Mono chapters from Handbook of Indians of California by A. L.

A. L. Kroeber
none

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Miwok and Mono chapters from *Handbook of Indians of California* by A. L. Kroeber (1919)

r r

r [*Editor's note: only Sierra Miwok and Mono chapters from* Handbook *are copied here—dea.*]r

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r r r r

About the Author

r r

r Alfred Louis Kroeber (A. L. Kroeber)r was born June 11, 1876.r He is known as an influential anthropologist of ther early 20th century.r He sought to understand the nature of culture and its processesr through studying the cultures of the American Indian people.r He was a professor at University of California Berkeleyr and is most known for his work with Ishi, the last survivorr of the Yahi Indian people.r A. L. Kroeber died in October 5, 1960.r

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Bibliographical Information

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r A. L. Kroeber (Alfred Louis Kroeber) (1876 - 1960),r *Handbook of the Indians of California,*r *Bulletin 78*r of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institutionr (1919)r

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r Yosemite > Library >r Handbook of Indians of California >r 30. The Miwok >r

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r **r Next: 40. The Paiute, Mono, and Koso •r Contentsr** r

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Handbook of Indians of California (1919), by A. L. Kroeber (1919)

r r r r

r r r

r Chapter 30.r

r r

r THE MIWOK.r

r r

r r

r GEOGRAPHY.r

r r

r The Miwok comprised three territorially discrete groups: the Coastr Miwok, the Lake Miwok, and the Interior Miwok. The first twor have already been described. The Interior Miwok constituted byr far the largest portion of the stock. With the Maidu on their rightr hand, the Yokuts on the left, Washo and Mono behind them, theyr lived on the long westward slope of the great Sierra, looking outr over the lower San Joaquin Valley. A few, the Plains Miwok. werer in the valley itself, where this is intersected by the winding armsr of the deltas of the San Joaquin and the Sacramento. The bulk ofr the group were a true foothill people, without claims to the floor ofr the valley, and moving into the higher Sierra only for summer residencer or hunting.r

r r

r A primary cleavage of speech separates the Plains from the Sierrar Miwok, exactly as among the Yokuts. The Plains speech is a littler the nearest that of the Coast and Lake divisions in its forms as wellr as in location. The dwellers in the foothills followed three principalr dialects, which in default of native names have come to be knownr as northern, central, and southern. The latter stands somewhatr apart; the two former are similar to each other and evince somer approach to the Plains dialect. There are some subdialects withinr several or all of these four idioms; but they are rather insignificantr and may be disregarded.r

r r

r The Sierra territory of the Miwok extended from the Cosumnesr River on the north to the Fresno on the south. Roughly, the northernr division held the drainage of the Mokelumne and Calaveras;r the central, that of the Stanislaus and Tuolumne; the southern, thatr of the Merced and adjacent smaller streams. But there was somer transgressing of these natural limits, as appears fromr Plate 37.r

r r

r The exact boundaries of the Miwok are still a matter of controversy at manyr points, especially as between the Plains division and the adjacent Yokuts,r Wintun, and Maidu of the delta, all of whom are practically extinct.r

r r r r

r Thus the entire tongue of land between the lower Cosumnes and Sacramento,r as well as Grand, Andrews, Tyler, Staten, and Brannan Islands between ther easternmost and westernmost channels of the Sacramento, have sometimes beenr assigned to the Maidu. Sherman Island and a tract to the southeast seem tor have been Miwok, but there is some conflict of evidence as to the location ofr the line separating the Plains Miwok and

the most northerly Yokuts in thisr vicinity.r

r r

r The region from Michigan Bar to Plymouth has been variously claimed asr Maidu, Plains Miwok, and northern Miwok. The whole northern boundary ofr the Miwok, in fact, is obscure, the North, Middle. and South Forks of ther Cosumnes, as well as various compromises between these, being cited by differentr authorities. The Middle Fork has been followed in Plates 1 andr 37.r

r r

r On the eastern front discrepancies are even wider, but simmer down substantiallyr to technical differences. The Miwok lived permanently as far upr into the Sierra its the heavy winter snows permitted; in summer they movedr higher; and no other people held residence between them and the crest. Ther Washo had admitted hunting and therefore camping rights almost down to Bigr Trees in Calaveras County. They may have enjoyed similar but unrecordedr claims elsewhere; and the same may possibly be true of the Mono. Very likelyr there were tracts that were jointly visited on friendly terms by the Miwok andr their trans-Sierra neighbors. The "boundary" may therefore well have beenr shifting as amity or hostility prevailed. in this connection it may ber noted thatr In the region of the headwaters of the middle and south Stanislaus ther Miwokr find Mono were on bad terms in recent times, while along the Mereed theyr werer more at ease with each other.r

r r

r On the south it is reasonably certain that Fresno River itself separated ther Miwok from the Yokuts, except for a small tract below Fresno Flats where ther Miwok held the southern bank of a northward bend of the stream. The exactr location of the village of Hapasau is in doubt. The name is Yokuts; ther locationr may have been on the Miwok side of the river.r

r r

r As for the West, it has sometimes been assumed that the Miwok ranged asr rightful owners over the whole eastern and more fertile side of the lowerr Sanr Joaquin Valley, but the evidence is nearly positive that this tract wasr Yokuts,r and that the precise commencement of the first foothills marked the boundaryr between the two stocks. This is the line that has been followed inr Plate 37.r

r r

r Like Wintun, Maidu, and Yokuts, "Miwok" is not originally ar distinctive tribal or group name, but the native word for people,r plural of *miwü,* "person." The northernmost Miwok respond to ther designation Koni, which is their Maidu name; and those of the extremer south are often known as Pohonichi, which appellation seemsr to be of Yokuts origin; whether connected with Pohono Falls inr Yosemite is less certain.r

r r

r Chauchila appears to be the name of both a Yokuts tribe on the plains andr of a Miwok village in the canyon of Chowchilla River, whose designation haar been applied also to a larger Miwok group or division. It is scarcelyr probabler that the same name was in use by both stocks in aboriginal times. Ther Americanr is likely to have been responsible for its spread. Before the conflictr can ber solved we shall have to be in a position to distinguish between ancientr nativer usage and more modern terminology adopted by the Indians in their relationsr with the whites.r

r r r r r

r Moquelumnan is an artificially derived synonym of Miwok that hasr attained some book usage. An earlier term of similar nature that isr now happily obsolete is Mutsun, based on the name of a Costanoanr village taken as a designation of the conjoined Costanoan and Miwokr groups.r

r r

r Among themselves the Miwok are content to refer to one anotherr by village, or employ an endless succession of "northerners" andr similar directional names that never crystallize into specific designations.r The same people that are northerners to their neighbors onr one side are southerners to those on the other, and so on ad infinitum,r even beyond the boundaries of the stock, as far as knowledge extends.r A group of people as a unit possessing an existence and therefore ar name of its own is a concept that has not dawned on the Miwok.r Humanity must appear to them like a uniform sheet spread over anr endless earth, differentiable only with reference to one's own locationr in the whole. A national sense is weak enough among most of ther California Indians; but there are usually a few generic names forr outside groups of foreigners. If the Miwok have such, they have notr become known; except Koyuwe-k, "salt people," for the Mono.r Mono-k seems to be a recent term. Even the Washo are only "easterners"r or "uplanders." Lisnayu-k denotes either the Yokuts orr the Costanoans of the vicinity of Pacheco Pass.r

r r

r Their four standard terms are Tamuleko, Tamulek, or Tumitok, northerners;r Chumetoko, Chumetok. or Chumteya, southerners; Hisotoko, Hisatok, or Hittoya,r easterners; Olowitoko, Olowitok, Olokok, or Olwiya, westerners; orr otherr close dialectic variants.r

r r

r Among the Plains Miwok names in *-mni* are frequent which suggest the tribalr appellations of the Yokuts: Mokelumni, Mokoslumni, Ochehamni, Lelamni,r Hulpumni, Umuchamni or Omochumne, Sakayaktimni. As with the Maidu, ther words probably denote a political community named after its principal orr permanent settlement.r

r r

r The same appears to hold of names ending in *-chi*.r

r r

r Something over a hundred Miwok villages are shown onr Plate 37.r The total number of those whose names have been recorded isr considerably larger; but some are in doubtful or conflicting records,r others are vaguely located, and in general the condition of knowledger concerning the settlements of the group—even those includedr in the map—is far from satisfactory. We are in total ignorance,r for instance, to what extent near villages were, truly independent orr only outlying settlements that recognized their political and socialr unity with a central larger town.r

r r

r The villages that can be both named and approximately located are, as shownr onr Plate 37.r

