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Patterns of Chumash Names

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Dedicated in memory of Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Mission Santa Barbara—Priest, Writer, Historian, and Friend—who was ever so much a source of help and encouragement on the Chumash.

THERE is one thing held in common by all of us in the way of identification—the family surname. Handed down over generations, perhaps spanning several centuries or more, these identity labels have become so commonplace in our everyday lives that we often take them for granted, particularly those not our own. Surnames are, however, an important and often neglected key to the past.

European surnames are an example. Dating back into the Middle Ages, they resulted from a growing need to more specifically identify individuals. Such identifications were often based upon place of residence (e.g., Hill, Lake), occupation (e.g., Baker, Cooper), or descriptive attributes of the individual (e.g., Longfellow, Red). Some names were simply a patronymical ending to a Christian nickname or byname (e.g., the “-son” ending to a nickname on my own English surname). Whatever the names may have once meant, or however they originated, it is obvious that an analysis of these names provides some insight into European culture during the Middle Ages, as well as reflecting a historical continuum between families then and now.

But what about the Chumash Indians of southern California? Would not their Indian personal names and modern Hispanic names

provide some insight into their culture? Would there not also be an historical continuum between families then and now in regard to their names? By what processes did their names originate and take on meaning? How did they make a transition from aboriginal to modern surnames within a time frame of less than 15 decades or about seven generations?

Not unlike other researchers interested in the Chumash, I too had taken Chumash surnames for granted, but then I began to ask the above questions, searching lists of names for patterns and latent meanings, although only taking a cursory look into the problem. The results of this initial study are the subject of this paper. My findings are not offered as “final,” but rather “indicative” in that I have not attempted a comprehensive analysis. I present them here, however, because of three reasons I consider to be important in California Indian studies: (1) they provide some indication as to how Chumash personal names were derived in aboriginal times; (2) they offer important insights into the post-Mission period of acculturation (1830’s-1870’s), a subject about which we currently know little (Blackburn 1975:4); and (3) the patterns by which post-Mission Hispanic names were derived have applicability for other Mission Indian peoples in California—something which I hope my fellow researchers will find of interest.

SOURCES ON CHUMASH NAMES

Most of the names for this preliminary

study were extracted from the ethnolinguistic notes of John P. Harrington (n.d.), or from published sources based upon his notes. These names are by no means all of those which appear within his material. Criteria for selection were: (1) recordings of multiple names for a single individual, such as Indian personal names, Christian names, Hispanic bynames, surnames or nicknames; (2) some degree of knowledge about the individual in the way of occupation, status, specialization, and so on; and (3) additional names which followed the patterns in Chumash naming as established under (1) and (2). Harrington's notes are also important source materials about the little known post-Mission period, and are of linguistic interest.

In addition to Harrington's materials, I have also extracted a few names from historic sources. The early record is composed of some church-related documents at Missions Santa Inés, Santa Bárbara, and San Buenaventura, while the late record (1830's-1870's) is developed around various Chumash censuses. These data thus provide insight into the patterns of Chumash names for three major periods: aboriginal, Mission, and post-Mission.

ABORIGINAL NAMES

Prior to Spanish contact, the Chumash used a single personal name and probably a byname. Harrington's ethnographic data help to fill up the previous void as to how these names were derived and used.

According to one of Harrington's informants, Fernando Librado *Kitsepawit*, only certain members of the elite '*antap*' cult were qualified to name individuals. These '*antap*' officials were the astrologers, called '*alchuklash*', and the cult leader. Upon the birth of a child, the astrologer was summoned while all the parents, relatives, and friends were still gathered. After observing the child and through knowing under which "planet" (astro-

logical sign?) it was born, the astrologer named the baby. He then advised the child's parents on their responsibilities in insuring that the infant developed into a good adult (Hudson et al. 1977:18-19).

A few examples of Chumash personal names are provided in Table 1, derived from Harrington's sources on canoes (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe n.d., coded C) or traditional history and ritual (Hudson et al. 1977, coded E). The list is obviously not a representative cross-section of Chumash names in general, since it reflects mostly high status individuals in the culture—*wot* 'captains', and members of the elite '*antap*' cult and the Brotherhood-of-the-Canoe. Also, the names are mentioned by only one informant—Fernando Librado. Therefore, the list is biased in terms of the community cross-section known to him. Nevertheless, from an analysis of the meanings of the names, which Harrington attempted to record in conjunction with their relative occupations or characteristics, we are able to make a few general statements about the nature of Chumash personal names.

