

## Reconsidering Kitanemuk Phonology

Traditional descriptions of Kitanemuk (notably Anderton, 1988) have shown properties that are peculiar for a Takic language. Two in particular are the lack of a velar-uvular distinction and the lack of contrastive vowel length. This paper revisits both these points, based on data from the closely related Serrano language.

While there are a few sources for first-hand Kitanemuk data, the primary source is Harrington's field notes. Harrington compiled a comparable amount of data on Serrano, as well. Unlike Kitanemuk, however, Serrano has been spoken to some degree to the present day, and has been studied by more scholars. This means Harrington's Serrano transcriptions can be analyzed for reliability and for regularity of errors. With his Serrano patterns as background, a re-analysis of the raw Kitanemuk data shows certain features in a different light than in previous studies.

It turns out that Harrington was inconsistent in noting the velar-uvular distinction in Serrano. A great many words are transcribed with both velar and uvular, despite agreement on one or the other from later speakers. For example qaiič 'mountain' is transcribed as both kajtʃ and ɤajtʃ, (k is velar, ɤ is uvular), and kihuuč 'fish' as both kihutʃr and ɤihutʃr. The claim that Kitanemuk lacked a velar-uvular distinction, then, is suspect. Harrington was also inconsistent about marking vowel length. Both Harrington and Zigmond recorded a minimal pair for vowel length in Kitanemuk, 'a'a' "it's horn" versus 'a'aa' "crow". These two points make the claim of a lack of contrastive vowel length likewise suspect.

Because Harrington's data is inconsistent on these (and a few other) points, more sophisticated methods for unraveling the Kitanemuk facts will be required. This paper will briefly point out some additional patterns that can contribute to this, such as similarities in the /i~/e/ alternation with correspondences between Kitanemuk /e/ and Serrano /i/. Other transcription alternations in the Serrano data with potential implications for Kitanemuk include /u~/o/, /ə~/w/, and /ts~/tʃ/.