

UC Merced

Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology

Title

Salinan Linguistic Materials

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8k75s574>

Journal

Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology, 10(2)

ISSN

0191-3557

Author

Turner, Katherine

Publication Date

1988-07-01

Peer reviewed

Marine Biological Consultants, and Philip Adams and Roger Seapy of California State University, Fullerton, provided valuable advice and assistance. This study was made possible through a scientific permit granted by the California Department of Fish and Game.

REFERENCES

- Barker, R. M.
1964 Microtextural Variations in Pelecypod Shells. *Malacologia* 2:69-84.
1970 Constituency and Origins of Cyclic Layers in Pelecypod Shells. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Coutts, P. F., and C. Higham
1971 The Seasonal Factor in Prehistoric New Zealand. *World Archaeology* 2:266-277.
- Drover, C. E.
1974 Seasonal Exploitation of *Chione* Clams on the Southern California Coast. *The Journal of California Anthropology* 1:24-32.
- Kennish, M. J.
1985 Shell Microgrowth Analysis: *Mercenaria mercenaria* as a Type Example for Research in Population Dynamics. In: *Skeletal Growth of Aquatic Organisms*, D. C. Rhodes and R. A. Lutz, eds., pp. 255-294. New York: Plenum Press.
- Koerper, H. C.
1980 Comment on Drover's Proposed Seasonality Method. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 2:137-140.
- Koerper, H. C., R. Cerreto, and K. P. Reitz
1984 Cautionary Notes on the Use of a Statistical Method of Seasonality Determination from *Chione undatella* Shells. *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 20(3):67-75.
- Lyons, E.
1978 A Statistical Method of Seasonality Determination from *Chione undatella* (Sowerby). *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 14(3):33-42.
1984 A Response to the "Cautionary Notes . . ." *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 20(3):76-83.
- Macko, M. E.
1983 Beads, Bones, Baptisms, and Sweat-lodges: Analysis of Collections from "Elijman" (CA-SBa-485), A Late Period Ynezño Chumash Village in the Central Santa Ynez Valley, California. Master's thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Merrill, A. S., J. A. Posgay, and F. E. Nichy
1965 Annual Marks on Shell and Ligament of Sea Scallop (*Placopecten magellanicus*). *Fishery Bulletin* 65:299-311.
- Ricketts, E. F., J. Calvin, J. W. Hedgpeth, and D. W. Phillips
1985 *Between Pacific Tides*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ropes, J. W., and A. S. Merrill
1970 Marking Surf Clams. *Proceedings of the National Shellfisheries Association* 60:99-106.
- Weide, M. L.
1969 Seasonality of Pismo Clam Collecting at Ora-82. Los Angeles: University of California Archaeological Survey Annual Report 11:127-141.



Salinan Linguistic Materials

KATHERINE TURNER, 5166 Patrick Creek Dr.,
McKinleyville, CA 95521.

AT the time of European contact in the eighteenth century, Salinan was spoken along the south-central coast of California from just north of the present town of King City south to Paso Robles and east to Coalinga. Randall Milliken's work with the California mission registers and recent archaeological studies by Gibson (1975, 1982) and Breschini and Haversat (1980) have refined Kroeber's (1925) geographic distribution of Salinan speakers. The most significant change from

Kroeber's boundaries is to move the southern coastal limit 40 miles north and to suggest a western-eastern, rather than a northern-southern division between speakers of the two attested dialects: Antoniaño and Miguelino. The Salinans' neighbors at the time of European contact were the Esselen (Hokan linguistic stock), the Soledad Costanoan (Penutian stock), the Yokuts (Penu-tian), and the Obispeño, or Northern, Chumash (Hokan). The Salinan language is conventionally designated a member of the Hokan linguistic stock.

OVERVIEW

There are approximately twenty sources of linguistic data on Salinan, dating from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century, slightly more than 150 years during which written records of Salinan were made. The majority are written in idiosyncratic orthographies and eight are glossed in Spanish. The last speaker died thirty years ago, but the language nearly disappeared within 100 years after the establishment of the first Franciscan mission in Salinan territory.

That mission, San Antonio de Padua, was founded in 1771 by Fr. Junípero Serra, as the third Franciscan mission established in Alta California. Mission San Miguel, Arcangel, was founded in 1797 by Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar, the incumbent of Mission San Antonio. In order to evaluate the progress of their efforts, the missionaries required their Indian converts to speak Spanish (Engelhardt 1929, 1972). The Franciscans' proselytizing brought about the eventual eradication of Salinan aboriginal culture at all levels, including their language.

