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#FragmentedLanguagesWorkshop2020

The pertensive prefixes of Northeastern Pomo (Pne) in the broader Pomoan context

Pne is one of 7 Pomoan languages of N. California & was the only 1 spoken in an area not contiguous w/ speakers of other Pomoan languages.



Pne was the 1st Pomoan language to lose all fluent speakers (c. 1970) & has fragmented documentation. All extant transcribed data lack audio recordings; the sole extant audio recordings lack any transcription.

YEARS COLLECTED	SPEAKERS	RESEARCHERS
1900–1908?	Unknown	Barrett, Samuel
June 20–21, 1903 (with Pummuky); July 20, 1907; May 1923; August 1928 (all work after 1903 with San Diego)	“Chief” Pummuky (in 1903), and “Chief” San Diego (almost certainly Santiago McDaniel)	Merriam, C. Hart
1923	Mary (no surname known), and Santiago McDaniel	Kroeber, Alfred
1936, 1940	Santiago McDaniel (a.k.a. San Diego)	Halpern, Abraham M.
1958	Minnie Bill, Oscar McDaniel, Sharky Moore	McLendon, Sally
1976–1992	Oscar McDaniel, Sharky Moore	Oswalt, Robert L.
1975–1979	Oscar McDaniel	Whistler, Kenneth

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I have assembled a lexical database that includes all extant words from the corpus of transcribed data. With the help of this database, I am attempting to transcribe the limited audio data.

\lx ho:(r)-

\ps v.

\ge to give

\ee <hor[italicized r]a, tōtea> 'give' (Barrett 1908: 68); <máʔa

áhto hó-ra> 'give me food [!]' (Halpern .007.0207), <šá-go

hó-ra> 'pass out tobacco [!]' (Halpern .007.0244), <áhto šími

hó-ra> 'give me the gun [!]' (Halpern .007.0263), <fát ahto

hó-ra> 'give me the basket [!]' (Halpern .007.0311),

<tamutúʔnem áhto hón> 'asking to give to me' (Halpern

.007.0442), <hó-ra> 'give!' (Halpern .007.0754), <á'to hó-ra>

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Kinship terms form a distinct nominal subclass in all 7 Pomoan languages. Unlike common nouns, they are morphologically complex: they are obligatorily possessed (w/ pertensive prefixes) and marked for case.

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The other 6 Pomoan languages show a range of pertensive prefixes on kinship terms, which McLendon states “cannot be completely reconstructed” (1973: 55-56). Let us look at the situation in each language in more detail.

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Pertensive prefixes of Eastern Pomo (Pe):

The complexity of kinship morphology in Pe is matched only by Southern Pomo (Ps).

McLendon (1975: 109-111) divides the pertensive prefixes of Pse kinship terms into Set I and Set II.

Set I prefixes are only used with three kinship terms *qa:wé:li-* 'second or third person's child', *dá:f* 'wife', and *báyle* 'husband'; Set II prefixes are used with the rest, though one prefix, *wáyma-*, is only used with three of these: *-šá:* 'parents-in-law', *-qár* 'husband's siblings', and *-há:* 'wife's siblings'.

The third-person pronouns can be added to Pe kinship terms for number and gender disambiguation, and these are treated as bound by McLendon. They are not obligatory and are considered together with the other prefixes. All prefixes not highlighted in red are either derived from those in red or recently recruited from free pronouns.

	Prefix Set I	Prefix Set II
1sg	wí-	wíma:- (only occurs with 3)
1pl	wáy-	wáyma:-
2sg	mi:-	
2pl	máy-	máymi:-
3sg	unspecified	Ø-
	MASC	(mí:pi-) há:mi:-
	FEM	(mí:ri-) há:mi:-
3pl	(be:ki-)	
3sg.c		ma:-

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Southeastern Pomo (Pse) shows the most diminished system of pertensive prefixes in Pomoan. It appears to have only two prefixes: *m-*, which may occur with 24 kin terms, and *?i-*.