r r

r *Plains Miwok:* 1, Hulpu-mni; 2, *Yumhul; 3, *Yomit; 4, *Lulimal; 5,r *Sukididi; 6, *Mayeman; 7, *Chuyumkatat; 8, Umucha; 9, Supu; 10, Tukul; 11,r r r r Mokos-umni; 12, Ocheh-ak; 13, Mokel(-umni) ; 14, Lel-amni; 15,r Sakayak-ümni.r (Starred names are in the southern Maidu language.)r

r r

r *Northern Miwok:* 16, Yule; 17, Omo; 18, Noma; 19, Chakane-sü; 20, Yuloni;r 21, Seweu-su; 22, Upüsüni (Fig. 40); 23, Tukupe-sü; 24; Pola-sü; 25,r Tumuti;r 26, Sopochi; 27, Ketina; 28, Mona-sü; 29, Apautawilü; 30, Heina; 31, Künüsü;r 32, Penken-sü; 33, Kaitimü; 34, Hechenü; 35, Huta-sü.r

r r

r *Central Miwok:* 36, Sasamu; 37, Shulaputi; 38, Katuka; 39, Humata; 40,r Akutanuka; 41, Kosoimuno-nu; 42, Newichu; 43, Yungakatok; 44, Alakani;r 45, Tuyiwü-nu; 46, Kewe-no; 47, Tulana-chi; 48, Oloikoto; 49, Wüyü; 50,r Tipotoya; 51, Loyowisa; 52, Kawinucha; 53, Takema; 54, Tulsuna; 55,r Hangwite; 56, Wokachet; 57, Sutamasina; 58, Singawü-nu; 59, Akankau-nchir (*cf.* 67) ; 60, Akawila; 61, Kapanina; 62, Chakachi-no; 63, Suchumumu; 64,r Waka-che; 65, Kotoplana; 66, Pokto-no; 67, Akankau-nchi (*cf.* 59) ; 68,r Kuluti;r 69, Pota; 70, Wolanga-su; 71, Tel'ula; 72, Tunuk-chi; 73, Kesa; 74,r Hochhochmeti; 75, Siksike-no; 76, Sopka-su; 77, Pasi-nu; 78, Pangasema-nu; 79,r Sukanola; 80, Sukwela; 81, Teles-eno; 82, Hunga; 83, Olawiye; 84, Kulamu; 85,r Hechhechi; 86, Pigliku (Miwok pronunciation of “Big Creek") ; 87, Sala.r

r r

r *Southern Miwok:* 88, Sayangasi; 89, Alaula-chi; 90, Kuyuka-chi; 91, Angisa-wepa;r 92, Hikena; 93, Owelinhatihü; 94, Wilito; 95, Kakahula-chi; 96, Awal;r 97, Yawoka-chi; 98, Kitiwina; 99, Siso-chi; 100, Sope-nchi; 101, Sotpok; 102,r Awani; 103, Palachan; 104, Kasumati; 105, Nochu-chi; 106, Nowach; 107,r Olwia; 108, Wasema; 109, Wehilto.r

r r

r In 1817 Father Duran, voyaging from the Golden Gate up San Franciscor Bay, through the delta, and some hundred miles up the Sacramento, encounteredr or reported Chupcanes, Ompines, Quenemsias or Quenemisas, Chucumnes,r Ilamnes, Chuppumne, Ochejamnes, Guaypems, Passasimas, Nototemnes, Tauquimnes,r Yatchicomnes, Muquelemnes, and Julpunes. The first of these groupsr were Costanoan; the next probably Maidu or perhaps in part Wintun; fromr the Ochejamnes on, the list refers to Plains Miwok and the northernmostr Yokuts. It seems, therefore, that all five of the great Penutian divisions werer represented among the natives of whom this little expedition makes mention.r

r r

r Nine thousand seems a liberal estimate for the number of interiorr Miwok in ancient times. This allows more than 2,000 to each of ther four divisions. But all specific data are wanting. The 1910 censusr counted 670, only one-half of them full blood. The Miwok have thusr failed to preserve as large a fraction of their numbers as the Maidu,r but have done better than the Yokuts. The Plains division camer pretty thoroughly under mission control and shows very few survivors.r The three foothill groups escaped this well-meant but nearlyr fatal influence.r

r r r

r CULTURE.r

r r

r The civilization of the Miwok is imperfectly known, and is ther more difficult to reconstruct in that the culture of all their immediater neighbors, except in some degree that of the Yokuts, is also unrecordedr in detail.r

r r

r Even in a larger sense, comparison with the stocks to the east andr west is mostly invalidated by the profound difference of habitat.r As between the adjacent Sierra dwellers on the north and south, ther r r r Maidu and the Yokuts, Miwok affiliations incline somewhat more tor the former; but perhaps this fact is at bottom to be ascribed to environmentalr adaptations, the Maidu being in the main Sierra dwellersr like the Miwok, whereas the Yokuts, although in part situatedr in the foothills, were so much more extensively a plains people thatr their civilization as a whole has no doubt been intensively colored byr this circumstance.r

r r

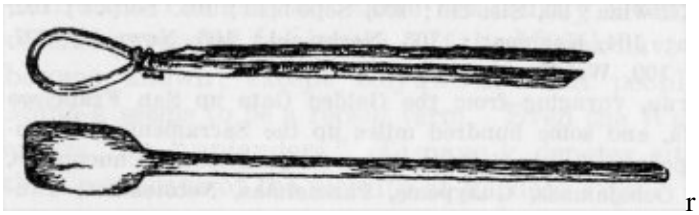
r The strongest link with the Maidu is the presence of the Kuksur cult of the Sacramento Valley, with its long variety of rituals, impersonationr of spirits, distinctive costumes, and the accompanimentr of the large semisubterranean dance house. The complement is ther absence among the Miwok of the Yokuts jimsonweed cult.r

r r

r Another important link in the same direction is the apparent lackr of the more definite tribal organization of the Yokuts.r

r r

r So far as Miwok mythology is known, on the other hand, it isr rather of Yokuts type. This fact is surprising, since an anthropomorphicr r r

r  r

r Fig. 38.—Yokuts loop stirrer and Miwok paddle. (Comparer
r Pls. 17, 44.)r

r

r r creatorr tends to appear inr the beliefs of ther tribes addicted tor the Kuksu religion.r It is true the Costanoanr and Salinan stocks, whor participate in the Kuksu cult and live in the same transverse beltr of California as the Miwok, seem also to lean in their mythologyr toward the Yokuts more than to the Sacramento Valley tribes. Ar less specialized type of cosmogony is therefore indicated for ther southern Kuksu-dancing groups.[1]r r r [[1]If,r as seems probable, the southerly Kuksu tribes (the Miwok, Costanoans,r

Esselen,r and northernmost Yokuts) had no real society in connection with their Kuksur ceremonies, the distinctness of their mythology appears less surprising.]r rr r

r The organization of society on the plan of two totemically contrastedr halves, which was first discovered in California among ther Miwok, extends south from them to the Yokuts and western Mono.r It has not, been reported from the north.r

