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# Interior Chumash

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**I**N this article we publish two Chumash vocabularies representing the speech of groups who lived away from the coast together with analysis and commentary; no publications of the Chumash speech of these regions have hitherto been made. The word-lists will considerably change the traditional picture of speech distributions in these interior regions. Although we owe both of the vocabularies here printed to the work of C. Hart Merriam, their interpretation requires us to use materials drawn from the researches of A.L. Kroeber and John P. Harrington. All three of these men were diligent tillers of the fecund vineyard of California aboriginal languages, and they were all working contemporaneously, in the first two decades of the twentieth century. But there was practically no communication among them. Of the three, only Kroeber was a prolific publisher, and so it is from him that the picture of the distributions and structures of the state's native languages which dominated the scholarly scene during the first half of the century was largely derived. The subject is, however, so vast that no one student could pretend to control all parts of it. As we shall see, the lack of intercommunication among these three investigators greatly retarded the progress of our understanding of the nature and detail of the state's linguistic diversity. What Harrington published during his lifetime is only a tiny part of the material he collected and recorded; and Merriam published but little on California languages before his death in 1942. The present

study will use material from all three of these men in an attempt to clarify the linguistic situation in a corner of California as it existed perhaps a century ago.

C. Hart Merriam (1855-1942) was in his earlier life a professional biologist and acted for many years as chief of the Biological Survey of the United States Department of Agriculture. Later his interests changed, and in 1910 he left government service and came to live in California, devoting himself to the collecting of ethnological and linguistic data from elderly survivors of the numerous Indian tribes he found all over the state and in neighboring parts of Nevada and Arizona. Most of this material assembled in the field and in supplementary work in archives was deposited with the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, in 1950. Two books based on it are (a) *Studies of California Indians* (Merriam 1955); and (b) *Languages, Territories, and Names of California Indian Tribes* (Heizer 1966b). The present study prints two of the vocabularies in the Merriam collection; we express our appreciation for permission to use them.

The first of these (Vocabulary 1), in Merriam's handwriting, is dated November 11, 1905, at San Emigdio, California, and is signed by him. We shall refer to the language of this document as Emigdiano. There are 61 entries in this list. With each of these we give the corresponding forms from the three other Chumash languages which have been most

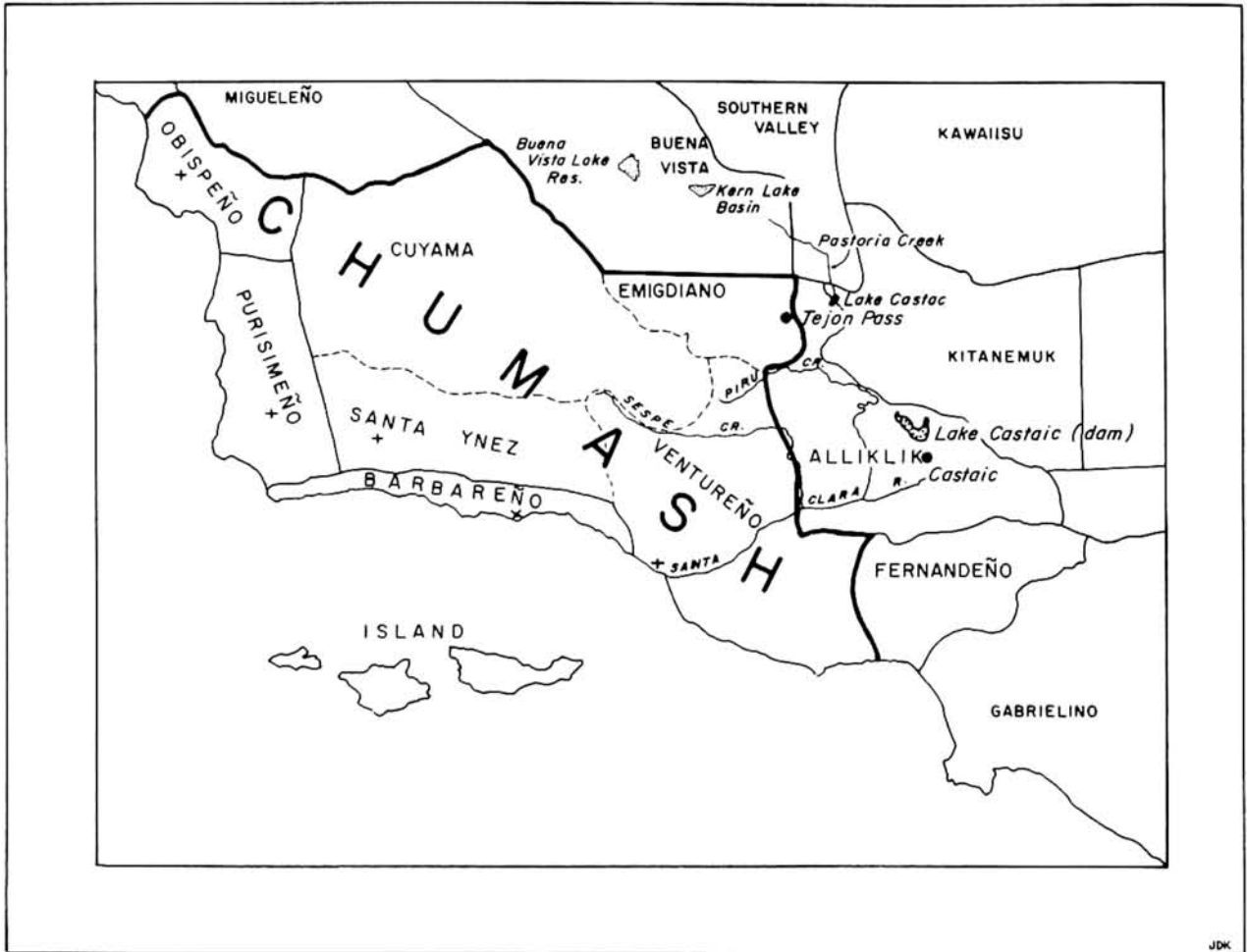


Fig. 1. Chumash linguistic area (after Kroeber 1925). The present authors would include most or all of the territory marked Alliklik within the Chumash linguistic area.

fully described: Barbareño (from Beeler's [n.d.] files), Ineseño (from Applegate's [1970] manuscript dictionary), and Ventureño (from the Harrington manuscripts; the material, excerpted and organized by Applegate, has kindly been placed at our disposal by him). Yokuts forms with source not indicated are cited from Kroeber (1963); most of them are from the Buena Vista (B.V.) group, which consists of the two languages Tulamni (Tul.) and Hometwoli (Hom.). A few, taken from the Harrington manuscripts, are identified by the initials JPH. Similarly, the initials CHM identify the source of other quoted words as coming from others of the Merriam papers.

One form, identified as Señán, is cited from Beeler (1967); and one, credited to Pinart, from Heizer (1952). Kitanemuk, the Uto-Aztecan language spoken nearest to Emigdiano, lacks an adequate published lexicon; words from it are drawn from Merriam. Occasional phonetic interpretations of the graphemes are ventured.

