

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2007 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS  
AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

Vol. 4

No. 3

---

SHOSHONEAN DIALECTS OF CALIFORNIA

BY

A. L. KROEBER

BERKELEY  
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
FEBRUARY, 1907

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS**  
**DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY**

The following publications dealing with archaeological and ethnological subjects issued under the direction of the Department of Anthropology are sent in exchange for the publications of anthropological departments and museums, for journals devoted to general anthropology or to archaeology and ethnology, and for specimens contributed to the museum collections of the University. They are for sale at the prices stated, which include postage or express charges. Exchanges should be directed to The Exchange Department, University Library, Berkeley, California, U. S. A. All orders and remittances should be addressed to the University Press.

**AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY. (Octavo).**

- |         |        |  |               |
|---------|--------|--|---------------|
| Vol. 1. | No. 1. | Life and Culture of the Hupa, by Pliny Earle Goddard.<br>Pages 88, Plates 30, September, 1903 . . . . .                        | Price, \$1.25 |
|         | No. 2. | Hupa Texts, by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pages 290, March, 1904. . . . .  | Price, 3.00   |
| Vol. 2. | No. 1. | The Exploration of the Potter Creek Cave, by William J. Sinclair. Pages 27, Plates 14, April, 1904 . . . . .                   | Price, .40    |
|         | No. 2. | The Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, by A. L. Kroeber. Pages 52, June, 1904. . . . .               | Price, .60    |
|         | No. 3. | Types of Indian Culture in California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pages 22, June, 1904. . . . .   | Price, .25    |
|         | No. 4. | Basket Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pages 60, Plates 7, January, 1905. . . . .         | Price, .75    |
|         | No. 5. | The Yokuts Language of South Central California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pages 213, January, 1907 . . . . .                          | Price, 2.25   |
| Vol. 3. |        | The Morphology of the Hupa Language, by Pliny Earle Goddard. Pages 344, June, 1905. . . . .                                    | Price, 3.50   |
| Vol. 4. | No. 1. | The Earliest Historical Relations between Mexico and Japan, by Zelia Nuttall. Pages 47, April, 1906. . . . .                   | Price, .50    |
|         | No. 2. | Contributions to the Physical Anthropology of California, by A. Hrdlicka. Pages 16, Tables 5, Plates 10, June, 1906. . . . .   | Price, .75    |
|         | No. 3. | Shoshonean Dialects of California, by A. L. Kroeber. Pages 100, February, 1907. . . . .  | Price, 1.50   |
|         | No. 4. | Indian Myths from South Central California, by A. L. Kroeber (in press).   |               |
|         | No. 5. | The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada, by A. L. Kroeber (in press).   |               |
| Vol. 5. | No. 1. | The Phonology of the Hupa Language: Part I, The Individual Sounds, by Pliny Earle Goddard (in press).                          |               |
|         | No. 2. | Navaho Myths, Prayers and Songs with Texts and Translations, by Washington Matthews, edited by Pliny Earle Goddard (in press). |               |
| Vol. 6. |        | The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo Indians, by S. A. Barrett (in press).  |               |
| Vol. 7. | No. 1. | The Emeryville Shellmound, by Dr. Max Uhle (in press).   |               |

## SHOSHONEAN DIALECTS OF CALIFORNIA.

BY

A. L. KROEBER.

	PAGE
PART I. SHOSHONEAN DIALECTS AND DIVISIONS .....	66
Introduction .....	66
New Vocabularies .....	67
Comparative Vocabulary of Nineteen Dialects .....	71
Linguistic Notes on the Vocabularies .....	90
Systematized Comparative Vocabulary of Shoshonean .....	92
Classification .....	97
Pueblo Branch .....	97
Plateau Branch .....	97
Kern River Branch .....	98
Southern California Branch .....	99
Relations of the Dialectic Groups .....	101
Geographical Distribution of the Dialectic Divisions .....	101
Ute-Chemehuevi Group .....	105
Chemehuevi .....	105
Paiute .....	109
Kawaiisu .....	110
Shoshoni-Comanche Group .....	111
Mono-Paviotso Group .....	114
Kern River Group .....	122
Tübatulabal .....	122
Bankalachi .....	126
Giamina .....	126
Distribution of Shoshoneans in the San Joaquin-Tulare Valley .....	128
Southern California Branch .....	130
Serrano Group .....	131
Gitanemuk .....	135
Möhineyam .....	139
Gabrielino Group .....	140
Luiseno-Cahuilla Group .....	145
Luiseno .....	145
San Juan Capistrano .....	149
Agua Caliente .....	150
Cahuilla .....	151
Santa Barbara Islands .....	152
PART II. RELATIONSHIP OF SHOSHONEAN TO NAHUATL .....	154
PART III. HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS .....	164

## I. SHOSHONEAN DIALECTS AND DIVISIONS.

## INTRODUCTION.

The Shoshonean Indian linguistic family, which once occupied practically the entire Great Basin, with considerable additional territory in both the Atlantic and Pacific drainages, is one of the great stocks of North America, even without being united with Piman and Nahuatl into the still larger Uto-Aztekan family. It is, however, the least known ethnologically of the larger families north of Mexico. The relations to one another of its various subdivisions, and the extent and inclusion of its tribal groups, have been very imperfectly understood.

Linguistically, matters are superficially better, since many vocabularies have been collected and published since the beginning of the last century. But knowledge of the structure of the language has lagged behind, and there is not yet printed even a sketch of the grammar of any Shoshonean dialect, although it is to be hoped that the researches already made by Mr. H. H. St. Clair of the American Museum of Natural History, by Mr. H. R. Voth for the Field Museum of Natural History, and by others in Southern California, may before long furnish abundant morphological information as to several Shoshonean dialects.

In view of the fact that so many Shoshonean vocabularies are available, Gatschet alone having printed eighteen in the Seventh Report of Wheeler's Survey, while grammatical information is still so much needed, the addition, to the undigested mass of already existing vocabularies, of the dozen and a half new ones which are here presented and on which this paper is based, would be without value if this new material were not sufficient to definitely establish certain conclusions. Thus it is that the value of these new vocabularies is not so much intrinsic, for they were collected without deeper study of the language and must be imperfect in many points, as it rests in the fact of their being the largest number hitherto secured by one observer, by which



circumstance the confusing elements of individual method and of conflicting orthographies are avoided; and especially in their fortunately happening to represent all the most important dialectic groups of the family. That this is so is scarcely the result of any systematic plan, but rather the incidental consequence of various field investigations extending over several years among both Shoshonean and adjacent tribes. At least half of the vocabularies were secured in connection with work carried on primarily among the Yokuts and Yuman stocks. Three vocabularies were obtained in 1900 within sight of the Rocky Mountains on an expedition for the American Museum of Natural History, through the courtesy of whose authorities the use of this material is made available. The remainder were mostly obtained in California in 1903 and 1904 in connection with the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California carried on by the Anthropological Department of the University. Several additional vocabularies were secured in the San Joaquin valley in 1906, some time after the completion of this paper but before work had been begun upon it by the printer. Fortunately the distribution of Shoshonean dialects in California is such, that with the addition of the three from the Rocky Mountain region, the vocabularies here presented, although obtained in only two rather limited portions of the immense territory covered by the family, represent, as stated, all of its principal groups.

#### NEW VOCABULARIES.

The following are the sources of the vocabularies presented.

The brief Shoshoni and Bannock vocabularies were obtained from one interpreter, apparently a Bannock, on Fort Hall reservation in southeastern Idaho, during a short collecting trip made to this place in 1900. The Shoshoni vocabulary is corroborated by a briefer list of words obtained among the Shoshoni of Wind river reservation east of the Rocky Mountains in Wyoming. The Bannock vocabulary seems to be the first published from the tribes going under this name.

The Ute vocabulary was obtained, also in 1900, among the Uintah Ute, mainly from the official reservation interpreter, an elderly man named Charley. More experience was had with this

dialect than with the preceding and the vocabulary is probably phonetically somewhat more reliable.

The Chemehuevi vocabulary was obtained, in the course of investigations among the Mohave, from a woman of a family of Chemehuevi living in Mohave territory on the Colorado river some eight miles north of Needles, California.

The Kawaiisu vocabulary is from Dominga, wife of Rosario, an old woman at the Indian settlement on Rancho Tejon, south-east of Bakersfield. She stated that she herself was born at Tejon, but that her father was from the vicinity of Tehachapi, her mother from Caliente. A vocabulary of this dialect has also been obtained from Mrs. Juan Imitirio, a Shoshonean woman of the Tübatulabal tribe, married to a Yokuts on Tule river reservation. A number of words not secured from the first informant were obtained from her. No vocabulary of this dialect appears to have been previously published.

Two vocabularies called Mono were obtained. One is from a young half-breed woman named Lucy, the wife of Jim Johnson, a Pohonichi Moquelumnan at the time living near Raymond, Madera county, California; this informant belonged to the Mono of the North Fork of the San Joaquin, the people called Nim by Dr. C. Hart Merriam. The other is from the Tübatulabal woman just mentioned, and represents the dialect of the people about Lone Pine and Big Pine along Owens river in Inyo county, California. These people were called Monachi by the informant, but, being east of the Sierra Nevada, are probably known locally as Paiutes. The North Fork of the San Joaquin vocabulary seems to be the first available from the Mono of the western side of the Sierra.

The Endimbich vocabulary is also from a people generally known as Mono, but specifically called Endimbich or Intimpich. They lived on Mill creek, a tributary of Kings river. The informant was an old woman, wife of a Chukaimina Yokuts called Jack, living in Squaw valley, Fresno county. She comes from a place called by the Yokuts Kicheyu, which appears to be in the vicinity of Dunlap. No Endimbich vocabulary has been previously published.

The Shikaviyam or Sikauiyam or Kosho vocabulary, the fourth



of the Mono group, is also from Mrs. Juan Imitirio, whose mother belonged to these people. They lived southward and eastward of Owens lake, probably in the region of the Koso mountains. The informant's remembrance of the dialect was not complete. This exact dialect also appears to be unrepresented in published collections.

The Tübatulabal vocabulary is the fourth of those obtained from Mrs. Juan Imitirio at Tule river reservation. She furnished also the Shikaviyam, the Inyo Mono, and part of the Kawaiisu vocabularies. Tübatulabal is her native language from her father's side. This is the first vocabulary of this dialectic group published.

The Bankalachi vocabulary is from Tom Wheaton, an old man on Tule river reservation usually speaking only Yokuts. He was born at Tejon from a Yokuts father and a Shoshonean mother. He now knows little of Shoshonean tribes or languages, and designates his mother only as Nuchawayi, or hill-inhabitant, and Malda, or Shoshonean. He stated that her people lived at Kelsiu, so called by the Yokuts, on upper White river. This is the region usually assigned to the Bankalachi by Yokuts informants, and another old Yokuts stated this informant's mother to have been Bankalachi. The vocabulary obtained is so close to Tübatulabal that it is not certain that it represents a distinct dialect; but Bankalachi is uniformly declared to be but slightly different from Tübatulabal. The informant's recollection was incomplete, but apparently, so far as it went, reliable.

The Gitanemuk or Gikidanum vocabulary was independently obtained at Tule river reservation from an intelligent old Yokuts man called Chalola, and at Tejon ranch from a woman called Ysabel, who was born there and whose native dialect this appears to have been. Chalola's father belonged to the Wowol tribe, his mother to the Yauelmani. After his father's death, while he himself was still a boy, he was taken to Tejon. There he was brought up, probably on the Tejon reservation of the fifties and sixties of the last century, in contact with the Gitanemuk. He seems to speak the language fluently. The vocabulary is the first that has been printed of this dialect, although it differs but little from Serrano, which has been known for years.

The Möhineyam vocabulary was obtained, like the Chemehuevi, among the Mohave. An old woman named Hamukha from her birthplace on the Mohave river, was brought by her relatives, who were related to the Mohave by marriage, to the latter for safe keeping, about the time that the tribe was virtually exterminated, it is said by the Mexicans. This may have been before the coming of the Americans, as she was a little girl at the time. She has lived among the Mohave ever since as one of the tribe. She recalls certain words with difficulty, but both the grammatical forms of her words and their close resemblance to Serrano are evidence that the vocabulary is in the main correct. This vocabulary is also new.

The brief Gabrielino or San Gabriel vocabulary was obtained from an old man named José Varojo, at Highland, San Bernardino county, California. This region seems to have been originally Serrano territory and the majority of the Indians at Highland at present are Serrano. This informant however stated that he, or his ancestors, were from the coast near Santa Monica, the Indians of which region were attached to San Gabriel mission, so that Gabrielino is his native dialect.

The Fernandño or San Fernando vocabulary is from Rosario, an old man at Tejon ranch, who says that he was born at San Fernando. According to his statement the San Fernando dialect is very little different from that of San Gabriel, which concurs with the facts and with older statements in literature; yet no vocabulary of the dialect has ever been published.

The Luiseño vocabulary was obtained at Rincon, San Diego county, from Felix Calac. The Agua Caliente vocabulary is from his wife, who speaks this dialect as her native tongue.

The Cahuilla vocabulary is from Marcellino Quashish, a Luiseño at Pala, California. He appeared not to know the language perfectly and soon became tired. This vocabulary is therefore added only for purposes of comparison.

The Hopi vocabulary was secured from a young man named Sam, attached to the Hupa reservation school as shoemaker.

The characters used in these vocabularies, other than those whose phonetic value is obvious, are: ì, è, ò, ù, open; î, ē, ô, ū, closed; â, English aw, nearly ò; ä, as in English bad; a, between

	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten
Hopi	syuxke	lei'yi	pāhio	nāleyi	teivut	navai	teānai	nānal	bèpt	bak <sup>4</sup> t
Shoshoni	cuis	waiini	paiini	wateiwieni	manigin	navaiini	navaikavani	evateuvini	soag <sup>4</sup> umsueni	tog <sup>4</sup> umsueni
Ute										
Bannock	cuy'	waix	pai	watew	manōx	nava	mukwic	nats	yuvip'	maicu
Chemehuevi	cui	wahai	pehei	watsui	munugi	navahai	nōmats <sup>4</sup>	nanauetsui	cukumac	mōnacui
Kawaiisu		waha-t	pahi	watsikwi-t	maniki	navahi	datsiwi	woeiwi	gwanigi-t	ciwano-t
Mono, N. Fork	cimu	wahai	pahi	watsikw	manūk	nāpai	dāteciwi	wōciwi	wanūk	cīwanū
Endimbieh		wahai	pahi	watsiwi	manōgi	napai	tatsiwi	wōciwi	wanūki	cōwano
Mono, Inyo	ciwi	waha-te	pahi-t	watsiwi-du	manōgi-du	nāpai	datsuwi-du	wōciwi-du	wanōki-t	cīwano
Shikaviyam	cwi-te	wo	pāi	nanau	mahiteiña	napai	nōmtsai <sup>4</sup>	nabuntsiña	laaki	amhaitsiña
Tübatulabal	tsiits	wo	pāhi	nanau	mahitsiña	napai	gwatskawik	wa'watsa	makawik	we'mahadj <sup>5</sup>
Bankalachi	tsiits	wo	bahi	watsa	mahate	pabahi				
Gitanemuk	haukup	wo	bahi	wadja	mahate					
Möhineyam	haukup <sup>1</sup>	wahi	bahi	wadja	mahate					
Fernandino	puku'	wehe'	pahai	watsa'	maha'r	pabahi	kutsakavya	wēswe'tsa	mākōvō	wehesmahar
Gabrielino	puku' <sup>2</sup>	wehe'	pahi	watea'	maha'r	pabahi (?)	pukubaivi	wehebaiva	baic	wehesmahar
Luiseño	supul	we'	pahai	wasa	mahar		*	*	*	namadulwanut
Agua Caliente	suplawat	wi'	pa'	witeu	namagwanafax <sup>3</sup>		*	*	*	namitecumi
Cahuilla	supli	wi'	pa'	witeu	namakwanon <sup>3</sup>	kwanamasupli	kwanamawi	pitaba	dawiteu	

<sup>1</sup> The following Serrano numerals, representing the dialect spoken near San Bernardino, were obtained from the Gabrielino informant José Varojo: 1, aukup; 2, wu; 3, pahai; 4, wadja; 5, mahadj; 6, pabahi; 7, watekuwi; 8, wawut; 9, makui; 10, wa'mate.

<sup>2</sup> Chumash, paka. The Gabrielino dialect is adjacent to Chumash. Esselen, pek.

<sup>3</sup> The Cahuilla numerals from five to ten were obtained from the Gabrielino José Varojo.

<sup>4</sup> Yokuts nontein.

<sup>5</sup> Döwapi, eleven; pahewatsa, twelve = three-four. Ute shows cükce tepinoag'e for eleven, wak<sup>a</sup> tepinoag'e for twelve.

\* Formed from the numbers for one to four followed by nanyaxwanat.

Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Baby	Old Man	Old Woman
Hopi	daka	diyo	māna	dibosi	wōx-daka	so-wōxti
Shoshoni	tenip					
Ute	ta 'vate					
Bannock	nana <sup>e</sup>					
Chemehuevi	davate	aipts	naindzidz		ūcavets	maūbüts
Kawaiisu	danibūtsi	epits	needzits		ūca-tsi	maabūtsi
Mono, N. Fork	nana <sup>e</sup>	naatsitsi	[höpi-tsi]		tsuwutsitsi	höbitsi
Endimbič	nana <sup>e</sup>	[nana-tci]		duwapi	djogutedji,	hūbitedji,
Mono, Inyo	nana <sup>e</sup>	natsi	tsōa, cūadim		tsug' utsi	hūbitci
Shikaviyam	deŭwa	duyuutsi	navitsipi	owāsi	dzugutsi	höbitsi
Tübatulabal	datwal	aiapišin	anawicbit	uaabit	dahambil	coiibit
Bankalachi	dätwal					
Gitanemuk	bateuk-ai	didinit	nātsat	gwagit	wūteahet	nōxdat
Möhineyam	wihak-am	teiteimit	naateit		wuxat	nooxtut
Fernandino	mutintū			anusetaxai	ēraxbu	tōxu
Gabriellino	tokor	kwiti	taxaix			
Luiseño	cuñal	hiñemal	navitmal	aqwalimai	na xanmal	neecmal
Agua Caliente	mowikat	kiñmal	navicmal	aqwalyima	maxanteowol	nielovol
Cahuilla	nitel	keyat	navicmal		naxaluwal	nielowin

<sup>e</sup> Yokuts, certain dialects, nōno; Miwok, naña.



	Person	White Man	Head	Hair	Ear	Eye	Nose
Hopi	(himósino)						
Shoshoni	ní'u	baxana	gōti	híni	nak'we	bō'si	yaka
Ute	novinte			inbapi		wui	mo'
Bannock				tuteivo-an	nāiava-n	poi-n	movi-n
Chemehuevi	nūm	haiku <sup>9</sup>		i <sup>10</sup> kvo'		puye'	movi'
Kawaiisu	nuw <sup>17</sup>						
Mono, N. Fork	nūm	ünü			naxavi-n <sup>18</sup>	pwui-n	mu-vita
Endimbič	nūm	[míkana]			da-nak	da-buc	da-wubi
Mono, Inyo	nūm	wōhiamü			ma-nak	da-buc	da-wubi
Shikaviyam	nūwu			tsobip	e-nañi	üm-bui	ma-muvi
Tūbatulabal	añhanil <sup>18</sup>		um-bambi	tsobipó	nañ-an	punts-in	ñ-muvi
Bankalachi	añhanil		ko'-on	tsom'-on	nahñal	mup-in	mupit
Gitanemuk	dagat		a-bica		a-kava	bunteil	a-mukpi
Möhineyam	dagat	aiaikik-am <sup>9</sup>		a-gopo			
Fernandino	daxat	haiko-y-am <sup>9</sup>					
Gabrielino	taraxat		ne-puán		a-nānak	a-tsōtsin	a-moopōn
Luiseno	atax	momñawec <sup>10</sup>	ni-pwan		ni-nanax	ni-tsōtron	ni-mōpin
Agua Caliente	atax'a	momñaxwic <sup>10</sup>	nu-yu		no-naq	nu-puc	nu-muvi
Cahuilla	taxhusut		nu-yu		na-naq <sup>18</sup>	nu-puc	nu-mu
			he-yo		na-naq	ne-puc	he-mu

<sup>17</sup> Plural nuwūwu. Mono and Paviotso, novi, house.<sup>18</sup> Same dialect, hanil, house.<sup>9</sup> Mohave, haiko, hiiko; certain Diegueño dialects, haiku. Cf. Hyko, a town in southern Nevada.<sup>10</sup> From momat, ocean, as pointed out by the Indians. This is the term for the Americans; the Spaniards are called sosabit.



	<i>Mouth</i>	<i>Tongue</i>	<i>Tooth</i>	<i>Beard</i>	<i>Neck</i>	<i>Throat</i>	<i>Nail</i>
Hopi	moa	leñi	dama	suwite 'mi	gwaxpi	džna	soki
Shoshoni	n-dip	ag' u-n					
Ute	timba-n						
Bannock	i-tipa'						
Chemehuevi							
Kawaiisu	džmbi-me	eg' u-mi	dawa-mi	tsobiwo	kura-m'		dacitom'
Mono, N. Fork	da-rip	da-ekxw	da-rau	da-g' an	da-gut		da-wacitu
Endimbich	da-džp'	da-žk'	da-dawa	da-gan	da-gut		da-wacitu
Mono, Inyo	ma-tōpi	ma-elg' o	ma-tawa	ma-mitsoi	ma-kada		
Shikaviyam	ün-dimpe	žg' o	dawa	o-motso	gura		dacidu
Tübatulabal	took-on	lal-an	dam-an	gañ-an	ugum-in		cul-un
Bankalachi	doogont	lalent					
Gitanemuk	a-cidja	a-nōñi	a-dama	a-qaña	a-muhi		a-watsi
Möhineyam							
Fernandino	a-tžñin	a-nōñin	a-tana	a-pehen			a-watsin
Gabrielino	ni-toñin		ni-tatam				estcut
Luiseno	no-tma <sup>11</sup>	no-weyI	notma howagat	nu-musi	no-g' ara		nu-c' la
Agua Caliente	no-tem 'a <sup>11</sup>	no-nañ	notem 'a gawic <sup>11</sup>	nu-muc' a	no-qelyi	ne-pava	nu-cul 'a
Cahuilla				ne-muc			

<sup>11</sup> The stem tama means tooth in other dialects. A word for tooth is given with difficulty by the Luiseno-Cahuilla, and they seem to have nothing but circumlocutions to express the idea. Agua Caliente notem 'a gawic means my mouth stone.

	<i>Arm</i>	<i>Hand</i>	<i>Belly</i>	<i>Mamma</i>	<i>Back</i>	<i>Shoulder</i>	<i>Leg</i>
Hopi							
Shoshoni	maat		bunu		hoxta		hokya
Ute							
Bannock							
Chemehuevi							
Kawaiisu	purawūm	moomi	capū-mi	bihi-mi		tsowō-mi	
Mono, N. Fork	da-but.				da-huduk		da-huk
Endimbieh	da-waya	da-watcie	da-bote	da-bit.	da-wowabi		da-huk
Mono, Inyo		da-mala					ma-dohobi
Shikaviyam	būrapu	moo	capū	bitca		gwaimbö	doove
Tibatulabal	matso-n	ma-n	capuc	saapū-n		cūk-ūn	hapei-n
Bankalachi							
Gitanemuk	mū-ma		a-tō	a-pi	mu-do 'pi	a-pumu	a-tsaka
Möhineyam							
Fernandino	mo-ma		a-to		mu-tsāxa	a-puvuhon	
Gabrielino							
Luisiño	no-ma		nu-tē		no-madja	no-cok 'a	no-qasi <sup>12</sup>
Agua Caliente	no-ma		ne-cae		nu-wutaxwe	no-cok 'a	nu-tayi <sup>12</sup>
Cahuilla	ne-mo		nu-tie		nu-husa	no-coqa	

<sup>12</sup> Strictly, my thigh. Lower leg is, Luisiño: no-e sióixat; Agua Caliente: nusivisivi.

	Foot	Knee	Bone	Heart	Liver	Blood	Chief
Hopi	gōxgō	dami	iaqa	ōnaŋwa	kelēvusna	ūūwe	moŋwi
Shoshoni				pū-upi	nuvump'		
Ute				buhyū-mi	nu-wūpi	būpi ba 'bi bap'	niāg'atu
Bannock	nabi-mi	da-ranabodo	o'ām'	da-cowap	da-niu	baupi	buginapi
Chemehuevi	da-gūk	da-danadōpa	da-o'	ma-biu	ma-nūwu	bawūpi	bog'inavi
Mono, N. Fork	ma-gūgūi	ma-taŋ	'n-tsuxi	um-bixwe	coŋo	ūkwā-n	
Endimbič	nambe	n-daŋa	o-n	cunna-n	nuuma-n		
Shikaviyam	uŋg-ŋn	toŋ-on		cunal	a-nūma	a-ōdj	
Tibatulabal	a-tsaka	ni-tama	a'ò	a-xūn		mu-xain	kikū
Bankalachi	Mōhineyam		o'ò	mu-hūn	a-nēm		
Gitanemuk	mo-ne'v			no-sun	nU-nomai	no-ou, oula	noot
Mōhineyam	ne-nev			nU-cun	nA-nam'a	no-ow	not
Fernandino	no-è	no-qaxmai	nu-qlau <sup>13</sup>	ne-sun		ewul	tetiŋwis
Gabrielino	ne-o	nu-tami	nu-tii				
Luiseño							
Agua Caliente							
Cahuilla							

<sup>13</sup> Literally, my wood. The common word today is ne-wēsaki, from Spanish hueso.