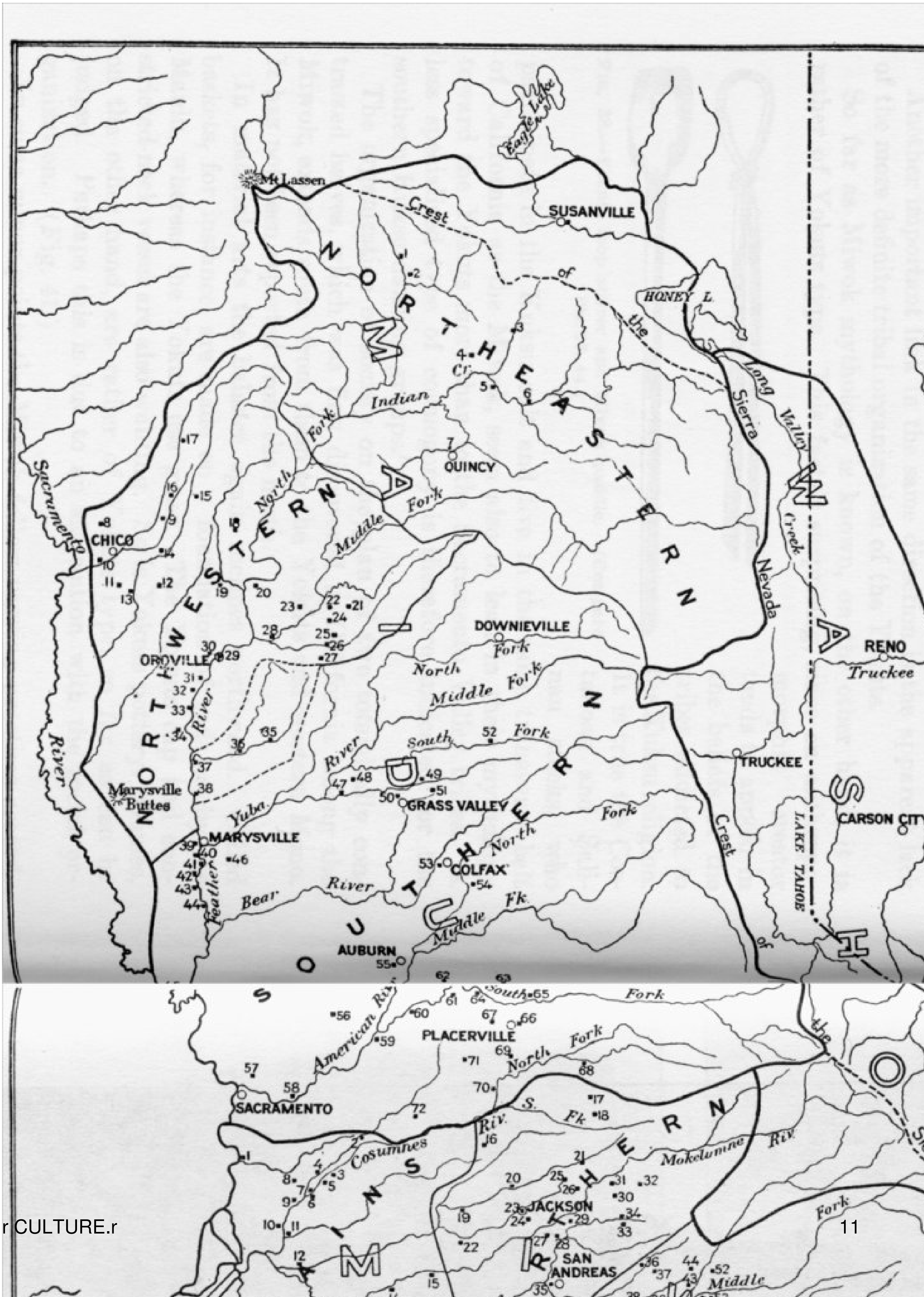
r r

r In material arts the balance again inclines northward. Coiledr baskets, for instance, are made on a foundation of rods, as by ther Maidu, whereas the Yokuts use grass. The Yokuts cap and constricted-neckr vessel are also wanting. So is Yokuts pottery. Games,r on the other hand, are rather of Yokuts type, so far as can ber judged. Perhaps this is due to an association with the social organization.r (Fig. 41.)r

r r

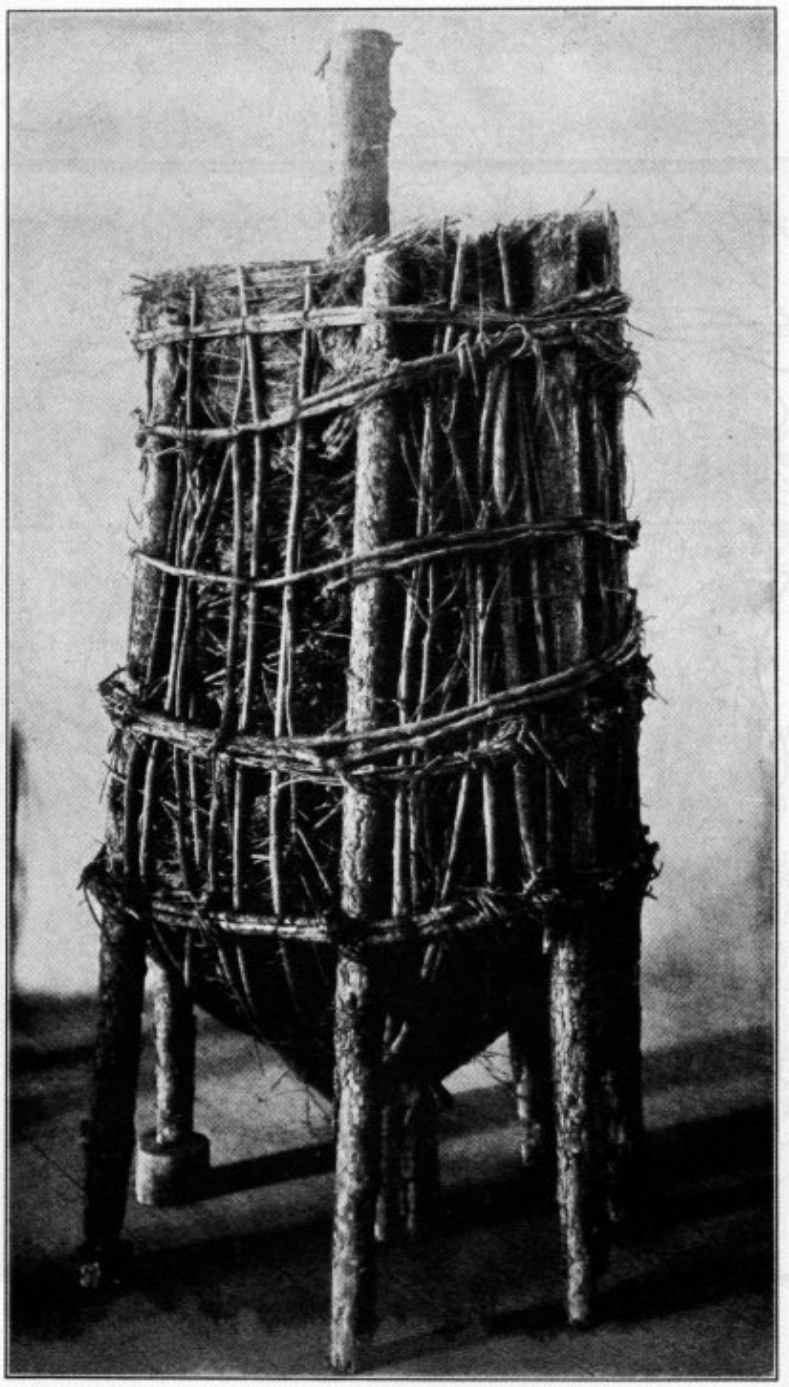
r In some minor points the Miwok follow varying practices accordingr to the habits of their neighbors. Thus the southernmost Miwokr r r r r often employ the grass foundation of the Yokuts and approximater the shape of their “bottle neck” baskets. South of the Tuolumne,r too, the Yokuts looped-stick mush stirrer and the Yokuts type ofr basketry cradle are used. North of the Stanislaus the mush stirrerr is a small, plain paddle (Fig. 38), as among the Achomawi and Pomo;r and the cradle takes on the peculiar form of being built on twor rods whose upper ends are bent forward as a hood support.r (Pls. 39, 40.)r Also, it is chiefly north of the Stanislaus that one-rod basketr foundations are found alongside of the more usual three-rod coil.r r Here influence of contact with ther adjacent Washo is likely.r

r r r r


Mt Lassen
Eagle Lake
Crest of the Sierra Nevada
SUSANVILLE
HONEY L.
Long Valley Creek
NORTHEASTERN MAIDU
Indian Cr.
Indian Fork
QUINCY
North Fork
Middle Fork
NORTHWESTERN MAIDU
Sacramento River
CHICO
OROVILLE
Feather River
Marysville Buttes
MARYSVILLE
DOWNIEVILLE
North Fork
Middle Fork
South Fork
Yuba River
GRASS VALLEY
SOUTHERN MAIDU
North Fork
Bear River
COLFAX
Middle Fk.
AUBURN
RENO
Truckee
TRUCKEE
WASHO
CARSON CITY
LAKE TAHOE
Crest of the
South Fork
American River
PLACERVILLE
North Fork
SACRAMENTO
S. Fk Riv.
Cosumnes
NORTHERN MIWOK
Mokelumne Riv
JACKSON
SAN ANDREAS
Fork
Middle