SOURCES

The missionaries made some attempts to communicate with the Indians in their native language, attested by the surviving documents of the mission period: a "Confession-

ario" (sic), a paradigmatic noun vocabulary, and a prayer board. These are now found in widely separated locations: the original Confesionario (Sitjar MS) is in Washington, DC, at the Georgetown University archives; the vocabulary with the noun paradigms, partly composed by Fr. Sitjar and partly by Frs. Cabot and Dumetz (Cabot and Dumetz MS), is in the Boston Athenaeum; and the prayer board (Pieras and Sitjar MS) is at the National History Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. All of these are, of course, glossed in the Spanish of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Salinan can be identified as the Antoniaño dialect, but it is written in *ad hoc* orthographies that are not even internally consistent. The Spanish itself poses some problems because these missionaries were not educated academicians, and many of the Spanish glosses reflect a local late eighteenth-century Spanish dialect from Galicia in northwest Spain.

Also dating from the mission period, Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar's "Vocabulario de la Lengua de los Naturales de la misión San Antonio, Alta California" was published in 1861 as Volume 7 in Shea's Library of American Linguistics, but it was compiled much earlier, because Fr. Sitjar died in 1808. A. S. Taylor dated this at 1787. The original is in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. This document, too, is in an idiosyncratic orthography, but the Spanish is much easier to understand. The published version is preceded by a grammatical sketch by Shea.

During the last century, several visitors to California compiled short vocabularies of the two Salinan dialects, glossed in English for the most part, but only eight are sources of particular linguistic interest. The earliest of these vocabularies consists of a list of the numbers from "one" to "sixteen" taken down by Dr. Thomas Coulter, a Dublin physi-

cian, in 1834 (Coulter 1848). This was followed by slightly fuller vocabularies by Scouler (1841:247-251), Latham (1856), Taylor (1860), Gatschet (1877), Pinart (1878), and Henshaw (1884). Henshaw compiled the longest of these vocabularies, completing most of the extensive Bureau of American Ethnology schedules for both dialects of the language. Less useful sources include Lapérouse (1797), de la Cuesta (1821, 1833), Gallatin (1848), Yates and Gould (1887), and Pieras and Sitjar (MS).

All of these vocabularies are in idiosyncratic transcriptions based on English, French, and Spanish, except for those of Henshaw, who had the directions of Powell (1880) for his orthography. In some cases his transcriptions are helpful because he indicated syllable boundaries with hyphens.

The twentieth century saw the efforts of Kroeber (1901, 1904), Merriam (1902, 1933), Mason (1912, 1916-1917, 1918), Harrington (1922, 1932-1933; cf. Callaghan 1975, Walsh 1976), Bright (1954), and Jacobsen (1954, 1955, 1958). These twentieth-century recordings are more modern: they pose fewer philological problems, and the majority are glossed in English.

Kroeber did a workmanlike job of compiling a short vocabulary of the Miguileño dialect and his notebook (Kroeber 1901) currently is in the Survey of California and Other American Indian Languages at the University of California, Berkeley. He displayed some of the classic errors of an inexperienced field linguist: he did not record word-initial glottal stops and his Salinan glosses for body parts translate as "your (singular)" body part, meaning that when he asked how to say "my leg" or "my arm," he elicited instead the word for "your leg" or "your arm."

C. Hart Merriam's original notebooks and diaries are in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. The

problems of working with Merriam's English-based orthography are well known. He did, however, have a "phonetic" key to his spellings at the beginning of each of his printed schedules: "Field Check Lists" (Merriam 1902a, 1933a) and "Vocabularies of North American Indians" (Merriam 1902b, 1933b). If the philologist is already familiar with the American Indian language Merriam was recording, his elicitations are quite valuable, especially with reference to flora and fauna. Merriam was a biologist and used specific Latin taxonomic terms for his glosses. With Salinan, however, one should be aware that Merriam was working through a Spanish-speaking interpreter.

J. Alden Mason, a student of Edward Sapir, began his work with Salinan in 1910 and published his dissertation "The Ethnography of the Salinan Indians" in 1912. His "Language of the Salinan Indians" was hurried into print at the urging of Kroeber in 1918. Mason, too, worked with a Spanish interpreter but transcribed his elicitations phonetically, using the conventions of Boas et al. (1916). He, too, had problems with word-initial glottal stops and with glottalization in general. I have found it more useful to work with his notebooks (Mason 1916-1917) rather than with the published version because of a few printing errors, but the chief caution one should exercise in working with his materials involves his mixing of the two dialects. He also retranscribed his interpretations of Fr. Sitjar's (1861) "Vocabulario . . ." in his stem list.

