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## Amerind T'A?NA ‘Child, Sibling’

It has recently been claimed (proclaimed may be more accurate) that the comparative method in linguistics is inherently limited to some arbitrary date variously placed at 5,000 to 10,000 years before the present.\* *After* this magical date we may delineate families (i.e. valid linguistic taxa) and even reconstruct large and intricate portions of the various proto-languages, often involving subtle and complex sound correspondences among the constituent families or languages. *Before* this mystical date we suddenly and abruptly encounter a black hole, as it were, devoid of any useful linguistic information whatever. We are thus doomed, according to this view, to be forever incapable of investigating linguistic relationships deeper in the past than 10,000 years.

According to Terrence Kaufman (1990: 23), “a temporal ceiling of 7,000 to 8,000 years is inherent in the methods of comparative linguistic reconstruction. We can recover genetic relationships that are that old, but probably no earlier than that. The methods possibly will be expanded, but for the moment we have to operate within that limit in drawing inferences.” Kaufman then argues that, since the Americas are *known* to have been inhabited longer than the alleged limits of the comparative method, “the proof of a common origin for the indigenous languages of this hemisphere is not accessible to the comparative method as we know it” (p. 26). In a similar vein, Johanna Nichols

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(1990: 477) defines a *stock* as “the oldest grouping reachable by application of the standard comparative method. . . . Most of these are in the vicinity of 6,000 years old since their own internal breakups.” She also claims that “genetic unity for ‘Amerind’ is incompatible with the chronology demanded by the linguistic facts” (p. 475), though one must hasten to add that what Nichols considers “linguistic facts” is not a catalogue of cognate words but “typological diversity.”

In this chapter I will try to show, by examining the interaction of a single Amerind lexical item with a number of morphological processes and affixes, that Amerind, as set forth by Joseph Greenberg (1987), is a well-defined linguistic taxon, with all eleven subgroups connected by the lexical item in question. Furthermore, the constellation of forms that will be shown to connect all branches of Amerind does not exist, to the best of my knowledge, in any other linguistic taxon—at any level—in the world. It follows that if Amerind is a well-defined genetic unit, as I will argue, then the supposed time limits of the comparative method should perhaps be reconsidered.

#### THE ROOT TANA 'CHILD, SIBLING'

One of the lexical items posited by Greenberg in support of the Amerind family was a word whose general meaning is ‘child, sibling,’ and whose general phonetic shape is *tana* or the like (Greenberg 1987: 225). Although Greenberg cited only a few forms—all from North America—the root in question is in fact widespread throughout both North and South America and is found in every branch of the Amerind family. As such, it represents a diagnostic trait of Amerind comparable in value to the Amerind pronominal pattern *na* ‘I’/*ma* ‘thou,’ whose importance Greenberg and others have stressed.

As a first approximation, one might reconstruct the root in question as *\*t'ana* ‘child, sibling’ for Proto-Amerind. North American reflexes of this root include forms such as Nootka *t'an'a* ‘child.’ The Haida form reported by Sapir (1923b: 149), *t'á'na* ‘child,’ is in all likelihood a borrowing of this Nootka word. Sapir himself had documented the borrowing of a Haida kinship term by the Tsimshian through mixed marriages (Sapir 1921). In the present case we seem to have borrowing going in the opposite direction, from the Amerind Nootka to the Na-Dene Haida. The biological consequences of these mixed marriages between peoples of quite distinct ethnic groups, Amerind and Na-Dene, are reported in Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1994). Other North American reflexes of the root *\*t'ana* ‘child, sibling’ include Kwakwaka *t'ana* ‘blood relative,’ Yurok *t<sup>s</sup>ān-ūk-s* ‘child,’ Tsimshian *ʔuk-taēn*<sup>1</sup> ‘grandchild,’ Cayuse

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper I have added morpheme boundaries at points where I believe they are *historically* justified, even though there is often no longer any synchronic motivation for them in the modern languages. For example, I suspect that Tsimshian *ʔuk-taēn*

*i-tsaŋu* ‘young,’ Totonac *t’ána-t* ‘grandchild,’ Achomawi *-tsan* (diminutive), Washo *t’ánu* ‘person,’ Santa Barbara Chumash *taniw* ‘little, child,’ Coahuilteco *t’an-pam* ‘child,’ *kuan-t’an* ‘grandchild,’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*tana* ‘son, daughter,’ Varahio *taná* ‘son, daughter,’ Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*ʔntan* ‘child,’ Popoloca *tʰjān* ‘child, son,’ Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*taʔn* ‘sibling,’ Mixtec *tāʔā* ‘sibling,’ and Miskito *tuk-tan* ‘child, boy.’ South American examples of this root include Shiriana *tasém-taiina* ‘child,’ Urubu-Kaapor *taʔin* ‘child,’ Wapishana *dan* ‘child, son,’ and Atoroi *dan* ‘baby, son.’ (The genetic classification of all languages cited is given in the final section of this chapter.)

All of the forms that I believe (with varying degrees of conviction) to be cognate with those just enumerated are given at the end of this chapter. Those cited above represent what might be considered the original form and meaning. There are quite naturally many items that diverge, often by a single step, from either the original meaning or the original phonetic shape. Let us turn now to these slightly modified forms, first with regard to meaning, and then with regard to form. If we begin with the meaning ‘child, sibling,’ the simplest, and most expected, shifts would be to ‘son, daughter’ for the first term, and to ‘brother, sister’ for the second. In fact, within the context of Algic, Sapir (1923a: 41) noted precisely these semantic developments for the lexical item discussed here: “Proto-Algonquian *\*-tan-* must be presumed to have originally meant ‘child’ . . . and to have become specialized in its significance either to ‘son’ (Wiyot) or ‘daughter’ (Algonkin proper), while in Yurok its close relative *-ta-tʰ* [‘child’] preserved a more primary genetic significance.”

Within the larger Amerind context, Greenberg also noticed the connection between the basic meaning of ‘child’ and that of ‘daughter, sister,’ but he overlooked a parallel connection with masculine forms such as ‘son, brother,’ probably because the latter forms tend to be phonologically more deviant, as we shall see below. Let us consider first a sample of some of the related feminine forms. For Almosan one may point to Proto-Algonquian *\*ne-tān(-ehsa)*

‘grandchild,’ Chol *čok-tuiun* ‘boy’ (cf. Chol *aluš-čok* ‘girl’), Miskito *tuk-tan* ‘child,’ Tibagi *tog-tan* ‘girl,’ and Chapacura *a-čoke-tunia* ‘girl’ are all cognate in both their parts, representing an Amerind compound of two words for child, as discussed below. The fact remains, however, that as far as I can tell there is no *synchronic* motivation for a bimorphemic analysis of the stem in either Tsimshian or Miskito, nor perhaps is there in the South American languages. It is only in the context of the broad analysis proposed here that these apparently monomorphemic stems can be given their proper etymological explanation. The morpheme boundaries proposed are thus a part of the overall hypothesis (and I am likely to be wrong about some of them), but they are *not* an attempt to deceive the reader into thinking that each boundary is still synchronically motivated, an unrealistic expectation for a family older than 12,000 years. Similarly, most of the hypothesized proto-forms given in parentheses (e.g. < *\*tenten*) are intended merely to represent *my* hypothesis, usually fairly transparent, of an earlier form of the word in question.

'my daughter,' \**ne-tān-kwa* 'my sister-in-law,' Kutenai *ga'-t<sup>sw</sup>In* 'daughter,' *tsu* 'sister,' Coeur d'Alene *tune* 'niece,' and Pentlatch *tan* 'mother.' Examples from Keresiouan include Proto-Siouan \**i-thā́-ki* 'man's sister (older or younger),' \**i-thā́-ka* 'woman's younger sister,' \**thū́-wī* 'paternal aunt,' Yuchi *t<sup>s</sup>one* 'daughter,' Caddo *tan-arha* 'wife,' Arikara *i-tahni* 'his sister,' Mohawk *-a-thū-wisə* 'woman,' and Keres *t'aona* 'sister.' In Penutian we find Takelma *t'a-wā* 'younger sister,' North Sahaptin *kw-tən* 'daughter of a female,' Wintun *o-tun-* 'older sister,' *to-q-* 'sister-in-law,' Saclan *tune* 'daughter,' Central Sierra Miwok *tūne-* 'daughter,' Ohlone *tana-n* 'older sister,' Atakapa *ten-sa* 'niece,' Tunica *htóna-yi* 'wife,' Huastec *t<sup>s</sup>anū-b* 'aunt,' Ixil *i-t<sup>s</sup>an* 'aunt,' and Pocomam *iš-tan* 'girl.' Examples from Hokan are Shasta *a-ču-gwi* 'younger sister, younger female cousin' (< \**a-tun-kwi*), Achomawi *a-tā-wi* 'daughter,' Washo *wi-t<sup>s</sup>u-k* 'younger sister' (< \**wi-t'un-ki*), Southeast Pomo *wi-m-t'a-q* 'younger sister,' East Pomo *tuts* 'mother's older sister' (< \**tuntun*), Esselen *tanoč* 'woman,' Salinan *a-ton* 'younger sister,' Coahuilteco *ya-t'ān* 'sister,' and Yurumangui *tintin* 'woman.' Feminine forms from Central Amerind include Taos *t'út'ina* 'older sister' (< \**t'unt'una*), *si-tona* 'wife,' *kle-tuna* 'woman,' Proto-Central Otomi \**t<sup>s</sup>ū* 'female,' Mazatec *č<sup>h</sup>ū* 'woman,' *ču-kwhā* 'aunt,' Proto-Oto-Manguéan \**ntaHn* 'mother,' and Mixtec *tá?nù i?šá* 'younger sister.' For the Chibchan branch of Amerind, probable examples include Xinca *u-tan* 'mother,' Lenca *tuntu-rusko* 'younger sister,' Sumu *i-tanni* 'mother,' Cuna *tuttu* 'woman' (< \**tuntun*), Guamaca *a-tena-šina* 'old woman,' and Motilon *diani* 'wife.' In the Paezan branch there is Citara *tana* 'mother,' Cayapa *t<sup>s</sup>uh-ki* 'sister' (< \**tun-ki*), Colorado *sona-* 'woman,' Eten *čan-ka* 'sister,' and Chimu *čuŋ* 'sister' (< \**tun-ki*). Andean examples include Ona *thaun* 'sister' and Tsoneka *ke-tun* 'sister.' In Macro-Tucanoan, feminine forms are well attested: Kaliana *tone* 'mother-in-law,' Tiquie *ton* 'daughter,' Papury *toŋ* 'daughter,' *tein* 'wife,' Ubde-Nehern *tětón* 'niece,' Parawa *iš-tano* 'woman,' Canichana *eu-tana* 'mother,' Masaca *tani-mai* 'sister,' Tag-nani *tana-nde* 'mother,' Mamainde-Tarunde *denō* 'woman,' Coreguaje *čīio* 'daughter,' *a?čo* 'elder sister,' and *čo?-jeo* 'younger sister.' Feminine forms also abound in Equatorial languages: Mococho *nak-tun* 'woman,' Esmeralda *tin* 'woman,' *tini-usa* 'daughter,' Guamo *tua* 'daughter,' Paumari *a-thon-i* 'granddaughter,' Uru *thun* 'wife,' Chipaya *t'uana* 'woman,' Chapacura *tana-muy* 'daughter,' Abitana *tana* 'woman,' Wapishana *u-dan-rin* 'daughter,' Palicur *tino* 'woman,' Yaulapiti *tine-ru-tsu* 'girl,' Arawak *o-tu* 'daughter,' and Manao *y-tuna-lo* 'woman.' In Macro-Carib we find such feminine forms as Macusi *taŋ-sa* 'girl,' Witoto *i-taño* 'girl,' and Nonuya *om(w)ü-tona* 'sister.' Macro-Panoan examples include Mascocoy *tanni-yap* 'sister-in-law,' Mataco *čina* 'younger sister,' Towithli *tuna-ni* 'woman,' Suhin *tino-iče* 'young woman,' Mayoruna *čuču* 'older sister' (< \**tuntun*), and Tacana *-tóna* 'younger sis-

ter.' Finally, we may cite feminine forms from Macro-Ge such as Oti *donduede* 'woman' (< \**tuntun-ede*), Botocudo *giku-taŋ* 'sister,' *tontan* 'wife,' Macuni *a-tina-n* 'girl, daughter,' Palmas *tantā* 'female,' Coropo *ek-tan* 'mother,' Mashakali *etia-tün* 'woman,' Patasho *a-tön* 'mother,' Apucarana *wey-tytan* 'younger sister,' Tibagi *tog-tan* 'girl,' *tantö* 'woman,' Apinaye *i-tö-dy* 'sister,' Cayapo *torri-tuŋ* 'old woman,' *tun-juo* 'girl,' Aponegicran *i-thon-ghi* 'sister,' Caraho *a-ton-ka* 'younger sister,' *tö-i* '(older?) sister,' Krëye *-tö-ue* 'sister,' and Piokobyé *a-tön* 'older sister,' *a-tön-kä* 'younger sister.'