r r

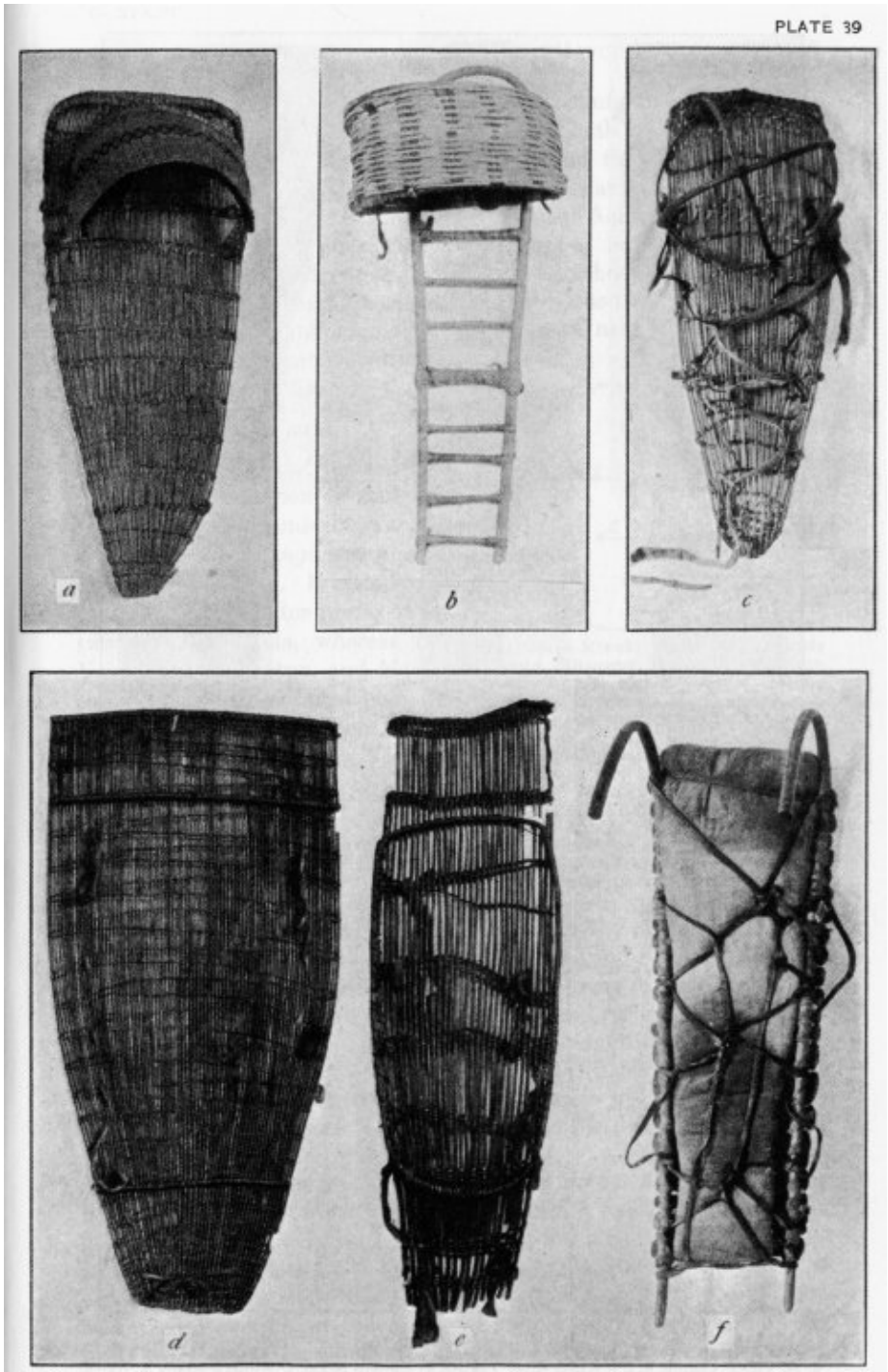
PLATE 38



MIWOK ACORN GRANARY

r r r r r

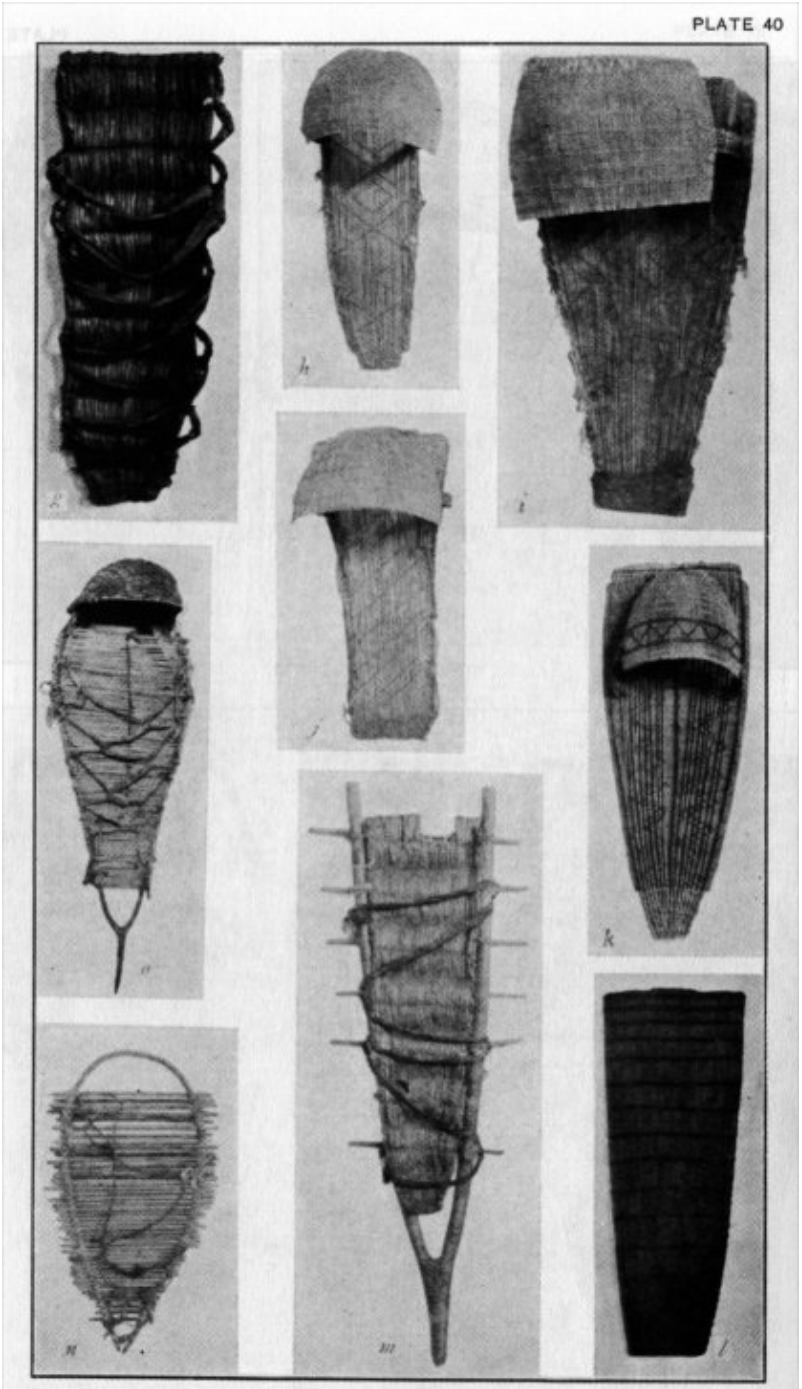
PLATE 39



CRADLES

a, d, e, Southern Miwok; *b*, Mohave; *c, f*, Northern Miwok

r r r r r



CRADLES

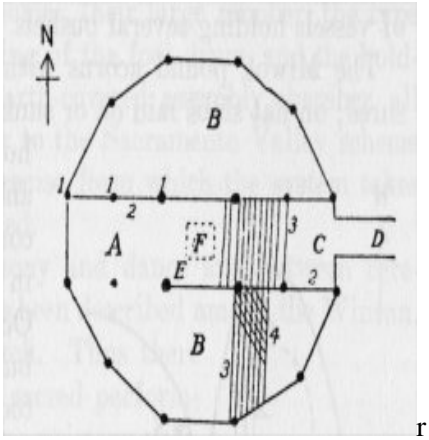
g, *m*, Valley Yokuts; *h*, *i*, *j*, Kings River Yokuts; *k*, Eastern Mono; *l*, Western Mono; *n*, Northwestern Maidu of foothills; *o*, Northwestern Maidu

r r r r

r MATERIAL ARTS.r

r r

r r

r 

r

r Fig. 39.—Miwok dance or assemblyr
r house. Diameter, 25 feet. Construction:r
r 1, tole, posts, forked or notchedr
r on top. 2, chawik, main rafters, extendingr
r east and west. 3, lolapa, cross-beamsr
r on rafters. 4, shuchapa, brushr
r on beams, radiating from center. Onr
r this brush was a layer of grass, andr
r then of earth. Parts of house: *A,*r
r wole; *BB,* oni; *C,* hawana; *D,* door orr
r tunnel—always toward east; *E,* smoker
r hole, 3 feet square; perhaps the entrancer
r in ancient times; *F,* fireplace.r
r (Cf. Figures 19, 35.)r

r

r r The distribution of house typesr in the Miwok region is still farr from clear. The semisubterraneanr dance house or *hangi* was knownr to the whole group. It rested on ar square of four center posts, or onr two rows of posts, whereas ther Yuki, Pomo, Wintun, and Maidur employed a single large post, orr two set in line with the door. Ther diameter was as great as fartherr north, up to 20 yards; the doorr regularly faced eastward; the generalr construction presented fewr noteworthy peculiarities. (Fig. 39.)rr r

r The sweat house was much smaller than the dance house, butr built on the same plan.r

r r

r The Miwok living house, *kocha* or *uchu,* appears to have been oftenr of the earth-covered type, although smaller and ruder than the dancer house. It is not certain how far south the range of this extended.r It may have been rare in the higher foothills, and was probablyr not lived in more than half the year. A lean-to of bark was used inr the mountains in summer; it may have been the permanent house ofr some sections.r

r r

r The cache or granary used by the Miwok for the storage of acornsr is an outdoor affair, a yard or so in diameter, a foot or two above ther ground, and thatched over, beyond reach of a standing person, afterr it was filled.r Plate 38r shows the type. The natural branches ofr a tree sometimes were used in place of posts. There was no truer basket construction in the cache; the sides were sticks and brushr lined with grass, the whole

