

PROBLEMS OF WRITING A HISTORICAL GRAMMAR

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1. INTRODUCTION. For a number of years, I have been revising my Lake Miwok Grammar (Callaghan 1963), which was my Ph.D. dissertation. Specifically, I have been checking my synchronic claims and incorporating a historical dimension. This dimension was not possible initially, since no body of Proto-Miwok and Proto-Utian was then available. My model is, in part, Joseph Wright's Grammar of the Gothic Language (Wright 1954), which first impressed me when I was a graduate student. Specifically, classes of nouns and verbs were presented synchronically, although they were labeled historically.

1.1. DEDICATION. The dedication is important. In my case, I would like it to read as follows: "To My Mentor, Mary R. Haas, and my principal consultants, Alma Grace, James Knight, and John Knight. Also, to Murray B. Emeneau and the late Madison S. Beeler, who taught me Indo-European, and to Yakov Malkiel, who taught me to love etymologies." The dedication should be followed by a list of abbreviations for grammatical terms, such as abl. "ablative case" and smf. "semelfactive." I have followed this with a list of abbreviations for individual languages, such as Ceb "Chocheño" (East Bay Costanoan), and a list of special expressions.

1.2. INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR. I have included a statement of the classification of Miwok languages, the aboriginal boundaries of Lake Miwok territory (with a map), a section on aboriginal culture, including oral literature, and finally, a summary of Lake Miwok history since white contact. The last is very important. The public should know in detail the cavalier mistreatment of Native Americans. I conclude with a history of Lake Miwok scholarship and further acknowledgement of gratitude to my consultants.

2. CHAPTER ONE: SYNCHRONIC PHONOLOGY. In this section, I present a traditional statement of Lake Miwok phonemes, junctures, intonation patterns, morphophonemes, and morphophonemic rules. It is close to my dissertation, except that I have checked all examples and extirpated any analysis motivated by "Item and Arrangement." It is IMPERATIVE for us to produce user-friendly grammars accessible to all linguists, not only those living now, but also future generations when current theories will be superceded. This does not mean that I see no value to a theoretical presentation, but I believe that it should be relegated to a separate part of the grammar, or otherwise kept apart from the "user-friendly" analysis I am advocating. This procedure is especially important in the case of endangered languages, where the grammar may become the primary source of information (see Langdon 1996).

3. CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY. The historical sections of my grammar trace Lake Miwok back to Proto-Miwok primarily, with reference to Proto-Utian. Proto-Miwok (and Proto-Utian) had a single series of stops, and Lake Miwok has three or four series, depending upon the status of aspirated stops. In previous papers (Callaghan 1964, 1987), I have discussed how the non-plain stops, /t/, and /tʰ/ came into the language through massive borrowing from neighboring languages. Once in the language, they became "naturalized," which is to say, incorporated into some native Miwok words.

3.1. LOAN WORDS. In Chapter Two, I enumerate probable and possible loan words, subgrouping them by the presumed language of origin. In most cases, probable loan words incorporate "aberrant" phonemes into words that cannot be reconstructed to deeper levels (Proto-Western Miwok or Proto-Miwok), and they resemble words with the same or similar meanings in neighboring languages. Possible loan words also resemble words in neighboring languages and lack Miwok cognates, but they also lack aberrant phonemes or other means of determining the probable direction of borrowing. Examples now follow:

LAKE MIWOK	ENGLISH	PATWIN	ENGLISH
<i>cúdcudu, c'údc'udu</i>	sideways	Wph <i>č'určuro</i> DU	to turn up
<i>c'íwši</i>	hail	Wph <i>c'íwšín</i> EB	hail
<i>k'úpum</i>	finger	Wph <i>k'upum</i>	finger

The first example illustrates borrowing of a polymorphemic stem. The second underwent a sound change, loss of /n/ in pre-Lake Miwok words of the canon CVCCVn, and the third involves borrowing of a common body part term, probably through intermarriage. A striking feature is the preponderance of loan words from Patwin, more than from all the other languages combined.

This phenomenon is consistent with the slow encroachment of culturally dominant Patwin speakers into Lake Miwok territory. Whistler (1977) argues for Patwin intrusion into the lower Sacramento Valley and adjacent foothill on the basis of Patwin plant terms of Miwok provenience. I have found additional possible evidence supporting Whistler's hypothesis in the form of a possible Miwok substrate for current Patwin place names. An example is Patwin *Li-wai-to* 'people on Putah Creek at the foothills' (Barrett 1908:294), which incorporates the Miwok allative case suffix *-to*. Moreover, *líwa* means 'deep (water)' in Lake Miwok and 'water' in Bodega Miwok.