There is no inhabited place named San Emi(g)dio on the present map of California. But one of the high peaks in the Transverse Range that walls off the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley is called San Emigdio Mountain (Gudde 1969:283), and a creek that flows northward from the north-facing slopes of that peak until it loses itself on the dry, level

Vocabulary 1

gloss	Emigdiano	Yokuts	Other
one	yit'ta	Tul. yit Hom. yit' [yit']	Hom. yit' JPH
two	pung-e [puŋi]	B.V. puñi [puŋi]	
three	shō'p [šō·p]	B.V. coop [šō·p]	
four	tah'pahng-e	B.V. tapañi   ta paŋi]	
five	yet-sing-il	Tul. yitsiñ Hom. yit-süñul	
six	sho-pon-hut	Tul. tsolipi	Hom. šop <sup>h</sup> onhot JPH
seven	num'tsin	B.V. numtsin	
eight	mo'nas	Tul. munas Hom. mu'nas [mu'nas]	
nine	woo-chaht'	B.V. wutcat	
ten	tre'yow	Tul. ŋeu Hom. ŋieu	Hom. čiyaw JPH (cf. Ine. čiyaw)

(In Merriam's manuscript there is in the margin, beside these Emigdiano numerals, the penciled notation: "Strong touch of Yokuts.")

gloss	Emigdiano	Barbareño	Ventureño	Ineseño	Other
Indian people	hool-koo-koo	hu-ł-kuh-ku?	si-ku-ku	ma-kuh-ku	The Emigdiano shows the article -l- together with the obligatory locator; the other languages are given with their articles.
man	eh-ho-e	ʔih <sup>h</sup> y	ʔatax <sup>o</sup> č	ʔih <sup>h</sup> y	
woman	en'nek	ʔeneq	ʔanwa	ʔeneq	
my father	hoop ko-ko	hu-p-koko	si-p-koko?	ma-p-koko?	What CHM obtained was clearly the Emigdiano for 'your father;' the equivalents of this in the other languages are given.
eye	tuk'	-t <sup>h</sup> q	-t <sup>h</sup> q	t <sup>h</sup> x	
ear	p'too	-p-tu?	si-p-tu	ma-p-tu?	
mouth ['your']	pu'k	-p <sup>h</sup> -k	si-p-k	ma-p <sup>h</sup> -k	
arm ['your']	p'mah'	-p <sup>h</sup> u, -p-wačax	si-p <sup>h</sup> u, si-p-wašna <sup>o</sup> al	ma-p <sup>h</sup> u	Uto-Aztecan -ma-, Luis. má-t
teeth ['your']	p'sah'	-p-s <sup>h</sup> a	si-p-sa	ma-p-sa	
heart	pōs'	-ʔayapis	-poš	at <sup>h</sup> k, ʔayapis	
house	ahp'	ʔap	ʔap	ʔap, mam	
fire	nuh'	n <sup>h</sup>	n <sup>h</sup>	n <sup>h</sup>	
Indian tobacco	shaw'hoo-wah	šow	šow	šow	
salt	té'p	tip	tip	tip	
bow	ah' <sup>ch</sup>	ʔax	ʔax	ʔax	
arrow	yah'ah	ya?	ya	ya?	
stone knife	eh'wah	ʔiwí	ʔiw	ʔiw	
chief	wot'	wot	wot	wot	

(Continued)

gloss	Emigdiano	Barbareño	Ventureño	Ineseño	Other
water	oh'	ʔoʔ	ʔo	ʔoʔ	
rock	'h'up'	xɪp	xɪp	xɪp	
big	'hah'ah <sup>ch</sup>	xax	xaʔax	nox, ʔalɪyɪn	
rain	too-hoo- <sup>ch</sup>	tuhuy	tuhuy	tuhuy	
yes	huh		hí	he	Hom. hī JPH
no	seh'	s-e	mu-c-ʔil	ʔinsil	
I	noh	noʔ	no	noʔ	
you (sg.)	pe'e	piʔ	pi	piʔ	
bear	hoos'	xus	xus	xus	
bob-cat	ahl-hi <sup>ch</sup>	ʔanaqpúw	ʔalxay	ʔanaqpuw	
mule deer	wuh <sup>ch</sup> , wooh'	wɪ	wɪ	wɪ	
golden eagle	slo, s <sup>ch</sup> lō	sloʔ	sloʔ, cloʔ	sloʔ	
bald eagle	mah-he'-wah		maxiwo	maxiwo ('white-headed eagle')	
great horned owl	moo-hoo'	muhu	muhu	muhu	
valley quail	tah-kah'-kah	takak(a)	ʔɪqɪy	takak	
frog	wek-ketch	waqáq	ʔwetet	waqáq, weqéč (different species)	
valley oak	ko-che-let'-tah	taʔ	ta	taʔ	Tul. kóčileč(a) JPH
sycamore	cho-hók	xšoʔ	xšo	(x)šonuš	Hom. tcoxok 'tree' ALK
cottonwood	lap'-p	qweł	xwelexwel	qweleqweł	B.V. lap JPH
willow	tso-mo-san'-ne	štayit	ctayit	stayit, wak	
elder	ki-yas	qayas		qayas	
broad leaf milkweed	wah'ahs		tok (red milkweed)	tok (red milkweed), wa'as	
milkweed string	hoo'-wis			ʔoxponuš	B.V. xūwis 'string from the century plant' JPH cf. Luis. pá'ka-1 ??
wild sunflower	tah <sup>ch</sup> -al				
Indian whiskey	mong'-oi	momoy	momoy	momoy	
wild grapevine	noo-net'-tah		nunič (škak), noo-net'-tah CHM	nunič	B.V. nunet
Baccharis vimeana	wal'-li				'mule fat' (Munz and Keck 1968)
leaf	tap'-tap (Span. o <sup>ch</sup> -ah)	qap	qap	qap	General Yokuts dapdap Span. hoja
root	tu-wuh'-kan	ʔaxpilil	ʔaxpilil	ʔaxpilil	B.V. čiwexan JPH
acorn	u'-san	ʔixpaniš	ʔixpaniš	ʔixpaniš	General Yokuts öcin ALK Yawel. ʔe-šín SN
acorn cup	poo-ko-yoh			kukuy	
tree	cho-hāk	poñ	poñ	poñ	Hom. tcoxok ALK
bark	kah'-pahs	sxol	ch'ol	sh'ol	Hom. kápaš JPH

floor of the valley is named San Emigdio Creek. Maps from the end of the nineteenth century show a settlement on the banks of the creek called San Emigdio, some forty miles in a southwesterly direction from the city of Bakersfield. That settlement, which has since disappeared, is given as the place where

Merriam interviewed the informant who spoke the language of the people he called the Hool'koo-koo.

Directly to the north of the former settlement, and no more than a dozen or fifteen miles away over the flat plains, there existed until the end of the nineteenth century two

lakes called Kern Lake and Buena Vista Lake, formed by the waters of the Kern River. The marshes or *tulares* along these lakes were the habitat of the Buena Vista Yokuts bands, the Tulamni and the Hometwoli, the southernmost of that stock (Fig. 1). Not many miles to the east, where other streams drained out from the transverse Techachapis and where is the route of the present principal highway across these mountains, was spoken a third Yokuts language, the Yawelmani, whose speakers occupied a narrow band of territory. Just beyond that band to the east was another major linguistic boundary: there are encountered, close together, settlements of the Kitanemuk and the Kawaiisu, two tribes of California Uto-Aztecan speakers. Near this boundary was the place known as Tejon Ranch, or Ranch House, or Ranchería, where Indians of many tribes came together in the latter half of the nineteenth century. (This place, the Tejon Ranch, on Poso Creek where that stream debouches from the Techachapi Mountains onto the San Joaquin Valley floor, is to be distinguished from Ft. Tejon, the United States Army post established in the early 1850's at the top of the Grapevine grade.) This sketch of tribal distributions at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley is intended to show that the Emigdiano occupied a territory in the immediate neighborhood of three Yokuts languages and of two Uto-Aztecan languages (and probably of a second Chumash language; see below).

