the kinterm vocabulary. Mismatches in vowel quality between Wintu and Patwin generally involve sound symbolic derivations, presumably conditioned splits involving adjacent velar or uvular protosegments, and/or morphologically conditioned splits for a few

suffixes.

A few instances of irregular correspondences in vowel length are also attested. Many of these involve noun stems ending in nasals or glides and may be the residue of an old nominal stem-derivational process involving vowel-lengthening. Productive morphological stem-vowel-lengthening was restricted primarily to the verbs in the attested Wintun languages, but see §521 and §531 above for evidence that other stem-derivational processes were active for Wintun kinterms as well.

617. Nominal aspect correspondences

The reconstruction of an antecedent system for what appears in Wintu as the nominal aspect system poses difficult problems which cannot be fully tackled here. The basic problem arises from the fact that Patwin does not evidence a nominal aspect system at all, whereas it is well-developed in Wintu. Is nominal aspect as a functional category archaic in the family and atrophied in Patwin or is it absent in Proto-Wintun and innovated in Wintu? While a complete answer to these questions is beyond the scope of this dissertation, a few observations are in order here.

First of all, examination of the independent pronominal systems of the Wintun languages suggests that the Wintu pronominal <u>particular aspect</u> marker /-t/ is cognate with the Patwin pronominal <u>objective case</u> marker /-t/. For the kinterms the relation is not quite so obvious, however. Pitkin and Schlichter mark a number of Wintu kinterms in /-t/ as being particular aspect, but those forms also seem to be functioning as objective case forms; they correspond to Patwin objective case-marked kinterms. Other Wintu particular aspect kinterms are recorded with a final /-h/ (cf. §534).

For common nouns, almost all Wintu particular aspect forms can be

explained as resulting from suffixation of /-h/ with subsequent cluster reduction. This Wintu /-h/ has no obvious cognate in Patwin, which, however, loses almost all final h's anyway. The specialized function of generic aspect in Wintu to express the dual of naturally-paired body-parts, e.g. 'eyes', 'ears', 'hands', etc., can perhaps be compared to the suffixation of /-ma/ in Patwin (homophonous with the nominal object case marker /-ma/) for naturally or conventionally paired objects, e.g. WPK /sa··-ma/ 'eyes', /dam-ma/ '(pair) of gambling bones'.

In the case of verbal nouns, Wintu shows an alternation between /-s/ (generic) and /-h/ (particular). The /-s/ is apparently an old nominalizing suffix. The particular aspect forms can then be analyzed as resulting from regular suffixation of /-h/, with the cluster simplification rule: -sh# ---> -h#. No comparable alternation is noted for Patwin verbal nouns.

Tentatively, this somewhat disparate picture can be pulled together as follows. *-t is probably an archaic Proto-Wintun objective case marker which survived in that function suffixed to kinterms and in part in pronouns. In Wintu, the typical pragmatic status of objects has become grammaticalized to line up with the system of generic/particular aspect for common nouns. The /-h/ noted as marking particular aspect on Wintu common nouns and verbal nouns is probably an old definite article suffix (ultimately reduced from a demonstrative form in h-). This implies that at some point in Wintun linguistic prehistory a productive definite/indefinite distinction for nominals was reanalyzed as a somewhat opaque stem-derivational particular/generic distinction. Whether Patwin went through such a stage is difficult to determine--it may have just lost the hypothetical *-h altogether. In Wintu, however, once the particular/generic aspect distinction was grammaticalized, it then took on

special functions dependent on the semantics of the nominals involved, e.g. distinguishing a live animal from its meat, a particular animal character from the species name, etc.

Such a reconstruction is only schematic, of course. For my purposes here, however, it does suggest that the kinterm forms in /-t/ should be reconstructed as objective case forms in Proto-Wintun. Also, the Wintu kinterms in /h/ which do not match a root-final /-h/ in Patwin probably result either from innovative nominalizations in Wintu (e.g. /ʼkiyeh/ 'mother's brother') or from secondary analogic derivations of alienably (?) possessed forms (e.g. /wi(·)h/ 'husband'). Yet a third innovative pattern in Wintu involves the suffixation of the /-h/ to derive new, inflectable referential stems from the reduplicative 'daddy!'/'mama!' type vocatives forms in Wintu noted in §535; thus /tu·tu/ 'daddy!' > /tu·tu-h-um/ 'father (objective case)'. In all of these instances the /-h/ cannot be reliably projected back to Proto-Wintun. The reconstruction is much muddied, however, when there is evidence of an inherent *-h in the root of a kinterm (e.g. the old roots for 'father' or for 'mother'; cf. §537).

620. Reconstruction of the Proto-Wintun kinterms and associated morphological system

621. Introductory

This section begins the reconstructive task by working out the set of kinterm protoforms and their focal denotata. The associated morphological system is also reconstructed to a certain extent, although the complete and detailed specification of that system is beyond the bounds of the more limited attention to kinterms here, since such reconstruction

must be done within the context of a general analysis of pronominal and (common) nominal morphology as well.

622. Review of Wintun kinterms and focal denotata

To serve both as a summary of the kinterm analyses of Chapter 4 and as a guide to the lexical reconstruction to be undertaken, the various Wintun kinterms are arranged in Table 6.2 (see following pages). The order in Table 6.2 basically follows that adopted in the tables of kinterms and kintype denotata in Chapter 4, with a few minor modifications. Forms are listed not in terms of their status as cognates (for that see Table 6.4 below), but rather in terms of their focal denotata where determinable. Vertical arrows in the table indicate use of a single term in one language to denote what may be designated with two or more terms in another language. Expressions such as =Z+ indicate that the kintype in question does not serve as a class or subclass focus, but instead is included as part of the extended sense of a different kinterm. A dash in the table indicates that the kintype(s) in question are distributed over more than one kinterm as extended senses of those kinterms (this applies mostly to various types of cousins). A question mark in the table indicates an apparent gap in the data.

Note that not all alternative stem forms listed in Chapter 4 are reproduced in Table 6.2, which is intended mostly as an abbreviated guide to the forms. For greater detail, refer back to the appropriate sections of Chapter 4, as well as to the discussions of stem classes and of inflection in Chapter 5.

Table 6.2: Summary of Wintun kinterms

focal denotation(s)	River Patwin	Hill Patwin	Paskenta Nomlaki	Hayfork Wintu	Upper Scto. Wintu	McCloud Wintu
MF	ʔa·pa-	ʔa·pa-	čəpasoko	ʼkiyeh	ʼkiyehčepet	ʼkiyehčepet
FF	↓	↓	↓	ʼkiyemah	↓	↓
MM	ʔama-	ʔama-	čama	ʼputah	ʼputahčepet	ʼputahčepet
FM	↓	↓	↓	ʼpuqayah	↓	↓
MB	= GF	= GF	čəpa	= MF	ʼkiyeh	ʼkiyeh
FZ	= Z+	= Z+	= Z+	= MM	ʼputah	ʼputah
F	ta(·)n	ta·n	ta·n	-ta·n	-ta·n	-ta·n
M	ne·n	ne·n	ne·n	-ne·n	-ne·n	-ne·n
FB	= F	ʔoltan	tomkin	tomλeh	tomλeh	tomλeh
MZ	= M	ʔolnen	neʼntet	ne(·)neh	neneh	ʼla·čepet (Gifford) la·h~neneh (DuBois)
B+	la·be-	la·be-	labən	λabeh	λabeh	λabeh
Z+	ʔut^{h}u·n	ʔuču-	ʼču·n	la(·)h	la·h	la·h
B-	↑	↑	leh	ʼleykut	ʼleykut	ʼleykut
Z-	ɬa(·)n	ɬa·n	lahay	ʼlaykut	ʼlaykut	ʼlaykut
// sex step-Sb	= Sb	= Sb	= Sb	= Sb	ʼpe·λa	ʼpe·λa

Table 6.2 (part 2): Summary of Wintun kinterms

focal denotation(s)	River Patwin	Hill Patwin	Paskenta Nomlaki	Hayfork Wintu	Upper Scto. Wintu	McCloud Wintu
♂Z,♀B	?	so·	?	?	soh	soh
MBD,FZD (= Z)	---	---	---	---	---	neneh
♀MBS,♀FZS (= ♀B)	---	---	---	---	---	ˌkuteh
S	te· (♀C)	te· (♀C)	ku(h) / te·	kur	kur	kur
D	↓	↓	↓ / piče·n	piče·n	piče·n	piče·n
♂C	mu·ɬe	mu·ɬe	---	---	---	---
♂BS,♀ZS	= C	= C	= C	kuˌ(·)ˌte	ˌkuleh~ˌkuteh	ˌkuleh
♂BD,♀ZD	= C	= C	= C	piče·nˌte(h)	ˌpukuy	ˌpukuy
GS	t^ha(·)y	t^ha·y	če(·)	ča(·)y	niča(·)y	niča(·)y
GD	↓	↓	↓	↓	niča·men	niča·men

Table 6.2 (part 3): Summary of Wintun kinterms

focal denotation(s)	River Patwin	Hill Patwin	Paskenta Nomlaki	Hayfork Wintu	Upper Scto. Wintu	McCloud Wintu
ZH	t^{h}ira·n	t^{h}era·n	ɬe(·)n	λe(·)n	somo·n	somo·n
BW	ʼpoksen	ʼpoksen	toqoy	toqoy	toqoy	toqoy
WB	ɬe(·)n	ɬe·n	somo·n	somo·n	somo·n	somo·n
HB	↓	↓	ɬe(·)n	λe(·)n	↓	↓
SpZ	↓	↓	toqoy	toqoy	toqoy	toqoy
H	wiy	wiy	wi·	wi(·)y	wiy,wih	wi(·)y,wi(·)h
W	ʔonok	ʔonok	ʼpoqan	ʼpuqan	ʼpuqan	ʼpuqan
HW,WH	ʼnika(·)n	ʼnikan	?	-mayhat	ʼpe·λa	ʼpe·λa
SpP,CSp	ʼte·s	ʼte(·)s	ʼtes	ʼte(·)s	-tah, ʼ-tes	-tah, ʼ-tes
CSpP	čayi	čayi	↓	↓	↓	↓

623. Lexical reconstruction

Table 6.3 (see following pages) gives the reconstructable lexical forms for Proto-Wintun kinterms and non-kinterm human noun stems. These reconstructions are based on assembled cognate sets spanning the major Northern-Southern division of the Wintun family and following the general historical phonological patterns outlined in §610 above.

A detailed justification of each individual reconstructed form would amount to a rather tedious and repetitious task. Instead, I have compiled below an abbreviated listing of cognate sets underlying the reconstructions (cf. Table 6.4). Following the cognate sets is a discussion of major patterns of lexical innovation and semantic shift, and then a more detailed argumentation regarding the few most problematical comparisons.

In addition to the reconstructed (roots and) stems in Table 6.3, at least the following morphological pieces involving kinterms can be reconstructed to Proto-Wintun:

A. Case-marking suffixes (cf. §533 above), including:

1. Objective case in *-t (cf. §617 above)

2. Genitive case in *-r

3. (Alienable) possessive case in *-t-n

4. Locative case--form uncertain, but possibly *-tin

B. Singular possessive pronominal prefixes

1. 1st person *net-

2. 2nd person *ma(t)-

3. 3rd person *pur-

C. Vocative formations involving *-e·-

Given the rather systematic character of the Patwin vocatives (cf. §524), which show a more complete relation to the stem

Table 6.3: Proto-Wintun reconstructed kinterms

	schematic reconstruction(s)		focal denotation(s)
1.	*ʔa·pa-	*-apa-n	GF
2.	*ʔama-	*-ama-n	GM
3.	*ǰa(·)y		GC
4.	*tah-	*-ta·-n	F
5.	*neh- *nah-	*-ne·-n	M
6A.	*teh		C
6B.	*λe		C ?
7.	*la·be-	*-labe-n	B+
8.	*lay		Z
9.	*ley		B-
10.		*-λe·n	Bil ?
11.	*soh		x-Sb
12.	*ʼtes		SpP, CSp

Table 6.3 (part 2): Proto-Wintun reconstructed human nouns (& verbs)

	schematic reconstruction(s)		gloss
13.	*ʔkiy-		'man to be old' > 'old man'
14.	*ʔpot		'woman to be old' > 'old woman'
15.	*wiy-	*wi·-ta	'man' > 'husband'
16A.	*ʔpoq-	*ʔpoqi-ta	'woman' > 'wife'
16B.	*ʔpoqay		'old woman' (= FZ ??)
16C.	*ʔpoqay- ?		'women (pl.)'
17.		*k^{h}eri-t(a)	'adolescent boy'
18.		*lo·y-(ta)	'adolescent girl'
19.	*ʔpukuy / *ʔpuquy	(*ʔpuku[h]-ta) ?	'young girl' > Z+ (Patwin, Nomlaki) / > 'parallel niece' (WW)
20.		*ʔkurey-(ta)	'young boy'
21.	*ʔelay / *ʔilay		'baby, child; small'
22.	*kur		'small; child'

variants of archaic kinterm etyma, and the large amount of lexical innovation in Wintu, which may have forced new patterns of vocative formation, we may surmise that the Patwin pattern of suffixing the vocative marker is the older pattern. This hypothesis has the advantage of allowing us to view the vocative as one more Proto-Wintun grammatical case. However, it is also possible that the Wintu pattern of /ye(·)-/ prefixation is older, and that Patwin has just regularized the vocatives as one more case suffixal formation.

D. Problematical "meaningless" prefixes in n(i)-

These prefixes are exemplified in Wintu by /ni-ča(·)y/ GS and /ni-ča·men/ GD, alternating with simply n in the vocatives: /minčay/, /yenčay/, etc. In Patwin, we note /nik̓an/ 'co-spouse, partner'. I suspect that these elements, rather than being reflexes of an old remnant prefix in the family, represent yet another instance of metanalysis of a possessive case suffix -n onto the stem of certain short possessed kinterms. (Cf. my analysis for 'wife' above in §615.) At least in the case of Patwin /nik̓an/ such an analysis may be the preferred one, since that term seems to have been built up from an element k̓a 'younger sister' borrowed from Maidun. (k̓a meaning 'younger sister' is widespread in Maidun and can be reconstructed back to Proto-Maidun as *k̓a.)

[Speculative Penutian aside: Could Yokutsan kinterms in nV- also have resulted from a more general metanalysis of possessive case -n onto the kinterm stems sometime deep in Yokutsan linguistic prehistory?]

624. Cognate sets supporting the reconstructions

Table 6.4 (see following pages) gives the abbreviated cognate sets supporting the reconstructions listed in Table 6.3. Exemplary forms are chosen to best illustrate the postulated etyma, including the morphological doublets (#1, 2, 4, 5, 7, etc.). Again, it must be emphasized that the citations from individual languages are abstracted from their morphological context in order to fit them felicitously into a comparative table. Some of the irregularities in phonological correspondences are comprehensible once that fuller context is taken into account.

In Table 6.4, when a particular etymon has apparently undergone some reformation in the daughter languages, the parts to be compared are double underscored. See sets 6A, 6B and 22 for examples. Most of the other comparisons are obvious.

Table 6.4: Proto-Wintun cognate sets

	Proto-Wintun		Southern Patwin		Patwin		Nomlaki		Wintu	
1.	*ʔa·pa-	GF	ʔa(·)pu	GF	ʔa·pa-	GF,MB	čəpa-	MB	ha·pa	F (voc.) ?
	*-apa-n	GF	---		-t^{h}apa·n	GF,MB	-čəpan	MB	---	
2.	*ʔama-	GM	ʔama	GM	ʔama-	GM	čama	GM	---	
	*-ama-n	GM	---		-t^{h}ama·n	GM	-čəman	GM	---	
3.	*ča(·)y	GC	t^{h}ay 'cousin' [sic]		t^{h}a·y	GC	če(·)	GC	ni-ča(·)y	GS
4.	*tah-	F	ta·	F	ta·-~tah-	F	-tah	F	-tah	SpP,CSp ?
									ta·ta	F (voc.)
	*-ta·-n	F	-ta(·)n	F	-ta·n	F	-ta·n	F	-ta·n	F
							tahan	F (WNNoe)		
5.	*neh-	M	---		neh-	M	---		ne·(h)	M
	*nah-	M	na· ?	M	na·-	M	-na(h)	M	---	
	*-ne·-n	M	na·n ?	M	-ne·n	M	-ne·n	M	-ne·n	M
			ne·n~-ni·n	M	-ni·n	M	nahan	M (WNNoe)		
6A.	*teh	C ?	te·-ba 'family'		te·~teh-	♀C,C	te·	S	kuteh	'nephew; male cross-cousin'
6B.	*λe	C ?	muɬe	S~D ?	mu·ɬe	♂C	ɬe-ye 'little boy' (WNNoe)		mi-λe	'my child'
									ye-λe	'my child'

Table 6.4 (part 2): Proto-Wintun cognate sets

	Proto-Wintun		Southern Patwin		Patwin		Nomlaki		Wintu	
7.	*la·be-	B+	la·be	B, S ?	la'be-	B+	---		λabeh	B+
	*-labe-n	B+	---		-labén	B+	labən	B+	λabe·~λabey	B+
					-ɬabén	B+	ɬabən	B+		
8.	*lay	Z	ɬa·n	B- ?	ɬa·n	Sb-	lahay	Z-	la(·)h~la·ya	Z+
									laykut	Z-
									ni-la·k 'my relatives'	
9.	*ley	B-	---		leyta 'friend, relative'		leh	B-	leh-	B-, 'relatives'
									leykut	B-
									kuley/h 'nephew'	?
10.	*-λe·n	Bil ?	---		ɬe·n	SpSb	ɬe·n	ZH, HB	λe·n	Bil (WWHay)
11.	*soh	x-Sb	---		so·	x-Sb	-so(h)	B ? (WNNoe)	soh	x-Sb
					so·ho-	x-Sb	so(·)s 'twins'		so·ha	x-Sb
12.	*tes	SpP, CSp	---		te·s	SpP, CSp	tes	SpP, CSp	-tes	SpP, CSp

Table 6.4 (part 3): Proto-Wintun cognate sets

	Proto-Wintun	Southern Patwin	Patwin	Nomlaki	Wintu
13.	*ʔkiy- 'man to be old'	ʔčiy 'old man, old'	ʔčiya(·)k 'old man'	ʔkiyah 'uncle' ?	ʔkiye· 'man to be old'
				ʔkiyas 'old man'	ʔkiyes 'old man'
					ʔkiyeh MB, etc.
14.	*ʔpot- 'woman to be old'	ʔpot 'old woman'	---	ʔpota·s 'old woman'	ʔputa· 'woman to be old'
					ʔputah GM, FZ, etc.
15.	*wiy- 'man', H	-wi· H	wi·~wiy H	wi· H	wi(·)h~wi(·)y H
	*wi·ta 'man'	wi·ta 'man'	wi·ta 'man'	---	wi·ta 'man'
	*win 'person'	---	win 'person'	win 'man'	win- 'person'
					wines 'relatives'
16A.	*ʔpoq- 'woman', W	ʔonok W	ʔonok W	ʔpoqan, etc. W	ʔpuqan W
	*ʔpoqi-ta 'woman'	ʔokita 'woman'	ʔpokita 'woman, wife'	---	ʔpo·qta 'woman'
			ʔpoksen BW		
16B.	*ʔpoqay 'old woman' (= FZ ??)	---	ʔka(.)y 'old woman'	---	ʔpuqayah 'old lady, grandmother' (= FM WWHay)
			ʔka·yba 'old women'		
16C.	*ʔpoqay- 'women (pl.)'	---	ʔkayaba 'women'	---	ʔpuqaqes 'women'

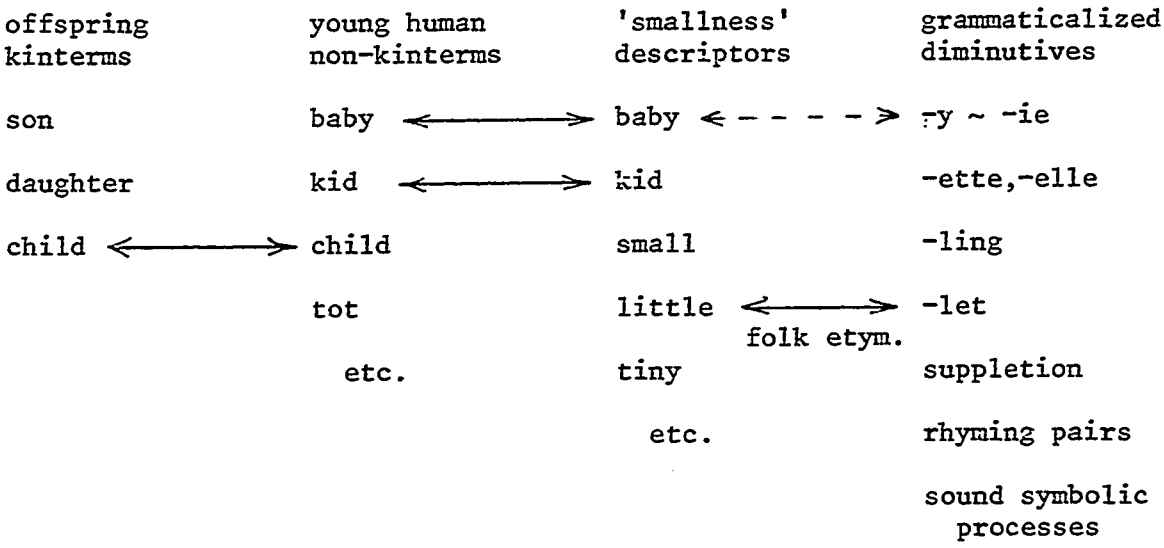
Table 6.4 (part 4): Proto-Wintun cognate sets

	Proto-Wintun	Southern Patwin	Patwin	Nomlaki	Wintu
17.	*k^{h}eri-t(a) 'adolescent boy'	---	serita 'boy, young man'	----	xerit 'young man'
18.	*lo·y-ta 'adolescent girl'	---	lo·y-ta 'young woman, girl'	lo(·)yba 'young woman, child'	lo(·)y-mes 'adult female virgin' lo·y- 'to put on a frond apron (to be pubescent, of ♀)'
19.	*ʼpukuy ~ *ʼpuquy 'young girl'	---	ʔuču-~ʔuču·n Z+ ʔut^{h}u·n Z+ (WPR) ʼpukuytu 'shrew' ?	(ʼču·n Z+) [borrowed]	ʼpukuy~puquy 'niece' ʼpukusta 'step-D, young girl'
20.	*ʼkurey 'young boy'	ʼčuray 'young man'	ʼčuray 'little boy'	---	ʼkurey-ta~ʼkurita 'little boy'
21.	*ʔelay~*ʔilay 'baby, child; small'	ʔelay-ma 'little boy' ʔela·n 'child, boy'	ʔila(·)y 'baby, child'	ʔelet 'child, baby' ʼʔilis-tet 'small'	ʔilay~ʔilah 'child, baby, small'
22.	*kur ~ *kuy 'small, child'	---	ʼkuču̲y (WPR) ʼkuču̲·n (WPK,WPT) 'small'	ku(h) C ? ʼku̲·tet 'baby' (WNNoe)	kur 'son' ʼku̲·tet 'small; child, baby'

625. Semantic shifts and lexical innovations

The semantic shifts involved for some Proto-Wintun etyma are significant enough that the reconstructions--and especially the reconstructed focal denotata--may be called into question. This is particularly true for the set of sibling terms and to a lesser extent for the various offspring terms. Better justification of the choices involved in assigning focal denotata to the protoforms must await, however, the reconstruction of the kin classification itself (cf. §630 below), which will clear up some of the mysteries regarding the sibling terms.

