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Notes on the Kumeyaay: A Problem of Identification

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FOR over fifty-five years, one of the most persistent problems in southern California anthropology has been the identification of the people called Kamia. The Kamia were first discussed under that name in Gifford's 1918 study of clans and moieties in southern California, although orthographic variants of the name appeared in historical sources as early as 1775. The name received wide currency with Kroeber's (1925:723-725) discussion of the Kamia, their relationship to the Southern Diegueño, and the ownership of the Imperial Valley. In 1931, Gifford published a fuller account of the Kamia, but still did not answer the questions which have troubled anthropologists ever since.

In recent years, the question has arisen anew as anthropologists have begun to work more intensively with the southern California Yuman groups. Some of the Southern Diegueño have adopted the name Kumeyaay for themselves, and a reexamination of the old term Kamia and all of its variations is long overdue. The following list of historical and ethnographic references is presented to provide background for my own comments which follow, for Margaret Langdon's paper on the etymology of Kumeyaay and Kamia which also appears in this issue of the *Journal*, and for future work on the subject. The list does not pretend to be complete, but does contain the major references to variants of the term Kumeyaay. The list is presented chronologically. Whenever possible, the years in which the data were recorded are used as

reference dates; publication dates often are several or many years later. Except for direct citations, the terms Kamia, Kumeyaay, Diegueño, Cahuilla, Mojave, Quechan (often called Yuma), and Cocopa are used in this paper, in preference to the many orthographic variants which appear in the literature.

KAMIA AND KUMEYAAY IN THE ETHNOHISTORIC LITERATURE

1775: Garcés, writing of the New River area, says, "in these rancherias I met many of the Indians who live in the sierras and whom the Yumas call Quemeyá . . . These Indians descend to this land to eat calabashes and other fruits of the river. These Quemeyá Indians live in the situations of San Jacome and San Sevastian, in the sierra, and as far as San Diego" (Coues 1900:165-167). This San Sevastian may not be the San Sebastián (Harper's Well) described by Font (Bolton 1931:131), which is not in the mountains. San Jacome could be Jacumé in northern Baja California.

1775-1776: Font, diarist of Anza's second expedition, speaks of Indians at San Sebastián (Harper's Well) as "these Indians, who I think must be of the Qumeya tribe . . ." (Bolton 1931:129-131). There is some confusion in this account because Font also refers to these people as Cajuenches, a name identified with the Kohuana (Kroeber 1925:798), and as Jecuiches, which is Hakwicha, the Yuman name for the Cahuilla (Kroeber 1925:693). Font's map also gives the spellings Quemaxa and Quemeyab (Coues 1900:166).