We may now proceed to determine what the linguistic evidence can tell us of the history of the speakers of Emigdiano. Before looking into intertribal borrowings we ask what this linguistic evidence tells us about the subgrouping within Chumash, and here we look first at the grammatical affixes. There are not many, but the story these few tell is quite unambiguous.

There is first the NP *hool'koo-koo* 'Indian people'. This consists of the reduplicated stem *ku* 'person', preceded by the segments *hu-* and -

*l-*. *-l-* is the definite article, found outside of Emigdiano only in Barbareño and contrasting with the Ineseño *ha-* and *ma-* and with the Ventureño *si-* in the same function. The segment *hu-* is one of a class of locational prefixes, one of whose functions is to afford support for the articular *-l-*, which cannot occur by itself. The same, characteristically Barbareño, morpheme recurs in Emigdiano *hoop ko-ko* 'your father' (the gloss 'my father' derives from a misunderstanding between Merriam and his informant). This characteristic structure of the noun phrase is limited to Barbareño; of the other Chumash languages each has its own structure, different from the others.

A second diagnostically significant grammatical construction appears in the Emigdiano for 'no'. In the Barbareño, Ventureño, and Ineseño equivalents with this meaning, we find constructions containing three elements: the verb stem *-wil* 'to exist', the pronominal prefix of the third person singular (*s-* in Barbareño and Ineseño, *c-* in Ventureño), and the negative morpheme, which is *?ini-* in Ineseño, *mu-* in Ventureño, and *-e-* in Barbareño; i.e., Chumash 'no' was a verb phrase meaning 'it does not exist'. This morpheme precedes the pronoun in Ventureño and Ineseño, but follows it in Barbareño. We thus obtain, with the proper morphophonemic accommodations, the canonical forms Ventureño *mu-c-il*, Ineseño *?in-s-il*, and Barbareño *s-e-wil*. This Barbareño form is found a time or two before 1850; thereafter, by deletion of *-wil*, the dialect shows only *s-e*. The Barbareño affinity of Emigdiano is thus unmistakably marked by *-l-*, *hu-*, and *-e-* and its ordering.

The same conclusion can be drawn from the word geography of Emigdiano. Most of the Chumash items in these lists are shared by all three languages represented, and so are not diagnostic. For 'man' and 'woman', however, Ventureño has terms unique within the stock, and Emigdiano here agrees with Barbareño

and Ineseño. For 'big' Emigdiano appears to agree with Barbareño and Ventureño, and to differ from Ineseño. And Emigdiano for 'quail' goes with Barbareño and Ineseño, against Ventureño. In the case of 'frog', the two Ineseño terms are reported to be the names of different species; the Emigdiano agrees with one, the Barbareño with the other. It may well be that both terms once occurred in all three dialects, but were recorded only in Ineseño; the Ventureño, in any event, is distinct. An explanation for 'bob-cat' and 'heart', where Emigdiano does not agree with Barbareño, is offered below.

The apparent loans consist of one, 'arm', from some Uto-Aztec language; one from Spanish; and some nineteen from Buena Vista Yokuts. For three ('willow', 'wild sunflower', and 'Baccharis viminea') no satisfactory parallels have yet been found. The Yokuts borrowings fall into two semantic groups, botanical terms and the numerals. These numerals are pure Buena Vista, and in the two instances, those for 'five' and 'six', where Kroeber shows Tulamni differing from Hometwoli, Emigdiano agrees with the latter. The word for 'six' is of particular interest. The numerical systems of all the Yokuts languages are remarkably homogeneous; except for 'nine', for which Kroeber shows four different stems distributed among his 21 dialects, all 21 show the same stem for each of the first ten numerals. The single exception is the Hometwoli for 'six', which Harrington tells us has replaced the otherwise universal Yokuts *colipe y* by a term seemingly derived from a word which means 'nine' in several Yokuts languages. One of these was Yawelmani, which as we have seen was spoken a few miles to the east of Kern Lake, the home of the Hometwoli. The motive for the displacement of the inherited word for 'six' and for its replacement by the word for 'nine' taken from another dialect is obscure; can it have had anything to do with the traces of a counting system based upon 'six'

(or 'three?') which has been detected among the California Penutian languages? (see Beeler 1961).

The linguistic evidence, then, shows clearly that Emigdiano was basically a type of Barbareño Chumash, transferred from the Pacific coast to the south end of the San Joaquin Valley; and that in its new home it had been strongly influenced by the neighboring Yokuts, less so by the nearby Uto-Aztec. These conclusions are confirmed by a second record of Emigdiano, even though it is brief. It has already been published (Beeler 1968), but was misunderstood and misinterpreted. It derives from a note sent on January 21, 1960, by Kroeber to Beeler, and it is reproduced here in its entirety.

On January 30, 1906, I interviewed Marinacia, an old Hometwoli woman at the rancheria on Tejon Creek. She was Hometwoli Yokuts of Buena Vista Lake from her mother; her father was a San Emigdio Chumash. She remembered a few words of his speech, which she said was similar to Ventureño.

pakees	one
icgom	two
masiix	three
skumu	four
axp <sup>a</sup>	house
oʔ	water
nüxʔ	fire
ʔxüxp	stone
düxk	eye
ctuk	ear
eneq	woman
djidjiwun	'muchachitas'

But her father was part Barbareño in descent!

While las Uvas, Pleito, San Emigdio, La Paleta creeks (and Cuyama) talked the same Chumash, on Pastoria creek a wholly different language was spoken. They were all dead in 1906. Her neighbor Badillo, who was born in Camulos remembered a few words of this different language. But Badillo was away on a trip.

Some of these words have occurred in Merriam's list, and do not need to be re-examined here. Of the others it will suffice to look at the list which appears below.

A feature which differentiates Ventureño from the other Central Chumash languages is its lack of the word-final glottal stop where it occurs in those other languages.<sup>1</sup> That Kroeber gives Emigdiano for 'water' as *oʔ* shows that it more closely resembles Barbareño *ʔoʔ* than it does Ventureño *ʔo*. If we interpret the final *-k* of *ctuk* 'ear' as a mishearing of final glottal stop, then the same closer relationship of Emigdiano [š-tuʔ] 'his, her, its ear' to Barbareño *-tuʔ* than to Ventureño *-tu* will be true. The Emigdiano for 'one' is not identical with the word in any of the three languages, and obviously is the result of an innovation, perhaps a blend. The upshot is that four of the twelve items in Kroeber's vocabulary ('water', 'ear', 'woman', 'children') show closer affinities with Barbareño than with Ventureño. This is hardly surprising, since Marinacia's father was "part Barbareño in descent." It is strange indeed that the informant herself characterized her speech as "similar to Ventureño." That judgment can only betray an ignorance on her part of Ventureño.