Luckily, the language came to the attention of John Peabody Harrington. He used Mason's published work as a primary source for his re-elicitations, and, although he had some peculiar orthographic practices, his "ear" was so accurate and his attention to phonetic detail so exhaustive that his work goes a long way toward disambiguating Mason's work. Harrington (1922, 1932-1933)

provided the information necessary for a phonemic reconstitution of the language. His extensive documentation of Salinan is housed in the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., and is now available on microfilm. Harrington glossed many of his elicitations in a peculiar "California" Spanish which I have translated only with great patience and good luck, consulting frequently with Latin American Spanish speakers.

William Bright made a brief visit to Salinan speakers in 1954 and has recorded a short vocabulary notable for its modernity in transcription.

The only completely reliable modern transcription of the language of any length was made by Jacobsen (1954, 1955, 1958) while he was a graduate student. He has kindly put a copy of his notes at my disposal. The language was nearly moribund by the time he worked with speakers of Salinan, and he faithfully recorded the phonological, morphological, and syntactic simplifications that were in progress as the language reached extinction.

In summation, then, a modern linguistic analysis of Antoniaño Salinan has been possible based on the work of Mason, Harrington, and Jacobsen, with the aid of, principally, Fr. Sitjar, Frs. Cabot and Dumetz, and Henshaw. Mason was the only one to record texts, Harrington to record phonetic detail of previously elicited vocabulary, and Jacobsen to record completely reliable modern phonetic transcriptions of extensive vocabulary and paradigms of both nouns and verbs.

REFERENCES

- Boas, Franz, P. E. Goddard, A. L. Kroeber, and E. Sapir
1916 *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 66(6):1-15.
- Breschini, Gary, and Trudy Haversat
1980 *La Cueva Pintada: A Technical Report on Documenting the Rock Paintings at National Register Site CA-MTN-256*. Salinas, CA: Coyote Press.
- Bright, William O.
1954 *Salinan Field Notes*. MS in Bright's possession.
- Cabot, Padre Pedro, and Pedro Dumetz
MS *A Vocabulary of the [illegible] words from Mission San Antonio taken in the handwriting of [illegible]*. A. S. Taylor, Nov., 1853. Given to the Boston Athenaeum by Mrs. Schoolcraft, March 6, 1871. \$2B7 C11.
- Callaghan, Catherine
1975 *J. P. Harrington--California's Great Linguist*. *The Journal of California Anthropology* 2:183-187.
- Coulter, Thomas
1848 *Salinan Vocabulary*. In: *Hale's Indians of North-west America, and Vocabularies of North America*, Albert S. Gallatin, ed., p. 129. *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* II.
- de la Cuesta, Fr. Felipe Arroyo
1821 *Vocabulary of Salinan*. Transcribed by Albert S. Gatschet. Bureau of American Ethnology MS 850 on file at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
1833 *Lecciones de Yndios*. MS C-C 63b on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- Engelhardt, Fr. Zephyrin
1929 *San Miguel, Arcangel: The Mission on the Highway*. Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara.
1972 *San Antonio de Padua: The Mission in the Sierras*. Ramona, CA: Ballena Press.
- Gallatin, Albert S., ed.
1848 *Hale's Indians of North-west America, and Vocabularies of North America*. New York: *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* II.
- Gatschet, Albert S.
1877 *Indian Languages of the Pacific States*