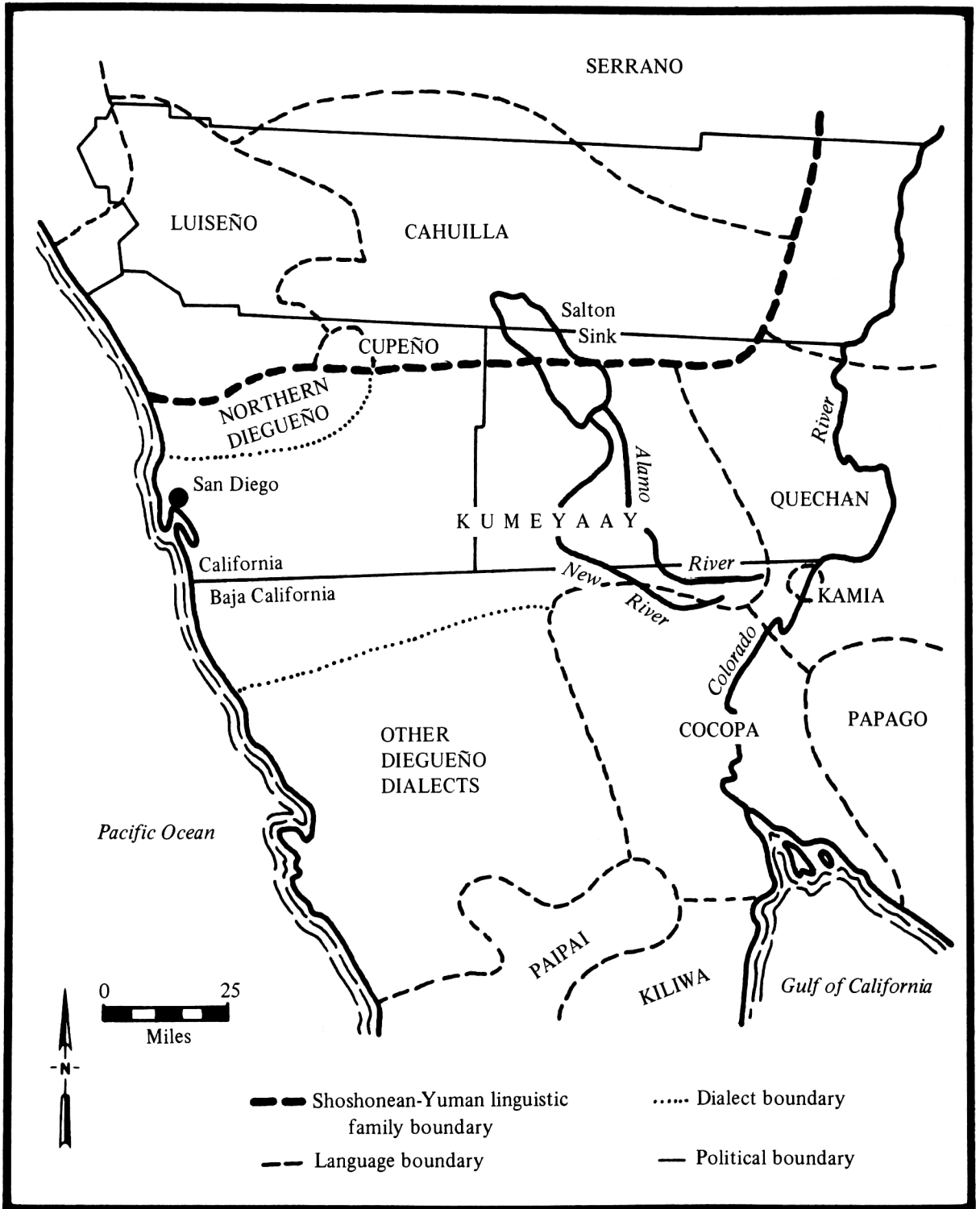


Fig. 1. The Kumeayaay and Neighboring Cultural Groups.

1781: Fages notes that the nations which border the Quechan on the west are the Camillares and the Cucapas. In 1782, he noted large villages of Camillares in the Vallecito Creek drainage (Priestly 1913:47, 95).

1849: Whipple (1961:31), writing of San Felipe, says of the Indians that part "... are Diegeenos... the rest belong to the tribe of the desert called Como-yéi, or Quemaya, speaking a different language..." The "Diegeenos" may be Northern Diegueño. Upon reaching the Colorado River, he found "... a few of the Comoyah Indians, from the desert, or San Felipe..." and also "... a Comoya from San Felipe..." (Whipple 1961:53, 55). The "grand chief" of the Quechans, whom Whipple saw deposed during his visit, was described as "... by birth a Comoyei..." (Whipple 1961:65). In discussing neighbors of the Quechan, Whipple (1961:67) says of the "Co mo yah or Co-mo-yei" that they "... occupy the banks of New river near the Salt Lake...", that the Quechan ex-chief Pablo was a Co-mo-yah from New River who had emigrated 20 years before, and that "several Co-mo-yahs are here..." (at Yuma).

1850: Heintzelman gives the population of the "New River Indians" as 254 (Gifford 1931:3; Henshaw and Hodge 1907:330).