Masculine forms are no less abundant, but they offer the additional complication that some of them overlap with those of the widespread root *tata* 'father,' whose global distribution has long been recognized. Still, in most cases I believe it is possible to distinguish the two roots. Almosan preserves traces of the masculine forms in Cheyenne *tatan-* 'older brother,' Arapaho *na-tseno-ta* 'my nephew,' Yurok *t<sup>s</sup>in* 'young man,' and possibly Kutenai *tsiya* 'younger brother' and *tat* 'older brother.' In Keresiouan there are a number of masculine forms, including Proto-Siouan \**thú-kā* 'grandfather,' Biloxi *tan-do* 'woman's brother,' Quapaw *ĩ-do-ke* 'male,' Biloxi *i-to* 'male, man,' Yuchi *tane* 'brother,' *-t<sup>s</sup>one* 'woman's son,' *go-t'ε* 'man, father,' *tukā* 'grandfather,' Caddo *dono* 'male,' Pawnee *ti-ki* 'boy, son,' Cherokee *a-tsō* 'male of animals,' *a-tsutsu* 'boy' (< \**a-tuntun*), and Mohawk *-?tsin* 'boy, male.' Probable Penutian cognates include Takelma *t'ɪ* 'man, male,' Siuslaw *t'āt* 'nephew,' Molale *pam-tin* 'nephew,' Cayuse *puna-taŋ* 'younger brother,' Proto-Maiduan \**týn* 'younger brother,' Yaudanchi *bu-tson* 'son,' Lake Miwok *?a-tāa* 'older brother,' Central Sierra Miwok *ta-čī* 'older brother,' *a-te* 'younger brother,' San Francisco Costanoan *šen-is-muk* 'boy,' Mutsun *šin-ie-mk* 'boy,' Natchez *hi-dzina* '(man's) nephew,' Atakapa *ten-s* 'nephew,' Kakchiquel *a-čín* 'man,' Sierra Popolucan *hā-thuŋ* 'father,' and Texistepec *tene(-īap)* 'man.' In Hokan we find Achomawi *ā-tün* 'younger brother,' Konomihu *ču-ka* 'boy,' Northeast Pomo *tono* 'brother-in-law,' Eastern Pomo *tsets* 'mother's brother' (< \**tenten*), Washo *?ā-t'u* 'older brother,' Chumash (*ma-k-*)*ič-tu?n* '(my) son,' Santa Cruz Chumash *tunne-č* 'boy,' *huk-tana-hu* 'my son,' Yuma *an-t<sup>s</sup>en* 'older brother,' Coahuilteco *t'āna-gē* 'father,' and *ku-t'an* 'uncle.' Central Amerind examples include Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tu* 'boy,' Northern Paiute *tua* 'son,' Mono *tuwa* 'son,' *t<sup>s</sup>u-ku* 'old man,' Tübatulabal *tena* 'man,' Kawaiisu *tuwaa-na* 'son,' *to-go* 'maternal grandfather,' Pipil *pil-tsin* 'boy, son,' Tewa *sēŋ* 'man, male,' Mazahua *t'i-?i* 'boy,' Otomi *?i-dá* 'woman's brother,' Cuicatec *?díínó* 'brother,' and Zapotec *p-ta?n* 'woman's brother.' Masculine forms in the Chibchan branch include Cuitlatec *ču* 'boy,' Rama *<sup>n</sup>du-tuŋ* 'younger brother,' *i-tūŋ* 'father,' Move *nge-dan* 'brother-in-law,' and Motilon *a-te-gwa* 'nephew' (< \**a-ten-kwa*). Paezan examples are *ne-tson* 'brother-in-law,' Cayapa *t<sup>s</sup>āna* 'son,' Chimu *čaŋ* 'younger brother,' and Millcayac *tzhœng*

‘son.’ In Andean we have Simacu *kax-ðana* ‘maternal uncle,’ Araucanian *tʰoñi* ‘woman’s son,’ Tehuelche *den* ‘brother,’ Manekenkn *ie-tog-te* ‘brother,’ and Ona *tane-ngh* ‘maternal uncle.’ In Macro-Tucanoan there are also numerous examples: Auake *toto* ‘older brother’ (< \**tonton*), Tiquie *ten* ‘son,’ Ubde-Nehern *téain* ‘boy,’ *ten* ‘son,’ *tën-do* ‘maternal uncle,’ Capishana *mia-tuna* ‘older brother,’ *totoi* ‘brother-in-law’ (< \**tonton-i*), Tagnani *ui-tono-re* ‘son,’ Amaguaje *tʰin* ‘boy,’ *ye-tʰen-ke* ‘son,’ Coreguaje *čii* ‘son,’ *aʔ-č* ‘elder brother,’ *čoʔ-jei* ‘younger brother,’ Yupua *tsin-geē* ‘boy,’ and Tucano *ti-kã* ‘son-in-law’ (< \**tin-kan*). Masculine forms are also widespread in Equatorial: Cayuvava *tete* ‘uncle’ (< \**tenten*), Mochochi *tin-gua* ‘son, boy’ (< \**tin-kwa*), Cofan *tzándeý-dése* ‘boy,’ *tōʔtō* ‘uncle’ (< \**tonton*), Yaruro *to-kwī* ‘small boy’ (< \**ton-kwi*), Tembe *t̃y-k̃ỹh̃ỹr* ‘older brother,’ *ty-h̃uh̃ỹr* ‘younger brother,’ *coai-t̃y* ‘brother-in-law,’ *a-tiu* ‘father-in-law,’ Arikem *u-taua* ‘brother,’ Aweti *a-tu* ‘grandfather,’ Uruku *toto* ‘grandfather’ (< \**tonton*), Guahibo *ā-tō* ‘elder brother,’ Uru (*t*)*soñi* ‘man,’ Wapishana *douani* ‘lad,’ *i-dini-re* ‘son-in-law,’ *teti* ‘maternal uncle’ (< \**tintin*), Uainuma *at-tsiu* ‘uncle’ (< \**aʔ-tyu*), Custenau *a-tu* ‘grandfather,’ Uirina *a-tina-re* ‘man,’ Mehinacu *a-to* ‘grandfather,’ Manao *no-tany* ‘my son,’ Atoroi *dani-ʔinai* ‘son,’ *a-tidn* ‘younger brother,’ and Goajiro *čon* ‘son,’ *tan-či* ‘brother-in-law’ (< \**tan-ki*). Macro-Carib examples include Yameo *a-tin* ‘man,’ Galibi *tun* ‘father,’ Pavishana *tane* ‘my son,’ *tutu* ‘grandfather’ (< \**tuntun*), Bakairi *i-tano* ‘grandfather,’ Imihita *tãã-ti* ‘grandfather,’ and Muinane *i-to* ‘paternal uncle.’ In Macro-Panoan we find masculine forms such as Kaskiha *an-tū-ye* ‘woman’s son,’ Mosenen *čuñe* ‘brother-in-law,’ Sotsiyay *taão-kla* ‘boy,’ Mayoruna *tsana* ‘man,’ Culino *hatu* ‘brother,’ Huarayo *toto* ‘man’s brother’ (< \**tonton*), Arasa *dodo* ‘brother’ (< \**tonton*), and Chama *toto* ‘uncle’ (< \**tonton*). Finally, in Macro-Ge we have examples such as Guato *čina* ‘older brother,’ Caraja *wa-θana* ‘uncle,’ Umotina *in-dondo* ‘maternal son-in-law’ (< \**in-tonton*), Cotoxo *či-ton* ‘brother,’ Meniens *a-to* ‘brother,’ Puri *ek-ton* ‘son,’ *makaša-tane* ‘brother,’ Patasho *eke-tannay* ‘brother,’ Apucarana *ti* ‘man,’ Apinaye *i-tō* ‘brother,’ *tu-ká* ‘paternal uncle, son-in-law’ (< \**tun-ko*), *tu-ka-ya* ‘maternal grandfather,’ *tu-ka-tí* ‘brother-in-law, son-in-law,’ Cayapo *i-ton* ‘brother,’ Krēye *tana-mni* ‘boy,’ *tō* ‘younger brother,’ Caraho *tō* ‘brother,’ *ton-ko* ‘older brother,’ and Piokobyé *tōn-ko* ‘older brother,’ *ha-tōn* ‘younger brother.’

Let us turn now to the question of form. The evidence from languages such as Nootka, Kwakwala, Keres, Takelma, Siuslaw, Yuki, Atakapa, Ixil, Pokomchi, Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Chontal, Totonac, Yana, Yahi, Southern Pomo, Washo, Coahuilteco, Mazahua, and perhaps Chipaya indicates that the initial consonant was probably a glottalized *tʼ*; the second consonant was *n*. (Chipaya is the only South American language I have found that appears to retain the original glottalization.) There are indications in a number of languages

that the root-initial vowel was originally followed by a glottal stop (cf. Nez Perce *pi-tʼiʔn* ‘girl,’ Chumash (*ma-k-*)*ič-tuʔn* ‘(my) son,’ Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*taʔn* ‘sibling,’ Mixtec *táʔnù iʔsá* ‘younger sister,’ Zapotec *p-taʔn* ‘woman’s brother,’ Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*si(ʔ)(n)* ‘youngster,’ Isthmus Zapotec *ʒiʔniʔ* ‘son,’ Southern Nambikwara *tyũʔn* ‘small,’ Urubu-Kaapor *taʔin* ‘child,’ and Erikbatsa *tsiʔn-kārar* ‘small’). In many languages the original glottal stop was lost, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (e.g. Proto-Algonquian *\*ne-tāna* ‘my daughter,’ Lillooet *s-tūnə-q* ‘niece,’ North Sahaptin *p-tʼin-ik-s* ‘girl,’ Central Sierra Miwok *tūne-* ‘daughter,’ Achomawi *a-tūn* ‘younger brother,’ Coahuilteco *ya-tʼān* ‘sister,’ Cuicatec *?diińó* ‘brother,’ Rama *i-tūŋ* ‘father,’ Cayapa *tʼāna* ‘son,’ Yupua *tsīm-geē* ‘boy,’ and Yagua *dēnu* ‘male child’).