- and Territories. *Magazine of American History* 1(1):145-171.
- Gibson, Robert O.
 1975 Preliminary Analysis of Ethnohistoric Data on Northern Salinan. Unpublished MS on file at the Department of Anthropology, California State University, Hayward.
 1982 Ethnogeography of the Salinan People: A Systems Approach. Master's thesis, California State University, Hayward.
- Harrington, John Peabody
 1922 and 1932-33 Salinan Field Notes. John Peabody Harrington Papers, microfilm edition, reels 084-088. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC [1984].
- Henshaw, Henry W.
 1884 San Antonio and San Miguel Vocabularies. Bureau of American Ethnology MS 3077-a and -b, on file at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- Herzog, George, Stanley S. Newman, Edward Sapir, Mary Haas Swadesh, Morris Swadesh, and Charles F. Voegelin
 1934 Some Orthographic Recommendations Arising out of Discussions by a Group of Six Americanist Linguists. *American Anthropologist* 36:629-631.
- Jacobsen, William H., Jr.
 1954, 1955, and 1958. Salinan Field Notes. Unpublished manuscript in possession of Jacobsen.
- Kroeber, A. L.
 1901 Unpublished linguistic field notes on Salinan. MS on file at the Survey of California and Other American Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.
 1904 Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 2(2).
 1925 The Esselen and the Salinans. Handbook of the Indians of California. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78:544-549.
- Lapérouse, Jean François Galaup
 1797 Voyage de la Pérouse autour du monde (recorded in 1786). Vol. II:247-292. Paris.
- Latham, Robert G.
 1856 On the Languages of Northern, Western, and Central America. Transactions of the Philological Society of London of 1856:57-115.
- Mason, J. Alden
 1912 The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 10(4).
 1916-1917 Salinan linguistics and ethnology. MS No. 4702 in Manuscripts Relating to the American Indian in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
 1918 The Language of the Salinan Indians. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 14(1).
- Merriam, C. Hart
 1902a and 1933a Field Check Lists, Ennesen. MS on file at the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
 1902b and 1933b Ennesen. Vocabularies of North American Indians. MS on file at the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- Milliken, Randall
 1982 Personal Name Distributions, Language Boundaries and Inter-language Relationships in Proto-historical Central California. Paper read at the Conference on Far Western Languages and Prehistory, Santa Cruz.
- Pieras, Rev. Miguel, and Buenaventura Sitjar
 MS Prayer Book from Mission San Antonio. MS 1082 on file at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- Pinart, Alphonse
 1878 California Indian Vocabularies. MS C-C 62:3 on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

- Powell, John Wesley
1880 Introduction to the study of Indian Languages, with words, phrases, and sentences to be collected. 2nd edition. Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology.
- Scouler, John
1841 Observations on the Indigenous Tribes of the North West Coast of America. Royal Geographic Society Journal II:215-251 [Salinan vocabulary pp. 247-251].
- Sitjar, Fr. Buenaventura
1861 Vocabulario de la lengua de los Naturales de la misión San Antonio, Alta California. New York: Shea's Library of American Linguistics 7.
MS "Confesionario" [sic]. MS on file at the Georgetown University Archives, Washington, DC.
- Taylor, Alexander S.
1860-1863 California Notes: The Indianology of California. California Farmer 22 February 1860 and 27 April 1860.
- Turner, Katherine
1987 Aspects of Salinan Grammar. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Walsh, Jane MacLaren
1976 John Peabody Harrington: The Man and His California Indian Field Notes. Ramona: Ballena Press Anthropological Papers No. 6.
- Yates, L. G., and G. H. Gould
1887 Salinan and Chumashan Vocabularies. Bureau of American Ethnology MS 4239, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Exwanyawish: A Luiseño Sacred Rock

D. L. TRUE and SUZANNE GRISET, Dept. of Anthropology, Univ. of California, Davis, CA 95616.

EXWANYAWISH was first described by Constance Du Bois (1908:159):

One of the most striking rocks in this locality of ancient monuments is the painted rock, *Exwanyawish* which was one of the Temecula people, a woman, who turned into this form. Indians suffering bodily pain rub against the rock to obtain relief. It is not known when the painting on the hollowed side was done, nor when the sacred stones, wiala, were poised on top. The oldest man remembers that they were always there, though the touch of a hand might overturn them.

This report presents ethnographic testimony collected 30-40 years ago by the senior author which pinpoints the location of *Exwanyawish*, and provides additional information concerning the pictographs located thereon. Initially, we had some concern about publicizing the exact location of this important feature, but we realized that although the site had been recorded archaeologically many years ago, its ethnographic significance had become confused. Many of the Luiseño elders who knew the details connected with the rock, its pictographs, and its mythological connections have since passed away, so it is important from an ethnographic perspective to fill in as many gaps as possible while the remaining carriers of this knowledge are alive.

It is clear from the context of Du Bois' description of ancestral Luiseño landmarks (1908:158-160) that *Exwanyawish* is located in the vicinity of Potrero, not far from the ancestral home of her informant, Lucario Cuevish (Fig. 1). Another reference is included in her myth entitled "The Dance of the Spirits" (Du Bois 1908:154). A man from Ahoya (Ahuya; near Rincon) stopped at the place Kamak (Potrero) to spend the night