The children or offspring terms pose special and perhaps inherently irresoluble difficulties, however. The problem stems from the inherent semantic lability of children terms along what is perhaps a universal semantic continuum, illustrated here with some English examples:



A similar continuum could be set up for the entire array of 'small' terms in Wintun languages (cf. sets #6A, 6B, 21 and 22 for some hints of the complexity), but the pattern is rendered even more opaque by the probability that some terms, most notably those in sets #21 and 22, have been shifting back and forth semantically in these languages more or less independently for upwards of 2000 years. Add to this the formal kin

classificatory split which has occurred, with Patwin distinguishing 'man's child' vs. 'woman's child' whereas Wintu distinguished 'son' vs. 'daughter', and the whole set of offspring terms just becomes a horrendous muddle. Frankly, after tangling extensively with this problem, I doubt that anyone will ever be able to specify firm glosses for the various Proto-Wintun etyma involved--unless they can be reliably linked to cognate etyma in some other branch of Penutian.

I turn now to happier portions of the reconstruction, where clear patterns of semantic innovation emerge from the comparison. To keep the discussion succinct, I list below all of those cases where a well-specifiable lexical replacement has occurred. Cases involving innovation of subclasses of kin classes will mostly be deferred until after the kin classificatory rule reconstruction. To follow the examples below, refer to Tables 6.2 and 6.4 where appropriate.

1. Wintu has lexically innovated terms for 'grandparents' by substituting nominalized forms of the verbs 'man to be old' and 'woman to be old' for 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' respectively. The old Proto-Wintun etymon for 'grandmother', *ʔama-, seems not to have survived at all in Wintu, whereas the old 'grandfather' etymon may have been the basis of an innovative vocative form for 'father', /ha·pa/ in Wintu. The shift in 'grandparent' terms is the single most characteristic lexical difference between the Wintu kin systems and the Nomlaki and Patwin ones. It is also intimately bound up with some of the kin classificatory differences which set off Wintu from the rest of the family.

2. The Patwin and Nomlaki terms for 'older sister' show phonological irregularities that suggest they represent lexical innovations and not a common retention in that meaning from Proto-Wintun. In particular, the old Proto-Wintun form *ʼpukuy 'young girl' seems to have been lexicalized

as 'older sister' in Patwin, perhaps as part of the classificatory shifts involving siblings (and FZ). The Nomlaki form presumably represents a borrowing of this innovation from the Hill Patwin, since the kinterm itself, /ʔčuˑn/, shows irregular phonological correspondences for Nomlaki (cf. §614).

3. The 'younger sibling' terms also show some lexical innovation. Wintu has added a diminutive suffix /-ʔkut/ to form descriptive 'younger brother' and 'younger sister' terms. Patwin, on the other hand, has taken one morphological form of what was most likely the old 'sister' etymon and extended it to cover 'younger brother', as 'younger brother' and 'younger sister' were collapsed into a single kin class. (There is more discussion regarding this process in §643 following the kin classificatory reconstruction section.)

4. /ʔpeˑλa/ meaning 'same-sex step-sibling', 'same-sex parallel cousin', etc. seems to have been a Northern Wintu innovation. (Cf. §448.2, note 5 regarding its probable etymology.)

5. The use of /neneh/ and /ʔkuteh/ as exclusively cross-cousin terms is a semantic shift limited to McCloud Wintu. The development of this shift is explicated in §642(8-10), in the etymology of the reconstructed kin classification.

6. Wintu /kur/ 'son' and Nomlaki /ku(h)/ 'child' probably originate in lexical innovations based on a semantic shift along the continuum 'small' <--> 'child' <--> 'son'; this is one of the problematical cases involving 'child' terms discussed above. The origins of Patwin /muˑɬe/ 'man's child' are equally obscure, except that the ɬe portion does seem to be cognate with similar forms in Wintu and in Nomlaki (see set #6B).

7. Northern Wintu terms for 'parallel nephew' and 'parallel niece' are lexical innovations. The 'niece term is derived from Proto-Wintun

*pukuy ~ *puquy 'young girl'. The 'nephew' term is probably ultimately connected with the Proto-Wintun *kurey-ta 'young boy' term--but the exact nature of the connection is somewhat obscure. It may involve a stress-conditioned Pre-Proto-Wintun l/r alternation. (Cf. §642.8 and §653.2 below for an attempt to clarify this connection.)

8. The various 'sibling-in-law' terms represent a number of independent lexical innovations. /t^{h}era·n/ ZH and /poksen/ BW are restricted to Patwin; /somo·n/ WB or Bil and /toqoy/ Zil are characteristic of Northern Wintun. On first examination only /ɬe·n/ ~ /λe·n/ has reasonable presumption of Proto-Wintun age as a 'sibling-in-law' term. However, the pattern of innovations is indeterminate in the lack of a more detailed examination of the kin classificatory reconstruction; therefore, the detailed etymology of the 'sibling-in-law' terms and classifications in the various Wintun branches is taken up below in §644, following the systematic reconstruction of the rest of the kin classification.

9. The 'co-spouse' terms are also variously innovated in the different Wintun branches. The origin of the Patwin term has already been discussed (cf. §623.D above). Hayfork /-mayhat/ seems to be a nominalization meaning 'follower'. /pe·λa/ is, of course, identical to the Northern Wintu 'same-sex step-sibling' term (cf. note 4 above and §448.2, note 5).

10. Patwin has innovated a term for 'child's parent-in-law'; it is a nominalization of the verb /čayu/ 'to be ashamed, to feel ashamed'. In all of the Northern Wintun languages this kin class is treated as an extension of the G^{1} in-law class. (Cf. also Table 5.4, note 7.)

626. Justification of reconstructions for some complex sets

Several of the cognate sets in Table 6.4 require discussion in somewhat more detail to justify the reconstructions proposed.

Set #8: The Patwin forms /ɬa·n/ Sb- are considered cognate with the Northern Wintun forms in /lay-/, /lahay/, etc. The set is actually morphologically defective, since Patwin has lexicalized the -n marked derivative (the the ± alternate of an l initial). Cf. set #7 for evidence that both morphological alternates belong together in one set.

Sets #9 and #10: These two sets probably derive from a single etymon in Pre-Proto-Wintun, but apparently Proto-Wintun had already lexicalized the *λe·n form in the meaning 'brother-in-law' (HB ?). See §654 for a more detailed internal reconstruction of the morphological proportion exhibited in sets #1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15 and possibly 21.

Set #16: The comparison involved in the 'wife' terms was discussed at some length above in §615. The vowel length in Wintu /ʼpo·qta/ 'woman' is unexplained.

Set #19: The reflexes of Proto-Wintun *ʼpukuy ~ *ʼpuquy 'young girl' are most intriguing. Indeed, this was the last set to be recognized as cognate. The reconstruction of the gloss as 'young girl' seems fairly secure for three reasons:

1. The form is apparently bimorphemic, ultimately derived from a "little woman" type compound:

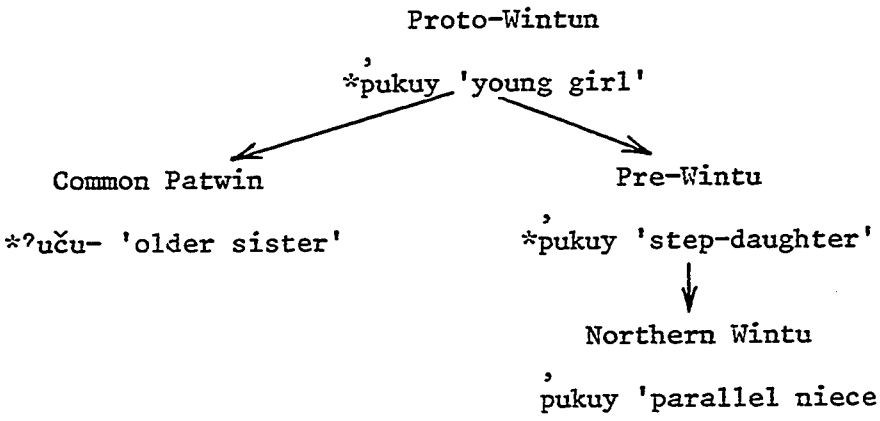
**ʼpoq	+	**kuy	>	*ʼpuquy ~ *ʼpukuy
woman		small		

The recording of both q and k as the medial consonant in Wintu suggests that the medial consonant cluster simplification was never firmly resolved one way or the other, resulting in a lexical doublet.

2. /ʼpukusta/ (< *ʼpukuh-ta ?) survives in Hayfork Wintu meaning

'step-daughter', which suggests an original sense of 'girl' for the term. (Cf. §447.2, note 9 for further discussion.)

3. While it seems likely that Patwin /ʔučuˑ/ 'older sister' is actually cognate with the Wintu forms meaning 'parallel niece', I can think of no plausible way to posit a meaning shift directly from 'elder sister' to 'parallel niece' or vice versa. The possibilities involve very unlikely classificatory contortions inconsistent with the other evidence of actual classificatory shifts in the Wintun systems. Trying to derive both senses from an original meaning of 'father's sister' would work fine for the Patwin reflex, but would provide no sensible way to shift to Wintu 'parallel niece'. However, if *ˑpukuy is in origin a non-kinterm meaning 'young girl', then the classificatory difficulties disappear. Both Patwin and Wintu, having developed classificatory requirements for new female kinterms, independently shifted the available 'young girl' term to fill those needs. This sequence of semantic shifts can be shown diagrammatically:



The Nomlaki 'older sister' term, /ˑčuˑn/, is then a borrowing from Hill Patwin (cf. §614). The River Patwin form /ʔutʰuˑn/, which shows a second consonantal fronting, č ⟶ tʰ, is not fully explained, but it further suggests the unusual history of this term in Patwin.

Patwin /ˑpukuytu/ 'shrew' is probably also a member of this set, its

form descending regularly from the Proto-Wintun *puquy variant. Note that the English connotations of 'shrew' are irrelevant to the etymology; what may be important, however, is the fact that the shrew was conventionally a young female as a character in Wintun folklore (not male and not an old woman). The conventional treatment, while not unique to the shrew as a character, may have resulted eventually in its Patwin name. (Another possible instance of a Patwin animal name resulting from this kind of semantic shift is /po·k/ 'beaver' < 'woman'; cf. set #16 above.)

630. Kin classificatory reconstruction

631. Preliminary considerations

With the Proto-Wintun kinterms themselves reconstructed, together with their focal denotata as far as possible, we move on to the heart of the matter--the reconstruction of the Proto-Wintun kin classificatory system itself. In this reconstruction I will be relying heavily on the formal equivalence rule analyses of the various Wintun kin classifications as worked out in Chapter 4. These analyses are summarized first, and then the argument is presented for a plausible reconstruction of equivalence rules for the protosystem. Following that, considerations of reciprocal and subclass relations in the protosystem are discussed and the residual problems in the reconstruction are noted.

Before starting in on the kin classificatory reconstruction itself, however, some general considerations of technique and interpretation are in order. As discussed in Chapter 2, the reconstruction proposed here is systematic in conception. The various formal subparts of the kin classifications are viewed as both self-coherent and inter-influencing. The historical development of the protosystem is assumed to result from a

series of innovations in classificatory rules and lexical coding, innovations whose gradually accumulating systematic ramifications in turn eventually result in quite distinct and divergent "daughter" systems. The reconstruction itself consists of working back through the tangled skein of historical developments by a chain of reasoning to demonstrate the most likely characteristics of the common ancestral system.

The most important constraint on this chain of reasoning is imposed by the historicity of the systems and subsystems involved. At all points from the inferred ancestral system through intermediate stages to the attested ethnographic systems, the kin classifications must be fully functional and logically consistent (to the extent that any kin classification is)--this is the uniformitarian assumption of historical reconstruction. Furthermore, changes in the system(s) through time must occur in terms of minimal, discrete, and plausible innovations consistent with the necessity for non-interrupted cultural transmission of the systems--this is the continuity assumption of historical reconstruction. When, as in the case of cultural systems such as kin classifications (or languages themselves), historical uniformity (in the short run--we are not talking about evolutionary time scales here) and continuity are assured, and when the analytic units are well-defined, it becomes possible to think back through to the origin of related systems and to demonstrate the relative validity of that reconstruction by recapitulating the sequence of developments in detail. A reconstruction is inadequate if it cannot in principle show how all aspects of the system(s) have developed in detail, although in practice even the best reconstructions often fail of completeness in some aspect or another.

For those unfamiliar with the concepts of linguistically based comparative historical reconstruction some cautions are necessary, however.

In extending the linguistic argument from reconstruction of protoforms for kinterms to systematic reconstruction of a kin classification, the only real innovation in technique is in changing the units of comparison from phonemes and morphemes to kin equivalence rules and reciprocal sets of kinterms. The standards of reasoning and of coherence and demonstrability through etymology remain roughly the same. However, as for any comparative historical reconstruction, the result is a postulated proto-system; as such it is a highly abstract object resulting from complex chains of logical inference--it does not have the same ontological status as an ethnographically recorded system. Any protosystem, no matter how thoroughly worked out, always retains a tentative character, since the chain of reasoning by which it is built up may have to be modified if new evidence is brought to bear--e.g. if a new cognate relation is discovered or a particular kintype designation is shown to be in error, etc. Thus also for the Proto-Wintun system presented here--it must be viewed as an abstract but logically supported hypothesis which serves to unify the Wintun kin systems in a historical developmental context. The sequence of stages of development I posit is the most plausible I have yet been able to devise but does not necessarily constitute the only possible solution; the validity of the solution presented here or of other solutions must rest ultimately on their coherence, consistency, adherence to historical principle, and their completeness in accounting for all of the known data. Nor does a historical linguistic reconstruction necessarily recapitulate the actual historical processes which led to the observed kin systems; the reconstruction highlights the logical and linguistic constraints on the kinds and sequence of kin classificatory change which must have occurred, but provides only fairly vague evidence about the absolute timing of the changes and the full, living social context in

which they took place. Keeping in mind these limitations, however, a comparative historical linguistic reconstruction can still provide a far more detailed set of firm inferences about the origin of related kin systems than any other reconstructive technique which has been applied to kinship data.

As one more general point, I wish to make it clear that I believe there to be no general discovery procedure applicable to historical comparative reconstruction. Each bit of data available must be evaluated in its own particular (systematic) context. To judge between alternative original values of some linguistic (or kin classificatory) trait merely on the basis of which value has majority representation among the descendant systems must ultimately lead to a chaotic reconstruction, especially if such judgements are treated as a string of independent evaluations, each unrelated to the next. Such is a basic methodological flaw of Dyen and Aberle's (1974) approach to kin classificatory reconstruction. Thus, for example, Dyen and Aberle ascribe protolanguage status to a reconstructed kinterm and specify its meaning in terms of a mechanical "majority rules" algorithm which counts representations across significant branches in the family. The reconstructive methodology here, on the other hand, eschews any such formulaic approach; meanings for protoforms are specified within their systematic context of equivalence rules, kin superclasses and morphological system. "Majority rules" is only one of numerous guiding principles and applies only with all else considered.

To better illustrate the difference in method between the reconstruction proposed here and that used by Dyen and Aberle, let me detour briefly to examine the role of linguistic classification in the kinship reconstruction. In Dyen and Aberle's approach, a language family must first be classified lexicostatistically, and then, based on a

lexicostatistical criterion (e.g. shared cognacy rate <70%) major branches and language divisions of the family can be specified. This step is considered vital, since the reconstruction then proceeds in terms of literally counting shared retentions or innovations in kintype designations among the languages and across branches of the family. In the current work, however, while accurate classification is deemed necessary, it has a different function in the reconstruction. In addition to being necessary for accurate philology, the linguistic classification serves to identify loci of kin classificatory "stability" across deep linguistic divisions and loci of classificatory "instability" within shallow linguistic divisions. Thus, in the Wintun family, essentially similar kin classifications span most of the family, but within Wintu proper a number of sharply different kin classifications are attested. Given the status of Wintu as a single language with minimal dialectal distinctions, the kin classificatory variation in Wintu is striking and results in a prima facie case for recency of kin classificatory change in Wintu (as suggested in Chapter 4). This case can then be further strengthened by the direct historical evidence of kin classificatory differences between the ethnographic records of Gifford and of DuBois among the McCloud Wintu (cf. §449.5). That these two records, coming no more than a generation apart, could evidence distinct kin equivalence rules supports the linguistic classificatory and distributional evidence for innovation in Wintu. Therefore, in reconstructing the Proto-Wintun kin classificatory system, the linguistic classification (non-lexicostatistical) serves more as a guide to directionality of change and innovation than as a criterion for establishing the meaning of particular reconstructed kinterms. Assuming that a reasonable protosystem for the kin classification can be postulated, from which all of the cognate daughter systems can be etymologically

derived, it will be more convincing if the derivations show a pattern of late and rapid kin classificatory change in the Wintu dialects. An alternative derivation which instead maintained that one of the Wintu kin systems was a relatively stable, archaic remnant would be flying in the face of the evidence of linguistic diversification in the family and would thus presumably encounter difficulty in justifying the directionality of some of the classificatory rule changes that it would be necessary to posit.

This concludes the preliminary considerations for this section. I move on now to the review of the kin equivalence rule analyses of the Wintun systems.

632. Review of kin equivalence rule analyses

The analyses in Chapter 4 of the kin equivalence rules for each of the seven Wintun systems (excluding Southern Patwin, for which the data was too scanty) were organized so as to suggest the basic comparability of the systems of rules. In particular, the rules were numbered so that those affecting similar kin classes were more or less grouped together; furthermore, distinct rules affecting the same subset of kin were given the same master number but were distinguished by the addition of subparts or of one or more diacritic apostrophes. The status of a particular variety of rule as historically conservative or innovative was not assumed however, and bore no necessary relation to the order in which the varieties of rules were introduced. That order was dictated primarily by the arbitrary arrangement of the narrative in Chapter 4 geographically from south to north.

In this section all of the various kin equivalence rules and their varieties are pulled together and displayed comparatively to aid in

following the reconstruction. First, I list all of the rules in numerical order, indicating the language or dialect affiliation of the system(s) for which I posit their occurrence (see Table 6.5, following pages). These rules then are the basis of the comparison and reconstruction in the succeeding section.

Table 6.5: Summary of varieties of kin equivalence rules in the Wintun systems

1. Half-sibling merging rule	1. (PC ---> Sb) self-reciprocal	all
2. Parallel sibling merging rules	2. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}(\delta B\ldots \dashrightarrow \delta\ldots) \equiv (\ldots \delta B \dashrightarrow \ldots \delta) \\ (\varphi Z\ldots \dashrightarrow \varphi\ldots) \equiv (\ldots \varphi Z \dashrightarrow \ldots \varphi)\end{array}\right\}$	WPR,WPH,WNHPas, WWHay
	2'. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}(\delta B+\ldots \dashrightarrow (\delta\ldots)+) \equiv (\ldots \delta B- \dashrightarrow (\ldots \delta)-) \\ (\varphi Z+\ldots \dashrightarrow (\varphi\ldots)+) \equiv (\ldots \varphi Z- \dashrightarrow (\ldots \varphi)-)\end{array}\right\}$	WWSac,WWMc
3. Skewing rules affecting cross-collateral kin		
3A. Skewing rules affecting FZ, etc.		
--Type II Omaha skewing rule	3A. (FZ ---> Z+) ≡ (φBC ---> φSb-)	WPR,WPH,WNHPas
--Paternal cross-aunt merging rule	3A'. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}(FZ. \dashrightarrow MBW.) \equiv (.\varphi BC \dashrightarrow .HZC) \\ (FZH. \dashrightarrow MB.) \equiv (.\delta WBC \dashrightarrow .\delta ZC)\end{array}\right\}$	WWHay,WWMc (Gifford)
--Cross-nuncle merging rule	3A". $\left\{\begin{array}{l}(PxSb. \dashrightarrow PP.) \equiv (.\varphi xSbC \dashrightarrow .\varphi CC) \\ (PxSbSp. \dashrightarrow PP.) \equiv (.\varphi SpxSbC \dashrightarrow .\varphi CC)\end{array}\right\}$	WWSac,WWMc (DuBois)
3B. Skewing rules affecting cross-cousins, etc.		
--Type III Omaha skewing rule	3B. ($\delta Z\ldots$ ---> $\delta b\ldots$) ≡ ($\ldots \varphi B$ ---> $\ldots \varphi F$)	WPR,WPH,WNHPas, WWHay,WWMc (Gifford)

Table 6.5 (part 2): Summary of varieties of kin equivalence rules in the Wintun systems

--Bilateral cross-kin skewing rule	3B'.	(PxSb-... --> xSb-...) ≡ (...xSb+C --> ...xSb+)	WWSac,WWMc (DuBois)
3C. Cross-cousin merging rule	3C.	(♀MBD --> ♀Z) ≡ (♀FZD --> ♀Z)	WWMc
		{(♂MBD --> ♂Z) ≡ (♀FZS --> ♀B) (♂FZD --> ♂Z) ≡ (♀MBS --> ♀B)}	
4. Stepkin merging rule	4.	(PSp --> P) ≡ (SpC --> C)	all
5. Grand-in-law merging rules	5.	(SpPP --> PP) ≡ (CCSp --> CC)	WPR,WPH,WNHPas
	5'.	(SpPP --> SpP) ≡ (CCSp --> CSp)	WW (all)
6A. Ancestor merging rule	6A.	(PPP. --> PP.) ≡ (.CCC --> .CC)	all
6B. Grand-nuncle merging rule	6B.	(PPSb --> PP) ≡ (SbCC --> CC)	WNHPas,WW (all)
7. Child's in-law merging rule	7.	(CSpP --> SpP/CSp) self-reciprocal	all (except Patwin?)
8. In-law's sib/sib's in-law merging rule	8.	{(SpPSb --> SpP) ≡ (SbCSp --> CSp) (SbSpP --> SpP) ≡ (CSpSb --> CSp)}	all
9. Co-spouse merging rules	9.	(HW --> ♀Z) self-reciprocal	WNHPas,WWHay (?), Patwin
	9'.	{(HW+ --> ♀Z+) ≡ (HW- --> ♀Z-) (WH+ --> ♂B+) ≡ (WH- --> ♂B-)}	WWSac,WWMc

633. Comparative analysis and reconstruction

All of the data about distribution of kin equivalence rules among the Wintun systems in Table 6.5 can be rearranged, using the rule numbers, into a succinct summary table of the Wintun kin classifications. This rearrangement is diagrammed in Table 6.6 (see following page). In Table 6.6 rules shared between groups are indicated with boxes around the rule numbers. A minus indicates definite absence of a rule (relevant only to cross-cousin merging). A question mark indicates lack of direct evidence that a rule is present; however, comparative evidence may suggest its presence. -? indicates the probable but not demonstrated absence of a particular rule.