The vowel situation is far less clear, with a superficial appearance of complete heterogeneity. Nevertheless, I would like to suggest that these diverse forms have all evolved from a system that consisted of three terms in Proto-Amerind: *\*tʼiʔna* ‘son, brother,’ *\*tʼuʔna* ‘daughter, sister,’ and *\*tʼaʔna* ‘child, sibling.’ From these terms, the working of analogy (in various directions in various languages), the addition of affixes to modulate the meaning, and both regular and sporadic sound changes have produced the multiplicity of forms enumerated in the final section of this chapter. From time to time a few linguists have noticed seemingly related forms that differ in their initial vowel and meaning, but within the context of a single language the origin of these differences has remained mysterious. Thus, for example, Berman (1986: 421) concludes that Yurok “*tʼsān-* ‘young’ is related to *tʼin* ‘young man’ cited above. I believe that one of these is an old changed form of the other, but I do not know which is which.” If one considers only Yurok, then no explanation of these forms is possible. However, when Yurok is placed in the wider context of Amerind, the source of these related forms is a trivial consequence of the Proto-Amerind system of gender ablaut outlined in this chapter.

Greenberg pointed out the presence of an opposition between masculine *i* and feminine *u* in the Equatorial and Macro-Tucanoan branches of Amerind, but considered it an innovation restricted to these two groups (Greenberg 1987: 296–98). The evidence outlined above shows, I believe, that this alternation was already present in Proto-Amerind and involved a third term as well, sex-neutral *a*.<sup>2</sup> No presently extant Amerind language preserves all

<sup>2</sup> The same alternation is found in another Amerind word for child (Greenberg, pp. 203–4), Proto-Amerind *\*makV* ‘child,’ Nez Perce *méqeʔ* ‘paternal uncle,’ Washo *mēhu* ‘boy,’ Chimariko *meku* ‘brother-in-law,’ Southeast Pomo *i-mek* ‘father,’ Walapai *mik* ‘boy,’ Tequistlatec (*ʔa-*)*mihkano* ‘boy,’ Pamigua *mekve* ‘boy,’ Waikina *mehino* ‘boy,’ Yawelmani *moki* ‘wife,’ *mokoi* ‘maternal aunt,’ Gashowu *mokheta* ‘girl,’ Santa Cruz Costanoan *mux-aš* ‘girl,’ Shiriana *moko* ‘girl,’ Pavishana *muʼgi* ‘daughter,’ Waikina *maxkē* ‘child,’ Ticuna *mākan* ‘child.’

three grades with the original vowel and meaning, but several preserve two of the three, and even more preserve one of the three variants essentially unchanged. One of the clearest examples occurs in Tiquie, a member of the Puinave group of Macro-Tucanoan, where we find *ton* ‘daughter’ and *ten* ‘son.’ A closely related language, Nadobo, has *tata* ‘child,’ perhaps derived from an original *\*tantan*. In the Tucanoan branch of Macro-Tucanoan, Coreguaje has *čīī* ‘son’ opposed to *čīio* ‘daughter,’ and *aʔ-čī* ‘elder brother’ opposed to *aʔ-čo* ‘elder sister.’ Elsewhere in South America, in the Arawakan branch of Equatorial, we find Atoroi *dan* ‘baby’ and *a-tidn* ‘younger brother,’ the latter form probably deriving from original *\*a-tin*. Another Arawakan language, Ipurina, contrasts *ni-tari* ‘my brother’ with *ni-taru* ‘my sister,’ showing that the *i/u* opposition has been grammaticized in both the Equatorial and Macro-Tucanoan branches of Amerind. In the Timote branch of Equatorial, Mococho contrasts *tin-gua* ‘son, boy’ with *nak-tun* ‘woman.’ At the southern tip of South America, in two closely related languages of the Andean family, we find Tehuelche *den* ‘brother’ and Tsoneka *ke-tun* ‘sister.’ Chimú, in the Paezan branch, almost preserves the original forms in *čuj* ‘sister’ contrasting with *čaŋ* ‘younger brother.’

In North America, the Yurok language of California, a member of Almosan, contrasts *t<sup>s</sup>ān-ūk-s* ‘child’ with *t<sup>s</sup>in* ‘young man.’ In California Penutian *\*-tō* ‘grandmother’ and *\*téh* ‘child, son’ have been reconstructed for Proto-Maiduan. Elsewhere in California Penutian we find Wintun *te-* ‘son, daughter’ and *o-tun-* ‘older sister.’ In the Pomo branch of Hokan, also in California, East Pomo contrasts *tuts* ‘mother’s older sister’ with *tsets* ‘mother’s brother’; the first form presumably derives from *\*tuntun*, the latter, from *\*tenten*. Siouan languages preserve the gender contrast in Proto-Siouan *\*yí-ki* ‘son’ and *\*yú-ki* ‘daughter.’ Furthermore, according to Matthews, internal reconstruction points to Pre-Siouan *\*sí-ki* ‘son’ and *\*sú-ki* ‘daughter’ (Matthews 1959: 273). It seems likely that these forms, in turn, derive from earlier *\*thin-ki* and *\*thun-ki*, respectively, thus exemplifying not only the gender-induced vowel alternation, but even the root under discussion in this chapter. If this is correct, then perhaps the source of Siouan aspiration lies in Amerind ejectives. Unexplained for the moment is the differential treatment of initial *\*thun-* in the words for ‘daughter’ and ‘paternal aunt.’ Possibly the “normal” sound change *thi* > *ši* in the word for ‘son’ was analogically extended to the morphologically similar word for ‘daughter.’ It would appear that Biloxi has preserved the vowel contrast in *as-tō-ki* ‘daughter’ and *as-tí-ki* ‘boy.’ In the Tanoan branch of Central Amerind we have Tewa *sēŋ* ‘man, male’ (< *\*ten*) contrasting with Taos *t’út’ina* ‘older sister’ (< *\*t’unt’una*). In Mexico, Proto-Oto-Manguean contrasted *\*sehn* ‘male’ with *\*suhn* ‘female,’ and the similarity of Proto-Central Otomi *\*sū-t<sup>s</sup>i* ‘girl’ with both Tewa (Tanoan) *sūn-tsi* ‘intimate

friend, chum' and Pre-Siouan \*šú-ki 'daughter' is striking. In Mayan, Pokomchi contrasts  $\bar{i}$ -t<sup>s</sup>in- 'younger sibling' with *i*-t<sup>s</sup>an-naʔ 'aunt,' while Kakchiquel has *a*-čín 'man' and *iš*-tan 'señorita.' On the East Coast of North America, Mohawk has *a*-thū-wisə 'woman' contrasting with -ʔtsin 'male, boy,' while Yuchi opposes *tane* 'brother' and -t<sup>s</sup>one 'daughter.'

#### MORPHOLOGICAL AFFIXES AND PROCESSES

As the observant reader will have already noticed, it is not just the root *t'a?na* 'child, sibling' that connects the various forms given in the preceding section. There are, in addition to the root itself, a number of affixes and morphological processes that show up in various Amerind subgroups in conjunction with the root.

**The Gender Ablaut System.** The interaction of the stem with the process of gender-induced vowel alternation was discussed above. Additional examples are provided in the final section of this chapter.

**The Age-Differential System.** One of the primary factors leading to "incorrect vowels"—from the point of view of the gender ablaut system—was the development of a competing system, based on age, in which the *-i-* vowel was reinterpreted as meaning 'young child, regardless of sex,' and/or the vowel *-u-* was reinterpreted as 'older relative, regardless of sex.' Examples of the *-i-* vowel reinterpreted in this manner include Yurok *t<sup>s</sup>it<sup>s</sup>* 'younger sibling' (< \**tintin*), Kutenai *tiʔte* 'granddaughter,' Mohawk *-a-ten-oʔsə* 'brothers and sisters, to be siblings,' Nez Perce *pi-t<sup>ʔ</sup>ʔn* 'girl,' Wintun *te-* 'son, daughter,' Proto-Maiduan \**téh* 'child, son,' Natchez *tsitsī* 'infant,' Proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil \**ʔih-t<sup>s</sup>in* 'man's younger brother, woman's younger sibling,' Yahi *t<sup>ʔ</sup>i'nī-si* 'child, son, daughter,' Southern Pomo *t<sup>ʔ</sup>i-ki* 'younger sibling,' San Buenaventura Chumash *u-tinai* 'infant,' Proto-Oto-Manguian \**si(ʔ)(n)* 'younger,' Pehuenche *čēčē* 'grandchild' (< \**tenten*), Alakaluf *se-kwai* 'grandchild,' Maku *tenu-ʔpa* 'son, daughter,' Tiquie *tenten* 'grandchild,' Yehupde *tē* 'child,' Kamaru *te-ke* 'nephew, niece,' Marawa *tino* 'small child,' Bare *hana-tina-pe* 'child,' Arara *enru-te-po* 'small child,' and Suhin *tino-iče* 'young woman.' Examples where the *-u-* vowel has been reinterpreted as a marker of the parent's or grandparent's generation include Northeast Pomo *tono* 'brother-in-law,' Tewa *t<sup>ʔ</sup>ūnu* 'maternal uncle,' possibly Caddo *dono* 'male,' Corobisi *tun* 'man,' Move *dun* 'father,' Kagaba *du-we* 'elder brother,' Paez *ne-tson* 'brother-in-law,' Capishana *mia-tuna* 'older brother,' Iranshe *šūna* 'father-in-law,' Yuracare *suñe* 'man,' Cofan *tōʔtō* 'uncle' (< \**tonton*), Aweti *a-tu* 'grandfather,' Manaže *tutý* 'paternal uncle,' Paumeri *ā-θu* 'paternal uncle,' Caranga *čuñi-l* 'brother-in-law,' Galibi *tun* 'father,' Pavishana *tutu* 'grandfather,' Mosenet *čuñe* 'brother-in-law, paternal son-in-law,' Culino *mu-tun* 'old man,' Tacana

*e-du-e* ‘older brother,’ Chama *toto* ‘uncle’ (< *\*tonton*), Botocudo *gy-ḵune* ‘brother-in-law,’ Opaye *o-čobn* ‘man,’ and Cayapo *ḵuno* ‘father.’

**Reduplication.** Many of the forms show reduplication, a common process for Amerind kinship terms. I have shown elsewhere (see Chapter 10 herein) that Proto-Amerind contrasted *\*p’oj* ‘younger brother’ with a reduplicated form *\*p’ojp’oj* ‘older brother.’ A similar process can be seen with the forms discussed in this chapter, where the reduplicated form represents someone older than that represented by the non-reduplicated form. Thus, Proto-Amerind contrasted *\*tin* ‘(younger) brother, son’ with *\*tintin* ‘older brother, uncle, grandfather’ (e.g. Eastern Pomo *tsets* ‘mother’s brother,’ Nisenan *?i-titi* ‘cousin,’ Cayuvava *tete* ‘uncle,’ Wapishana *teti* ‘maternal uncle’), as well as *\*tun* ‘(younger) sister, daughter’ with *\*tuntun* ‘older sister, aunt, grandmother’ (e.g. Wintun *tūtuh* ‘mother,’ Tzeltal *čuču?* ‘grandmother,’ Eastern Pomo *tuts* ‘mother’s older sister,’ Esselen *tutsu* ‘niece,’ Taos *-t’út’ina* ‘older sister,’ Tarascan *t<sup>s</sup>ut<sup>s</sup>u* ‘grandmother,’ Cuna *tuttu* ‘woman,’ Colorado *sonasona* ‘woman,’ Mayoruna *čuču* ‘older sister’). Other reduplicated forms show the same pattern, though with a vowel different from that predicted by the gender system (e.g. Cherokee *e-dudu* ‘grandfather,’ Central Sierra Miwok *tete* ‘older sister,’ Yurumangui *tintin* ‘woman,’ Sumu *titin-ki* ‘grandmother,’ Auake *toto* ‘older brother,’ Ubde-Nehern *tetein* ‘wife,’ Capishana *totoi* ‘brother-in-law,’ Cofan *tō?tō* ‘uncle,’ Uruku *toto* ‘grandfather,’ Manaže *tuty* ‘paternal uncle,’ Wapishana *teti* ‘maternal uncle,’ Pavishana *tutu* ‘grandfather,’ Azumara *toto* ‘man,’ Huarayo *toto* ‘man’s brother,’ Puri *titiña* ‘grandmother’). In some cases the reduplicated form represents a younger generation (e.g. Kutenai *ti?te* ‘granddaughter,’ Tiquie *tenten* ‘grandchild,’ Caranga *tuto* ‘grandchild’). This may be the result of a reciprocal system of kinship terminology in which there is a single term for both ‘grandchild’ and ‘grandparent.’