First, it is evident from the table that Chumash personal names, at least among the elite, are rarely, if ever, derived from the place of their residence (Category I). The single possible exception is the name '*Alamshalaliw*'. In view of the rarity of this naming pattern, it is most likely that this particular individual's name is a nickname, probably associating him with the village of '*Alamshalaliw*' (Richard Applegate, personal communication).

Second, physical descriptions (Category II) are also rare as personal names. In view of what will be said below for Categories III and IV, it is perhaps possible that the names "small" and "sleepyhead" have mystical associations.

Third, while Category III names (occupational) are only slightly more common than Category II, I suspect that a large number of names with mystical associations belong here.

Table 1

Categories: I, place of residence; II, descriptive physical; III, descriptive occupational; and IV, descriptive mystical. (See text for source codes.)

CATEGORY	PERSONAL NAME AND OCCUPATION	TRANSLATION	SOURCE
I	' <i>Alamshalaliw</i> (canoemaker)	one that traverses a slope (Applegate 1975c:25)	C:171
II	<i>Chukauyon'</i> (<i>wot</i> , ' <i>antap</i>)	small	E:25.
II	<i>Leqte</i> (<i>wot</i>) (female)	woman	C:172.
II	<i>Shu'nu</i> (<i>'antap</i>)	sleepyhead	E:89.
II	<i>Mateqai</i> (<i>wot</i> , ' <i>antap</i>)	carpenter	E:26.
II	<i>Mupi'ish</i> (bard, ' <i>antap</i>)	bard	E:26.
III	<i>Pititi</i> (<i>wot</i> , ' <i>antap</i>)	baker of wild mescal	E:27.
III	<i>Silkiset</i> (<i>wot</i> , ' <i>antap</i>)	handy with a canoe	E:27; C:178.
III	<i>Talawiyashwit</i> (<i>'antap</i>)	imitator (because he imitates fox in Fox Dance); one who can quickly disappear and reappear far away	E:28; E:90.
IV	' <i>Aliksaniaset</i> (<i>'antap</i>)	that which is final and commences again, like the mist or fog that comes and goes, but stands firm	E:25.
IV	' <i>Aliseyu</i> (<i>'antap</i> ; canoeman)	continuation	E:25.
IV	' <i>Alow</i> (<i>'antap</i> ; canoeman)	white cloud	E:88; C:175.
IV	<i>Chnawaway</i> (canoemaker)	discoverer of profound mysteries	C:180.
IV	<i>Halashu</i> (<i>wot</i>)	attraction	E:11.
IV	<i>Kamuliyatset</i> (<i>wot</i> , canoemaker)	a beginning which always will be	C:178.
IV	<i>Kipo'mo</i> (<i>'antap</i> astrologer)	omnipotent	E:13.
IV	<i>Konoyo</i> (canoeman)	always green	C:149.
IV	<i>Matipuyaut</i> (<i>wot</i> , ' <i>antap</i>)	respectable	E:26.

Table 1, Continued

IV	<i>Pilu'law</i> (<i>'antap</i> dancer)	red sunset clouds	E:89.
IV	<i>Piyokol</i> (<i>'antap</i>)	humble man	C:179.
IV	<i>Qoloq</i> (<i>'antap</i> , canoemaker)	rib	E:27; C:181.
IV	<i>Saq'tele (Helek)</i> (canoemaker)	duck hawk (because of dream)	C:156; C:176.
IV	<i>Seqpeweyol</i> (<i>wot</i> , <i>'antap</i>)	superior	E:27.
IV	<i>Shuluwish</i> (<i>wot</i> , <i>'antap</i>)	full of birds	E:27.
IV	<i>Sulwasunaitset</i> (<i>wot</i> , <i>'antap</i>)	very respected bear	E:15; E:28.
IV	<i>Tilinawit</i> (<i>wot</i>)	principal	E:11.
IV	<i>Timiyaqaut</i> (<i>wot</i> , canoeman)	patched man	C:149.

I cannot be certain, however, and hence their separate listing. Nonetheless, some occupationally related names seem to be among those in Category IV, names which are associated with mystical specialists in ritual or political roles. Some examples from *wot* and *'antap* members will illustrate this point: 'imitator', given to a Fox Dancer because he "imitates" the fox; 'attraction'; 'omnipotent'; 'respectable'; 'superior'; 'very respected (bear)'; and 'principal'.