It is imperative that this type of research be undertaken in advance of, or at least concurrently with the reconstruction of Proto-languages. Disaster would ensue if loan words from French were not excluded from comparison of English with other Germanic languages.

3.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROTO-MIWOK PHONEMES AND RULES. In this section, I sort the Lake Miwok and Bodega Miwok reflexes of Proto-Miwok (and Proto-Western Miwok) words by individual sound developments, starting with identities, i.e. PMi **ka·l* 'smoke from fire' > Mib, Mil *ká·l* 'smoke from fire', PMi **ʔo·ni* 'to come' > Mil *ʔó·ni* 'to come', and PMi **mi·w* 'person' > Mil *mí·w* 'husband'. Glottalization became associated with small, quick, often semi-accidental action in some Lake Miwok reflexes, hence PMie **čituk-nu-* 'to wink at', Mil *c'ít-ak* 'to wink'. The following sets illustrate two developments; PMi **y [i]* > Miw *u* in most environments, and PMi **t(·)* > PMiw **č(·) / á, ó _V*.

	ENGLISH	BODEGA MIWOK	LAKE MIWOK
PMi <i>*kat·y</i>	hard, tough		<i>kác·u</i>
PMi <i>*kyl·a, *ky·la</i>	liver	<i>kúl·a</i>	<i>kúl·a</i>
PMi <i>*pat·i</i>	wrap around	<i>pác·i</i> 'rinse'	
PMi <i>*pyne</i>	packed lunch		<i>púne</i>

A detailed discussion of sound developments, combined with lists of reflexes, provides a solid reference base for further analysis. The section ends with a discussion of morphophonemes and morphophonemic rules that can be reconstructed to Proto-Miwok. One of them, *//CVCVCV(C)// > /CVCV·CV(C)/* (Morphophonemic Lengthening), applies with minor variations throughout much of Utian. Recognition of this rule greatly simplifies the Miwok ablaut system. It entails indicating all the phonemic vowels, including /y/. Failure to do so results in an unnecessary proliferation of stem types and epenthesis rules.

Other things being equal, when presented with alternate analyses, both phonological and morphological, I chose the one which best accords with history. This advice came from Mary R. Haas, and after many false starts on my part, I find that it usually leads to the most elegant solution.

4. CHAPTER THREE: INTRODUCTION TO MORPHOLOGY. Basic terms should be defined in this section in terms of the language in question, with a minimum of examples, since longer lists will

follow in the morphology section. In the case of Lake Miwok, morphemes are of two types, roots and affixes. Roots are monomorphemic and affixes are either suffixes or possessive pronominal prefixes. The latter could be analyzed as proclitics, since they sometimes precede clauses. Examples are /ʔiti-háju/ ‘his dog’, where /j/ is [y] and *tájh kás-ac hél-a ʔúte ʔitiʔóp-ójhintec* ‘she had never seen a man do that kind of thing anywhere she had traveled’, where *ʔiti-ʔóp-ój-hinte-c* (her-travel-where-obj.) means ‘anywhere she had traveled’.

I proceed to define terms relating to nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, particles, and exclamations. I conclude with a short section on submorphemic sequences, such as /...pa/, occurring in *mólpa* ‘cloud’, *mícpa* ‘mist’, and *ʔú-pa* ‘rain’. Mrs. Grace volunteered that it might pertain to the heavens.

5. CHAPTER FOUR: SYNCHRONIC MORPHOLOGY. After much thought, I have decided to present the synchronic morphology first, even though the classification of the Lake Miwok stem types is historical, again like Wright’s classification in *Grammar of the Gothic Language*. I differ from Wright’s approach, in that he interlarded his historical statements with the synchronic. I have acted under the advice of Margaret Langdon, who believed that alternate approaches would be too confusing. My goal is to make an organized, understandable, jargon-free presentation of the data, so that readers can reorganize it according to contemporary theories or use it for other purposes.