**First-Person *\*na-*.** Since kinship terms are necessarily preceded by a pronominal suffix in many Amerind languages (and probably in Proto-Amerind as well), it is not surprising that we often find the ubiquitous first-person *\*na-* ‘my’ preceding the root in question. Examples include Proto-Algonquian *\*ne-tāna* ‘my daughter,’ *\*ne-tān-kwa* ‘my sister-in-law,’ Nez Perce *?in-t<sup>s</sup>i-k’ī-wn* ‘my wife’s brother,’ Kiowa *nɔ:tɕ:* ‘my brother,’ Taos *añ-t’út’ina* ‘my older sister,’ Cahuilla *ne-suḡa-mah* ‘my daughter,’ Paez *ne-tson* ‘my brother-in-law,’ Manao *no-tany* ‘my son,’ Yavitero *nu-tani-mi* ‘my daughter,’ Baniva *no-tani* ‘my son,’ and Ipurina *ni-tari* ‘my brother.’

**Diminutive *\*-ihsa*.** The Proto-Algonquian diminutive suffix *\*-ehsa* is in fact of Amerind origin, appearing widely in both North and South America with this and other roots. L. S. Freeland (1931: 32) called attention to its pres-

ence in both Penutian and Hokan languages: “This Penutian *\*-si* diminutive is characteristic, it would seem, as contrasted with its undoubtedly cognate Hokan *\*-tsi* (*\*-’tsi*).” For the root in question one may cite Proto-Algonquian *\*ne-tān-ehsa* ‘my daughter,’ Yurok *tʰān-ūk-s* ‘young child,’ Nootka *t’an’ē-ʔis* ‘child,’ Chumash *ma-k-ič-tuʔn* ‘my son’ (literally, “the-my-diminutive-son”), Koasati *tʰika-si* ‘younger son,’ *áto-si* ‘infant child,’ Mixtec *táʔnù iʔšá* ‘younger sister’ (*iʔšá* = ‘child’), Esmeralda *tini-usa* ‘daughter,’ Macusi *taŋ-sa* ‘girl,’ and Suhin *tino-iče* ‘young woman.’ Other examples of this diminutive suffix include Cayuse *kwun-asa* ‘girl,’ Paez *kuen-as* ‘young woman,’ Cahuapana *willa-ša* ‘boy, girl,’ Amuesha *koy-an-ešaʔ* ‘girl,’ and Chama *e-gʷan-asi* ‘woman.’

**Diminutive *\*-mai*.** Another diminutive suffix that is widespread within Amerind is *\*-mai*, exemplified in Luiseño *tuʔ-mai* ‘woman’s daughter’s child,’ Cahuilla *ne-suʔa-mah* ‘my daughter,’ Masaca *tani-mai* ‘younger sister,’ Chacacura *tana-muy* ‘daughter,’ Itene *tana-muy* ‘girl,’ and Yavitero *nu-tani-mi* ‘my daughter.’

***\*-kwa* ‘. . .-in-law’.** The Proto-Algonquian suffix *\*-kwa* ‘. . .-in-law’ is likely cognate with the corresponding suffix in Columbian *ti-kʷa* ‘father’s sister,’ Flathead *tití-kʷe* ‘woman’s brother’s daughter,’ Yuki *-tʰí-hwa* ‘husband’s brother,’ *-tʰí-hwa-pi* ‘husband’s sister, wife’s sister,’ Iowa *tá-gwa* ‘son-in-law,’ Northern Paiute *taŋ-ʔwa* ‘man,’ Shasta *a-čú-gwi* ‘younger female cousin,’ Jicaque *tsi-kway* ‘boy, child,’ Mazatec *ču-kwhã* ‘aunt,’ Trique *du-ʔwe* ‘aunt,’ Kagaba *tu-gwa* ‘grandchild,’ Mixtec *du-ʔwi* ‘aunt,’ Motilon *a-te-gwa* ‘nephew,’ Paez *anš-tsun-kue* ‘grandchild,’ Tucano *ti-kã* ‘son-in-law,’ Yaruro *hia-to-kwi* ‘maternal grandson,’ Alakaluf *se-kwai* ‘grandchild,’ Surinam Carib *tí-ʔwo* ‘brother-in-law,’ and Tacana *u-tse-kwa* ‘grandchild,’ as well as with other roots (e.g. Yurok *ne-kwa* ‘my mother/father-in-law,’ Proto-Mixtecan *\*kuʔn-gwi* ‘woman’s sister,’ Cahuapana *kaik-kwa* ‘sister-in-law,’ Krenye *pan-čwö* ‘sister-in-law’).

**Demonstrative *\*i-*.** The prefix *i-* found on many forms (e.g. Proto-Siouan, Pokomchi, Chontal, Ulua, Sumu, Guambiana, Manao, Witoto, Apinage, Aponegicran, Capaxo) was probably originally a demonstrative pronoun.

***\*ʔa-* ‘Elder’.** Many of the forms show traces of a prefix whose original form and meaning appear to have been *\*ʔa-* ‘elder.’ Examples include Wintun *o-tun-če* ‘older sister,’ Proto-Miwok *\*ʔá-ta* ‘older brother,’ Lake Miwok *ʔa-táa* ‘older brother,’ Yuki *ʔā-t’át* ‘man,’ Kakchiquel *a-čín* ‘man,’ Sierra Popoluca *hā-thuŋ* ‘father,’ Mixe *a-ts* ‘elder brother,’ Shasta *ʔá-ču* ‘older sister,’ Achomawi *a-tūn* ‘younger brother,’ Washo *-ʔá-t’u* ‘older brother,’ Northern Paiute *a-tsi* ‘maternal uncle,’ Coreguaje *aʔ-čí* ‘elder brother,’ *aʔ-čo* ‘elder sister,’ Aweti *a-tu* ‘grandfather,’ Guahibo *ā-tō* ‘elder brother,’ Paumari *ā-dyu* ‘older brother,’ Uainuma *a-ttsiu* ‘uncle,’ Custenau *a-tu* ‘grandfather,’ Yameo *a-tin* ‘man,’ and

Piokobyé *ha-tōn* 'younger brother.' This prefix may also be found in Proto-Maipuran *\*ahšeni* 'man, person,' which could reflect an earlier *\*ʔa-teni*.

**\*-ko 'Elder'.** The suffix *\*-ko* also modulates the root with the meaning 'elder.' Its clearest attestation is in Macro-Ge forms such as Caraho *ton-ko* 'older brother,' Piokobyé *tōn-ko* 'older brother,' Umotina *žu-ko* 'paternal father-in-law' (< *\*tun-ko*), Apinaye *tu'-ká* 'paternal uncle, son-in-law,' *tu'-ka-ya* 'maternal grandfather,' *tu'-ka-tí* 'brother-in-law, son-in-law.' Outside of Macro-Ge, possible reflexes include Proto-Siouan *\*thú-kā* 'grandfather,' Assiniboine *tū-gá* 'maternal grandfather,' Santee *thū-ká* 'maternal grandfather,' Biloxi *tú-kā* 'maternal uncle,' Tfalti *čaj-ko* 'man,' Zuni *tač-ču* 'father' (if this derives from *\*tan-ko*), Mixe *tsu-gu* 'aunt,' Northern Paiute *to-go'o* 'maternal grandfather,' Mono *t<sup>s</sup>u-ku* 'old man,' Tübatulabal *tu-gu* 'brother's wife,' Kawaiisu *to-go* 'maternal grandfather,' and Yuri *čo-ko* 'man.'

**\*-win 'Female'.** The similarity between Proto-Siouan *\*thú-wī* 'paternal aunt,' Yurok *ne-ts-iwin* 'my mother-in-law,' Southeast Pomo *wi-kwi* 'sister' (< *\*win-kwi*), and Nez Perce *ʔin-t<sup>s</sup>i-k'ī-wn* 'my wife's brother' suggests a Proto-Amerind formative *\*win* 'female.' Whether Tlappanec *ada-tāh-wī?* 'child' is related to these forms is unclear.

**\*wis- 'Older Female'.** The comparison of Mohawk *-a-thū-wisə* 'woman,' Proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil *\*wiš-* 'older sister,' Cogui *wežu* 'older female,' Guayabero *wiš<sup>j</sup>* 'female,' and Churuya *-viči* 'female' suggests that Proto-Amerind had a formative *\*wis-* 'older female,' preserved in Mohawk as a fossilized affix on the root this chapter discusses.

**\*iš- 'Female'.** This prefix is perhaps related to the preceding. Examples include Pocomam *iš-tan* 'girl,' Kakchiquel *iš-tan* 'señorita,' Yaruro *iš-to-hwī* 'small girl' (cf. *to-kwī* 'small boy'), and Parawa *iš-tano* 'woman.'

**Reciprocal \*-ki/-ka.** In his classic study of Proto-Siouan kinship terminology G. H. Matthews noted that "there are two suffixes, *\*-ki* and *\*-ka*, which were probably productive in Proto-Siouan, but which, in the daughter languages, are nonproductive, or, in the case of *\*-ki* in some languages, semiproductive. Reflexes of these suffixes are now best treated as a part of the stems they follow, with the result that a stem in one language will sometimes be cognate with all but the last syllable of a stem in another language, this last syllable being a reflex of one of these Proto-Siouan suffixes" (Matthews 1959: 254–55). It seems likely that the Proto-Siouan suffix *\*-ki* is cognate with the Yanan suffix *\*-si* that Sapir noted in forms such as Yahi *t'ī'nī-si* 'child, son, daughter.' Regarding this suffix, Sapir wrote that it "is used in several . . . terms indicating relations to one of a younger generation" (Sapir 1918: 156). It would appear that Proto-Amerind had at least two reciprocal suffixes used

to denote certain kinship relationships: *\*-ki* and *\*-ka*. Possibly the diachronic source of the first affix, and perhaps of both, is the Proto-Amerind suffix *-ki* 'we-2 inclusive,' discussed by Greenberg (1987: 287–89) in detail. Examples of the *\*-ki* suffix include Proto-Siouan *\*i-thá-ki* 'man's sister (older or younger),' Proto-Siouan *\*yí-ki* 'son,' Proto-Siouan *\*yú-ki* 'daughter,' possibly Wiyot *čī-k* 'child' (if this derives from *\*tin-ki*), Southern Sierra Miwok *tá-či?* 'older brother,' Biloxi *as-tǐ-ki* 'boy,' Yuchi *wi-ta-ki* 'young man,' Pawnee *tí-ki* 'boy, son,' Yahi *t'í'nī-si* 'child, son, daughter,' Southern Pomo *t'í-ki* 'younger sibling,' Mazahua *t'í-ʔi* 'boy,' Tewa *sūn-tsi* 'intimate friend, chum' (< *\*tun-ki*), Proto-Central Otomi *\*sū-tʂi* 'girl' (< *\*tun-ki*), Cayapa *tʂuh-ki* 'sister,' Kaliana *tai-ge* 'brother,' Amaguaje *ye-tsen-ke* 'son' (cf. *tʂin* 'boy'), Yupua *tsīm-geē* 'boy,' Kamaru *te-ke* 'nephew, niece,' Goajiro *tan-či* 'brother-in-law,' Taulipang *a-tʂi-ke* 'older brother,' and Aponegicran *i-thon-ghi* 'sister.'