Now it is possible to give a rule by rule reconstruction of the protosystem, along with the justification of choices along the way. Note that Table 6.6 also contains columns indicating the probable array of kin equivalence rules associated with the Pre-Wintu, Proto-Northern Wintun and Proto-Wintun kin classifications, as a guide and summary of the discussion to follow.

First, all Wintun kin classifications evidence Rule 1, the half-sibling rule, and there is no reason not to suggest that it is a retention from the protosystem. Likewise for Rule 4, the stepkin merging rule. Since both rules are widespread in many kin classifications around the world, thus far the reconstruction should be unobjectionable.

The ancestor and grand-nuncle merging rules (6A and 6B) are incompletely attested. However, their presence in the various protosystems seems assured. In particular, the failure of attestation in Hayfork Wintu is probably due to gaps in the data--Hayfork no doubt shared both of these rules with Nomlaki and with the other Wintu dialects. Patwin (both River and Hill) show Rule 6A, but there is no data regarding

Table 6.6: Comparison of Wintun kin equivalence rules

rules affecting	WPR,WPH	WNHPas	WWHay	WWMc (Gifford)	WWMc (DuBois)	WWSac	Pre-Wintu	Proto-No. Wintun	Proto-Wintun
half-siblings	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
// siblings	2	2	2	2'	2'	2'	2	2	2
FZ skewing	3A	3A	3A'	3A'	3A"	3A"	3A'	-?	-?
♂Z... skewing	3B	3B	3B	3B	3B'	3B'	3B	3B	3B
x-cousin merging	-	-	-	3C	3C	-	-	-	-
PSp (---> P)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
SpPP	5	5	5'	5'	5'	5'	5'	5	5
PPP. (---> PP.)	6A	6A	?	6A	6A	6A	6A	6A	6A
PPSb (---> PP)	?	6B	?	6B	6B	6B	6B	6B	6B
CSpP (---> SpP)	-?	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
SpPSb, SbSpP (---> SpP)	8 part	8	8 part	8	8	8	8	8	8
HW (---> ♀Z)	?	9	?	9'	9'	9'	9	9	9

merging of grand-nuncles. The real question for Patwin revolves around the classification of PFZ, since parallel grand-nuncle kintypes would automatically be classed as <grandparents> by the operation of a rule like Rule 2 (see below), and since PMB would also be a classificatory <grandfather> regardless of whether Rule 6B or an Omaha Type IV skewing rule were applicable. The two possibilities for PFZ classification in Patwin are:

Omaha Type IV skewing applies	Grand-nuncle merging applies
FFZ ---> FZ+ ---> Z+	PFZ ---> PM
MFZ ---> MZ+ ---> M	

Gifford, unfortunately, does not specify which of these is correct for Patwin. I am inclined to think that the Type IV Omaha skewing rule was in fact neutralized in the G^2 generation, but that is only a hunch. Interestingly, however, the issue of Patwin classification of PFZ is somewhat tangential to the Proto-Wintun reconstruction, however, since, as will be argued below, the FZ-skewing subpart of the Omaha skewing rule was probably absent in Proto-Wintun. That suggests that Rule 6B, the grand-nuncle merging rule, <u>was</u> present in Proto-Wintun and applied generally.

Next, I take up several rules involving G^1 in-law kintypes, namely Rules 7, 8 and 5. Rule 7, which merges CSpP with the Wintun class of G^1 in-laws is present in all of the Northern Wintun systems. Patwin has a separate, innovated term, /čayi/, for CSpP, but it is unclear whether or not /čayi/ was implicitly considered a subclass of IN-LAW. Given the fact that the Patwin term is a <u>lexical</u> innovation, however, the presence of Rule 7 in Proto-Wintun seems likely. Rule 8 has two subparts, both of which are directly attested together only in Nomlaki and in Northern

Wintu dialects. However, since the Patwin and the Hayfork Wintu records separately manifest different subparts of the rule, and since the missing subparts represent a data gap rather than positive evidence of distinct classification of the relevant kintypes, it is safe to project the full Rule 8, with both subparts, back to Proto-Wintun.

Rules 5 and 5', the grand-in-law merging rules, represent the first clear evidence of significant kin classificatory rule change among the rules discussed so far. Rule 5 classes SpPP with GP, whereas Rule 5', attested in all Wintu dialects, classes SpPP with SpP. A reasonable case can be made for seeing Rule 5' as the innovation. The basis for this claim is the observation that the rule split correlates nicely with a lexical split in the 'grandparent' terms. As discussed above, Wintu shows a lexical shift, having lost the old 'grandparent' terms and having substituted a new set based on the Proto-Wintun etyma for 'old man' and 'old woman'. But these are the kinterms whose application would be affected by Rule 5. I suggest then that when Wintu adopted new 'grandparent' terms, they were restricted to consanguineal and step grandparent kintypes, and that SpPP was realigned into the IN-LAW class as one more extended sense of /ʔtes/. Thus, I postulate the presence of Rule 5 in both Proto-Northern Wintun and in Proto-Wintun.

The next rules to be discussed are those affecting parallel sibling kin links (Rules 2 and 2') and co-spouses (Rules 9 and 9'). These rules must be discussed together, since they both deal with parallel sibling relations and both show a split involving calculation of classificatory seniority. Rule 2 serves to merge, for example, parallel cousins with elder or younger siblings based on birth order, i.e. the relative age of ego and alter. Rule 2' effects the merging instead on the basis of the relative age of the collateral linking relatives. The distribution of

Rule 2' in the Wintun family, occurring only in the Northern Wintu dialects, strongly argues that it is a Northern Wintu innovation. Rule 2 must be postulated for all of the protosystems.

Rules 9 and 9' present us with a similar, though less clear-cut case. The Northern Wintu dialects ascribed elder versus younger classificatory sibling status to co-spouses (and extensions) on the basis of marriage order (Rule 9'). The Nomlaki data is equivocal, but suggests that elder vs. younger status may have reflected relative age of co-spouses (and extensions), rather than marriage order. For Hayfork Wintu and for Patwin there is a data gap. Patwin had a separate kinterm /nikan/ for 'co-spouse', HBW, WZH, etc., so that the presence of any kind of merging of the <co-spouse> class with siblings is in doubt. However, the etymology of /nikan/ suggested above in §623.D, linking it to Proto-Maidun *ka 'younger sister', suggests that originally Patwin did have a co-wife merging rule at least. Although the evidence is scanty, it thus seems best to project back a simple co-wife merging rule to Proto-Wintun (Rule 9), with the possibility of a corollary co-husband merging rule (WH ---> δB) as well. [Note that a co-husband merging rule is classificatorily less salient in the Wintun systems, since (sororal) polygyny was practiced but not (fraternal) polyandry; co-husband merging must nevertheless be posited to account for the classificatory merging of WZH ---> WH ---> δB.] The Northern Wintu co-spouse merging rule (Rule 9') is thus claimed to be an innovation--an innovation whose new criteria of classificatory seniority parallel the new criteria of seniority for those kintypes affected by Rule 2'. In other words, the shifts Rule 2 ---> Rule 2' and Rule 9 ---> Rule 9' in Northern Wintu are actually linked innovations affecting the classificatory seniority of kintypes included in the SIBLING superclass.

Reconstructions have been proposed now for all of the kin classificatory rules except the group of cross-collateral skewing and merging rules (3A, 3B, 3C). These are both the most characteristic rules of the various Wintun systems and the most complex to reconstruct.

Starting with the simplest case, the cross-cousin merging rule 3C, it is easy to see that this is a classificatory innovation in McCloud Wintu only. See §449.4 and §449.5 for a more complete discussion of the rule, its functioning in McCloud kin classification and the probable system-internal justification for its innovation.

Rules 3A and 3B represent the skewing rules proper. Rule 3B, a Type III Omaha skewing rule, can be safely projected back to Proto-Wintun. The reason for this is both distributional, since Rule 3B' appears only in Northern Wintu, and logical, since Rule 3B' can be seen as a natural development from Rule 3B, but the reverse process is harder to motivate. In particular, Rule 3B' results from a spread of the principle of establishing "seniority" by the relative age of collateral link (Rule 2')--already established in Northern Wintu--from application just to merging of parallel cousins to application also for skewing of cross-cousins. The two McCloud Wintu systems, one with Rule 3B and one with Rule 3B', strongly suggest that Rule 3B' was innovated first in Upper Sacramento Wintu and was thence spreading into McCloud Wintu after McCloud had already innovated Rule 3C. Gifford's McCloud record is thus slightly more conservative in terms of cousin classification, whereas DuBois' informants had adopted the innovative Upper Sacramento reckoning for those cross-collateral kin not affected by Rule 3C.

The reconstruction so far implies that Pre-Wintu, Proto-Northern-Wintun and Proto-Wintun all featured <u>at least</u> a Type III Omaha skewing rule (Rule 3B). The remaining problem now revolves around the

classification of FZ--i.e. what kind of 3A-type rule can be reconstructed. For Pre-Wintu the situation is clear. Rules 3A' and 3A" are in some respects notational variants with similar classificatory consequences. It was necessary to state Rule 3A" somewhat differently from Rule 3A', however, in order for it to mesh properly with the bilateral skewing Rule 3B' in Upper Sacramento Wintu (cf. §448.5). Together, Rules 3A" and 3B' account for the kin classificatory mergings characteristic of Upper Sacramento Wintu "parallel transmission", and clearly Rule 3A" is linked analytically to the innovation of Rule 3B' in that system (and in McCloud Wintu as recorded by DuBois). Therefore, for the original Pre-Wintu system, which lacks bilateral skewing, there is then no reason not to postulate as well the presence of the simpler parallel cross-aunt merging rule (3A'), as in Hayfork Wintu. Common Patwin (the antecedent of Hill and River Patwin) clearly featured Rule 3A, a Type II Omaha skewing rule (in addition to Rule 3B). Up to this point, then, the situation can be summed up in an abbreviated tree:

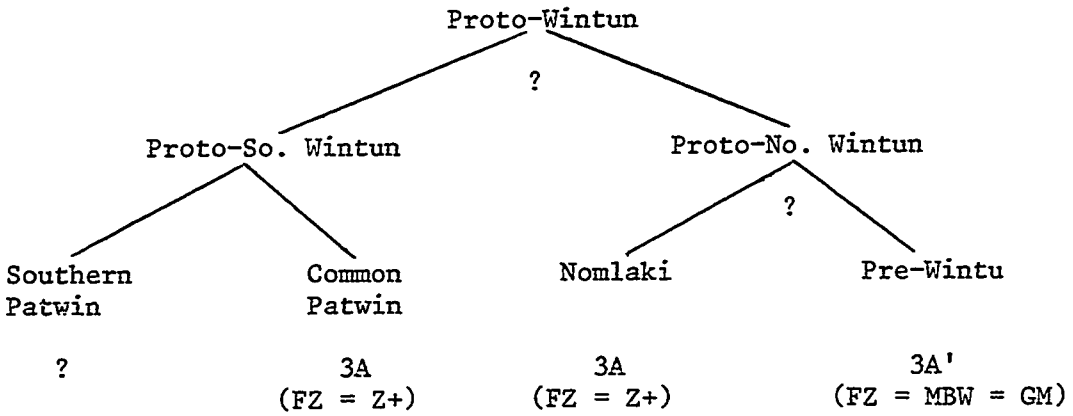


Figure 6.1: Interim step in the reconstruction of Rule 3A

From this set of relationships, one would be immediately tempted to project Rule 3A back to Proto-Northern Wintun and to Proto-Wintun, as that only requires one historical innovation in the tree, namely Rule

3A --> 3A' in Pre-Wintu. Such a case seems even stronger when considering that the FZ term in Wintu is /ʔputah/ = 'grandmother', one of the terms already shown to be a lexical innovation in Wintu, involving a semantic shift of the non-kinterm 'old woman'. Indeed, this is just the line of reasoning that I followed in Whistler (1979) in claiming that Proto-Wintun had Type IV Omaha skewing (i.e. both Rule 3A and Rule 3B).

However, things are not always what they seem. There turns out to be a major problem with the obvious reconstruction: the lexical reconstruction of the terms for 'older sister' in fact points in another direction. In §625, note 2 and in §626 I discussed the problems with cognate set #19, the 'young girl' set, and suggested that: A. The Patwin terms for 'older sister' are descendant from a Proto-Wintun non-kinterm meaning 'young girl', and B. The Nomlaki 'older sister' term is most likely borrowed from Hill Patwin. If this view is correct, then Rule 3A seems to have been innovated at some point in Southern Wintun history and then to have spread, along with the 'older sister' term itself, back into Nomlaki. Although this innovation and borrowing may have been quite early, it is hard to see how it could be pushed back as far as Proto-Wintun, given the separate history of development for *ʔpukuy 'young girl' in Wintu. This leaves us with a conundrum, however. Rule 3A (FZ --> Z+) is associated with Southern Wintun but seems to be innovative there; Rule 3A' (FZ. --> MBW., etc.) is associated with at least part of Northern Wintun but puts FZ into a kin class designated by /ʔputah/--a clear lexical innovation.

So how did Proto-Wintun class FZ? The way out seems to be to posit that Proto-Wintun did neither, i.e. Proto-Wintun had only Rule 3B, was thus a Type III Omaha system, and treated FZ as a separate kin class. Rules 3A and 3A' are thus probably both innovations. Their development may have been part of the triggering of the characteristic lexical

reorganizations in each branch of the family--the rearrangement of sibling terms in Patwin (and in Nomlaki) due to development or diffusion of Rule 3A and the rearrangement of grandparent terms in Wintu due to or resulting in development of Rule 3A'.

Positing a distinct FZ class in Proto-Wintun leaves us with the obligation to find a Proto-Wintun kinterm which designated that class (as well as the reciprocal kin class). This might seem impossible, since none of the attested designations for FZ in the various languages can be seen as etymological survivals of an original FZ term, given the above reconstruction. An interesting line of speculation is open, however. The Proto-Wintun FZ term may well have been etymologically related to the various Proto-Wintun 'woman' sets in *ʼpoq- (cf. sets #16A, 16B, 16C and 19). In fact, set 16B, *ʼpoqay 'old woman' ?, is a possible candidate for being the missing FZ term. It would be semantically appropriate to lexicalize such a term as designating FZ. Furthermore, it could have "greased the skids" as it were for the development of both Rule 3A in Southern Wintun and Rule 3A' in Wintu. In the Southern Wintun case, the <u>etymological</u> connection to *ʼpukuy 'young girl', also a probable bimorphemic derivative from *ʼpoq- 'woman' (cf. §626), could have predisposed the relexicalization of *ʼpukuy as an 'elder sister' term that either triggered or was triggered by the addition of the FZ ---> Z(+) Type II Omaha skewing rule. In the Wintu case, on the other hand, the <u>semantic</u> connection (in this case connotative) of the putative FZ term with 'old woman' could have predisposed the extension of /ʼputah/ 'grandmother' < 'old woman' (based on a different root) to include FZ once Wintu started replacing all its 'grandmother' and 'grandfather' terms; this would result in the limited parallel transmission characteristics of the Pre-Wintu system. Along these lines of speculation, it is most interesting

to recall that Hayfork Wintu showed an unexpected distinction of paternal vs. maternal grandparents (unmatched by any other Wintun system) and that FM was designated by /ʔpuqayah/ (< *ʔpoqay). Could this be the missing FZ term, surviving with a semantic shift to FM in Hayfork Wintu after FZ was equated with MBW (= /ʔputah/)? While all of this speculation about a Proto-Wintun term for FZ falls far short of a rigorous demonstration that *ʔpoqay is that actual term we seek, still the overall case for Proto-Wintun having a Type III Omaha skewing rule and designating FZ with a separate term etymologically connected in some way to *ʔpoq- 'woman' seems fairly strong.

This leaves us, however, with the problem of the reciprocal of FZ, namely ♀BC. If FZ constituted a distinct kin class in Proto-Wintun, then we would expect a separate term or terms for ♀BC as well (although this is not absolutely necessary). The various daughter systems provide little help, since they of course show the predictable reciprocals of the various FZ terms as a designation for ♀BC:

	♀BC	
Patwin	ɬa·n	= 'younger sibling'
Nomlaki	leh	= 'younger brother'
	lahay	= 'younger sister'
Pre-Wintu	ǰa(·)y	= 'grandchild'

We would expect some junior generational term for ♀BC in Proto-Wintun, especially if the FZ term connoted 'old woman', but that leaves us with the whole range of poorly defined 'offspring' type terms to choose from. No obvious candidates stand out, except possibly *λe (cf. set #6B in Table 6.4), which is a widely attested 'child' form in Wintun which seems to have no very well-defined place in the kin classifications. Could it be the relic of an old Proto-Wintun ♀BC term?

Yet another possibility for Proto-Wintun classification of FZ that would avoid the problems of missing kinterms would be the equation of FZ with MZ. In this case, FZ would be designated with a 'mother' term or some derivative thereof, and ♀BC would be equated with 'step-child', 'child', etc. There are two advantages to such a scheme: 1. We don't have to look any further for possible kinterms to designate FZ, and 2. It suggests an interesting external comparison with Proto-Miwokan, to which Proto-Wintun is presumably distantly related. In particular, Proto-Miwok terms for M, MZ and FZ are *?ɨnɨ-, *?an·is and *?ene- respectively (cf. Callaghan 1977:136); this suggests that all three have a deep etymological connection and are further relatable to Proto-Wintun *-ne·(-n) 'mother'. The disadvantage to suggesting that FZ = MZ in Proto-Wintun is that it gives no apparent predisposing conditions for the development of Type IV Omaha skewing or parallel transmission in the various daughter systems nor for the appearance of the particular lexical forms designating FZ in those systems.

To sum up this discussion of the Proto-Wintun classification of FZ, I list the three alternative reconstructions in descending order of probability, together with the main points of evidence in their favor and their major drawbacks.

1. FZ is a distinct kin class. = *poqay 'old woman' ?

   ♀BC " " " " = *λe ?? (an 'offspring' term)

   i.e. Proto-Wintun was Type III Omaha skewed.

   Points for: Proposal 1 builds in predisposing etymological and semantic conditions for the development of Patwin and Wintu classifications of FZ; it is consistent with the irregular phonological developments of 'older sister' terms; it possibly accounts for some

Proto-Wintun etyma whose reconstructed glosses are otherwise problematical.

Drawbacks: Proposal 1 requires "stretching" to find appropriate candidates for the "missing" kinterms.

2. FZ = MZ = M

♀BC = ♀ZC = C

i.e. Proto-Wintun was Type III Omaha skewed, and in addition FZ = MZ, etc.

Points for: Proposal 2 eliminates the need to find the "missing" kinterms; it provides a suggestive long-range comparison with reconstructed Proto-Miwokan terms for the same kintypes.

Drawbacks: Proposal 2 gives no internal motivation for the Patwin and Wintu kin classificatory innovations involving FZ, nor for the appearance of the particular kinterms designating FZ in the daughter systems.

3. FZ = Z+

♀BC = Sb-

i.e. Proto-Wintun was Type IV Omaha skewed.

Points for: Proposal 3 gives the simplest kin equivalence rule reconstruction and derivation, with the fewest innovations required in the etymology.

Drawbacks: Proposal 3 is inconsistent with the lexical developments of *ṗukuy in the various Wintun branches (unless I have made an error in judging cognacy of the Patwin and Nomlaki 'elder sister' terms).

Taking into consideration all of the posited rules for the different levels of reconstruction--Pre-Wintu, Proto-Northern Wintun and Proto-Wintun (cf. Table 6.6 above and Figure 6.2 below)--some of the Wintun systems clearly emerge as classificatorily more conservative than others. Among the Wintu dialects, Hayfork shows the same set of kin equivalence rules (to the extent determinable) as must be posited for the Pre-Wintu system underlying all of the Wintu developments. In this sense Hayfork represents the Wintu "archetype". For Proto-Northern Wintun and Proto-Wintun, Nomlaki is slightly closer than Hayfork to being an "archetype", although it shows the apparently innovated Type II Omaha skewing rule (3A). These observations are not meant, however, as a claim that these "archetypes" have any privileged historical position; it is just that the reconstruction of kin equivalence rules shows them to be more conservative in their major structural outlines and thus useful as guides to Proto-Wintun. In other respects, e.g. in the innovation of subclasses of major kin classes, for instance, Nomlaki and Hayfork are less conservative than Patwin, however.

This completes the reconstruction of Proto-Wintun kin equivalence rules. Following are brief discussions of the Proto-Wintun reciprocal relations and of various innovations in kin class inclusion relations.

634. Kinterm reciprocal relations

The reconstructed Proto-Wintun kinterms can be arranged so as to show their inherent reciprocal relations. The results are displayed in Table 6.7 (see following page).

Most of the relations displayed in Table 6.7 follow obviously from the results of the kinterm reconstruction (cf. Table 6.3) and the kin equivalence rule reconstruction. The FZ $\leftrightarrow$ ♀BC reciprocal pair is

offered only very tentatively, since the evidence for it is thin, and other possibilities exist. The complications regarding siblings and siblings-in-law are discussed below in §643 and §644.

Table 6.7: Proto-Wintun kinterm reciprocal relations

Type	Senior			Junior	
G^2	*-apa-n	GF	<--->	*ča(·)y	GC
	*-ama-n	GM			
G^1	*-ta·-n	F	<--->	*teh	C
	*-ne·-n	M			
	(*ʼpoqay	FZ ?	<--->	*λe	♀BC ?)
$G^=$	*-labe-n	B+	<--->	*ley	B-
	*lay	(♀)Z	self-reciprocal ?		
	*soh	♂Z,♀B	self-reciprocal		
$G^=$ Affine	*λe·n	Bil (HB?)			
	(See §644 for more details on mergings.)				
Spouse	*wiy-	H	<--->	*ʼpoq-	W
Co-spouse	merged with SIBLING class				
G^1 Affine	*ʼtes	SpP,CSp	self-reciprocal		
G^{-1+1} Affine	merged with IN-LAW class				

635. Kin class inclusion relations and subclasses

§625 above covered a number of semantic shifts and lexical innovations of kinterms in the Wintun languages but deferred consideration of the innovative subclassing and associated terminological innovations involving the Proto-Wintun kin classes. I now take up this issue,

pointing out the clear cases of innovative subclassing, language by language.

River Patwin (cf. §443.4) has innovated a STEP-PARENT subclass of PARENT, with distinct lexical items for 'step-father' (kumen) and 'step-mother' (mokon). River Patwin also shows evidence of an historically very recent subclassing of the IN-LAW class, probably based on English classificatory influence (cf. §443.2, note 9).

Hill Patwin (cf. §444.3) innovated a subclassing of the Common Patwin PARENT and CHILD classes somewhat differently. The prefix /ʔol-/ 'up' was added to distinguish "potential" parents, i.e. parents' same-sex siblings and parents' spouses (= step-parents), from true parents and/or other classificatory parents. (The reciprocal case applies for the CHILD class.)

Paskenta Nomlaki (cf. §446.4) shows a number of innovative subclassings: 1. 'grandfather' (and male ancestors) is distinguished from MB by the addition of a suffix -soko. 2. FB and MZ are lexically distinguished (with innovated kinterms) from F and M within the PARENT class. 3. The CHILD class apparently was divided by sex, to distinguish 'son' and 'daughter'. 4. A subclass of IN-LAW was terminologically distinguished; most likely this consisted of same-sex female "in-laws", i.e. HM <--> $\underset{+}{\circ}$SW.