5.1. NOUNS AND PRONOUNS. A strictly phonological definition of the word is difficult if not impossible, since unstressed elements tend to cluster phonologically with the preceding word. Possessive pronominal prefixes immediately precede the noun. They distinguish three numbers, with remnants of an inclusive/exclusive contrast in the first person dual. They also distinguish three persons plus an indefinite. The third person is represented by a reflexive prefix contrasting with a non-reflexive prefix. There is no gender distinction, but immediate versus remote reference are marked. Examples follow:

(1) *hanaháju ʔúte*
 his-own dog sees
 He sees his own dog.

(2) *ʔitiháju ʔúte*
 his-dog sees
 He sees his (somebody else’s) dog.

I discuss the derivational noun suffixes, including a semi-optional dual and plural, and the distribution of allomorphs for the nine cases. Pronouns lack prefixes and have no vocative case. I conclude the section with numerous elicited paradigms. When possible, my examples come from complete elicited sentences or texts.

5.2. VERBS. Subjective pronominal clitics usually precede the verb. Unlike possessive prefixes, some of these proclitics have weak allomorphs which always cluster with the previous word. Hence *háju-n ʔúte?* (dog-you sg. see): ‘Did you see the dog?’ Considering possessive elements to be prefixes and subjective elements to be proclitics accords with history as I have reconstructed it. In Proto-Utian, and probably Proto-Miwok, subjective pronominal clitics usually occupied word-second position in a sentence, which means that they preceded the verb if there was a nominal subject. Otherwise, they followed the verb.

In the original version of my grammar, I was forced to set up numerous synchronic classes of verbal stem types. These classes were greatly reduced through reconstruction of the Proto-Miwok ablaut system (Callaghan 1986). This ablaut system is opaque unless one recognizes two morphophonemic rules for Miwok languages, one being the previously mentioned lengthening rule (3.2). The other is $V > \emptyset_V$, where V represents any vowel.

I classify Lake Miwok stems and grades historically wherever possible; hence Mil *múlak* < PMi **mulak* ‘to wash the face’ is a Light Stem, but Mil *múlut* < PMi **mul-tu* ‘to eat breakfast’ is a Cluster Stem. Mil *ʔúkuc* < PU **ʔek-tu* ‘to dream’ is also a Cluster Stem. Mil *ʔú-kuc* < PU **ʔe-kut* ‘to dream repeatedly’ is a Lengthened Grade of that same cluster stem.

This section is followed by a discussion of verbal suffixes. These suffixes are sometimes strung together in a specific relative order.

6. CHAPTER FIVE: HISTORICAL MORPHOLOGY. Stems can be monosyllabic, disyllabic, or trisyllabic. I list all the Proto-Miwok monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems having Lake or Bodega Miwok reflexes.

6.1. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY. In this section, I discuss how the system of Proto-Utian possessive pronominal prefixes developed into the Lake Miwok system. I trace Proto-Miwok derivational noun suffixes into Western Miwok, as well as the Proto-Miwok case system. Both the Lake Miwok nominative and possessive cases derived from an old genitive. The Lake Miwok objective, ablative, instrumental, locative, allative and vocative cases can be traced to Proto-Miwok, although the ablative ultimately derived from the locative case. The provenience of the Lake Miwok comitative case is unknown.

6.2. STEM TYPES AND ABLAUT GRADES. The Proto-Miwok ablaut system involves disyllabic stems only. I have discussed this system elsewhere (Callaghan 1986), as well as its development in Lake Miwok (Callaghan 1992). In this section of my grammar, I list and discuss all Proto-Miwok stems and grades with Western Miwok reflexes.

6.3. SIERRA MIWOK STEM TABLES. These tables (Freeland 1951:94-95, Broadbent 1964:38) present the commonest stem alternations in the surface structures of Central Sierra Miwok and Southern Sierra Miwok respectively. Especially in the case of Broadbent (1964), they are based on two contradictory premises: analysis should involve surface structure only, and it is desirable to omit a phonemic vowel if one can predict its occurrence. The result is an unnecessarily complex proliferation of stem types and the conviction that Sierra Miwok exhibits widespread epenthesis and elaborate template structure. I have addressed this problem in Callaghan (2000). In my grammar, I will include a concordance of Freeland’s system with my own.

6.4. DERIVATIONAL VERB SUFFIXES. Several of these reconstruct to Proto-Miwok and Proto-Utian, including the reflexive, reciprocal, and causative. There were two Proto-Miwok particles marking tense, **ka* ~ **ka* ‘past tense’ and **ma* ‘perfect tense’. These remained particles in Western Miwok, but were incorporated as suffixes into Eastern Miwok verbs.