The following are probably reflexes of the *\*-ka* suffix: Proto-Siouan *\*i-thá-ka* 'woman's younger sister,' San Juan Bautista *ta-ka* 'older brother,' Rumsen *tá-ka* 'older brother,' Konomihu *ču-ka* 'boy,' Binticua *ču-ka* 'grandchild,' *a-ta-ka* 'old woman,' Tegria *su-ka* 'sister,' Eten *čan-ka* 'sister,' Iquito *i-ta-ka* 'girl,' Caraho *a-ton-ka* 'younger sister,' and Piokobyé *a-tōn-kä* 'younger sister.'

**\*t<sup>l</sup>uk- 'Child'.** Several forms appear to represent the remnants of a Proto-Amerind compound *\*t<sup>l</sup>uk-t'a?na*, both of whose constituents originally meant 'child.' Putative examples of this compound include Tsimshian *tuk-taēn* 'grandchild,' Chontal *čox-to* 'young,' Chol *čok-tuiun* 'boy' (cf. *aluš-čok* 'girl'), Miskito *tuk-tan* 'child, boy,' Manekenkn *ie-tog-te* 'brother,' Tibagi *tog-tan* 'girl,' and Chapacura *a-čoke-tunia* 'girl.' It seems likely that Santa Cruz Chumash *huk-tana-hu* 'my son' and Yurok *tʂān-ūk-s* 'young child' (< *\*tʂān-hūk-s*) exhibit the same compound.

**\*pam 'Child'.** Both Penutian and Hokan languages show a compound consisting of *\*pam* 'child' and the root discussed in this chapter. In the Plateau branch of Penutian we find Molale *pam-tin* 'nephew,' Proto-Sahaptian *\*pám-t* 'nephew' (woman's brother's son), North Sahaptin *pám-ta* 'nephew,' Nez Perce *pám-tin* 'nephew.' Coahuilteco, a Hokan language, appears to show the same compound in *t'an-pam* 'child,' though with a different grade of the Amerind root and with a different ordering of the constituents.

**Demonstrative \*mV.** There is a final element that is found sporadically with the root under discussion in this chapter. In synchronic grammars it is usually described as an intercalated *-m-* that appears, somewhat mysteriously, between a possessive prefix and a kinship term. Its meaning, if any is specified, is usually vague. Moshinsky (1974: 102) reports that in Southeastern Pomo, a member of the Hokan branch of Amerind, "the *-m-* prefix occurs on the non-vocative forms of all kinship terms" (with a few exceptions) in

forms such as *?i-m-sen* 'maternal uncle,' *?i-m-t<sup>s</sup>e-x* 'paternal uncle,' *?i-m-t<sup>s</sup>en* 'maternal grandfather,' *wi-m-t'a-q* 'younger sister.' This latter form is suspiciously similar to Washo *wi-t<sup>s</sup>u-k* 'younger sister,' which appears to lack the intercalated *-m-* and to involve a different grade of the Amerind root, and also resembles Yuchi *wi-ta-ki* 'young man.' It should be emphasized that the Washo form is synchronically monomorphemic, whereas in the Southeastern Pomo form the final morpheme boundary is not synchronically motivated. In both languages the reciprocal *-ki* ~ *-ka* has become fossilized on the stem, as in Siouan languages. In Washo the archaic first-person singular pronoun *wi-* has also become fossilized in the word for 'younger sister,' but in Southeastern Pomo both the first-person singular pronoun *wi-* and the intercalated *-m-* are synchronically motivated.

In the Plateau branch of Penutian we find a similar intercalated *-m-* in both Nez Perce and Northern Sahaptin. For most Nez Perce kinship terms the first-person possessed form is simply the first-person prefix followed by the root, as in *naʔ-tót* 'my father,' *?im'-tót* 'thy father.' In four of the terms, however, an intercalated *-m-* appears in the first-person term, but not in the second-person form: *?in-m'-ásqap* 'man's younger brother,' *?in-ím-qanis* 'man's younger sister,' *?in-m'-át<sup>s</sup>ip* 'woman's younger sister,' *?in-m'-ít-x* 'woman's sister's child.' In Northern Sahaptin we find the following forms: *in-m-íšt* 'my son,' *in-ma-awit'ał* 'my brother-in-law,' *in-m-ač* 'my sister-in-law,' *in-əm-am* 'my husband,' *in-m-ašam* 'my wife.' With regard to this *-m-*, Jacobs (1931: 235) concluded that "there is some doubt concerning *m*; it may be possessive *-mi* or *inmi* vestigially prefixed before a front vowel."

In South America, a similar intercalated *-m-* appears in Itonama, a Paezan language of Bolivia, as reported in Rivet (1921: 175). Rivet noted this prefix, between first-person *š-* and the root in the following forms: *š-me-tíka* 'my mother,' *š-mi-múka* 'my father,' *š-máy-yamășne* 'my father-in-law,' *š-ma-yamășne-ka* 'my mother-in-law,' *š-mi-yama* 'son-in-law,' and *š-mey-mapi-ni* 'my husband.' (First-person *š-* is perhaps cognate with the first-person suffix *-(a)š* in Sahaptin.)

It seems likely that this intercalated *-m-*, for which no meaning is usually specified, represents a fossilized article that has become part of the stem synchronically. The diachronic source of this element is in all probability the Proto-Amerind demonstrative *\*mV-* posited by Greenberg (1987: 283–84). Greenberg noted that the original demonstrative meaning has been eroded in many languages, appearing fossilized on nouns as a Stage III article in Guato, as the impersonal possessor in Algic, as the third-person reflexive pronoun in Uto-Aztecan, and as a body-part prefix in Salish.

## AMERIND \*TʼAʔNA ‘CHILD, SIBLING’

Here I present the evidence I have found for \*tʼaʔna ‘child, sibling,’ and its masculine and feminine grades, within Amerind. For expository purposes only I list Almosan, Keresiouan, Chibchan, and Paezan separately, though the first two form one branch of Amerind, and the latter two, another. Many of these forms are taken from Greenberg’s unpublished Amerind notebooks (Greenberg 1981), whose data originally suggested to me the analysis presented in this chapter. Subsequently, I added many additional items as the result of my own library research. During this research I often came upon the same forms that Greenberg had included in his notebooks. Since it has recently been alleged that his notebooks are untrustworthy and filled with errors, I must take this opportunity to report that I have found the claim to be wholly unwarranted. The notebooks do faithfully reflect the linguistic literature upon which they are based. The few errors that were introduced in the various stages of the production of his book can hardly be taken to invalidate Greenberg’s basic classification of Native American languages, any more than errors in his African data invalidated his African classification, or, for that matter, any more than the numerous errors in the standard etymological dictionary of Indo-European (Pokorny 1959) invalidate the Indo-European family. We are, after all, not dealing with a mathematical proof that can be invalidated by a single false step. We are dealing rather with the *preponderance of evidence*, which does not rest on any single datum. Furthermore, if one wishes to find out whether a particular sound/meaning association exists in Native American languages, there is at present no other place to find such information except in Greenberg’s notebooks.

As mentioned in footnote 1, I have added many morpheme boundaries that do not appear in the original sources, either on the basis of indicated morpheme boundaries in other related languages, or according to the analysis proposed in this chapter. Many of these suffixes are no longer synchronically motivated in the modern languages, representing fossilized elements that have lost their meaning. No doubt some of my proposed morpheme boundaries will turn out to be erroneous, and obviously not all of the proposed cognates have equal probabilities of being correct. Though many forms are virtually certain to be cognate (and it is these that guarantee the validity of the etymology), others can only be included with varying degrees of confidence, owing to semantic and/or phonological anomalies. It would of course be a miracle if every form cited below were genuinely cognate. But it would, in my opinion, be even more miraculous if the *vast majority* of these forms were *not* cognate, and the few random errors that inevitably creep into a work of this scope are not likely to affect the general conclusions drawn.

**ALMOSAN:** Proto-Algonquian \**ne-tāna* 'my daughter,' Proto-Central Algonquian \**-tāna-* 'daughter,' Blackfoot *ni-tána* 'my daughter,' Menomini *ni-tān* 'my daughter,' Cheyenne *nah-tōnna* 'my daughter,' Arapaho *na-tane* 'my daughter,' Atsina *na-tan* 'my daughter,' Proto-Algonquian \**ne-tān-ehsa* 'my daughter,' Cree *ni-tān-is* 'my daughter,' Ojibwa *nen-tān-iss* 'my daughter,' Potawatomi *n-tan-əs* 'my daughter,' Fox *ne-tān-esa* 'my daughter,' Shawnee *ni-tān-eʔθa* 'my daughter,' Proto-Algonquian \**ne-tān-kwa* 'my sister-in-law,' Ojibwa *nen-tān-kwe* 'my sister-in-law,' Fox *ni-tā-kwa* 'my sister-in-law'; ?Proto-Algonquian \**nīʔ-tā-wa* 'my brother-in-law (man speaking),' Abenaki *na-dō-kw* 'my brother-in-law, my sister-in-law,' Cheyenne ?*tatan-* 'older brother' (< \**tantan*), Blackfoot *tsi-ki* 'boy' (< \**tin-ki*), Arapaho *na-tseno-ta* 'my nephew'; Ritwan: Wiyot *(yi)-dān* ~ *(yi)-dār* '(my) son, father,' *tse-k* ~ *čī-k* ~ *tsa-k* 'child' (< \**tin-ki*), Yurok *ne-ta-t<sup>s</sup>* 'my child,' *t<sup>s</sup>ān-ūk-s* 'young child,' *t<sup>s</sup>in* 'young man,' *t<sup>s</sup>it<sup>s</sup>* (Robins) 'younger sibling' (< \**tintin* or perhaps < \**tin-ki*), *čič* (Gifford) 'very young sibling, very young child'; Kutenai *ga'-t<sup>sw</sup>in* 'daughter' (cf. Yuchi *go-t'o* 'child' [*go-* = 'human being'], *go-t'e* 'man'), *tsu* 'sister (of a girl),' *tat* 'older brother,' *tsā* ~ *tsiya* 'younger brother,' *tiʔte* 'granddaughter' (< \**tintin*); Chimakuan: Chemakum *činni-s* 'sister,' Salish: Flathead *sín-t<sup>se</sup>ʔ* 'younger brother (man speaking),' *tún-š* 'sister's children,' *tití-k<sup>w</sup>e* 'woman's brother's daughter,' Lillooet *s-tūnə-q* 'niece,' Coeur d'Alene *tune* 'niece,' Columbian *šín-ča* 'younger brother,' *ti-k<sup>w</sup>a* 'father's sister,' *tūn-x* 'man's sister's child,' Spokane *tūn-š* 'man's sister's child,' *tuwəs-tim* 'deceased parent's sibling,' Lower Fraser *tān* 'mother,' Pentlatch *tan* 'mother,' *tet* 'boy,' Lkungen *nə-tan* 'mother'; Wakashan: Nootka *t'an'a* 'child,' *t'an'ē-ʔis* 'child,' Kwakwala *t'ana* 'blood relative,' Oowekyala *tān'i-ǵui-l* 'to be closely related to one's spouse.'

