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J. P. Harrington's Cochimí Vocabularies

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AT some indeterminate date in the latter half of the 1920's, J.P. Harrington, the intrepid California field linguist, crossed the international border into Mexico to make a survey of the languages indigenous to the state of Baja California. It appears from Harrington's notes that he travelled from the Diegueño-speaking area in the north as far as the ex-mission of Rosario, some two hundred miles south on the Pacific coast of the peninsula.

The results of Harrington's survey are contained in a couple of boxfuls of legal-sized sheets, many left blank, others with maps and sketches, the remainder covered with wordlists from the Yuman languages of the peninsula. These materials were, until recently, in the custody of the Survey of California and other Indian Languages at the University of California, Berkeley.[1]

One might well wonder what novelty these materials contain today when there is no dearth of data on Yuman grammar.[2] Yet novelty there is; for buried in the garrulous marginalia are some very brief but tantalizing vocabularies representing speech communities thought to have become extinct without leaving a trace before the twentieth century. These vocabularies are from the non-Yuman dialects of the southern part of the peninsula and pose interesting comparative problems.

The non-Yuman vocabularies bear the name of the supposed dialects of Cochimí spoken at the northernmost of the Central Desert Missions: Borjino (San Francisco de Borja Adac), Rosareño (Nuestra Señora del Rosario Viñadacó) (Fig. 1) (see Massey 1949).[3] In this same category is a dialect labelled "Judillo" (sic) which, according to Harrington's notes, was spoken some miles south of Mount Matomí, placing it in the territory of the ex-mission of San Fernando Velicatá (see Fig. 1).[4] These Cochimí lists, perhaps the last data available to us in this language, lend themselves admirably to the comparative method, throwing new light on the hypothesis of a genetic relationship between Cochimí and Yuman.

In the year 1766, the Jesuit missionary and explorer Wenceslaus Linck reported the discovery of the northern limits of Cochimí speech in these words: "It seems that this place marks the outermost limits of the Cochimí language. We heard these natives utter with exceptional speed a language which resembles in no way that used up to this point." Linck's expedition had penetrated the southern reaches of the Sierra San Pedro Mártir; the language he found incomprehensible was doubtless a member of the Yuman family (see Linck 1966).