The most widespread prefix, *-m-*, "occurs on the non-vocative forms of all kinship terms elicited, with exception of of the terms for great grandparents, mate, son, sister's child, and son-in-law" (Moshinsky 1974: 102). The other pertensive prefix, *?i-*, "is an alternate first person singular morpheme which occurs only with terms denoting non-descending generation" (Moshinsky 1974: 103). This first-person pertensive prefix cannot be ancient as Pse lost all glottal-initial syllables of Proto Pomo.

Northern Pomo (Pn) and Central Pomo (Pc) show very different developments in their pertensive prefixes: Pn has four prefixes, but Pc has just two, with a third free morpheme for 3-person that is cognate with the 3-person prefix of Pe, Pk, and Ps.

Northern Pomo (Pn) kinship terms show aberrant development of pertensive prefixes: the historic 2-person prefix *mi-* has been uniquely extended to 1sg usage, and the historic 3-person prefix *ma-* has been extended to 2pl usage. The unique prefix *ba-* has pushed out the expected *ma-* for 3-person coreferential prefix. Pn is thus like Pe and unlike all other Pomoan languages in having innovated a number distinction in its prefixes, but unlike the case of Pe, Pn has done so by creating homophony and losing any dedicated 1-person prefix. The potential ambiguity is resolved by the use of free pronouns (with contrastive value), though the agentive form is used rather than a genitive form, as in “ʔa: mi-dé: ‘My sister’ [1sg.AGT 1sg~2-elder.sister]” (O’Connor 1987: 237).

Northern Pomo Pertensive Prefixes (based on O’Connor 1987: 236-237)

1sg	<i>mi-</i>
2sg	
2pl	
1pl	<i>ma-</i>
3c	
3	<i>ba-</i>

Central Pomo (Pc), unlike Pn, has no 1-person pertensive prefix, and it uses a free genitive 1sg pronoun rather than an agentive one to resolve ambiguity, as in *kʰe dáqʰan* ‘my wife’ (Marianne Mithun, p.c.). The most unusual aspect of the Pc kinship system is the morpheme *míya:* ~ *míye:* used for 3-person possession of kinship terms. It has reflexes in Pe, Pk, and Ps, but in those languages, the reflexes are all prefixes. Pc is alone within Pomoan in having failed to grammaticize a prefix from this morpheme.

Central Pomo pertensive prefixes and kinship-restricted free possessive morpheme (based on personal communication from Marianne Mithun)

1 (sg & pl)	∅-
2 (sg & pl)	m-
3 (sg & pl)	<i>míya:</i> ~ <i>míye:</i> *
3c	<i>ma-</i>

\*not a prefix

Southern Pomo (Ps) and Kashaya Pomo (Pk) have similar pertensive prefixes w/ the exception of the 1-person ones, for which Ps has the most elaborate set within Pomoan (matched only by the innovations of Pe). (Ps and Pk reduplicated vocative forms are omitted in this study.)

Kashaya (Pk) has a straightforward system with four prefixes, none of which is sensitive to number. However, its sole 1-person pertensive prefix,  $\text{ʔa:-}$ , is restricted to just three kinship terms: 'father', 'mother', and 'elder brother' (Buckley 1994: 375-376).

Kashaya Pomo pertensive prefixes (based on Buckley 1994: 375-384)

1 formal (sg & pl)	$\emptyset$ - ~ $\text{ʔa:-}$ *
2	mi-
3	miyá-
3c	ma-

\* restricted to three stems

Southern Pomo (Ps), like Pk, has four pertensive prefixes, none of which is sensitive to number. However, unlike Pk, all 1-person-possessed kinship terms in Ps must have a pertensive prefix, and the Southern Pomo 1-person prefixes can be divided into three allomorphs which are roughly distributed according to whether the kinsman is consanguineal (with  $\text{ʔa:-}$ ), affinal (with  $\text{ʔaw:i-}$  ~  $\text{wi-}$ ), or unrelated (with  $\text{ha-}$ , which is restricted to the word for 'friend'). The 3-person-coreferential prefix  $\text{ma-}$  is used with kinsmen whose possessor is coreferential with the subject of the main verb in a clause. But it also serves as the citation form of kinship terms, as in  $\text{ma-ʔe=ko=ʔwa=ʔa}$  [3c-father-with=COP.EVID=1sg.AGT] 'I have a father' (Walker 2020: 142).