	<i>House</i>	<i>Bow</i>	<i>Arrow</i>	<i>Knife</i>	<i>Pipe</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Tobacco</i>	<i>Road</i>
Hopi	kĩhō	auta	hòhũ		djouñu	pĩa	pĩhũ
Shoshoni	wanag' a <sup>14</sup>						poe, po'
Ute	kan	ats	o	wi-te			pōo, pōō
Bannock	wananog' <sup>14</sup>						pō <sup>a</sup>
Chemehuevi	kan						bae ?
Kawaiisu	gani	etũ		wi	teñup	groap	
Mono, N. Fork	nobi	eti	hua	wi	hĩ'pa	cokx' <sup>17</sup>	
Endimbieh	nōbi	da-et	bak		doie	cok' <sup>17</sup>	
Mono, Inyo							
Shikaviyam		e'dũ	baga		baxmumbi	cōg' o' <sup>17</sup>	
Tübatulabal	hanĩl	bahun		cibat		cogont' <sup>17</sup>	
Bankalachi	gĩl	alit	bahul		hũpĩhinil	cōgont' <sup>17</sup>	po't
Gitanemuk	giĩts, ni-gi	badjukt	cumanat	gabote	wi'koxwet	tsiwut	
Möineyam	na-ki				wikot	pivat' <sup>18</sup>	
Fernandino	a-kin <sup>15</sup>				muwigwute	pispivata	
Gabrielino	kig' <sup>15</sup>						
Luiseno	kitca <sup>16</sup>	kutapic	hu-la		hukupic	pivat	pet
Agua Caliente	gie	gutapic	hu-l		itci	pivat	bit
Cahuilla	kic				hitca	pivat	pit

<sup>14</sup> Tent.<sup>15</sup> Gabrielino, my house, ni-ki-n; Fernandino, houses, kike, town, kekite.<sup>16</sup> Objective, kie. My house, nu-ki.<sup>17</sup> Yokuts, cogon, soxon. Chukchansi, and perhaps other northern Yokuts dialects, show a form paum recalling the pamu of Shoshoni-Comanche and Paviotso.<sup>18</sup> Cf. Kawaiisu bi'pa, given as "pipe."

	<i>Sky</i>	<i>Sun</i>	<i>Moon</i>	<i>Star</i>	<i>Night</i>	<i>Thunder</i>	<i>Wind</i>
Hopi	duk'belā	dawā	mōyawo	sohō	mihi		
Shoshoni	torūnp, togumbana	ta'	mō'a'	tasim <sup>p</sup>			
Ute	tog'umbab'	tab <sup>a</sup>	inatog'ute	puteiv		nonunt	
Bannock	to'wōt	tæi'	m <sup>a</sup> hā <sup>v</sup>	bat <sup>cu</sup> he			nētū
Chemehuevi	dug'umba-i-ab	dacabots	miarag'obets	būtsiv	duwano	dogwīap	higvap
Kawaiisu	mēhūbīta	dævi	mōatsi	buteiv <sup>a</sup>	dogawan		
Mono, N. Fork	dabaati	da-dap	da-dawia	datsinup	toxawanu		
Pindimbich	winena	āp <sup>a</sup>		dadjinop	dotsoit		
Mono, Inyo		dævi	mīats		dog'anindū		nūg'ētū
Shikaviyam	dog'umbanabi	dæve	mō <sup>a</sup> atsi	dateiumbi	dugal, dugit	dawaagalāgil	ūxkawal
Tūbatulabal	dogumbal	dal	mūyal	eul	dugal		
Baukalachi					bihate		aciekō
Gitanemuk	duguxbævi	damiat	māat, mīat.	hūt.	aduuk		
Möhineyam	dugubat	damiat	moat	huu <sup>19</sup>			
Fernandino		damiat	moāt	pubuh'yat			pobvin
Gabrielino	tukupar	tamit	moar	eucyot <sup>20</sup>			
Luiseno	dupac	temet	mōla	euula	dukumit	donawot	
Agua Caliente	tukrac	tamyat	manil	suul	dukumiat	daucunrat	
Cahuilla	dukwaç	damit	menil	suul	dewiic pē-leqa		

<sup>19</sup> Plural huuyam<sup>20</sup> Probably a reduplicated plural from euot.



	Cloud	Rain	Snow	Fire	Smoke	Ash	Coal
Hopi	omauwe	yoyañwe	növa	göahi		gotcevi	töva
Shoshoni			takap	k'ou <sup>a</sup> , -kotöp			
Ute	paginav	paavoas	nivab				
Bannock			nivavi	og'co			
Chemehuevi					kwigar	tümbaniwateadupa	
Kawaiisu	uwarü [sic]	uare	nuvavi	guna	gohidatö	gutsapa	gudv <sup>e</sup>
Mono, N. Fork		digwap	niavapi	goc	gukuhip	ectav	
Endimbieh	baginap	baiwap	niavabi	goco	guguip	ieyawaba	gudöbi
Mono, Inyo		üwat'		goco	gwihidat	gutuciba	
Shikaviyam	baginap <sup>wü</sup>	üwadü	dahavi ?	guna ?	gugibi		idjeäntu ?
Tübatulabal	paJunict	dañil	nübal	gut	uyit	döñol	duldul
Bankalachi		dä'nül		gut			
Gitanemuk	wöñ-at	[a-wöñ]	yuat	gut	amwak	gugut	düt.
Möhineyam	wuñ-ut			gut	moart.		
Fernandino	pakit	yarevokök	yu'at <sup>a</sup>	tsäavt	moäxt	kukut	düt
Gabrielino				tcavat	maat		
Luisiño	tuviic	axölax	yuyit	gut	gumit	delingie	dula
Agua Caliente	awowan tomeqa	awowani	ayuyi'a	gut	miat	gocgie	dul
Cahuilla		wewal	yuyit	kut	kumit	gwacic	kut

	Water	Land, Earth	Ocean	Stream	Lake	Mountain	Rock
Hopi	köyi	döva		möna		dökwi	oa
Shoshoni	bā', bā'	sog' up			bogariṭ	toyap	timp <sup>1</sup>
Ute	pā'	tevip		pa nukeint	pag' adiūt	qaiḃ <sup>a</sup>	timp <sup>u1</sup> , timpuite
Bannock	bā'	tuip			baninit	qaiḃ	tipi'
Chemehuevi	ba, b'a	dōvip		baḡ' a		gaiw	dāmp, dōmp <sup>1</sup>
Kawaiisu	boo	dīpa, yuāka	paenunpi			kēvi	dēpi
Mono, N. Fork	bay <sup>a21</sup>	diōip		bahumadi		dodabi	
Endimbich	bāya	diōip, diwōp		balawe		toyapi	
Mono, Inyo	bā	tōvip					dōp <sup>1</sup>
Shikaviyam	bā	cog' obi ḡ		og' etiū		doyavi	dōp
Tübatulabal	bāl	cūwal		wūit		mual	dūmbi ḡ
Bankalachi	bal	cūval				mūal	dūnt
Gitanemuk	bātc	dēvate		wanūt	mōate	moatat	dūmat
Möhneyam	bātc	dēvite				gaite	dūmat
Fernandino	pa'r, paar	ōxar, ōxōr	yoit-par	(kiroparwōr)	atsōsin par <sup>23</sup>		tota
Gabrielino	par	ōxar					tota
Luiseño	pala <sup>22</sup>	ex'la	momat	wanic	bala coxac' at <sup>24</sup>	paaawu	doda
Agua Caliente	bal <sup>23</sup>	damal	momat	wanic		paau'a	gawie
Cahuilla	pal	temal	pal amnout		pal helwut	yamic	gawie

<sup>21</sup> Also heard as bal<sup>1</sup>.<sup>22</sup> With possessive prefix, Luiseño, -pau; Agua Caliente, -pau'a.<sup>23</sup> "Water its-eye." Yoit-par, ocean, is "large water."<sup>24</sup> "Standing water." Cf. bala pu-buc, "water its eye," a spring.

	<i>Salt</i>	<i>Sand</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Grass</i>	<i>Dog</i>	<i>Bear</i>	<i>Wolf</i>
Hopi	iaña		koho	döüsaka	buxku	honauwa	
Shoshoni			hōp' <sup>1</sup>	sonip		wiree	
Ute		sivamp	kokeapi	owib'	sariɔj	kviag'ant	cinæ' <sup>1</sup>
Bannock				wahaw		wirā	
Chemehuevi	acop	ōdav	gugvap		cetuwitc		
Kawaiisu	oæ' <sup>1</sup>		gugapi		bug'uts' <sup>1</sup>	bog'it [moritsi] dugumute	
Mono, N. Fork			gun		buk	bahavits	
Endimbič	īmabi		guna		buk	[ünü]	awuitü
Mono, Inyo	oñabi		guna		bukubida	pahavite	
Shikaviyam	uñal		hūpi		puñgu	bahavite	
Tūbatulabal	uñal	baeiñwambi	uut		puñgul	unal	
Bankalachi					buñul	unal	
Gitanemuk	hiarit				gutsi	hunat	
Mōhineyam	añor		gudjat		gutei		
Fernandino			gut-at	hamat		hünür	
Gabrielino			kota				
Luisefio	eñla	exral	colauwot	wuci		hunwot	
Agua Caliente	yawal	haxal	qalawat	awal <sup>25</sup>		unwut	
Cahuilla	eñil		kelawat	samut		hunut	

<sup>25</sup> Teutece is also used, but is thought to be a modern Spanish word. Aval does not take the possessive prefixes. My dog is na-ac awal.

	<i>Coyote</i>	<i>Deer</i>	<i>Antelope</i>	<i>Elk</i>	<i>Mountain-sheep</i>	<i>Panther</i>	<i>Skunk</i>
Hopi	isaupa	teiyuea		soviüwa	bañwi	dogotci	bextea
Shoshoni		soorehi		parehi			poni*
Ute	yog'uvite	dig'i	kwahari	pari-ets	nag' adj	tok <sup>a</sup>	
Bannock		turite	wandjidj	patuite	naax		
Chemehuevi	sünap	däiy, döi	tina			döritei	bohite
Kawaiisu	cünae'	döhiac		baröhi		weheci <sup>26</sup>	bohite
Mono, N. Fork	idza	dühüt		dühüi		diwawiya	
Endimbich	caawite	dühüte					
Mono, Inyo	ica	töhina					
Shikaviyam	icavaip	tüg'üya					
Tübatulabal	iet	toxoil	macat <sup>27</sup>	coxko <sup>28</sup>	baat		
Bankalaehi	iet	doyixil					
Gitancumuk	wahi	hugaxt		bā-hugaxt		dugutevut	
Möhineyam	wahi	hukaxt				tukur	
Fernandino	hitär	cukat		ba-cukat		dukut	balugat
Gabrielino						damawic	dokwil
Luiseno	anc <sup>26</sup>	eugat	tonla		baat		
Agua Caliente	isil	sugat	donil		baat		
Cahuilla	isil						

<sup>26</sup> San Juan Capistrano, Boscana: eno.<sup>27</sup> Said to mean sack or bag.<sup>28</sup> Yokuts, coxgoi.<sup>29</sup> Yokuts, weheci.

	<i>Jackrabbit</i>	<i>Rabbit</i>	<i>Bird</i>	<i>Eagle</i>	<i>Condor</i>	<i>Buzzard</i>	<i>Owl</i>
Hopi	sowi	ɖavo	masaidaka	kwahö			
Shoshoni	tsa-kam <sup>30</sup>	kamh <sup>31</sup>		biewie			
Ute				keanandj			
Bannock				wina			
Chemehuevi				müñ, möñ			
Kawaisu	gamotc	ɖavutsi	widjigidji	wikum 'hate <sup>3</sup>			muhutei
Mono, N. Fork	gam	deu <sup>32</sup>		kwina			nu '
Endimbich	gam	dewa <sup>32</sup>	djipa				
Mono, Inyo							
Shikaviyam	gamu	ɖavu	hutui	gwina			mūmbitci
Tibatulabal			djigit	acawit	wiits <sup>36</sup>	wieukumbiet	
Bankalachi	huit	ɖühögut	widjidat	axūñ			
Gitanemuk				axūñ			
Möhineyam		tohoxt					
Fernandino		tocoxot					
Gabrielino		dosixit <sup>33</sup>					
Luiseno		disixat <sup>34</sup>		acwot	yūñacaiwot	yūñavie	muda
Agua Caliente		dawit <sup>35</sup>		acwot	yūñacalak	yūñavie	munt
Cahuilla				asut			

<sup>30</sup> Said to mean white rabbit.<sup>31</sup> Another species, tavutc.<sup>32</sup> Yokuts t-iu.<sup>33</sup> Another species, dovut.<sup>34</sup> Another species, tiv'it.<sup>35</sup> Cf. notes 31, 33, 34.<sup>36</sup> Yokuts, witc.



	Crow	Rattlesnake	Frog	Fish	Flea	Louse	White
Hopi							
Shoshoni	añwusi	teua	bāakwa	bāakyuwe		ātō	gōyutca
Ute		tog'oab'	yawaza	pinkw'			tucagar
Bannock			pakeanapi	pag'ū			
Chemehuevi			wag'atsa	bakwi'			
Kawaiisu	adag'atsi	tog'oa		bag'ūts	atsin <sup>?</sup>	bucyab	ce-gita
Mono, N. Fork	wih <sup>?</sup> ( <sup>?</sup> )			pag'ōts	mutsiipi	pusiabi	sabunu-giti
Endimbich	miek	musigii		bakwi	mutcip		
Mono, Inyo		dog'oa				añibi	caii-biniti
Shikaviyam	gāki	dog'oa					boc-ipwūl
Tübatulabal	agapiet	cūmunt		pañwi			
Bankalachi		samant		guyul	adutsit		
Gitanemuk	a'ā	hūñt		gihut-			
Möhineyam				gihut-			
Fernandino		coot		gihut-			āya-k
Gabrielino				kiur		a'ar	rawānat
Luiseno	alwot <sup>37</sup>	mē'gac	waxaukila	anamat	mu'owadjic	olat <sup>38</sup>	Xwaiahot
Agua Caliente	alwut <sup>37</sup>	sifsiwut	waxatcil	kiul	mugac	alat <sup>39</sup>	Xwaxaxonot
Cahuilla	alut <sup>37</sup>	biqwal			mokwac	kua	dewic-nikie

<sup>37</sup> Yokuts, alwut., dialects aduut.. On account of the geographical distance between the languages, this identity is surprising, especially as the Shoshonean dialects adjacent to the Yokuts show other forms.

<sup>38</sup> Ca'lat, body louse.

<sup>39</sup> Nawilat, body louse.

	<i>Black</i>	<i>Red</i>	<i>Large</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Bad</i>	<i>I</i>
Hopi	gwönbi	bālañbü	hoskaya	hihini	lolma		nö
Shoshoni							nü, nüni
Ute	tokar	añarar					nüni, nōni
Bannock							nüü
Chemehuevi							nü
Kawaiisu	doho-gita	ag'ag'-gita	wox-gota	akunupitei	huuta	atāvü	
Mono, N. Fork			pabat. <sup>40</sup>	utumadzidzi	tsawutu	dagwanit	
Endimich	gutuitsa-giti	kawicara-giti	babai	diñjidji	teawi	datsa	
Mono, Inyo							nü
Shikaviyam	dupa-viniti	añga-piniti			tsāwinyu		nü
Tübatulabal	duk-epwül	melmel-epwül	ekewan	gutsubits	diñwü	düc	nügi, nōgi
Bankalachi							nügi
Gitanemuk	yovo-k	gwacöp-k	atüa	anüsi	numuat.	göca	nü, nō
Möhineyam							nü
Fernandino	yumāxa	kutipkumu	yöit	anuüsi	diñökön	tsainükhü	numü, nōmü
Gabrielino							noma
Luiseno	yovatahot	qwayaqwiac	yot	kihut	polov	alaxwic <sup>40</sup>	no
Agua Caliente	tul-nikic	qwateqwatie	ai'anic	ukulyi	itca-c	ololakama <sup>41</sup>	no
Cahuilla	dulat	sel-nikic	amnot	inisi	atcam	alaxwic <sup>40</sup>	ne

<sup>40</sup> Mohave, Yuman family, alai-. Bad is also hidjigut in Luiseno and elekwic or kil-atcam-a, not-good, in Cahuilla.

<sup>41</sup> Or, olol'ic.

	<i>Thou</i>	<i>We</i>	<i>Ye</i>	<i>This</i>	<i>That</i>	<i>Here</i>	<i>There</i>
Hopi	öm	itamö	önaa	dikbü	bam'i	yep'e	ayamu
Shoshoni	üm	nüm <sup>1</sup> , taei <sup>42</sup>	mün <sup>1</sup>	hinoi	ua <sup>2</sup> c		
Ute	üm, öm			ite-ma	uan-ma	iw'ana	uwènu
Bannock	imi			itü	marua	io	ia
Kawaiisu	ü			i, ü	ati	iyono	iya
Mono, N. Fork	üü, uu	nüm	ükwa	idü	adü	iva	ava
Endimbich	ü	üüüwa		igi	üwunu		
Mono, Inyo	ambi	üügiluts		igi-ts	ama-ts	ip	amuk
Shikaviyam	ümbi	itsam	ümü	[hit-ivi]		ikwa	mürum
Tübetulabal	ümü, imua	uyünam		mine <sup>3</sup>	peem		
Bankalachi	umi				wunal	iva	wunik
Gitanemuk	ümü, ömü		omom	ivi	aXwac	ivita	axwaña wanaka
Möhneyam		team	omom	ii	pe	ipa	peña
Fernandino		team	omom	ivi			
Gabrielino	om	team	omom				
Luiseno	o'o	team	omom				
Agua Caliente	e	team	omom				
Cahuilla		team	omom				

<sup>42</sup> It is not certain of tavi and nüm<sup>1</sup> which is exclusive and which inclusive.

	<i>All</i>	<i>Much</i>	<i>Who</i>	<i>Yesterday</i>	<i>Tomorrow</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Hopi	sorxoyam	keasta	hak'i			owi	gae', k'ae'
Shoshoni							
Ute	manu-	avan	in-, im-	qauv	witeuk	ovai, toyak	kate
Bannock							
Chemehuevi							
Kawaiisu	monoyo	avata	hana	kūawi	dekaeu	hōō	katokma
Mono, N. Fork	naeūmūt					hōō	kètō
Endimbich	naeimi	əvai	hake	yomau	moāuc	hāha'	gadu, garu
Mono, Inyo						ha'	gadu
Shikaviyam	onoīdicū	cōpuyu	hag'adiū	kāntu	iwā	hā'a <sup>a</sup>	karu
Tūbatulabal	banik	yowi	ha-īnt			hā'a <sup>a</sup>	gè
Bankalachi	buyu	wūr	hamits	duk	avapi	hā'a <sup>a</sup>	hais, aie
Gitanemuk						hā'a <sup>a</sup>	hais
Möhineyam						hāu	nāu
Fernandino	wè	wūpiū	haki	buana	hiamta	ehe	nau
Gabrielino						èbe	xai
Luiseño	tcon	muyuk					
Agua Caliente	potama	mot'ie		waxam	exiai	oho	gai
Cahuilla	u'man	metawu		duku	dukumai	hooo	gai
				duku-r	baipa	ateama <sup>44</sup>	kily

<sup>44</sup> Hühü, also used, is regarded as a more modern form than haawini.

	<i>Eat</i>	<i>Drink</i>	<i>Run</i>	<i>Dance</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Sleep</i>	<i>Speak</i>
Hopi	nesaa, sowaa	hiikoo	wadi	wenima	daulawö	bööwi	yaiata
Shoshoni							
Ute							
Bannock							
Chemehuevi							
Kawaiisu	kaa-nāmi	hiwi-nāmi	nūki-nāmi		ka-nāmi <sup>4</sup>	ūpi-nāmi	abi-nam <sup>4</sup>
Mono, N. Fork	dika-wai	hibi-wai	boyoh-at			ūwi-wai	yadohat
Endimbich	dūka-wai	hibi-we	miya-nai			da-ūwi-n	
Mono, Inyo				niga-tū	hueiaui-tū		
Shikaviyam	diga	hiwi	nugi			up <sup>4</sup> i-tū	nañawi-tū
Tübatulabal	dūka	iū	maigū-la			tsuluma	alaw-
Bankalachi	digi-l	ii-l	ni-wana-k	ni-duxdu	tsad-uits	djuluma	ala'wi
Gitanemuk	ni'-kwa	ni'-pa	ya	duxdu	djat	ni-kum	ni-hūñu
Möhineyam	gwa	ba	yimino	muar	teča	kuman	serawo
Fernandino	gwa					yetañku	
Gabrielino							
Iniseño	hela-e <sup>48</sup>	pa-e	hiqwa	pelax	helax	gubua	telax
Agua Caliente	qwa <sup>48</sup>	baa	yaya	dane	yawi	gu'bwa	yovaiwa
Cahuilla	wai	pae	peikenenemi		wexe	kup	kuktas <sup>48</sup> un

<sup>48</sup> Or, nateaxon.<sup>48</sup> Or, bu'yo.



	<i>See</i>	<i>Kill</i>	<i>Sit</i>	<i>Walk</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Give</i>
Hopi						
Shoshoni		moki <sup>47</sup>	gatö	waima		
Ute	punike	pa 'ka				
Bannock						
Chemehuevi						
Kawaisu	büke-nām <sup>1</sup>	baka-nām	gar-nām <sup>1</sup>	bag'i-nām		gā-nām
Mono, N. Fork		nabats-at	gati-wai	ni-at		magi
Endimbich	dūma-buni		gat	niwi		maki
Mono, Inyo						mautu
Shikaviyam	ma-vuni	ma-bagan	gadü			
Tübatulabal						
Bankalachi	tāwükü	mügut	yandji	döyut	axue	naha
Gitanemuk	ni-hu	amuk-anü	rogaugate <sup>?</sup>			amak
Möhineyam		muk				
Fernandino	hütu	yayar	töboxaro	nuñinu-kün	wexe-kün	maxa
Gabrielino					yaxpoik	
Luisefo		makna		wokalax	uwoax	ovi
Agua Caliente		maka		waksila	taexaa <sup>48</sup>	maxa
Cahuilla		mekinka				maxa

<sup>48</sup> Spanish, trabajar.<sup>47</sup> moki, dead; nina, kill.

a and ä, perhaps with similar quality as *o*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*; *o*, *u* impure; *ö*, *ü*, differing from French and German *ö*, *ü*, as *o*, *u* differ from *o*, *u*; <sup>n</sup>, nasalized vowel; A, E, I, O, U, obscure vowels; <sup>a</sup>, <sup>e</sup>, <sup>i</sup>, <sup>o</sup>, <sup>u</sup>, unarticulated vowels; c, sh or approaching it; z, j, sonants corresponding to s, c; ñ, nasal of k as n is of t; q, g, velar or uvular k, g; x, spirant of k; g', sonant spirant of k; X, g', spirants corresponding to q, g; v, bilabial; t, palatal t; ', aspiration.

#### LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE VOCABULARIES.

Many Shoshonean vocabularies have been written without the sonants g, d, b. It would seem that these sounds occur as well as k, t, p, but that they are to Indo-European ears so nearly like the surds as to be distinguished from them with difficulty. The stem for water, occurring perhaps in Paiute and in numerous geographical names, has usually been written pa-; but the preceding vocabularies show that by the author it was more frequently heard as ba. It is not altogether certain that such surd-resembling sonants really exist in addition to the surds; it is possible that there is only one class of sounds, most nearly but not quite similar to our surds, and that these have been heard sometimes as surd and sometimes as sonant. But it is certain that at least not every k, t, and p in Shoshonean is pronounced as in English. And this seems to hold true of every dialectic group of the family.

Many Californian Shoshonean dialects have an interdental t. Whether this t replaces our t, or occurs in addition to it, has not been determined. Interdental or lower dental t is frequent in Californian languages, occurring in Yuki, Pomo, Yokuts, and perhaps other families. In the Shoshonean family it has been noted in Luiseño, Agua Caliente, Gitanemuk, Kawaiisu, and Tübatulabal, in other words in the Luiseño-Cahuilla, Serrano, Kern river, and Ute-Chemehuevi groups; and it is probably found in others.

Shoshonean v is always bilabial, and by an untrained observer is readily heard as b or w. Most vocabularies show some confusion of these sounds, and the lists of the present author are no exception. Tübatulabal is the only dialect in which it is doubtful

whether *v* occurs, appearing to be replaced by *w*. This possible exception may be due to contact of the Tübatulabal with the Yokuts, whose languages have no *v*.

The northern Mono vocabulary here given shows *r* in a number of cases where *d* or *t* occurs in the southern dialect and in other groups. This *r* was heard as intermediate between *r* and *d* rather than as *r*.

A marked phonetic characteristic of Shoshonean are the *ö*, *ü*, and allied *o*, *u* sounds. These all have a peculiar impure or muddled quality, which may be due to imperfect rounding of the lips. The same sounds are known to occur in the Yokuts<sup>1</sup> and Chumash<sup>2</sup> linguistic families, both territorially adjacent to Shoshonean. *Ö* and *ü* have been found by the writer in every one of the Shoshonean dialectic groups with which he has had experience, excepting Luiseño-Cahuilla; and it seems probable that they occur in all dialects of these groups.

*E* and *o* are generally open in Shoshonean, at least in the Californian dialects. They are open also in most of the linguistic families of California.

Many of the vocabularies show pronominal forms, especially in the terms for parts of the body. In California these are usually prefixes. The Tübatulabal forms obtained mostly end in *-n*, which seems to be the possessive suffix of the first person, *my*. The second person, *thy*, is indicated by the suffix *-ñ*. Most of the northern Mono terms are preceded by *da-*, which probably means *his*, or *somebody's*. Gabrielino seems to add *-n* on prefixing a possessive pronoun: *ki-g'*, *house*, *ni-ki-n*, *my house*.

A feature that appears prominently in the material collected is the existence throughout the Shoshonean family of noun-suffixes or terminations which are lost under certain conditions. It would appear that a noun cannot stand as a naked stem, but requires a suffix; but that any form of composition into which the stem enters, such as the addition of a possessive affix, makes the terminal suffix unnecessary, and it is lost. This process, which is more or less visible in every Shoshonean dialect, occurs in identical form in Nahuatl. *Stone* in Luiseño is *to-ta*, *Juaneño*

<sup>1</sup> P. 329 of Vol. II of this series.

<sup>2</sup> P. 32 of Vol. II of this series.

to-t; my stone is no-to. Ki-tea, house, objective ki-c, plural ki-te-am, becomes no-ki; yu-la, head, team-yu, our heads. These forms are exactly paralleled by Nahuatl te-tl, stone, no-teuh, my stone; yak-atl, nose, no-yak, my nose.