Some Category IV names, because of their mystical associations, perhaps had dual meanings, *Talawiyashwit* being an example. I have already noted its association with the Fox Dancer, but another meaning behind the name was given by Fernando Librado as relating to supernatural powers. It may be that these were powers associated with the Fox Dancer, and thus part of the meaning behind the name.

In short, I believe that about half (13 of 28) of the names in Categories III and IV are occupationally related to either full- or part-time elite activities.

Finally, it is interesting that the common suffixes found in mission records for Chumash personal names are also present. The endings are *-nait*, *-chet*, *-wit*, *-tset*, *-qaut*, and so on. These occur only in Categories III and IV, and they are represented by only slightly less than half the cases. Even so, it suggests the possibility that a large number of Chumash personal names in mission records are of Category III and IV types, though additional linguistic analysis is necessary before we can sort out bynames and nicknames from these records. Regrettably, we also must wait for future studies to determine the meanings of these various suffixes (Madison Beeler, personal communication).

In short, the data indicate that each Chumash individual probably had two names—a personal name and a byname or nickname, but we can only speculate here as to which one was given by the astrologer upon the individual's birth. In this connection, we have two sources of evidence which favor the initial name having been a personal one. Blackburn

(1975:18) noted, for example, that in the case of Fernando Librado *Kitsepawit*, the personal name was shared with his father, paternal grandfather, and great-grandfather. It appears that the name was somehow inherited within family lines, although we do not know the naming rules that must have applied. In any case, it is doubtful that all four generations of males were born during the same astrological sign or lunar month (cf. Blackburn 1975:Myth 13), unless it is the astrological sign of one's potential occupation that is meant (cf. Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe n.d.:153, note 331; 155, note 334).

Our second piece of evidence on the problem comes from the name *Saqt'ele* (*Helek*) 'duck hawk', noted in Table 1. The name was selected by its user because he had seen such a bird during a *Datura*-induced vision or dream quest. If we have properly identified this same man in the baptismal records at Mission San Buenaventura, then his personal name was not *Saqt'ele*, but *Yamininait* (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe n.d.:156, 176 note 385). It therefore seems reasonable that *Saqt'ele* is a byname related to his dream helper. An astrologer is also connected here, since he administers *Datura* (a decoction prepared from the jimsonweed plant) to the individual and stands by to aid in interpreting his dream (Applegate 1975a:8).

Whether or not mission records support Palatino's identification as *Yamininait*, what is important is that he used a byname associated with a dream helper and an astrologer. Some of the names in Categories III and IV are thus perhaps bynames associated with this transitional phase in an individual's lifetime toward acquiring supernatural power, and certainly the elites listed in Table 1 would have had one, if not more, dream helpers.

Along with receiving a personal name and one or more bynames, there must have been persons who used nicknames and titles. Men and women holding important ritual, political,

or similar roles within the structure of guilds (e.g., the Brotherhood-of-the-Canoe) were probably addressed by their titled positions. There are some examples known to us. *Luhui* was a title given to the female ruler of all the northern Channel Islands; it means 'native', 'vixen', and 'any woman considered very astute'. But the personal name of this woman was *Leqte*, listed also in Table 1.

Another example was the title used by the leader of the 'antap cult, *Kwaiyin*. A personal name for one individual holding this position was *Alshipish*, meaning 'wise man' (Hudson et al. 1977:15, 17, 111). Other descriptive titles like these were *paqwot*, *wot*, 'alchuklash', 'altomolich', and so on, and they must have all been commonplace. The pattern was probably little different from that used by the neighboring Yokuts (Kroeber 1925:499).

With all of these possible ways of designating someone, it was certainly not necessary to refer to any given individual by his or her personal name, though there were exceptions on some occasions. For all, the use of a personal name in speech reflected a sort of supernatural power with language over the named person—a sorcerer's art, which could be used in either a negative or positive way. A highly negative use would come about by mentioning a personal name in casual addresses; it was considered a form of cursing. A positive use came about with its mention in a formal, ritual context. Needless to say, the potential for supernatural powers over an individual by knowing his or her personal name was probably a highly motivating force behind the Chumash practice of personal name avoidance (Applegate 1975b:194-195). Relatives, and perhaps close friends or associates, substituted a variety of kin terms in place of personal names (Harrington 1942:31, items 1217-1218), while those outside the kinship circle doubtless employed titles, bynames, and nicknames as forms of address.