Southern Pomo pertensive prefixes (based on Walker 2020: 136-142)

1	$\text{ʔa:-}$ $\text{ʔaw:i-}$ ~ $\text{wi-}$ * $\text{ha-}$ **
2	mi- ~ me-
3	miy:a-
3c	ma-

\*used with affinal relations

\*\*used with 'friend'

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There is much we will never know about the Pne kinship system, but we can trust the transcriptions of Abraham Halpern, and where he collected forms, his transcriptions can be compared to the inadequate transcriptions of C. Hart Merriam. McLendon's untranscribed recordings are of very poor quality (made on an early tape recorder in the 1950s), but where kinship terms occur in the recording and they can be heard clearly, these, too, can be compared with Halpern and Merriam data. On the basis of the aforementioned sources, Pne seems to have three pertensive prefixes: 1-person, 2-person, and 3-person. |

Like Ps (but unlike every other Pomoan language save Pe), Pne has 1-person pertensive prefixes for all kin terms. This 1-person prefix is unique within the family in ending with a nasal: *?an-*. Another peculiarity within Pomoan (except for Pse) is the possibility that Pne lacked a distinction between coreferential and disreferential 3-person pertensive prefixes. Pne *ma-* appears to serve as a general 3-person pertensive prefix, but it may have served additional purposes. Merriam records 'mother' prefixed with *<mah>* and preceded by a 1-person plural possessive pronoun. There are three explanations for this, and it is not possible to know which is correct:

- (1) It's an error
- (2) *ma-* was prefixed to kin terms if they were possessed by a free pronoun
- (3) As in Pn, *ma-* in Pne also had 1-person plural semantics in addition to 3-person ones

Northeastern Pomo perturbive prefixes

1	ʔan-
2	mi-
3 (and 1pl?)	ma-

The paradigm for 'mother' is the most complete for P<sub>ne</sub>:

'mother'	1-person	2-person	3- person
NOM	ʔan-hčaki (H.)	mi-hčaki (MB: W)	ma-hčaki (MB: W) ~ <mah-tā> (M.)
ACC	ʔan-hčaki-l (H.)	mi-hčaki-l (MB: W)	ma-hčaki-l (MB: W)
VOC	čahki-day (H.)		

(H.) = Abraham M. Halpern's transcriptions

(MB: W) = Sally McLendon's audio recordings of Minnie Bill as transcribed by Neil Alexander Walker

(M.) = NAME Merriam's transcriptions

NOTES: <me-chok'-ke> 'Mother (your)' (M.) ~ <Me'-chah'-ke> 'Your (singular) mother' (M.), <mah-a-chuk-ke> 'Mother (your)' [error for 'his mother?'] (M.), <Ham-moot' mah-tā> 'His mother' (M.), <l-et'-mah-tā> 'Our (dual) mother' (M.), hamúʔ mahčáki 'his mother' (MB: W), mihčaki, hamát mihčaki 'her mother' [initial saying probably meant as 'your mother' but misinterpreted by McLendon];(MB: W), hamf:kayʔi mahčáki 'their mother' (MB: W), mahčakil 'his mother' [not sure of the -l] (MB: W)



McLendon did not reconstruct the the pertensive prefixes for Proto Pomo, but she did reconstruct Proto Pomo pronouns. These pronouns are the clear sources for several of the pertensive prefixes in the various daughter languages.

The 2-person pertensive prefixes of the daughter languages descend from Proto Pomo 2sg.POSS \*mí; the 3-person non-coreferential prefixes *há:mi-* of Pe, *miyá-* of Pk, *miy:a-* of Ps and the free morpheme *míya:* ~ *míye:* of Pc all descend from Proto Pomo 3sg.OBJ \*hamíya:-; the 1-person pertensive prefixes *wí-* and *w[áy]-* of Pe and the 1-person prefix allomorphs *?awí-* ~ *wí-* (used with affines) of Ps descend from Proto Pomo 1sg.POSS \*?awí-, and the 1-person suffixes *?a[n]-* of Pnc, *?a-* of Pk, and the *?a-* and *ha-* allomorphs of Ps descend from Proto Pomo 1sg.SUBJ \*ha?á:. Only the origins of 3-person pertensive suffix *ma(:)-* lacks a clear origin in the Proto Pomo pronominal system.