These grammatically interesting suffixes cannot be examined further here. One of the first prerequisites of a comparison of Shoshonean dialects that will be of linguistic and not only of ethnological value, is a comparative determination of these suffixes. Some striking correspondences are apparent in the present vocabularies; as in the case of pa-, water, where Serrano shows -te, Gabrielino -r, Luiseño-Cahuilla -l, the Plateau branch -, Tübatulabal -l. Ku-, fire, shows -t in Southern California and Tübatulabal, -c in Mono-Paviotso, -n in Ute-Chemehuevi and Shoshone-Comanche. Without following particular correspondences any further, it may be said that the Plateau dialects seem to show suffixes of this type in -v, -p, -n, -c, and -t, and to lack them in -l and t; Tübatulabal to lack those in v and p, but to have -c, -nte, -t, and especially -l; the Southern California dialects to lack -v, -p, and perhaps -n; to possess -t in common; and to specialize, Serrano in -te, Gabrielino in -x and -r, Luiseño-Cahuilla in -c, -te, -r, and -l.

#### SYSTEMATIZED COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF SHOSHONEAN.

A comparison of these vocabularies with those previously printed, which are in very different and often imperfect orthographies, shows that there is no known dialect which differs distinctly from those here given, even though some of the localities at which these other vocabularies were obtained are distant, and the tribes quite distinct from those visited by the writer. The material for a classification of the Shoshonean family on a linguistic basis is therefore given by the present series of new vocabularies, while those previously printed amplify and correct them and help to determine more accurately the geographical distribution of each dialect and group.

In the following general comparative vocabulary covering twenty-five of the words most important for a discrimination of dialects in Shoshonean, material from the dialects represented



by the present new vocabularies, and from all the more distinct dialects shown in addition by older vocabularies, is brought together in uniform orthography, and with as much simplification as possible both phonetically and structurally, in order to display both more comprehensively and more concisely than in the longer preceding tables the material on which the following classification of the Shoshonean family rests. On account of the doubt existing, and for the sake of simplicity, sonants have been written as surds. Whenever possible, stems have been given instead of words, or when more desirable marked by hyphens. This vocabulary is therefore an abstract or ideal one rather than an attempt at an actual and accurate representation of the several dialects.

	One	Two	Five	Eye
Hopi	cux-ke	lei	teitv	pouci
Comanche	cen-us	wa-ʔ		pui, na-teite
Shoshoni	cimitsi	wat	manag-	pui, wui
Ute	cui-s	wai-	manig-in	pui-
S. E. Bannock				pui-
Chemehuevi	cui	wai-x	manōx	pui-v
Kawaiisu	cui-u	wahai-yu	manūg-i	pui-v
Winnasht	ciñ	pai-	napiu	pui
Paviotso	eamā-(ʔ)	wahai	manig-	pu-e
Mono	cim	wahai	manig-	pu-e
Hale's Shosh.	cimitsi	wat	ciu-manuc	pui
Lemhi Bann.	cim-			
Tūbatulabal	tei-ts	wo	mahi-teiña	pu-nts
Gikidanum	haukup	wo	maha-te	-uea
Möhneyam	haukup	wahi (ʔ)	maha-te	
Serrano	haukup	wu	maha-te	-ova
Gabrielino	puku	wehe	maha-r	tcotcon
S. J. Capistrano	supul	wue (ʔ)	maha-r	pu-l
Luiseño	supul	we	maha-r	pu-e
Agua Caliente	supl-awat	wi	nama-kwan-afax	pu-e
Cahuilla	supl-i	wi	nama-kwan-on	pu-e



<i>Man</i>	<i>Person</i>	<i>Mouth [Tooth]</i>	<i>Tongue</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Tobacco</i>	<i>Sun</i>
Hopi	daka	moa [tama]	leñi	kihō	piea	tao-a
Comanche	tuevitci	[tama]	ako	kan-	pamo	tao-
Shoshoni	tenip	-tip	ako	kan-	pamo, pax	ta
Ute	tavate	timp-	axu-	kan	kvap, tokvap	tao
S. E. Bannock	nana	-tip-				tao-i
Chemehuevi	tavate	tümp-[tawa]	ar' u-	kan	keoap	tao-
Kawaiisu	taniputs	tümp-[tawa]	eko-	kan-i		tao-i
Whinash	nana	tupa [tama]	exo	nov-i		tao-a
Paviotso	nana	tup-		nov-i	pamu	tao-
Mono	nana	tōp, rīp, [tawa]	ekxw	nov-i	cokx	tao-i
Hale's Shosh.	taka	timp- [tañwa]	aku	novi	pamu	tao-a
Lemhi Bann.	nana			kan-i	pamo	
Tübafulabal	tatwal	tok- [tama]	lal-	hanil	cokont	ta-l
Gikidanum	vatookai	site- [tama]	nañ	ki-te		tamiat
Möhineyam	takat			ki-	piea-t	tamiat
Serrano	vuteite	xite	nañ	ki-te		tamiat
Gabrielino	voroit	toñ- [tam]	noñ-	ki-g'		tamit
S. J. Capistrano yile	atax	tum	wē-	ki-te	pio-	tenet
Luiseno	yac	tma	wei	ki-tea	piea-t	temet
Agua Caliente	naxanie	tema	nañ	ki-e	piea-t	tamiat
Cahuilla	naxanie	tama	nañ	ki-e	piea-t	tamiat

	Star	Snow	Fire	Water	Earth	Mountain	Rock
Hopi	sohö	növa	köahi	kui	töva	tökwi	oa
Comanche	tate, tasinup	taka-		pa		toyavi-	
Shoshoni	tatsimp,	takap	ku-na, ku-n	pa'	sox-op	toyavi	timp-i
	tasinump						
Ute	puteiv	nivav	ku-n	pa	tev-ip	kaiva	timp-i <sup>1</sup>
S. E. Bannock	pateu-	nivav-i	ox-co (¶)	pa'	tu-ip	kaiv	tip-i
Chemehuevi	puteiv	nivav	ku-n	pa	töv-ip	kaiv	tümp-i <sup>1</sup>
Kawaiisu			ku-na	po			tümp-i
Whinashit	patusuva	nivav-i	ko-so	pa	tiip		tip-i
Paviotso	patusuva	nivav-i	ko-e	paya	tiip	kaiva	timp-i
Mono	tatsinup	nivav-i	ko-co	pa-ya	töv-ip	toyavi	tüp
Hale's Shosh.	putsiva	nivav-i	ku-na	pa	tiv-ip	toyavi	timp-i
Lenhi Bann.	tasino-	nivav-			cox-oap	kaiva	
Tübatulabal	cu-l	nüva-l	ku-t	pa-l	cüval	mu-al	tü-nt
Gikidanum	hu-t		ku-t	pa-te	tüv-ate		tüm-ut
Möhineyam	hu		ku-t	pa-te	töv-ite	kai-te	tüm-ut
Serrano	hu	yua-t	ku-t	pa-te		kai-te	tum-ut
Gabrielino	cu-ot	yua-t	teava-t	pa-r	öxar töva-	xai-x	to-ta
S. J. Capistrano	cu-l		ku-t	pa-l	ex-al	kawi-te	to-t
Luiseno	cu-la	yuyi-t	ku-t	pa-la	ex-la	paavu	to-ta
Agua Caliente	cu-l	ayuyi-a	ku-t	pa-l	tam-al	paaw'a	kawic
Cahuilla	cu-l	yuyi-t	ku-t	pa-l	tem-al	yamic	kawic

	Dog	Coyote [Wolf]	Fish	I	Thou	No	Drink
Hopi	puxku	isauva	paakyuwe	nó	óm	kae	hik-
Comanche	cari				un (ʔ)	kai	hiv-
Shoshoni	cari		pinkw-i (te)	nü (ʔ)	ü	kai	hiv-
Ute	sari-te	[cina-vi]	paxú	nü-(ni)	üm	kate	ivi-
S. E. Bannock	ceñu-ite	cñna-p	pakwi	nü-ni	üm-i	kate-	ivi-
Chemehuevi	puku-tsi	cñna-vi	paxüte				
Kawaiisu	coxouk		axai	“ni”	“i”		
Winasht	puk	itea	akai, pakwi	nü	ü	karu	hiv-
Paviotso	puk-	ica	pakwi	nü	ü	karu	h-ivi
Mono	cari	[cinavi]	paxütei ʔ	“ni”	“i”	naru-	ivi-
Hale's Shosh.							
Lemhi Bann.							
Tübatulabal	puñ-ul	ic-t		nö-ki	üm-bi	haic	iü
Gikidanum	kutei	wahai	kihu-t	nö	üm-ü	pa	pa
Möhineyam	kutei	wahi	kihu-t	nu	um-i	nau	pa
Serrano	kutei	[wahe]	kehu-m (ʔ)	nu	om-i	nou	pa-
Gabrielino	wuci	[ico-t]	kiu-r	no-ma	om-a	xai	pa-
S. J. Capistrano	awal	[ico-t]	kiu-l	no	om	kai	pa-
Luiseño	awal	[icwu-t], ano	anama-t	no	om	kai	pa-
Agua Caliente	awal	[icwu-t] ic-il	kiu-l	no	o	kai	pa
Cahuilla	awal	[icwu-t] ic-il	kiu-l	ne	e	kil	pa-

## CLASSIFICATION.

On the basis of this material, the Shoshonean family may be stated to consist of four principal branches of very unequal territorial extent and importance. Some of these branches must be subdivided. There are thus eight principal dialectic groups in the family. These divisions are the Pueblo branch; the Plateau branch, comprising the Ute-Chemehuevi, the Shoshoni-Comanche, and the Mono-Paviotso groups; the Kern river branch; and the Southern California branch, consisting of the Serrano, the Gabrielino, and the Luiseño-Cahuilla groups.

*Pueblo Branch.*

The Pueblo branch consists only of the Moki or Hopi Indians of northern Arizona. The one Tanoan village of Hano among the Hopi must of course be excluded. Hopi is more divergent from any of the other Shoshonean dialects than these are from one another, and contains a number of distinct radicals for some of the most important words, such as water; but it is nevertheless clearly Shoshonean. To judge from the texts printed in recent publications of the Field Museum of Natural History, its grammatical forms and its structure will prove to be quite similar to those of other Shoshonean languages.

*Plateau Branch.*

The Plateau branch is by far the most extensive. Comprising such characteristic tribes as the Shoshoni, Bannock, Ute, Paiute, and Comanche, it reaches from the Columbia on the north to the Colorado on the south, and extends over the Rockies on the east and over the Sierras into the great valley of California on the west. All the dialects known from this branch belong to three well marked groups between which, as yet, but few connecting dialects have been found. The distribution of these three groups is as follows.



The Ute-Chemehuevi group includes the Ute of Utah and Colorado, the Paiute of southern Nevada but not those of north-western Nevada, the Chemehuevi in the vicinity of the Mohave on the Colorado river, the Kawaiisu in the Tehachapi mountains, and at least certain of the people called Bannock. Roughly speaking it is the southernmost of the three Plateau groups.

The Shoshoni-Comanche group includes the Shoshoni of eastern Idaho, northwestern Utah, and northeastern Nevada, those east of the Rocky Mountains now in Wyoming, and the Comanche. This group is the most northeasterly of the three constituting the Plateau branch.

The Mono-Paviotso group includes: the Shoshoneans on both sides of the Sierra Nevada north of Kern river, most of whom are generally known as Monachi or Mono; the people of Owens Valley, east of the Sierra Nevada, who have been called both Monachi and Paiute; the so-called Paiute, Powell's Paviotso, of Walker river and apparently all northwestern Nevada; the Shoshoneans of eastern Oregon, called both Snake and Paiute; and probably certain of the Bannock or other Indians of Idaho. The Panamint Indians of the Death Valley region in California belong probably either to this group or the Ute-Chemehuevi. The Mono-Paviotso group is situated west of the Ute-Chemehuevi and Shoshoni-Comanche groups.

### *Kern River Branch.*

The Kern river branch of the family consists of a single group, and in fact virtually a single tribe, on Kern river at the southern end of the Sierra Nevada in California. These people, the Tübatulabal, whose only known near relatives are the practically extinct Bankalachi of Deer creek, east of Tulare lake, lived mainly about the junction of the two principal forks of Kern river, in a region which, while not inaccessible, is scantily inhabited by whites and little visited. It is for this reason probably, as well as on account of their comparative insignificance and a lack of aggressiveness characteristic of the California Indians, that these people are so little known, and that their language,



although recognized as Shoshonean, has been hitherto unrepresented by any vocabularies. The Tübatulabal dialect differs equally from those of the Plateau branch and those of the Southern California branch. It is apparently about as different from Hopi as are these two branches. It seems equally divergent from all three of the Plateau groups, and shows no special approach to any of the three Southern California groups. In certain ways it is somewhat intermediate between the Plateau branch and the Southern California branch, agreeing sometimes with one and sometimes with the other where they differ from one another. But on the other hand it possesses many forms peculiar to itself, sometimes when the corresponding words in the several other branches are all referable to a common root. While thus in a measure connecting the two much larger branches between which it is also geographically nearly intermediate, it is more than a mere transition form, and shows sufficient independence from both to compel it to be regarded as a branch co-ordinate with them.

#### *Southern California Branch.*

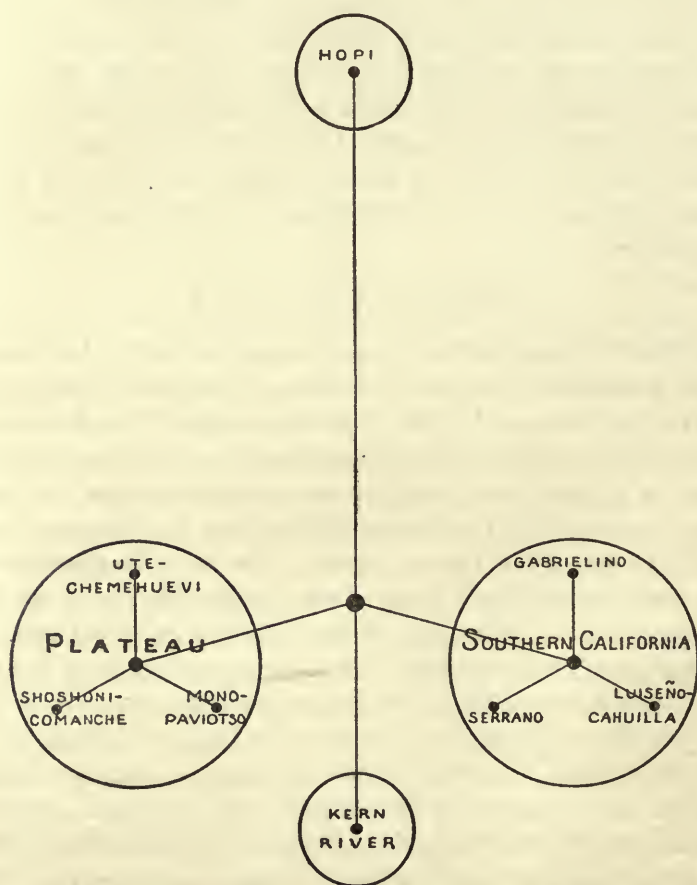
The Southern California branch comprises all the Indians of what is specifically known as Southern California, that is, the part of the state south of the Tehachapi range. The only exception to this statement are the Chemehuevi, whose original habitat appears to have been mainly in southernmost Nevada, but who occupy more or less territory in California on the Colorado river, and who are of the Plateau branch. The three Southern California branches appear to be about equally different from one another, and, as in the case of the three groups of the Plateau branch, transitions between the groups have not been found, even though some of them consist of several dialects.

The Serrano group consists of the Indians of the vicinity of San Bernardino, generally known as Serranos, and, as implied by the name, mainly in the neighboring mountains. All the Indians of the San Bernardino range spoke dialects belonging to this group, and their territory extended northward from this range over the western part of the Mohave desert and the space intervening between this range and the Tehachapi mountains.

The Gitanemuk of Tejon creek, on the northern or Tulare drainage side of the Tehachapi range, also spoke a Serrano dialect.

The Gabrielino group consisted of the Indians attached to the Missions San Gabriel and San Fernando, who, like most of the Indians of California, were without specific tribal names.

The Luiseño-Cahuilla group includes the Luiseño of the vicinity of Mission San Luis Rey and north to San Jacinto; the Juaneño of Mission San Juan Capistrano; the Cahuilla, mainly on the eastern side of the San Jacinto range; and a small body



Dialectic branches of the Shoshonean stock.

of people, known as Agua Caliente, at the head waters of San Luis Rey river in San Diego county. The dialects of these four divisions of the group differ considerably; but, as compared with Serrano and Gabrielino, are near enough together to be included in one group. Boas has already noticed this closer relation of Luiseño, Cahuilla, and Agua Caliente as opposed to Serrano<sup>1</sup>, and Barrows<sup>2</sup> similarly places Luiseño, Juaneño and Cahuilla into one group as distinguished from Gabrielino.

### *Relations of the Dialectic Groups.*

The relation of these dialects is illustrated in the accompanying diagram, the relative degrees of similarity and divergence between dialectic divisions being approximately indicated by the respective distances between them. Of course an exact representation of the various interrelations is not possible in two dimensions.

### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIALECTIC DIVISIONS.

Difficulty is encountered in attempting to determine the more exact boundaries of the various groups. All the earlier vocabularies, on being compared with the material here presented, fall clearly into one of the groups described, but the habitat of the people to whom they are attributed is often uncertain. This is due primarily to the loose political organization of the Shoshoneans, among whom, both in California and on the Plateau, the more definite tribal organization of the Plains did not exist. The various dialects belonging to the same group, though often extending over a wide territory, are mostly very similar. Even

<sup>1</sup> F. Boas, Proc. A. A. A. S., 44, 261, 1895. Gatschet, Rep. Chief Eng. 1876, III, 553, 556, unites Serrano, Cahuilla, Luiseño, and Juaneño into one dialectic group, the Kauvuyah, as opposed to Tobikhar (Gabrielino).

<sup>2</sup> The Ethno-Botany of the Coahuilla Indians of Southern California, Chicago, 1900, 22.



those of other groups are similar enough to be readily recognized as akin. These circumstances have rendered the discrimination of bodies without political coherence or distinctness difficult. The numerous divisions ordinarily do not seem to have carried on war with one another, differing in this respect from the tribes of such families as the Sioux in the east and the Yuman people in the south, among whom intertribal hostility within the same family was at times not only bitter but permanent. In great part the Plateau Shoshoneans called one another by names composed of the name of a food and the word eaters, such as "fish eaters," "buffalo eaters," "mountain sheep eaters," "root eaters," "squirrel eaters," and many others. In most cases they lacked tribal names for themselves, the word *nüm* or some variant such as *nov-inch*, meaning simply persons or people, being used. In Southern California another stem, *atakh* or *takhat*, appears with the same meaning and similar use. Such tribal names as Ute, Paiute, Monachi, Chemehuevi, and probably most of the others commonly known, were not used by the people whom they designate, but by other tribes in referring to them. The result of all these circumstances is that when tribal names have definitely taken hold, either through Indians of other families or through the whites, the people to whom they apply are still indeterminate. With many small bands living over a vast territory, without political divisions and speaking similar languages, it is only natural that systematic discriminations should often not have been made, or that a term perhaps strictly applicable to a certain division was extended by non-Shoshonean tribes to more distant and to them less known members of the same family. Similarly, white explorers, travellers, and settlers entering Shoshonean territory extended the name of the first group, such as Shoshoni, Ute, or Paiute, with whom they came in contact, to all or other Indians of the family of whom they later received knowledge.

In this way Ute and Paiute have been used to designate the same people. Paiute is a well-known term in Nevada, being commonly used for all the Indians of the state except the small body of non-Shoshonean Washo about Reno and Carson, and the Shoshoni in the northeastern part of the state. The Nevada

“Paiute” dialects, however, very evidently belong to two distinct groups. It is for this reason that the term, although so well known, has been avoided in the designation of the groups of the Plateau branch. The Californian Mono and even certain of the Serrano in Southern California have been called Paiute and Pah Ute. The Shoshoni would now seem to be a fairly definitely limited people; but both the vocabularies given by Hale, that of the Shoshoni proper and that of the western Shoshoni or Wihinash, as well as one of those given by Gatschet in Wheeler’s Survey, belong to the Mono-Paviotso and Ute-Chemehuevi groups. The Bannock mentioned by Mooney as north of Nevada are stated to speak a Mono-Paviotso dialect; those from whom a vocabulary is here given belong to the Ute-Chemehuevi group. The determination of the proper names of the people to whom such well-known and frequently used terms as these are applied, and of the divisions to which their dialects belong, is an ethnological need; but this need can be satisfied only by investigations on the spot. The present difficulty is not the lack of data, but their looseness.

In Southern California native tribal names are as rare as on the Plateau, but the Spanish names like Luiseño and Serrano have generally been applied to Indians of distinct dialects and are therefore more helpful than confusing. Cahuilla, in the spellings Kauvuya and Coahuilla, and Tobikhar, have been employed respectively by Gatschet, Barrows, and Powell<sup>1</sup> to designate the entire Southern California branch. As such they are of course only artificial book names, which must not be confused with the same terms as actually or originally used for more restricted groups<sup>2</sup>.

There is a tendency in various Shoshonean dialects for the tribal name, or rather the word for the people, to be related to

---

<sup>1</sup> Gatschet: in Rep. U. S. Geogr. Surveys W. of the one hundredth meridian, in charge of G. M. Wheeler, Vol. VII, Archaeology, by F. W. Putnam, Appendix, Linguistics, pp. 399-485, by A. S. Gatschet, 1879, 412. Barrows: The Ethno-botany of the Coahuilla Indians of Southern California, Chicago, 1900, 22. Powell: Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico, Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., VII, 110.

<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful whether Tobikhar ever was actually employed as a tribal or group name. Gatschet, *loc. cit.*, uses it for Gabrielino, on Loew’s authority; Powell, *loc. cit.*, applies it without further statement to all the Shoshoneans of Southern California.



the stem denoting house or live. Thus, Ute, *nov-intc*, Kawaiisu *nüvu*, Chemehuevi and Mono *nüm*; Mono-Paviotso, *novi*, house; Tübatulabal, *añhanil*, person, *hanil*, house. Gitanemuk, the name of these people for themselves, *gits*, stem *gi-*, house. Gabrielino, Hale Kij, Buschmann Kizh; house, *ki-g'*, Hale, *ki-te*; Luiseño-Cahuilla, Kechi, Khecham, Gaitechim, Nekee; house, *ki-tea*, *ki-c*, *ki-te*.

The examination of the territory and composition of the several Shoshonean groups which follows is subject to the limitations of knowledge which have been described. Wherever new information as to geographical or tribal organization has been obtained by the writer, it is given; but the information to be found in literature has not been generally restated, except where it has been corrected by new data or was desirable for other reasons, such as having been scattered. Outside of certain parts of Southern California, the only attempt of consequence as yet made to describe the distribution and organization of any large body of Shoshoneans has been in the admirable report of Powell and Ingalls<sup>1</sup>, Gatschet's<sup>2</sup> comprehensive compilation being lacking in definiteness, apparently on account of not being based on direct investigations of the author with the Indians. What the exact territory and relations of such bodies of people as the Shoshone, the Ute, the Bannock, the Paiute, and the Paviotso were, and what the names for themselves of these bodies and their subdivisions were, can only be determined by systematic field work. Comparison and summarization of the scattered literature, in which the same tribe is called by different names and the same name applied to entirely distinct tribes, all without any reference to the exact linguistic basis on which the classification must probably in most cases rest, will not materially unravel the confusion in which our knowledge of the Shoshonean family now is. This paper is based on linguistic material; and the information bearing on the distribution and political classification of the Shoshonean tribes is introduced only to show as far as possible where and what the groups are that have been established by means of this linguistic material.

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls, in *Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff.* 1873, 41-74.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler Survey, *op. cit.*, VII, 409.

## UTE-CHEMEHUEVI GROUP.

The Indians of this branch comprise the Ute, the southern or true Paiute, certain of the Bannock, the Chemehuevi, and the Kawaiisu.

No new information as to the territory of any of the eastern tribes is here presented. The subdivisions, and their names, numbers, and territory, of the Ute and Paiute, are given in the Powell and Ingalls Report<sup>1</sup>. The territory of the Ute, and part of that of the Paiute and "Bannock," are shown in Mooney's map accompanying his Calendar History of the Kiowa<sup>2</sup>. The Paiute and Bannock boundaries on the west are not there given. So far as it goes this map would seem to be very nearly correct. It must be remembered that Mooney's Paiute are those to whom alone the term should be correctly applied, and that the Paiute of northwestern Nevada belong to the Mono-Paviotso group. In regard to the inclusion of part of the Bannock in the Ute-Chemehuevi group, it can only be said that the vocabulary obtained by the author from the Bannock of Fort Hall belongs to this group. The main portion of the Bannock territory has generally been put farther down on Snake river than Fort Hall, and the indications, such as the statements of Powell and Mooney, that there are as to the language of the people there, point to Mono-Paviotso affinities. A test vocabulary of the Bannock of Lemhi reservation, Idaho, courteously obtained for the author by Supt. C. C. Covey, shows that the "Bannock" there speak a dialect more or less intermediate between Mono-Paviotso and Shoshoni-Comanche.

*Chemehuevi.*

The Chemehuevi are, as they have been correctly designated, really nothing but a part of the Paiute. The origin of the name is obscure. They call themselves simply *nüm*, person. According to information obtained from the Mohave, their territory seems to have been mainly in the vicinity of Eldorado canyon on the Colorado river, and in the desert mountainous region west of it in southernmost Nevada and California. They extended

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., XVII, pl. 57.

down the Colorado as far as Cottonwood Island, where they met the Mohave. In recent times they have held Chemehuevi valley, the next valley on the Colorado south of Mohave valley, and in which Bill Williams Fork enters this river. The Mohave state that the Chemehuevi held both sides of the river in Chemehuevi valley. It is probable that their occupation of Chemehuevi valley is a comparatively recent matter<sup>1</sup>. The Mohave tell that at least part of the river between themselves and the Yuma was formerly held by the Halchidhoma, a Yuman tribe which was subsequently expelled by themselves and joined its near relatives, the Maricopa, in the Gila valley, with whom it has since become incorporated. The Halchidhoma were still on the river when Garcés visited them in 1776. The Chemehuevi at that time were in the desert west of the river<sup>2</sup>. They are described by Garcés

---

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls, Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1873, 53: "These Chem-a-hue-vis speak the same language as the Pai-Utes, and claim that they formerly lived among them."