Hayfork Wintu (cf. §447.4) followed the same subclassing of PARENT as in Nomlaki, although using distinct innovated kinterms for FB and MZ. CHILD was further subclassed, with 'son', 'daughter', 'parallel nephew' and 'parallel niece' distinguished. Finally, Hayfork apparently innovated a subclassing of GRANDPARENT, to distinguish maternal vs. paternal grandparents.

Upper Sacramento and McCloud Wintu (cf. §448.4 and §449.4) both show

the same subclassing of CHILD as in Hayfork, though with lexically distinct terms for 'parallel nephew' and 'parallel niece'. Both innovate a sex-based subclassing of GRANDCHILD, to distinguish 'grandson' and 'granddaughter'. And both subdivide GRANDPARENT, to distinguish (lineal) grandparents and ancestors from MB, FZ and their classificatory equivalents; the former were marked by the /-čepet/ suffix.

McCloud Wintu innovated even further in kin class inclusion relations by pulling a number of cross-cousin kintypes into the SIBLING class and by initiating a classificatory change regarding MZ. (See §449.4 for a detailed discussion.) McCloud also seems to have divided the IN-LAW class explicitly along the lines of same-sex vs. opposite-sex.

640. Etymology of the kin classification as demonstration of the reconstruction

641. Introductory

As emphasized in Chapter 2, one of the essential components in systematic historical reconstruction of a kin classification is the provision of an "etymology" of the system--that is, a specification in detail of how the protosystem developed, by various shifts and innovations, into the ethnographically attested systems. This consists not of merely detailing the ways in which each ethnographic system differs from the reconstructed protosystem, but rather of justifying an explicit sequence of innovations which serve to define significant intermediate stages of development, in some sense recapitulating the logic of the historical development. This recapitulation then serves to "explain" the complete pattern of observed retentions and innovations across the family. The etymology must provide a plausible sequence for all aspects of the

divergence of the daughter systems--lexical, morphological and kin classificatory--including the possibility of diffusional influence within the family after at least some branches were clearly distinct systems.

Since the most characteristic and theoretically interesting of the kin classificatory changes in Proto-Wintun revolve around the cross-collateral skewing and merging rules (Rules 3A, 3B and 3C of §630), this section will focus first on the etymology of that portion of the Wintun systems which is affected by those rules. A briefer discussion of the developments within the SIBLING superclass and the SIBLING-IN-LAW superclass follows. While technically the etymology would be most satisfactory if all developments in the system(s) were tracked simultaneously, from a tactical and narrative point of view so many disparate elements would have to be presented as to obscure somewhat the important patterns and changes. Therefore I have chosen to somewhat artificially "unhook" these several superclasses of kin for separate discussion.

The pattern of innovations in the systems indirectly defines a number of intermediate developmental stages, some of which are independently justified by historical phonological (or lexicostatistically defined) breaks in the family. Others are specific only to the etymology of the kin system, since the innovations involved are not otherwise correlatable with significant linguistic breaks. Since I will be mentioning these "interstages" extensively, I present in Figure 6.2 the postulated set of developmental relations involved (see following page). The underlined interstages in Figure 6.2 are discussed in some detail. Note that this set of developmental relations is not to be construed as a linguistic classification of the Wintun family. It could, however, in some sense be viewed as an etymologically based classification of the Wintun kin systems, with the classificatory depth (i.e. the degree of distinctness)

between branches specified by the lists of lexical, morphological and classificatory innovations to be associated with each node of the tree. Figure 6.2 is also most emphatically not intended to be representative per se of any kind of social evolutionary development within the family.

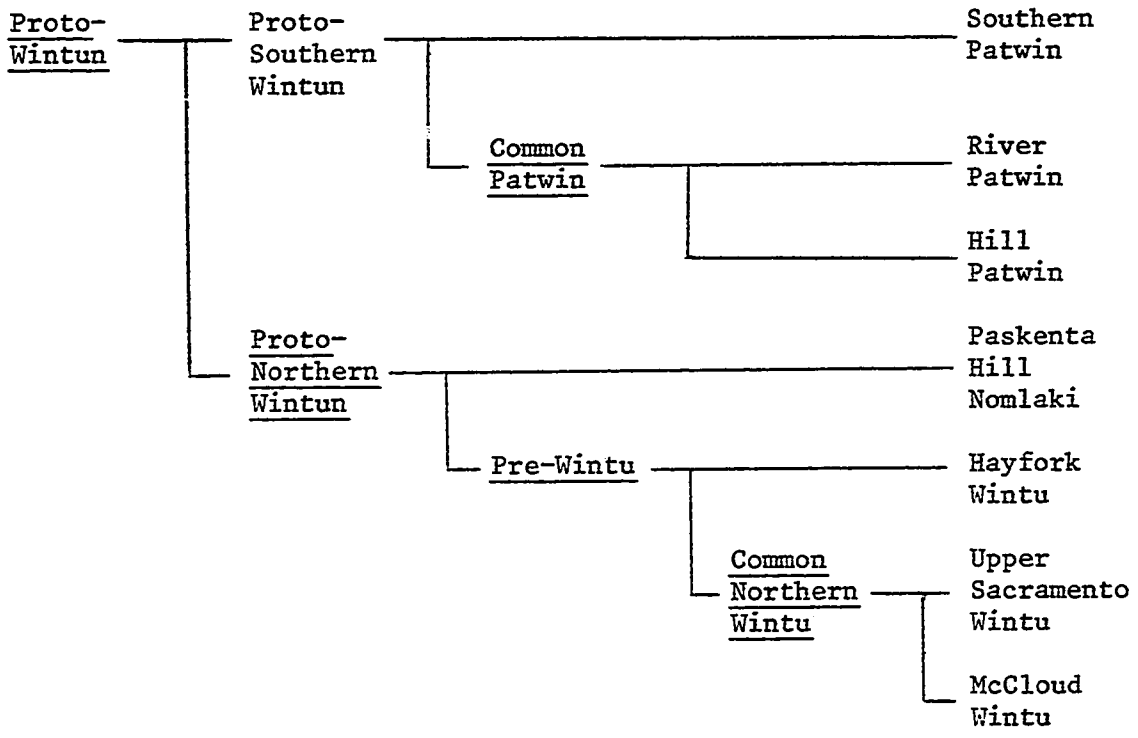


Figure 6.2: Kin classification intermediate stages

Abbreviations to be used for the interstages--in addition to those already proposed for the individual languages (cf. §314)--are as follows:

Proto-Wintun	P-W
Proto-Southern Wintun	P-So.W
Proto-Northern Wintun	P-No.W
Common Patwin	Patwin
Pre-Wintu	no abbreviation
Common Northern Wintu	WWNorth

642. Cross-collateral kin classificatory developments.

The etymology for cross-collateral kin classification proceeds as follows: First, starting from Proto-Wintun, the developments along each branch of Figure 6.2 are detailed step-by-step. Following that is a sequence of abbreviated genalogical trees which show schematically most of the affected kintypes, so that the etymology can be traced through a kin genealogical "space" to the daughter systems. (Refer back to §620 and §630 for details of the particular rules and kinterms discussed here.)

1. Proto-Wintun ---> Common Patwin (cf. Figure 6.4)
   a. To the probable Proto-Wintun system of Type III Omaha skewing, Common Patwin added Rule 3A, resulting in Type IV Omaha skewing. Rule 3A may have been neutralized in the second ascending generation (cf. the discussion of Rule 6B above).
   b. The P-W *pukuy 'young girl' etymon was adapted as a kinterm meaning FZ (and Z+), in tandem with the classificatory rule change, thus effecting also a rearrangement of the SIBLING superclass.
   c. If the reconstruction proposed above is correct, the P-W *λe ♀BC (?) term was semantically shifted (again as part of the classificatory change) to use as a 'man's child' term.
   d. All of the Proto-Wintun kinterms underwent the phonological shifts characteristic of Patwin (cf. §610 above).
   3. Various morphological developments affecting the case inflection, number, vocative formation, etc. of kinterms occurred. This set of developments cannot, however, be completely specified until the Proto-Wintun morphological system is better defined.

2. Common Patwin ---> Hill Patwin and River Patwin

   a. There were no significant classificatory shifts involving equivalence rules.

   b. Hill and River Patwin each independently innovated subclassing of the PARENT superclass (and CHILD, too, in the case of Hill Patwin). See §635 for details.

   c. Common Patwin /ʔučuˑn/ FZ, Z+ underwent another phonological fronting to /ʔut^{h}uˑn/ in River Patwin.

3. Proto-Wintun ---> Proto-Northern Wintun (cf. Figure 6.5)

   a. There were no significant classificatory shifts involving equivalence rules.

   b. Proto-Northern Wintun innovated a subdivision of the CHILD class by sex. A new term *piče·n was applied to 'daughter' and the P-W *kur 'small' term was applied to 'child' in general. At this point *kur may not yet have been fully lexicalized as a kinterm in the system.

   c. Proto-Northern Wintun shows no significant phonological shifts from Proto-Wintun.

4. Proto-Northern Wintun ---> Paskenta Hill Nomlaki (cf. Figure 6.6)

   a. WWNPas apparently borrowed Rule 3A and the associated kinterm for FZ and Z+ from Patwin. Thus WWNPas also developed a Type IV Omaha skewed system. ♀BC was accordingly reclassed with younger siblings as well, although Paskenta maintained distinct terms for 'younger brother' and for 'younger sister'.

   b. WWNPas innovated a subclassing of the PARENT superclass, distinguishing MZ from M and FB from F terminologically.

c. A number of minor phonological changes occurred:

Patwin	*?učuˑn > čˀuˑn	Z+	(cf. §614)
P-No.W	*ča(ˑ)y > čeˑ(ˑ)	GC	(but cf. §654, Table 6.11)
P-No.W	*kur > ku(h)	? C	
Unstressed	/a/ > [ə]		(cf. §446.2, note 1)

5. Proto-Northern Wintun ---> Pre-Wintu (cf. Figure 6.7)

a. P-No.W 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' terms were replaced by /ˀkiyeh/ < 'old man' and /ˀputah/ < 'old woman' respectively.

b. The new 'grandmother' term was extended to include FZ (and reciprocally for ♀BC), thus in effect innovating Rule 3A'. This represents a shift from ordinary Type III Omaha skewing to what could be considered a weak form of parallel transmission.

c. The shift in 'grandparent' terms also triggered the development of a new "grand-in-law" merging rule, Rule 5' (cf. §633).

d. /kur/ replaced *teˑ as a 'son' term.

e. Pre-Wintu also innovated a subclassing of the PARENT superclass, distinguishing [+lineal] <parents> from [-lineal] <parents>.

f. Presumably some morphological adjustment went on as well, but this is difficult to specify in the absence of the Proto-Wintun morphological reconstruction.

6. Pre-Wintu ---> Hayfork Wintu (cf. Figure 6.8)

a. There were no significant classificatory shifts involving equivalence rules.

b. The principle of subclassing the PARENT superclass by lineality was extended to a subclassing of the CHILD superclass. [-lineal] <sons> and <daughters> were morphologically marked with the /-ˀte/

diminutive suffix.

c. Patrilateral and matrilateral grandparents were terminologically distinguished, with /ʔpuqayah/ < FZ (?) lexicalized as the FM term.

7. Pre-Wintu --> Common Northern Wintu (cf. Figure 6.9)

a. The principle of reckoning seniority (for purposes of merging) of parallel cousins by the relative age of the collateral linking relative was innovated. This represents an equivalence rule shift: Rule 2 --> Rule 2'. The development of Rule 9' was apparently a linked innovation in reckoning of seniority. Although these rules do not directly affect the classing of cross-collateral kin, Rule 2' in particular triggered later developments in cross-collateral kin skewing.

b. The GRANDCHILD class was subdivided by sex. The new 'granddaughter' term was derived by adding a suffix to the old 'grandchild' term, which then remained unmarked in the sense of 'grandson'.

c. A new set of [-lineal] <son> and <daughter> terms was developed: /ʔpukuy/ 'step-daughter, parallel niece' < 'young girl' and /ʔkuteh/ 'step-son, parallel nephew' < "little-son" ?

8. Common Northern Wintu --> McCloud Wintu (Gifford) (cf. Figure 6.10)

a. McCloud innovated Rule 3C, the cross-cousin merging rule, leveling most cross-cousins and reclassing them as <siblings>.

b. MZ underwent a terminological shift /neneh/ > /laˑʔčepet/, literally "older-elder sister". MZ was thus terminologically connected with Z+, but was still classificatorily equated with M by the kin equivalence rules. (Cf. §449.4 for further discussion.)

c. /ˀkuley/ ~ /ˀkuleh/ was innovated as a new term for 'step-son, parallel nephew', replacing /ˀkuteh/ in those senses. The new term seems to be literally interpretable as "little-younger brother". It presumably developed first as a reciprocal to match the new MZ term, thus applying to 'woman's step-son' and 'woman's parallel nephew', but was then extended to include 'man's step-son' and 'man's parallel nephew' as well.

d. WWNorth /ˀkuteh/, the old reciprocal of /neneh/, was specialized as a male cross-cousin term, and /neneh/ was specialized as a female cross-cousin term (and both were then merged with <sibling> by Rule 3C). Note that both of these specializations resulted in large part because the terminological changes for MZ and <step-son> had split off most of the former denotata of /neneh/ and /ˀkuteh/.

9. McCloud Wintu (DuBois) (cf. Figure 6.11)

DuBois' record is similar to Gifford's except for the following points:

a. The WWNorth term /neneh/ was retained as an alternative term for MZ; /la·h/ = Z+ was the innovated alternative for MZ--and all the discussion above regarding 'step-son, parallel nephew' applies to DuBois' record as well.

b. DuBois' McCloud informants had adopted Rule 3B' (and 3A"), presumably as a diffusional influence from Upper Sacramento Wintu.

10. Common Northern Wintu --> Upper Sacramento Wintu (cf. Figure 6.12)

a. WWSac extended the principle of reckoning seniority of cousins by the relative age of the collateral linking kin to the skewing of

cross-cousins. This constitutes a shift in the kin equivalence rules: 3B --> 3B' and 3A' --> 3A". That shift had the effect of instituting what could be viewed as a strong form of parallel transmission. It also had the effect of eliminating all cross-cousin kintypes as part of the extended senses of /neneh/ (= MZ), /ˀkuteh/ (= ♀FZS, ♂BS) and /ˀpukuy/ (= ♀ZD, ♂BD).

b. The more restricted sense of /ˀkuteh/ as 'step-son, parallel nephew' made it classificatorily isomorphic with the McCloud lexical innovation /ˀkuley/ ~ /ˀkuleh/ 'step-son, parallel nephew'. As a result, in WWSac the two terms became synonymous. This scenario requires that /ˀkuley/ ~ /ˀkuleh/ be a neologism in McCloud, developed under the classificatory exigencies discussed above, and then be diffused into the Upper Sacramento system once the full development of "parallel transmission" in Upper Sacramento had rendered /ˀkuteh/ classificatorily equivalent.

The following set of figures (Figures 6.3 to 6.12) summarizes the characteristics of the various Wintun kin classifications and intermediate stages discussed in this section. Cross-matched with Figure 6.2 above, they can be seen as a second representation of the etymology of the reconstructed Proto-Wintun kin classification.