1850-1853: Bartlett (1854:7), speaking of the "Diegeno," says that "these Indians occupy the coast for some fifty miles above, and about the same distance below, San Diego, and extend about a hundred miles into the interior. They are the same who were known to the first settlers as the *Comeya* tribe."

1853-1854: Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner (1855:125) record "... the Cuñeil, who are on the borders of the port of San Diego, and whose towns continue to the outlet of the channel of Santa Barbara [i.e., northward]; the Quemayá, who likewise border on that port, and on the nations of said outlet..." They say that, at the time of their publication, the Cuñeil were called Dieginos, and had

a separate dialect from the Quemayá, who were called Comoyá or Comoyeí and were "... scattered from San Felipe across the desert, to the mouth of Rio Gila." The same volume (Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner 1855:16) includes two maps, one based on Quechan information which places the Co-mo-yátz on the east bank of the Colorado River above the Cocopa, and one based on Chemehuevi information which places the Co-mái-yàh on a stream in Imperial Valley.

1855: Froebel mentions Comedas as allies of the Mojave, Quechan, Apache, and Chemehuevi, but encountered no Kamia settlement on his crossing of the Imperial Valley (Gifford 1931:3).

1889: Bourke (1889:176) notes that the "... Camilya (a very small band living in Lower California), sprang from the same stock..." as the other Yuman groups of the western Arizona and lower Colorado River area. This may refer to the group living at Algodones, below the Quechan.

1907: Henshaw and Hodge (1907:329) describe Comeya as "apparently a collective name indefinitely applied to the Yuman tribes from San Diego eastward to the lower Rio Colorado." They say it is doubtless in part synonymous with Diegueño, and apply it to interior tribes only, excluding those "about San Diego," but not defining the area about San Diego. Henshaw (1907:390) also describes Diegueño as probably in part synonymous with Comeya, and includes locations as far east as Campo as "Diegueño."

1908: Harrington (1908:324), describing linguistic classifications, notes that the Central Yuman Group includes "Diegueño (Kam-yá)," and that "Kamyá refers to the eastern Diegueños."

1909: Waterman (1909:43) publishes a version of the creation story obtained "... from a Kamiyai at Campo..."

1916-1917: Gifford describes the Kamia as "... the so-called Yuma Diegueño, closely

related in dialect to the Southern Diegueño, who are agricultural people dwelling on the Colorado River just below the southern frontier of California," and who have totemic clans (Gifford 1918:156). This information on totemic clans is in error, a point later corrected by Gifford himself (1931:10). Gifford notes that the Southern Diegueño of the mountains are called Kamiyaihi (1918:169). His data on clans are mixed: the list of Kamia clans is from a "Southern Diegueño" who grew up with the "Kamia" and was living with the Quechan at the time of questioning; the Southern Diegueño clan list is from an Imperial Valley informant and a Tecate informant; and four of the "Southern Diegueño" clans are placed at Imperial Valley locations as far east as Brawley and Calexico (Gifford 1918:167-168). Gifford's map (1918: facing p. 215) locates the Kamia as a separate group on the Colorado River, and places the "Diegueño" (equated at least in part with Kamiyaihi in the text) in all the area from the Pacific Coast to the edge of Quechan territory.

1916-1930: Gifford (1933:262) records that the Cocopa called the Eastern Diegueño Gambia, noting that "obviously, Gambia is Kamia, term applied by Eastern Diegueño to selves and to Kamia of Imperial valley."