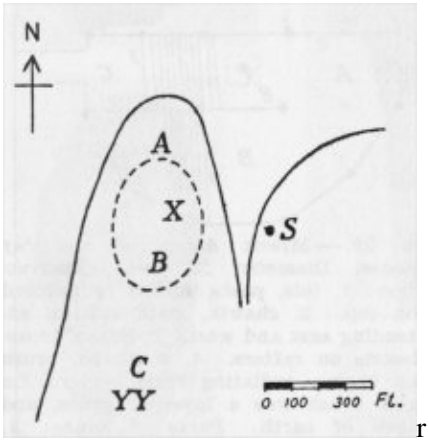
stuck together and fied where necessary.r r r r No door was necessary: the twigs were readily pushed aside almostr anywhere, and with a little start acorns rolled out in a stream. Evenr the squirrels had little difficulty in helping themselves at will.r

r r

r An outdoor cache coincides rather closely with the distributionr of coiled basketry. None of the tribes that twine make use of anyr granary. This is no accident. A large storage basket is readilyr twined. Mere there is a feeling that the proper way to make ar basket intended to be preserved is by coiling, the laboriousness of thisr technique would incline toward the manufacture by other processesr of vessels holding several bushels.r

r r

r The Miwok pound acorns with pestles in holes in granite exposures:r on flat slabs laid on or sunk into the ground without basketryr r r

r 

r r

r Fig. 40.—The Miwok village ofr
r Upüsüni. Lines are hill contours.r
r Dotted line (X), old village site.r
r *YY,* modern houses. *A,* pit of oldestr
r dance house, diameter 50 feet.r
r *B,* dance-house pit, diameter 65r
r feet. *C,* standing dance houser
r (plan shown in Fig. 39), diameterr
r 25 feet. S, spring Upüsüni, whencer
r the name of the village.r

r

r r r hopper; and grind them by crushingr and rubbing on similar slabs. Ther conical and cylindrical mortars foundr in their habitat are prehistoric.r Occasionally a small one is in use;r but if so, it is employed by somer toothless crone to crack bones, or tor beat an occasional gift of a gopher orr squirrel into a soft, edible pulp.r Such a mortar may contain a pit orr two for cracking acorns, and perhapsr a groove in which bone awls have beenr whetted for a lifetime. In default ofr anything more practical the owner'sr husband may now and then grind hisr tobacco in the same utensils. Ancientr stone implements that have been putr to secondary uses are rather commonr in California, and can still be seen inr service now and then. That an objectr r is already in use is if anything an added reason why it should ber employed for another purpose. A neat people would feel differently;r but a glance into almost any California Indian home suffices tor reveal that these people are

actuated by but little sense of order asr compared with the Plains or Pueblo Indians.rr r

r Clamshell disk currency was less precious than in the north, thoughr that may have been one of the directions from which it reachedr the Miwok. Its value in American terms is said to have averagedr $5 a yard, only a fraction of the figure at which the southern Maidur rated it. Whole strung olivella shells went at $1 a yard among bothr groups. The cylinders made from magnesite by the southeasternr Pomo reached the hill Miwok, but were scarce and valuable. Possiblyr r r r clamshell money traveled to them from the Chumash via ther Yokuts, as well as from the Pomo; whence its abundance and comparativer depreciation.r

r r r
r

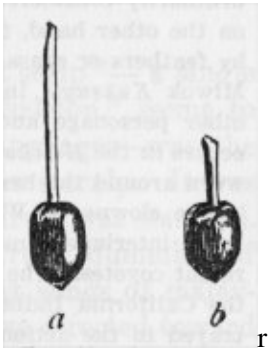
r THE KUKSU RELIGION.r

r r

r The Miwok follow the Kuksu ritual organization. It happens thatr we possess considerable knowledge of their individual dances andr none at all of the society underlying these;[2]r r r [[2]Itr seems quite doubtful whether there was a society; there is certainlyr no trace of a communal one.]r r r but, the names andr character of several of the ceremonies, their large number, the typer of feather dress worn, the stamping of the foot drum, and the holdingr of the performances in the earth-covered assembly chamber, allr make the adhesion of the Miwok to the Sacramento Valley schemer of rites clear, even though the precise form which the system takesr among them remains undetermined.r

r r

r The distinction between ceremony and dance and between ceremonyr and impersonation, as it has been described among the Wintun,r r r

r 

r

r Fig. 41.—Acorn tops.r
r *a,* Pomo; *b,* Miwok.r

r
r r evidently recurs among the Miwok. Thus therer is the *Kuksuyu,* an exceptionally sacred performance,r seemingly occupying the same primary positionr that the *Hesi* holds among the Patwin andr Maidu, and the *Guksu* impersonator among ther Pomo. In this *Kuksuyu* appear at least three personages:r *Kuksuyu* himself; *Osa-be,* or “woman";r and *Mochilo,* who is perhaps the Miwok representativer of the Sacramento Valley *Moki,* andr whose impersonator is known as *mochil-be.* Inr addition, there is the *Mochilasi* dance, held withoutr r the drum, in which the *Mochilo* appears impersonated by a *sotokbe,*r and accompanied by the

0sa-be. At some point in the *Mochilasi,*r as in most. Miwok dances, women participate; but they do not appearr in the *Kuksuyu.*rr r

r Besides the Miwok rituals mentioned in Table 1 in the chapter onr the Wintun, they practice the following dances:r

r r

r The *Lileusi* and *Uchupelu* are of a type with the Patwin *Akantoto* or creeperr dance, the Maidu *Tsamyempi,* and the Pomo *Dama,* in that in all of them therer are acrobatic demonstrations. In the *Akantoto* the performer descends ther center post of the dance house head first, clapsing it with his legs. Ther *Uchupelu* is similar, but less spectacular. In the *Lileusi,* in which the drumr is not used, the dancer is believed to fly about the darkened house. The songsr tell of one, no doubt the impersonated spirit, who thus came to the Miwokr country from Mount Diablo, the name of which reflects, the native belief in itsr habitation by spirits.r

r r r r r

r The *Kalea* is a frequent and perhaps an important dance, which has survivedr until more recently than the majority. In it are worn a back cape ofr feathersr similar to the Maidu *sikli* and the corresponding garments of the Patwin,r Pomo, and Yuki; a large tuft; and two smaller ones, skewered into ther net-gathered hair.r

r r

r The *Tamula* may be the "north," dance: *tamal-in* is the ordinary wordr designating this direction.r

r r

r In the *Temayasu,* a personage of the same name, who is followed by sevenr *seyapbe,* showers coals on the spectators, who may not laugh, evidently forr fear of provoking his anger. The *Temayasu* thus evinces something of ther nature of the Polno "ash ghosts." The Patwin *Temeyu* bears a similar name.r

r r

r A ritual called *Sule tumum laksü,* "ghost from drum emerging," also hasr close Pomo parallels. The performer, painted with horizontal black andr whiter stripes, emerges from a tunnel under the drum and then dances upon it.r It is likely that he is taken for a real ghost by the uninitiated.r

r r

r To the *Sulesko,* said to be named after a kind of spirit in some way associatedr with the *sule* or ghost of dead people, is ascribed a recent origin. Itr was performed to cure people made ill by such spirits. Four dancers wearr something like face coverings of skin. This is a nearer approach to what arer ordinarily considered masks than anything yet reported from California; butr on the other hand, there is less reference by the Miwok to veiling of ther facer by feathers or grass in other dances than among the Maidu and Patwin. Ther Miwok *Kuksuyu,* indeed, has his features hidden by feathers; but the onlyr other personage known to be disguised, other than perhaps by crude paint,r occurs in the *Helekasi,* in which a piece of buckskin, with eyeholes cutr in it, isr worn around the head.r