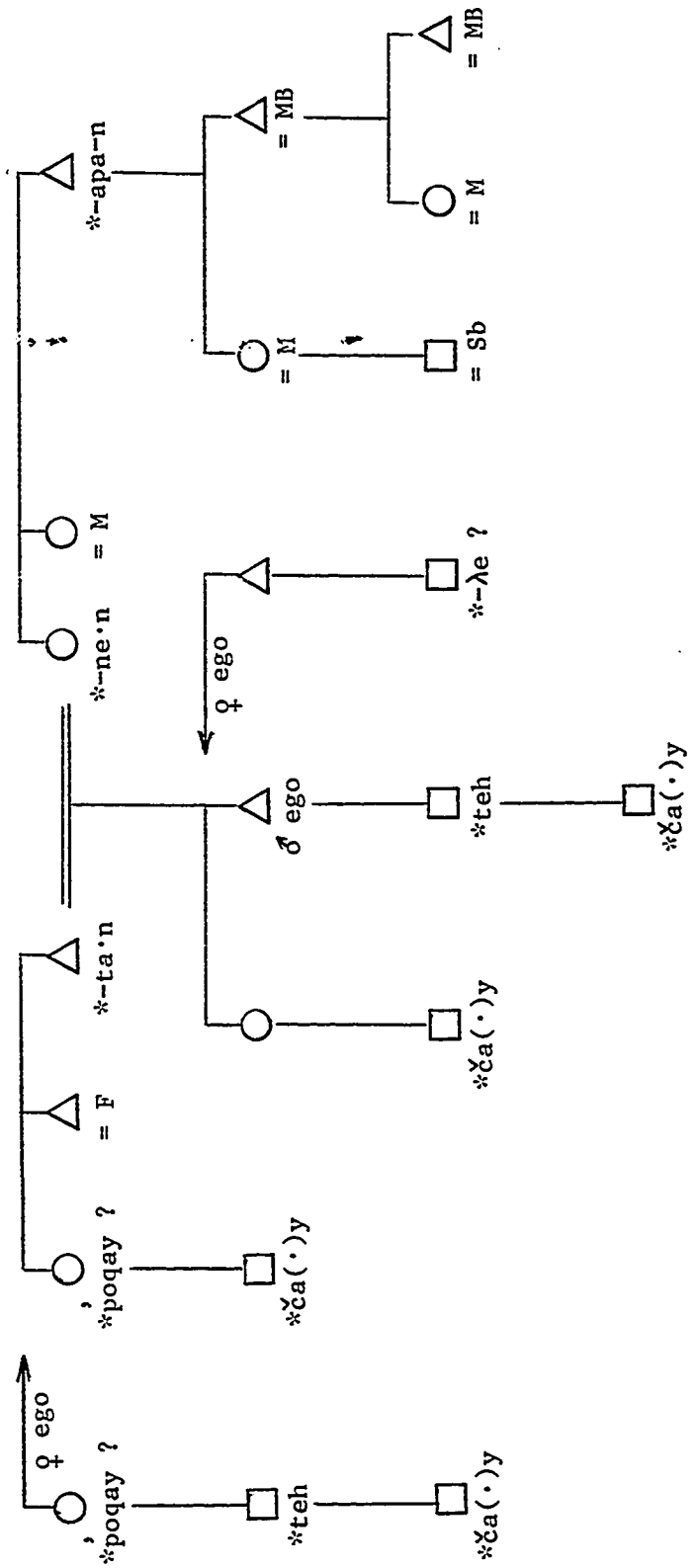


Figure 6.3: Proto-Wintun cross-collateral kin

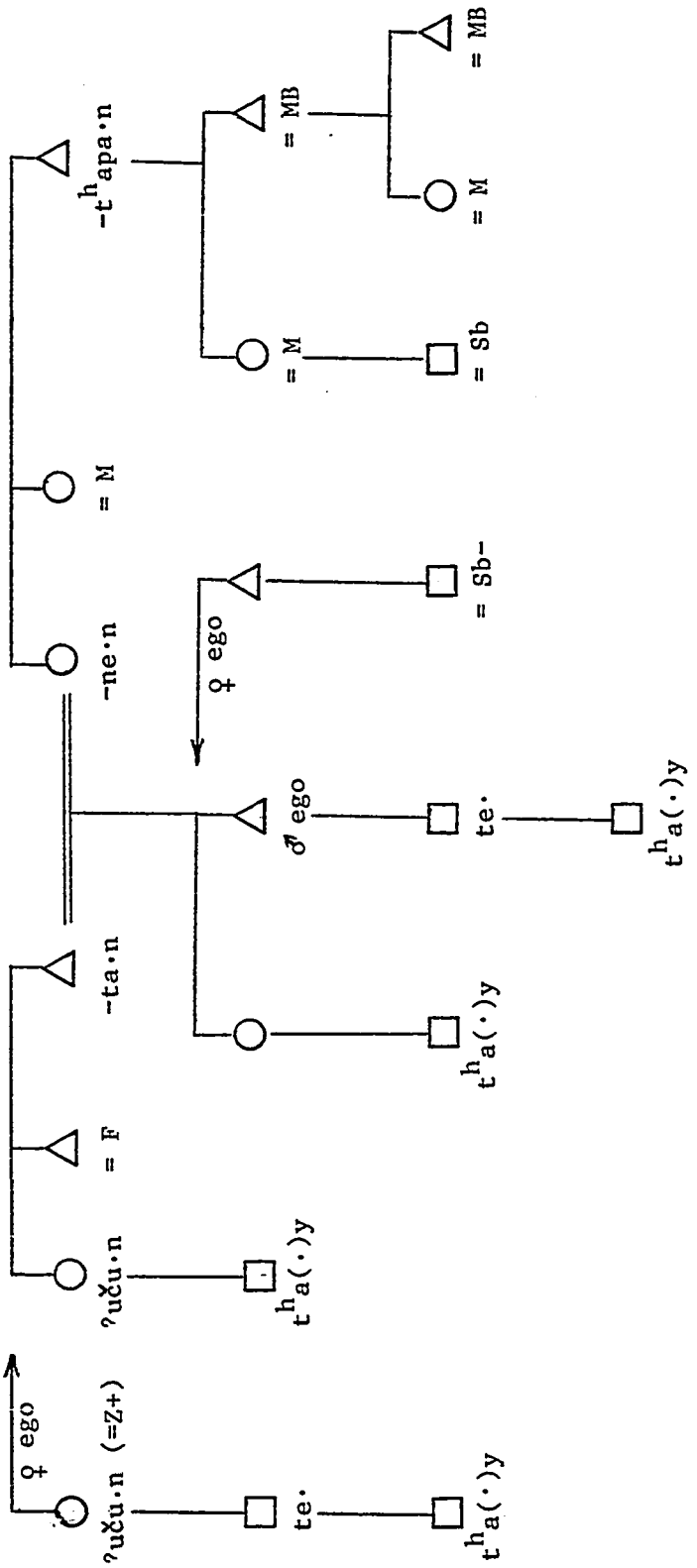


Figure 6.4: Common Patwin cross-collateral kin

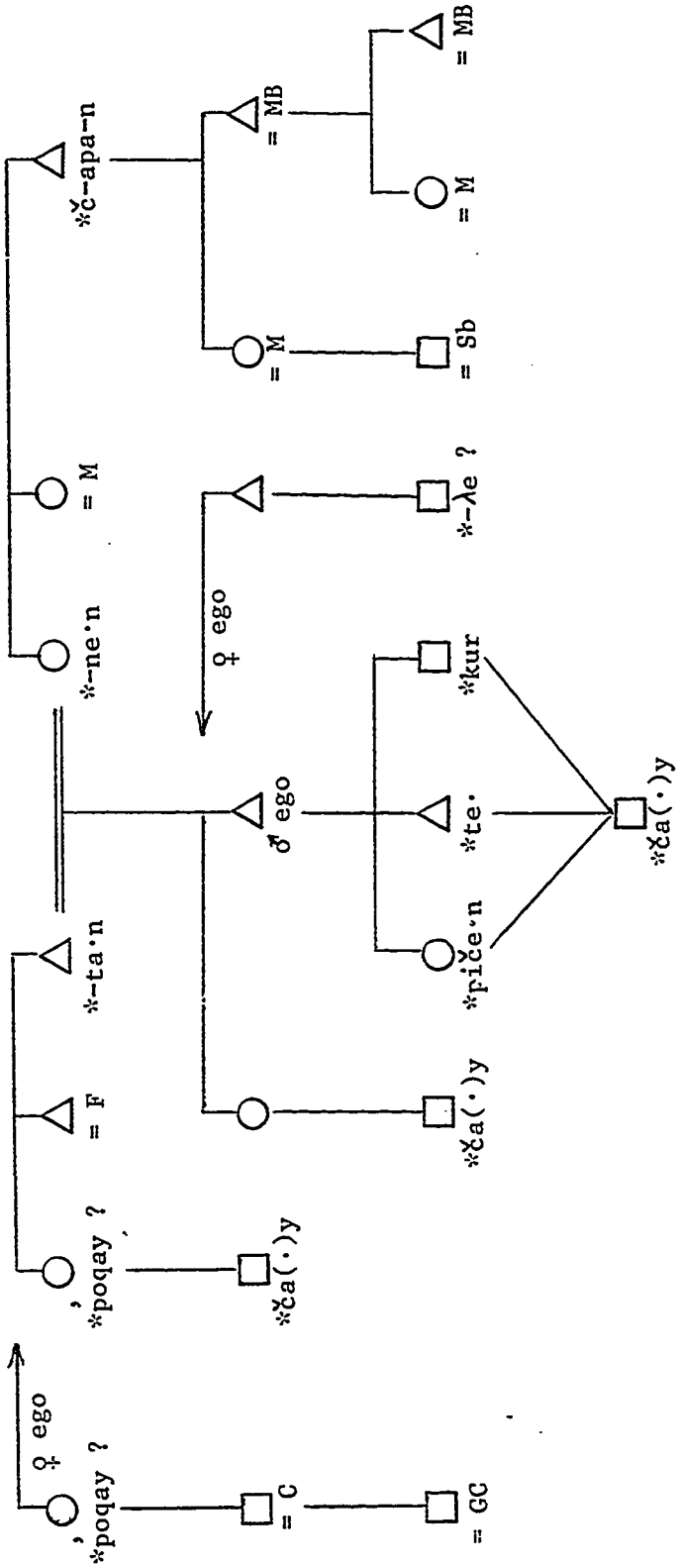


Figure 6.5: Proto-Northern Wintun cross-collateral kin

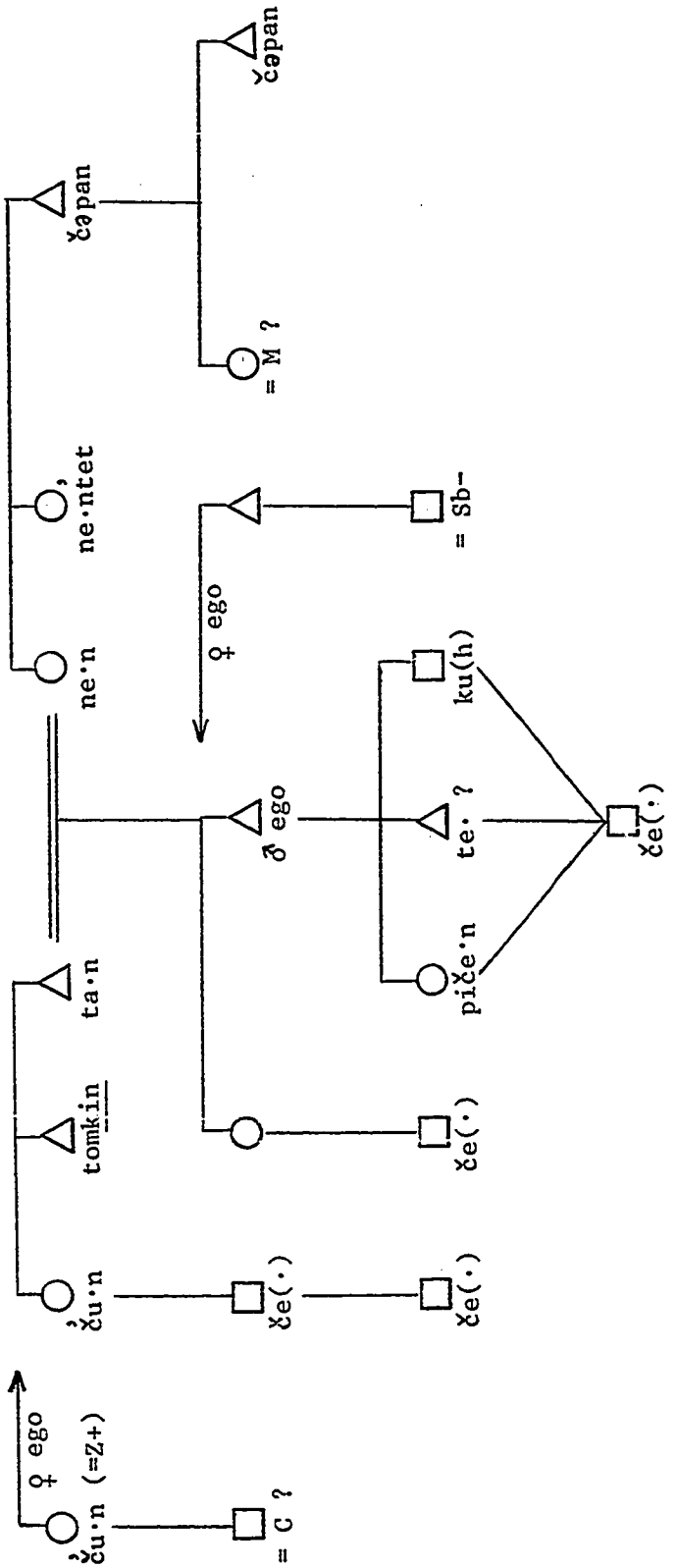


Figure 6.6: Paskenta Nomlaki cross-collateral kin

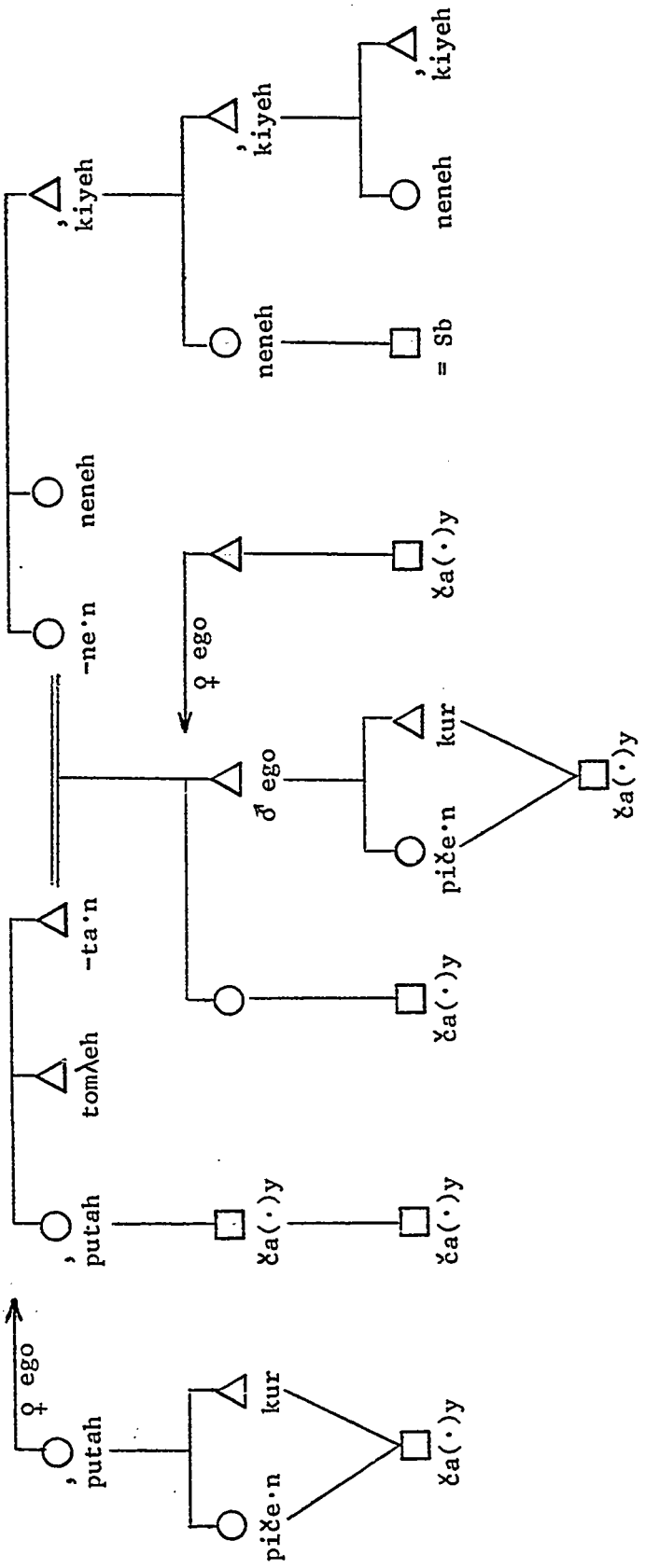


Figure 6.7: Pre-Wintu cross-collateral kin

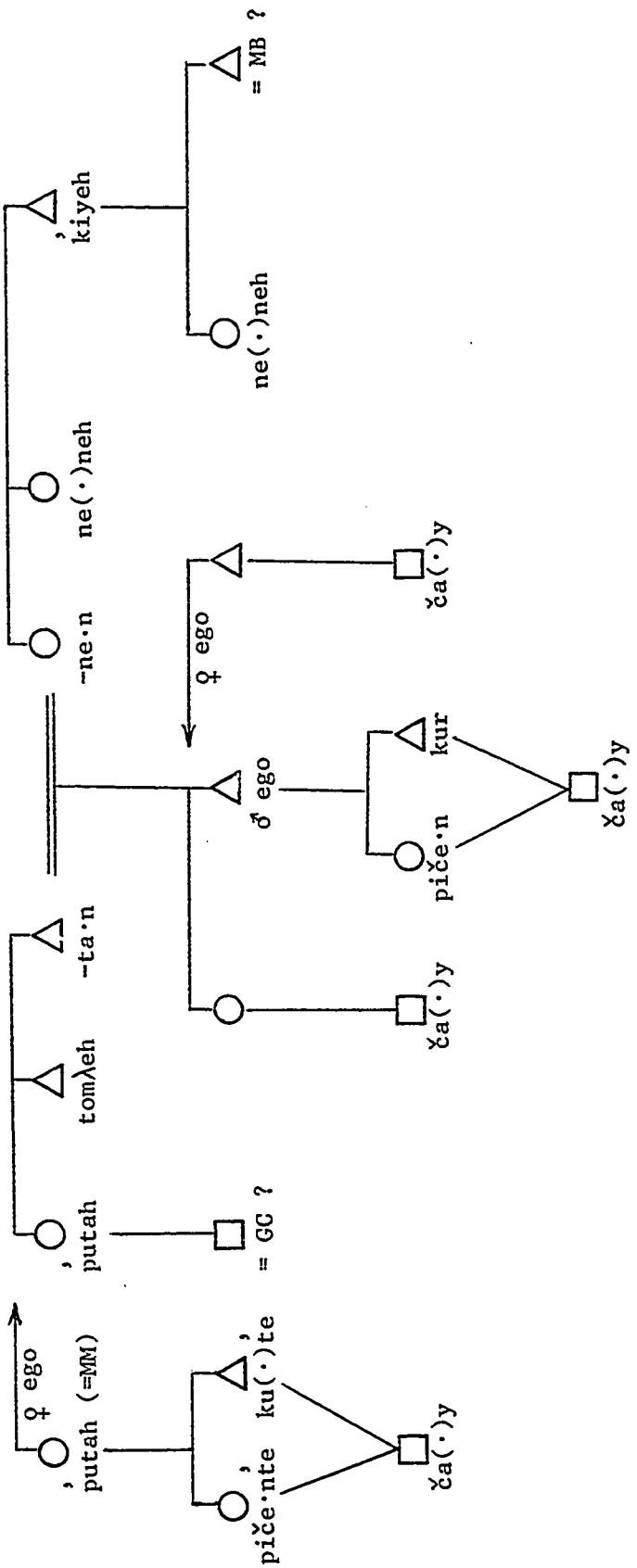


Figure 6.8: Hayfork Wintu cross-collateral kin

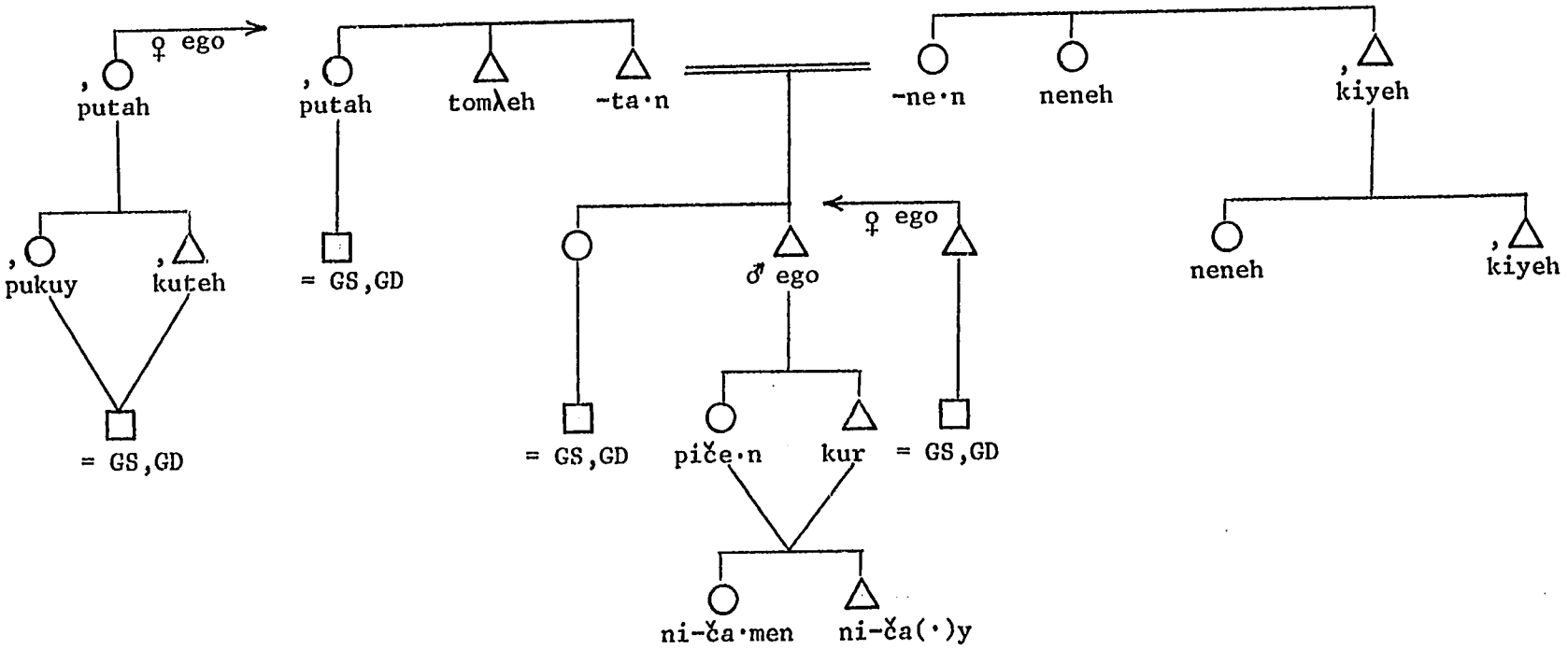


Figure 6.9: Common Northern Wintu cross-collateral kin

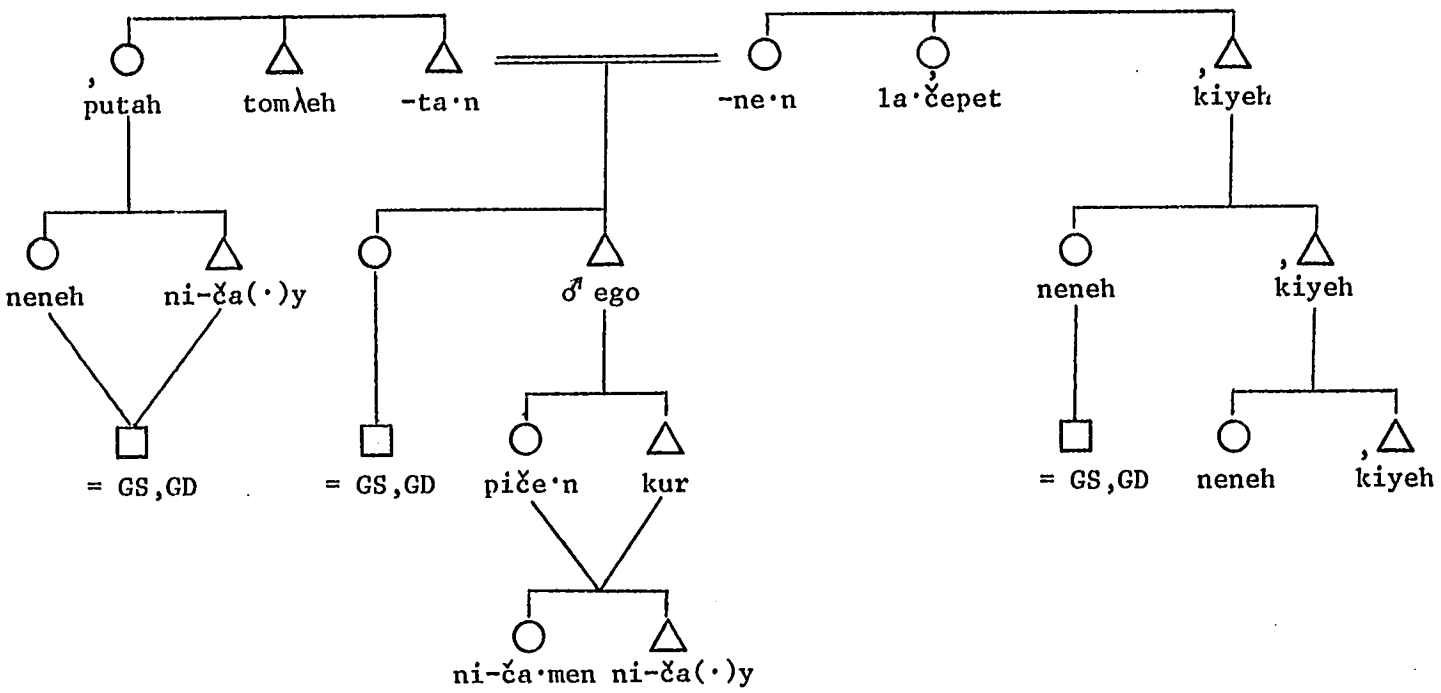


Figure 6.10 (part 1): McCloud Wintu cross-collateral kin (♂ ego)--Gifford

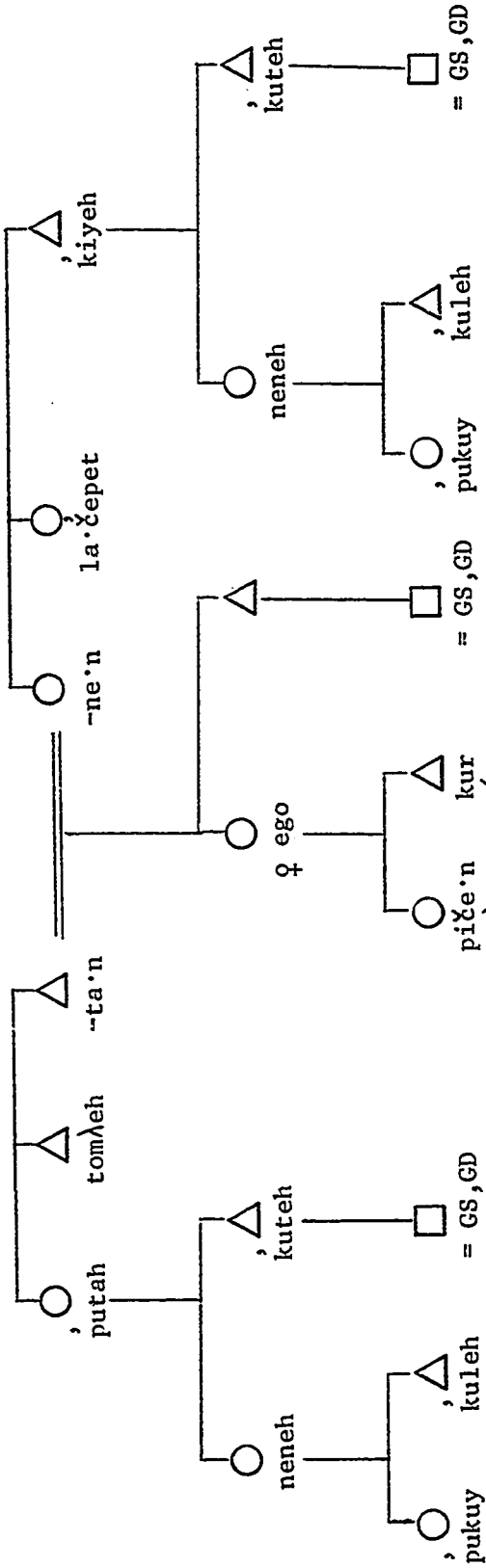
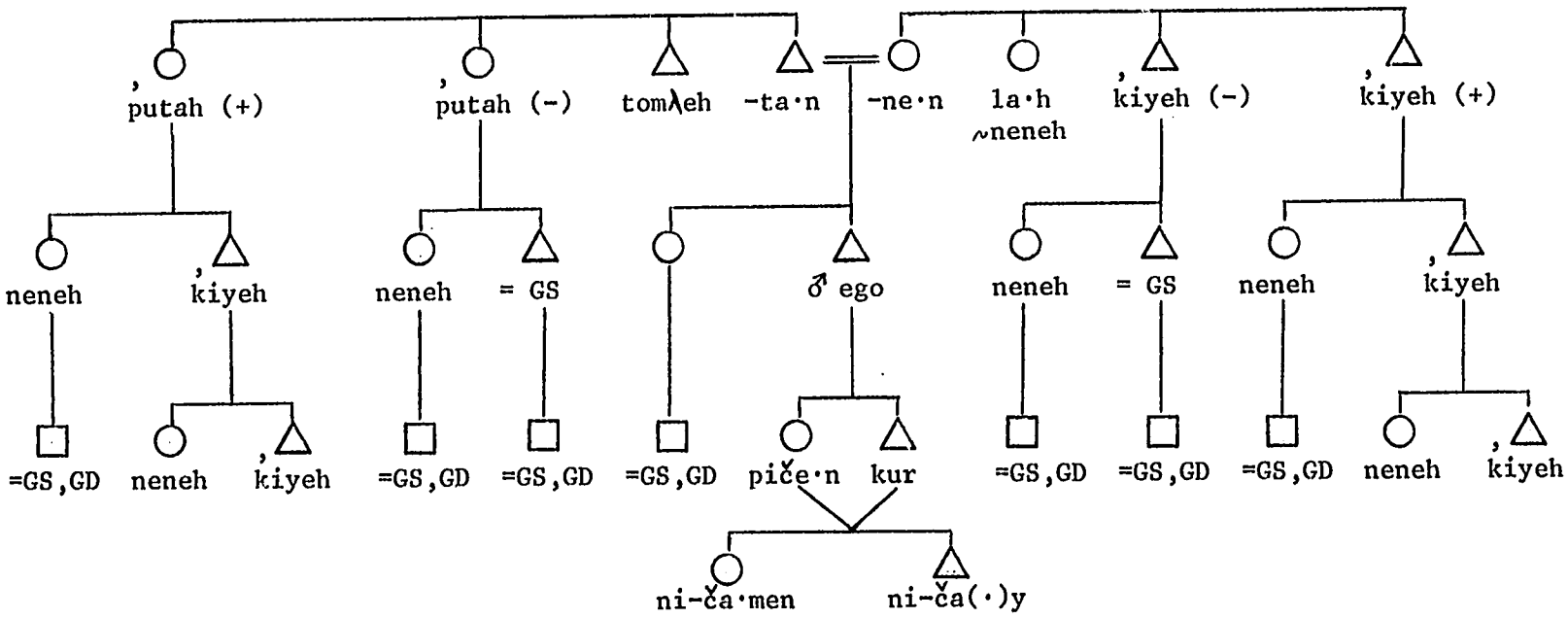