The Jesuit mission system never quite reached the northern limits of Cochimí speech spoken of by Linck. San Fernando Velicatá, mentioned above, was founded by the Franciscans in 1769, a year after the expulsion of the
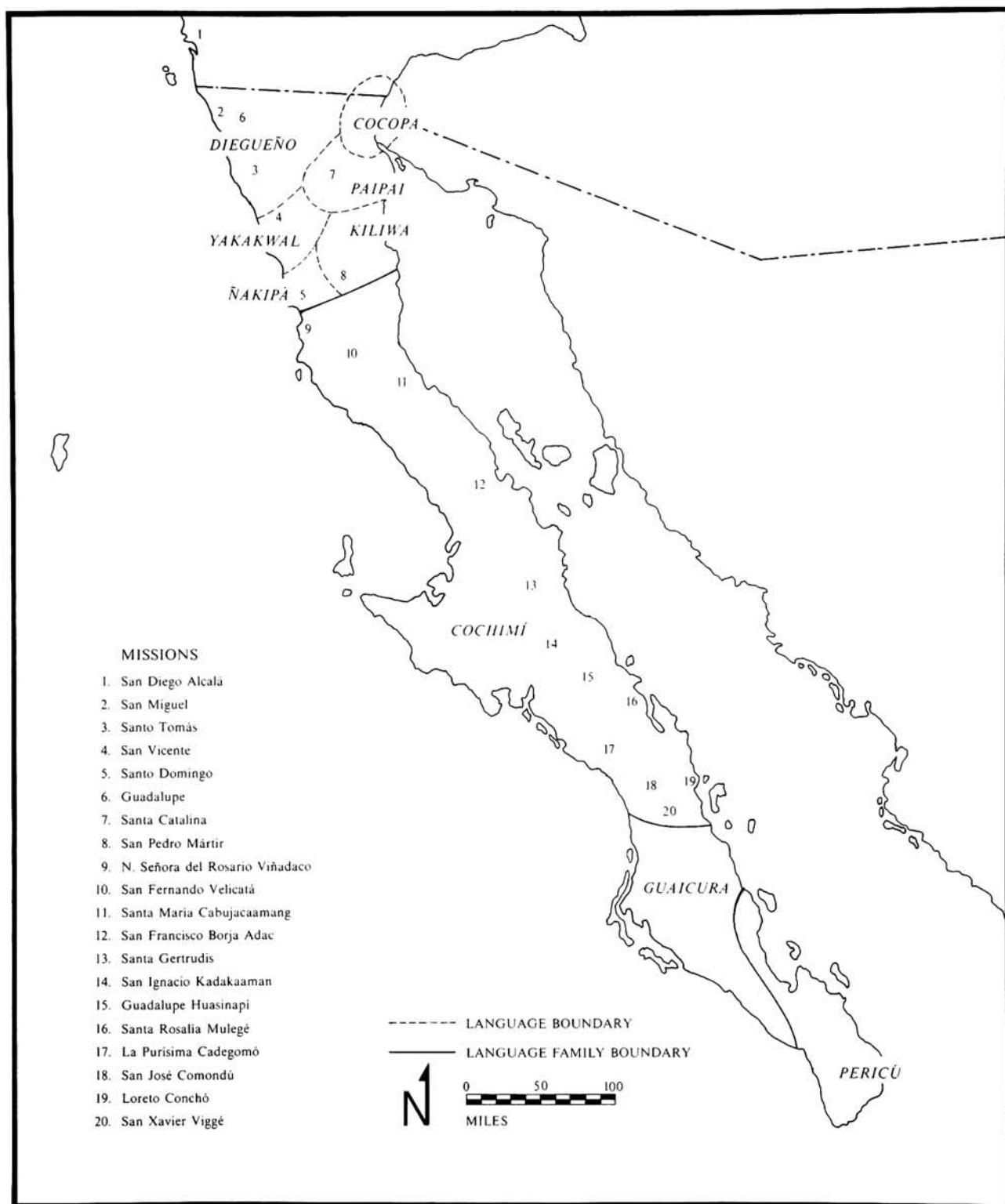
MISSIONS

1. San Diego Alcalá
2. San Miguel
3. Santo Tomás
4. San Vicente
5. Santo Domingo
6. Guadalupe
7. Santa Catalina
8. San Pedro Mártir
9. N. Señora del Rosario Viñadaco
10. San Fernando Velicatá
11. Santa María Cabujacaamang
12. San Francisco Borja Adac
13. Santa Gertrudis
14. San Ignacio Kadakaaman
15. Guadalupe Huasinapi
16. Santa Rosalía Mulegé
17. La Purisima Cadegomó
18. San José Comondú
19. Loreto Conchó
20. San Xavier Viggé

----- LANGUAGE BOUNDARY
——— LANGUAGE FAMILY BOUNDARY

0   50   100

MILES

Fig. 1. Location of languages and missions in Baja California.

Society of Jesus from the Spanish Empire (see Mörner 1965). The last of the entirely Jesuit missions lay far to the south, namely San Francisco de Borja at Adac, founded in 1762, and Santa María Cabujacaamang founded in 1766.

The Cochimí missions were still recovering from the abrupt changes in administration in the late eighteenth century—from Jesuit to Franciscan and finally Dominican—when they were assaulted by a series of decimating plagues which Homer Aschmann (1959) described as "a fire wave of epidemics . . . [which] over the first twenty or thirty years of mission contact eliminated three-fourths of a given population." The missions finally succumbed to the official policy of secularization imposed by the new republican government of Mexico in the third decade of the nineteenth century. By this time the aboriginal peoples had been reduced to a mere remnant (Aschmann 1959).