Even after death the practice of avoiding

the use of the personal name continued. It remained in effect indefinitely until the name was formally regiven (Harrington 1942:38, items 1480-1483).

CHRISTIAN NAMES AND BYNAMES

It is not my purpose to go into Chumash Christian names and bynames in the voluminous mission records. The potential research merits of such an analysis for anthropological studies should be obvious, but equally so are the problems in working with these records. Rather, it is my intention to look into the broad pattern of naming Chumash gentiles and neophytes by the Catholic Church. A few examples are provided in Table 2, extracted from records at Missions Santa Inés, Santa Bárbara, and San Buenaventura. The source codes are the same as used for Table 1.

There are some very interesting patterns which can be seen in this very brief sample. First, there is the occurrence of the suffix pattern noted earlier for Chumash personal names, or at least I think they are personal forms of address. In view of the avoidance of personal names in Chumash culture, one might wonder why a gentile would ever have allowed his or her name to be known to the priest, especially when supernatural powers were involved. Perhaps some gentiles were reluctant to provide this information to the Church, substituting instead a byname or nickname and title which is not indicated by our brief sample. But the more logical answer seems to be that the Chumash viewed the act of providing their personal names for baptismal purposes to be little different from providing it to one of their own astrologers. Certainly the two ritual officers—priest and astrologer—shared in employing a formal, ceremonial context in association with the name, as well as exercising the giving of new names. It therefore seems reasonable to me that the Chumash saw the priests as “imitators” of their own *'alchuklash*.

Second, while priests seem to have been

very faithful in recording new given Christian names, as well as bynames when they occur, it is noteworthy that Chumash personal names for married women do not appear in our sample. Individuals 3 and 5, for example, are the wives of Individuals 2 and 4, respectively. Since we do know that Indian women had personal names, and that they were recorded for some (all?) unmarried gentile women coming into the mission system (e.g., Individual No. 9), there must be some reason for the absence of Chumash personal names in these records for married women.

Without a comprehensive analysis of mission records and Church policies concerning baptism at that time, I can only speculate here as to the reason. It is reasonable to assume that the husband was the spokesman for his wife, in which case he may only have used a kin term for her. The “wife of” in mission records may reflect this. It seems more logical, however, that the priest was the responsible party for failing to record her name. Perhaps biased by European traditions and use of patrilineal surnames, the priest felt it was only necessary to record the husband's personal name and note that he was married.

Finally, subsequent births of neophytes into the mission system, which are not listed in Table 2, indicate that only their Christian names and Hispanic bynames were considered important by the Church; Indian personal names are more often than not dropped from the record. When additional identification is necessary, the records refer to relationships with other individuals, such as “brother of,” or “daughter of,” and so on. The emphasis is thus clearly on Christian names.

We know, however, that Chumash personal names continued in use among the neophytes, although we do not know the extent of their use. We also do not know the answer to the interesting question of how these names were given. Were they given, for example, by an *'alchuklash* neophyte? One of Harrington's

Table 2

EXAMPLES OF CHUMASH PERSONAL NAMES WITH CORRESPONDING CHRISTIAN NAMES AND BYNAMES APPEARING IN MISSION RECORDS

Harrington's phonetic spelling in parentheses. (See text for source codes.)

REFERENCE NUMBER	CHUMASH PERSONAL NAME	CHRISTIAN NAME	BYNAME	SOURCE
1	<i>Cunait</i> (<i>K'winayit</i>)	Marcelino	(?)	E:122.
2	<i>Lihuinunait</i>	Hermenegildo	(?)	E:122.
3	not recorded	Hera	(?)	E:122.
4	<i>Camuluyatset</i> (<i>Kamuliyatset</i>)	José	Crespin	C:178.
5	not recorded	Cecilia	(?)	C:178.
6	<i>Lihuinunait</i>	Atenogenes	(?)	C:178.
7	<i>Cilinajuit</i> (<i>Silinhawit</i>)	José	(?)	C:180.
8	<i>Yamininait</i>	Palatino	José	C:176.
9	<i>Sigualayehue</i>	Auxea	(?)	C:177.
10	<i>Gueguichet</i>	Manuel	Francisco	C:177.
11	<i>Guatahichet</i>	Mariano	(?)	C:177.
12	<i>Sulumauquiet</i>	Aniceto	(?)	C:169.
13	<i>Siliquonoiset</i>	Mariano	(?)	C:170.

informants born at Mission Santa Bárbara about 1830 is an example. Her Christian name was Luisa (with no surname), while her Indian name was *Nut'u* (Blackburn 1975:19). It would therefore seem that a compromise was made between priest and Indian regarding the use of names. To promote reductionism—conversion to European culture—the priest would record and use only recognized Christian names, ignoring “pagan” names among his charges. For the neophytes, they could continue the practice of giving Indian personal names to those so desiring them, but more importantly, they found an easy way to continue the avoidance of personal name use—by substituting the Christian and Hispanic bynames stressed by the Church. Thus, both the Church and the neophytes were happy with the ar-

rangement.