Figure 6.10 (part 2): McCloud Wintu cross-collateral kin (♀ ego)--Gifford



Classification for female ego is identical to that recorded by Gifford (cf. Gifure 6.10, part 2)

Figure 6.11: McCloud Wintu cross-collateral kin (♂ ego)--DuBois

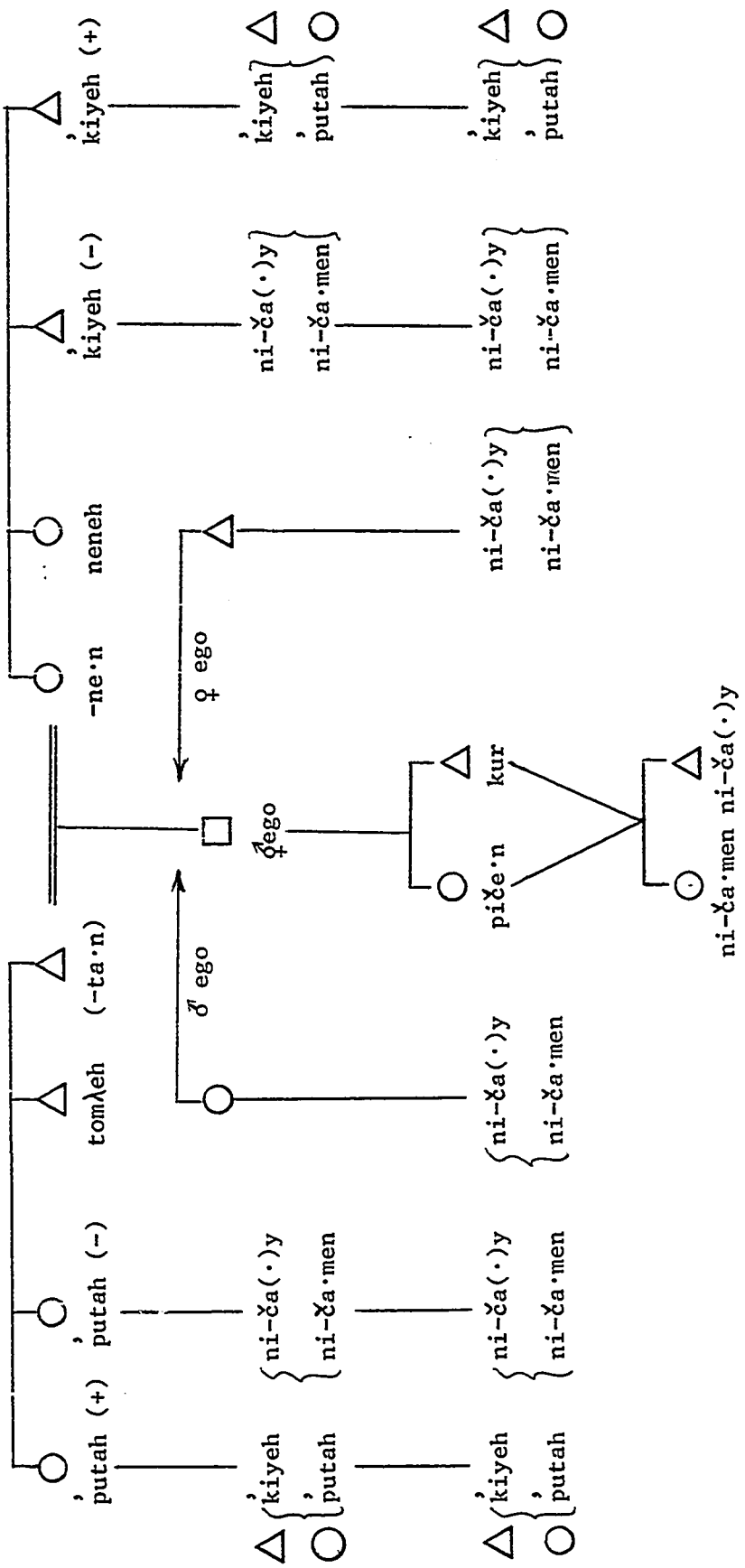


Figure 6.12: Upper Sacramento Wintu cross-collateral kin

643. Development of sibling terms

The various Wintun sibling terms and their reconstruction pose special problems which have not been fully resolved. However, this section sketches out the most probable sequence of developments. Table 6.8 reviews the sibling terms in the various languages, as well as the reconstructed Proto-Wintun terms. (Keep in mind that the terms actually listed are only representative citations of forms which often show morphological variations.)

Table 6.8: Wintun sibling terms

	B+	Z+	Z-	B-	x-Sb
Patwin	-laben	ʔučuˑn	ɬaˑn	ɬaˑn	soˑ
Nomlaki	labən	čˈuˑn	lahay	leh	-so(h) ?
Wintu	λabeh	laˑh	layˈkut	leyˈkut	-soh
Proto-Wintun	*labe-n	*lay		*ley	*soh

The reconstruction of the Proto-Wintun 'elder brother' term poses no problems except for the morphologically conditioned variations in form. Likewise for 'cross-sibling'. However, problems of interpretation arise for 'sister' and for 'younger brother'. In particular, how could a Proto-Wintun etymon including the sense of 'elder sister' end up designating younger siblings in Patwin, including 'younger brother'?

The etymological justification of the proposed reconstruction runs as follows:

1. Proto-Wintun --> Common Patwin

As already demonstrated, Patwin (and probably all of Southern Wintun) innovated Rule 3A, the kin equivalence rule which equated FZ with Z+, and adapted the Proto-Wintun *pˈukuy 'young girl' (> Patwin /ʔučuˑn/) term as the kinterm to designate this new class. This change served to

displace the Proto-Wintun etymon *lay in its sense of 'elder sister' in Patwin. In Proto-Wintun presumably *lay had been used for reference between two sisters, since the 'cross-sibling' term would have been used between a brother and a sister; in other words *lay was a self-reciprocal kinterm (although conceivably the elder or the younger sister side of the reciprocal pair may have been modified with an additional, unreconstructable morphological marking on the *lay stem, much as in attested Wintu). Now in Patwin, when /ʔučuˑn/ displaced the earlier FZ term and was equated with Z+, this automatically meant that reciprocally ♀BC would be equated with ♀Sb-. However, ♀Sb- was not a coherent kin class in Proto-Wintun; it represents a mixture of kintypes involving parallel- and cross-siblings and male and female designated kintypes: ♀Z- (parallel & female) and ♀B- (cross & male). Such a situation was ripe for reanalysis of terms. In fact, Patwin seems to have taken one morphological form of *lay, namely *ɬaˑn, which should originally have had the denotation ♀Z- in Patwin, and extended it to cover the new kin class of ♀Sb-. From that point it would be a simple analogical extension to start using /ɬaˑn/ for ♂Sb- as well; the result would be the attested Patwin system. The lack of salience of /soˑ/ 'cross-sibling' in Patwin, functioning as a kind of kin classificatory archaism crosscutting the basic subclassing of SIBLING, is consistent with the kind of inconsistency of parallel vs. cross-sex reference which would set in once a term referring to ♀Sb- or ♂Sb- irrespective of parallel/cross status had become established.

The rearrangement of sibling terms in Patwin in this way may have been facilitated by the semantics of the P-W *ley 'younger brother' etymon, which rendered it vulnerable to reanalysis and elimination as a 'younger brother' term. In particular, one morphological alternate, *λeˑn, apparently had already been specialized as a 'brother-in-law' term

in Proto-Wintun. Also *ley itself seems to have had the metaphoric sense of 'kin in general' (i.e. "brethren"). *ley shows reflexes in Wintu with both the 'younger brother' sense and the 'kin' sense, but survived in Patwin only with the latter sense, namely 'kin', which was further extended metaphorically to mean 'friend'.

The whole situation for Patwin is further complicated by the possibility that the Proto-Wintun term for ♀BC was *λe, which may or may not have been etymologically related to the 'younger brother' term at some remote point in the past. It is hard to see, however, exactly what the effects of this possibility would have been for the particular Patwin developments described here.

2. Proto-Wintun --> Proto-Northern Wintun

The development from Proto-Wintun to Proto-Northern Wintun apparently involved no significant replacement or reclassification of sibling terms.

3. Proto-Northern Wintun --> Paskenta Hill Nomlaki

Nomlaki adopted Rule 3A, apparently as a diffusional influence from Patwin, along with the new 'elder sister' term. Unlike Patwin, however, this did not trigger a coalescence of younger sibling terms. Instead, Nomlaki retained the old Wintun etyma meaning 'younger sister' and 'younger brother', but as reciprocals of FZ, parallel vs. cross-sex reference would necessarily have been mixed for these terms. As a result, Nomlaki may have been moving towards a four-term set of sibling kinterms distinguished only by relative age and by sex of alter, rather than by relative sex. The old Proto-Wintun 'cross-sibling' term is very weakly reflected in Nomlaki, which supports this picture of Nomlaki developments.

4. Proto-Northern Wintun ---> Pre-Wintu and Wintu dialects

The Wintu system is terminologically the most conservative. The suffixation of /-ˀkut/ to explicitly mark the 'younger sister' and 'younger brother' terms seems to be a Wintu innovation. It may have been triggered in part by establishment of new principles of reckoning seniority of classificatory siblings in Wintu, or perhaps by the perceived "need" to have an explicitly particular aspect-marked set of younger sibling kinterms, as Wintu /ley/ and /lay/ both took on more general (and generic aspect?) senses of 'kin, relatives'. In any case, the Wintu sibling terms are structurally similar to those posited for the Proto-Wintun system.

It is possible to internally reconstruct a deeper stage in the sibling terminology, a stage which could be designated Pre-Proto-Wintun, with schematic reconstructions as shown in Table 6.9:

Table 6.9: Pre-Proto-Wintun sibling terms

B+	Z	B-
**labe	**lay	**ley
**T^{H}-labeh-(·n)	**T^{H}-lah-·n	**T^{H}-leh-·n

The **T^{H}- is a morphological piece postulated to explain the appearance of *l- ~ *λ- alternations in Proto-Wintun (as well as other alternations, cf. §654 below). **T^{H}-leh-·n is the source of Proto-Wintun *λe·n, which became specialized as a 'brother-in-law' term. **T^{H}-lah-·n is the source for Patwin /ɬa·n/ 'younger sibling', presumably via a Proto-Wintun form *λa·n. The 'elder brother' terms were never classificatorily rearranged in the daughter systems, and so both Pre-Proto-Wintun morphological alternates survived, with reflexes variously showing initial /l-/ or initial /ɬ-/ ~ /λ-/.

644. Development of sibling-in-law terms

The reconstruction of the Wintun sibling-in-law terms poses another kind of difficulty which requires special attention. Once again, we should start out by reviewing the basic data.

Table 6.10: Wintun sibling-in-law terms

	ZH	BW	SpZ	HB	WB
Patwin	t^{h}era·n	poksen	ɬe·n	ɬe·n	ɬe·n
Nomlaki Hayfork Wintu	ɬe(·)n	toqoy	toqoy	ɬe(·)n	somo·n
Northern Wintu	somo·n	toqoy	toqoy	somo·n	somo·n

There are clearly three distinct systems here, and at first the interlocking of terms would make any reconstruction seem problematical. However, some layers of innovation can be peeled back to reveal earlier systems.

First, if we look at the Northern Wintu system, we note that the two terms there can be glossed 'brother-in-law' and 'sister-in-law', distinguishing only sex of the designated kintype. This is probably an innovative development which proceeded by broadening the sense of /somo·n/ to include all male 'siblings-in-law', on the analogy of /toqoy/, which already denoted 'sisters-in-law'; /somo·n/ thereby replaced Proto-Northern-Wintun *λe(·)n HB, ZH. (Note that this reconstruction assumes that Gifford's recording of yenak for ♀BW, ♂WZ, ♀HZ is an addressive form; cf. §448.2, note 12.) Thus, the Proto-Northern Wintun system of sibling-in-law terminology was isomorphic with the Nomlaki/Hayfork Wintu systems. In the Proto-Northern Wintun system *somo·n WB seems to have originated as some kind of derivative based on Proto-Wintun *soh 'cross-sibling'. No traces of the derivative form appear in Patwin, and the

full term could be a Northern Wintun innovation. P-No.W *toqoy 'sister-in-law' is more of a problem; it has no obvious etymological source. It could be an archaic term, but again Patwin shows no traces which could be considered cognate.

Turning to Patwin, both /t^{h}era·n/ ZH and /ˀpoksen/ BW have a somewhat equivocal status as innovations. The latter term at least is a fairly transparent derivative from /ˀpok-/ 'woman' + /ɬe-(·n)/, with a consonantal change in the resulting cluster (-kɬ- > -ks-) and vowel shortening. It is not clear, however, whether this derivation is of Patwin age or from an older stage in the family's development. /t^{h}era·n/ has what may be archaic morphological traits (cf. §653.3 for its possible source), but its use to designate 'sister's husband' may be in part a more recent innovation. The remaining forms would make the most sense if Proto-Southern Wintun started out with *ɬe·n HB and then extended that term to include WB and SpZ as well. The reason for this is that *ɬe·n must have originally designated a male kin class < Proto-Wintun *ley 'younger brother', etc. The extension of Patwin /ɬe·n/ to include female kintypes among the designated kin was probably analogous to the Patwin extension of /ɬa·n/ to include both male and female <younger siblings>. The two terms patterned by and large as morphological analogues (although see §521 for minor morphological distinctions between /ɬa·n/ and /ɬe·n/) and both seem to have been treated as classificatorily junior terms. As such they partook of the strong Patwin tendency towards neutralization of sex distinctions for all classificatorily junior kin. (This contrasts with the opposite extreme of Northern Wintu, where sex was terminologically distinguished for all classificatorily junior kin.) In summary then, Patwin seems to have inherited a 'brother-in-law' (HB) term (P-So.W *ɬe·n < P-W *λe·n), treated terms for SbSp as "senior" siblings-in-law, treated

SpSb as "junior" siblings-in-law and neutralized the sex distinction for SpSb kintypes.

This leaves us with the problem of specifying the Proto-Wintun system of sibling-in-law classification and linking it with the Northern and Southern Wintun patterns historically. The lexical comparison is insufficient for a complete reconstruction, but a plausible scenario can be built up. Although speculative, this scenario is presented as a starting point, in the hope that further external or internal evidence will turn up which could serve to verify or modify it.

First, it seems likely that the Proto-Wintun (or Pre-Proto-Wintun) SIBLING-IN-LAW class distinguished a subclass of <u>opposite-sex siblings-in-law</u>, which were covertly equated with spouses and a subclass of <u>same-sex siblings-in-law</u>, which were covertly equated with siblings. The opposite-sex sibling-in-law subclass would follow naturally from the operation of a full co-spouse merging rule together with the parallel sibling merging rule (cf. Rules 9 and 2, §633). This would result in the following situation for male and female egos' siblings-in-law:

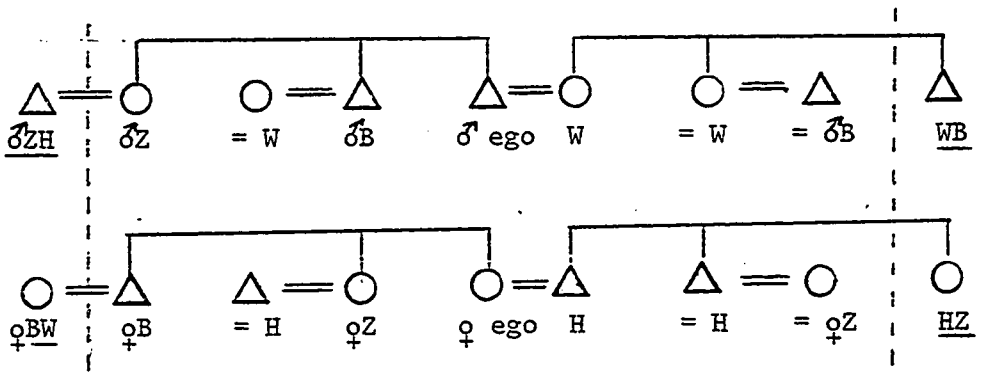


Figure 6.13: (Pre-)Proto-Wintun sibling-in-law classification

The underlined kintypes at the wings of Figure 6.13 represent the <u>same-sex siblings-in-law</u>, for which there presumably would have been distinct kinterms in (Pre-)Proto-Wintun. Sticking my neck out, I would say that

several of the attested Wintun sibling-in-law terms can be assigned to those kintypes as follows (the double asterisk forms are to indicate the uncertain status of these forms as Proto-Wintun etyma):

**t^{h}era·n	♂ZH	<-->	**somo·n	WB
**toqoy	♀BW	<-->	HZ	self-reciprocal

From this point then, Northern and Southern Wintun developments can be interpreted as a weakening of the co-spouse merging rule so that opposite-sex siblings-in-law <u>as designated kin</u> were no longer merged with spouses; instead they were apparently regrouped with the same-sex siblings-in-law and were classified somewhat independently in the Northern and Southern branches of the family on the basis of structural analogies to the SIBLING superclass. Northern and Southern Wintun each had to innovate lexical forms for the opposite-sex siblings-in-law, and the differences in those innovations account in part for the greatly different systems each branch ended up with. The earliest lexical innovation, perhaps still at the Proto-Wintun stage, was to adopt a 'younger brother' term for HB. The antecedent form to Patwin /ʼpoksen/ could also date from this period as the term for the reciprocal kintype: ♂BW.

**ʼpoq-λe-·n	♂BW	<-->	*λe·n	HB

The other reciprocal pair of opposite-sex siblings-in-law, namely ♀ZH <--> WZ, could have retained "spousal" terminology longer because of the relative salience of co-wife merging over co-husband merging and its relation to the practice of sororal polygyny in Proto-Wintun society (cf. §633 and §664).

From this point on, Northern and Southern Wintun diverge, each independently rearranging the SIBLING-IN-LAW class by extending the meaning

of one or more sibling-in-law terms to apply to other sibling-in-law kintypes. Schematically the changes would be as follows:

Southern Wintun

1. /ɬe·n/ was extended from HB to apply also to WB (replacing **somo·n).
2. Perhaps by analogy to changes in the SIBLING class, sex distinction was neutralized for /ɬe·n/, so that it applied to SpZ as well as SpB.
3. /t^{h}era·n/ and /ʼpoksen/, the reciprocals of /ɬe·n/, were "carried along" by the changes, so that /t^{h}era·n/ was extended to include ♀ZH, and /ʼpoksen/ was extended to include ♀BW. Together with the change in Step 2, this eliminated **toqoy as a Southern Wintun kinterm.

Northern Wintun

1. /toqoy/ was extended to apply to all female sibling-in-law kintypes.
2. Step 1 made /λe·n/ HB the (male) reciprocal of /toqoy/ in its sense of ♂BW; this reciprocity took over and spread, so that /λe·n/ was extended to include ♀ZH.
3. In Nomlaki and Hayfork (and all of Northern Wintun?) /λe·n/, as the term for ♀ZH, was further extended by analogy to include ♂ZH.
4. At a later date in Northern Wintu dialects, /somo·n/ BW was extended, on analogy with /toqoy/ 'sister-in-law', to apply to all 'brother-in-law" kintypes, thus completely displacing /λe·n/ as a sibling-in-law term.

This scenario must be taken with several grains of salt, since it is based on less than complete evidence, but it has a certain plausibility in that it accounts for all of the attested Wintun sibling-in-law terms

and classifications in terms of minimal rule changes, "natural" lexical innovation (for **poq-λe-·n and *λe·n), and semantic change by gradual extensions of kinterm application to analogous kintypes.

650. Internal reconstruction of deeper stages

651. Introductory

Regularities and irregularities of pattern in a reconstructed protosystem (or in an isolated system) can be analyzed to yield inferences about deeper historical stages in the development of that system. This process is called "internal reconstruction". In the case of comparative historical linguistic reconstruction, the application of internal reconstruction to a protosystem yields inferences about what is often termed a "pre-protosystem".

I have already mentioned internal reconstruction in discussing the etymology of the sibling and sibling-in-law terms and classifications. Furthern avenues of internal reconstruction are available for Wintun, however, and in this section I mention a few of the characteristics of the Proto-Wintun kinterms and kin classification which suggest very archaic patterns predating Proto-Wintun. It is these very archaic patterns which must be considered when trying to match the reconstructed Proto-Wintun system against similarly reconstructed kin classificatory systems of other California Penutian groups.

652. Internal considerations of overall classificatory type

Strong Omaha skewing (of Type IV) is rare in the world; in North America it is known only in the Wintun family (Scheffler, in press). Likewise, the various "parallel transmission" types noted in the Wintu

systems are the only well-attested North American cases of kin classificatory types otherwise known only in scattered examples in South America (Scheffler, in press; Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971). One general principle of internal reconstruction is that when confronted with typologically unusual, rare or aberrant traits or systems, it is a good idea to look for an historical origin in a more "normal" trait or system, together with specific predisposing historical influences or at least explicitly defined historical innovations which serve to derive the unusual types from the more prevalent types.

This principle has already been illustrated in the Proto-Wintun comparative reconstruction, which presented evidence that both the Type IV Omaha skewed Patwin and Nomlaki systems and the various Wintu "parallel transmission" systems were systematic developments from a Type III Omaha skewed system originally. Type III Omaha skewed systems are rather common in Africa (cf. Lounsbury 1964:374-375), as well as in some branches of Indo-European, and could thus be considered typologically less unusual than any of the directly attested Wintun systems. This is then consistent with the notion that unusual systems are generally particular historical developments from universally more widespread types of systems. However, in the context of North American cultures, Type III Omaha skewed systems are still unusual, with reconstructed Proto-Wintun being the only known case (Scheffler, in press). Much more usual in North America is Type I Omaha skewing, noted by Scheffler as occurring in various Siouan kinship systems, Fox, and in a number of California kinship systems. This suggests that the Proto-Wintun Type III rule is itself a secondary development peculiar to the Wintun family, probably from an earlier Type I rule.