Linguistic data on the Cochimí dialects have come down to us in the writings of the Jesuit missionaries in the form of vocabularies, paradigms, and some pious texts useful in the process of Christianization. The last information available in published form is a 176-item vocabulary collected by W. Gabb in the vicinity of San Francisco de Borja Adac in the year 1867. So it is that Harrington's brief vocabularies are perhaps the very last utterances to be gleaned from these long extinct communities of the Central Desert (see Gabb 1886, 1892).

The disintegration of the mission hamlets seems to have accelerated a long-standing process of emigration to the more promising southern and northern regions of the peninsula. This is how Carmen Melendrez, born at the ex-mission of Santa María in 1849, came to be in the vicinity of Santo Domingo where Harrington interviewed her, an elderly woman in her seventies.

At the age of five, Carmen Melendrez, along with many others, left the moribund village of her birth, trekking north. Judging from the fact that she provided Harrington with "Judío" forms, she must have spent considerable time in the company of people from San Fernando Velicatá, perhaps during a prolonged stopover on the way farther north. This is interesting in view of her place of origin and the fact that her maternal grandfather was from San Francisco Borja.

Harrington's "Judío" lists do not all come from Carmen Melendrez. The other sources can only be guessed at from Harrington's veiled references. These vocabularies will be presented in the order they are found in the original along with an indication of the possible consultant; the first of these is Carmen Melendrez'. All commentary will be postponed until after all the "Judío" lists are presented. It should be noted that Harrington used an IPA transcription in which [q]=[x].

The second short list is found in the midst of an interview with a/some Kiliwa(s) which may have taken place in the Arroyo León, homeland of the remaining speakers. The Kiliwa told Harrington that they had ". . . learned very [few] words of that idioma Judillo (sic), y es muy trabajoso—['it's very difficult'] . . . ." We can be sure this list does not come from Carmen Melendrez, for Harrington notes, "nesc. how to say vaminos (sic) in Judillo (sic) . . . ." Since vamonos 'let's go' is one of the items found in the Melendrez list, it would be odd that she would deny knowing it.

The last "Judío" list was collected from Manuel Manriquez, from whom Harrington also obtained the more extensive "Jaka?akwaľ" and "Domingueño" materials to be discussed in another paper. Manriquez, like Carmen Melendrez, had heard Cochimí from relatives as a child. Manriquez' mother, though apparently a Paipai from Santa Catarina, learned to speak it fluently. In spite of this, the consultant himself, while speaking Kiliwa and Paipai, claimed not to have been able to master Cochimí.

The large number of probable Yuman cognates (or loanwords [?]) is striking. These

LIST 1

"Judío"	Gloss in Harrington
1. *tahí munjí*	'que es lo que quieres'
2. *tonának*	'detrás de la casa'
3. *kavajara kavají*	'quien va a caballo'
4. *kavaji?*	'ven!'
5. *welafjá ~ɣalafjá*	'vamonos!' (also *welasjá*)
6. *teqer wetéj*	'estás loco'[5]
7. *?unjij*	'yo quiero'
8. *pehere*	'what did you say?'

LIST 2

"Judío"	Gloss in Harrington	
1. *?eltejáwam*	'todo'	= Kil. *kuspí?l*
2. *?eltejawam kivijí*	'traelo todo'	
3. *quiviljé tʃeso*	'así es (todo)'	= Kil. *pawin toso*
4. *tunal*	'el poniente'	= Kil. *tekunjám*
5. *míwqéja*		
6. *qa?vilaw*	'voy orinar'	= Kil. *?épimáj*
7. *kumej*	'hombre'	same as Kil.