1918: Merriam (1967:253-254) describes the Kañ-me-i, whose territory "... extends easterly from the coast of southern California over the Cuyamaca Mountains to, and out upon, the Colorado Desert as far as New River and Blue Lake . . . Their permanent rancherias were in the mountains and foothills, not out on the desert proper. They visited the desert at certain seasons to cultivate corn, melons, and other crops . . . Thus on the east their territory adjoined and abutted on that of the Yuma, whom they called Ku-chañ, without the presence of any intervening tribe." He notes that the term "... Ko-moya, usually spelled Comoya, which has been applied to the Indi-

ans of the Colorado Desert, appears to be the Yuma name for the Kañ-me-i." On the Merriam linguistic map published by Heizer (1966: Map 5), Kañ-me-i is placed in the New River district, Diegueño is placed in Northern Diegueño territory, and a group named Es-kañ-ti is placed in southern San Diego County; no boundaries between these groups are suggested.

1918: Kroeber (1925:723-725) says that the Southern Diegueño call themselves Kamiyai or Kamiyaihi. He discusses the Kamia problem with the statement that it is "... possible that the owners of . . . Kamia territory . . . and the southern Diegueño . . . are the same people," backing this up with the evidence of terminology of the Mojave and Quechan regarding the Kamia and Diegueño groups, the claim to ownership of the Imperial Valley by Southern Diegueño informants, and the presence of Southern Diegueño informants who were born in the Imperial Valley. Kroeber notes that it "... looks as if the Southern Diegueño Kamia and the Colorado River Kamia . . . might have been a single people . . .," but finally, based on the data of Gifford (1918:156), he separates the Kamia as a distinct group because they had agriculture, closely resembled the Quechan in customs, and had totemic clans. This last point regarding clans was later shown to be in error (Gifford 1931:10). On his map, Kroeber assigns the Kamia to the territory between Southern Diegueño on the west and Quechan on the east (Kroeber 1925:724, Plate 1). Kroeber also records (1925:710) Kamiyai as a designation for inhabitants of San Pasqual, possibly "... due to the settlement there of a group of southern Diegueño during or after mission times."

1920: Spier includes all of the Imperial Valley in Southern Diegueño territory. He gives the term tipai (= people), a name used in later linguistic studies as a synonym for Southern Diegueño, and notes that the Northern Diegueño are called Kumiai, which Kroe-

ber, however, assigns merely to a local group of these people (Spier 1923:198).

1920: Kroeber (1920:478) notes that "... besides the farming tribe on the river, who alone are the true Kamia of the Mohave, the Southern Diegueño call themselves Kamiai, and the Mohave call all the Diegueño 'foreign Kamia'."

1926: Curtis (1926:39) says that "eastward on the level floor of the Salton Sink . . . were the rancherias of the Yuman Kamia, a little known group which may have been merely a part of what we call the southern Diegueños." He further notes (1926:40) that some of the Diegueño describe themselves, "... even at Santa Ysabel, the most northerly of their reservations, where one would least expect to hear the name, as Kamiyai (Kamia), which is the Yuma term for the former desert-dwellers west of the Colorado River, as well as for the modern Southern Diegueños."

1928: Rogers (1936:3, 24) uses the term Kumeyai as a synonym for Southern Diegueño, and treats the Kamia as a Colorado Desert group which moved in historic times to the Colorado River, except for a few individuals who intermarried with the Southern Diegueño. In unpublished notes on file at the San Diego Museum of Man, Rogers says that the Kumeyai formerly lived in the Imperial Valley, but gradually abandoned their desert existence and moved to the mountains.

1928-1929: Gifford expands and corrects his 1918 discussion of the Kamia. He notes that his earlier data were in error, and that the Kamia did not have totemic clans of the Quechan type (Gifford 1931:10). The Kamia called themselves Kamiyai or Kamiyahi, and applied the name to both themselves and to the Southern Diegueño, saying that the two were "one tribe." The Kamia also used the term Tipai, which was recorded by Spier (1923:298) from the Southern Diegueño (Gifford 1931:17-18). Gifford says "perhaps it is an open question whether the eastern Die-

gueño and the Kamia should be regarded as a single people . . ." and notes that it was impossible to draw a boundary between them (Gifford 1931:2). Kamia presence in the Imperial Valley was transitory and subject to flood conditions (Gifford 1931:3; see also Drucker 1937:5). Gifford theorizes (1931:86) that the Kamia may not have begun their residence in the Imperial Valley prior to the late 1700s, that the entry of the Kamia into the Imperial Valley and their acculturation to Quechan life may have occurred within the 19th century, and that the presence of Spanish missionization may have contributed to the movement of the Kamia to the east.