Nicknames of Mission times also reflect a merger of the two cultures, at least in the few known examples I have found. In one case, an Indian canoe captain named Pánfilo was nicknamed “Tomolelu,” which is a good example of taking a Chumash word (*Tomol* ‘canoe’) and adding the Spanish suffix *-ero*, which the Chumash pronounced *elu*. The result was a hybrid term, meaning “one who is associated with or builds a *tomol*” (Hudson 1976:9; Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe n.d.:177, note 387). Another illustration concerns a dancer named Laberiano, whose dancing skirt was covered with abalone ornaments the size of pesos, or dollars. Because of this he was nicknamed “Pesupesu” (Hudson et al. 1977: 89-90). Note the full integration of the Spanish

loan word (*peso*) into the process of word formation.

HISPANIC SURNAMES

Following secularization, the neophyte Chumash (as well as other California Mission Indians) began to feel the need to assume some sort of legal identity with civil authorities—Mexican and later American officials—for they were no longer considered wards of the Church. They retained their Christian names, some bynames, and some Indian personal names, but they now began to add surnames. A list of some of these surnames appears in Table 3, with Iberian names being those adopted from existing and established names with origins back into the Middle Ages of Spain, Portugal, and North Africa, while Hispanic names were original Chumash creations out of Californio Spanish.¹ My coding for sources is the same as for Table 1, with the addition of miscellaneous unpublished ethnographic notes (Harrington n.d., coded M) and published material from Harrington (Blackburn 1975, coded B), as well as the Chumash census of 1928-1930 (Heizer 1970, coded Z). From an analysis of these names, and their relationship to the individual being described, a few general statements about the nature of Chumash names in the post-Mission period (1830's-1870's) can be made.

First, it appears that the selection of names was totally Chumash—that is, the names employed within the community of post-Mission Chumash were chosen by the Chumash themselves. There are two major reasons for this statement. First, the names they selected are not present in the earlier mission records prior to secularization. This condition of "absence" is presently known only for three individuals, but it likely exists for all others, once they have been located in mission records. These three individuals are José Sudón, José Venadero, and Rafael Solares. Second, the emphasis placed upon "descriptive" qualities in these names, as well as others noted in Table 3, fits

well within the aboriginal pattern of personal names among the Chumash. I shall illustrate both of these points.

José Crespín *Kamuliyatset* (Individual No. 4, Table 2) is an example in which an Hispanic surname, Sudón, is not recorded in Church records. Fernando Librado told Harrington that José *Kamuliyatset* received his last name, Sudón, from *sudor* 'to sweat' because he was always in a sweathouse (Hudson 1976:11; Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe n.d.:178).

José *Silinahuwit* (Individual No. 7, Table 2) received his surname, Venadero, from the word *venedero* 'a place frequented by deer and other animals'. Fernando Librado said the name was used because José *Silinahuwit* knew the haunts of these creatures (Hudson 1976:12; Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe n.d.:180). The pattern for both of these men would suggest that after secularization, when adopting surnames became necessary, they borrowed words from Californio Spanish to formulate Hispanic sounding surnames with descriptive emphasis. No doubt the Iberian names available did not serve this purpose.

A third example is Rafael Solares (not listed in Table 2), whose Indian personal name and Hispanic surname, Solares, are not listed in the church records for Mission Santa Inés (Hudson et al. 1977:120-121). The name Solares is, however, a surname in that it was used commonly as such by his peers and was apparently handed down to his son, phonetically spelled "Solaris" in the 1928-1930 Chumash census (Blackburn 1975:18-19; Heizer 1970:25). His Hispanic surname is no doubt derived from *solares* 'belonging to the sun'. This fits his association with the winter solstice as an *'antap*, as well as through a number of connections with Chumash astronomy and winter solstice rock painting (Hudson and Underhay n.d.).