**KERESIOUAN:** Siouan: Proto-Siouan \**i-thā-ki* 'man's sister (younger or older),' Dakota *taŋ-ke* 'man's older sister,' Santee *mi-tān-ke* 'my sister,' Osage *i-tō-ge* 'elder sister,' Quapaw *tā-ki* 'younger sister,' Kansa *wi-tō-ge* 'younger sister,' Chiwere *taŋ-e* 'sister,' Biloxi *tā-ki* 'elder sister,' Tutelo *tahāk* 'sister,' Proto-Siouan \**i-thā-ka* 'woman's younger sister,' Mandan *tā-ka* 'younger sister,' Dakota *taŋ-ka* 'woman's younger sister,' Proto-Siouan \**yí-ki* 'son' (< Pre-Siouan \**ší-ki* < \**thin-ki*?), Assiniboine *t<sup>s</sup>ī-k-ší* 'son,' Teton *tshī-k-ší* 'son,' Omaha *ží-ge* 'son,' Biloxi *as-tí-ki* 'boy,' Proto-Siouan \**yú-ki* 'daughter' (< Pre-Siouan \**šú-ki* < \**thun-ki*?), Assiniboine *t<sup>s</sup>ū-k-ší* 'daughter,' Santee *tshū-k-ší* 'daughter,' Osage *žó-ge* 'daughter,' Biloxi *as-tō-ki* 'girl,' Proto-Siouan \**thú-wī* 'paternal aunt,' Dakota *toŋ-wiŋ* 'aunt,' Santee *tō-wī* 'aunt,' Winnebago *čū-wī* 'paternal aunt,' Biloxi *tōn-i* 'paternal aunt, son-in-law,' Proto-Siouan \**thú-kā* 'grandfather,' Assiniboine *tū-gá* 'maternal grandfather,' Santee *thū-ká* 'maternal grandfather,' Biloxi *tú-kā* 'maternal uncle,' *tan-do* 'woman's younger brother,' *a-di* 'father,' Quapaw *ī-do-ke* 'male,' Biloxi *i-to*

'male, man,' Mandan *i-se-k* 'male,' Iowa *tá-gwa* 'son-in-law'; Yuchi *-t<sup>s</sup>'one* 'son, daughter (woman speaking),' *-tane* 'brother,' *-s'anε* 'man's son,' *go-t'ē* 'man, father,' *go-t'o* 'child,' *tu-kā* 'grandfather,' *wi-ta-ki* 'young man'; Caddoan: Caddo *tan-arha* 'wife,' *dadin* 'his sister,' *dono* 'male,' Pawnee *i-tahri* 'his sister,' *ti-ki* 'boy, son' (< *\*tin-ki*), Arikara *i-tahni* 'his sister,' Adai *hā-siŋ* 'man'; Iroquoian: Cherokee *a-tsō* 'male of animals,' *ā-t'ɔn'ō<sup>n</sup>* 'young woman,' *a-tsutsu* 'boy,' *e-dudu* 'grandfather,' Seneca *-a-tēn-ōte-* 'to be siblings,' *-tēno-ō?* 'to be parents-in-law,' *-a-tyoh* 'sibling-in-law,' Onandaga *ho-tonia* 'baby,' Cayuga *htsi?* 'older sibling,' *-a-tēhn-ōtē?* 'to be siblings,' Mohawk *-?tsin* 'male, boy,' *-a-ten-o?tsō* 'brothers and sisters, to be siblings,' *-a-tyo-* 'brother-in-law,' *thō-th-* 'aunt,' *-a-thū-wisō* 'woman,' *?-tsi-* 'older sibling,' *?-a-te-re-* 'grandchild'; Keresan: Keres *-t'aona* 'sister.'

**PENUTIAN:** Tsimshian *ʔuk-taēn* 'grandchild,' *?Gitksan dii-kw* 'daughter, sister (woman speaking)'; Oregon: Takelma *t'ī-* 'man, male, husband,' *t'ī-* (*t'k'*) '(my) husband,' *t<sup>s</sup>'a-* 'woman's brother's child, man's sister's child,' Tfaliti *čaŋ-ko* 'man,' Coos *te<sup>u</sup>* 'nephew,' Siuslaw *tī* 'niece,' *t'āt* 'nephew' (< *\*t'an-t'an*); Plateau: North Sahaptin *p-t'īn-ik-s* 'girl' (cf. the Yurok form for 'young child' cited above), *p-ta-χ* 'son's child,' *pi-tə-χ* 'maternal uncle,' *pām-ta* 'woman's brother's son,' Nez Perce *pi-t'ī?n* 'girl,' *?in-t<sup>s</sup>i-k'ī-wn* 'my wife's brother' (literally, "my-brother-reciprocal-wife"), *pām-tin* 'woman's brother's son,' *?tá-qa?* 'maternal uncle,' Molale *pam-tin* 'nephew,' Cayuse *pnē-t'ij* 'my brother,' *i-tsaŋ u* 'young'; Proto-California Penutian *\*tač* 'father' (< *\*tan-ki*), Wintun *te-* 'son, daughter,' *o-tun-če* 'older sister,' *tan-* (*če*) 'father, paternal uncle,' *tai-* 'nephew, niece, grandchild,' *tūtuh* 'mother' (< *\*tuntun*), *to-q-* 'sister-in-law,' Northwest Wintun *bi-čen* 'daughter'; Maiduan: Proto-Maiduan *\*týn* 'younger brother,' Nisenan *tyne* 'younger brother,' *?i-tīti* 'cousin' (< *\*?i-tintin*), *te<sup>a</sup>naj* 'boy,' Proto-Maiduan *\*téh* 'child,' Maidu *té* 'son,' Proto-Maiduan *\*tō* 'grandmother'; Yokuts: Yaundanchi *bu-tson* 'son,' *ʔaati* 'man,' *t'uta* 'maternal grandmother' (< *\*t'untan*); Miwok: Proto-Miwok *\*ʔá-ta* 'older brother,' Saclan *tune* 'daughter,' Lake Miwok *ʔa-táa* 'older brother,' Plains Miwok *tī-ka* 'sister, elder sister,' *ʔā-ti-* 'younger brother or sister,' *ʔa-ta-t<sup>s</sup>i* 'older brother' (< *\*ʔa-tan-ki*), *tūne-* 'daughter,' *tete* 'mother's younger sister,' *tete-či* 'mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter' (< *\*tenten-ki*), Southern Sierra Miwok *tune-* 'daughter,' *tá-či?* 'older brother,' Central Sierra Miwok *ʔūni* 'small, young,' *-tūne* 'daughter,' *tá-či* 'older brother,' *a-če* 'grandchild,' *a-te* 'younger brother, younger sister,' *téte* 'older sister'; Costanoan: San Francisco *ta-ka* 'brother,' *šen-is-muk* 'boy' (MALE-DIMINUTIVE-CHILD?), Ohlone *tanan* 'older sister,' *t<sup>s</sup>inín* 'daughter, child,' *ta-ka-m* 'older brother,' Santa Cruz *tānan* 'older brother,' *ū-te-k* 'younger sibling,' *sinsin* 'nephew,' Rumsen *-tān* 'older sister,' San Juan Bautista *ta-ka* 'older brother,' Rumsen *tana* 'older sister,' *tá-ka* 'older brother,' Mutsun

*šin-ie-mk* ‘boy,’ *tuta* ‘young man,’ *ta-ka* ‘older brother,’ *tit<sup>s</sup>-tan* ‘daughter-in-law’; Zuni *tač-ču* ‘father’ (< \**tan-ku*); Gulf: Yuki *ʔā-tʼát* ‘man,’ *-t<sup>s</sup>ʼína* ‘daughter’s husband,’ *-t<sup>s</sup>ʼi-hwa* ‘husband’s brother,’ *-t<sup>s</sup>ʼi-hwa-pi* ‘wife’s sister, husband’s sister,’ Wappo *taʔa* ‘mother’s younger brother,’ Coast Yuki *dī-ke* ‘older sibling,’ Natchez *tsitsī* ‘infant’ (< \**tintin*), *hi-dzina* ‘nephew,’ Chitimacha *tātʼin* ‘younger brother or sister,’ *ʔa-si* ‘male,’ Atakapa *t<sup>s</sup>ʼon* ‘small, young,’ *ten-s* ‘nephew,’ *ten-sa* ‘niece,’ *teñ* ‘mother,’ Tunica *sī* ‘male,’ *htóna-yi* ‘wife,’ Koasati *t<sup>s</sup>i-ka* ‘elder son,’ *á-ti* ‘person,’ *t<sup>s</sup>i-ka-si* ‘younger son,’ *á-to-si* ‘infant child’; Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *a-tan* ‘wife,’ Lacandon *i-tsin* ‘younger brother,’ Chorti (*w*)-*ih-tān* ‘sibling,’ (*w*)-*ih-t<sup>s</sup>ʼin* ‘younger sibling,’ Cholti *i-tan* ‘sister,’ Proto-Cholan (Fox) \**ih-tan* ‘man’s older sister, man’s older female cousin,’ Chol *ih-tiʔan* ‘man’s sister,’ *čok-tuiun* ‘boy,’ Huastec *t<sup>s</sup>anū-b* ‘aunt,’ Ixil *i-t<sup>s</sup>ʼan* ‘aunt,’ Pokomchi *ī-t<sup>s</sup>ʼin-* ‘younger sibling,’ *i-t<sup>s</sup>ʼan-naʔ* ‘aunt,’ Pocomam *iš-tan* ‘girl’ (*iš* = female), Kakchiquel *iš-tan* ‘señorita,’ *a-čín* ‘man,’ Proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil \**ʔih-t<sup>s</sup>ʼin* ‘man’s younger brother, woman’s younger sibling,’ \**ʔi-čan* ‘maternal uncle,’ Tzeltal *čučuʔ* ‘grandmother,’ Aguacatec *ču* ‘grandmother,’ Ixil *t<sup>s</sup>ʼuy* ‘grandmother,’ Kekchi *naʔ-čín* ‘grandmother,’ Mam *ču* ‘mother,’ Ixil *čuč* ‘mother,’ Quiché *ču* ‘mother,’ Chontal *i-t<sup>s</sup>ʼin* ‘younger sibling,’ *i-čan* ‘father-in-law,’ *čič* ‘older sister’; Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *hā-thuj* ‘father,’ Sayula *čuʔ-naʔ* ‘father-in-law,’ Texistepec *tene-īap* ‘man,’ Mixe *tat* ‘father,’ *ta-gh* ‘mother,’ *ats* ‘elder brother,’ *its* ‘younger brother,’ *uts* ‘younger sister,’ *tsyö* ‘elder sister,’ *tsu-gu* ‘aunt,’ Totonac *tʼána-t* ‘grandchild.’

**HOKAN:** Proto-Hokan (Kaufman) \*(*ā*)*tʼu(n)* ‘brother,’ \**-čʼi* (diminutive) (< \**-tʼin?*), Karok *tunuè-ič* ‘small,’ Arra-arra *atit<sup>s</sup>* (< \**a-tin-ki*) ‘grandson, paternal grandparent’; Shasta: Shasta *ʔā-ču* ‘older sister,’ *a-ču-gwi* ‘younger sister, younger female cousin,’ Konomihu *ču-ka* ‘boy’; Palaihnihan: Achomawi *a-tūn* ‘younger brother,’ *a-tā(-wi)* ‘daughter,’ *ōt* ‘daughter-in-law,’ *čini* ‘maternal uncle,’ *-tsan* (diminutive); Yanan: Northern Yana *tʼinī* ‘to be little,’ *tʼinī-si* ‘child, son, daughter,’ Yahi *tʼiʼnī-si* ‘child, son, daughter’; Pomo: Proto-Pomo (McLendon) \**t<sup>s</sup>u-t<sup>s</sup>ʼi* ~ \**t<sup>s</sup>e-t<sup>s</sup>ʼi* ‘mother’s brother,’ \**tʼá-qi* ‘younger sibling,’ \**tʼhūt<sup>s</sup>* ‘mother’s older sister,’ Southern Pomo *ʔiʼi-ki* ‘younger sibling,’ *aba-tsin* ‘father’s older brother,’ *amu-tsin* ‘father’s sister,’ Northeast Pomo *ʔiʼi-ki* ‘younger sibling,’ *čunū-š* ‘child’ (cf. Chemakum *činni-s* ‘sister’), *ti-ki-dai* ‘older sister,’ *tono* ‘brother-in-law,’ *tā-čʼi* ‘maternal grandfather,’ Central Pomo *de-ki* ‘older sister,’ *de-ki-dai* ‘younger sister,’ Eastern Pomo *tsets* ‘mother’s brother,’ *tuts* ‘mother’s older sister,’ Southeast Pomo *ʔi-m-sen* ‘maternal uncle,’ *ʔi-m-t<sup>s</sup>e-x* ‘paternal uncle,’ *ʔi-m-t<sup>s</sup>en* ‘maternal grandfather,’ *χá-t<sup>s</sup>ʼin* ‘sister’s child,’ *wi-m-tʼa-q* ‘younger sister,’ (*du-*)*tʼa-q* ‘younger brother,’ Southwest Pomo *ʔiʼi-ki* ‘brother’s son’; Washo *-ʔā-tʼu* ‘older brother,’ *wi-tsʼu-k* ‘younger sister,’ *tʼánu* ‘person’; Salinan-Chumash: Chumash: Ynezeño *tuʔn*