<sup>2</sup> Garcés found the Cajuenches,—the Kokhuene of the Mohave, who according to the present day accounts of the latter were associated with the Halchidhoma, up to the time of the expulsion of these to the Maricopa, on the stretch of the Colorado above the Yuma and below the Mohave,—below the Yuma in 1776. He found the Halchidhoma actually living on the river for a distance which was apparently very nearly equivalent to the frontage on it of the present Riverside county. Cutting across an angle of the river to the west of it to reach the Mohave from the Halchidhoma, he encountered the Chemehuevi in the desert in latitude 34° 31' (apparently a nearly correct determination), at a place where there was water, and which was no doubt on a wash shown in this region on modern maps as draining eastward into the river. On subsequently coming down the river from the Mohave, whose rancherias, as well as those of the Halchidhoma farther down, he mentions, he passed through Chemehuevi valley without encountering any inhabitants; nor does he allude to any signs of habitation along this part of the river. He uniformly places the Chemehuevi west and north of the river, never on it.—On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, 1775-1776, by Elliott Coues, New York, 1900.

One Mohave informant stated to the author that the Mohave had never held Chemehuevi valley. They gathered mesquite there because they were friendly with the Chemehuevi; but the valley and the trees belonged to the Chemehuevi. When the Yuman Kokhuene and Halchidhoma were still on the Colorado, certain Chemehuevi lived at Hapuvese, on the western side of the river, near Ehrenberg. When the Mohave fought the Kokhuene and Halchidhoma, they came to these Chemehuevi, who were not numerous, claimed them as friends, and by force but without meeting resistance, brought them up the river with them. Some of the Chemehuevi remained in the Mohave country, some went up to Cottonwood island (Mat-hakeva) where they also lived together with Mohave, and some went down the river to Chemehuevi valley (Amartathove). The Mohave remained at Cottonwood island until war broke out between them and the Chemehuevi (probably nearly forty years ago), when they removed down stream to the main body of their people in Mohave valley.



as much under the influence of the Mohave, with whom they held in tribal matters. More recently, apparently in the sixties, there was bitter hostility between the two tribes, but this appears to be the only instance known of war between them. The name Chemehuevi seems to have been used with the same difference in extension as so many other Shoshonean tribal names. Powell restricts it to the people in 1873 in Chemehuevi valley, and includes various tribes adjoining the Mohave on the north and northwest, such as the Movwiats of Cottonwood Island, the Hokwaits of Ivanpah, and the Timpashauwagotsits of the Providence mountains, among the Paiute. On the other hand the Mohave often extend the term Chemehuevi to all the Paiute of southern Nevada of whom they have knowledge. Thus Garcés, whose information was obtained primarily through the Mohave, speaks of the Chemegué Cuajála<sup>1</sup> and the Chemegué Sevínta, these being the Mohave Kohoaldje and Sivinte, the latter being the Shivwits Paiute placed by Powell in northwestern Arizona. As the languages of all the people in question differ only dialectically, and as the name Chemehuevi seems to be applied to themselves by none of them, the differences between the several statements are not essential, and until definite investigation shall have been made among the Chemehuevi and the neighboring Paiute, the proper extension of the term must be regarded as unsettled. The essential fact is that all these southern Paiute and the Chemehuevi are very closely allied.

The "Chemehuevi" informant from whom a vocabulary was obtained could give as the only name of her people for themselves nüm, person. How correct Gatschet's Tántawats is, is not known. She called the whites haiku, which is the Mohave haiko or hiiko, and probably the origin of the name of the town Hiko in south-eastern Nevada. The Mohave she called Aiat, the Walapai, Walyepai, the Yuma, Gwichyana. The Virgin river Paiutes known to the Mohave as Kohoaldje and Sivinte, she called Paranükh<sup>2</sup> and Sivits<sup>3</sup>. The "Sosoni Indians," whoever they may be, she called Gvööts. The Hopi, whom, like the Mohave,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 445. He speaks also of the Yabipai Cajuala.

<sup>2</sup> Powell and Ingalls, 50, mention the Paraniguts in the valley of the same name (also called Pahranaagat).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Shivwits.

who call them Muuka, she identified with the Navaho, she knew as Muukw. The Gitanemuk (Mohave: Kuvahaivima), or the Serranos south or east of them, as well as those of the lower Mohave river, (Mohave: Vanyume), she called Panumits or Banumints; the Kawaiisu, (Mohave: Kuvakhye), Hiniima or Hinienima (cf. Möhineyam); the Yokuts, the tule-sleepers of the Mohave, Saiempive; the Serrano proper, the Hanyuveche of the Mohave, Maringints; the Cahuilla, Kwitanemun or Kwitanemum (cf. Gitanemuk). Bitanta or Pitanta was the name she gave one of the Serrano divisions on Mohave river. She herself belonged to the Dümpi saghavatsits, in the Avikavasuk or blue mountains of the Mohave, the Providence mountains of the whites<sup>1</sup>. Doyaghaba seems to be the name of Paiute Springs or Creek, on the old wagon road from Mohave valley to the Mohave river, where Whipple mentions petroglyphs and small planted fields<sup>2</sup>. The Mohave call this place Ahakuvilye. This was Chemehuevi territory, as was Aipava, farther west on the same wagon road. Then followed Banükh, Soda Lake, in the territory of the Serrano "Vanyume"; and, still further along the wagon road westward, Atamavi, Batsigwana, Bakiba, Dümpimitowats, Naya, Amugup, Ba'moi, and Dündügumitowats, Daggett. These names seem to be all Chemehuevi; dümpi is the Ute timpui, rock, and the frequent ba- seems to be the usual Shoshonean pa, water.

The mountain corresponding in its function in the mythology of these Paiute-Chemehuevi to the Mohave Avikwame, at which most myths and dream-ceremonies begin, is called by the Mohave Savetpilye, and seems to be Charleston mountain in southern Nevada, or perhaps some other prominent peak in the vicinity. The principal mythological characters of the Chemehuevi were said to be Yunakat, food, Mohave Pahuchach; Shinauva, Coyote; and Tövats, his oldest brother. These three men named the places in the land, assigned habitations to the people, made water, and provided grass seed and other food. The Chemehuevi dream about them at Savetpilye as the Mohave do about Mastamho at Avikwame or other beings elsewhere, and thus become doctors or acquire other supernatural powers. For

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 51; Timpashauwagotsits, Paiutes of the Providence mountains.

<sup>2</sup> Pacific Railroad Reports, III, 1856, part I, 121, part III, 42, plate 36.



instance the Chemehuevi husband of the informant was instructed—in a dream—by Tövats how to make flint arrow-points. The earth was still soft and wet and there were as yet no mountains; then the arrow-weed for arrows grew up, and Tövats told him to make bow and arrows. In place of the many singing ceremonies of the Mohave, the Chemehuevi have only three; at least no others could be learned of. These are called Nakh, mountain-sheep, corresponding to Mohave a'mo; Ashop, salt, Mohave ath'i; and the doctor's singing, Puagbant, Mohave kwathidhe. It is evident that the underlying ideas of Paiute-Chemehuevi and Mohave beliefs are very similar, as, in spite of their belonging to distinct linguistic stocks, might be expected from their contiguity and friendly relations.

*Paiute.*

The Kohoaldje and Sivinte that have just been mentioned are described by the Mohave as living, the former about the mouth of the Virgin or Muddy river, the latter in the mountains beyond, that is, north or east of the Kohoaldje. The languages are described, as is undoubtedly the case, as being similar to each other and nearly the same as Chemehuevi. At least the Kohoaldje are said to have been agriculturalists to some extent. The Chemehuevi woman just mentioned said that her people in the Providence mountains farmed a little. Powell and Ingalls<sup>1</sup> also state that the Paiute generally practiced some agriculture.

The Mohave also mention as "Chemehuevi," that is, Paiute tribes or divisions, the Pakechuana, north of the mountain called Savetpilye, just mentioned; and the Kwanakepai, about fifty miles north of Mandivel or Vanderbilt, at Sandy in Nevada, this place being called by themselves Harakarakaka.

In the list of Paiute tribes given by Powell and Ingalls there is none farther north than Potosi, near Pioche, which would make it seem that the Paiute habitat extended to the head waters of Muddy river but not beyond to the north. Westward they mention no tribes in Nevada beyond the 116th meridian. In California they enumerate five tribes, the Moquats, Timpashauwagotsits, Hokwaits, Kauyaichits, and Yagats in southeastern

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 53.

Inyo and northeastern San Bernardino counties, from the region of Kingston and Providence mountains, Ivanpah, Ash Meadows, and Amargosa<sup>1</sup>. The Mohave confirm the fact that this region was held by tribes closely allied to the Chemehuevi<sup>2</sup>. The Panamint mountains, in which the Panamint Indians ranged, border on this territory, being separated from the Kingston range by Death Valley. It remains to be ascertained whether the Panamint Indians belong to the Ute-Chemehuevi, the Mono-Paviotso, or some other group.

### *Kawaiisu.*

At no very great actual distance from the Paiutes of Kingston mountains and Amargosa, but physiographically in a very different environment, is the only tribe of the Ute-Chemehuevi group to live inside the watershed which forms the natural boundary of California. These are the Kawaiisu of the Tehachapi mountains in Kern county, California. Kawaiisu is the name given them by their Yokuts neighbors. It appears also as Kawaisa, Kawaizu, Gaweija, Gawijim, and Kaweija according to dialectic and individual variations. They probably had no distinctive name for themselves. Dr. Merriam<sup>3</sup> calls them Newooah, which is the word for person, obtained by the author in the form nuw<sup>u</sup>, plural nuwuwu. Their Shoshonean neighbors the Tübatulabal, who were of an entirely different branch of the family, seem to call them Kawishm. They seem to be known popularly or locally as Tehachapi and Caliente Indians. The Spanish-speaking Indians at Tejon call them Serranos, mountaineers, although in ethnological literature Serrano has come to be the specific designation of another more southerly group of the family. The Chemehuevi call the Kawaiisu Hiniima or

<sup>1</sup> Actually partly in Nevada. Coville, *The Panamint Indians of California*, Am. Anthr. V, 351, 1892, speaks of "mixed Paiutes and Shoshonis" at Ash Meadows, Nevada.

<sup>2</sup> Garcés, like the Mohave, calls them Chemehuevi. On his eastward return trip to the Mohave in 1776 he found a rancheria of the "Chemebet" in a sandy plain two leagues eastnortheast of the Pozos de San Juan de Dios, which are probably Marl Springs, and which he previously mentioned as five leagues east of the sink of Mohave river and ten west of the Providence mountains. Fourteen leagues eastward of this was another Chemehuevi rancheria, and a league and a half farther on a third. Ten leagues more in an eastsoutheasterly direction brought him to the Mohave. *Op. cit.*, 238, 306.

<sup>3</sup> Science, 1904, 912.

Hinienima; the Möhineyam Serrano of Mohave river Agutushyam; the Gitanemuk Serrano, Agudutsyam or Akutussyam. The Mohave call them Kuvakhye<sup>1</sup> and know that they speak a dialect related to Chemehuevi. Some of the Mohave extend or place them eastward near the California-Nevada line. The explorer Garcés calls them Cobaji after the Mohave and says that the Yokuts called them Colteches.

From the statements of Garcés it would appear that the Kawaiisu held both slopes of the Tehachapi mountains. They probably lived, however, mainly on the more favored northwestern side draining into the San Joaquin valley, and so far as known are all to be found there now. Paiute mountain, Walker Basin creek, Caliente and Kelso creeks, and Tehachapi belonged to them. The old woman from whom the Kawaiisu vocabulary given was secured was descended from a father belonging to Tehachapi and a mother at Caliente.

Two informants at Tejon gave as the Yokuts name of Caliente Tumoyo or Trumoyo and Shatnau ilak, both terms referring to the hot springs. Tehachapi is declared by both Yokuts and Shoshoneans to be the native name of the locality. Its present form is probably somewhat corrupted. The Yokuts usually speak of it as Tahichpi-u. A Gitanemuk informant gave Caliente as Hihinkiaava, Walker's Basin as Yitpe, and Havilah as Wiwayuk. The Tübatulabal informant called Walker's Basin Yutp, and Havilah, which she regarded as in the territory of her own people, Anütap.

#### SHOSHONI-COMANCHE GROUP.

Several Comanche vocabularies have been printed and several from the Shoshoni, though the number from the latter division is less than the total number attributed to them. As already stated, Hale's Shoshoni vocabularies, both his Wihinast or western Shoshoni and his Shoshoni proper, do not belong to the Shoshoni-Comanche but to the Mono-Paviotso<sup>2</sup> group; although

<sup>1</sup> Mohave like Shoshonean *v* is bilabial and therefore to our ears resembles *b* or *w*.

<sup>2</sup> Hale's Shoshoni, and the Lemhi reservation Bannock, are the only Plateau dialects known that do not fall distinctly within the limits of one dialectic group. They resemble Shoshoni-Comanche almost as much as Mono-Paviotso, as shown below.



his Shoshoni are correctly described as living east of the Snake river and extending eastward over the Rockies. Of the two Shoshoni vocabularies given by Gatschet in Wheeler's Survey, the first, number five, from the Shoshoni of "Utah and Nevada" is actually Shoshoni; the second, number six, from Hyko, Nevada, is, as the locality would indicate, really Paiute. Say's brief vocabulary in the *Archaeologia Americana*, reprinted by Buschmann<sup>1</sup>, seems to be the first published that can be definitely assigned to the Shoshoni. The equally limited vocabularies of Wied and of Wyeth<sup>2</sup> give scarcely any words that are suitable for a positive determination of the dialectic group to which they belong. From the western Shoshoni, inhabiting all northeastern Nevada and probably parts of adjacent Idaho, very little linguistic material is accessible. A small pamphlet of thirty 64 mo. pages, by Page and Butterfield, printed in 1868 in Belmont, Nevada, gives a vocabulary of the "Dialect of the Shoshone Indians" which is clearly of the Shoshoni-Comanche group. While the locality in which this dialect is spoken is not given, it is probably the immediate vicinity and undoubtedly the general region about Belmont. Two short test vocabularies from the two tribes on the Western Shoshone or Duck River reservation on the northern boundary of Nevada, received through the courtesy of Mr. H. H. Miller, of Owyhee, Nevada, show these two tribes, whose original habitat unfortunately is not exactly known, but who probably lived not far from the present reservation, to belong respectively to the Mono-Paviotso and Shoshoni-Comanche groups. A similar list obtained through the courtesy of Miss J. E. Wier and Mrs. H. H. Coryell at Wells, definitely establishes the dialect spoken there as Shoshoni. Finally, a third test list, from the Shoshoni and Sheep-eaters of Lemhi reservation, Idaho, secured through the kindness of Superintendent C. C. Covey, determines a Shoshoni dialect in this region.

The limits of this group can only be approximated. The

---

<sup>1</sup> *Spuren der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden*, Abh. Akad. Wiss. Berlin for 1854, 2nd Suppl. vol., 1859, p. 643; reprinted from: Gallatin, *Arch. Amer.*, 1836, II, 378.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, from Pr. Max. zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nordamerikas*, 1841, II, 635, and Schoolcraft, I, 216.

Comanche were active raiders. Their territory is shown on Powell's and Mooney's maps. Part of the Shoshoni, at least those known as Washakie's band, held the Wind river country east of the Rockies in Wyoming, where they now are on a reservation with the northern Arapaho. West of the Rockies there are now Indians classed in the reports of the Indian Department as Shoshone, and speaking Shoshoni-Comanche dialects, on Fort Hall, Lemhi, and Western Shoshone or Duck river reservations. Powell and Ingalls speak of the northwestern and of the western Shoshone. The northwestern seem to have come mainly under the jurisdiction of the Fort Hall and perhaps in part of other reservations, such as Wind river and Lemhi, but included four tribes at Cache Valley, Goose Creek, and Bear Lake in southeasternmost Idaho. The western Shoshone are placed in northeastern Nevada. The Powell and Ingalls list brings the Shoshoni as far south in Nevada as Spring Valley in southern White Pine county, Hot Creek and the vicinity of Tybo, Belmont, and Big Smoky Valley in northern Nye county, and as far west as the Reese river valley and Battle Mountain. From Battle Mountain east tribes are given at a number of points on the Central Pacific railroad. It is probable that these tribes held also the territory north of the railroad from these points, since no tribes are mentioned by Powell and Ingalls in this region. The southern limits of these western Shoshoni tribes agree well with the northern limits of the range of the true Nevada Paiute as given by the same authors. Their western limit is less definite, but seems likely to have been the first or second range west of Reese river, and, north of the railroad, a line from Battle Mountain to the present Western Shoshone reservation, or a short distance west of these two places. Indian place names in Nevada, including two Shoshone ranges adjacent to Reese river, and two places called Shoshone, one on the Central Pacific railroad, and the other in southern White Pine county, agree quite closely with the distribution of the Shoshoni as given by Powell and Ingalls. Toiyabe, the name of a range at the head of Reese river, is the Shoshoni word for mountain, instead of which both Mono-Paviotso and Ute-Chemehuevi use kaiba. In the region west of Great Salt Lake, in Utah and southern Nevada, were the Gosiute.



Powell and Ingalls declare these to be related in language to the Shoshoni, as indeed would seem probable from their location; but state that their cultural and political affiliations were with the Ute.

The subdivisions, territories, and numbers of the Gosiute, the western Shoshoni, and the northwestern Shoshoni of southern Idaho, are given in the report of Powell and Ingalls<sup>1</sup>.

#### MONO-PAVIOTSO GROUP.

The Shoshoni-Comanche is the only one of the eight principal groups, other than the Hopi, which does not extend into California. On the other hand the Mono-Paviotso division, although it covers large areas in Oregon, Idaho, and Nevada, is the group to which most Shoshoneans of northern and central California belong. The name Mono or Monachi is that generally applied to most of the Shoshoneans of the Sierra Nevada. Paviotso is the term used by Powell and Ingalls to describe the Indians of western Nevada, who are popularly known as Paiute. The name Paviotso has been so little employed outside of the report of Powell and Ingalls that it is doubtful how far it was ever actually used by any large body of Indians as a group name. It is however an exceedingly convenient term by which to distinguish the so-called Paiute of this western part of Nevada from the so-called true Paiute of southern Nevada and southwestern Utah.

The Mono-Paviotso group, although it extended from the thirty-sixth to the forty-sixth degree of latitude, is very imperfectly represented by linguistic material. The present San Joaquin Mono and Endimbich vocabularies seem to be the first, except for a list of numerals given by Stephen Powers<sup>2</sup>, that have been published from the Mono west of the crest of the Sierra Nevada, while the Inyo Mono and Shikaviyam lists at least represent new localities east of this range. Of the Paviotso there is a single vocabulary available, the one collected by the indefatigable Loew and printed by Gatschet as number twelve in the previously cited linguistic appendix of the Archaeological volume of the

<sup>1</sup> Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. 1873, 51.

<sup>2</sup> Contrib. N. A. Ethn., III, 399, said to be from Millerton, on the San Joaquin, which is, however, Yokuts territory.

reports of Wheeler's Survey. This vocabulary is also discussed by Gatschet in the Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1876<sup>1</sup>; from which it appears to have been obtained at Benton, near the railroad and the Nevada line in southern Mono county, California, and at Aurora, in Inyo county, California, or in Esmeralda county, Nevada. Brief test vocabularies obtained through the courtesy of several inhabitants of Nevada from Walker River and Western Shoshone reservations, and from Reno and Yerington, as well as Mooney's glossary<sup>2</sup> from Walker River reservation, show the language of all this portion of the state to be essentially the same, and to belong to the same dialectic group as Loew's material from Benton and Aurora and the four new vocabularies. There is some difference between the Nevada dialects and those in the Sierra Nevada in California, since the Mono and allied vocabularies agree in a few words, such as mountain and star, with Shoshoni-Comanche, whereas the corresponding Paviotso words either agree with Ute-Chemehuevi or are distinct from both it and Shoshoni-Comanche.

Powell and Ingalls extend tribes allied to the Paviotso north into Oregon to the Malheur lake region. They also say that the Bannock speak the same language<sup>3</sup>, which is corroborated by Mooney on Paviotso information<sup>4</sup>. This seems probable for the greater part of the Indians known as Bannock. It must however be borne in mind that the vocabulary here given from the Bannock of Fort Hall reservation is of the Ute-Chemehuevi group of dialects. The ten-word test vocabulary from Lemhi reservation shows that the Bannock there speak a dialect which is probably most closely related to Mono-Paviotso, but is almost as near to Shoshoni-Comanche; so that it forms something of a transition between the two groups. It may be concluded from this, not that the Bannock immediately north or northeast of the Paviotso spoke a different language from the Paviotso, but rather that several loose bodies or tribes belonging to at least two dialectic groups have gone under the name Bannock.

The several short test vocabularies from the Paviotso and

<sup>1</sup> III, 559.

<sup>2</sup> Ghost-Dance Religion, Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., XIV, 1056.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 45.

<sup>4</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., XIV, 1048.

Shoshoni, which have been mentioned as received through the courtesy of several persons, are here reproduced in verification of various of the statements made as to the affiliations of the Nevada and Idaho Indians.

	<i>One</i>	<i>You</i>	<i>House</i>
1. Shoshoni, Belmont	sim-ah	uhr	con na
2. Shoshoni, Duck V. Res.	sim-it-zy	ehr	kahne
3. Shoshoni, Wells	cimche		gonie
4. Shoshoni, Lemhi, Idaho	sim'-ah	in	cā-hān'
5. 'Paiute,' Duck V. Res.	sa-ma'-ah	ehr	no-be
6. 'Paiute,' Reno	sim' mie	ill	knō'be
7. 'Paiute,' Walker R.	sōōma-yu'	oūe	nōbe
8. 'Paiute,' Yerington	sur-mur'u	er	nu be
9. 'Bannock,' Lemhi, Idaho	sim'-oi-thu	smā'-āt	cā-hā'-nē
<i>Star</i>	<i>Deer</i>	<i>Mountain</i>	<i>Tobacco</i>
1. totz ume be	so go doo yah	toyab be	
2. tah'-ze-numbe	to-hu'-ah	tō-yah'-by	pah'-hy
3. dotsube	socukrea	dorup	bah
4. tā'-sē-noomp	too'-hē-yah	tō-yā'-be	pā'-ha-mo-o
5. pa'-too-so-bā	to-hēr'dzy	ki-bah	pah-mah
6.	do hōō'yah		pam'mu
7. pah-too-zūba	tue-hueā-da	kīeba	pah mōō
8. partz'-ero	ter-he'dar	ki'-bar	parh mo'-war(?)
9. tā'-sē-nō	sō-go-too'-hē-yah	kī-āve	pā'-hām-o
<i>Snow</i>	<i>Earth</i>	<i>Man</i>	<i>Kill</i>
1. tock oh be	sho co be	tunnup	
2. da-ka-bee	so-gah	ten-nā	bācon'
3. tuckup	obakin	dinup	deine
4. tā-cā'-vīt	sō-gōaf'	tēn'-ap-pehr	teh-bāk
5. ne-ba-be	to-eeep'	ni-nah	pot'-you
6.	teēp(?)	nī'na	put'ya
7. neār vā bee	tiep	nana	o-batza
8. ner-bub'e	tepe	nun-na'h	putz'ah
9. nīv-īfe	sō-gō-av'-e	nā-nāk'	pāht'-sah

The vocabulary given by Hale as from the Shoshoni proper, whom he places east of the Snake river and in part east of the Rocky mountains, is, like the language of the Lemhi Bannock of to-day, a transition dialect between Mono-Paviotso and Shoshoni-Comanche<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., II, 88, from Rep. U. S. Expl. Exped. In the following words this "Shoshoni" dialect agrees radically with Mono-Paviotso and differs from Shoshoni-Comanche; earth, snow, star, house. In the word for mountain its radical affinity is the reverse; but the weight of this affinity is weakened by the fact that in this word Mono, which cannot be suspected of being a Shoshoni-Comanche dialect, also differs from Paviotso and agrees with Shoshoni-Comanche. As regards radical differences in common words, Hale's Shoshoni therefore is nearer Mono-Paviotso than Shoshoni-Comanche. On the other hand it agrees with Shoshoni-Comanche in a number of words for which the two groups show the same stems but different forms; such are one, two, eye, tongue, fire. In mouth, fish and star it resembles Ute-Chemehuevi more nearly than either Mono-Paviotso or Shoshoni-Comanche.



Hale's Wihinasht, placed by him west of Snake river in the region of Malheur lake and river in Oregon, is clearly Mono-Paviotso. The name Wihinasht has not been used subsequently. The Shoshoneans of the Wihinasht region, that is to say all eastern Oregon not occupied by the Sahaptin, appear in literature most frequently under the special names Walpapi and Yahuskin, when they are not simply known as Snakes or Paiutes. Mooney, in his map of the Columbia river tribes<sup>1</sup>, shows not only the Walpapi, whom he places in the region usually assigned them, but the Lohim<sup>2</sup>, occupying a small territory on the southern side of the Columbia, at Willow creek.

Southward of the desert region of Oregon, and east of the Sierra Nevada, the Paviotso or related tribes held a narrow fringe of easternmost California, adjacent to the Lutuami, Achomawi, and Maidu. The surroundings of Honey Lake in Lassen county, California, have generally been assigned to these Shoshoneans, but Dixon states this territory to have been Maidu<sup>3</sup>. Farther south, in the Tahoe and Carson region, the Shoshoneans are separated from the Californian Maidu by the small intervening stock of the Washo, whose territory may be described as having been east of that of the southern Maidu, separated from it mainly by the watershed between the Sacramento valley and the Great Basin. The Nishinam or southern Maidu, according to Powers, called the "Paiuti" known to them Moanauzi, that is to say Monachi or Mono. South of the Washo the Mono-Paviotso were again in direct contiguity with California Indians, the crest of the Sierras separating them from the Miwok or Moquelumnan family. In this region Mono lake and Mono county take their name from Shoshoneans of the present group.

South of the Miwok, where the Yokuts replace them in the San Joaquin valley, from Chowchilla and Fresno rivers to the Kern, the Mono-Paviotso and other Shoshoneans lived both west and east of the Sierra watershed. Throughout this region, from the head waters of the San Joaquin on one side and Owens river on the other, to, but probably excluding, the upper Kern river

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., XIV, pl. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 743.