r r

r The clowns, or *Wo'ochi,* who shout *woo,* appear in a number of ceremoniesr In an Interlude named after them. They are painted white and evidentlyr represent coyotes. The gluttonous, greedy, tricky, but also insensate nature whichr the California Indian attributes to this animal is the character which isr portrayed in the actions also of the Maidu clown; but no avowed symbolicr reference to the contemned canine has been reported from the latter people.r

r r

r The *Uzumati* or grizzly bear ceremony came to the central Miwok fromr the west or northwest, they say; that is, probably, the northernmost Yokutsr such as the Chulamni of Stockton, or the Plains Miwok. The performer,r who was a dance impersonator and not a bear doctor or shaman, carriedr curved pieces of obsidian attached to his fingers in place of the bear'sr claws.r He imitated the animal in his dancing. This description accounts for ther hitherto unexplained "Stockton curves," as antiquarians have come to callr the semilunar flaked objects of obsidian found in ancient burials in the Sanr Joaquin delta.r

r r

r Other dances or ceremonies were the *Mamasu, Tula, Henepasi, Yahuha, Alina,r Hekeke* or "quail," *Wehena,* and *0lochina.* There is also a *Helika,* whichr may or may not be the some as the *Helekasi* in which masks are worn, and ar less sacred *Helikna.*r

r r

r A leading dancer called *hoyuche,* assisted by several *echuto,* appears in ther *Salute, Helika, Alina,* and other dances. Whether the term indicates hisr leadership, a particular costume, or a spirit that he impersonates, is notr known.r A village chief is called *echuto hayapo* in distinction from the *toko hayapo*r or head chief of a district.r

r r

r Besides the *Helikna,* the *Aleü, Ahana, Ulula,* and *Helkibüksu* are mentionedr as at least semiprofane. The drum is not used; the *sobobbe* or shouters whor r r r accompany the dancers in the major ceremonies are absent; and some, at leastr of these dances are held outdoors, away from the gloom of the assemblyr chamber.r Women take part in all these dances, whose general character is probablyr analogous to that of the Maidu *Loli* and *Toto.* In or after the *Aletü* twor black-painted clowns, called *Humchilwe,* may appear.r

r r

r It is said that women were allowed to witness all dances, evenr the most sacred of those. held in the assembly chamber. This wouldr indicate a status of the secret society in the community rather differentr from that which obtains among the tribes in the latitude of ther Sacramento Valley. Miwok women seem to have participated inr probably the majority of dances.r

r r

r Nothing has been learned of the order or classificatory relationsr of the various major and minor dances so far enumerated. Yetr it may be suspected that, like the Maidu ceremonies, they camer in some sort of an orderly sequence at specified seasons of the yearr rather than randomly.r

r r r

r OTHER CEREMONIES AND BELIEFS.r

r r

r *Sule yuse,* “ghost hair,” or *Sule sikanui,* “ghost scalp”—a singler word to denote “ghost,” “dead person,” and “skeleton” seems tor be customary in a number of the Californian languages—was ther name of the dance of triumphant revenge held over a scalp. It wasr made in the dance house, as by the Yuki, and the drum was stamped.r

r r

r The *Pota* was a ceremony in which several rude dummies ofr tules were put up on poles. It appears likely that songs of malevolencer and perhaps other expressions of hatred were directed towardr the figures. The images represented foes of the village: murderers,r successful war leaders in past affrays, or shamans believed to haver caused sickness and death. Care was taken to invite the towns tor which these individuals belonged; but as no identification was givenr the image, and no names mentioned at the time, this method ofr revenge could contribute little but moral satisfaction to the preformers.r The guests might suspect that it was their townsman who wasr meant, but as no insult was tendered, none could be resented; untilr later, when care would be taken that the visitors learned that itr was their kinsman whom they had helped to revile. The whole procedurer is characteristically Californian. By impulse, the nativer is thoroughly peaceable. A plan of spoliation or oppression rarelyr enters his mind. But suspicion is ever gnawing within him. Punctiliousr as he is not to commit a deliberate offense, he constantly conceivesr that others have wished him ill and worked the contemplatedr injury. And so he spends his life in half-concealed bad will, inr non-intercourse, in plotting with more or less open magic, or occasionallyr in an open feud. He has always been wronged by some one,r r r r and is always planning a merited but dark punishment. Thoughr they are rarely uttered expressly, he mutters his feelings about; withr the consequence that those whom he hates soon have equal or greaterr cause for hating in return. There must be a subtle pleasure in publiclyr dishonoring and threatening a foe, who may suspect but canr not know that he is meant. But the satisfaction thus obtainable isr an equally extraordinary one, and obviously peculiar of a people morer given to keeping grievances alive by cherishing them than to endingr them by an open appeal to the nobler violence that springs fromr indignation.r

r r

r The *Kalea* seems to be made in connection with this *Pota* ceremony.r

r r

r The *Aiyetme,* named from *aiye'a,* the signs of a girl’s maturity, is anr adolescence ceremony, as is also clear from the fact that the dancersr are called *kichaume,* from *kichau,* “blood.” There are four of these,r men, painted with red streaks down the face, but they wear nor feathers or costume. At present the dance is a short performance onr and about the drum in the assembly house, and evidently a part ofr larger ceremonies that have other purposes. Originally, however, itr was made for the girl, and probably over her as she lay for four daysr in a trench dug in the floor of her home.r

r r

r The Miwok are said to have held that there was no after life; butr this is a white man’s superstition about them. One of their favoriter traditions, which they share with the Yokuts, relates the visit of anr aboriginal Orpheus to the western or northern country of the dead inr pursuit of his wife.r

r r r

r SOCIAL PRACTICES.r

r r

r Cremation of the dead was the usual but probably not universalr practice of the Miwok.r

r r

r Widows singed their hair off and pitched the face. In the southernr districts the pitch was put on over smaller areas. The levirate wasr observed, but perhaps not invariably.r

r r

r The annual mourning ceremony included dancing as well as wailing,r culminated in a burning of property, and ended with a ritualisticr washing of the mourners by people of the opposite totemic moiety.r Rude lay figures were made and burned for people of rank.r

r r

r Chieftainship was a well-defined and hereditary affair, as is shownr by the passage of the title to women, in the male line. In the centralr division there were head chiefs, *toko hayapo,* whose authority wasr recognized over considerable districts; *echuto hayapo,* chiefs of villages;r and *euchi* or *liwape* (*liwa,* “speak"), who were either ther heads of subsidiary villages or speakers and messengers for the morer important chiefs. A born chieftainess, and the wife of a chief, werer both called *mayenu.* The husband of a born chieftainess was usuallyr r r r her speaker; the latter had authority after her husband’s death untilr the majority of her son.r

r r

r It is evident that concepts of rank were fairly developed, and it isr regrettable that more is not known of this interesting subject.r

r r r

r TOTEMIC MOIETIES.r

r r

r With the Miwok we encounter for the first time a social schemer that recurs among several of the groups to the south: a division ofr the people into balanced halves, or moieties, as they are called,r which are totemic, and adhesion to which is hereditary. The descentr is from the father, and among the Miwok the moieties were atr least theoretically exogamic.r

r r

r The totemic aspects of these moieties are refined to an extreme tenuousness,r but are undeniable. Nature is divided into a water and ar land or dry half, which are thought to correspond to the *Kikua* andr *Tunuka* moieties among the people. *Kikua* is from *kiku,* water,r but the etymology of *Tunuka* is not clear. Synonyms, thoughr apparently only of a joking implication, are *Lotasuna* and *Kosituna,*r “frog people” and “blue jay

people"; or the contrast is betweenr frog and deer, or coyote and blue jay. All these terms apply to ther central and southern Miwok. The northern division uses a wordr formed from *walli* “land,” in place of *Tunuka;* and the animalr equivalents are not clear. There is also some doubt as to the formr which the scheme takes among the northerners, some accounts denyingr its existence, or that the individual’s adherence was determinedr by descent. It is apparent that the northern Miwok are institutionallyr as well as geographically on the border of the moiety system.r

r r

r There are no subdivisions of any sort within the moieties. Associatedr with each, however, is a long list of animals, plants, andr objects; in fact, the native concept is that everything in the worldr belongs to one or the other side. Each member of a moiety standsr in relation to one of the objects characteristic of his moiety—a relationr that must be considered totemic—in one way only: through hisr name. This name, given him in infancy by a grandfather or otherr relative, and retained through life, refers to one of the totem animalsr or objects characteristic of his moiety.r