'son, daughter,' (*ma-k*-)iĉ-tu?n '(my) son,' ĉiĉi 'boy,' Santa Barbara *taniw* 'little, child,' San Buenaventura *u-tinai* 'infant,' Santa Cruz *tunne-ĉ* 'boy,' *huk-tana-hu* 'my son'; Esselen *tano-ĉ* 'woman,' *tutsu* 'niece'; Salinan *a-t'on* ~ *a-t<sup>h</sup>on* 'younger sister,' *tani-l* 'granddaughter,' *ta-k* 'nephew, niece'; Yuman: Mohave *n-tai-k* 'mother,' *in-ĉien-k* 'older brother,' *n-athi-k* 'mother's older sister,' Yuma *an-t<sup>s</sup>en* 'older brother,' Kamia *in-ĉa-ĉun* 'my older sister,' Havasupai *θa-wa* 'woman's sister' (< \**tan-kwa?*); Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *ya-t'ān* 'sister,' *t'an-pam* 'child,' *t'āna-gē* 'father,' *ma-t'ān* 'paternal grandchild,' *tza-t'an* 'maternal grandchild,' *kuan-t'ān* 'grandchild,' *ku-t'an* 'uncle,' *maki-t'ān* 'aunt,' ?*t'atā-l* 'brother,' *t<sup>s</sup>an* 'small, young' (cf. Achomawi *-tsan* [diminutive]); Tlappanec *ada-tāh-wī?* 'child'; Jicaque *tsi-kway* 'boy, child'; Yurumangui *ki-tina* ~ *tintin* 'woman,' *a-ta-isa* (< \**a-tan-isa*) 'sister.'

**CENTRAL AMERIND:** Uto-Aztecan: Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tana* 'daughter, son,' Varahio *taná* 'son, daughter,' Tarahumara *rana* 'son, daughter,' Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tu* 'boy,' ?Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**sun* ~ \**son* 'woman,' Northern Paiute *tua* 'son,' *a-tsi* 'maternal uncle,' *to-go'o* 'maternal grandfather,' ?*taŋ-?wa* 'man,' Southern Paiute *tua* 'son' (< \**tona-*, according to Sapir), *t<sup>s</sup>inA-nI* 'mother's younger brother,' Mono *tuwa* 'son,' *t<sup>s</sup>u-ku* 'old man,' Tübatulabal *tena* 'man,' ?*tōhan* 'father's younger brother,' *u-tsu* 'maternal grandmother,' *tu-gu* 'brother's wife,' Kawaiisu *tuwaana* 'son,' *to-go* 'maternal grandfather,' *šinu* 'maternal uncle,' Northern Diegueño *e-ĉun* 'paternal uncle's daughter, maternal aunt's daughter,' Luiseño *tu?* 'maternal grandmother,' *tu?-mai* 'woman's daughter's child' (*-mai*=diminutive), *šun āa* 'woman,' Cahuilla *ne-suŋ a-mah* 'my daughter,' Serrano *-šun* 'daughter,' ĉiĉ 'woman's sister's son-in-law' (< \**tintin*), Pipil *-tsin* (diminutive), *pil-tsin* 'boy, son' (cf. Tewa *ebile* 'child'), Nahuatl *ten-tzo* 'younger brother,' *tzin* (diminutive), *min-ton-tli* 'great grandson'; Tanoan: Kiowa *tā?* 'sister, brother,' *nɔ:-tɔ:* 'my brother,' Hano *tutu'uŋ* 'paternal uncle,' *t'ete* 'maternal grandfather,' Tewa *ti'u* 'younger sibling,' *t'ūnu* 'maternal uncle,' *t'et'e* 'maternal grandfather,' *tū?ε* 'nephew, niece' (< \**tun-ke*), *sēŋ* 'man, male,' *sūn-tsi* 'intimate friend, chum,' Taos *añ-t'út'ina* 'my older sister,' *ñi-tona* 'wife,' *añ-tāna* 'kin of wife,' San Ildefonso *-tiu* 'younger sibling,' Isleta *tiyū* 'younger sister'; Oto-Manguean: Proto-Oto-Manguean \**sehn* 'male,' \**suhn* 'female,' Proto-Central Otomi \**sū-tsi* 'girl' (< \**t'un-ki?*), \**t<sup>s</sup>ū* 'female,' Chichimec *-ĉō* 'female,' Mazahua *t'i-?i* 'boy' (< \**t'in-ki*), Otomi *t'i-xú* 'daughter,' *?i-dá* 'woman's brother,' Mazatec *ĉ<sup>h</sup>ū* 'woman,' *ĉu-kwhā* 'aunt,' *in-ta* 'son,' Chatina *t<sup>s</sup>unō-hō* 'woman,' Proto-Oto-Manguean \**ntaHn* 'mother,' \**?ntan* 'child,' \**ta?n* 'sibling,' Mixtec *tā?ā* 'sibling,' *tá?nū i?šá* 'younger sister' (*i?šá* = 'child'; cf. Proto-Algonquian \**-tān-ehsa* 'daughter'), *du-?wi* 'aunt,' Trique *du-?we* 'aunt,' Cuicatec *?dínó* 'brother,' Popoloca *t<sup>s</sup>hjan* 'child, son,' Chinantec *tsañi-h* 'man,' Zapotec *p-ta?n* 'woman's brother,' Proto-Oto-Manguean \**si(?)(n)* 'youngster,' Popoloca *ĉin-ka* 'little (of animals),' Proto-Otomi \**t<sup>s</sup>i* 'small (of animals and humans),' Proto-Chatino

\*šĩñV? 'son,' Isthmus Zapotec ži?ĩñi? 'son,' Proto-Chinantecan \*sĩ? 'child.'

**CHIBCHAN:** Tarascan *t<sup>s</sup>ut<sup>s</sup>u* 'grandmother' (< \**tuntun*), Cuitlatec *ču* 'boy,' *čanu-i* 'my wife,' Xinka *u-tan* 'mother,' *tatan* 'father,' Lenca *tuntu-rusko* 'younger sister,' *ū-t'áne* 'father,' Sumu *i-tanni* 'mother,' *ti-tin-ki* ~ *ti-tan-ki* 'my grandmother,' Miskito *tuk-tan* 'child, boy,' *tah-ti-ki* 'my maternal uncle (woman speaking),' Corobisi *tun* 'man,' Rama *<sup>n</sup>du-tuŋ* 'younger brother,' *i-tūŋ* 'father,' *tau* 'baby,' Changuena *sin* 'brother,' Move *nge-dan* 'brother-in-law,' *dun* 'father,' *ni-dan* 'male,' Sanema *ul-dwīn* 'child,' *ur-dwīn* 'boy,' *haš-twīn* 'grandfather,' *pīši-dwīn* 'mother-in-law,' Shiriana *tasém-taiina* 'child,' Ulua *i-taŋ* 'mother,' Cuna *tuttu* 'woman,' *toto* 'small girl,' Atanque *ah-tōna* 'old, old man, old woman,' Guamaca *tana* ~ *tena* 'old,' *terrua-tōna* 'old man,' *mona-tōna* 'old woman,' Kagaba *tu-gua* 'grandchild,' ?*suk-kua* 'son,' ?*du-we* 'elder brother,' Chimila *tún-gva* 'friend,' Binticua *ču-ka* 'grandchild,' *a-ta-ka* 'old woman,' Guamaca *a-tena-šina* 'old woman,' Motilon *diani* 'wife,' *a-te-gwa* 'nephew,' Dobokubi *a-te-ki* 'father,' *ti-kwa* 'young man,' Chibcha *čune* 'grandchild,' Muyska *te-kua* 'boy, young man,' Tegria *su-ka* 'sister.'

**PAEZAN:** Citara *tana* 'mother,' Tucura *dana* 'mother,' Warrau *dani-jota* 'mother's older sister,' *dani-katida* 'mother's younger sister,' Chami *tana* 'mother,' ?Guambiana *i-ču* 'woman, wife,' Paez *ne-čĩ-k* 'son' (< \**ne-tin-ki*), *ne-tson* 'brother-in-law,' *n-duh* 'son-in-law,' *anš-tsun-kue* 'grandchild,' ?Totoro *i-šu-k* 'wife,' ?Nonoma *doana* 'son-in-law,' Cayapa *t<sup>s</sup>uh-ki* 'sister' (< \**tun-ki*), Colorado *sona(-sona)* 'woman,' *sunā-lat-suna* 'wife,' *so-ke* 'sister,' Eten *čan-ka* 'sister,' *sonā-ŋ* 'wife,' Chimu *čaŋ* 'younger brother, nephew,' *čuŋ* 'sister,' Millcayac *tzhceng* 'son.'

**ANDEAN:** Simacu *kax-đana* 'maternal uncle,' Iquito *i-ta-ka* 'girl,' Araucanian *t<sup>s</sup>oñi* 'woman's son' (cf. Yuchi *t<sup>s</sup>'one* 'woman's son'), Aymara *tayna* 'first-born of either sex,' *t'ini* 'a woman near to her delivery,' Tehuelche *den* 'brother,' Patagon *čen* 'brother,' Pehuenche *a-t<sup>s</sup>ena* 'brother,' *čeče* 'grandchild,' Mane-kenkn *ie-tog-te* 'brother,' Ona *tane-ŋh* 'maternal uncle,' Tehuelche *thaun* 'sister,' Tsoneka *ke-tun* 'sister,' Alakaluf *se-kwai* 'grandchild,' *se-kway-ok* 'grandmother,' *esna-tun* 'mother.'

**MACRO-TUCANOAN:** Iranshe *šūna* 'father-in-law,' *señu-p* 'man'; Kaliaana-Maku: Kaliaana *tone* 'mother-in-law,' *tai-ge* 'brother,' Auake *toto* 'older brother,' Maku *tenu-'pa* ~ *tenu-ba* 'son, daughter'; Puinave: Puinave *a-tīi* 'my son,' *tēi-ūai* 'brother,' *a-tōai* 'cousin,' *ali-tan* 'father-in-law, grandfather,' Tiquie *ton* 'daughter,' *ten* 'son,' *tenten* 'grandchild,' Yehupde *tē* 'child,' Nadobo *tata* 'child,' Dou *tute* 'child,' Papury *toŋ* 'daughter,' *ten* 'son,' *tein* 'wife,' *tong-teip* 'son-in-law,' Ubde-Nehern *têain* 'boy,' *ten* 'son,' *tetein* 'wife,' *tēteté* 'grandchild,' *tēn-do* 'maternal uncle' (cf. Biloxi *tan-do* 'woman's younger brother'), *tētón* 'niece'; Catuquinan: Bendiapa *iš-tano* 'woman,' Parawa *iš-tano* 'woman'; Canichana *eu-tana* 'mother'; Huari: Huari *tān* 'mother,' Masaca

*tani-mai* 'younger sister'; Capishana *mia-tuna* 'older brother,' *totoi* 'brother-in-law,' *ñā-tō-küi* 'older sister,' *a-taʔ* 'aunt'; Nambikwara: Mamainde-Tarunde *denō* 'woman,' *čōnē* 'grandfather,' (*t*)*oán-osu* 'older sister,' Southern Nambikwara *tyūʔn* 'small,' Tagnani *tana-nde* 'mother,' *teno-re* 'woman,' *ui-tono-re* 'son'; Ticuna-Yuri: Yuri *čo-ko* 'man'; Tucanoan: Amaguaje *tʰin* 'boy,' *ye-tsenke* 'son,' Coreguaje *čĩi* 'son,' *čĩio* 'daughter,' *aʔ-čĩ* 'elder brother,' *aʔ-čo* 'elder sister,' *čoʔ-jei* 'younger brother,' *čoʔ-jeo* 'younger sister,' Siona *tʰijn* 'son,' Yupua *tsĩn-geē* 'boy,' *a-čane* 'man,' Tucano *ti-kā* 'son-in-law,' Tatuyo *teñē* 'brother-in-law.'