<sup>3</sup> Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 124, and map, Pl. XXXVIII.

drainage, the habitable portion of the higher Sierra was everywhere held by the Mono or Monachi or by small groups at times called by this name. On the San Joaquin they extended as far down-stream as North Fork, which was in their possession. On Kings river they held Big, Sycamore, and at least the greater part of Mill creek drainage. On Kaweah river the Mono occupied the North Fork and at least the upper part of Lime Kiln or Dry creek. The Kaweah drainage marks the southern extension of the Mono on the western side of the Sierra. Tule river was held to its headwaters by Yokuts, while to the south Shoshoneans of other groups, the Kern river and Ute-Chemehuevi, took the place of the Mono west of the watershed. East of the Sierra, however, the Owens valley Indians, whom Dr. C. Hart Merriam calls *Petonoquats*<sup>1</sup>, are known by the Yokuts and the Kern river Shoshoneans as *Monachi*. *Monachi* is also the name of a peak in the Sierras near the southern end of Owens lake. The *Shikaviyam*, *Sikauyam*, *Sikaium*, *Shikaich*, *Kosho*, or *Koso* Indians south and southeast from Owens lake, west of the Panamint range, evidently in the vicinity of the Koso mountains, also speak a Mono-Paviotso though somewhat divergent dialect.

Kern river, which flows in two main branches between parallel ranges of the southern Sierra and finally drains into Tulare lake in the southern end of the great valley of California, appears to have been held everywhere, so far as inhabited by Shoshoneans, by the *Tübatulabal*, Shoshoneans of an entirely distinct dialectic branch from the Mono; but this is not altogether certain for the upper part of the streams, where the Mono may have had some territorial rights.

The Panamint Indians of the region of the Panamint range, east of Owens lake and of the *Shikaviyam* or *Kosho*, are Shoshoneans, but their dialectic affiliations are not known. Their dialect is said by the *Tübatulabal* to differ more or less from that of the *Shikaviyam*. If they are Mono-Paviotso, they probably mark the southernmost extension of this group. To the east and southeast of the Panamint Indians, in the Amargosa and Kingston mountain region, were the *Paiute* or *Chemehuevi* tribes mentioned before. To the south was the Mohave desert, across the northern-

<sup>1</sup> *Science*, 1904, XIX, 912.



most region of which these Paiute tribes may have extended and connected territorially with the Ute-Chemehuevi Kawaiisu in the Tehachapi mountains. The southern part of the Mohave desert, through which the Mohave river flows, was in possession of Shoshoneans belonging to the Serrano group of the Southern California branch of the family. The name Panamint, it is true, appears in this southern part of the Mohave desert as the name given by the Chemehuevi, the Yuman Mohave, and probably other tribes, to these Serrano; but unless the Panamint Indians spoke a Serrano, that is to say Southern California, dialect, which is unlikely, the speech of the two groups in the Panamint mountains and on the Mohave river was dissimilar and only the same name was applied to them, probably by tribes or races not well acquainted with either.

The Mono adjacent to the Yokuts are generally called by them Monachi or Monadji, a term of unknown significance; or Nut'aa, plural Nuchawayi, a word meaning easterners or mountaineers and applied at times also to Yokuts tribes living in the hills. The similarity of the terms Mono and Monachi to the Spanish word for monkey and to the word monai, monoyi, meaning fly in certain Yokuts dialects, is probably only coincidence, and explanations of the application of these terms to the people are apparently only folk etymology. The form Mono is used by the Yokuts chiefly or only as they have learned it from the whites, Monachi being their own proper form.

Under the Mono or Monachi are to be included the five "Paiute tribes" enumerated by Dr. C. Hart Merriam<sup>1</sup> as extending along the western slope of the Sierra Nevada from the San Joaquin to the Kaweah river: the Nim or Pazo-ods or Kasha-wooshah, the Holkomah or Holokommah or Towincheba, the Kokoheba, the Entimbitch, and the Wuksache. Information obtained chiefly from Yokuts Indians by the author, in part subsequent to the publication of Dr. Merriam's list, makes the Mono tribes of this region appear to be as follows.

For the Indians in the vicinity of the North Fork of the San Joaquin, who are represented in this paper by a vocabulary, no name could be obtained. Nim is not a tribal name but the

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

word for person, *nüm*, which occurs also in other Mono dialects as far south and east as Kings river and Owens river, so that it cannot be regarded as distinctive of these people north of the San Joaquin. As to the name Pazo-ods given them by the Holkoma, nothing was ascertained. The people called Kashawooshah by the Waksachi, whose territory is some distance to the south, are probably not Mono but the Yokuts Gashowu, plural Gashwusha, of Dry creek, who now live for the most part near the San Joaquin.

The Poshgisha, Posgisa, Boshgesha, or Bosgisa lived on small streams draining into the San Joaquin from the south, above the head of Dry creek. The Yokuts mention Hebeyinau on Big Sandy, and Bohintau, about a mile to the north, as two sites occupied by the Poshgisha some miles from Auberry.

The Kokohiba are given by Dr. Merriam as in Burr valley with one village over the divide looking into the valley of Sycamore creek. The streams drain from the north into Kings river, which they enter after uniting with Big Creek, some distance above the mouth of Mill creek. The Yokuts seen by the author were able to give no information as to the Kokohiba, except that they lived not far from Toll House or Pine Ridge. Dr. Merriam states that Kokohiba is originally a place name. The ending *-ba* occurs as a locative in other Shoshonean dialects, such as those of the Ute-Chemehuevi group. It occurs again in Towincheba, which is therefore probably only a village in the territory of the Holkoma.

The Holkoma, plural Holokami, are given by Dr. Merriam as on Sycamore and Big creeks just mentioned. He states that there is some doubt as to the proper name of this tribe. The Yokuts who were interviewed by the author were familiar with the name, but could give no more precise information as to the location of the tribe than that they were situated on the north side of Kings river above the Yokuts.

The Endimbich, Indimbich, Entimbich, or Endembich<sup>1</sup>, plural Enatbicha, occupied Mill creek except near its mouth. At the junction of Mill creek with Kings river is Tisechu, the principal

<sup>1</sup> The names of these Mono tribes, and their plurals, are Yokuts, and vary somewhat according to the dialect of the informant.

rancheria of the Yokuts Choinimni. According to the Yokuts, the Endimbich held Dunlap, which was called Kicheyu; Chidadiichi, also on Mill creek; and Drum valley, the name of which was given both as Djeshiu and Yunabiu. These place names are all Yokuts forms. The language of the Endimbich is said by the Yokuts to be somewhat different from that of the three groups here following. This was especially stated of the Wobonuch, who are neighbors of the Endimbich.

The Wobonuch, Wobunuch, or Wobonoch, plural Wobenchasi, are farther up in the mountains than the Endimbich, on or among the pine ridges beyond Dunlap. Shokhonto is a place held by them to the east or north of Dunlap.

The Waksachi, plural Wakesdachi, occupied Long valley, (which is south of Mill creek), Ash Springs, Eshom valley, Badger Camp, and Dry or Lime Kiln creek, which enters the Kaweah river near Lemoncove. This territory seems to comprise the head waters of Dry or Rattlesnake creek, which formerly drained into Tulare lake through the Kaweah delta, and of Lime Kiln creek and North Fork, two northern confluent of Kaweah river, the three streams mentioned holding almost due south parallel courses. Long valley or a site in it is called by the Yokuts Tushau, and Eshom valley Chitatu, which means "at clover."

The Balwisha, Baluusha, Badwisha, or Palwisha seem to have been on Kaweah river itself above the mouth of Lime Kiln creek and North Fork. The river up to and at the mouth of Lime Kiln creek was in the possession of the Yokuts Wükchamni. The Balwisha were at Three Rivers at the mouth of North Fork, and thence up to or toward Mineral King. Their dialect with that of the Waksachi was similar to that of the Wobonuch, at least as compared with the dialect of the Endimbich. All the other Mono tribes here listed still survive in part, but the Balwisha are said to be extinct. One or two old women were found living among the Yokuts who were of Balwisha blood, but they had been brought up with the Yokuts and stated that they no longer knew their native language.

To what degree the dialects of these tribes, especially those characterized as most divergent, such as the Endimbich and



Wobonuch, differed, can only be surmised, as vocabularies have been obtained from the Mono on the west side of the Sierra only among the people north of the San Joaquin and the Endimbich. It is probable that the differences were not very great, as the more distant Mono across the Sierra in Inyo county speak closely related dialects. The definite tribal organization apparently existing among the Shoshoneans of this region, and exemplified by the existence of distinct tribal instead of merely local names, is found also in the adjacent Yokuts linguistic family, but does not extend beyond this. Usually in California the village and the language are the only units of classification.

The Tübatulabal of Kern river call the Monachi of Inyo county Yiwinanghal. The Waksachi they appear to call Winanghatal.

Two facts become clear as to the Mono-Paviotso group from the foregoing discussion. First, as to the geography, that their territory is west of that of the two other groups of the Plateau branch and that it has the shape of a long belt extending more than five hundred miles from north to south. Second, as to language, that there are outcroppings of Shoshoni-Comanche resemblances, not only in the north along the line of immediate contact of the two groups, where Hale's Shoshoni and the Bannock of Lemhi reservation show actual dialectic transitions, but even in the southwest, across the Sierra, among the Californian Mono.

#### KERN RIVER GROUP.

##### *Tübatulabal.*

The Tübatulabal are a small tribe on Kern river, California, who constitute, together with only the still less numerous Bankalachi, one of the four principal co-ordinate branches of the Shoshonean family. Their speech is about equally different from that of the Plateau groups and from that of the Southern California groups. It appears to be fully as near to Hopi as is either of these two larger branches.

The great specialization of the small Tübatulabal dialect into a distinct branch of the family indicates its separation from the remainder of the stock for a considerable period of time, and



therefore makes for the probability that the people speaking it have long been inhabitants of California. The divergence of the dialect is the more remarkable in that the Tübatulabal were directly adjacent to Shoshoneans of two Plateau groups, the Mono-Paviotso and the Ute-Chemehuevi, and only a short distance, perhaps a day's journey, away from the nearest Serrano of the Southern California branch.

The territory of the Tübatulabal centered about the junction of the main fork and south fork of Kern river. They extended up both these streams at least some distance and perhaps to the head waters. At any rate no other occupants of the upper parts of these streams are known. It is however probable that this remote region, if it belonged to the Tübatulabal, was visited by them rather than regularly inhabited. Below the junction of the two forks the Tübatulabal held Kern river to a point some miles above Gonoilkin, as the Yokuts call a fall in the river some miles above Bakersfield. From this place down, Kern river did not form part of their territory, and the statements made as to their descending into the plains about Tulare lake, conquering these from the Yokuts, and finally retreating on account of the ravages of malaria to their present location, have no foundation except in imagination, based on occasional visits of the tribe into the territory of its Yokuts neighbors.

Powers<sup>1</sup> has misunderstood and largely reversed the distribution of Shoshoneans and Yokuts at the southern end of the Tulare basin. Lower Kern river, at least parts of Poso creek and White river in the hills, and all the plains about the southern end of Tulare lake, were held by the Yokuts, both when the Spaniards first entered the country and when the Americans came. The "mountain nook at Tejon" was not the only place in this region where an isolated fragment of the Yokuts maintained themselves. The upper part of Tejon creek and the mountains in the vicinity belonged to the Gitanemuk, a Serrano tribe to be discussed presently. It was in or immediately adjacent to their territory that Tejon reservation, on which most of the Yokuts from the region of the southern end of Tulare lake were placed subsequent to the occupation of the country by the

---

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 369, 393.

Americans, was established. The accounts of Garcés, who visited this region in 1776, and whose Cuabajai are the Gitanemuk, his Noche the Yokuts, tally exactly with the statements of the Indians to-day as to the territory of the two stocks. The California Indians do not migrate, but are extremely sessile; and unless they have been actually moved or deported by the whites, it is always safe to assume that the habitat of any tribe before the coming of the Spaniards or Americans was the region it still occupies. Neither were the Shoshoneans of the southern Sierras warlike, nor did they make "incursions" or "invasions" for the conquest of territory. They were California Indians, and, like all such, no doubt had neighbors whom they disliked and would have been glad to exterminate, if they could; but the idea of making war for the purpose of conquering land or raiding to acquire property, probably did not even occur to them. Powers' whole story of the overrunning of this southern part of central California by intrusive Shoshoneans, which has been repeated so often, seems to be nothing but an unconscious fabrication due to his knowledge that these people, like the Athabascan Hupa in the north, belonged to a large and widespread linguistic family certain distant tribes of which were more warlike and aggressive than the majority of the California Indians.

The Tübatulabal call themselves by this name. They also call themselves Bakhkanapül, which is said to designate those speaking their language. They are usually called Pitanisha by the Yokuts, from Pitnani-u, the place-name of the forks of the Kern. Sometimes they are spoken of as Wateknasi, said to mean pine-nut eaters, from watak, pine-nut. Their own name seems to be derived from the Shoshonean name for pine-nut, obtained as düba in Shikaviyam and dupat in Bankalachi<sup>1</sup>.

The Tübatulabal call the Monachi Yiwinanghal, the Waksachi group of the Monachi Winanghatal, the Gitanemuk-Serrano Witanghatal, the Kawaiisu Kawishm, the Bankalachi, who are the most closely related to themselves of any Shoshoneans, Toloip or Toloim. Of the Yokuts they call the Wükchamni, plural Wükachmina: Witskamin; the Yaudanchi and allied

<sup>1</sup> C. Hart Merriam, *op. cit.*: Tebotelobelay, said to mean pine-nut eaters, Pakanepul, and Wahliknasse.

foothill tribes: Yokol, the proper Yokuts name of one of these tribes on Kaweah river; the Paleuyami: Paluyam. These three Yokuts groups are west of the secondary range of the Sierra which divides the Kern drainage from the immediate Tulare lake drainage. For the southernmost Yokuts, those farther down than themselves on Kern river and in the vicinity, the Tübutulabal have the general name Molilabal.

The Yuman Mohave are called Amakhaba by the Tübutulabal, which agrees closely with the Mohaves' name for themselves, Hamak-have.

The following Tübutulabal place names were learned. These appear to follow in order down the south fork of Kern river to the junction and then up the main fork: Cheibüpan (Roberts), Yitiämup, Shaiämup, Döshpan (Weldon), Yahauapan (Isabella, at the forks), Ükhkawalanapüipan, Küghünülap, Piliwünippan (opposite Whiskey Flat), Muhumpal, Wokinapüipan, Holotap, Ponganatap, Khaklamup, Kalākau, Yulau, Panoghoinoghioipün, Otoävit (Mt. Whitney). Havilah is Anüntap. Walker's Basin, belonging to the Kawaiisu, is Yutp. Bakersfield, in Yokuts territory, is Baluntanakamapan. Owens lake is Batsiwat<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Powers, *Tribes Cal.*, *Contr. N. A. Ethn.*, III, 393, mentions a number of Shoshonean tribes at the southern end of the San Joaquin-Tulare basin. The Palligawonap ("from palup, stream, and ekewan, large,") he places "on Kern River." The Tipatolapa "on the South Fork of the Kern" are the Tübutulabal; the Winangik, "on the North Fork," recall the Winanghatal (the Waksachi Mono as called by the Tübutulabal), and the Yiwintanghal (the Mono generally). "Another name for the Tipatolapa was the Kuchibichiwanap Palup (little stream)." The "tribe at Bakersfield called by the Yokuts Paleummi" are not Shoshonean at all; they are the Paleuyami of Poso creek, of the Yokuts family. The tribe in Tehachapi pass calling themselves "Tahichapahanna," known to the Kern river Indians as "Tahichp" and to the Yokuts as "Kâwiasuh," and "now extinct," are the Kawaiisu. Pitannisuh, the Yokuts name for the Kern river Indians, is Pitanisha. Palwunuh, "which denotes 'down below,'" the Yokuts name of the Kern lake Indians, is Paluunuh, dialectically Paduunuh, from palu, down-stream or west, and the ending -inuh, people of. The Kern lake people were Yokuts, not Shoshonean. "On Kern river slough are the Poelo; at Kern river falls, the Tomola; on Poso creek, the Beku," Poclo can not be identified, Tomola and Beku, properly Tomolami and Bekiu, are not tribes, but Yokuts names of places in Yokuts territory. Tomolami is not actually at Kern falls, which are called Gonoilkin, but some miles below; Bekiu is on Poso creek in Paleuyami territory. Gatschet, *Wheeler Survey*, VII, 411, gives, besides the "Pallegawonap," the "Tillie and P'hallatillie, in southwestern portions of Kern county." The Palligawonap can not be exactly identified; if Shoshonean, the name is probably from pal, water; if Yokuts, from pal-, down stream or west.



*Bankalachi.*

The Bankalachi, plural Bangeklachi, variously placed by different informants on upper Deer creek, upper White river, and upper Poso creek<sup>1</sup>, all small streams west of upper Kern river and draining directly into Tulare lake, are the only tribe known who are nearly related in speech to the Tübatulabal. On the streams north and south of them, Tule and lower Kern rivers, as well as everywhere westward in the plains, were Yokuts tribes. Bankalachi is the Yokuts name of these people, and the term they applied to themselves is not known, other than that ang-hanil signified person. The Tübatulabal seem to call them Toloip or Toloim. The Bankalachi have disappeared as a tribe. A number of the Yokuts on Tule river reservation are part Bankalachi by descent, but scarcely any know the language. This is said to have been at least dialectically different from Tübatulabal. The vocabulary obtained is so similar to Tübatulabal that the possibility is not excluded that its differences are due to its having been obtained from another individual and that it is really only Tübatulabal.

## GIAMINA.

The oldest Indian among the Yokuts on Tule river reservation, who speaks the Yauelmani and Paleuyami dialects, furnished some fragmentary and perplexing information as to a Shoshonean tribe, which he called the Giamina, in the vicinity of Poso creek. No informant has yet been found who was able to corroborate or deny this information, except that one old man, the Yokuts who furnished part of the Gitanemuk vocabulary here printed, recognized the name and agreed as to the general locality of the Giamina. When interviewed a few years previously as to the tribes of the southern Tulare basin, the informant who first spoke of the Giamina did not mention them. When the information regarding them was more recently secured from him, his mental condition, on account of extreme old age, was

---

<sup>1</sup> The Yokuts informant from whom the Bankalachi vocabulary was obtained said that his mother, who was of this tribe, belonged to Kelsiu, which was situated in the White river drainage, about as far back in the hills as is Tule river reservation.



such as to make systematic questioning impossible, and it was necessary to be content with such fragmentary statements as he volunteered or as could with difficulty sometimes be extracted from him. It is not unlikely that some of the Tübatulabal on Kern river may still be able to supply information as to this tribe. The name Giamina seems Yokuts, the ending -mina, -mani, or -amni occurring on a number of other tribal names, such as Chukaimina, Choinimni, Telamni, Yauelmani, Tulamni, and others. The informant stated that his mother was Giamina and his father Paleuyami.

The Giamina are said to have lived on or near Poso creek. Daishdanku was the name of one of the principal sites occupied by them. This was near Kern river, a few miles above Bakersfield, but below Gonoilkin, where Kern river has a fall. The Kumachisi have been mentioned in literature as one of the tribes of the region between Tule and Kern rivers. According to Yokuts informants they were Yokuts, some stating that their dialect was similar to that of the valley tribes, such as the Yauelmani, and others, including the Giamina informant himself at the earlier interview, that their dialect was akin to the Paleuyami of Poso creek. In subsequently mentioning the Giamina, however, the informant insisted that they were identical with the Kumachisi, this being only the name given them by the Paleuyami. The Giamina language, he said, was different from Bankalachi. He was able to remember a few words, and these fully bear out his statement. The twenty words obtained from him clearly belong to a much specialized dialect which has its nearest affiliations in Mono-Paviotso and Tübatulabal, but is very different from both; so much so that it seems not unlikely to have constituted a distinct group. But the vocabulary secured is so small as to allow no more exact conclusions as to the relations of the dialect. Further material might show it to be a much specialized Mono or Tübatulabal dialect altered perhaps through intimate contact with Yokuts. Accordingly all that can yet be said of the obscure Giamina is that a small body of people, called at least sometimes by this name, lived somewhere in the vicinity of Poso creek and spoke a very much specialized Shoshonean dialect, of which only a nominal number of words are known.

1	teupu	house	ni-ku
2	hewe	water	bal, bal-aku
3	pohoim	road	bèkt
4	wadja	mountain	tabakwan
5	madjindji	across	dab-iku
6.	pābahai	no	hahīteu, ahīteciwa
person	xōxinil, xaxinil	much, many	em
man	muut	drink	hūūka
woman	wi'et	kill	mik'an
deer	piāt		

#### DISTRIBUTION OF SHOSHONEANS IN THE SAN JOAQUIN-TULARE VALLEY OF CALIFORNIA.

As just stated, it has been said many times on the authority of Stephen Powers that Shoshonean tribes related to the so-called Paiuti had in comparatively recent times passed over the Sierras and invaded the territory of the Yokuts in the Tulare basin, possessing themselves of the plains south and east of Tulare lake<sup>1</sup> as far north as Deer creek or Tule river. Actually, it appears, the plains in this basin were nowhere in the possession of the Shoshoneans, who only held the mountains, and in some parts the foothill region, to the south and east. The recency of the Shoshonean invasion even of these parts must be regarded as entirely hypothetical, and the general distribution of the Shoshonean tribes and dialects about the southern end of Tulare basin,—where members of three of the four main branches of the stock, comprising four entirely distinct dialectic groups, are assembled within a range of a hundred miles,—makes it probable that some of them at least are not new-comers in this part of California.

To make this point clear, the facts given elsewhere on the Shoshoneans in this region are here brought together and restated.

In the northern part of the San Joaquin valley the Shoshoneans apparently do not live west of the main divide of the

<sup>1</sup> Powell, Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn. VII, 91: "Occupying one-half of the western (*sic*) and all the southern shore of Tulare lake."

Sierras. In the southern part of the valley, where their neighbors are the Yokuts, they everywhere hold the higher portions of the western slope of the mountains, the Yokuts being confined to the plains and lower foothills. On the San Joaquin, the Kings, and the Kaweah rivers, the upper waters are in possession of a number of groups or tribes bearing different local names, but all comprised under the Monachi or Mono and popularly known as such. Tule river is entirely held by Yokuts, but is separated by a secondary range from Kern river farther east, which flows southward to emerge into the valley at a considerable distance below, and which in its upper and middle course is Shoshonean, being held by the Tübatulabal. Deer creek, White river, and Poso creek, the next streams south of Tule river, were partly Shoshonean along their upper courses, Yokuts tribes like the Paleuyami living in this region with Shoshonean groups like the Bankalachi, who were separated by the secondary mountain-divide from their near kinsmen the Tübatulabal. In this region also, especially towards Kern river, were the problematical Giamina, of Shoshonean affinity, but of unknown place in the family. On lower Kern river the Yokuts appear to have held Bakersfield and everything below and to have extended up stream several miles to above Gonoilkin or Kern Falls, where they met the Tübatulabal. In the mountains south of Kern river, and stretching westward to Tehachapi pass, were the Shoshonean Kawaiisu, belonging to the Ute-Chemehuevi dialectic group and quite isolated in speech from their nearest Shoshonean neighbors. Still farther along the mountains to the south and west, on upper Tejon and Paso creeks, were the Gitanemuk, a part of the Serrano group of the Southern California branch of the Shoshonean family, although the territory of the Serrano, except in this one confined case, was south of the Tehachapi watershed. The lower parts of these streams, where they passed through the first foothills and the plains, seem to have been held by the Yokuts. It thus appears that three Shoshonean dialectic groups, stretching mainly over large areas to the east and south, extended also over the crest of the Sierras into the San Joaquin valley drainage, and that a fourth group was entirely confined to this region; but that yet it was only the foothill and mountain regions which



these four Shoshonean groups held, the plains being everywhere in the possession of the purely Californian Yokuts. Actual evidence as to the movement of any of these Shoshonean groups into their California territories is totally wanting.

The Shoshoneans in the San Joaquin valley may therefore be classified as follows:

1. Mono or Monachi, including Poshgisha, Holkoma, Endimbich, Wobonuch, Waksachi, Balwisha, and others, along the upper western slope of the Sierra Nevada, from the San Joaquin south to the Kaweah river: Mono-Paviotso group of the Plateau branch.

2. Tübatulabal, Bakhkanapül, or Pitanisha, on Kern river in the region of the forks, and Bankalachi on upper Deer creek or the streams to the south; Tübatulabal group, constituting the Kern River branch.

3. Kawaiisu, Kaweisa, or Newooah, in the Tehachapi range from the pass northeastward: Ute-Chemehuevi group of the Plateau branch.

4. Gitanemuk, Gikidanum, Mayaintalap, or Tejon Indians, in the vicinity of upper Tejon creek southwest of Tehachapi pass: Serrano group of the Southern California branch.

In addition the little known Giamina are said to have been on or near Poso creek: their affiliation is doubtful.

#### SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA BRANCH.

In contrast with the five hundred and thousand mile stretches occupied by the Plateau branch, the three groups of the Southern California branch are crowded into a territory not more than two hundred miles in any direction. Although the areas are small, the several dialects however are not less different from one another than those on the Plateau. It is another case of the linguistic diversity characterizing California. Elsewhere in the state many distinct families of very limited extension follow one upon the other within short distances; here there are in close contact divergent languages of one family, whose dialects in other regions usually extend over much greater distances. The



first instance of the kind encountered among the Shoshoneans was the Tübatulabal.

The Southern California Shoshoneans were however not lacking in numbers. To-day, after their general diminution, and with the island people gone and the Gabrielino virtually so, they still comprise two-thirds or more of the three thousand "Mission Indians."

The Shoshoneans of Southern California collectively have been called Kauvuya by Gatschet<sup>1</sup>, Tobikhar by Powell<sup>2</sup>, and "Coahuillan linguistic family" by Barrows<sup>3</sup>.

#### SERRANO GROUP.

Perhaps the central home of the Serrano, the first and northeasternmost of the three groups of the Southern California branch to be considered, was the San Bernardino range of mountains. In addition, they lived along the Mohave river, both where this emerges from the San Bernardino mountains, and far out in the Mohave desert about Barstow and Daggett and below. They occupied apparently all of Los Angeles county north of the San Bernardino range, unless portions of the middle Santa Clara river valley were occupied by the Gabrielino. One Gitanemuk Serrano gave Camulos on this stream as being in Fernandino territory, that is, within the Gabrielino group. The place where Shoshoneans and Chumash met in this region is not certain. It was probably not far from the present boundary between Ventura and Los Angeles counties. North of the Tehachapi range a Serrano tribe calling themselves the Gitanemuk, and known by their Yokuts neighbors as Mayaintalap or large-bows, lived on upper Tejon, Paso, and possibly Pastoria creeks draining into the Tulare basin; but they did not extend into the plains. The Serrano extension eastward is not exactly known, but they did not reach across the state, for before the Colorado river is reached the Chemehuevi are encountered in the mountains west of this stream.