More than one remarkable coincidence now emerges. It is plain first that Marinacia, the Hometwoli Yokuts woman who spoke both Hometwoli and (some) Emigdiano, was also the source of Kroeber's Hometwoli vocabulary (1963:179). One feature of her Hometwoli pronunciation that accounts for some of the peculiarities of her Emigdiano words is thus described by Kroeber (1963:179): "She tended to follow vowels with an aspi-

ration or velar fricative, especially before consonants." The Yokuts examples he gives there are paralleled by the Chumash *axp<sup>a</sup>*, *nüx*, *ʔxiip*, and *düxk*; cf. Barbareño /ap/= [ʔap<sup>a</sup>], /ni/, /xiip/, and /tiq/. The second striking fact is that there can be no doubt that the same person was also Merriam's informant. Although his *Hool'koo-koo* vocabulary, as stated above, was dated at San Emigdio, a note found in a second copy<sup>2</sup> says that on November 11, 1905, at the Tejon Ranchería he secured his Chumash material from an informant whom he calls María Ignacio (Nancy). Barbareño evidence shows us that the Spanish name María Ygnacio (or Ygnacia) normally contracts there to Marinacia (Malinasya). The dates show that less than three months separate Marinacia's work with Merriam from that with Kroeber, the first in November, 1905, and the second in January, 1906.

A number of interesting conclusions can be drawn from this information. It appears from the Kroeber list that the woman knew at least the first four Chumash numerals, although to Merriam, who was attempting to elicit Emigdiano, she gave only her native Hometwoli forms. This observation immediately renders suspect the large number of apparent Buena Vista loans in Emigdiano. Kroeber says that Marinacia "remembered a few words of her father's speech"; did she merely introduce her native Yokuts words when she did not know the Chumash asked for? What we seem to have is a brief record of how much Chumash this Yokuts Indian knew, rather than a reliable description of the extent of Yokuts influence on the Barbareño dialect of the San Joaquin

gloss	Emigdiano	Barbareño	Ventureño	Ineseño
one	pakees	pa'ka	pa'ke:t	pakaś
muchachitas ( 'little girls' = 'children' )	djidjiwun	čičiwun	qunup	čičihiʔ



Valley. This situation may account for the generally Yokuts character of her botanical terminology. It is discouraging to have to question the reliability of the only brief records of Emigdiano Chumash that have survived to us.

Marinacia told Kroeber that her father's speech was spoken over an area including Las Uvas (now Grapevine) Creek in the east to La Paleta Creek in the west; this is a stretch of territory some thirty or more miles broad, extending from—in modern terms—the region of Ft. Tejon westward to that of Maricopa. The Chumash Indians of this district seem to have lived in a number of villages along the streams which drained this part of the Tehachapi Range into the San Joaquin. The informant's testimony is partially confirmed by a mass of scattered data from the Harrington documents, of which the following are a few examples.<sup>3</sup>

1. "Those at San Emigdio talked the same as Santa Barbara" (Packet #1, Box 727).

2. "Informant says that the Paleta and Cuyama Indians are called *xomitwayi*" (Packet #1, Box 727). (This seems to mean that the Paleta and Cuyama people were one and the same, and spoke the same language.)

3. "Informant heard boys of about the age of Clara's boys here [Santa Ines?] talking a language which informant understood—it sounded almost like Barbareño. Informant's mother told informant that it was the La Paleta language" (Packet #4, Box 727).

4. "Joaquin Ajala is from La Paleta and the language spoken at La Paleta was almost exactly like the Barbareño dialect" (Packet #8, Box 727).

The evidence of the informants both of Kroeber and of Harrington appears to agree: a language much the same as the Chumash of Santa Barbara was, in the nineteenth century, spoken across the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley and in the neighboring foothills, and up into the Cuyama Valley of

southeastern San Luis Obispo County. It is this language of which we have seen two samples; it was Emigdiano. The circumstantial evidence available to us seems to mean that the tongue in these regions was essentially extinct by the end of the nineteenth century, if not a generation or more before 1900.

There is one more question that lacks an answer: how did Santa Barbara Chumash come to be spoken here? There can, we think, be no doubt that it was imported to these interior regions from the coast of Santa Barbara county, where it was first recorded in 1769 and where its last known speaker died in 1965. Here is what we think about this problem.

Traditions still surviving at the middle of the twentieth century among the coastal Barbareño reflect a knowledge of the southern San Joaquin more detailed than that of other California areas much nearer to Santa Barbara and not separated from it by the steep and complex mountains of the Santa Ynez and San Rafael ranges. The great-grandmother of Mrs. Mary Yee, the last Barbareño speaker, who was named Malinasya (cf. Marinacia, above), was said to have been born in the San Emigdio area. Familiarity of the coastal Indians with this interior area may well be old. The earliest record we have found (without an intensive search) is that the Santa Barbara mission had a "rancho San Emigdio" in 1823 (Gudde 1969).

The rebellion of the Chumash Indians at the missions of Santa Barbara, Santa Ines and La Purisima in 1824 is a well-known occurrence of the Mexican period of California history (cf. Bancroft 1884-90, v. 2:527ff). The pattern followed by rebellious neophytes of the coastal missions during this period was to flee to the interior, which was never occupied by the Spanish or the Mexicans. The fugitives of the 1824 uprising, among whom the Barbareño were the most important contingent, headed directly for San Emigdio after leaving the coast. The revolt had begun at Santa Ines on

February 21; in a letter<sup>4</sup> of March 21 from the missionary Blas Ordaz to the Mexican governor Argüello they are reported to be at the San Emigdio ranch.<sup>5</sup> The usual reaction of the ecclesiastical and political authorities to a flight of this kind was to dispatch soldiers to chase the fugitives and return them to their missions. In this case two such expeditions were sent out; the first, in April, was unsuccessful. The second, in June, was able to persuade many, but not all, of the Chumash to return to the coast. The reports of these expeditions regularly refer to the fugitives as *Barbareños*.

The next reference we have come upon to these people is the account of the Joseph R. Walker party of American trappers, which came to California in 1833, spent the winter of 1833-34 at Mission San Juan Bautista, and left in February to return to their rendezvous at Great Salt Lake. They proceeded south up the San Joaquin Valley, looking for a lower pass across the Sierra Nevada than that by which they had entered the valley four months earlier, near the present Yosemite National Park. We now introduce Zenas Leonard, the expedition's chronicler.

We at length arrived at an Indian village, the inhabitants of which seemed to be greatly alarmed on seeing us, and they immediately commenced gathering up their food and gathering in their horses—but as soon as they discovered that we were white people, they became perfectly reconciled. After we halted here we found that these people could talk the Spanish language, which we thought might be of great advantage to the company, and on inquiry ascertained that they were a tribe called the *Concoas*, which tribe some eight or ten years since resided in the Spanish settlements at the missionary station near St. Barbara, on the coast, where they rebelled against the authority of the country, robbed the church of all its golden images and candlesticks, and one of the Priests of

several thousand dollars in gold and silver, when they retreated to the spot where we found them—being at least five or six hundred miles distant from the nearest Spanish settlement. This tribe are well acquainted with the rules of bartering for goods or any thing they wish to buy—much more so than any other tribe we met with. They make regular visits to such posts where they are unknown, and also make appointments with ship-traders to meet at some designated time and place; thus they are enabled to carry on a considerable degree of commerce. They still retain several of the images which they pilfered from the church—the greater part of which is the property of the chiefs.—These people are seven or eight hundred strong, their houses are constructed of poles and covered with grass, and are tolerably well supplied with house-hold furniture which they brought with them at the time they robbed the church. They follow agricultural pursuits to some extent, raising very good crops of corn, pumpkins, melons, etc. All the out-door labour is done by the females. They are also in the habit of making regular visits to the settlements for the purpose of stealing horses, which they kill and eat.