1928-1929: Forde, in his study of the Quechan, refers to the "neighboring Kamyia" and notes that they were regarded by the Quechan as a small, inoffensive group to be treated in a friendly fashion. The Kamyia were "... said to have lived about sixty miles west of Fort Yuma on the distributaries of the northwestern delta. The Diegueño or foreign Kamyia (Kamyá'axwe) are their kinsmen . . ." (Forde 1931:86, 105).

1928-1936: Meigs (1939:86) records "Kwatl kumiyai or coastal Kwatl" living near the old San Miguel mission and around Jacumé in Baja California.

1929-1930: Spier (1933:11), in his study of the Maricopa and other Gila River tribes, records that "people of the mountains west of the Imperial Valley were kumáthá, that is, Kamia or Southern (Eastern) Diegueño or both."

1934-1935: Drucker (1937:5) writes that the Southern Diegueño called themselves Kamiai and were typically Diegueño in culture and language, but sometimes would journey to Yuma or plant crops in the Imperial Valley in favorable years. The Kamia thus seem to have been nothing more than Southern Diegueño "... who drifted back and forth between a gathering and an agricultural existence." The term Kamiai was used by the

Quechan to refer to all Diegueño, and by the Southern Diegueño to refer to the coastal Diegueño.

1937: Lee (1937:v, 129) gives Kum-me-i and Kum-mee-i as names for the Southern Diegueño.

1943: Kroeber (1943:24) refers to the Kamia as the easternmost Diegueño, located along the back channels of the Colorado River in the Imperial Valley, and sometimes on the river itself. The Diegueño consider the Kamia to be Diegueño, and other Yuman groups call the Diegueño Kamia, sometimes with the suffix *ahwe*, foreign.

1965: Forbes (1965:38-39, 1969:139-140) uses the term Kamia collectively for all Kamia and Diegueño groups, noting that the "... distinction between 'Diegueño' and 'Kamia' is purely artificial, being based upon the fact that certain Kamia-speaking people were missionized at San Diego Mission..." (1969:139).

1966: Langdon (1970:1) notes that the Southern Diegueño use the designation Kumeyaay for themselves.

1968: Delfina Cuero, a Southern Diegueño, says of her people, "they were Kumeyaay Indians" (Cuero 1968:23). She was born in Jamacha and included in territory known to her locations from Torrey Pines on the Pacific Coast to Rumorosa near the desert, on both sides of the international boundary (Cuero 1968:Map).

1970: Hedges (1970:11-13) discusses the Kamia-Kumeyaay question and suggests that the Kamia and Southern Diegueño were the same people.

1972: The National Geographic Society (1972) publishes a map of native groups of North America which combines Kamia and Southern Diegueño into a single entity labelled Tipai.

1973: The San Diego Museum of Man (1973) publishes a map combining Southern Diegueño and Kamia under the name Kumeyai.

1973: Couro and Hutcheson (1973:26) record Kumeyaay as the name for the Southern Diegueño, with the suggested meaning of "those who face the water from a cliff."

1973: Some of the Southern Diegueño go on record as favoring the name Kumeyaay for themselves. The Kumeyaay Tribal Affairs Office and Kumeyaay Corporation are established.

1974: Almstedt publishes a Diegueño bibliography with the note that "in their own language, *'lipay* has been used for the Northern Diegueño, *Tipay* and *Kumeyaay* for the Southern Diegueño, and *Metipay* for the Diegueño in Baja California... Today some of the Diegueño themselves prefer the name *Kumeyaay*. Although I favor the Indian name, I decided to maintain 'Diegueño' in the title of this bibliography because the existing literature contains that name, and most of the users of this bibliography know these people as 'Diegueño'" (Almstedt 1974:1).