r r

r Nor is this all: in the great majority of cases the totem is notr mentioned in the name, which is formed from some verbal or adjectivalr stem, and describes an action or condition that might applyr equally well to other totems. Thus, on the verb *hausu-s,* are basedr the names *Hausu* and *Haucku,* which connote, respectively, ther yawning of an awakening bear and the gaping of a salmon drawnr out of the water. There is nothing in either name that indicatesr the animals in question—which even belong to opposite moieties.r r r r The old men who bestowed them no doubt announced the totemicr reference of the names; the bearers, and their family, kin, and morer intimate associates, knew the implication; but a Miwok from anotherr district would have been uncertain whether a bear, a salmon, or oner of a dozen other animals was meant. Just so, *Akulu* means “lookingr up”—at the sun. *Hopoto* is understood to refer to frog eggsr hatching in the water; but its literal meaning is only “round.”r *Sewati* connotes bear claws, but denotes “curved” and nothingr more. *Etumu* is “to bask.” An individual so called happens to ber named after the bear; but there is nothing to prevent the identicalr name referring to the lizard, if it were borne by some other man.r

r r

r It is true that the Miwok seem to pay some attention to these implicationsr of their names, since they are aware of the totemic referencer of the names of practically all their acquaintance, as well asr of kinsmen for some generations past. At the same time, it is certainr that whatever totemic significance the majority of the namesr have is, not actually expressed but is extrinsically attached to them.r

r r

r In fact, the totemic quality of the names is very probably a secondaryr and comparatively late reading in on the part of the Miwok, sincer names of exactly the same character, so far as structure and ranger of denotation go, are prevalent over the greater part of Californiar without a trace of totemism attached to them. Even the adjacentr totemic Yokuts, whose names, when intelligible, are similar to ther Miwok ones, do not interpret them totemically.r

r r

r It might be thought that the names are remnants of an older clanr system; that what is now the land moiety was formerly an aggregationr of bear, panther, dog, raven, and other clans; that for somer reason the clans became merged in the two larger groups; that asr their separate existence, as social units, became lost, it was

preservedr for some time longer in the names that originally belonged to ther clans. But there is no evidence that such is the case. If a man andr his sons and their sons all bore appellations referring to the bear—asr among the Mohave all the women in a certain male line of descent.r are called *Hipa,* which connotes "coyote"—we might justifiedlyr speak of the Miwok condition as a disguised clan system. But ther supposition does not hold. In the majority of cases the child is notr named after the same animal as its father; and in a line of male descentr extending over several generations the proportion of instances,r in which the same totemic reference is maintained throughout becomesr very small.r

r r

r By far the most commonly referred to animal in names of peopler in the land moiety is the bear. On the water side there is no suchr pronounced predominance, but the deer comes first. This fact isr certainly of significance with reference to the bear and deer "totems"r reported among the Salinan group across the Coast Range.r

r r r r r

r A number of animals or objects are referred to in names belongingr to both moieties; such are the coyote, falcon, acorn, buckeye,r seeds, and bow and arrow. This is an unexplained effacement of ther otherwise sharp distinction between the moieties.r

r r

r Moreover, some of the most important animals, such as the eagle,r puma, and rattlesnake, are very rarely or not at all referred to inr names, to judge by the available translations rendered by the natives,r whereas objects of far less natural importance, such as noser shells, ear plugs, and ceremonial objects, are more common. A truerr idea of the totemic classification of the world is therefore, obtainabler from general statements made by the Miwok. From these the followingr partial alignment results:r

r r r

Land side.	Water side.	Land side.	Water side.
Bear.	Deer.	Katydid.	Bee.
Puma.	Antelope.		Caterpillar.
Wildcat.			Cocoon.
Dog.	Coyote.		Butterfly.
Fox.			Snail.
Raccoon.	Beaver.		Haliotis, and other
Tree squirrel.	Otter.		shells and bead
Badger.			money.
Jack rabbit.		Sugar pine.	Jimson weed.
Eagle.		Black oak.	White oak.
Condor.	Buzzard.	Pine nuts.	Vetch.
Raven.		Manzanita.	Oak gall.
Magpie.		Tobacco.	Wild "cabbage."
Hawk.	Falcon (probably).	Tule.	
Chicken hawk.		Salmonberry.	

Great owl.	Burrowing owl.	(And other	(And other
Blue jay.	Meadow lark.	plants.)	plants.)
Woodpecker.	Killdeer.		
Yellow-hammer.	Hummingbird.	Sky.	Cloud.
Goldfinch.	Kingbird.	Sun, sunshine, sunrise	Rain.
Creeper.	Bluebird.		Fog.
	Dove.	Stars.	Water, lake.
	Quail.	Night.	Ice.
	Goose.	Fire.	Mud.
	Swan.	Earth.	Lightning.
	Crane.	Salt.	Rock.
	Jacksnipe.		Sand.
	Kingfisher, and no doubt other water birds.	Bow, arrows, quiver (probably).	Nose ornament of shell.
Lizard.	Frog.	Drum.	
	Salamander.	Ear plug.	Feather apron.
	Water snake.	Feather headdress. Football	
	Turtle.		Gambling bones.
	Salmon, and various other fishes.		
Yellow jacket.	Ant.		

r r r r r

r It is apparent that every water animal, and all phenomena associatedr with water, are on the appropriate side; but that the remainderr of the world is divided quite arbitrarily, or perhaps according tor some principle that is obscure to our minds.r

r r

r The briefer list of totems which the Yokuts enumerate followsr the same lines with but few exceptions: beaver and antelope, andr hawks and owls, are transposed to the opposite moieties by theser southerners.r

r r

r The Miwok do not regard the totem animals as ancestors, exceptr in an indirect and vague sort of way, to stress which would resultr in misconception of their attitude. According to their beliefs, asr of those of all Indians, the bear, the coyote, and all the animals werer once quasi human. The California belief is that they occupied ther earth before there were true human beings. They are thereforer predecessors of mankind. From that to ancestors is not a far leap;r and it has perhaps been made now and then more or less randomly.r But there is no definite theory or understanding to this effect. Leastr of all does a man with an eagle or deer name believe that he canr trace his particular lineal descent back to the eagle or deer.r

r r

r Nor is there any connection in the native mind between a man'sr totem and the animal guardian spirit that may reveal itself to him.r A bear-named man may acquire the bear for his protector; but her is just, as likely to be patronized by any other animal; and if her does secure a bear spirit, the fact seems a meaningless coincidencer to him and his fellows. The interpretation of Miwok totemism, as ar development out of the widespread guardian spirit concept, in otherr words out of shamanism, would therefore be without warrant.r Among other nations this interpretation may here. and there haver some support. In fact, the two sets of phenomena have enough inr common to make it highly probable that the native mind would onr occasion connect them secondarily and assimilate them further. Andr it is an obviously tenable idea that they may spring from a commonr root. But to derive an essentially social and classifying institutionr from a religious, inherently individual and therefore variable one,r is, as a proposition of generic applicability, one of those explanationsr with which ethnological science is choked, but which would be morer in need of being explained, if they were true, than the phenomenar which they purport to elucidate.r

r r

r The rule of moiety exogamy is definitely formulated by the Miwok,r but has not been very rigidly enforced for several generations. Itr is therefore doubtful whether the sentiment in favor of exogamyr was ever more than a marked predilection. The natives say thatr marriage within the moiety evoked protest but no attempt at actualr interference. At present one marriage. out of four is endogamic inr r r r place of exogamic among the central Miwok. A numerical disproportion,r which gives the land moiety an average excess of nearlyr 20 per cent over its rival, may help to account for these lapses,r though marriages within the smaller water moiety also occur.r

r r

r According to the limited statistical data available, the waterr moiety actually predominates in some of the higher villages, whiler nearer the plains it is much inferior in strength. As the Yokutsr equivalent of the water moiety is called "upstream" and its antithesisr "downstream," it is possible that the greater strength of ther former in the Miwok highlands is more than an accident of distribution.r

r r

r The moieties compete with each other in games, and they assistr each other at funerals, mourning anniversaries, adolescence observances,r and the like. They do not appear to enter at all into ther Kuksu religion.r

r r

r Thus they possess social and semiceremonial functions besidesr those concerned with marriage and descent, but no strong ritualisticr ones.r

r r

r Many Miwok terms of relationship are applied by any givenr individual only to persons of one or the other moiety. But forr many terms such a limitation is inevitable the moment there is anyr social grouping on hereditary lines accompanied by exogamy. Ther father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, and other relativesr must each be exclusively of one's own moiety or of the opposite one.r When it comes to relatives like our "uncle," such a term, becauser it comprises the mother's brother as well as the father's brother,r would in Miwok refer to persons of both moieties. As a matterr of fact, like almost all Indians, they possess no word that meansr what our "uncle" does; but they have a considerable number ofr kinship terms—more than a fourth of the total—that designate, potentiallyr at least, individuals of both moieties; or, after deductionr of the