We passed one night with these Indians, during which time they informed us of an accessible passage over the mountain. In the morning we resumed our journey, hiring two of these Indians as pilots, to go with us across the mountain—continued all day without any interruption, and in the evening encamped at the foot of the passover [Leonard 1839:65].

It is possible that the name of these people, given by them as *Concoa(s)*, may be related to *Takuya-*, *Tecuya*, *Tokya*, by which the Emigdiano were known to the neighboring Yokuts. We may note that it was Spanish-speaking Chumash who guided the Walker party through the pass which has since been called after the party's leader.

In 1842 the Rancho San Emigdio, four square leagues of land, was given as a colonization grant to José Antonio Dominguez, a long time resident of California. The "Mexican-Indian village"<sup>6</sup> which grew up here, called San Emigdio, has been called the "first white settlement in Kern County." The land was later bought by the Kern County Land Co., in 1890, and the company's decision was to allow it to revert to agricultural purposes; the adobe structures were unroofed and allowed to disintegrate. The Indians who still lived there, if any, may have moved to the reservation at the Tejon Ranch. The name of San Emi(g)dio Ranch was still being used in 1974, in the spot where the original *rancho* was established 150 years before. The general conclusion then is that Barbareño was brought into the southern San Joaquin at some time before 1823, and that it was spoken there for perhaps two generations.

\* \* \* \* \*

We come now to the examination of Merriam's second vocabulary of the Chumash of this interior region. It is found in the Merriam collection of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, as a typed copy of a hand-written original, with inked diacritics subsequently entered, probably in Merriam's hand. There is no indication of when and where it was recorded, or of who the informant was. This information may have appeared on an initial page, now lost; for the list now begins with the word for 'ten'. Two Chumash dialects are given in this list, and they are called Santa Inez Chumash and Alliklik Chumash; we reproduce only the Alliklik. Despite the lack of an authenticating signature, there can be no doubt that the Alliklik list is the work of Merriam: the spellings are all characteristic of him (Vocabulary 2).

The classification of the speech represented by this vocabulary does not pose difficult problems. It was Chumash, and it was closely

related to, if not identical with, the Ventureño branch of that family; Alliklik agrees without exception with Ventureño wherever Ventureño diverges both from Barbareño and Ineseño. It shows many borrowings from the Uto-Aztecan Kitanemuk in its names for flora and fauna. Its term for 'bob-cat, wild-cat', *?alxay'*, about the native Chumash character of which there can be little or no doubt, appears as a loan-word in Emigdiano, at La Paleta, and in Buena Vista Yokuts; and Alliklik also shares its word for 'portable mortar' with the latter group. We have already observed that the Emigdiano used for 'heart' the characteristically Ventureño *poš'* in place of the native Barbareño *?ayapis*. We look then for a territory occupied by Alliklik speakers which may be contiguous with the coastal Ventureño, which may border on Kitanemuk, and in which these speakers could interact with the Emigdiano and the Buena Vista Yokuts.

There is an area that meets these specifications. It includes the upper valley of the Santa Clara River, the lower course of which flows through long-accepted Ventureño lands; it includes the territories drained by two northern tributaries of the river, Piru and Castaic creeks; across Tejon Pass it comprises Castac Lake and the valley of Pastoria Creek, which drains the Tehachapi into the southern San Joaquin, into which it debouches in the vicinity of the old Tejon Ranchería and Reservation. The whole eastern boundary of the area thus delimited, as well as part of the southern, was occupied by Uto-Aztecan-speaking tribes. And at its northern end it merged with the territories of the Emigdiano and the southernmost Yokuts. This region, indeed, is assigned by Kroeber to the Alliklik. But for Kroeber the Alliklik, though bearing a Chumash name<sup>7</sup>, are not Chumash; they are Uto-Aztecan.

The reasons for such a classification are not made convincing. It is said<sup>8</sup> that only "two or three words of their speech" are preserved, but we are not told what these words are. It is

Vocabulary 2

gloss	Alliklik	Ventureño	Barbareño	Ineseño	Other
ten	kah'-ahs-kom	kaʔaškom, kaškom	keleškom	čiyaw	
people	koo (also tribe)	ku	ku	ku	
man	a-tah'-haht	ʔataxač	ʔthɣy	ʔthɣy	
woman	a-hahm-noo-ah	ʔanwa	ʔeneq	ʔeneq	
(my) mother	k'-tā'-ta	(si)k-teteʔ	(hu)k-xoni	(ma)k-teteʔ, -tɰk	
old man	pah-koo-was	pakiwaš	pakuwaš	ʔanaxɰʔ	
old woman	ʔkan-oo-wow-was	qanwawaš	ʔenexiwaš	ʔanaqčan	
(my) head	ke'-u-wash	(si)k-yɰwɰš	(he)k-noqš	(ma)k-oqwon, -paqš	
forehead	koo-sah' <sup>ch</sup>	kusax (Pinart)	ʔixsi	ʔixsi, ʔoqwon	
nose	no- <sup>ch</sup> s	-nuxš	noxš	noxš	
chin	hah'-nah-han	x'anax'an (Pinart)	xanaxan	ʔasas 'jaw'	
mouth (=tooth)	sah'	-sa	-s <sup>h</sup> a	sa	
knee	is-to'-kon	-istukun	ʔistukun	ʔapam	
bone	tsā'	-se - -c <sup>h</sup> e	-s <sup>h</sup> e	se	
heart	pōsh	-poš	ʔayapis	ʔatɰk, ʔayapis	
blood	ahn'	-ʔan	ʔaxulis	ʔaxulis	
(I am) hungry	k'taw-lok	ktoloq	kmɰxɰxɰn	kmɰxɰn, kmɰxɰxɰn	
(I am) thirsty	k'pā'-ke	ksuyaqmil, kpekx (Pinart, Mupu)	koʔ	koqšoʔoʔ	
belt	ko-lo-ke'	-qoloke	ʔqalantiš	qoloकिन-aš 'head-band'	
stone	mah'ks	maqš 'flint'	s <sup>h</sup> a	s <sup>h</sup> a	
arrowpoint					
portable	pā'-yes	ʔalqap,	ʔalqap	ʔalqap	B.V. bāyic ALK
mortar		pā'-yes CHM			
pestle (=hand)	ts'poo'	čuniyhɰk	čuniyɰk	čutiyhɰk	CE. Obis. Chum. yacpu yačiɰmuʔ 'pestle, lit. 'the hand of the mortar,' Span. mano 'hand, pestle,' Chum. -pu 'hand'
burden basket	hel'-lik	woni			
baby basket	o-te'-nah-e	ʔutiñay 'cradle'	čomš	čomš, sutinay	
choke-mouth	ʔhēm	xiɰ 'large stor- age basket'	xiɰ 'id.'	xiɰ 'large coil- weave storage basket'	
bowl					
doctor	ahl'-ahl'-loos-tes	ʔalalaxiyeʔ- epš 'curer'	ʔalalaxiyepš	ʔalaxiyepš	Vent. alustésh (Señán)
(the) ocean	si-mo-wah	si-muwu	he-sxamin	ma-sxamin	
sun	išh-show'-o	ʔišaw	ʔališaw	qsi	
darkness	smah'-hoo-wul-ko	s-maxuyulkw 'it is dark at night'	ʔaxiyiʔ 'to be dark,' ʔulkw 'to be night'	ʔaxiyi 'id.' -ulkw 'id.'	
(it is) raining	sto-ho'-e	s-tuhuy, c-tuhuy	s-tuhuy	s-tuhuy	
mine (=belong- ing to me)	no-kok-hin				