6.5. INFLECTIONAL VERB SUFFIXES. No person markers can be reconstructed for Proto-Miwok and Proto-Utian verbs except in the imperative (Callaghan 1998). Lake Miwok reflexes of this system have undergone much simplification.

7. CHAPTER SIX: PARTICLES, EXCLAMATIONS, AND SYNTAX. Neither particles nor exclamations can take affixes. Particles sometimes form compounds, but exclamations never do. Exclamations stand apart from sentences, while particles can be subclassified according to their position within a clause. For example, temporal particles usually occur at the beginning or end of clauses, as in *hojót ʔiti ka ʔúte* (ago him I see): ‘I saw him quite a while ago.’ Where possible, I trace the provenience of particles and exclamations.

7.1. SYNTAX. There is much overlap between morphology and syntax, since case suffixes can follow noun phrases or clauses as well as nouns, as in *jolúmni-c ka-ʔunu he ka-ʔáp-i-c welikšinen* (food-obj. my-mother and my-father-obj. get): ‘Get my mother and my father some food!’ In this sentence, *-c* ‘objective case’ follows the phrase *ka-*

únu he ka-ápi 'my mother and my father'. Sentences tend to be verb-final. Words following the verb acquire emphasis. Nominal subjects usually precede nominal objects. In Proto-Miwok, the verb probably tended to be in final position.

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REPORT 11

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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE
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PREFACE

The year 2000 was the 30th anniversary of the first Hokan languages conference. That first conference was imagined, planned and run by Prof. Margaret Langdon at the University of California at Berkeley, with the assistance of Prof. Shirley Silver of California State University at Sonoma. Almost every year since then, Hokan workshops and then Hokan-Penutian workshop in the previous few years had been either very small or even cancelled due to the lack of a sufficient number of people submitting paper titles. There was some thought of abandoning the Hokan-Penutian workshops altogether. Margaret felt that it would be a shame for this long tradition to end without a last hurrah, and so I offered to hold a Hokan-Penutian Workshop at Berkeley in conjunction with the “Breath of Life” Language Workshop for California Indians. The Breath of Life Workshop is a biennial gathering of California Indians here at Berkeley, and is designed primarily for people whose languages have no speakers left. We give them tours of the campus archives and show them how to use publications, fieldnotes and recordings of their languages for their own purposes – primarily language learning and teaching. I felt it would be a good thing to show the linguists who spent their careers working on these endangered languages to see the use their work is being put to by the descendents of the very people they worked with years ago. Therefore, the first session of the Hokan-Penutian Workshop consisted of presentations by the participants in the Breath of Life Workshop. The anticipation of this treat may have played a role in bringing a relatively large crowd here in 2000, perhaps along with billing the workshop as “The (Last?) Hokan-Penutian Workshop.” Sixteen papers (not counting the Breath of Life presentations) were given at the workshop, eight of which are published in this volume.

With both the Hokan and Penutian hypotheses in doubt, there is always a question as to which languages should be included at the workshop. Although my sympathies are with the “splitter” camp in linguistics, I’m definitely a social lumpener. Therefore, for purposes of the workshop I chose to define “Hokan” and “Penutian” as rubrics rather than language stocks, and advertised the workshop as being “for any language that has ever been hypothesized to be Hokan or Penutian.” We thus have papers ranging from Tsimshianic to Zuni, and—oh, well – we even accepted Juliette Blevin’s excellent paper on Yurok, an Algic language, which has never been hypothesized as either Hokan or Penutian.

At the business meeting held at the end of the Hokan-Penutian workshop, no-one wanted to say that this was the last one. Instead, we voted to continue with the workshops on a biennial basis, to be held here at Berkeley from now on, overlapping with the Breath of Life Workshop as it did in 2000. As I write this preface, the two years have already passed, and we are preparing for the 2002 Breath of Life Workshop, which this year will overlap with – not the Hokan-Penutian Workshop – but the 50th Anniversary Celebration of the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages. The upcoming conference for the Celebration subsumes participants in Hokan-Penutian Workshops. I imagine that our biennial gathering will continue on; whether it will be a Hokan-Penutian workshop in 2004 or something broader than that remains to be seen.

Leanne Hinton
Director of the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages

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