Proto Pomo Pronouns (adapted from McLendon 1973: 56-57)

	"Subject"	"Object"	"Possessive prefix"/ "Possessive"
1sg	*ha?áw *[ha?á:]	*ha?áw + í + -t̥o	*ha?áw + -í *[?awí-]
1pl	*ha?áw + -áya *[?awáya]	*ha?áw + -áya + -al *[?awáyal]	
2sg	*?a:má *[?a:má]	*má + -í + -:t̥o ~ -t̥o ~ -t̥ó *[mí:t̥o] ~ *[mí:t̥o] ~ *[mí:t̥ó]	*má + -í *[mí-]
2pl	*?a:má + -áya *[?a:máya]	*?a:má + -áya + -al *[?a:máyal]	
3sg.M	*hamíya:-b(?) *[hamíyab?]	*hamíya:-	*hamíya:- + -b + -al *[hamí:bal]
3sg.F	*hamíya:-d? *[hamíyad?]	*hamíya:-	*hamíya:- + -d + -al *[hamí:dal]

Note: I have converted McLendon's symbols to WIELD's recommended orthography. Bracketed forms are McLendon's "hypothesized surface form[s]" for Proto Pomo.

The unexpected nasal coda of the Pne 1-person pertensive prefix  $\text{ʔan-}$  might hold a clue to the origins of  $\text{ma-}$ .

At first glance, the Pse prefix  $\text{-m-}$ , which applies to kin terms regardless of the possessor and may combine with the 1-person prefix  $\text{ʔi-}$ , appears to be the result of syncope at an earlier stage of Pse having collapsed the distinctions between 2-person  $\text{*mi-}$  and 3-person  $\text{*ma-}$ . In such a scenario,  $\text{*mi-}$  and  $\text{*ma-}$  collapsed to  $\text{*m-}$ , and Pse speakers reanalyzed this  $\text{*m-}$  as  $\text{m-}$ , a more general prefix applying to many kin terms regardless of possessor.

It is also possible that the Pse situation preserves something older, and this might explain the unexpected coda nasal of the 1-person pertensive prefix of Pne. Perhaps all kin terms were originally prefixed with an  $\text{*m-}$  in Proto Pomo. In some daughter languages, this  $\text{*m-}$  was optionally dropped when a pronoun was used to possess the kin term. The nasal coda of Pne  $\text{ʔan-}$  might be the remnant of this morpheme. If this is correct, then the use of  $\text{-m-}$  with 1-person-possessed kin terms in Pse might be a retention of an earlier situation.

This would also explain the origins of the various 3-person  $\text{ma-}$  forms in the daughter languages. For most (if not all) Pomoan languages, the epenthetic vowel after dorsals and labials is  $\text{/a/}$ . Thus  $\text{ma-}$  as a prefix might have historically been  $\text{*m/}$ . Rather than indicating 3-person possession, it might have served as the default prefix for kinship terms (and thus the original 3-person possession would have been zero marked). The  $\text{/a/}$  would have been inserted before consonant-initial roots (as Proto Pomo lacked initial consonant clusters found in some daughter languages). This would explain why  $\text{ma-}$  prefixed kin terms in Ps have no 3-person-possessed semantics in certain constructions (e.g. 'I have X kinsman'). It would also explain the unusual distribution of the non-coreferential vs. coreferential distinction seen in the 3-person for a subset of daughter languages. Pe, Pk, and Ps all show 3-person non-coreferential prefixes derived from Proto Pomo  $\text{*hamiya-}$ . That this is a more recent development is suggested by Pc, where this morpheme has failed to grammaticize as a prefix.

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