(Continued)

gloss	Alliklik	Ventureño	Barbareño	Ineseño	Other
bear	hōs	xus	xus	xus	
mountain lion	too-kem'	tuḱem	tuḱem	tuḱem	
bob-cat	ahl-hi	ʔalxay'	ʔanaqpúw	ʔanaqpuw	B.V. alxai' ALK La Paleta Chum. ʔanxay' JPH
urocyon (gray fox)	how'	how'	knɨy	knɨy	
skunk	tah-hah'-mah	taxama	taxama	taxama	
Taxidea =badger	al-loos'es	ʔalušeš	ʔalušeš	ʔalušeš	
bat	mah-kahr	makal	makal	makal	
deer	wuh	wɨ	wɨ	wɨ	
antelope	too'-moo-nat'r	qaq	čilil	čɨlɨ	Kitan. too'-moo-nats CHM
C. beecheyi (=squirrel)	pis-tōk'	pistuk	pistuk	šošo, ʔemet	
Thomomys (= pocket gopher)	o- <sup>ch</sup> -wan'	ʔoxwo	ʔoxwon	ʔoxwōn	
white-footed mouse (=Peromyscus)	ko-non	qonon		qolol	
cottontail	te-mā'-o	kuṅ	kuṅ	kuṅ	Vent. te'-mā-wēh CHM
jackrabbit	mah'	ma	maʔ	maʔ	
dog	ste-un	ctɨ'ʔɨn	čtin	huču	
(its) tail	c'h-tā-le	-c-teleq	-s-teleq	-s-teleq	
(its) horns	ts'-hahp'	-s-hap	-s-xap	-s-hap	
(its) claws	tse <sup>ch</sup> -wi	c'hixway'	shixway	s'hixway'	
eagle	t'slō'	slow, clow	slow	slow	
redtail (hawk sp.)	koo-ē'tch	kwič	kwič	kwič 'falcon sp.'	
great horned owl	mo-ho	muhu	muhu	muhu	
barn owl	shā'-o	šew	šew	šew	
burrowing owl	so-ko-sok	kokoḱ	pewyokoʔ	pokoḱ 'owl sp.'	Kitan. koo-koo-kuts CHM
crow	ah-ah'-was	ʔa	ʔaʔ	ʔaʔ	Kitan. a'ā ALK Kitan. ah-ah CHM
California woodpecker	pe-vah'-nah'tr	čulakak	pulakaḱ	pulakaḱ	Kitan. pe-vah'-nats CHM
kingbird	sah-kwe'-nas				Kitan. tsa-kwe-nats CHM
grasshopper	tōk	tuq	tuq	tuq	
cottonwood	wah'-mat	xwelexwel	qwel	qweleqwel	
Jimson weed	mah'-neetch	momoy	momoy	momoy	Kitan. mah'-neech CHM Kitan. pa-manit CHM Emig. mong'-oi
wild grapevine	nah'-trah-kwe-nas	nunič		nunič	cf. Emig. and B.V., Kitan. nah-tash-kwe-nakt CHM
flower	ah'-su	speʔey, cpeʔey	spey	s-pey	Kitan. ah-soo CHM
root	ah-kah-vah	-ʔaxpilil	-axpilil	-ʔaxpilil	
bark	ah-ko'-tso	čhol	sxol	s <sup>h</sup> ol	Kitan. ah-ko'-tso CHM

further said (Kroeber 1925:614) that they are known to have occupied "most of Piru Creek, Castac Creek, and probably Pastoria Creek across the mountains in San Joaquin Valley drainage and adjacent to the Yokuts." This geographic distribution proves nothing, of course, about the ethnic or the linguistic affinities of the Alliklik. The testimony of toponymy is ambiguous; within the area in question there appear on Kroeber's map some village names clearly of Chumash derivation (Kashtük = Castaic, Kamulus = Camulos, Kashtu, Kashlük), and others just as clearly of Uto-Aztec origin (Huyang, Etseng, Küvung, Pi'idhuku = Piru). Are the Chumash names those used by the villages' inhabitants and the Uto-Aztec names those applied by "foreigners," or is the reverse true? We see no way to reach a decision when limited to such evidence. Most of the evidence in question is near or on the Chumash-Uto-Aztec linguistic frontier; in such a region it is possible that Chumash and Uto-Aztec villages alternated with each other. There does appear to have been a cluster of Uto-Aztec village names along the valley of Piru Creek; perhaps that territory constituted a Uto-Aztec enclave within otherwise continuous Chumash lands, a solution to which we lean. Although the "Alliklik" area is one where the linguistic and ethnic affinities of the inhabitants are among the most doubtful in California, we shall have to adopt, as a working hypothesis based squarely on the Merriam vocabulary we have just analyzed, the view that "Alliklik," a form of Ventureño Chumash much influenced by the contiguous Kitanemuk, was spoken in the area assigned by Kroeber to the Uto-Aztecs. That hypothesis is of course subject to modification when, and if, further evidence is uncovered. This view gives Ventureño the greatest territorial extension of any form of Chumash, running from the coast to the head of the Santa Clara Valley and then up Castaic Creek and over Tejon Pass, finally reaching the San Joaquin Valley

drainage along Grapevine Creek—a stretch of 80 to 100 miles.

Our hypothesis provides, we think, a plausible accounting for the linguistic facts we encounter in the Merriam vocabulary, particularly the one that the strongest identifiable influence on "Alliklik" is specifically from Kitanemuk rather than any of the other Uto-Aztec dialects of the region. Ethnographic data to confirm the results achieved above may now be quoted from material assembled by Merriam and published by Heizer (1966a, 1966b); concerning tribes of the Tejon Pass area, these data are not easily compatible with a doctrine, such as Kroeber's, that Alliklik was Uto-Aztec.

(a) "8. Kas-tak'. Chumash tribe at Castac Lake and at mouth of Uvas (or Fort) Canyon. Very closely related to Ventura tribe. At Castac they called themselves Sa-sa-man-ne (Chumash)" [Heizer 1966a:430].

(b) "17. Kas-tak (at north side of Castac Lake). Tribe, Kas-tak (Chumash). In the Toool-min [also called Yawelmani] language."

The place: Sahs (meaning eyes) [ka-s-tiq= 'it is an eye, or eyes' in Chumash]

The rancharía: Sahs' ah-kah-ke

The people: Sahs' toi' chah'ke

The tribe: Kas-tak (almost the same as the Ventura). In their own language they call themselves Sah-sa-mahn-ne. The Spaniards call them Castanos" [Heizer 1966a:435].<sup>9</sup>

(c) "16. Cañada de las Uvas (or Cajon de las Uvas). For Tejon Canyon. Tribe, Kas-tak (Chumash). The rancharía was at the mouth of the canyon and was a large one. In the Toool-min language:

The place: La-pew (or La-peu)<sup>10</sup>

The rancharía: Ah-kah'ke La-peu

The people: Lap-pe-u-toi' chah-ahtch

The tribe: Kas-tak (Chumash), same as at Castac Lake and nearly the same as at Ventura" [Heizer 1966a:435].