<sup>1</sup> Wheeler Survey, VII, 412.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., VII, 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Op cit.*, 22.

San Bernardino valley has been attributed both to the Cahuilla and the Serrano. The Indians now living in the valley are mainly Serranos, and the statements of Indians in other parts of Southern California also give this fruitful region to the Serrano as part of their original habitat. Gatschet has placed the Serrano, whom he calls Takhtam, "at San Bernardino, Colton, and Riverside". On the other hand, in another publication, the Magazine of American History for 1877, he places the Cahuilla "in and around San Bernardino valley." The Rev. Father Juan Caballeria in his History of San Bernardino Valley<sup>2</sup> mentions Guachama as the aboriginal name of a spot near San Bernardino and gives a vocabulary, which is Cahuilla, of the Guachama language. The Indians from whom this vocabulary was obtained have now however left the region, Father Caballeria thinks for the south. Barrows<sup>3</sup> says that the last villages of the Cahuilla "in the San Bernardino and San José valleys were broken up thirty years or so ago" and adds that "they were driven from the San Timoteo cañon in the forties by the ravages of smallpox, and the first reservation to be met now as one rides eastward through the pass where they once held sway, is below Banning." Even here, he says, the Cahuillas and Serranos are intermarried. Reid<sup>4</sup>, who actually lived in the country and was married to an Indian woman, says, speaking of the Gabrielino, that "Jurupa and San Bernardino, etc., belonged to another distinct tribe possessing a language not at all understood by the above lodges . . . and named *Serranos*." As the various statements placing the Cahuilla in San Bernardino valley and San Gorgonio pass are all comparatively recent, but, like Powers' statements about the Shoshoneans on Tulare lake, refer to the past, and as these places are now actually occupied, so far as there are Indians at them at all, by Serranos, it seems more probable that they were originally Serrano territory. This is the

<sup>1</sup> Wheeler Survey VII, 413. He says that this Serrano dialect is "almost identical with Kauvuya," which is, however, not borne out by the vocabularies given.

<sup>2</sup> No date, no place (republished from the San Bernardino Times-Index), pp. 39, 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 32.

<sup>4</sup> In Taylor, Cal. Farmer, XIV, 146, Jan. 11, 1861. Hoffman, Bull. Essex Instit., XVII, 3, 1885, quoting the same, gives Irup for Jurupa.

more likely from the fact that the former reservation on the site of which Banning is situated was called Morongo or Maronge, which is a form of the name Maringayam, Maringints, Marayam, Marangakh, by which the Serrano are known by their southern and other neighbors. Dr. John R. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology has kindly furnished the information, supplied him by a Serrano school girl named Morengo, on the authority of her uncle, that her people formerly occupied San Bernardino valley and San Gorgonio pass to a point eastward just beyond Banning, but not the San Jacinto mountains. It is very likely as a matter of general probability that Cahuilla Indians were brought by the Franciscans to the San Bernardino mission station attached to mission San Gabriel, and this fact may be responsible for the statements assigning this region to the Cahuilla<sup>1</sup>.

Statements made by the Yuman Mohave strengthen the probability that San Bernardino belonged to the Serrano. San Bernardino and Colton, they say, belonged to the Hanyuveche, the Serrano. The Hakwiche or Cahuilla were not there. The San Bernardino mountains as far east as north or northeast of Indio belonged to the Serrano and not to the Cahuilla. The San Jacinto mountains were Cahuilla.

The following names of places, in or near Serrano territory, were mentioned by José Varojo, the Gabrielino informant seen at Highland in San Bernardino valley:

Wachbit,	San Bernardino valley.
Nilengli,	San Bernardino mountains.
Hisakupa,	western San Bernardino mountains.
Yamiyu,	San Jacinto mountains.
Puwipui,	part of the San Jacinto range.

---

<sup>1</sup> Möllhausen, *Wanderungen durch die Prairien und Wüsten des westlichen Nordamerika*, 1860, 439, mentions three or four families of Kawia Indians in a state of peonage on an estate some miles west of the mouth of Cajon pass in 1854. Whipple, *Pac. R. R. Rep.*, III, 1856, part I, 134, III, 34, describes these people as at Cucamonga ranch, and calls them Cahuillas. The vocabulary given part III, p. 71, as "Cahuillo" is Cahuilla. It was obtained from the chief, who had been baptized at San Luis Rey. He, and by presumption his people, were therefore very probably not native at this place but from farther south. An Indian born at Cucamonga would not have been attached to San Luis Rey but to San Gabriel.



The following names of places about San Bernardino are given by Rev. Father Caballeria<sup>1</sup>:

Guachama (Wachama), "eat plenty," "abundance to eat," all San Bernardino valley; more especially, the name of a rancheria near Bunker Hill, between Urbita and Colton.

Cucamungabit,	Cucamonga.
Jurumpa,	Riverside (cf. Jurupa grant).
Tolocabi,	San Timoteo (Redlands).
Homhoabit,	Homoa.
Yucaipa,	Yucaipa.
Muscupiabit,	Muscupiabe.

The ending -bit is evidently locative, (Caballeria: "place of"), corresponding to Gabrielino and Luiseño -nga and Ute-Chemehuevi -ba.

The names that the Serrano apply to themselves have not been ascertained. Boas<sup>2</sup> gives Maringayam, which may have been meant to be applied only to those about San Gorgonio pass, but has corroboration in the names used by other tribes. Barrows gives Cowangachem<sup>3</sup>. Gatschet, on the authority of Loew, gives Takhtam, persons, from takhat, person. This may be a satisfactory name for use, but, as Barrows has pointed out, it must not be regarded as a tribal name.

The Luiseño of San Luis Rey river call the Serrano of whom they know Marayam, and their language Marangakh. The allied Agua Caliente division according to Boas<sup>1</sup> call them Tamankam-yam, northerners.

The Chemehuevi call those of the Serrano north of the western part of the San Bernardino range, toward and probably over the Tehachapi range, including the Gitanemuk: Panumits or Banumints, a form of the well-known name Panamint. Those on the Mohave river in the desert north of the more easterly part of the San Bernardino range, who are considerably nearer the Panamint mountains and Panamint Indians of the whites than these last people, they call Pitanta. The Serrano proper, in the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. A. A. S.*, 44, 261, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, 19.



usual local sense of the term, namely those in the San Bernardino range or south of it, they call Maringints. The ending -ints of these names occurs in many Ute-Chemehuevi tribal names, such as Shiv-its, and Nov-inch, the name for themselves of the Ute.

The Mohave call the Serrano proper, whose home they consider to be the San Bernardino mountains, Hanyuveche, the Jenigueche of Garcés. The Serrano of Mohave river, more specifically those along its lower course about Daggett, they call "Vanyume." This name is unquestionably the Chemehuevi "Panumints," but seems to be applied to the people of a different locality, just as the Panamint of the Americans are in a third region and probably belong to an entirely different branch of the family. The Beñeme of Garcés is the Mohave Vanyume<sup>1</sup>; he applied it to any Indians speaking Serrano; as in fact he states that the Beñeme "nation" is "bounded by San Gabriel and Santa Clara [river], and by the Chemeguabas and Jamajabs [Mohave]<sup>2</sup>."

#### *Gitanemuk.*

The Serrano of upper Tejon and Paso creeks in the San Joaquin valley drainage call themselves Gitanemuk, Gitanemok, Gidanemuik, Gitanemum, or Gikidanum, a term the meaning of which is unknown. Analogy with other tribal names makes it possible that it is derived from the stem for house, gi- or ki-. These Indians have no current name other than the indefinite "Tejon Indians." The southern Yokuts call them Mayain-talap, large bows; the Tübatulabal, Witanghatal. The Chemehuevi seem to apply to them, or to their Serrano neighbors on the south and southeast, the name Panumits. The Mohave call them Kuvahaivima, not to be confused with Kuvakhye, their name for the adjacent Kawaiisu. On Kuvahaivima is based the Cuabajai of Garcés, who traveled with Mohave guides. The Mohave visited this region either to trade or from curiosity, and speak of three

<sup>1</sup> Mohave v is bilabial and approaches b.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 444. Elsewhere, p. 238, he says that the "Beñemé nation" begins at the Pozos de San Juan de Dios, which are five leagues east of Soda lake or the sink of the Mohave river and ten leagues west of Cedar Springs (?) in the Providence mountains, and probably are the modern Marl Springs. To the east is "Chemehuevi" territory.

tribes: the Kubahaivima; the Gwalinyuokosmachi or tule-sleepers, living on a large lake in tule houses, who are no doubt the Yokuts on Kern, Buena Vista, and possibly Tulare lakes; and the Kwiakhta Hamak-have, or like-Mohaves, who are probably Chumash but cannot be positively identified, and whom the Mohave erroneously believe to resemble themselves to the extent of dressing and tattooing in the same way, practicing agriculture, and making pottery. The name Kuvahaivima they declare to have the meaning of naked in some language other than their own, and to have been applied because these people habitually wore no clothes. The Mohave seem to have been on friendly terms with these several tribes of the Tehachapi region, as with the intervening Vanyume of the Mohave river and with the still nearer Chemehuevi; but the Serrano proper, those of the San Bernardino mountains whom they call Hanyuveche, they looked upon as enemies.<sup>1</sup> The Mohave are still known to the Tehachapi-Tulare tribes as people living on a distant large river, from whom visitors occasionally came. The Yokuts informant from whom part of the Gitanemuk vocabulary was obtained called them Amakhau, the Tübatulabal informant Amakhaba; the latter regarded their language as similar to Gitanemuk, from which of course it is utterly distinct. Of the two Yokuts informants at Tejon, who also called them Amakhaba, one characterized them as "muy bravos;" the other classed their language as distinct, with some words somewhat resembling Gitanemuk. It is curious that this belief that there is in the Tejon region a tribe similar or linguistically related to the Mohave, should exist both among the Mohave themselves, the Yokuts, and the Shoshoneans, without the least apparent basis.

The distribution of tribes, that is to say, linguistic groups, in the Tejon region has been misunderstood in the past and is not altogether clear yet. As one stands at Bakersfield and looks southward, an almost semicircular wall of mountains, presenting to the eye the aspect of an unbroken range, meets the view at the distant end of a level plain. It is these mountains, with their general east and west direction, that connect the parallel Sierra Nevada and Coast Range and so distinctively shut off

---

<sup>1</sup> Garcés says the same thing, *op. cit.*, 45.

the great interior valley of California from the southern part of the state. It has generally been believed that the northern slope of these mountains, the side draining into Tulare lake, was occupied by Yokuts and Shoshonean Indians only; but it appears that to these must be added certain branches of the Chumash family, a preeminently maritime or littoral group, occupying Ventura, Santa Barbara, and southern San Luis Obispo counties, with the three principal northern Santa Barbara islands. The distribution of the representatives of these three families is as follows. The Yokuts were nowhere in the mountains, but held all the plains north of them. Two of their tribes lived respectively on Kern and Buena Vista lakes, at least the latter, the Tulamni, ranging also northwestward along the sloughs extending toward Tulare lake. Another Yokuts tribe, the Yauelmani, also called Yawelmani and Yowedmani, who occupied the plains and the lower lands along Kern river or to the north, lived intermittently on lower Tejon and Paso creeks. It was on these streams that Tejon reservation was established, on which the Yauelmani were confined with other tribes, and some confusion of information may be due to this fact. There are however living Yauelmani Indians who were born at this spot before the coming of the Americans, and there can be little doubt that these streams at least as far up into the foothills as the country was open (that is to say, to include the present ranch house and store on Rancho Tejon), were regularly visited and probably inhabited by these Yokuts in native times. The upper courses of all the streams draining northward from the range, to be lost in the dry plains, or in times of flood to reach Kern and Buena Vista lakes, were held only by Shoshoneans and Chumash. Tehachapi creek, which is followed by the railroad in its southeastward ascent to cross the mountains, belonged to the Kawaiisu. Bear mountain, a bold mass projecting somewhat into the plain, and separating lower Tehachapi creek from Comanche, Tejon, and Paso creeks to the southwest, was in the territory either of the Kawaiisu or the Gitanemuk. Tejon and Paso creeks were Gitanemuk; Comanche, which rises much nearer the plains, may have been. Tejon creek is longer than Paso creek, and along it goes a road that crosses the mountains in Fremont's pass. Just where the stream emerges



from the mountains to spread over a flood-plain in the lower open foothills, is the present Tejon rancheria. This site is Nakwalkive, and is old Gitanemuk territory. Most of the Indians there to-day are Gitanemuk. On Paso creek a few miles away, in the open almost level country, is the Tejon store and ranch house, said to have been so far toward the plains as to be in Yokuts territory. Southwest of Paso creek are three small streams, the middle and principal one known as Pastoria creek. These were held by Shoshoneans also, but of what division is not certain. The Gitanemuk are said by some to have extended to these streams. One informant placed on Pastoria creek Indians speaking a language similar to that of San Fernando, that is to say, of the Gabrielino group. West of these streams are a number draining almost due northward, the principal of which are Cañada de las Uvas and Tecuya, Plato, and San Emidio creeks. These, as far as they were within the mountains, were all in the possession of Chumash. The dialect of this region is said to have differed from those of San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara. Cañada de las Uvas leads to Fort Tejon, Castac lake, and Tejon pass. This Tejon fort and pass must be distinguished from the Tejon ranch, reservation, and stream farther east. Tecuya is Tokie or Tokya, the Yokuts name of the Chumash in general. San Emidio creek also led to a pass southward over the mountains. The Chumash of these regions were evidently in close relations with the adjacent Yokuts of the lakes into which the drainage of their territory found its way. Their dialect seems not to have been recorded, and as a tribe they are extinct. A few individuals familiar with the language may survive.

The Gitanemuk or their language are frequently called the Hāmināt, which is said to be a phrase in their language meaning "What is it?" or "What do you wish?" They called the site of their present rancheria Nakwalkive; Comanche creek, Chivutpave; Rancho de la Lliebre, across the mountains to the south, also occupied by Serranos, Huitohove; Fort Tejon, in Chumash territory, Tikitspe. The site of Tejon ranch house is Wuwoprahave. Honewimats is about a mile downstream. Mavin is in the mountains, in Gitanemuk territory, perhaps Tehachapi peak. On the road from Fort Tejon to Los Angeles were Guchayik,



said to mean in the timber, at Gorman's; Patawopin; and Siv-ingadapin. Poipin, in the same region, was Chumash. Camulos or Piru was Akawaik; the Fernandino language is said to have been spoken there. Mupoo is San Gaetano, near Santa Paula.

The Yokuts call Paso creek Tinliu, at the hole, from tinil, hole, and -u, locative. Daal is the form in the dialect of Kern and Buena Vista lakes. Pohalin tinliu, at the ground-squirrels' holes, is a flat but slightly elevated, probably gently sloping, piece of country south of Kern lake. Tejon creek, or perhaps specifically the present village site upon it, is Pusin tinliu, at the dog's hole, in the lake dialect Tseses daal. Comanche creek is Sanchiu. A mountain north of Tejon creek, probably Bear or Tehachapi peak, is Chapanau. Pastoria creek is Chipowi or Chipohiu. On Cañada de las Uvas, below Fort Tejon, is Lapau. Castac lake is Sasau, at the eye. San Emidio is Tashlibunau. Along Paso creek from its source to where it was lost in the plain were the following places: Watskiu, Tsututaiwieyau, Tipniu or Tripniu (at the above, or at the supernatural), Toineu lomto (lomto, at the mountain), Tenhanau, Chakhiau toltiu (toltiu, at the stream), Natin tinliu (at the rattlesnakes' holes), Laikiu (the site of the present ranch house), and Tsuitsau. The names are all Yokuts; at least the first designate places in Gitanemuk territory.

#### *Möhineyam.*

The old Serrano woman among the Mohave from whom the Möhineyam vocabulary given was obtained, was a rather conflicting informant. She is generally known by the Mohave as being a Vanyume, a term translated into English as "Tejon Indian." She stated that the Hanyuveche of the San Bernardino mountains, the people ordinarily known as Serranos, lived along the Mohave river as far down as Daggett. Below this point were the Vanyume, a distinct tribe, but "like a brother," and speaking the same language. Mohave informants make the Vanyume extend to the head waters of the Mohave river and put the Hanyuveche on the southern side of the watershed. She belonged to a place called Hamukha,<sup>1</sup> not far from and west of Daggett,

<sup>1</sup> A Mohave informant in another connection mentioned Ahamoha as a place north of Daggett, in the Vanyume country.

in the heart of the desert<sup>1</sup>. It was on account of the name of this place that the Mohave gentile name Moha was given her. She corroborated the Chemehuevi statement that the Chemehuevi called her people Pitanta. She gave Möhineyam or Möhinyam as the name of her people for themselves. This name recalls the Hiniima or Hinienima obtained from the Chemehuevi as the name of a Shoshonean tribe in the Tehachapi region, probably the Kawaiisu. She called the whites haiko-yam, a name of wide distribution in Southern California, Nevada, and Arizona; the Mohave Hamahava-yim, the Chemehuevi Yuaka-yam, the Cahuilla Kawiya-yam, the Kawaiisu, whose language, like the Mohave, she correctly stated to resemble Chemehuevi, Agutush-yam, the Yokuts "tule-sleepers" Tatavi-yam. The ending -am in these words is the plural suffix.

It is doubtful how far this informant really discriminated between the several Serrano branches.

The term Serrano as here used as the name of a group of people speaking very nearly the same dialect, must not be confused with its common signification, which restricts it to the Indians about San Bernardino and the adjacent mountains. For instance the Gitanemuk, in spite of the similarity of their speech to that of the people of the San Bernardino region, are not according to ordinary usage called Serrano. The information and vocabularies obtained, however show all the divisions of this group to have been very closely related dialectically.

#### GABRIELINO GROUP.

The word Gabrielino, meaning the people of San Gabriel, the Franciscan Mission near Los Angeles, has generally been applied by the Spanish-speaking people of California to the majority of the Indians of this group. The term Tobikhar, introduced by Loew and Gatschet<sup>2</sup> and extended by Powell<sup>3</sup> to include all the Shoshoneans of Southern California, cannot be positively identified. Gatschet's interpretation of "settlers" seems to be only

<sup>1</sup> Her mother's people were from a place called Aviahnalye, gourd-mountain, by the Mohave; her father's from Chokupaye, also a Mohave name.

<sup>2</sup> Rep. Chief Eng., 1876, III, 556, and Wheeler Survey, VII, 405, 413.

<sup>3</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., VII, 110.

a surmise<sup>1</sup>. There is no evidence except Loew's that the word was used by any Indians as a tribal name; nor has it been used even in books except on the authority of Loew<sup>2</sup>. Its application to all the Shoshoneans of Southern California is certainly without warrant. Buschmann, following Hale, has called the Gabrielino language Kizh, also written Kij. This term is evidently related to the Gabrielino word for house, kikh or kigh, also given as kich. The Luiseño call the Gabrielino Tumangamal-um, northerners, and their language tumangangkakh.

The territory of the Gabrielino group comprised all the present Los Angeles county south of the San Bernardino mountains, except probably the narrow coast strip west of Santa Monica. It covered also the greater part of what is now Orange county, extending as far as Alisos creek, north of San Juan Capistrano. To the east it reached a short distance beyond the limits of Los Angeles county, but without including San Bernardino or Riverside. Informants at Tejon place Shoshoneans speaking a dialect related to that of San Fernando at Camulos and Piru, *i.e.*, the mouth of Piru creek in Santa Clara river, in eastern Ventura county; but confirmation is required. Practically nothing is known as to the distribution of Indians in this interior region.

Besides San Gabriel, Mission San Fernando was in Gabrielino territory. The Spaniards, following their custom, speak of the Indians attached to this mission as Fernandinos or Fernandinos. The vocabularies that have been given show that there was no dialectic difference of consequence. So the Indians also state; Taylor<sup>3</sup> and Gatschet<sup>4</sup> say and Reid<sup>5</sup> implies the same thing; and

<sup>1</sup> From toba, sit. Cf., however, Hale, Tr. Am. Ethn. Soc., II, 128, Gabrielino: earth, touanga (= towa-nga); and Reid, in Hoffman, Bull. Essex Instit., XVII, 6, 1885; tobagnar, the whole earth, lahur, a portion of it, a piece of land. Other vocabularies give for earth: ôxar, or olkhor. Barrows, *op. cit.*, 19, recalls that Reid, in Taylor, Cal. Farmer, XIV, 146, Jan. 11, 1861, gives the name of the mythological "first man" as Tobohar. Taylor, on his own authority, Cal. Farmer, XIII, 90, May 11, 1860, gives Toviscanga as the name of the site of San Gabriel. Cf. Tuvasak below.

<sup>2</sup> Reid, in Taylor, Cal. Farmer, XIV, 146, Jan. 11, 1861; "It probably may not be out of place here to remark, that this tribe" (the 'Indians of Los Angeles county' or Gabrielino) "had no distinguishing appellation."

<sup>3</sup> Cal. Farmer, XIII, 90, May 11, 1860.

<sup>4</sup> Wheeler Survey, VII, 413.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by A. Taylor, Cal. Farmer, XIV, 146, Jan. 11, 1861; also reprinted from Reid's manuscripts by W. J. Hoffman, Bull. Essex Instit., XVII, 2, 1885. Reid's material was originally printed in the Los Angeles Star.



Pimentel's<sup>1</sup> comparison of the Lord's prayer from the two missions is further evidence that the dialects, though distinct, were nearly identical.

The list of place names given by Reid<sup>3</sup> as the "principal lodges or rancherias" of the "Indians of Los Angeles county" seems to be reliable. It is here reprinted in slightly altered transcription, except for two words, evidently misprinted, which are quoted.

Ya-ngna	Los Angeles
Siba-gna	San Gabriel
"Isantheca-gna"	Mission Vieja <sup>2</sup>
Sisitkano-gna	Pear Orchard
Sona-gna	White's Farm
Akura-gna	The Presa
Asuksa-gna	Azuza
Kukomo-gna	Cucamonga
Pasino-gna	Rancho del Chino
Awi-gna	La Puente <sup>3</sup>
Chokish-gna	Jaboneria
Nakau-gna	Carpenter's Farm
Pimu-gna	Santa Catalina Island <sup>4</sup>
Pimoka-gna	Rancho de los Ybarras
Toibi-pet	San José
Hutuk-gna	Santa Ana Yorbas
Aleupki-gna	Santa Anita <sup>5</sup>
Mau-gna	Rancho de los Felis
Hahamo-gna	Rancho de los Verdugos
"Cabeu-gna"	Cahuenga <sup>6</sup>
Pasek-gna	San Fernando
Hout-gna	Ranchito de Lugo <sup>7</sup>
Sua-ngna	Suanga
Pubu-gna	Alamitos

<sup>1</sup> Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de Mexico, 1875, II, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Hoffman gives "Isanthecog-na."

<sup>3</sup> Hoffman gives "Awiz-na."

<sup>4</sup> From Hoffman; correct. Taylor gives "Pineugna."

<sup>5</sup> Hoffman gives "Almpquig-na."

<sup>6</sup> Hoffman gives "Cabueg-na." Probably Kawe-ngna was meant.

<sup>7</sup> Not given by Hoffman.



Tibaha-gna	Serritos
Chowi-gna	Palos Verdes
Kinki-par	San Clemente Island
Haras-gna	? <sup>1</sup>

Several of these places are not now readily identified. Most of them can be found on maps showing the Spanish land-grants. The native ending -gna is locative. It is perhaps intended for -ngna. In current Spanish and English form such of these names as have passed into geography appear with the ending -nga: Cahuenga, Cucamonga, Topanga. It is to be noted that Reid does not expressly state that the Indians of all these localities spoke the same dialect; but such seems to be his implication, and with one or two exceptions the places are all in territory assigned by the modern Indians to the Gabrielino. Kinki-par, San Clemente Island, is one of the two in the list that do not end in -gna. The dialectic affiliation of its inhabitants is not certain. The modern Luiseño claim that they were Luiseño. Toibi-pet, San José, near San Bernardino, is in territory that was more likely Serrano than Gabrielino. The ending -pet is the -bit occurring on a number of San Bernardino Serrano place names. Cucamonga is given both in this list and in Caballeria's Guachama-Cahuilla list of place names about San Bernardino; the place was probably very near the boundary between the two groups. Whipple in 1854 found Cahuilla peons on Cucamonga ranch.

The author's Gabrielino informant gave the following names of places:

Pimu	Santa Catalina Island
Kinki	probably San Clemente Island
Ongoving	Salinas (Redondo)
Chowi	a place (Reid: Palos Verdes)

The following names of places in Gabrielino territory were obtained from an old Luiseño informant on the San Luis Rey river. They agree in part with those given by Reid, the stems of which are added in brackets. Some of the names may be

---

<sup>1</sup> Not given by Hoffman.