Two other cases should be mentioned. Juan de Jesús Justo, famous Chumash informant, is one. His surname was derived from

Table 3
FOUR CATEGORIES OF ADOPTED CHUMASH BYNAMES AND SURNAMES

Categories: I, Iberian surnames; II, Hispanic descriptive physical; III, Hispanic descriptive occupational; and IV, Hispanic descriptive mystical. (Abbreviation Sp. means "from the Spanish; see text for source codes.)

CATEGORY	BYNAME/SURNAME AND OCCUPATION	ORIGIN	MINIMUM GENERATIONS	SOURCE
I	Alvarez (unknown)		2	Z:25.
I	Barrios (unknown)		2	C:173; Z:27.
I	Carillo/Carrillo (unknown)		2	Z:27.
I	Cota (unknown)		3	Z:24.
I	García (unknown)		2	Z:23.
I	Martinez (unknown)		2	Z:25.
I	Ortega (unknown)		2	Z:24.
I	Pico (unknown)		2(?)	B:20.
I	Pina (unknown)		3	Z:24.
I	Santiago (unknown)		(?)	E:65.
I	Sanchez (unknown)		2	Z:24.
I	Ygnacio (unknown)		3	B:19; Z:25.
II	Albino (astrologer)	>Sp. albino 'skin perfectly white'		E:26.
II	Cansio, Juan (canoemaker?)	>Sp. cansar? 'weary, tired'		C:151.
II	Chapo, Teodoro (<i>'antap'</i>)	>Sp. chapo 'short, stout man'		E:49.
II	Pánfilo (canoemaker)	>Sp. panfilo 'slow, sluggish man'		C:177.
III	Borrego, Manual (shepherd)	>Sp. borrego 'sheep'		M.
III	Cantor, Luis (<i>'antap'</i> singer)	>Sp. cantar? 'sing'		E:84.

Table 3, Continued

III	Narciso (bard?)	>Sp. narciso 'poet's Narcissus'	E:31.
III	Pastor (alcalde, shepherd)	>Sp. pastor 'shepherd'	E:19; M.
III	Venadero, José (canoemaker, hunter)	>Sp. venadero 'place frequented by deer'	C:180; M.
IV	Ambrosio (<i>wot</i>)	>Sp. ambrosia 'ambrosia'	E:27.
IV	Arabio (<i>'antap</i> dancer)	>Sp. arabico? 'to be in- comprehensible'	E:90.
IV	Chapa, Baltazar (unknown)	>Sp. chapa 'a man of judgment'	C:171.
IV	Christano (<i>'antap</i>)	>Sp. christano 'christian'	E:80.
IV	Faustino (<i>'antap</i>)	>Sp. fausto? 'fortunate, happy'	E:91.
IV	Iluminado (<i>'antap</i> astrologer)	>Sp. iluminado 'en- lightened'	E:49.
IV	Librado, Fernando (various, but book lover)	>Sp. libraco? 'old book'	B:18; C:14.
IV	Liberado Nicodemus (unknown)	>Sp. libertad? 'liberated'	Z:14.
IV	Justo, Juan (unknown)	>Sp. justo 'just and pious man'	E:91; Z:25.
IV	Mileton (bard, astrologer)	>Sp. milesio? 'applied to ridiculous tales for pastime'	E:13.
IV	Olorico (<i>'antap</i>)	>Sp. oloroso? 'fragrant'	E:91.
IV	Paisano (canoemaker)	>Sp. paisano 'country- man'	C:176.
IV	Pantaleon (unknown)	>Sp. pantalones 'pants'	E:84.
IV	Placido (canoemaker?)	>Sp. placido 'placid, easy'	C:178.
IV	Pomposa, María (<i>wot</i>)	>Sp. pomposa 'pompous, magnificent'	E:91.
IV	Solano, Francisco (<i>wot</i>)	>Sp. solano 'eastern wind'	E:27.
IV	Solares, Rafael (<i>'antap</i>)	>Sp. solares 'belonging to the sun'	B:18; Z:25.
IV	Sudon, José (<i>wot</i> , canoemaker)	>Sp. sudor 'to sweat; always in a sweathouse'	C:178; E:27.

that of his father (Blackburn 1975:20; Heizer 1970:25), and most certainly reflects his chiefly role of *wot—justo* meaning a 'just and pious man.' María Pomposa is yet another *wot* with a surname reflecting her position. *Pomposa* means 'pompous, magnificent' (Hudson et al. 1977:91-93). Others can be seen in Table 3, but at this time their identification in specific mission records is lacking.