(d) "18. Tacuya Canyon (two or three miles

west of Las Uvas or Fort Canyon). Tribe, Kastak (Chumash), same as at Castac Lake and mouth of Las Uvas Canyon. In the Too-lol'-min language:

The place: Ta-koo'-e (or Ta-koo'-yu)

The rancharía: Ah-kah'-ke Ta-koo'-yu

The people: Ta-koo'-yo toi-chah-atch

In the Emigdio (Chumash) language the people are Hol-koo'-koo Ta-koo'-e."

(e) "19. San Emigdio. Tribe, Tash-le-poom Koo-koo (Chumash). In their own language:

The place: Tash'-le-poom

The people: Tash'-le poom' Koo'-koo'

The place name (Tash'-le-poom or Tash-la-poom) has been adopted by the neighboring tribes, Too-lol'-min, Tin'-lin-ne<sup>11</sup>, and Hammenat<sup>12</sup>. In the Too-lol'-min language:

The rancharía: Ah-kah'-ke Tash'-le-poom'

The people: Tash'-le-poon [sic] chah-atch

The tribe is closely related to (if not the same as) the Santa Barbara tribe (Chumash)."

We may note a disagreement between the sources of Merriam and Kroeber. For Kroeber's informant (see above) "the same Chumash" was spoken on "las Uvas, Pleito, San Emigdio, and La Paleta creeks", whereas according to Merriam, the people living on Las Uvas creek and at Tacuya Canyon were both part of the Kastak tribe and "nearly the same as at Ventura"; he declares that the Emigdiano were, on the other hand, almost the same as the Barbareño.

We have seen reason to think that Emigdiano was probably of recent introduction to its nineteenth century San Joaquin locale, and that it may not have been spoken there for more than a generation or two. In the case of Alliklik Chumash, however, there is written evidence from the eighteenth century which seems to mean that Chumash people were living two hundred years ago in the southeastern extremity of the San Joaquin and in the Tejon Pass region. The Franciscan explorer-missionary Francisco Garcés gave an

account of his journey in the spring of 1776 from San Gabriel through the Tejon Pass to the Bakersfield area and then east over Tehachapi Pass to the Mohave Desert and the Colorado River. Somewhere in the mountains before reaching the Tulare country he stayed overnight in a *rancharía* of a people he called the Cuabajai, and noted:

Here I saw baskets, flint knives, shallow bowls with inlaid work of mother-of-pearl—the knives had it too—and woven shell-work, all of which things are to be found also at [Santa Barbara] Channel, since there is much trading back and forth and perhaps these Indians belong to the same nation; from what I hear, they are similar also in their dress and in the cleanliness of the women [Galvin 1965:46-47].

Among the "nations of the mountains of California between the Colorado River and Monterey" he lists the Cuabajai: "this [nation borders] on the [Santa Barbara] Channel and, at the east, on the land of the Cobajis" (Galvin 1965:90). The Cobaji are equated by Kroeber<sup>13</sup> with the Kawaiisu; the Cuabajai, then, are said to occupy a territory reaching from the ocean to the floor of the San Joaquin east of Bakersfield. In the past some investigators (e.g., Kroeber) have questioned the equation of Cuabajai and Chumash; but in the light of the evidence brought together in this paper, the notion that they were one and the same is all the more attractive.

Unless further relevant testimony is uncovered, then, we are in a position to declare that Chumash, as spoken in the nineteenth century in the southern San Joaquin Valley and adjoining areas (including, probably, the Cuyama Valley<sup>14</sup>), was essentially undifferentiated from the two already well-known coastal languages Barbareño and Ventureño. Alliklik Chumash and Emigdiano Chumash bordered on each other in the Tejon Pass region, Alliklik on the Uto-Aztec Kitanemuk to the east, and Emigdiano on Buena Vista Yokuts on the

north (see Fig. 1). All these tribal contacts have left linguistic precipitate, notably in the semantic fields of names of flora and fauna. The Alliklik (Cuabajai) may have occupied their historic seats for many centuries; the Emigdiano presence in the interior was in all likelihood only a transitory phenomenon. In effect, the vocabularies studied in this paper add no new form of Chumash to the six languages of the stock already known.

#### ADDENDUM

This paper was complete, in the form it has above, in the late summer of 1974; and the research upon which it is based was accomplished a year or two before that. It is unfortunate that its publication has been delayed, for in the meantime other evidence has come to light which has led to interpretations conflicting with ours.

Chester King and Thomas Blackburn, in a contribution written for the California volume of the new edition of the *Handbook of North American Indians*, assert that our Alliklik Chumash, which we have shown to be essentially identical with central Ventureño and to differ from it only by a massive infusion of loanwords from Kitanemuk, was separated altogether from the coastal language by another—Takic or Uto-Aztecan idiom labelled Tataviam. They admit the evidence for a form of Chumash spoken in the Tejon Pass region and along Pastoria Creek; they reject, however, the name Alliklik, which has been in the literature for fifty years and which is recorded by Merriam in the early years of the twentieth century, and replace it by Castac (Castaceño or Kashtek), which has no authority based on native testimony. They say (n.d.:2):

. . . the Tataviam lived primarily on the upper reaches of the Santa Clara River drainage east of Piru Creek, although their territory extended over the Sawmill Mountains to the north to include at least the southwestern fringes of the Antelope

Valley . . . The Tataviam were bounded on the west by various Chumashan groups: to the northwest, at Castac Lake and Matapxaw, lived the Castac Chumash; to the west, on Sespe Creek, were the sek'spe Chumash; and to the southwest, at *kamulus* (a village recorded at San Fernando Mission under its Chumash name), lived a mixed Chumash-Tataviam population.

The new evidence upon which these interpretations are founded is a series of rather fragmentary field notes, taken down in 1913, 1916, and 1917 by John P. Harrington. These are described and analyzed by William Bright (1975), in this journal. The testimony given by Harrington's informants is vague, and in part self-contradictory: Bright notes that the "sources disagree," and we shall soon see how. But it is from the use of these data, as interpreted by Bright, that King and Blackburn (n.d.:1) conclude that "Tataviam" is "Takic (but not apparently Serran or Cupan)." The hypothetical "Tataviam" language is supposed to have become extinct in the nineteenth century, and to have survived, in the form of a tiny number of words and phrases, in the memory of a few distant descendants.

We have seen what comprises the territory assigned by King and Blackburn to the Tataviam people. Let us now take a look at the evidence, which any reader who wishes may examine in Bright's article. Harrington's first informant (1913) was Juan José Fustero, who had also served as Kroeber's source in the preceding year. Fustero was a speaker of Kitanemuk, but gave to Harrington (n.d.) two expressions in a different language which he said his grandparents had spoken, a language used in the area of modern Newhall and which he (Fustero) said was the "Castec" language (note that this name has now been given, by King and Blackburn, to the Chumash of the Tejon Pass region). Other informants, at Tejon, introduced the word "Tataviam" as the



name of an extinct language. An Indian named Eugenia Montes reported that the Tataviam lived at "La Liebre," a place located by Fustero as at "camino Gorman's station by the lake." Gorman's is the present name of a small settlement just south of the summit of Tejon Pass; just to the north of the pass is the present "Castac Lake." Montes also "says positively that at *kaʃtək* they talked Ventureño but somewhat differentiated." As Bright notes, "this presumably refers to Castaic in the Santa Clara Valley." The name is pure Chumash and means "what is like a face, or an eye." The presence of such a name in territory assigned by Kroeber to his "Uto-Aztecan" Alliklik was disconcerting; he says, therefore, that it is a Chumash name for a "Shoshonean" village. This is, as will not have escaped the attentive reader, the same device adopted by King and Blackburn to explain the Chumash village name *kamulus* in the territory which they give to Tataviam. Still other Indians told Harrington that the Tataviam lived not only at La Liebre and near Newhall, but also along the southwestern rim of Antelope Valley; the *?atʔapliliʔiʃ*, named by Fustero to Kroeber as the speakers of his "grandparents language" are now stated to have been Fernandinos and Gabrielinos, i.e., Shoshoneans. One last quotation is relevant to our purpose: "the whole Piru region was Ventureño territory, the informant (José Juan, a speaker of Castec Chumash) says without any hesitation and Magd. (his wife) agrees."