Luißeño equivalents of Gabrielino forms. Iyakha and Yangna, the two forms for Los Angeles, agree quite closely.<sup>1</sup>

Moyo	Sauçal, San Joaquin
Lukup	Las Bolsas
Ahauwit	Los Alamitos, Cerritos [Pubu-, Tibaha-]
Masavngna	San Pedro
Unavngna	Palos Verdes [Chowi-]
Engva	Salinas, Redondo
Saan	Ballona
Tuvasak	San Gabriel [Siba-; Taylor: Toviska-]
Pashingmu	San Fernando [Pasek-]
Iyakha	Los Angeles (poison oak, iyala in Luißeño)
Hutuk	Santa Ana [Hutuk-]
Sekhat	Los Nietos (willow, sakhat in Luißeño)
Pipimar	Santa Catalina island [Pimu-]
Pakhavkha	Temescal creek, part Gabrielino

Taylor<sup>2</sup> gives Pasheckna as the native name for San Fernando and mentions Okowvinjha, Kowanga, and Saway Yanga as Gabrielino rancherias, apparently near San Fernando. He places "the Ahapchingas" between Los Angeles and San Juan Capistrano. He gives the name of San Gabriel as Toviscanga, of Los Angeles as Yang-ha, of the beach or plaza at San Pedro as Sowvingt-ha. Dufлот de Mofras<sup>3</sup> mentions Juyubit, Caguillas, and Sibapot as "tribes" the site of whose villages was occupied by the Mission San Gabriel. The Caguillas are of course the Cahuilla. Juyubit has the Serrano place-ending -bit, and Sibapot seems to be Siba-, given by Reid as the name of San Gabriel, with the same Serrano ending instead of the Gabrielino -gna. Reid's Muhuvit, behind the hills of San Fernando, that is, in or north of the San Bernardino range in Serrano territory, has the same Serrano ending. It has no connection with Mohave, as Hoffman thinks<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> -kha is probably one of the characteristic Uto-Aztekan noun endings lost before suffixes or possessive prefixes, like -la of corresponding Luißeño iyala; -ngna being the locative suffix, the stems are iya and ya. Taylor, on his own information, Cal. Farmer, XIII, 90, May 11, 1860, gives Yang-ha.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Farmer, XIII, 90, May 11, 1860.

<sup>3</sup> I, 349.

<sup>4</sup> Bull. Essex Instit., XVII, 18, 1885. Also, Cal. Farmer, XIV, 162.

## LUISEÑO-CAHUILLA GROUP.

The Luiseño-Cahuilla group may be described as the southern one of the three in Southern California, the Serrano being north-eastern and the Gabrielino northwestern. In distinction from these two groups, which are each dialectically nearly uniform, the Luiseño-Cahuilla comprises at least four subdivisions. These are Luiseño and Cahuilla, numerically the most important; Agua Caliente, intermediate geographically and linguistically between Luiseño and Cahuilla; and San Juan Capistrano, related most nearly to Luiseño, and perhaps forming somewhat of a transition to Gabrielino.

*Luiseño.*

The Luiseño have been called Kechi. They seem sometimes to call themselves Ghecham or Khecham, Ghech being the name of San Luis Rey Mission. With this term should be compared Khechmai, the Luiseño name of San Onofre in the territory of the closely related San Juan Capistrano Indians, and Gaitchim, which is given by Loew as the name of the Indians of this mission. How far the words like Khech-am are true tribal names, or only local names occasionally applied to larger groups of people, is not certain. Kicha, objective kish, stem ki-, plural kicham, means house in Luiseño, and it seems that words such as ghecham and gaitchim are derived from this root. The Luiseño call their language cham-tela, "our speech," which is a description rather than a name, like the "Netela" of San Juan Capistrano, correctly conjectured by Gatschet to mean "my language."

The territory of the Luiseño included all the drainage of the San Luis Rey river except the head waters, which were held by the Agua Caliente Indians of this same Shoshonean group and by the Diegueño of Yuman stock. The statement of Powell<sup>1</sup> that the mission of San Luis Rey, which is near the mouth of this river, was at the time of its foundation in Yuman territory,

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., VII, 138.



is incorrect.<sup>1</sup> Luiseño territory extended south to include Agua Hedionda, San Marcos, Escondido, and Valley Center. South of these places Batiquitos, Encinitas, San Dieguito, San Bernardo, San Pasqual, Guejito, and Mesa Grande were held by the Diegueño. Up San Luis Rey river the Luiseño extended to Puerta Noria or Ygnoria and Puerta de la Cruz. Above these places San José was held by the Diegueño. On the coast northward the Luiseño extended to between Las Flores and San Onofre, the former belonging to them, the latter to the closely related Juaneño of Capistrano. Northward in the interior Temecula, Santa Rosa, Aguanga, Pauba, Elsinore lake, and San Jacinto were Luiseño, although at least at the last place with some change of dialect. The principal village or "tribe" at San Jacinto is Saboba, called by the southern Luiseño Sovovo, the people Sovovoyam. Temescal creek, flowing out of Elsinore lake, was partly Luiseño and partly Gabrielino. The Luiseño apparently nowhere reached the crest of the San Jacinto divide, the upper waters of San Luis Rey river being held as stated by the Diegueño and the Agua Caliente people, the head waters of Santa Margarita river by the Cahuilla on the site of the present Cahuilla reservation, and the San Gorgonio mountains farther north being occupied either by Serrano or Cahuilla or both.

Bergland's "Keechi" vocabulary from San Luis Rey, Gatschet's number twenty-two<sup>2</sup>, seems to be really Cahuilla. Gatschet observes<sup>3</sup> that it differs from other Luiseño vocabularies.

The following are Luiseño names of places in their own territory.

Ngorivo	Puerta de la Cruz
Kheweyu	Puerta Noria
Huyulkum	La Jolla
Puchorivo	San Luis Rey Canyon

<sup>1</sup> It may have originated from the statements of Taylor, Cal. Farmer, XIII, 90, May 11, 1860, in connection with a vocabulary from San Luis Rey, which is as a matter of fact Yuman. The informant from whom this was obtained may have been Yuman, but either he or Taylor was in error in placing San Luis Rey in Yuman territory.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler Survey, VII, 405, 413, 424.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 475.



Waskha	Rincon
Paumo	Pauma
Taghanashpa	An old village site at the graveyard near the present Pauma rancheria.
Pala	Pala
Malamai	Agua Tibia
Tomkav	Monserrate
Opila, Kwalam	Bonsall
Wakhaumai	Guajome
Wiasamai	Below Guajome
Gheech, Kheish,	San Luis Rey or three miles below San Luis
Ghesh	Rey <sup>1</sup>
Wiawio	Oceanside
Palamai	Agua Hedionda
Panak're, Kome	San Marcos
Shikapa	Cerro de las Posas
Mekhelom pom- pauvo	Eseñdido (doves drink)
Soumai	Valley Center
Temeku	Temecula
Toatwi	Santa Gertrudis, near Temecula
Sovovo	San Jacinto (Saboba)
Paiakhche	Lake Elsinore
Pakhavkha	Temescal Creek
Dapomai	Santa Margarita
Mekha	Santa Rosa
Ushmai	Las Flores
Chakapa	Las Pulgas
Awa	Aguanga

The Luiseño of the mountains sometimes call those nearer the coast Payamguchum, westerners.

The Diegueño of San Felipe, who call the Luiseño Kokhwaiu<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the discussion above regarding the "tribal" name. Taylor, *Cal. Farmer*, XIII, 17, February 22, 1860, gives Ieayme as the native name of San Luis Rey.

<sup>2</sup> Boas, *op. cit.*, 261, probably in the dialect of Tekumak (Mesa Grande): Okhoē.

call Puerta Noria Khanat, Puerta de la Cruz Pekat, Aguanga Kilyewai, Escondido Kwaiyutlp<sup>1</sup>.

The Luiseño call the two villages of the Agua Caliente people Gūpa, Agua Caliente (Gupa), and Wolāk, San Ysidro (Wilakal).

For places in and near Cahuilla territory they have the following names:

Pawi	Cahuilla valley
Wakwi	El Toro, Cabezon
Hulawona	Los Coyotes
Sapela	San Ygnacio
Yamiwo	San Jacinto mountain
Piwiipi	San Gorgonio mountains

The last two names are almost identical with those obtained among the Serrano.

Luiseño names for places in Gabrielino territory have been previously given.

Tova<sup>2</sup>, near Maronge, in Serrano or Cahuilla territory, across the San Jacinto mountains, is mentioned as the place where the creator-culture-hero Wiyot died.

The following are Luiseño names of places in Diegueño territory. Diegueño equivalents are given in parentheses.

Paskwa	San José on upper San Luis Rey river (Tawi)
Kulaumai (little woody)	South of Agua Hedionda, on the coast
Piiv	Batiquitos
Kulau	San Elijo
Unuv	Las Chollas (Cf. San Dieguito)

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, Cal. Farmer, XIII, 90, May 11, 1860, gives the following place names in connection with a vocabulary from San Luis Rey. Like his vocabulary, these names seem to be Diegueño (Yuman); the places are likely to have been in Luiseño territory. Ene kelkawa (near the mission), Mokaskel, Cenyoowpreskel, Itukemuk, Hatawa, Hamechuwa, Itaywiy, Milkwanen, Ehutewa, Mootaeyuhew, Hepowwoo.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hale, Tr. Am. Ethn. Soc., II, 128, Touanga, earth, instead of öxar, olkhor, of other vocabularies; Reid, in Hoffman, Bull. Essex Instit. XVII, 6, 1885, and Cal. Farmer, XIV, 146, Jan. 11, 1861, tobagnar, the whole earth as opposed to a district, and Tobohar, the first man; Loew and Gatschet, Tobikhar, tribal name of the Gabrielino; also Barrows, *op. cit.*, 33, Tova, the present Cahuilla village of Agua Dulce.

Shukutpupau	La Tinaja
Pohiksavo	San Buenaventura
Chatumpumpuly'mai	Cañada de las Llehuas (owls' eyes)
Aoyi	Carrizal
Paulpa	"el Puerto" (of San Diego)
Pushuyi	San Diego
Totakamalam	La Punta
Unov	San Dieguito (Sinyaupichkara)
Panau	Encinitas
Huike	San Bernardo
Pawai	Somewhere south of Escondido, where the supernatural being Dakwish was born.
Yangiwana	Mesa Grande (Tekumak, Tukumak)
Malakash	Santa Ysabel (Tlkwananu)
Pakhwa	San Felipe (Hitltekwanak, Patltokona- nak)
Toov	Matajuai (Amat kokhat, earth-white)
Sakishmai	Guejito

The Luiseño call the Diegueño Kichamguchum, southerners, and their language Kichamkwangakh.

#### *San Juan Capistrano.*

The San Juan Capistrano Indians or Juaneño are regarded by the Luiseño as quite similar to themselves in speech, and in fact the two dialects are not very different. These Indians have been called Gaitchim, and their language Netela, which last means only "my speech." The native name of San Onofre is given by the Luiseño as Khechmai, of San Juan as Aghashmai or Akhachmai, the equivalent of Juaneño Acagchemem or Akatchma mentioned by Boscana<sup>1</sup> and Gatschet. Taylor gives the name of the site of San Juan Capistrano as Quanis Savit<sup>2</sup>. The San Juan Capistrano Indians lived in the coast region of southernmost Orange and northwesternmost San Diego counties, from between San Onofre and Las Flores creeks on the south, to Alisos creek on the north. Their territory was thus enclosed by that of the Gabrielino, the Luiseño, and the ocean.

<sup>1</sup> Chinigchinich, in A. Robinson, *Life in California*, New York, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Farmer, XIII, 17, February 22, 1860.

Luiसेño names for places in Juaneño territory:

Khechmai	San Onofre
Pankhe	San Mateo
Aghashmai, Akhachmai	San Juan Capistrano
Palabasichash	Resimbon
Alona	Trabuco
Piwiva	Mision Vieja
Huumai	near the last
Palasakeuna	Agua Caliente de San Juan

Boscana mentions Sejat and Pubuna, seven or eight leagues to the northeast, and Niguiti or Putuidem, near the mission.

Vocabularies of the Capistrano dialect are given by Hale,<sup>1</sup> Gatschet,<sup>2</sup> and Scouler.<sup>3</sup> None was obtained by the writer. A Luiसेño informant gave the following words to illustrate the degree of difference between the two dialects.

English	Luiसेño	Juaneño
man	yaash	yiich
woman	shungal	shungal
house	kieha	kieha
yes	oho	oho
no	kai	kayon
earth	ekhla	ekhel
tomorrow	ekhngai	putokala

#### *Agua Caliente.*

The small Agua Caliente "tribe" of the Luiसेño-Cahuilla group inhabited only two villages, both in the region of the head waters of San Luis Rey river. These villages are Gupa, Agua Caliente, and Wilakal, San Ysidro, called respectively Gūpa and Wolāk by the Luiसेño<sup>4</sup>. The Agua Caliente Indians call their language Panakhil. Those of the village of Agua Caliente call themselves Gupa-nga-git-om, Gupa people. They are called Hekwach or Khaguach<sup>5</sup> by the Diegueño of San Felipe and of Mesa Grande. This is the same word as the Hakwiche of the Mohave, applied by them to the Cahuilla, whom the Diegueño,

<sup>1</sup> Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc. II, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler Survey, XII, 405, 413, 424.

<sup>3</sup> Journ. Geogr. Soc. London, XI, 246, 1841.

<sup>4</sup> Barrows, *op. cit.*, 34, Kopa and Holakal (probably Cahuilla names).

<sup>5</sup> Boas, Proc. A. A. A. S., 44, 261, 1895.



at least those of the present day, call Kawia. The San Felipe Diegueño call Agua Caliente Khakupin<sup>1</sup> and San Ysidro Ephī or Epkhīe. Boas<sup>2</sup> gives the following as Agua Caliente names of neighboring Indians: Serrano, Tamankamyam, northerners; Cahuilla, Tāmikochem; Luiseño, Kawikochem; Diegueño, Gich-amkochem, southerners, the same as the Luiseño name.

A second Agua Caliente is in Cahuilla territory, and still held by the Cahuilla, some distance to the north, on the main line of the Southern Pacific railroad, and must not be confounded with the present Agua Caliente. It is the present more southerly Agua Caliente, until recently regarded as a reservation, which has come into prominence with the Warner's Ranch eviction. The Warner's Ranch Indians who were moved to Pala however include certain Luiseño as well as the Agua Caliente people, besides the Diegueño of San Felipe<sup>3</sup>.

#### *Cahuilla.*

The Cahuilla constitute one of the two larger divisions of the Luiseño-Cahuilla group. Roughly speaking their habitat was the eastern or desert side of the San Jacinto range north of the Diegueño. The northern part of the low-lying Colorado desert, which extends between this range and the San Bernardino range, belonged to them at least as far south as Salton. West of the mountains they penetrated to direct Pacific ocean drainage in at least one point, the head waters of Santa Margarita river, where the present Cahuilla reservation was named after them and is still inhabited by them. The northwestern limits of the Cahuilla are as yet indefinite. San Gorgonio or Timoteo pass and San Bernardino valley have been attributed, as stated above, both to them and to the Serrano. At present, in any case, the westernmost territory of the Cahuilla lies east of Banning. A list of the present day Cahuilla villages is given by Barrows<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, Cal. Farmer, XIII, 90, May 11, 1860, gives Hakoopin.

<sup>2</sup> Boas, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Barrows, *op. cit.*, 34, says of Agua Caliente that it "seems to have a mixed population of Diegeños and Coahuillas."

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, 32: Potrero, (Cahuilla and Serrano intermarried), Malki; Agua Caliente, Sechi; Indian Wells, abandoned, Kavinish; Indio, Pal tewat; Cabeson, Pal seta; La Mesa, Temalwahish; Torres; Martinez, Sokut Menyil; Alamo, Lawilvan, Sivel; Agua Dulce, Tova; Santa Rosa, Wewutnowhu; San Ygnacio, Pachawal; (San Ysidro, Holakal; and Agua Caliente, Kopa; not strictly Cahuilla); Coahuilla.

The Cahuilla have been and are generally known by this name by both whites and Indians, but its origin is not clear<sup>1</sup>. The pronunciation is always Kawia. This being scientifically the more reasonable orthography is perhaps preferable to Cahuilla, and in time may come to supplant it; but the latter form is so well established in literature and geographically that at present at least it is best to accept it. The spelling Coahuilla, and still more Coahuila, are unquestionably unorthographical even in Spanish.

The Luiseño call the Cahuilla Yuhiktom or Kwimguchum (easterners), their speech Yukhakhonpom or Kwimkwangakh.

The Luiseño name for Cahuilla valley is Pawi, for El Toro or Cabezon Wakwi (Barrows: Cabeson, Pal seta), for Los Coyotes Hulawona, for San Ygnacio Sapela (Barrows: Pachawal).

The Chemehuevi call the Cahuilla Kwitanemum (southerners?); the Mohave river Serrano call them Kawiayam.

The Mohave call the Cahuilla Hakwiche. This is perhaps the usual name for the Cahuilla among the Yuman tribes, except among the adjacent Diegueño divisions, who at least now use this name for the Agua Caliente people and call the Cahuilla as do the whites.

A term identical in sound with Cahuilla occurs also in central California as the name of a Yokuts tribe, the Kawia, from which is derived the name of Kaweah river and of two small settlements. While the pronunciation of the two words in northern and southern California is the same, there is nothing to show that this identity is anything but a coincidence<sup>2</sup>.

#### SANTA BARBARA ISLANDS.

The six inhabited Santa Barbara islands off the coast of Southern California were equally divided between Indians of the Chumash and Shoshonean stocks. The three northern islands,

<sup>1</sup> Reid, in Taylor, *Cal. Farmer*, XIV, 146, Jan. 11, 1861: "The so-called Cahuillas have been named by Spanish missionaries, through the mistake of taking the word to denote the name of the people. Whereas Cahuilla signifies nothing more than Master." This in connection with a statement that the Gabrielino lack a "distinguishing appellation," and that "it is almost certain that many other tribes are similarly situated," the Cahuilla being the instance.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly the identity is not absolute. The Shoshonean tribe is Kawi'a, the Yokuts properly Ga'wia.

San Miguel, Santa Rosa, and Santa Cruz, adjoining the coast of Santa Barbara and Ventura counties, were occupied, like this coast strip, by Chumash, whose family appellation, which is only a book name, is derived from the native term for Santa Rosa or its inhabitants. The three southern islands, Santa Catalina, San Clemente, and the outlying San Nicolas, were held by Shoshoneans.<sup>1</sup> Santa Catalina was occupied by people speaking Gabrielino, and its name was Pimu. The Luiseño call the island Pipimar. The affiliations of the inhabitants of San Clemente are not certain. Reid includes the island, under the name Kinkipar, in his list of the principal rancherias of the Gabrielino "Indians of Los Angeles county." The present Gabrielino Indians call the island Kinki, the Luiseño call it Khesh; the latter state that it was inhabited by people speaking their own language, who, after having been brought to the mainland by the Franciscans, were settled at a place three miles below San Luis Rey Mission, to which they gave the same name, Khesh. That San Nicolas island was inhabited by Shoshoneans is evident from the four words preserved of the language of the last survivor, a woman who was alone on the island for eighteen years and died soon after being brought to the mainland half a century ago.<sup>2</sup> These four words are: man, nache; sky, toygwah; hide, tocah; body, puoo-chay. Toygwah is certainly Shoshonean, as will be seen from a glance at the comparative vocabulary. The place of the San Nicolas island dialect in the general classification of the Shoshonean family cannot, however, be determined from this scanty material, especially as the spelling is English and there is no evidence that the four words are free from errors of typography or copying. It is not impossible that the dialect was fairly close to Gabrielino or Luiseño<sup>3</sup>, or, on the other hand, that it was much differentiated from all others.

<sup>1</sup> The map in Powers' *Tribes of California* does not commit itself as to the three southern islands and leaves them uncolored. Powell, *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* VII, 67, states that they were probably inhabited by people of Chumashan family; but the accompanying map colors them as Shoshonean.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Santa Barbara County*, published by Thompson and West, Oakland, California, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> The statement that Indians from Los Angeles and other places, and fathers familiar with all the dialects of the coast, could not understand a word of this woman's language, has the appearance of an overstatement. It must be remembered that she was brought to Santa Barbara, which is in Chumash territory, and that there is no evidence that anyone conversant with Luiseño interviewed her.



## II. RELATIONSHIP OF SHOSHONEAN TO NAHUATL.

Since Buschmann's monumental work of fifty years ago, Shoshoni and the allied native languages in the United States which were subsequently established as the Shoshonean family, have generally been recognized by ethnographers and philologists as genetically related to, and therefore forming a single linguistic family with, Nahuatl or Mexican and a group of languages in northern Mexico sometimes known as Sonoran. In more recent years this large family has been called Uto-Aztekan by Brinton and others. Some fifteen years ago, however, Powell in his *Indian Linguistic Families* denied, or at least regarded as unproved, the relationship of the Shoshonean languages in the United States to Nahuatl and the Sonoran group in Mexico. He explicitly established two and implicitly a third family out of the languages which had been considered related since Buschmann. These were, first, the Shoshonean, with the same tribal inclusion with which the term has been used in all the preceding part of this paper; second, the Piman, comprising within the United States only the Pima and Papago, but extending far southward through and beyond Sonora as far as the Cora; and third, by exclusion, the languages of Mexico related to Nahuatl but not forming part of Piman. On account of the fundamental importance of this work of Powell and the great influence which it has exercised on the development of American anthropology, his conclusion, though stated merely as an opinion and unsupported by any published evidence, has had a wide-reaching effect; so that most subsequent American publications, from technical treatises to handbooks and museum labels, have spoken of Shoshonean and Piman but not of the more inclusive Nahuatlan or Uto-Aztekan family. The influence of Powell's classification is illustrated by Leon's recent linguistic map of Mexico<sup>1</sup>, which, although an independent work, is supplementary

<sup>1</sup> N. León, *Familias Lingüísticas de México*, Museo Nacional, Mexico, 1902.



to Powell's, and in which the Shoshonean, Piman, and Nahuatl families are recognized. It is in deference to this prevailing usage, and to avoid complications, that in all the preceding part of the present paper the term Shoshonean has been used, and the Shoshonean group of languages treated as if they indisputably composed a distinct family. It seems, time, however, that this question, which is of such long standing, on which there is such an abundance of evidence, and which theoretically does not present great difficulty, should be settled one way or the other; especially as the systematization which the Shoshonean languages have in the present paper undergone, contributes a new element toward a greater prospect of a definite conclusion.

How, after Buschmann's eight hundred critical pages and supplementary treatises, Powell could declare against the relationship of Shoshonean, Piman, and Nahuatl, seems surprising, but is easily understood. The reason is primarily in the fact that Buschmann was a linguist and not an ethnologist. He was actuated throughout his work by purely philological considerations and could approach a problem of linguistic relationship only with reference to such general questions as the borrowing of grammatical forms or processes of differentiation, matters thoroughly justified in a linguistic research but distracting in the determination of special ethnographical points. The practical purpose of Powell, to establish as a basis for subsequent ethnological research the relationship or lack of relationship of the languages of a certain area, was far from Buschmann's mind. In so far as he drew general conclusions from his material, they were of philological interest. To establish a great linguistic family and definitely draw its limits for the value that this result in itself might have, was a purpose that scarcely occurred to him. In consequence, while he is endlessly occupied with verbal resemblances, he lacks, for ethnological purposes, the practical definiteness and conciseness that are convincing.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, in so far as Buschmann comes to any conclusion, he denies the genetic relationship even of Nahuatl and his Sonoran group, a fact which has been overlooked by most subsequent writers, who appear to have been familiar in a general way with the nature of the contents of his work and to have regarded as his the conclusions which the character of this material unconsciously impressed upon them; but who have overlooked, or have misunderstood, the difficult and obscure expression of his opinion

Pimentel has devoted much effort to showing the relationship of all the languages in question, and gives extended grammatical as well as lexical comparisons.<sup>1</sup> His work is, however, unsystem-

that relationship between these languages must be denied. As far as the effect of his work on the world is concerned, current opinion is right in attributing to Buschmann the establishment of the relationship of Nahuatl, Sonoran, Pima, and Shoshonean; but so far as his own position is concerned, opinion is in error. Buschmann's views as to this relationship were not opposed to Powell's, but the same. Cf. in the introduction to his *Spuren der Aztekischen Sprache*, pp. 8, 9, 10:

Was uns in unsern europäischen Ueberzeugungen am meisten bei dem hier vorgeführten Schauspiel erschreckt, ist die Erborgung von Grammatik in einer beliebigen Auswahl. Ich wanke in meiner Entscheidung, aber ich bin nicht unschlüssig. Wenn, wie es vom Cora erwiesen ist, Eine Sprache in grammatischer Ausstattung und der Bekleidung mit grammatischen Lauten aus dem Azteken-Idiom den andern weit voransteht; so finden wir in dem, was wir so ungern zugeben mögen, eine Waffe der Abwehr. *Denn es ist dadurch die fremde Natur dessen, was uns so sehr zur Annahme der Sprachverwandschaft drängt, bekundet; und erwiesen das einheimische Fundament, wie die Selbstständigkeit der sonorisken Sprachen.*

In diesen anomalen Erscheinungen halte ich die hier betrachtete Sprachmasse fest. Ich glaube in ihnen eine Aufklärung über die unbegreifliche Vereinzelung und Zersplitterung der Amerikanischen Idiome zu finden. Wird es dem Ureingebornen des grossen neuen Welttheils so leicht fremden Stoff, körperlichen wie geistigen, in seine Sprache ein- oder an dieselbe anzufügen? oder sie abzuändern, äusserlich und innerlich, wie nach einer Laune? Ich möchte im Hinblick auf die vorliegenden Thatfachen die Frage bejahen; es giebt in den Lebensverhältnissen der amerikanischen Menschheit Elemente genug, welche diese lebhaft und plötzliche Entwicklung, so wie den jähen Uebergang in sogar willkürliche Formen herbeiführen und dazu treiben. Wenn ich mich zu einer Bejahung der kühnen Frage neige, so ist es mit aller nöthigen Scheu; ich durfte aber nicht davon abstehe den Gedanken, der so vieles erklärt, hier niederzulegen; er wird bei weiteren Forschungen seine Prüfung erfahren. Das, was hier zugegeben werden soll, wissen wir wohl, dürfen wir sonst nie wagen in Sprachuntersuchungen einzumischen oder gelten zu lassen. Eine Sprache, welche solchen Wortstoff, als ich in den Sonora-Sprachen und dem *nahuatl* aufweise, noch dazu ange wurzelt, und in vollem Triebe reicher Verzweigung und Weiterbildung, mit einer anderen gemein hat, muss [*i.e.*, in other cases than this, generally speaking] stammverwandt mit ihr seyn. Und wiederum kann der grammatische Bau und können die grammatischen Laute äusserlich so nahe verwandter Sprachen, wie es die 4 Nordwest-Sprachen [*i.e.*, the Sonoran group] unter einander sind, kaum so von einander abweichen und vereinzelt dastehen [*i.e.*, theoretically, or in languages in other parts of the world], als sie in einem grossen Theile ihres grammatischen Stoffes zeigen.