**EQUATORIAL:** Trumai *tain* 'younger sister (man speaking),' *ta-kwai* 'younger brother (woman speaking),' Cayuvava *tete* 'uncle,' *tena-ni* 'woman,' Taruma *a-či* 'sister,' Yuracare *suñe* 'man,' Timote: Cuica *tin-gua* 'son, boy,' Mococho *tin-gua* 'son, boy,' *nak-tun* 'woman'; Zamucoan: Morotoko *a-tune-sas* 'girl'; Pi-aroa *tsehāū* 'brother,' *tsēā'nā* 'grandfather,' *čōno* 'grandfather,' *tsēānā* 'grandmother'; Jivaroan: Cofan *tzán-dey-dése* 'boy,' *tsan-deye* 'man,' *tōʔtō* 'uncle,' Esmeralda *tin* ~ *tĩon* 'woman,' *tini-usa* 'daughter,' Yaruro *to-kwĩ* 'small boy,' *išĩ-to-hwĩ* 'small girl,' *ieyĩ-to-kwĩ* 'young woman,' *hia-to-kwi* 'maternal grandson,' *hada-to-kwi* 'paternal granddaughter,' Kariri: Dzubicua *to* 'grandfather,' Kamaru *te-ke* 'nephew, niece,' Kariri *to* 'grandfather,' Tupi: Guayaki *tuty* 'paternal uncle, sister's son,' Digüt *đánoă* 'younger sister,' Ramarama *i-te* 'brother,' Amniape *o-ta* 'daughter,' Kamayura *u-tu* 'grandmother,' Sheta *kuña-tai* 'young woman,' Canoeiro *kuña-tain* 'small girl,' Tapirape *ã-tāi* 'female infant,' *kot-ãtāi* 'young girl,' Urubu-Kaapor *taʔin* 'child,' Tembe *tỹ-kỹhỹr* 'older brother,' *ty-ħuhỹr* 'younger brother,' *coai-tỹ* 'brother-in-law,' *a-tiu* 'father-in-law,' Emerillon *tsitsiʔ* 'younger sister,' *dzadza* 'older sister,' Arikem *u-taua* 'brother,' Cocama *ikra-tsüng-ra* 'child,' Guarani *tatyu* 'maternal father-in-law,' *tuty* 'uncle,' Aweti *a-tu* 'grandfather,' Uruku *toto* 'grandfather,' Manaže *tutý* 'paternal uncle,' Oyampi *tu-ku* 'younger brother'; Guahiban: Guahibo *ā-tō* 'elder brother'; Guamo *tua* 'daughter'; Coche *tan-gua* 'old man'; Arawan: Deni *tu* 'daughter,' *daʔu* 'son,' Paumari *a-thon-i* 'granddaughter,' *ā-dyu* 'older brother'; Chipayan: Uru *thun* 'wife,' (*t*)*soñi* 'man,' Chipaya *thun* 'wife,' *t'uana* ~ *txuna* 'woman,' *t'uñi* ~ *tsuñi* 'brother's wife (man talking),' Caranga *tʰun* 'wife,' *čuñi-l* 'brother-in-law,' *tuto* 'grandchild'; Chapacuran: Chapacura *tana-muy* 'daughter,' *a-čoke-tunia* 'girl,' Itene *tana* 'woman,' *tana-muy* 'girl,' *tana-man* 'woman,' Abitana *tana* 'woman,' Kumana *tana-man* 'woman'; Maipuran: Proto-Maipuran *\*ahšeni* 'man' (< *\*aʔ-teni?*), Amuesha *ah-šēñ-ō(š)* 'male,' Ignaciano *a-čane* 'person,' Asheninca *a-šeni-nka* 'fellow countryman,' Marawa *tino* 'small child,' *tana-n* 'woman,' Wapishana *ĩ-dan(e)* 'child, son, daughter' *u-dan-rin* 'daughter,' *ĩ-dan-karo* 'nephew,' *ĩ-dan-kearo* 'niece,' *douani* 'lad,' *i-dĩni-re* 'son-in-law,' *i-dĩni-ru* 'daughter-in-law,' *teți* 'maternal uncle,' Uainuma *a-ttsiu* 'uncle,' Moxo *a-ču(-ko)* 'grand-

father,' Proto-Maipuran \*čina-ru 'woman,' Baure e-tón 'woman,' Palicur te 'younger brother,' tino 'woman,' tana-n 'woman,' Karipura tina-gubari 'woman,' Custenau tine-ru 'woman,' a-tu 'grandfather,' Uirina a-tina-re 'man,' Yaulapiti tine-ru-tsu 'girl,' tina-u 'woman,' Yavitero nu-tani-mi 'my daughter,' no-taj̄n-tani 'my son,' Baniva no-tani 'my son,' Mehinacu tene-ru 'woman,' a-to 'grandfather,' Waura tine-ru-ta 'girl,' tiné-šu 'woman,' Arawak o-tu 'daughter,' a-daün-ti 'maternal uncle,' Manao no-tany 'my son,' y-tuna-lo 'woman,' Campa t<sup>s</sup>ina-ni 'woman,' a-ten-dari 'man,' Tuyoneri ua-tone 'old man, old woman,' Atoroi dan 'baby, son,' dani-žinai 'son,' tidn 'younger brother,' Goajiro čon 'son,' tan-či 'brother-in-law,' Bare hana-tina-pe 'child,' Ipurina nu-tani-ri 'my husband,' ni-tari 'my brother,' ni-taru 'my sister,' n-atu-kiri 'my grandfather.'

**MACRO-CARIB:** Andoke tīna 'a woman,' tihī 'mother, female child' (< \*tin-ki), Peba-Yaguan: Yagua dēnu 'male child,' Yameo a-tin 'man'; Carib: Surinam tī-žwo 'brother-in-law,' Macusi taŋ-sa 'girl' (cf. Atakapa ten-sa 'niece'), ake-ton 'old man,' Arara enru-ten-po 'small child,' Taulipang a-t<sup>s</sup>i-ke 'older brother,' ake-toŋ 'old person,' Galibi tun 'father,' Pavishana tane 'my son,' tutu 'grandfather,' Azumara toto 'man,' Bakairi i-tano 'grandfather'; Boran: Imihita tāā-ti 'grandfather,' Muinane i-to 'paternal uncle'; Witotoan: Witoto i-taño 'girl,' o-suño 'aunt,' i-su 'paternal uncle,' Witoto-Kaimö iu-suna 'aunt, grandmother,' Nonuya om(w)ũ-tona 'sister.'

**MACRO-PANOAN:** Mascoian: Mascoy tanni-yap 'sister-in-law,' Kaskiha antū-ye 'woman's son,' Lengua tawin 'grandchild,' a-tai 'my grandfather'; Moseten: Moseten čuñe 'brother-in-law, paternal son-in-law,' Mataco: Sotsiyay taāo-klā 'boy,' Mataco čina 'younger sister,' Vejoz činna 'younger sister,' Churupi čin-jo 'younger sister,' Towithli tuna-ni 'woman,' Suhin tino-iče 'young woman,' suña 'younger sister'; Panoan: Cashibo ŋanu 'woman,' Cashibo toa 'child,' didan 'mother,' Shipibo sanu 'grandmother,' tita 'mother,' sun-taku 'young woman,' Sensi čina-n 'woman,' Panobo ŋon-tako 'girl,' Arazaire čina-ni 'wife,' Mayoruna šanu 'grandmother,' nso-ton 'child,' čuču 'older sister,' tsana 'man,' Culino ha-tu 'brother,' a-tsi 'sister,' mu-tun 'old man,' Nocaman tano 'woman, wife'; Tacanan: Huarayo čina-ni 'woman,' Tacana -tóna 'younger sister,' dúdu 'older sister,' u-tse-kwa 'grandchild,' Huarayo toto 'man's brother,' Arasa deana-wa 'son,' dodo 'brother,' Chama toto 'uncle,' čina-ni 'wife,' Tiatinagua čina-ni 'wife.'

**MACRO-GE:** Erikbatsa tsi?n-kārar 'small'; Oti dondu-ede 'woman'; ?Fulnio efone-don-kia 'wife'; Guato čina 'older brother'; Caraja wa-θana 'uncle'; Bororo: Bororo i-tuna-regede 'child,' Umotina yūto ~ in-dondo 'maternal son-in-law,' žu-ko 'paternal father-in-law' (< \*tun-ko); Botocudo giku-taŋ 'sister,' tontan 'wife,' gy-žune 'brother-in-law'; Macumi a-tina-n 'girl, daughter,'

Palmas *tantã* 'female,' *tanti* 'woman'; Kamakan: Cotoxo *či-ton* 'brother,' Kamakan *totsöhn-tan* 'mother,' Meniens *a-to* 'brother,' *as-čun* 'woman'; Puri: Puri *ek-ton* 'son,' *makaša-tane* 'brother,' *titiña-n* 'grandmother,' Coroado *mokaša-tane* 'brother,' Coropo *ek-tan* 'mother'; Mashakali: Mashakali *etia-tiin* 'woman,' Malali *niop-tan-piteknan* 'woman,' *tana-tāmon* 'father,' Patasho *eke-tannay* 'brother,' *a-tōn* 'mother,' Capoxo *asče-tan* 'wife'; Kaingang: Apucarana *wey-tytan* 'younger sister,' *ti* 'man,' *un-tantan* 'woman,' ?Came *tata* 'woman,' Catarina *tata* 'young woman, young man, young,' Guarapuava *tetan* 'girl,' *un-tantan* 'woman,' Tibagi *tog-tan* 'girl,' *tantö* 'woman'; Ge: Timbira *tō* 'older brother,' Apinaye *i-tō* 'brother,' *i-tō-dy* 'sister,' *tu?ká* 'paternal uncle, son-in-law,' *tu?ka-ya* 'maternal grandfather,' *tu?ka-tí* 'brother-in-law, son-in-law,' Cayapo *i-ton* 'brother,' *i-ton-juö* 'cousin,' *torri-tuj* 'old woman,' *tun-juo* 'girl,' *jūno* 'father,' Aponegicran *i-thon-ghi* 'sister,' *i-thon-g* 'brother,' Krēye *tana-mni* 'boy,' *tō* 'younger brother,' *-tō-ue* 'sister,' *n-čō* 'father,' *n-čū* 'paternal uncle,' Caraho *a-ton-ka* 'younger sister,' *tō-i* 'sister,' *tō* 'brother,' *ton-ko* 'older brother,' *n-čōn* 'father,' *in-t<sup>s</sup>un* 'uncle,' Krahó *ĩ-čū* 'father,' *ĩ-če* 'mother,' *i-tō* 'brother,' *i-tō-i* 'sister,' Canella *i-nčū* 'my father,' *i-nče?* 'my mother,' *i-to* 'older sibling,' Parkateye *a-ton* 'brother,' *a-ton-kā* 'older brother,' *a-ton-re* 'younger brother,' *a-toin* 'sister,' *a-toin-kā* 'older sister,' *a-toin-re* 'younger sister,' Piokobyé *a-tōn* 'older sister,' *a-tōn-kā* 'younger sister,' *tōn-ko* 'older brother,' *ha-tōn* 'younger brother.'

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