LIST 3

"Judío"	Gloss in Harrington
1. *ha? kuqaw*	'Judillo' (sic)
2. *matomí*	'Matomí Mtn.'
3. *katʃiqi*	'placename near Rosario'
4. *turwami?*	'Torowamí Mtn.'
5. *turwakí?*	'Torowakí Mtn.'[6]
6. *awí?*	'sobrino'

LIST 4

Rosareño	Gloss in Harrington
1. *iktat*	'dog'
2. *hōtʃej*	'fire'
3. *noku?*	'grandfather'
4. *giwit*	'water'
5. *gīwit kīxaj*	'give me water'
6. *giwat kijaj qotʃej*	no gloss given

parallels will now be dealt with item by item beginning with List 1. *Tahí munjí* 'que es lo que quieres' ('what is it you want?') should be compared to Kiliwa [kʷítahIm muñê·yú?] which, in its underlying form, is /?=kʷit=m m=wñî·y=u?/ ([some]thing=obj. you=want =Interrog). The Kiliwa indefinite *?=kʷit* comes from the Proto-Yuman *kʷ=č (which varied with *?=č). The syntactic and phonological correspondences are striking if we can accept "Judio" *tahi* as the phonetic manifestation of a hypothetical /t=(m)/ or /?=t=(m)/ 'thing', thus allowing us to postulate a correspondence of "Judío" (i.e., Cochimí) /t/ to Proto-Yuman *č.

The verb in the above example is transparently like Yuman. It is nearly identical with Kiliwa /m=wñî·y=u/. Item 7, *?unjij* 'quiero' ('I want'), fills out the paradigm providing the first person prefix /?=/. We should not be skeptical of this morphological congruity between Cochimí and Yuman, for it has long been a matter of record that the two languages (families) share the same set of pronominal concordance prefixes on the verb, as can be ascertained from the eighteenth century paradigm for the verb 'levantarse despues de estar acostado' ('arise from a prone position'), 'Yo' *ahuayip*, 'tu' *muhuayip*, 'aquel' *huayip* and the imperative *kahuayip* corresponding to Yuman /?=/ 1st person, /m=/ 2nd person, /∅/ (zero) 3rd person, /k=/ 2nd person imperative (see Barco 1973:224).

The third and fourth items of List 1 contain the verb *kavají*, though glossed improperly in Item 3. The Kiliwa equivalent /k=p=yî·/, while it may be glossed as 'come', can also be used as 'bring'. The imperative prefix /k=/, discussed in the above paradigm, is present in this form. The Harrington gloss for *kavajara kavaji* 'quien va a caballo' ('who goes on horseback') seems to confuse the imperative /k=/ with the relativizer /kʷ=/, which seems natural enough since the latter loses its labial feature in the environment of a following labial segment in the Yuman languages that have the morpheme represented by a labiovelar.

The imperative is repeated with the same verb root in List 2. *Kivijí* 'traelo' ('bring it'). Item 3 of this list, *quiviljé ʃeso*, is of interest in that the informant volunteers a comparison with the Kiliwa equivalent which can be analyzed as /pà=win=t=û·=s=û·/ (that=correct= nomin=be=Irreal.=be) which also means 'that's the way it is'. Of particular significance is the correspondence of Cochimí *tʃ*, i.e., [č], to Kiliwa /t/ 'nominative', which itself derives from Proto-Yuman *č; this then points to a correspondence of "Judío" (=Cochimí) *č* to Proto-Yuman *č. The fact that in the previous correspondence it was Cochimí /t/ to Proto-Yuman *č is not too disturbing in view of the frequent alternation of these two segments in Yuman phonologies.

Item 4, *tunal* 'el poniente' ('west') may be cognate with the Yuman verb 'to fall' if we assume a congruence of meaning between the *setting* of the sun (cf. poniente=setting) and a descent—or fall—predicate: Paipai *unal*, Yavapai *nalʸ*, Mohave *nalʸ*, Maricopa *nal*, Yuma *nalʸ*, Tipai *neł*.