*Sind die aztekische und die sonorisken Sprachen stammverwandt? . . . . Der Abstand ist zu gross, des Besonderen und Nationalen auf jeder Seite zu viel: als dass an diese Entscheidung zu denken wäre.* Das Volk der Azteken oder irgend ein nahuatlakischer Stamm ist aus der Gemeinschaft sonorisckinaloischer und anderer Völker zu irgend einer Zeit herausgetreten, nachdem er lange in ihrer Gemeinschaft gelebt und auf ihre Sprachen einen Tiefgehenden, kaum irgendwo bisher von uns wahrgenommenen, charakteristisch amerikanischen Einfluss ausgeübt hatte. . . .

*Eine grosse Sprachvermischung ist es mir gelungen in den bisher meist so selbstständig, so unvermischt auftretenden amerikanischen Idiomen aufzudecken. . . .*

<sup>1</sup> Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México, 3 vols., Mexico, 1874-5.

atic, and his inclusion of totally distinct languages into one family, such as of Yuman into his Sonoran family, and of Waikuri, Mutsun, and most of the languages of the southwestern United States into his Mexican-Opata group, which consists of the Mexican, the Sonoran, the Comanche-Shoshone, and six other "families," is proof of his uncritical method. Work of the type of his has done more to discredit than to establish the affinity of Shoshonean to Nahuatl.

Brinton devotes two pages of his "American Race"<sup>1</sup> to a comparative vocabulary and discussion of a number of languages of his Uto-Aztekan family. In spite of the brevity of his table it might perhaps contain sufficient material to be convincing, did it not suffer by containing side by side words in English, Spanish, and more phonetic orthographies. In the contiguous pages of the book, in arguing for family relationships in other groups of languages, the author also goes dangerously far in seeking parallels, and so obviously finds the evidence for a favorite dogma positive when it is at best doubtful, that the conviction brought by his Uto-Aztekan table, however sound it may be in itself, is weakened, and has not been general or conclusive.

Among other modern ethnologists belief in the true unity of the Uto-Aztekan family has been not unusual, and is perhaps even current; but attempts to finally settle the doubt raised by Powell do not seem to have been made.

The accompanying table, drawn up to decide this question, differs from the material of Buschmann and Pimentel in being more systematic and especially more concise, everything not bearing directly on the problem at issue being omitted; from that of Brinton in being more extensive both in number of words and in range of languages included; and from all three in the following points of method.

1. In a rigid attempt to eliminate as far as possible all individual elements in the vocabularies, especially by the use of a uniform orthography, involving some modifications of forms of words in many vocabularies,—changes which seem not only permissible but necessary for the present purpose.

---

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 336-7 (1901).



2. In the generalization and simplification of forms of words, wherever possible, by the omission or separation of affixes and by a disregard of finer shades of phonetic variation. This step is also justifiable because the point at issue in the present instance is not a linguistic one, such as the determination of phonetic changes or of exact lexical correspondence, but the primarily ethnological one of whether the several languages are or are not related. Whatever will put the evidence on this point into such shape that a positive conclusion is more readily and cogently established is desirable.

3. A similar generalization and simplification by substituting the forms of words which are average or typical of dialectic groups for the actual but more special forms that they bear in single dialects; this, so far as it is possible. This process is also justifiable with the end in view; and has further the linguistic advantage of making the larger groups, within the array of languages treated, more conspicuous.

Other than the vocabularies that have been for the first time printed in this paper and discussed above, no new Shoshonean material has been used for this table. As a matter of fact Buschmann's volume alone contains enough evidence to establish a conclusion. For Piman the collocated reprint made by Buschmann of Parry's vocabulary in Schoolcraft and of Coulter's in Scouler has been drawn upon; for the languages in Mexico Buschmann has furnished the bulk of the material, supplemented to some extent by Pimentel,<sup>1</sup> F. Müller,<sup>2</sup> Hernandez,<sup>3</sup> and Lumholtz.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Wien, 1876-87.

<sup>3</sup> *Las Razas Indigenas de Sonora y la Guerra del Yaqui*, Mexico, 1902, which reprints Cahita material.

<sup>4</sup> *Unknown Mexico*, II, 486, 1902.



	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>Four</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Man [Person]</i> [tlakat]	<i>Hair [Head]</i> tsontli [kwait]
Nahuatl	se	ome	yei	nawi	makwili		
Huichol	rowi	ota	taika	nauka	aururi		mo
Cora	se-	wa-	waika	moakua	amanri		kepoa [mo-]
Tepahuan	hum-	gok-	weik-	nako-	siatam-	tadai [tevit]	kupa [mo-]
Tarahumare	(sine-)	woka	baika	nako	mari-	teavid [teodi]	kupa [mo-]
Cahita	senu	woi	bahi	naki	mamni	iozem	teoni
Pima	-emako	kua-	vai-	kli-		tiwot	[mo-]
Hopi	cux-	lei	pah-	nalei	teçut	taka	hini [kôti]
Shosh.-Com.	cimi-	wat			manag-	tenip [atax-]	
Ute-Chem.	cui-	wai-	pai-	wateiv-	maniüg-	tavate	totsiv
Mono-Pav.	cim-	wah-	pahi	watei-	manig-	nana	tsobip
Tübatulabal	tcits	wo	pai	nanau	mahitcña	tatwal	tsom- [ko-]
Serrano	haukup	wo	pahi	watea	mahate	[takat]	kopo
Gabrielino	puku	wehe	pahi	watea	mahar	[taxat]	poar
Luis.-Cah.	supl-	wi	pa'	witeu	mahar	[atax]	yu-

	<i>Ear</i>	<i>Eye</i>	<i>Nose</i>	<i>Mouth</i> (tentli)	<i>Tongue</i>	<i>Tooth</i>	<i>Hand</i>
Nahuatl	nakastli	ictlotli	yakatli	teni	nene-	tlantli	maatl
Huichol	naka	utci	tsuli	teni	nene	tame	mama
Cora	naxai'	hausi	çuli	teni	nanu-	tame	moama
Tepahuan	naxa	buy	daka	tuni	nunu	-tamo	novi, ma-
Tarahumare	naka	pusi-	yaxka-	rini	neni-	teme-	ma-
Cahita	naka	pusi	yeka	teni	nini	tami	mama
Pima	nank	nank	tank	teini-	nen'		ma-
Hopi	nak-	poci	yaka	moa	leñi	tama	mat
Shosh.-Com.	na-	pui-	mo	tip	ako	tama	mo-
Ute-Chem.	naxa-	pui-	movi	timp	axu	tawa	-maia
Mono-Pav.	nak	puc	muvi	tiñp	exo	tawa	ma-
Tübatulabal	nañha-	punts	mupi-	tok-	lal-	tama	ma
Serrano	na-nax	uva	mukpi	xite	nañ	tama	ma
Gabrielino	na-nax	tcotco-n	möpi	toñ	noñ	-tam	ma
Luis.-Cah.	naka	puc	muvi, mu	(=teeth)	nañ, we	(tma)	ma

	<i>Nail</i>	<i>Bone</i>	<i>Heart</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Tobacco</i>	<i>Sky</i>	<i>Sun</i>
Nahuatl	istetl	omitl	(yolotli)	kali		ilwikatl	tonatiux
Huichol	ruti	ome	iyali	ki	ya		tau
Cora	xente	gali	ceinugali	tci	yana	tuwagwi	ciga
Tepehuan	xutu	oo, ao	hura	vaki, ki	viva-	revega	tonoli, tase
Tarahumare	sutu-	otei-	sula	bete, (kali-)	wipa-	teweka	tai-
Cahita	sutu		hiepsi	kari			ta
Pima	tu-		iputa	ki	"boef"		tac
Hopi	coki	iaka	ōñañwa	kihō	piva	tukpela	tava
Shosh.-Com.				kan-	pamo	toxum	tav-
Ute-Chem.	cite	o', ov	piu-	kan-	(to-)kvap	toxumba	tav-
Mono-Pav.	wacit	ox	piu	novi	pamu	to-	tav-
Tibatulabal	cul-	om	cuna-	hauil	cokont	togumbal	tal
Serrano	watsi	-o	hun	kite	pivat	tukupat	tamiat
Gabrielino	estcut	en	hun	kix		tukupar	tamit
Luis.-Cah.	cula		cun	kite	pivat	tupac, tukwac	temet
	<i>Moon</i>	<i>Star</i>	<i>Fire</i>	<i>Water [Wash]</i>	<i>Drink</i>	<i>Earth</i>	<i>Rock</i>
Nahuatl	metstli	sitlalin	tletl	atl [pa-ka]	(itepana)	tlali	tetl
Huichol	metce-	culawi	tai	ha		kuye	tete
Cora	matsa-	teulave	taix	ha	ie	teue	tete-
Tepehuan	masa-	siavok-	tai	suda-[bakuane]	i-	duvur-	hode
Tarahumare	metca	sopoli	nei-	pawi-[pagota]	pahi	we	teke, etc.
Cahita	metca	teoki	tahi	ba	heik	buia	beta
Pima	masa		tai-	cutik	tua	tuvurte	hote?
Hopi	mōya-	cohō	kōahi	kōyi	hik-	tōva	oa
Shosh.-Com.	mō-	tatsinup	kun	pa	hivi-	soxop	timpi
Ute-Chem.	muats	puteiv	kun	pa	hivi-	tevip	timpi
Mono-Pav.	mūats	patusuva	koco	pa	hivi-	tiip	tipi
Tibatulabal	mūyal	cul	kut	pal	iū	cūval	tūint
Serrano	mūat	hut	kut	patc		tūvatc	tūmut
Gabrielino	moar	cu-	teavat	par	pa-	ōxar, tou-	tota
Luis.-Cah.	moila, menil	cul	kut	pal	pa-	exal, tenal	tota, kawic

	<i>Salt</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Dog</i>	<i>We</i>	<i>Much</i>
Nahuatl	istatl	kwawitl	tcitei	tewan	miek
Huichol	una		tsuko		
Cora	una-	kouyet	tseuk	iteam, itean	mui
Tepehuan	one	kwawi, uski	gogos-	atem	mui
Tarahumare	honaka	kusiki	kokotci	tame	gieka
Cahita	ona	kuta, kete-	teu	itom, iton	buru
Pima	on	kwak	koks	ati	
Hopi	iaña	koho	puxku	itamö	
Shosh.-Com.	auuivit?	höpi	cari		cont
Ute-Chem.	acop	kokwap	carite, pukute	tavi	awan
Mono-Pav.	ovavi	kun	puk		awai
Tübatulabal	uñal	ut	puñul		yowi
Serrano	teuguat	kutat	kutci	itsate	akovuvuram
Gabrielino	uñor		wuci		we, (ayoin)
Luis.-Cah.	eñla, yawal	kalawat	awal	team, tceemim	muyuk, metawu
	<i>No</i>	<i>Eat</i>	<i>Sleep</i>	<i>Kill</i>	<i>Give</i>
Nahuatl	kamo, amo	kwa	kotci	mik-	maka
Huichol					
Cora	-kai?	kwa	kotso	(mueke)	ta?
Tepehuan		koai	kosi-		maxe
Tarahumare	ke, ta?	koa	kotci	(muku)	nexa
Cahita	e	bua	kotce	(muk-)	maka
Pima				muba-	maka
Hopi	kae	nec-	pöwi	[moki]	
Shosh.-Com.	kai	tik-	epwi	maka-	mot-
Ute-Chem.	kate	tika-	opwi	paka-	maka-
Mono-Pav.	karu	tika-	äwi	n-avats-	-ak-
Tübatulabal	haic	tüka	tsuluma		
Serrano	nau	kwa	kuman	mök	
Gabrielino	xai	kwax	-ku-	muka-	
Luis.-Cah.	kai, kil	kwa, etc.	kup-	mak-	maxa, ovi

As to the conclusions to be drawn from this table there can be no question. The evidence of the genetic relationship of all the languages represented, from Nahuatl to Luiseño, is overwhelming, and leaves room only for wonder how the fact could ever have been doubted. Others have perhaps had the author's experience of comparing some particular Shoshonean language with Nahuatl on the strength of the relationship currently announced, and of being disappointed at the small number of positive resemblances visible; but the present collocation in compact and unified form of material from all dialectic groups alters this condition thoroughly, so that identities which before could only be suspected and seemed exceedingly doubtful, are revealed with entire certainty.

The very fact that the various larger groups, such as Shoshonean, Piman, Sonoran, and Nahuatl, are not always units in their relations toward one another, but that distinct stems appear with the same meaning in different dialects of the same group, and reappear again in dialects of other groups, renders the case for genetic identity all the stronger. For the word for house, for instance, two principal stems appear in the Shoshonean dialects, *kan*, typical of the Plateau branch, and *ki* in the Southern California and Hopi branches. Pima shows *ki*. In the Sonoran group Tarahumare and Cahita have the stem *kal*, Tepehuan and Cora *ki*. In the Nahuatl group, Nahuatl itself shows *kal* and Huichol *ki*. The appearance of both stems side by side in all branches of the family is really better evidence of unity than the persistence everywhere of a single stem would be. It follows that at least part of the considerable diversity of stems which characterizes distant dialects when they are individually compared, is not due to the employment by some of them of words borrowed from languages of alien stock, but is the result of a dialectic difference in usage of stems which are older than the origin of the separate dialects, or which at least were once common to all the dialects. Thus the fundamental stem of the family for water, *pa-*, is replaced in Nahuatl by *a-* for the word itself, but appears in *pa-ka*, wash, and *pa-lti*, wet; just as in Tepehuan its place is taken by *suda-*, resembling Pima *shuti-*, while *ba-kuane* is to wash. And so the stem *i-*, to drink, is replaced in the Southern California branch



of the Shoshonean division, and in Tarahumare of the Sonoran division, by the stem *pa*, water.<sup>1</sup>

Among more special results that are apparent is the fact that the Sonoran or non-Nahuatl languages of Mexico are much nearer to the Shoshonean division than is Nahuatl; or rather, that Nahuatl shows more specialization than the majority of Sonoran and Shoshonean languages. An examination of the relative degree of similarity of the Plateau, Kern River, and Southern California branches of Shoshonean to Nahuatl shows no appreciable differences between them. The Southern California dialects are at least as near as the others. Hopi, however, is somewhat more different from Nahuatl than are the other Shoshonean languages,—contrary to the view of Brinton, who may have been led to his opposite conclusion by considerations of the generally higher culture and greater geographical proximity of the Hopi to the Mexicans. All that can be concluded from the greater divergence of Hopi from Nahuatl—and this greater divergence is not very considerable—is that Hopi is the most specialized offshoot of the Shoshonean group. This conclusion has already been derived from comparisons of the Shoshonean languages among themselves. Any theories of the derivation of the Hopi or their culture directly from Mexico are contrary to linguistic evidence.

Under what name this great unit of peoples, which, as Brinton says, is numerically the largest and ethnologically probably the most important of the linguistic families of North America, is to be known, is of little moment as long as the appellation does not cause confusion between the family as a whole and any of its parts, especially those divisions which have previously been separately recognized as families. Brinton's Uto-Aztekan, though it goes counter to the rules of artificial nomenclature adopted by Powell, is free from danger in this direction and well indicative of the range and constitution of the family; and it may ultimately prevail. The term Shoshonean, which has determinedly been used through this paper as if the languages comprised under it constituted a distinct family, must therefore henceforward, so far as it may be retained for purposes of convenience, be regarded as denoting only a subdivision of this greater family.

<sup>1</sup> Fire, in Nahuatl, in the Sonoran group, in Pima, and in Hopi and Gabrielino in Shoshonean, is expressed by related *t*-stems; in other Shoshonean dialects by *ku*-. It is questionable whether this *ku*- is related to Athabaskan *kon*.

## III. HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS.

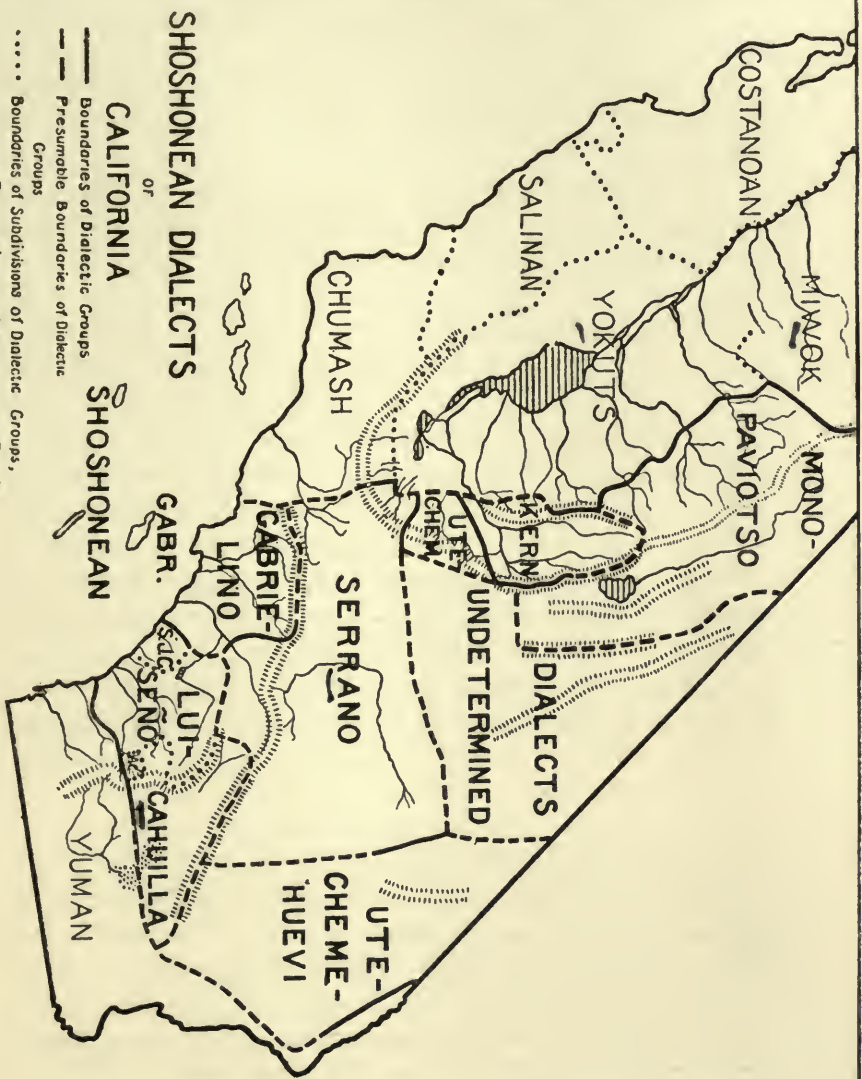
The following conclusions of an ethnological and historical nature can be drawn from the linguistic material presented in this paper.

The so-called Shoshonean, Piman, and Nahuatlán linguistic families in reality constitute only one linguistic family; that is to say, the languages comprised under them have a common origin.

The Shoshoneans are at least in great part not newcomers in California, and the probability is strong that some of them have been within its territory for a long time. This is especially true of the Tübatulabal or Kern River branch. The dialectic divergence of this branch from all other Shoshoneans makes it probable that it has long been more or less isolated from them, and this would be more likely to have happened somewhere near its present location, in contact with the linguistically distinct and diverse California tribes, than on the open Plateau in contact principally with other Shoshonean divisions.

The dialectic diversity among the Shoshoneans of Southern California argues equally for their protracted residence in this region. Other things being equal, this diversity, as compared with the much smaller diversity over equal areas on the Plateau, would point toward a longer fixed residence of the Shoshoneans in Southern California than on the Plateau; but this is counterbalanced by the difference in ethnological conditions, which, although better known in effect than in cause, clearly tend with unusual force to linguistic diversification in California. It may be added that there is not any direct historical evidence showing a migration or movement of Shoshoneans either to or from or in California except in the case of the Chemehuevi.

The Hopi or Pueblo branch of the Shoshonean family does not stand nearer to the Mexican groups, and especially Nahuatl, than do the other Shoshonean branches, but is more diverse from them.



# SHOSHONEAN DIALECTS

or

CALIFORNIA

SHOSHONEAN

- Boundaries of Dialectic Groups
- - - Presumable Boundaries of Dialectic Groups
- ..... Boundaries of Subdivisions of Dialectic Groups, also Boundaries of other Linguistic Families
- ||||| Mountain-ranges and Watersheds.





The Hopi are not specially allied to the Paiute or to any other particular group of their Shoshonean neighbors. The degree of their dialectic divergence, and the approximate equality of this divergence, from the other Shoshonean branches, show their language to have become separated from the speech of all these other branches so long ago that these other dialects were not yet as fully differentiated as now. The language of the Hopi evidently diverged from the common Shoshonean stock when this was still much more uniform and less divided into distinct branches. The Hopi have therefore been a separate people for a considerable period; and this circumstance makes it probable that they have been a Pueblo people for a very long time. They are linguistically not directly influenced by the Pima.

Brinton's view that the home of all the Shoshoneans was between the Rocky mountains and the Great Lakes, that is, not far from but east of the territory of the present Shoshoni-Comanche dialectic group, is highly improbable on account of the general distribution of dialectic groups that has been set forth, and is without support on linguistic grounds.

Nahuatl forms a considerably specialized division of the Uto-Aztekan stock. It is therefore very improbable that the Nahuatl came from the north, the Sonoran region, where they would have been in contact with tribes of their own family, so recently as their historical traditions, which are still often believed even by ethnologists, pretend.

NOTE.—Since the first portion of this paper was printed, Mr. S. A. Barrett has been among the Endimbich, whom he finds to inhabit the territory accredited to them on page 120, but to be Yokuts, not Shoshonean Mono. This explains the statements made by the author's informants as to the difference between Endimbich on the one hand and Wobonuch, Waksachi, and Balwisha on the other: this difference is not a subdialectic one within the Shoshonean family, as it was understood to be, but the radical one between Yokuts and Shoshonean. The informant from whom the supposed Endimbich vocabulary was obtained appears to be a Wobonuch. Wobonuch should therefore probably be read for Endimbich throughout the comparative vocabularies.



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS—(CONTINUED)

**GRAECO-ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY.** (Large Octavo).

- Vol. 1. The Tebtunis Papyri, Part 1. Edited by Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, and J. Gilbert Smyly. Pages 690, Plates 9, 1902  
 . . . . . Price, \$16.00
- Vol. 2. The Tebtunis Papyri, Part 2 (in press).
- Vol. 3. The Tebtunis Papyri, Part 3 (in preparation).

**EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY.** (Quarto).

- Vol. 1. The Hearst Medical Papyrus. Edited by G. A. Reisner.  
 Hieratic text in 17 facsimile plates in collotype, with introduction and vocabulary. pages 48, 1905. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 25 Marks)  
 . . . . . Price, \$8.00
- Vol. 2. The Early Dynastic Cemeteries at Naga-ed-Der. Part I, by G. A. Reisner (in press).
- Vol. 3. The Early Dynastic Cemeteries at Naga-ed-Der. Part II. By A. C. Mace. (in press.)
- Vol. 4. The Predynastic Cemetery at Naga-ed-Der. The Anatomical Material, by Elliott Smith (in preparation).
- Vol. 5. The Cemetery of the Second and Third Dynasties at Naga-ed-Der, by A. C. Mace (in press).
- Vol. 6. The Cemetery of the Third and Fourth Dynasties at Naga-ed-Der, by G. A. Reisner (in preparation).
- Vol. 7. The Coptic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Der, by A. C. Mace (in preparation).

**ANTHROPOLOGICAL MEMOIRS.** (Quarto).

- Vol. 1. Explorations in Peru, by Max Uhle (in preparation).  
 No. 1. The Ruins of Moche.  
 No. 2. Huamachuco, Chincha, Ica.  
 No. 3. The Inca Buildings of the Valley of Pisco.

**SPECIAL VOLUMES.**

- The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans, containing an account of their rites and superstitions; an anonymous Hispano-American manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Italy. Reproduced in fac-simile, with introduction, translation, and commentary, by Zelia Nuttall.  
 Part I. Preface, Introduction, and 80 Fac-simile plates in colors. 1903.  
 Part II. Translation and Commentary. (In press).  
 Price for the two parts . . . . . \$25.00
- Facsimile of a Map of the City and Valley of Mexico, by Alonzo de Santa Cruz, Cosmographer of Philip II of Spain. Explanatory text by Zelia Nuttall. Map in 7 sheets, 17×20 inches. (in preparation).
- The Department of Anthropology, Its History and Plan, 1905. Sent free on application to the Department, or to the University Press.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS—(CONTINUED)

**ASTRONOMY.**—W. W. Campbell, Editor. (Lick Observatory, Mt. Hamilton, Cal.)

Publications of the Lick Observatory.—Volumes I–V completed. Volume VI (in progress).

**BOTANY.**—W. A. Setchell, Editor. Price per volume \$3.50. Volume I (pp. 418) completed. Volume II (in progress).

**EDUCATION.**—Edited by the Department of Education. Price per volume \$2.50.

**ENGINEERING.**—Edited under the direction of the Engineering Departments. This series will contain contributions from the Colleges of Mechanics, Mining, and Civil Engineering. Volume I in progress.

No. 1. Bulletin of the Department of Civil Engineering. I.—Moment Diagrams and Typical Live Loads, by Charles Derleth, Jr., Pages 1-9, Plate 1. January, 1907. . . . Price, .10

**GEOLOGY.**—Bulletin of the Department of Geology. Andrew C. Lawson, Editor. Price per volume \$3.50. Volumes I (pp. 428), II (pp. 450), III (475) and IV (462), completed. Volume V (in progress).

**PATHOLOGY.**—Alonzo Englebert Taylor, Editor. Price per volume \$2.00. Volume I (in progress).

**CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY.**—Edward B. Clapp, William A. Merrill, Herbert C. Nutting, Editors. Price per volume \$2.00. Volume I (in progress).

**PHILOSOPHY.**—Volume I, completed. Price, \$2.00.

**PHYSIOLOGY.**—Jacques Loeb, Editor. Price per volume \$2.00. Volume I (pp. 217) completed. Volume II (pp. 215) completed. Volume III (in progress).

**ZOOLOGY.**—W. E. Ritter, Editor. Price per volume \$3.50. Volumes I (pp. 317) and II (pp. 382) completed. Volume III in progress.

**UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.**—An official record of University life, issued quarterly, edited by a committee of the faculty. Price, \$1.00 per year. Current volume No. IX.

---

Address all orders, or requests for information concerning the above publications to The University Press, Berkeley, California.

European orders for numbers of the series in American Archaeology and Ethnology may be addressed to Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, or R. Friedländer & Sohn, Berlin.