A comment should also be made in the case of Fernando Librado, since his Hispanic surname is completely different from that of his father, José Antonio Mamerto, although both men shared the same Indian personal name (Blackburn 1975:18). It seems to me that the surname differences here are probably the result of both having adopted their names while adults.

Returning now to Table 3, a second conclusion can be made in regard to the types of names selected by the post-Mission Chumash. It can be seen that about one-fourth or more of the names fall within our Category I—Iberian surnames, such as Alvarez, Carrillo, García, Martínez, and so on. This percentage is probably quite low compared to what we can guess was occurring at the close of the Mission period. Edward Olivos (personal communication), himself a descendant of Rafael Solares and who also has an Iberian surname, reported to me that most Chumash are "masked by Chicano surnames" within Santa Barbara County today. He cited the California State Indian Census, 1975, for the county, in which only those one-quarter or more Indian blood are listed. Of the 1218 Indians listed, some 600 are Chumash, and of these, Mr. Olivos noted, some 75% have "Chicano" surnames.

Table 3 does reflect this overwhelming "Chicano" emphasis, given that we do not know the percentages of Chicano surnames attributed to a Hispanic or Iberian origin. Moreover, we do not know if all of the names listed in Table 3 are surnames; some may be bynames, and it is possible that a few are

nicknames. Fernando Librado once told Harrington (n.d.) that you could know a man for his entire life and not know him by anything else but a nickname or byname. Nevertheless, when we look at the 1928-1930 Chumash census, the Iberian surnames stand out. It would seem from this that a very great number of post-Mission Chumash adopted Iberian names, rather than coining Hispanic ones. They may have adopted surnames much like Black Americans in the South following the War Between the States, taking names from people they worked under (ranchers, farmers, shopkeepers, etc.), or names from individuals they respected in the community—members of the "Gente de Razón" who were well established in the Santa Barbara area during the Mission period, such as Carrillo, Cota, or Ortega.

A few names on the 1928-1930 census are, however, Hispanic and not Iberian, and this brings us to our third conclusion concerning how the names were derived. Some of these have been noted earlier—Sudón, Venadero, Solares, Justo, and Pomposa—but when we compare the pattern used to formulate these names we find that it is surprisingly similar to that used for selecting aboriginal names. In other words, we again see that names stressing descriptive qualities, either occupationally related or mystical in meaning, are present (Categories III and IV, both Tables 1 and 2). The pattern also shows a lack of emphasis placed on names derived from geographical features or physical descriptions (Categories I and II in Table 1, and Category II in Table 3).

The obvious question that arises is why this similarity should exist. Were aboriginal personal names translated by the Chumash into Hispanic meanings, or did they select new names using aboriginal naming patterns? One solution to this problem would be to compare accurate translations of Chumash personal names with Hispanic ones for the same individual. At present such a comparison cannot

be made, since we have yet to construct a list of Hispanic surname individuals who have Indian personal names with known meanings. Only a single example can be used here—José Crespin Sudón *Kamuliyatset*, whose Indian name means 'a beginning which always will be', while his Hispanic name is derived from his love for the sweathouse. From this, it would seem that the possibility exists that the naming pattern is not a direct translation of an aboriginal name into a Hispanic one, although our limited data makes such a conclusion premature. Certainly the avoidance of personal name use would tend to support our limited evidence, but more importantly, it is nearly impossible to equate, on a single word basis, a one-to-one correspondence between the two completely different languages. Hence, I doubt that a direct translation is involved.

The other possibility pivots on the idea that the traditions surrounding the selection of names continued, at least among some segment of post-Mission Chumash, perhaps as a mark of their connections to the past as well as stressing their Indian identities within their own community. There is some support for this view when we examine the occupations for those with Hispanic names (see Table 3). Here we find that the surviving Chumash elites—*wot* and *'antap*—retained a connection with their past by continuing the traditions of stressing occupational roles with ritual or political overtones, or mystical names which suggest their involvement with supernatural powers. The remaining majority of post-Mission Chumash were the non-elites who tended to adopt Iberian names. Among the Californio Spanish speakers, and particularly Indians, such surnames provided a means by which one could retain Indian identity, while at the same time being masked from racial prejudices against Indians by having a Chicano surname. Certainly, for the incoming Americans, who spoke little or no Californio Spanish, the distinctions between Iberian and

Hispanic surnames mattered little.