Bright's "tentative" conclusions from this evidence are: "There were probably two types of speech in the Upper Santa Clara Valley. One was a Chumashan dialect, related to Ventureño; the term 'Alliklik' might be most appropriately applied to this dialect. The other was 'Tataviam,' a language showing some Takic affinities" (1975:230). Note that this scholar does not think his evidence warrants extending Tataviam territory to the region of the Tejon Pass and of the Antelope Valley,

though some of the informants had so claimed. King and Blackburn read the evidence differently, as shown above.

Our view is still different, although generally we tend to agree with Bright. Our reading of this spotty evidence is still, in outline, what we concluded more than two years ago when this paper was first written: Ventureño Chumash was spoken although no doubt with regional variants, throughout the territory extending from the Pacific coast at Ventura, Hueneme, Mugu, and Malibu to the region of Tejon Pass and Pastoria Creek and into the southernmost corner of the San Joaquin Valley. In the area of Piru Creek and of Camulos there appears to have been a mixed population of Chumash and Takic speakers, although one informant assigned that whole district to the Chumash. (It is not clear what variety of Takic may have been spoken there, if any was; it did not have to be Tataviam).

It does seem likely that, at some time, quite a different language, possibly of Takic affinities, was spoken in some part of this extensive area. Several of the informants agree on the Newhall region. We propose the following hypothesis: at the time of the Spanish arrival in California there was still spoken in the Newhall district a remnant language, used by only a few speakers. Newhall is not far from San Fernando Mission, and experience elsewhere in California shows that villages near a mission may have had their population all removed to the mission settlement and completely lost their former identity and speech. That the people who lived in the upper Santa Clara Valley and on the south-facing slopes of the Tehachapis shared a culture resembling that of their Takic neighbors does not necessarily mean that they spoke a Takic language to be labelled Tataviam. The notion that they did speak such a language requires us to assume that two essentially identical forms of Chumash, the coastal Ventureño and the interior "Casta-

ceño" (King and Blackburn's label, now canonized by its adoption into the new *Handbook*) were separated from one another by the linguistically totally alien Tataviam. It seems well established that Chumash has been spoken in the Tejon Pass (*Cuabajai*, in the terminology of Garcés) area since at least the late eighteenth century; and Chumash culture and language along the Ventura County coast is ancient. The simplest assumption is that Chumash was spoken in an unbroken stretch of territory from the coast to the San Joaquin Valley; this is the assumption we make. The language and the people known to Harrington's informants as the Tataviam may have lived, before their extinction, in a remote interior valley tributary to this area.

King and Blackburn do not take notice of the difficulty created for their hypothesis by the presence of the Chumash place name Castaic in the midst of their Tataviam territory; if they did, they probably would deal with it as did Kroeber, and as they do with *Camulos*: there are Chumash names of Tataviam villages. When the identity of populations in a given region is in dispute as is the case here, and when we have native testimony as we do, that the populations of both areas spoke Chumash, it is quite unjustified, in our opinion, to explain these Chumash names as King and Blackburn have done, and as Kroeber did. We think that such interpretation does violence to the facts, and is given because a linguistically unjustified theory demands it.

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## NOTES

1. Some readers may remember that Ventureño for 'mother' and 'father' are given in this paper as *-teteʔ* and *-kokoʔ*, with final glottal stop. Applegate tells us that he explains its preservation there, in contrast to its usual loss, as follows: From both of these kinship terms, there are derived forms con-

taining the suffix *-nVʃ* 'non-possessed'; the forms in question are *-teteʃ* and *-kokoʃ*, which show the suffix with initial *-n-*, which Applegate explains morphophonemically as from final postvocalic glottal stop plus initial *-n-*. The preservation of glottal stop in this environment, he thinks, exerted pressure to prevent its loss in absolute final position.

2. C. Hart Merriam manuscript N/13f/V55.

3. The Harrington papers in the custody of the Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, are bound in numbered packets; the packets are kept in numbered boxes.

4. Archivo del Arzobispado de San Francisco, vol. IV, part 2, in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The original ms. is in Spanish.

5. Note that San Emigdio is mentioned in the Father's letter as a place that is well-known, that does not have to be further identified.

6. Bailey (1967), s.v. San Emidio.

7. A note in the Harrington papers tells us that in the Purisimeño dialect *alik* means 'northeast'; the area just delimited is northeast of the main body of the Ventureño, and one of the most common types of ethnic naming among the North American Indians is to name neighboring groups by the direction their lands lie from those of the namers.

8. Kroeber (1925:613-614); and see the map of tribal distributions in the back pocket. Kroeber's reasons for assigning Indians of Uto-Aztecan speech to the area here given to the Chumash Alliklik appears in his 1915 paper. A Uto-Aztecan-speaking informant, Juan José Fustero, then living north of Piru, said that his grandparents' people, called by the neighboring Chumash the Atapliliʔish, spoke a language of which he could remember one phrase and some place names. These are clearly of Uto-Aztecan affinity, though not immediately assignable to any one language of the region belonging to that stock. The "Atapliliʔish", then, are the source for the notion that the aboriginal people of the region in question were Uto-Aztecan; but between 1912 (when Fustero gave his information to Kroeber), or 1915 (when it was printed) and 1925 (the date of his Handbook and

accompanying map) these Uto-Aztecs have had their Chumash name changed into another Chumash name—the Alliklik. We have found no reason given for this change. Since in all likelihood the Alliklik vocabulary of Merriam, showing that Alliklik is much like Ventureño Chumash, had been collected several years before Kroeber's work with Fustero, we have a further instance of the confusion created by the lack of communication between these two investigators. In the light of our present knowledge, we may guess that the language of Fustero's grandparents represented a locally differentiated form of one or the other Uto-Aztecan languages of the region.

9. cf. Yok. *sasa-mani* 'people of the sky'.

10. cf. Yok. *lapiw* 'cottonwood place'.

11. Kroeber (1925:482) gives Tinlinin as a synonym of Yawelmani.

12. For Merriam this is a name of the Serrano tribe; CHM appears to make no distinction between Ke-tan-a-moo-kum and Ham-me-nat, and assigns to the people so named a part of Kroeber's Alliklik territory. There is no claim by CHM's informants that Pastoria Creek drainage was Chumash territory; was it then Hammenat = Kitanemuk, and was the "wholly different language" spoken there, of which Marinacia's neighbor Badillo knew "a few words" Uto-Aztecan Kitanemuk?

13. Kroeber (1925:602). The western edge of their range was very close to the Yokuts (Garcés' Noches) and to the Chumash villages along the northern border of the Tehachapis.

14. Kroeber's map sets up the Cuyama as a separate dialect of Chumash; the evidence accessible to us, which admittedly is not much, seems to imply that, in the nineteenth century at least, a form of Barbareño was spoken there.

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