The form glossed as 'mi madre' ('my mother'), Item 5 *míwqéja,* though not cognate with any Yuman form, is of interest in that it is strongly corroborated as a legitimate Cochimí form by an almost identical form in Spanish orthography collected by Meigs from an old Kiliwa woman who gave the form *jwey(a)* 'mother' in the "Juigrepa" language (see Meigs 1939). The item *awi?* 'sobrino' ('nephew') is virtually identical to the root in Kiliwa *ñap=n=kʷ=wiy* 'brother's child'; both differ in the same way from the possible cognates found in this Yuman etymology for 'brother's child': Havasupai *pi·*, Yavapai *pi*, Mohave *marapi*, Maricopa *marapi·*, Yuma *varapi·*, Cocopa *pi·*.

The idiom 'to urinate', Item 6 *qa?vilaw*, probably analyzable as /xa? v=law/ is paralleled by Kiliwa /xa? p=ma·y/ (water medio-passive=void) 'urinate'. Harrington's "Judío" data again concur with Meigs' "Juigrepa" in that both show *kumej* for 'man'. The same root

LIST 5

Borjino	Gloss
1. *atasi*	'water'
2. *kavaʃi*	'give me some water'
3. *hitʃe winej*	'there is no meat'
4. *wal humari*	'there isn't any'
5. *webū*	'I'm going'
6. *hwamul*	'go a little further'
7. *pīkaraj*	'corn'

is found to occur in List 3 in the name of one of the twin mountains *turwami?* apparently known to Spanish-speakers in the folk-etymologized form of 'toro macho' ('male bull') matching *turwakí?* 'toro hembra' ('female bull'). The final roots in these compounds are clearly cognate with the 'male' and 'female' roots to be found in Yuman. The latter is corroborated by Meigs' vocabulary, which shows *uké* 'woman'. Both roots occur in the Gabb list mentioned earlier as taken from San Borjino Cochimí, viz: *wanyuamí* 'Mann (vir)', as well as *ou-amí* 'Gatte', along with *wahki* 'Weib (mulier)' (see Gabb 1886, 1892). In this context, we might mention the very term "Cochimí" as a possible candidate for comparison, perhaps denoting 'men', as do so many tribal names around the world, e.g., Deutsch, Teutones, Allemani, etc.

List 4 consists of forms for which no informant is given. It is possible that Harrington elicited these forms at the ex-mission of Rosario, for one of his hand-drawn maps indicates that he may have reached this point in his travels.

The first three items in this list are quite Yuman-like. The first, *iktat* 'dog', is reminiscent of Kiliwa /ʔ=that/ 'dog' which, unlike the cognate in other Yuman languages, comes not from *xat, but rather from a pre-Kiliwa variant *č̌=xat in which the root *xat 'domesticated animal, pet' (perhaps a predicate) is nominalized by the *č̌= prefix meaning '(some)thing,' which has been mentioned above in relation to "Judío" *tahí* '(some)thing'.

The Kiliwa root /that/ 'dog' reflects a stage when the prefix *č̌= shifted to /t/ by a regular historical process prior to being reanalyzed as a root-initial consonant. The reverse is true of /č̌haʔ/ 'juice', from pre-Kiliwa *č̌=xaʔ, in which the prefix was reanalyzed prior to the sound shift. This then is a second example of a Cochimí /t/ corresponding to a Proto-Yuman *č̌.

The 1867 Gabb list again offers Harrington's materials some corroboration in that it shows *etad=* in the compound for 'coyote' and *ethata* for 'dog'. The form for 'wolf' is given as *tatkil* which is almost identical with Kiliwa /ʔ=that=kil/ 'wolf'. Gabb gives the Kiliwa word for 'dog' as *itat*, so it is difficult to tell how much to make of the *th* spelling in the Cochimí transcription. It could mean aspiration nonetheless.

List 5 contains the Borjino vocabulary for which no informant is mentioned.