DISCUSSION

The foregoing notes and the accompanying paper by Margaret Langdon provide data for a discussion of three major aspects of the Kamia-Kumeyaay question: (1) the ethnographic identification of the Kamia, the territory they occupied, and their relationship to the Kumeyaay; (2) the ethnographic identification of the Kumeyaay; and (3) the validity of Kumeyaay as a cultural name.

The Kamia

A clarification of precisely with whom Gifford worked in 1916-1917 and 1928-1929, and where they lived, is crucial to the understanding of who the Kamia really are. In his earlier paper, Gifford (1918:156) clearly identifies the Kamia as the "Yuma Diegueño" living *on the Colorado River* just below the Mexican border. For the 1931 paper, he apparently did not talk to any Kamia actually living in the Imperial Valley.

After a series of dry years and a number of deaths, the Kamia village of Xachupai (Indian Wells or New River) was abandoned (Gifford 1931:6). Deaths and dry years at Saxnuwai (north of Brawley and east of Imperial) led the Saxnuwai people to invite all the Kamia to confer together, and it was decided that the people would move permanently to Xatopet (probably on the Alamo River) in Baja California, after which “no further attempt was made to plant in Imperial Valley” (Gifford 1931:7). Finally, “trouble with Mexican troops brought about the abandonment of Xatopet and the concentration of the Kamia at Algodones . . .” (Gifford 1931:7) on the Colorado River, which is where Gifford found them in 1916 and 1928. According to this history, there were no Kamia living in the Imperial Valley by the time Gifford began his work. Gifford’s map

(1918: facing p. 215) places the Kamia as a group on the Colorado River, separate from the Diegueño, to whom he assigns all the area between the Pacific Coast and the Quechan.

These data fit well with Kroeber’s statement (1920:478) about “. . . the farming tribe on the river, who alone are the true Kamia of the Mohave . . .” Further corroboration is provided by Forde’s (1931:86) “neighboring Kamia” who lived adjacent to the Quechan. It seems that the Quechan-Mojave term Kamia, as opposed to Kume-yaay, is used fairly consistently to refer to the separate group of Kamia who actually lived on the Colorado River, with “foreign Kamia” used for those farther west.

Gifford notes (1931:2) that if we regard the Kamia and Eastern Diegueño “. . . as one people, then it is obvious that those dwelling in the east have absorbed quite different



Dioguena [sic] *Indian Home*. Kamia Indian dwelling in the Colorado River Delta or in Imperial Valley. Photograph by Frederick I. Monsen, from *Camera Craft*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 6, May 1902.

features from their Yuma neighbors than have those dwelling in the west . . . ” This exactly describes the situation. The high percentage of Quechan cultural traits which Gifford (1931:83-86) found among the Kamia is easily explained: the Kamia simply had been living adjacent to the Quechan long enough to pick up typical riverine traits. Such acculturation, as Gifford himself points out (1931:86), need not have required a great amount of time. In fact, his informants had recent memories of using the valley, and some of them had been born there. It seems likely that some of the Kumeyaay, during the period when they were planting in the valley, may have developed social and kin ties with the Quechan, interacting and living temporarily with them, prior to the actual move to the Colorado River. There may also have been an intermediate period during which the people stayed in the Imperial Valley without returning to the mountains.

Kroeber (1925:725) separates the Kamia from the Southern Diegueño-Kumeyaay partly because of the inaccurate clan data, and partly because of his reluctance to accept a single group which was agricultural and much like the Quechan at one end while it was nonagricultural at the other end. The problem lies not in the separation of the Kamia, but rather in the failure to recognize that the Kamia to be separated was the acculturated splinter group, not the Kumeyaay who utilized the Imperial Valley. This problem develops, in turn, from Gifford's treatment of the Kamia as a separate group located *in the Imperial Valley*. Since Gifford worked with a displaced acculturated group, his wholesale extrapolation of the data into the Imperial Valley was not valid, and his use of the comparative trait list as a reason for separating Kamia from Kumeyaay is valid only for their late, post-acculturative stage of existence.