Finally, I should like to point out that while Indian personal names were generally avoided, a few were passed down among the post-Mission Chumash as surnames. The Chumash census of 1928-1930 lists two cases of this (Heizer 1970:24, 27-28). In one the surname was recorded as *Now-we-nat* and appears to be passed down for two (or more?) generations. Of interest also is the fact that the census recorder, or the informant, provided only a single name shared by man and wife. I have previously noted this pattern for married women during the Mission period. The second case concerns the surname *Tamamait*, which had been handed down some two or three generations by 1930. I should like to add here that after a check of a local 1977 telephone directory, I found the surname to be still in use! Mr. Olivos (personal communication) assured me that there are other cases of modern Chumash using aboriginal surnames.

CONCLUSIONS

From this brief and somewhat tentative examination of Chumash names, some conclusions can be reached in terms of how names were derived in aboriginal, Mission, and post-Mission times, what these patterns may suggest in terms of understanding Chumash acculturation, and how these patterns might be applicable to other Mission Indian ethnographic and historic data.

Aboriginal names were given by members of the elite *'antap* cult, with each individual having at least two: a personal name given at birth in accordance with astrological criteria, and a byname, probably given at puberty, associated with a dream helper. Personal names were avoided in speech; bynames, nicknames, and titles were not. The most frequent form of address among relatives concerned kinship terms.

Personal names themselves were largely descriptive of one's occupational role or some

related mystical characteristic. Some names had more than one meaning. The general pattern was to avoid names linking individuals to geographic features or to their physical characteristics.

The Mission period added Christian names and bynames, with the Chumash viewing the role of the priest much like that of the astrologer before him—naming individuals in a ritual context, no doubt associated with an air of supernatural abilities. Most incoming neophyte Chumash appear not to have been reluctant to provide the priest with their personal names, though perhaps some were. Married gentile women were treated by the priest in these records as having the same Indian personal name as their husband's, though there may be found some exceptions. By and large, however, the European bias of patrilineal surnames to indicate marriage was practiced by the friars.

Chumash personal names continued in use among some neophytes, no doubt with name avoidance still being practiced. It suited well with the policy of the Church to ignore "pagan" names to promote reductionism, since the neophytes could substitute their Christian names and bynames in their place. Nicknames were also widespread at this time, and like aboriginal personal names, they too were descriptive of occupations. Such names were often hybrids created by acculturating Chumash mixing their native words or syntax and pronunciation with that of Californio Spanish.

Following secularization of the missions, the surviving Chumash began to adopt surnames while retaining their Christian names, some bynames, nicknames, and Indian personal names. They thus had many identifying names. The non-elites adopted names already established among themselves—Iberian names whose origins were in the Old World. These they selected from respected individuals or families residing near them and dating back

into Mission times. Other names were borrowed from ranchers, farmers, shepherders, shopkeepers, and so on. In the American period, such surnames enabled these people to be masked within the general identity of Spanish-Mexicans, thus receiving less prejudicial treatment directed toward Indians in general.

Some of the elites of the period, however, retained a strong desire to be linked with their Indian heritage. Rather than choosing to adopt Iberian surnames, they followed their former naming traditions by coining words to reflect occupational roles or mystical attributes of an individual. The names, however, were probably not a direct translation from their former, personal names, but rather new names which continued the custom of name use avoidance. By recourse to the Californio Spanish spoken among them, they selected surnames which linked them to their Indian past, but similarly masked themselves within the general community of Spanish-Mexicans. The distinctions were subtle and escaped the attention of foreigners, while among the Spanish-Mexican-Indian community, their identities were known and accepted.

For modern anthropologists, the meaning and behavior behind these names, linked to specific individuals, can provide some insight into aboriginal, Mission, and post-Mission Chumash culture. An individual's name is, indeed, a key to the past, not only as a reflection of him and his ancestors, but also of the culture of which he was a part. Perhaps other California Mission Indians adopted Hispanic surnames similar to the pattern noted here for the Chumash. If so, we should learn much that is new about their cultures too.

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NOTE

1. Later in this paper logical inferences concerning the origin of Hispanic surnames among the Chumash will be discussed; but it is important at this point to state that a check was made for these names among the Iberian surnames listed in Northrop's (1976) genealogical study of Spanish-Mexican families in early California. The results indicated that the distinction between Hispanic and Iberian surnames, as used in this study, was valid.

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