The first item, *atasi* 'water', can be compared with the Gabb transcription *tasí* 'water' and *desí* 'drink'. This indicates an interesting ambivalence between a nominal and verbal function. Thus, we can consider the Borjino noun 'water' as perhaps cognate with Yuman *si· 'drink' and more particularly with Kiliwa /č̌hi·/, which shows the fossilized dummy-object prefix *č̌=, discussed previously, as a nominalizer. The Kiliwa form doubtless arose from an earlier *č̌=si· 'drink (some)thing'. This again is an instance of Cochimí /t/ corresponding to Proto-Yuman *č̌ (see Mixco 1976).

It would seem that *kavaſi* 'give me water' has been improperly glossed and should be simply 'drink' in the imperative, showing a striking cognation with Kiliwa /k=p=čhi·/ 'drink!'.

The last item which can be commented on is *pīkaraj* 'corn', which concurs with the Gabb form *pechkarai* 'corn'. Though it is not cognate with any Yuman form, it could be a compound consisting of a compound *pi ~ pech* and a nominalized *k=ray*. The lack of cognation is to be expected among non-agriculturists, for outside of the Colorado River region most Yuman-speaking peoples did not have corn.

To summarize, it can be said that these Harrington vocabularies greatly enhance the hypothesis of a historical contact or genetic relationship between Cochimí and Yuman (see Troike 1976). The fragmentary nature of these materials prevents a conclusive proof, yet remarkable similarities have been shown to exist between the two languages both lexically and syntactically. Though the sound correspondences have not been listed exhaustively, the brevity of these materials allows for numerous regular sound correspondences to be noted, in particular the correspondence of Cochimí /t/ and /č/ to Yuman *č.

A heartening feature of these data is the fortuitous corroboration of certain lexical items by independent sources, such as Meigs and Gabb. This lends credibility to the Harrington materials as truly representative of Cochimí.

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NOTES

1. The research upon which this paper is based was carried out in 1968 when the writer was a graduate student of linguistics working on a Research Fellowship under Professor Mary R. Haas at the University of California, Berkeley. The fellowship not only allowed the writer to dig out the Cochimí materials presented here but also kept his family from starving. Professor Haas deserves more than this small acknowledgement for her kindnesses. The Harrington materials are now being remitted to the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

2. See bibliography for recent grammars of Yuman languages (Crawford 1966; Gorbet 1976; Joël 1966; Kendall 1976; Kozlowski 1972; Langdon 1970; Mixco 1971; Munro 1976).

3. The term "dialect" is used advisedly here in view of the consensus of Jesuit opinion on this matter expressed by Miguel del Barco (1973) in the words "son una sola nación, porque son de una misma lengua . . . pero se va mudando según va mas al norte."

4. The term "Judíllo" is more properly spelled "Judío" which, in Spanish, would have the meaning 'Jewish'. This term is not to be sought in either the historical or ethnographic literature on the Baja peninsula. It seems to be a folk etymology of the Kiliwa word for 'south' /x=wiy=q/ pronounced [xuwíyʌq] closely resembling certain pronunciations of "judío" [xuðíyo]. The same Kiliwa word in a fuller compound /x=wiy=q ʔ=ipâ:/ 'south= people' gives rise to the term "Juigrepa" in Meigs (1939).

5. The expression *teqer wetéj* 'estás loco' ('you're crazy') is followed by a note: "Es Dom. [Domingueño] 'no lo entiende'," i.e., 'it's Domingueño, he (I) doesn't understand it'. The form in question does recur in a separate list of "Domingueño" words to be discussed in a forthcoming article.

6. While Matomí is given in Spanish as 'sierra del lloro', i.e., 'cry mountain', 'tierra del lloro' or 'cry land' would seem to be more appropriate in view of the word 'land' /ʔmat/, which seems to be the first element in the compound *mat=mi·* 'land= cry'. The other two mountains in this list, "Torowamí" and "Torowakí," are shown on Harrington's map to lie on either side of the road to El Marmól from the coast. They cannot be located in standard maps of this region.

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