This line or reasoning is further strengthened by some external

comparative considerations. The Miwok kin systems mostly manifest Type I Omaha skewing, and the Proto-Miwokan kin classification can be demonstrated (by the methods developed in this dissertation) to have also had a Type I Omaha skewing rule. Given the probability of a distant genetic connection between Wintun and Miwok(-Costanoan), it would make sense if Proto-Wintun had developed its Type III rule from a shared ancestral system characterized by a Type I Omaha rule. Levy (n.d. and 1979) has suggested that the Proto-Yokutsan kin classification also was Omaha skewed (presumably Type I). Since Yokutsan is another probable distant congener of Wintun and Miwok-Costanoan, the case for the proposed Wintun developments grows even stronger. Of all the California Penutian families, only Proto-Maidun does not evidence an Omaha skewing rule in its reconstructed kin classificatory system.

653. Possible Pre-Proto-Wintun etymological connections between kinterms

The reconstructed lexical forms for a number of Proto-Wintun kinterms suggest the possibility of internally reconstructing deeper lexical connections.

1. Proto-Wintun *teh C shows a strong formal resemblance to *tah- F. This resemblance could be due to chance, but a pattern of sorts emerges when we consider some other terms. Proto-Wintun for 'mother' shows two alternative protoforms: *neh- ~ *nah-; and Proto-Wintun *ley 'younger brother' and *lay 'sister' show a similar vocalic alternation. These vowel alternations may be reflexes of some systematic distinction in Pre-Proto-Wintun. At any rate, it seems that the resemblance of Proto-Wintun 'father' and 'child' terms is not a fluke. Could they ultimately be reflexes of a single, self-reciprocal 'father' <--> 'man's child' kinterm? Such a possibility is strongly reinforced by a comparison with

Proto-Maidun, which includes *te 'father' and *te· 'son', and which makes widespread use of self-reciprocal kinterms involving lineal kin-types.

2. In addition to the probable etymological connection of Proto-Wintun *ley 'younger brother' and *lay 'sister', a number of the other Proto-Wintun etyma are probably linked to these terms by obscure phonological or morphological processes predating Proto-Wintun. The items in question include:

Proto-Wintun	*lo·y-(ta)	'adolescent girl'
	*ʼkurey-(ta)	'young boy'
	*ʔelay ~ *ʔilay	'baby, child; small'

Interestingly, the *ʼkurey-(ta) 'young boy' term suggests an early derivation < **ʼku(t) 'small' + **ley, at a time when [r] was a (stress-conditioned?) allophone of **l (and/or of **t ?). On the other hand, Wintu /ʼkuley/, which I have argued above (§642.8) to be most likely a recent McCloud Wintu lexical innovation, is presumably derived from the same etymological pieces in Wintu--/ʼku(t)-/ + /ley/--but long after *r and *l had become established as separate phonemes in Proto-Wintun.

654. Internal reconstruction of archaic kinterm morphological patterning

Finally, the morphological alternations of kinterm stems in Proto-Wintun deserve systematic attention. Those stems which fit into the apparent archaic pattern are displayed in Table 6.11 (see following page). **T^H- is a morphological piece whose reflexes are /-t^h-/ in Patwin and /-č-/ in Nomlaki, in both cases before vowels, and *λ / ___ l in Proto-Wintun. **T^H-seems to be systematically absent before most other consonants, or else is regularly eliminated by consonant cluster reductions. (Cf. §521 for a more detailed discussion of the systematic

"reflex" of this archaic morphological pattern in Patwin.)

Table 6.11: Pre-Proto-Wintun kinterm stems internally reconstructed

focal denotata	Stem 1	Stem 2	reflexes of Stem 2
B+	**labe	**T^H-labeh-(·n)	various
Z	**lay	**T^H-lah-·n	Patwin /ɬa·n/
B-, Bil	**ley	**T^H-leh-·n	P-W *λe·n
GC	**čay ~ **čey ?	**Ø-čeh-·n	P-No.W *piče·n D ?
			also cf.:
			P-W *ča(·)y GC
			WN /če(·)/ GC
GF	**?a·pa	**T^H-apa-·n	Patwin /-t^hapa·n/
			WN /-čəpan/
GM	**?ama	**T^H-ama-·n	Patwin /-t^hama·n/
			WN /-čəman/
F, C ?	**tah ~ **teh	**Ø-tah-·n	P-W *ta·n
			WNNoe /tahan/
M	**nah ~ **neh	**Ø-neh-·n	P-W *ne·n
		**Ø-nah-·n	WNNoe /nahan/
Sb ??	**?elay ~ **?eley	**T^H-erah-·n	Patwin /t^hera·n/ ZH
H, 'man'	**wiy	**Ø-wih-(·)n	P-W *win 'person'

The last two entries in Table 6.11 are somewhat problematical. The morphological proportion seems real enough, but the semantics of the various reflexes suggests a very early semantic decoupling of the stems. Also, Proto-Wintun *win 'person' shows a short vowel, which is not expected on this analysis.

Other, more recently innovated kinterms seem to have been re-formed

analogically to varying degrees in order to fit the archaic stem pattern, as it had itself developed in the various Wintun branches. Examples are Patwin /ʔučuˑn/ Z+ and possibly P-No.W *somoˑn WB. The most recent innovations in Wintu seem to have been added after the archaic Wintun pattern had completely broken down in Wintu; they were thus not subject to this kind of analogic reformation, but instead partook of more productive Wintu morphological alternations.

660. Social structural comparison and reconstruction

661. Preliminary considerations

The formal reconstruction presented in this dissertation deals only with the Wintun kinterms, kinterm morphological systems and kin classificatory systems. I claimed at the outset--and the results to this point have, I think, adequately demonstrated--that reconstruction of those aspects of kinship can and should be done independently of broader considerations of social structure. The Wintun kin classifications were treated, for the purposes of the historical linguistic reconstruction, as complex, formal semantic systems abstractable from their social context. Now, however, with the results of the reconstruction in the bag, as it were, it should prove of interest to put the reconstructed system back into its social context. By taking a brief look at other aspects of Wintun social organization, we may be able to: 1. find tentative correlations between the various aspects of the Wintun kin classifications and social organization, and 2. discover plausible social reasons for why the attested Wintun kin classificatory systems developed and diverged in the ways they did from the original Proto-Wintun system.

662. Method

The examination of Wintun social structure here is intended, from the start, as a suggestive exercise only. Unlike the reconstruction of the kin classification, which proceeded observing rigorous historical linguistic method, no strict methodology is implied for the social structural comparison. This is partly because there is little consensus as to how one can provide complete and satisfactory synchronic analyses of social organization--too many intangible factors are involved.

Therefore, what I have done here is to compile a list of significant traits from the ethnographic record for Patwin, Nomlaki and Wintu--traits bearing on the overall social organization of these groups. These social traits are chosen and evaluated on a fairly simplistic basis, using categories suggested by Murdock (1949). This is not because of any great theoretical importance attached to Murdock's particular formulation of categories, but merely because they are rather easily identifiable and specifiable from ethnographic reports. The resulting list gives us a kind of feature-specified, rough and ready characterization of each group; it admittedly does not really provide us with much of a sense of how the social organization of each group functioned as an actual system or how it meshed with other aspects of Wintun culture. However, providing a list of discrete features gives us some basis for comparison, especially with a kin classificatory reconstruction in hand.

Given the list of traits for each group, I have then projected the most likely value for the same trait in Proto-Wintun society. These projections are based on criteria of:

1. simplicity; that is, positing as few changes as possible
2. coherence; that is, avoiding values which obviously clash functionally with values for other traits, unless there is good

reason for such a postulation

3. consistency with the directionality implied by the kin classificatory reconstruction.

These criteria, especially #2 and #3, obviously assume some degree of functional integration of different aspects of social organization, but at present there is no way to go much beyond an acknowledgement that the various traits are mutually dependent to some degree.

The projection of likely values for social organizational traits in Proto-Wintun society differs from historical reconstruction as presented above for the kin classification. This is mostly because the traits themselves are arbitrarily chosen units whose systematic significance is unclear. Also, the status of social organizational systems themselves as units for genetic comparison is even more problematical than that of languages. However, we can project social traits back with some confidence under certain circumstances. Thus, if all "descendant" societies manifest the same value for trait X, in the absence of any evidence of a strong social environmental pressure to adopt that value of trait X, pressure affecting all of the "descendant" societies, we can assume that that value for trait X is an historical survival from the proto-social system. On the other hand, in the presence of such a social environmental pressure, the projection becomes more equivocal, depending on the nature of the trait involved and the sensitivity of resistance it may show to a hypothetical pressure predisposing change. (Note that these various "pressures" and the notion of "sensitivity" or "resistance" to change are intended here metaphorically--not as some kind of reified social "things".)

If the "descendant" societies show differing values for a particular trait, e.g. patrilineal descent in one society and bilateral descent in

another, then at least one (and possibly both) must have been innovated at some point. Here is where the directionality clues provided by the kin classificatory reconstruction become useful. The reconstruction shows Proto-Wintun to have had a relatively strong form of Omaha skewing, with Wintu having innovated away from that type of kin classification. Now when Patwin and Nomlaki agree in the value for some social trait known to be generally correlated with Omaha-type kin classification, e.g. patrilineal descent, but Wintu shows a different value, e.g. bilateral descent, the safest deduction is that that trait has also changed in Wintu, i.e. that Wintu is innovative with respect to descent in the same "direction" as shown by the kin classificatory reconstruction. That would make more sense than to suppose a less "natural" value for descent correlated with Proto-Wintun Omaha kin classification and then to claim that Wintu innovated in one "direction" with respect to kin classification, while Patwin and Nomlaki innovated in the opposite "direction" with respect to descent.

Similar considerations can be applied to the projection of other social traits to provide an at least plausible picture of Proto-Wintun social organization.

663. Tabular comparison of social organizational traits

Table 6.12 (see following page) summarizes the values for various social organizational traits in the ethnographically documented Wintun groups, as well as the projections for Proto-Wintun society. The Patwin data is extracted from Kroeber (1917, 1925 and 1932 passim) and McKern (1922). The Nomlaki data is from Goldschmidt (1951) and Gifford (1922). The McCloud Wintu data is abstracted from DuBois (1935).

Table 6.12: Wintun social organizational traits compared

	Patwin	Nomlaki	McCloud Wintu	Proto-Wintun
1. kin classification type	Omaha Type IV	Omaha Type IV	cf. §449 for details	Omaha Type III
2. descent	patrilineal	patrilineal	bilateral	patrilineal
3. residence rule	matri-patrilocal (bilocal for WPH?)	matri-patrilocal	neolocal (with bilocal alternative)	matri-patrilocal
4. family type	patrilineal extended families	?	?	probably patrilineal extended families
5. marriage rule and communities	exogamous patri-clan communities	exogamous patri-clan communities (/ʔolkapna/)	tendency towards village exogamy	probably exogamous patri-clan communities (non-totemic)[4]
6. consanguineal kin groups	probably no patri-sibs	no report of patri-sibs	no report of kindreds	no sibs or kindreds
7. marriage	monogamy usual; chiefs practiced polygyny	monogamy usual; wealthy men practiced polygyny (preferably sororal)	monogamy usual; occasional sororal polygyny	monogamy with occasional sororal polygyny (restricted to chiefs or wealthy men)

Table 6.12 (part 2): Wintun social organization traits compared

	Patwin	Nomlaki	McCloud Wintu	Proto-Wintun
8. compensation	bride-price	bride-price	exchange of gifts by both families[3]	compensation present; bride-price (<bride-service?)
9. secondary marriage	sororate[1] levirate[1]	sororate levirate	sororate levirate	sororate levirate
10. cross-cousin	oMBD marriage practiced[2]	?	absent (bilateral extension of incest taboo)	probably absent; no classificatory evidence for its presence)

Notes to Table 6.12:

1. The sororate and levirate are not explicitly claimed for Patwin in Kroeber's (1932) ethnography. However, re. the sororate in Patwin, cf. Kroeber (1925:839), and re. the levirate, cf. Kroeber (1917:384).

2. The reported practice of occasional matrilateral cross-cousin marriage among the Patwin was presumably the result of extensive social influence from the Miwok, among whom the practice was widespread.

3. Gift exchange involving the families of both spouses among the Wintu may have been in part the result of influence from general Northwestern California custom.

4. These patri-clan communities were almost certainly non-totemic, given the lack of totemic institutions among the various Wintun groups.

664. Interpretation

Proto-Wintun society can be fairly reliably projected to have had patrilineal descent with a matri-patrilocal residence rule. (The possibility of a bilocal alternative residence rule cannot be ruled out, however.) The projection of patrilineal descent and matri-patrilocal residence also implies the probable presence of patrilineal extended families. All of these are consistent with an Omaha skewed kin classificatory system for Proto-Wintun.

As regards secondary marriage, projection of the sororate and levirate to Proto-Wintun society seems seafe. Also, preferential sororal polygyny (limited to the relatively wealthy who could afford paying for more than one wife) was probably practiced in Proto-Wintun society. The presence of a custom of bride-price would be consistent with this. However, it is possible that bride-price may have developed in Patwin and Nomlaki from an earlier custom of bride-service, especially given the

presence of the matri-patrilocal residence rule. Such a shift could be attendant upon the general increase of societal surplus and wealth subsequent to the Wintun occupation of Central California and their participation in the late-developed monetary-based trade networks of the area.

On other grounds (cf. Whistler 1977), the Proto-Wintun homeland must be placed outside of Central California, most likely in South Central or Southwest Oregon. The environmental and social changes involved in the Wintun move into North Central California and settlement along the Sacramento River can be expected to have affected Wintu social structure to some degree, but the specific changes involved are difficult to separate at an early date from the presumed Proto-Wintun inheritances. The problem is particularly acute with respect to projecting Proto-Wintun community structure, since community structure reflects settlement pattern and demography--factors obviously sensitive to any major migrational move. Thus, the projection of patri-clan communities to Proto-Wintun is shaky. They may not have developed until considerably after Wintun establishment in the Sacramento Valley. However, if we consider just Proto-Northern Wintun, a fairly plausible case can be made for supposing that patri-clan communities were characterisitc of Northern Wintun in general, but that the Wintu proper (and the McCloud Wintu specifically) lost them later in the process of their late spread north and west out of the Sacramento Valley into the rough back country. Such a scenario would have this Wintu shift in community structure correlated in "direction" with the other inferred Wintu shifts in kin classification, descent, and residence rule. (Cf. §672 for a more detailed development of this idea.)

670. Comparison of results with earlier reconstructions

671. Introductory

There have been three earlier attempts to reconstruct either an antecedent Wintun social organization type or a Proto-Wintun kin classification type. Murdock (1949) proposed a method of internal reconstruction of social organization types and applied it to make inferences about the antecedents of the Wintu social organization type, among others, as he had classed it. Bean (1974) correlated Wintun social organization types with a neo-evolutionary sequence of types, thus implicitly making a claim about the development of the various Wintun systems. Both Murdock's and Bean's approaches depended heavily on kin classificatory type as one major parameter in their definition of social organization types. Levy (1976 and 1979) took a different approach, using the methodology of Dyen and Aberle (1974) to lexically reconstruct the Proto-Wintun kinterms and kin classification type independently of other considerations of social organization.

Each of these approaches has some merit and managed to produce some useful insights, but each falls short of the kind of systematic reconstruction I have proposed here. In this section I review and criticize each in turn, showing how they reach conclusions which are demonstrably false once a more complete systematic lexical reconstruction is worked out.

The earlier treatments of Wintun social structural or kin classificatory reconstruction, with the partial exception of Levy's reconstruction, were, to be sure, developed somewhat incidentally, in the context of larger comparative works aimed at other goals than Proto-Wintun reconstruction per se. Especially for the non-lexical and rather schematic

approaches of Murdock and of Bean it may seem rather excessive to attack their reconstructions in detail, but I feel that a useful purpose may be served by demonstrating how such non-lexical approaches may fall astray and generate erroneous results. This should cast further doubt on other substantive claims made about reconstructing social organization types without a detailed historical account of the lexical, morphological and systematic semantic aspects of the kin classifications themselves.

672. Murdock's (1949) internal reconstruction of social organization type

Murdock (1949:232) interprets Wintu as having a "Neo-Yuman" social organization type. He is not explicit about which Wintu group he was referring to, but presumably his analysis is based on DuBois' (1935) Wintu Ethnography; hence the analysis refers primarily to the McCloud Wintu. The criterial traits for the Neo-Yuman social organization type are:

1. bilateral descent
2. neo-local residence rule
3. Iroquois cousin terms

Other traits which Murdock ascribes to Wintu which are not directly criterial of the basic social organizational type are:

4. bifurcate collateral terminology
5. no clans or moieties
6. kindreds unreported
7. low incidence of sororal polygyny

The first criticism of Murdock's analysis should be obvious. The analysis of the McCloud Wintu kin classification I presented in Chapter 4 shows that "Iroquois cousin terms" is an inadequate characterization of

the system. In fact in McCloud, male cross-cousins of males are skewed as in an Omaha system of kin classification. However, Murdock's (1949) classification becomes comprehensible when we note that he typed all of his societies using only female designated kintypes. Considering this restriction and ignoring the fact that the McCloud female cross-cousin term /neneh/ also shows up (inexplicably from Murdock's point of view) designating MZ as an alternative kinterm in DuBois' record, we could say that technically McCloud female cross-cousins do fit into an Iroquois pattern.

Based on his social organizational typing of Wintu and on his rules for logically inferring antecedent types, Murdock goes on to internally reconstruct an earlier stage for the Wintu system. He does not attempt a reconstruction for all of Wintun, but given his very explicitly stated rules of reconstruction, it is fairly easy to develop a complete scheme for Wintun which is consistent with his specific claims regarding Wintu and with his general claims about Omaha systems. The extrapolated scheme is represented in Figure 6.14:

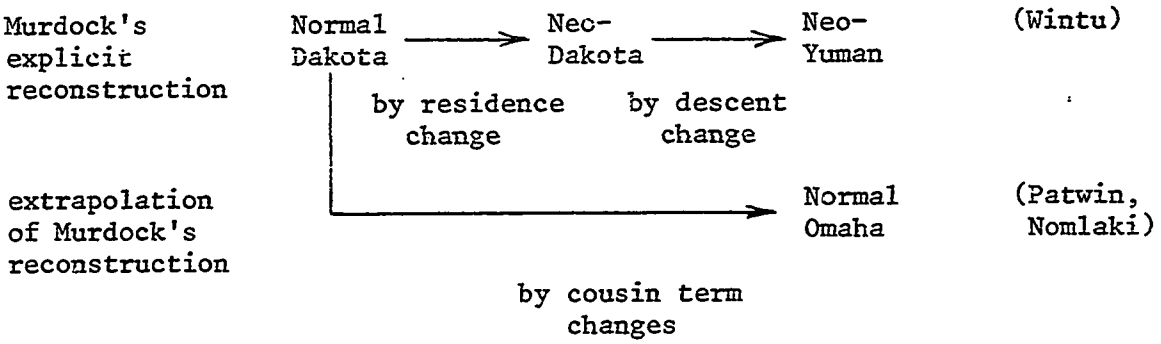


Figure 6.14: Internal reconstruction of Wintun social organization types

In other words, the Wintun societies started out with a Normal Dakota system, characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence rule,

and Iroquois cousin terminology. The Wintu system can be consistently derived by positing first a residence rule change to neo-local residence (hence Neo-Dakota), followed by a descent change to bilateral descent (hence Neo-Yuman). This much is explicitly reconstructed by Murdock (1949:345). (Murdock also explictly rejects an alternative derivation of the Wintu "Neo-Yuman" system from Normal Iroquois, based on the claimed evidence of low incidence of sororal polygyny.) By Murdock's rules a Normal Omaha system (patrilineal, patrilocal, Omaha cousin terms) can be derived directly from Normal Dakota by a change in cousin terms. This then strongly suggests that a full Murdockian treatment of Wintun would posit Normal Dakota as the (Proto-)Wintun antecedent social organization type. Furthermore, this is consistent with Murdock's (1949:241) general claims regarding the development of Omaha societies:

> ...most Omaha societies will have passed through a prior Dakota or Sudanese phase...Omaha structure represents a mature form of the patrilineate.

Whatever the general validity of Murdock's claims about Omaha societies, the systematic historical linguistic reconstruction of Proto-Wintun kin classification demonstrated in this dissertation shows that Proto-Wintun had a Type III Omaha-skewing rule, which is inconsistent with the inference of Dakota social structure, at least at the level of Proto-Wintun. In fact, the systematic linguistic reconstruction shows in great detail how McCloud Wintu cousin classification developed from earlier stages characterized by Omaha skewing. Of course, we cannot rule out the possibility that the Proto-Wintun system was derived, at some remote time-depth, from a system characterized by Iroquois cousin terminology, but this would have to be very much earlier than the Proto-Wintun stage. The discussion in §652 suggested that Pre-Proto-Wintun, perhaps

at a time-depth connecting it to other California Penutian linguistic families, may have had a kin classification characterized by a Type I Omaha rule. This would reflect a scenario somewhat as shown in Figure 6.15:

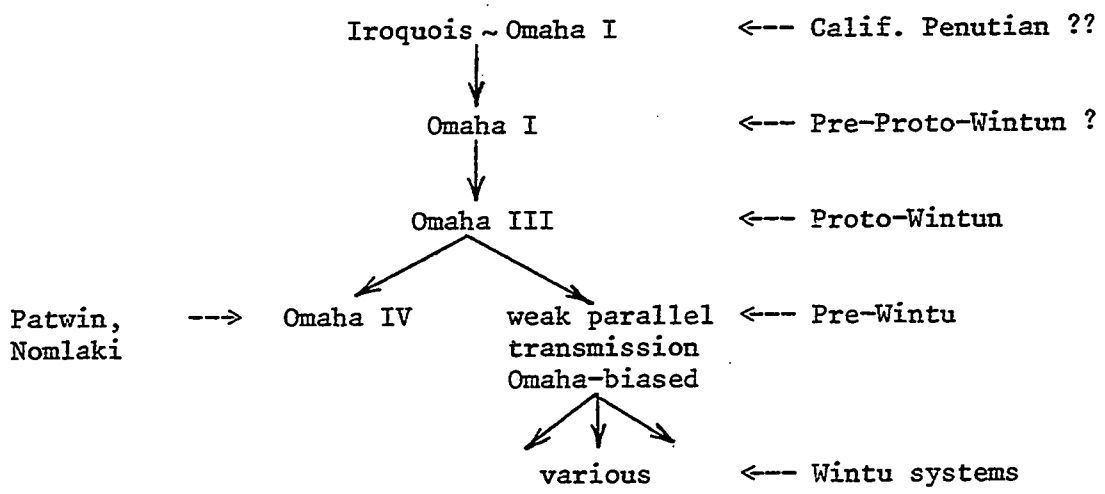


Figure 6.15: Historical development of Wintun cousin classification

(Note that in Figure 6.15 the stages from Proto-Wintun on down are based on systematic lexical comparative reconstruction, whereas Pre-Proto-Wintun and earlier stages are based on internal reconstruction and external comparative reconstruction.) While Murdock may be correct in claiming that Omaha systems typically derive from Iroquois (or Sudanese) systems ultimately, his specific reconstruction for Wintu antecedents is false in detail as regards cousin classification in Wintu, as is obvious from comparison of Figures 6.14 and 6.15.