What has been missing is a comprehension

of the historical element of the Kamia problem. There *is* a Kamia, just as defined by Gifford in 1918, but *that* Kamia does not necessarily relate directly to the Imperial Valley. I prefer to view the Kamia as a historical development out of Kumeyaay, modified by acculturation from the Quechan. The Kamia seem to be nothing more than a group of Kumeyaay who became separated from their western counterparts and took up residence on the Colorado River. The Kamia and the Southern Diegueño-Kumeyaay share a common ancestry and a common history of utilization of the Imperial Valley. It appears that the Kumeyaay occupied the western area (coast, mountains, and western desert) and utilized the Imperial Valley in favorable years, and that some of them simply went east to live on the Colorado River when the valley itself was no longer used.

The Kumeyaay

There is little reason to question the fact of Kumeyaay occupation of the entire stretch of territory from the Pacific Coast to the eastern edge of the Imperial Valley. The earliest reference on the foregoing list, that of Garcés in 1775, says that the natives lived from New River “. . . as far as San Diego” (Coues 1900:167). Fages in 1781 notes that the Camillares, whom he found near Vallecitos, bordered on the Quechan (Priestly 1913:47); Bartlett (1854:7) reported that the Comeya extended from San Diego a hundred miles inland; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner (1855:125) placed the Quemayá or Comoyeí from San Diego to the mouth of the Gila River; Henshaw and Hodge (1907:329) describe Comeya as a name applied to tribes from San Diego to the lower Colorado; Spier (1923:298) includes the Imperial Valley in Southern Diegueño territory; and Forbes (1969:139) uses Kamia as a name for Diegueño and Kamia combined. The best statement on the matter is provided by Merriam

(1967:253-254), who says that Kumeyaay territory "... extends easterly from the coast of Southern California over the Cuyamaca Mountains to, and out upon, the Colorado Desert as far as New River and Blue Lake . . . Thus on the east their territory adjoined and abutted on that of the Yuma, whom they called Ku-chañ, without the presence of any intervening tribe." From these data, it seems quite clear that there was no Imperial Valley "Kamia" existing as a separate group.

The identification of the term Kumeyaay with the people hitherto called Southern, Eastern, or Desert Diegueño, or Tipai, is also supported by these data. The presence of Kumeyaay or an orthographic variant of the word in numerous accounts over a time span of 200 years provides strong support for the conclusion that the Kumeyaay are the people who lived around San Diego on the coast, in the mountains and desert foothills, and, at least in favorable years, in the Imperial Valley.

The historical and ethnographic literature also provides some indication of the role played by the Imperial Valley in the subsistence patterns of the Kumeyaay. Gifford notes (1931:3) that use of the valley was transitory, dependent upon flood conditions. Garcés, in 1775, encountered Kumeyaay who descended to the New River to "... eat calabashes and other fruits of the river" (Coues 1900:165-167). Merriam (1967:253-254) records that the Kumeyaay visited the desert at certain seasons to cultivate corn, melons, and other crops. Drucker's discussion is informative, both for agriculture, and for insight into the type of relationship between Kumeyaay and Quechan which might have preceded the move of a group of Kumeyaay to the Colorado River: "Sometimes several families would go to Yuma in the fall, after the harvests, where they were fed by the hospitable Yumas." At times the families stayed all winter, and if water condi-

tions were favorable, "... they might be given some seed by the Yuma, and farm a little." Further, "if it was not a good planting year, or if wild crops were plentiful . . . , they would not take the trouble to plant, but stayed in their own country" (Drucker 1937:5).

From these data, it can be seen that agriculture played a subsidiary role in Kumeyaay subsistence and was utilized in those years when a combination of circumstances made it desirable or necessary to plant food crops. If water was scarce or wild crops were plentiful, the Kumeyaay did not plant. The Kumeyaay were agriculturalists in only a limited sense, and food crops did not play the important role which is indicated if Gifford's data are applied to the Imperial Valley. The Kumeyaay, and the "Kamia" before they moved, did not inhabit the Imperial Valley on a full-time basis, but rather utilized it under favorable conditions and claimed it as part of their territory.

Kumeyaay as a Cultural Name

Anthropologists traditionally have used the Spanish term Diegueño for the non-riverine Yuman groups of southern California. Forbes (1969:139) points out the artificiality of the name, noting that certain of the Kumeyaay groups were missionized at San Diego, while others were missionized at Santo Tomas or San Miguel and hence would have been called Tomaseños or Migueleños by the Spanish. The term has little historical validity, since groups which were missionized under other names, or were not missionized at all, are called Diegueño. Henshaw (1907:390) notes that the term Diegueño was "... applied by the Spaniards to Indians of the Yuman stock who formerly lived in and around San Diego . . . it included representatives of many tribes and has no proper ethnic significance." Merriam (1966:23) prefers, in choosing names, "... to adopt, whenever

possible, that name applied by the tribe to itself . . ." He expresses his displeasure with anthropologists who have adopted Spanish names: "My system revolts so strongly against this practice that I have not been able to acquire a frame of mind sufficiently cosmopolitan to permit the use of such terms as Costanoan, Serrano, Cupeño, Luiseño, and Diegueño." Recent Indian groups tend to agree with Merriam, and some of the Indians of southern San Diego County have adopted the term Kumeyaay as an official name.

The long history and wide areal distribution of the name Kumeyaay and its variants provide strong support for use of the name. Even though Kumeyaay is not a true tribal designation, but rather a descriptive term which can apply to any group with the appropriate characteristics (see Margaret Langdon's paper in this issue of the *Journal*), the recorded usage pattern indicates that the term has been fairly consistently applied to a particular group of people occupying a particular geographical area. The historical use of the term coupled with its present status as the name of Indians in San Diego County seem justification enough to continue using Kumeyaay instead of the misnomer Southern Diegueño.

It remains for the anthropologists to more accurately determine the people to whom Kumeyaay properly applies. It is certain that it does not apply to the Northern Diegueño, among whom 'Iipay seems to be gaining favor. We do not know how Kumeyaay relates to the people of Baja California, for whom Tiipay or Metiipay may be correct. Tiipay, from a linguistic viewpoint, applies to the Kumeyaay as well, but has not gained popular acceptance among the people themselves. From the territory formerly assigned to "Diegueño" dialects, then, we must exclude Northern Diegueño, and, for the present, the Diegueño dialects of Baja California when referring to "Kumeyaay."

CONCLUSION

The map (Fig. 1) illustrates the conclusions of this paper: the term Kamia is used for the Yuman group living on the Colorado River, which Gifford, Kroeber, and others have described. Kumeyaay is the name for those Yuman speaking groups heretofore referred to as Southern Diegueño, Eastern Diegueño, Desert Diegueño, Mountain Diegueño (in part), Tipay or Tiipay, and variants of Kumeyaay, living in a territory extending from the Pacific Coast to the Imperial Valley in southern California. The Kumeyaay are bordered on the north by the Northern Diegueño, Cupeño, and Cahuilla; on the east by the Quechan; and on the south by the Cocopa, Paipai, and various Diegueño dialects which may prove to be part of or closely related to Kumeyaay.

The evidence indicates that the Kumeyaay used coastal, mountain, and desert environments, and made occasional use of the Imperial Valley for agriculture. As conditions in the valley became unfavorable for continued use in the old patterns, most of the Kumeyaay remained in the desert and mountains to the west, while a small group moved to the Colorado River to take up residence next to the Quechan.

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*San Diego Museum of Man
San Diego*

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