Although Murdock's non-lexical reconstruction of the kin classificatory portion of kinship systems involves inadequate methods and produces erroneous results, his insistence on placing the issue of kinship and social organizational reconstruction in a definitely historical context is consistent with the outlook I have advocated in this work. Rather

than rejecting Murdock's reconstructions out of hand, it might be useful then to update the Wintun reconstruction with the more adequate kin classificatory analyses and reconstruction provided here, together with the general Wintun social structural comparisons discussed in §660. This would at least provide a more defensible Murdockian scheme for Wintun social structural developments and thereby constitute a partial salvaging of some of Murdock's claims about historical developments in social systems.

First, we need to provide a more accurate type judgement for Wintu. The various Wintu groups actually manifest rather complex varieties of cousin classification, varieties which do not fit well into any of Murdock's categories. In particular, the "parallel transmission" characteristics of the Wintu systems are not considered as a distinct possibility for classification of cousins. (That is not really surprising, since parallel transmission as a separate kin classificatory rule was not worked out until the publication of Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971).) Also, most of the Wintu groups would have to be classed as bifurcate merging (i.e. they manifest a same-sex sibling merging rule which is terminologically reflected in the parallel nuncle terms), rather than bifurcate collateral. McCloud is the only Wintun system which shows evidence of shifting to a bifurcate collateral terminology. Considering these facts, especially regarding cousins, we could reinterpret the Wintu systems as fitting into Murdock's rather amorphous Fox social organization type, specifically as Neo-Fox. McCloud constitutes a partial exception, falling somewhat ambiguously on the line between Neo-Yuman and Neo-Fox types. As Murdock (1949:233) defines it:

> [Fox] includes all structures with asymmetrical cousin terminology which are not classifiable as Crow, Omaha, or Sudanese.

Given the reinterpretation of the typical Wintu social system as Neo-Fox, it is possible to posit a Murdockian sequence of types which is more consistent with the historical sequence revealed by the systematic lexical reconstruction of the Wintun kin classification. This is represented in Figure 6.16:

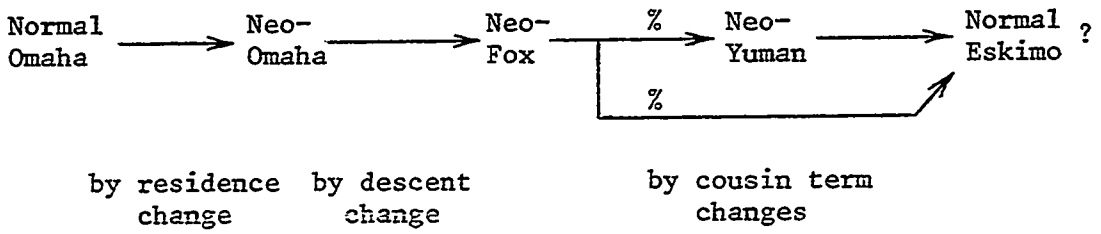


Figure 6.16: Revised Murdockian scheme for development of Wintun social organization types

This scheme would see (Proto-)Wintun as a Normal Omaha system (patrilineal, patrilocal, with Omaha skewed cousin terms). That system was retained in Patwin and Nomlaki. The Wintu systems shifted through various stages to the right. First, a residence rule shift (patrilocal ---> neolocal) led to a Neo-Omaha system; then a change in descent (patrilineal ---> bilateral) followed, resulting in Neo-Fox. McCloud's addition of cross-cousin merging with siblings could be viewed as a shift towards a Neo-Yuman system. All of the Wintu systems, Neo-Fox or Neo-Yuman, could be viewed as transitional towards Normal Eskimo, which for Murdock represents a "stable" type associated with a neolocal residence rule and bilateral descent.

This revised scheme is consistent with all of Murdock's constraints on type changes with one exception. He does not allow a Neo-Fox ---> Neo-Yuman shift by change of cousin terminology, at least not explicitly. But it should be apparent that this is the result of insufficient

consideration of the actual ways in which lexical cousin classifications could change from one type to another. As the Wintun systematic lexical reconstruction shows, the changes in cousin classification must be specified in terms of specific equivalence rule and subclassificatory changes, not in terms of shifts in gross classificatory "traits".

The revised scheme of Figure 6.16 fits Murdock's general theoretical claim that social organizational changes are initiated by residence rule changes, which produce descent rule changes eventually. He also views cousin terminologies as the more conservative, slow-to-change aspect of social structure, and that claim, too, is reflected in Figure 6.16. Interestingly, Murdock's claims about the transitory character of Fox and Yuman social organizational types fits with the evidence of rapid kin classificatory change underway in the Wintu systems. In particular, Murdock characterizes Neo-Fox as including:

> ...previously unilineal societies with asymmetrical cross-cousin terminology which have lost their kin groups in consequence of adopting...neolocal residence, and which have not yet developed a typical bilateral organization of Eskimo or Hawaiian type.
>
> (1949:233)

Murdock (1949:231, 324) also views Neo-Yuman as transitional towards a Normal Eskimo type, which is again consistent with the presumed direction of late development in Wintu.

In §660 above I undertook a tentative comparative reconstruction of social structural "traits" for Proto-Wintun society. This was done just on a straight comparative basis, not according to presumed constraints regarding rules of type transitions (as in Murdock), but with an attempt made to correlate the "directionality" of changes with the reconstructed

Proto-Wintun kin classification. Among the implied historical developments were a shift in Wintu from patrilineal descent to bilateral descent and from matri-patrilocal residence to neolocal residence. These implied developments and the various kin classificatory changes in Wintu were not, however, given any intrinsic temporal ordering by that comparison. One of the interesting aspects of the revised Murdockian scheme (Figure 6.16) is that it implies that these changes occurred in a specified order:

1. [matri-]patrilocal residence --> neolocal
2. patrilineal descent --> bilateral
3. Omaha cousin terms --> Iroquois (or Eskimo)

Murdock's arguments about the temporal priority of residence rule change as reflecting techno-environmental changes and as leading other social structural changes seem reasonable and generally correct. So the implied order of occurrence of changes proposed in the revised scheme for Wintun developments probably reflects the actual historical sequence by and large. Thus, although the Murdockian approach provides little detail about the kin classificatory developments themselves--for which a systematic lexical approach is required, by broadening the reconstructive concerns to include other aspects of social structure, the Murdockian approach does provide some insights into causality and into the sequence of social structural changes which may have underlain the kin classificatory changes revealed by linguistic reconstruction. Thus, if a shift from patrilineal descent to bilateral descent characterized early Wintu society, it would be no accident that all of the Wintu kinship systems to a greater or lesser degree were classificatorily equating some matrilateral and patrilateral kintypes of the same generation. McCloud, in particular, was on the verge of losing all traces of its Omaha skewed origins in favor of a bilaterally symmetric kin classification.

We might draw together all of the inferences above regarding kin classificatory developments and social structural changes to provide a speculative projection of Wintun social prehistory. This is not to be considered a reconstruction in the same sense that the kin classificatory analysis was, but rather as a framework for seeking possible causal explanations for the types of changes which seem to have occurred in Wintun prehistory. I realize that "speculative history" has had a long-tarnished record in social anthropology, but the speculative production of coherent historical scenarios as hypotheses to "explain" an observed pattern of social differentiation is still an indispensible prerequisite to the construction of adequate theories of social change for the vast number of societies in the world without long recorded histories. As one small step in this direction, I propose the following stages in the social prehistory of the Wintun, and especially of the Wintu.

1. At some point not long postdating Proto-Wintun unity, the various Wintun groups were scattered along the Sacramento River in Northern California. Their settlement there was probably in moderately large villages oriented towards the drainage and organized as patri-clan communities. Their social structure was characterized in part by patrilineal descent and a matri-patrilocal residence rule; the kin classification was a Type III Omaha skewed system.

2. The Patwin expanded south into former Miwok territory and west up the minor drainages into the hills; the Nomlaki expanded west into the hills. The Patwin, and to a lesser extent the Nomlaki, became integral parts of a major Central California monetary-based trading network and the intermeshed set of cults and ritual cycles. The River Patwin villages in particular became larger and wealthier, and some evidence of social functional specialization along patrilineal lines had emerged (cf. McKern

1922). The Patwin and later the Nomlaki shifted to an even more extreme form of Omaha skewing, but it is unclear whether that shift is causally related to the other social developments.

3. The Wintu, probably starting out merely as the northernmost, Cottonwood Creek dialect of Nomlaki, expanded quite recently (<500 years) to the northwest into the Trinity River drainage and to the north out of the Sacramento Valley into the upper reaches of the Sacramento River and some of its major tributaries. At least some of the Wintu adopted a neolocal residence rule, perhaps as a result of these moves into relatively less favorable environments, which may have encouraged the scattering of nuclear families in smaller communities.

4. A neolocal residence rule among these Wintu destroyed the Wintun institution of patri-clan communities, which had apparently characterized the larger communities of the valley. The Wintu ethnographically were living in much smaller village communities than the River Patwin at the opposite (and wealthier) geographic extreme of the Wintun family.

5. A neolocal residence rule would also set the stage for adoption of bilateral descent reckoning, since patrilineal groups would have been broken up and scattered about in various small communities.

6. Once bilateral descent reckoning was established, the old kin classificatory pattern would be further destabilized. The weak form of "parallel transmission" which characterized Pre-Wintu (and Hayfork Wintu) seems best interpretable as a possible classificatory correlate of the shift to bilateral descent reckoning, rather than as a result of any presumed highlighting of lineality as a principle of the system. As discussed above (§448.5) no good social correlates of a presumed rule of parallel transmission can be found, but a consistent social tendency in Wintu was the elimination of unilineal structures in favor of bilateral

organization.

7. Following the establishment of Pre-Wintu's form of weak bilateral symmetry, the extensive Northern Wintu kin classificatory innovations were introduced, including the reckoning of "seniority" by the relative age of the collateral linking kin. The Northern Wintu groups (WWSac and WWMc) at least seemed to be rapidly developing toward Eskimo-type kin classifications, which are more normal correlates of societies showing neolocal residence and bilateral descent. Hayfork was classificatorily more conservative than Northern Wintu--but then we know too little about other aspects of Hayfork social structure to say whether the same functional considerations were involved for Hayfork as for the Northern Wintu.

8. But in addition to the apparent functional appropriateness of a shift towards an Eskimo-type kin classification among the Northern Wintu groups, some culture contact factors must be considered. The northward move of the Wintu almost certainly involved contact with and assimilation of non-Wintu speakers, specifically Shasta and/or Okwanuchu (Shastan) speakers. The Shasta kin classification is structurally very distinct from the Pre-Wintu system, and the assimilation of any large number of ethnic Shasta into the Wintu population may be considered to have introduced a certain amount of confusion and variation into the kin classification during periods of intermarriage and bilingualism. Incidentally, the Shasta kin classification, typed by Scheffler (in press) as Iroquois-Cree subtype, with extensive use of self-reciprocal kinterms, is <u>bilaterally symmetric</u>; thus classificatory confusion influenced in the direction of a Shasta-type classification could well have reinforced the internal functional "pressures" tending to eliminate unilateral skewing in the Wintu systems.

673. Bean's (1974) neo-evolutionary schema for Wintun social development

Bean (1974), in a general, if somewhat sketchy reconstruction of the evolution of social complexity in California, makes some preliminary claims which bear on the issue of Proto-Wintun kin classification and the nature of Proto-Wintun society. Bean's scheme uses the social organization types developed by Murdock (1949), with some consideration given to Murdock's claims about how the various types are developmentally related to each other. However, Bean ignores Murdock's explicit rejection of unilinear evolutionary significance for his social organization types. In other words, Murdock views each of the social organizational types as more or less continuously susceptible to mutation into any of the other types, subject to the constraints on type transitions and motivated by external environmental and/or social factors. Bean instead lines up those types in a neo-evolutionary scheme of unidirectional development from "simple" bilateral types to "complex" unilineal types. He then implicitly correlates this alignment directly with stages of social evolutionary development in California. This correlation is set up directly, rather than as an indirect relation of both social organizational type and social complexity to techno-environmental constraints or developments. Bean's approach does not appeal to <u>particular</u> historical developments in the individual groups involved in order to explain the general "evolution" of social complexity in California.

Bean's unilineal scheme includes the following sequence relevant to the Wintun case:

Hawaiian ---> Yuman ---> Dakota ---> Omaha

Patrilineal descent groups are thus seen as developing (unidirectionally) from earlier systems of bilateral descent. This sequence implies an antecedent Yuman social organizational type for the Wintun family; the

Yuman type itself is then seen as transitional from an earlier Hawaiian type. Wintu proper represents the conservative, "backward" part of the family; Patwin, in contrast, is the innovative, "avant garde" which developed unilineal descent groups as a more highly evolved social form. This can be seen from Bean's explicit statements about the Yuman and Omaha types:

> Yuman [Wintu]: "Tendency toward bifurcate merging developing unilocal residence before appearance of unilineal descent + with weakly developed lineage concept among some Wintu."
>
> Omaha [Nomlaki, Patwin]: "Patrilineal descent;... Overriding of generation + refinement of kinship group as production + distribution unit... most highly developed form."
>
> Bean (1974:34)

These claims by Bean are consistent with Leslie White's approach to the evolution of kinship systems. See, for example, White (1959:134-135). In particular, White (1939) claimed that "the Crow and Omaha types have evolved out of Dakota-Iroquois systems." (quoted from White (1959: 133)). White goes on to state, "We should not...try to correlate sequences of kinship systems with forms of the family [as Morgan had tried to do], but with the evolution of societies as wholes." (1959:135) This is precisely what Bean (1974) has attempted to do for California, rejecting particularist explanations in favor of overall correlations of kinship types with degrees of social evolutionary complexity.

Bean's (and White's) general approach is subject to all the well-known objections to unilinear evolutionary concepts of historical develpments in human social systems. See, for example, the Boasians for harsh criticisms of the 19th century version of social evolutionism. The

British functionalists likewise criticized such an approach, though from a somewhat different perspective. Murdock (1949) provides the specific relevant objections to White's neo-evolutionary version of social structural theory and analyses.

Bean's reconstruction, however, can also be criticized in terms of its particular claims about Wintun. The detailed historical reconstruction developed in this dissertation shows that Bean's approach resulted in him getting the historical sequence exactly backwards for the Wintun. The Wintu shifted from an Omaha kin classification to one with some Iroquois traits; and at some point the Wintu lost unilineal descent groups which had been retained in the rest of the family. The correct way of viewing this shift in Wintu is not as a devolutionary exception to the overall rise of social complexity in California, but as an adaptational response by the Wintu to a new physical and social environment, perhaps coupled with specific changes caused primarily by internal linguistic considerations. Certainly Bean is correct in seeing a "higher level" of cultural complexity in the southern end of the Wintun family--the Patwin were noted as the center of a complex of secret society initiating cults (Kuksu), had a greater general wealth, larger villages, and evidence of subsistence and technical specialization along lineage lines. But it is a grave mistake to confuse the development of this kind of social complexity with the development of the kin classificatory system itself. Thus, on historical linguistic grounds, I have shown that Omaha type kin classification in Patwin is a retention from Proto-Wintun, certainly predating Patwin involvement in specifically Central Californian late developments. The shift from Type III to Type IV Omaha skewing could just conceivably be related to other social structural changes in Southern Wintun, but whether or not this is the case, the overall Omaha system

proved a useful and apparently stable adaptation for the Patwin in Central California. It was the Wintu in the hill country north of the Sacramento Valley who at some point shifted their social organization into a mode more appropriate to the smaller, scattered villages they lived in and more like those of some of their Hokan neighbors.

674. Levy's (1976 and 1979) lexical reconstruction of Proto-Wintun kin classification

Richard Levy (1976) provided kin classificatory reconstructions for a number of California linguistic families, including Wintun, Maidun, Miwokan, Yokutsan, and Pomoan. Levy (1979) interpreted these reconstructions in the context of a general model of California linguistic prehistory. Levy's reconstructions for each group followed the methodology of Dyen and Aberle's (1974) lexical reconstruction of Proto-Athapaskan kinship.

Levy should be credited with a number of correct conclusions about Proto-Wintun kin classification. He correctly identified the system as manifesting an Omaha-skewing rule, though he did not specify the exact type of that rule. He noted that the Wintu systems show the most structural innovation from the Proto-Wintun prototype. And he also correctly reconstructed a number of lexical forms for Proto-Wintun kinterms. Succeeding this far, even with the faulty comparative methodology of Dyen and Aberle, shows the power of lexical approaches to kin classificatory reconstruction.

Levy's reconstruction, however, runs into a number of problems which severely limit its completeness and accuracy. Thus, lack of full lexical data from the various Wintun groups, coupled with the lack of a thorough philological analysis left gaps in Levy's data. The depth of the

Proto-Wintun comparisons also led Levy astray here and there. In particular, he missed some of the more obscure cognate relationships specified above in Table 6.4. This problem was less pronounced for Levy's reconstructions of Proto-Maidun and Proto-Yokutsan kin classifications, where the cognate relations are usually more obvious, or for his reconstructions of Proto-Miwokan and Proto-Pomoan, where the time-depth is comparable or greater than for Proto-Wintun, but where there is considerable published material regarding the proto-language reconstructions.

More significantly, the inherent limitations of the Dyen and Aberle method of kintype by kintype reconstruction resulted in no particular insights as to how the complex Wintu systems could have developed from an Omaha skewed protosystem. What Levy offers is not a complete etymology of the Wintun kin classificatory reconstruction, but instead a list of isolated semantic shifts or lexical replacements. These fail to capture the essentially systematic character of the actual changes, and for the most part the list does not provide information about the sequence of changes either. Finally, the Dyen and Aberle approach ignores the problem of specifying the morphological system within which the reconstructed kinterms and kin classification are related to each other, and Levy's Wintun reconstruction suffers on this account as well.

680. Conclusions and future directions

This completes the sytematic historical linguistic reconstruction of Proto-Wintun kin classification. I hope to have adequately demonstrated the following points:

1. That it is possible to reconstruct entire kin classificatory systems, even with problematical data, and to provide a justification of the reconstruction through etymology;

2. That a thoroughgoing synchronic formal analysis of the various kinship systems to be compared is the key to reconstruction of the proto-system, and that the formal analytic model provided by Lounsbury and Scheffler lends itself well to this kind of reconstruction;

3. That kin classificatory reconstruction must be done systematically, taking into consideration the inherent systematicity of phonology, morphology and semantics, as well as accounting for the isolated units (i.e. phonemes, morphemes and lexemes with lists of designated kintypes) involved;

4. That kin classificatory reconstruction can and should be done independently of general issues of social structural comparison, but that when complete, a systematically reconstructed kin classification can itself be an important guide to the eventual reconstruction of other aspects of kinship and social structure in related groups;

5. That detailed particular historical reconstructions of kin classifications are in some sense logically prior to the more general concerns of anthropological process--much work must be done to define the what of social change before it makes much sense to be proposing answers to the why of social change.

The work on Wintun kinship and kin classification is only just begun, of course, by the reconstruction of the Proto-Wintun kin classification. A number of different directions for future research suggest themselves, and I list here just a few of the more salient of these:

1. A more detailed comparative analysis of Wintun social structure is in order, taking into account the issue of functional integration of different aspects of Wintun society. This could then be better meshed with the kin classificatory reconstruction, with archaeological

reconstruction of Wintun culture prehistory, and with general social theory to truly begin to explain more about why the Wintun groups developed in the ways they did.

2. As suggested in the end of Chatper 3, a number of Wintun ethnogeographic projects could be pursued, all of which would help to clarify the history and internal and external relations of the Wintun groups.

3. The method of systematic kin classificatory reconstruction can be applied to other groups in California to provide a clearer picture of types and of diffusional connections. This is particularly important as an extension of the Wintun research, since the Wintun interacted with so many different and distinct groups, but the analysis would be independently justifiable for any group merely as a better way of reconstructing kinterms and kin classification. One family of particular theoretical interest along these lines is the Miwok, since their social organization was rather well-documented by Gifford and since the Miwok occupy a prominent position in French structuralist kinship theory and some derivative theories. Callaghan's (1977) reconstruction of Proto-Miwokan kinterms is an interesting start, but it needs to be extended to provide a systematic reconstruction of Miwok kin classification.

Of course, there is no reason to restrict the method to California data--any reasonably well-documented linguistic family could lend itself to systematic reconstruction of kin classifications. For example, with the appearance of Scheffler's (1978) more adequate synchronic analysis of Australian kin classifications, it would be a fascinating, if vast, task to apply rigorous historical comparative methodology to some of the linguistically related Australian systems to see how they have developed in detail. The Athapaskan family, with its far-flung and culturally distinct groups and typologically distinct kin systems, but with relatively

shallow time-depth (~2500 years?), is an excellent candidate for more extended reconstructive work; Dyen and Aberle's (1974) lexical reconstruction only scratched the surface and is inadequate in many details.

4. The particular reconstruction here for Wintun poses some interesting questions about the theoretical status of parallel transmission rules in kin classificatory systems. I have claimed that the Wintu systems are historically derivative from an Omaha skewed sytem. Do the South American examples of parallel transmission have similar historical origins? The Ge case is particularly intriguing, since there is good reason for supposing that the various Northwestern Ge examples of kin classifications manifesting parallel transmission are strongly integrated with other aspects of Northwestern Ge social structure, and yet the linguistically related Central Ge groups do not show parallel transmission. A preliminary examination of the Ge data suggests that parallel transmission in that family, too, can be derived historically from an Omaha skewed kin classification, but that the Northwestern Ge groups developed their systems along directions not followed by the Wintu. A systematic reconstruction of Tupían systems could shed light on the origin of parallel transmission in Siriono as well.

5. In a different direction, the Proto-Wintun reconstruction is a useful piece of evidence in the demonstration of long-range genetic connections within "Penutian". The reason for this is that kinterms, by and large, represent very archaic etyma, are charcterized by archaic morphology, and are embedded in complex linguistic systems. To the extent that such systems can be reconstructed in individual families of the Penutian stock, they will provide us with far more convincing evidence either for or against particular distant relations than individually reconstructed lexical items could. I have already suggested some deep kin

classificatory semantic and systematic lexical connections between Proto-Wintun and Proto-Miwokan, Proto-Maidun, and Proto-Yokutsan. These connections should be followed up with more detailed reconstructions in those families and a serach for undeniable, convincing archaic connections of a systematic nature.

Bibliography

Abbreviations used:

AA	American Anthropologist
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
HNAI	Handbook of North American Indians, William Sturtevant (general ed.), Smithsonian Institution
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
IJAL-NATS	IJAL Native American Texts Series
UCAR	University of California Anthropological Records
UCARF-C	University of California Archaeological Research Facility, Contributions
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey, Reports
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics

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