above-mentioned terms denoting the closest relatives, nearlyr one-half. The system of relationship accordingly reflects the socialr grouping much less than might be anticipated—not nearly so wellr as among most Australians, for instance. From this the inferencer may be drawn that the moiety organization is either comparativelyr recent among the Miwok or that it has failed to impress their otherr institutions and their life as a whole very deeply.r

r r r

r MARRIAGE OF RELATIVES.r

r r

r There is another point which the terms of relationship clear up.r The preferential marriage among the Miwok, the one consideredr most natural and correct, was with certain relatives of the oppositer moiety. Now, it was long ago reported that the Miwok marriedr r r r their cousins, which is a practice horribly repugnant to the vastr majority of American Indians. Investigation has confirmed andr restricted the statement. The Miwok man did often marry his firstr cousin; but only his mother's brother's daughter; that is, one of ther two kinds of cross cousins, as they are called. Even these marriagesr were considered too close in some districts and were frowned upon;r a first cousin once removed, or second cousin, or some such distantr relative was the proper mate.r

r r

r It proves that all the female blood relatives that a man mightr marry come under the designation *anisü,* and all the kin that ar woman could mate with are included in what she calls her *angsi.*r Now *angsi* is also the word for "son" or "nephew" and *anisü* forr mother's younger sister or stepmother. It is inconceivable, f romr what we know of the Indian temper, that the Miwok ever marriedr their aunts; and they indignantly deny such an imputation: it isr only the cousin or second cousin called *anisü,* and not the aunt *anisü,*r that one espouses.r

r r

r Further, it is remarkable that not one of the 30 or more wordsr by which the Miwok designate their various blood kindred or relativesr by marriage is of such denotation that it in any way reflects orr implies cross-cousin marriage as customary.r

r r

r If to these circumstances is added the fact that a man may neverr espouse one of his two kinds of cross cousins—his father's sister'sr daughters—it is clear that the Miwok cross-cousin marriage is anr isolated and anomalous institution; and the presumption is forcedr that it is neither basic nor original in their society.r

r r

r The foundation of the practice can in fact be traced. It is the almostr universal California Indian custom of marrying people who are already connectedr with one by marriage. To most civilized people such a custom seems quiter shocking. But that is only because we introduce a false sentiment, orr sentimentality, based in part on confusion of thought, in part on anr oversensitiveness,r and in part on a fanatical avoidance of everything that even seems to savor ofr polygamy, whether or not it is connected with that practice. All nations abhorr the marriage of near blood kin, but the vast majority distinguish clearlyr between kindred in fact, such as a sister, and kindred in name, such as ar sister-in-law; which of course is the only logical

procedure if blood is tor meanr anything at all. We do not make this distinction with nearly the same forcer and clearness of perception that most other peoples do. English is one of ther few languages in the world that has no independent words for affinities byr marriage; “brother-in-law” is based on “brother"; and we show the weaknessr of vocabulary, and therefore of our thinking in these matters, by notr possessingr even a single, convenient, generic term for the clumsy “affinities” orr “relativesr by marriage.” Other European nations approach the Anglo-Saxon condition.r In short, for better or for worse, we have lost the keenness of a sense that notr only primitive people but the civilized ancients possessed. The idea of bloodr means but little to us. We are given to imagining that we have developedr home and family ties far stronger and deeper than any other people; and wer do not know half so well as a savage or a Mohammedan what “family” means.r r r r We think of association, when we believe we think of consanguinity. Ther very word “kin,” except as employed in ethnological literature, is nearly dead:r it survives only in poetry and in the occasional mouths of the illiterate.r Therer are people to whom the mere mention of marriage with a former brother’s wifer or dead wife’s sister is abhorrent because the word “sister-in-law” remindsr them of “sister.”r

r r

r From this particular overrefinement the overwhelming mass of nations arer exempt. They often have their own equivalent scruples, such as balking atr marrying a “clan-sister.” But in the present point they thinkr consistently, andr it is we who are exceptionally irrational. Not only in aboriginal America, butr all over the world people espouse what we miscall “relatives by marriage.”r Thus, all through California a man is entitled to marry his brother’s widow;r and among most tribes it is expected of him. So, too, if his wife dies he wedsr her sister or some other kin of hers. If he marries the sister while the wifer is still living the objection can be only on the ground of the rule of monogamyr being violated. If, finally, he adds to his mates his wife’s daughter by somer other man, he is still adhering rigidly to his premises. We are revolted by ar false impression of incestuousness as well as by the polygamy, when actuallyr we might base a valid objection only on the ground of sexual delicacy. Thisr particular delicacy the Indian of many tribes lacks; but he replaces it byr another, in the total lack of which we are utter barbarians and brutes: he willr not look his wife’s mother in the eye or give himself any opportunity to do so.r He will marry his stepdaughter; but he will refuse ever to address a word tor his mother-in-law.r

r r

r That, then, is the condition of marriage that underlies the practices of ther Miwok as of the other Californian tribes. There is only one point at whichr their possession of the dual organization specializes it. If a Miwok can marryr a woman, he can marry her sister, because she is of the same eligible moiety;r and for the same reason he can marry the woman that his brother was wed to.r Both these practices are indeed followed. He can not, however, properly marryr his wife’s daughter, as a Costanoan or Yurok is free to do. because the daughterr is of the moiety of her father. which is also that of her stepfather. If nor sisterr is available some other relative of the wife must therefore be substituted forr her daughter as successor or cowife the moment the moiety system is operative.r The nearest of these kin, of the same moiety as herself, is her brother’sr daughter; if the husband is Land, his wife is Water, her brother must ber Water. andr his daughter Water also, and therefore eligible. Now. the Miwok actuallyr marry their wives’ brothers’ daughters, and they proclaim such marriages asr fitting and frequent.r

r r

r One more step and we have cross-cousin marriage. Once this type of marriager is fairly frequent the husband is likely to he conceded some right to hisr wife’s niece, just as most nonmoiety tribes in California admit that her possesses at least some preferential priority to his wife’s sister. Such ar claim oncer established, no matter how irregularly exercised, would descend to the man’sr son, who is of the man’s own moiety. The father would only have to die beforer his wife’s niece was old enough to be wed; or he might reach an age in whichr

he would voluntarily transfer his claim to his son, particularly if he had boundr it by a payment. But the son in marrying his father's wife's brother's daughterr would be marrying his mother's brother's daughter; that is, exactly the typer of cross cousin whom among the Miwok he can and does marry.r

r r

r It seems rather likely that this is exactly the manner in which the curiouslyr one-sided cousin marriage of the Miwok has come about: it is merely ar secondaryr r r outgrowth of the more basic marriage to the wife's niece, and this in turn ar specialized form of the general practice of wedding a close relative of ther wife.r This deduction is confirmed by the fact that while there are no terms ofr relationship that reflect cross-cousin marriage as such, there are a dozen thatr suggest and agree with marriage to the wife's niece.r

r r

r Here, too, we have an explanation of the extraordinary fact that the cousinsr who marry call each other "stepmother" and "son." If the father marriesr the girl, she becomes a second mother or stepmother to her cousin and he a sortr of son to her. She therefore is his potential stepmother until the fatherr vacates his right; when she becomes, or can become, the son's wife instead ofr his stepmother.r

r r

r This so exceptional marriage of a relative—quite abnormal from the genericr American point of view—thus seems to rest upon the almost universal basisr of marriage to an affinity by marriage, modified in detail but not inr principler by the exogamic moiety scheme of the Miwok, and given its culmination by ther simple transfer of a privilege from father to son. The real specialization ofr the Miwok lies in this last transfer. Natural as it may seem, it may haver caused them a hard wrench; for after all, in spite of its plausibility, itr transcended the fundamental principle that kin do not cohabit. What isr legitimater for the father is not necessarily legitimate for the son, for after all oner is notr and the other is related by ties of blood to the woman in question. The problemr presented by Miwok cousin marriage is therefore reduced rather than solved:r we still do not know what caused the son's right to prevail over the aversionr to kin wedlock. If the Miwok were a people with a marked interest in property,r as shown by numerous and refined regulations concerning ownership suchr as the Yurok have worked out, the case would be simple: but their institutionsr are not of this, cast. It is even doubtful whether purchase entered veryr seriouslyr into their marriages. Nothing to this effect has ever been reported ofr them; and their neighbors on all sides did indeed give something for theirr wives,r but quite clearly never thought of turning marriage into a wholeheartedr commercial transaction like the northwestern tribes. Another explanation mustr therefore be sought: and the only circumstance that appears is the moietyr system itself. This, with its accentuation of one-sided in place ofr undifferentiated descent, may well have accentuated the idea of descent itself, andr therefore of inheritance, and thus brought about the necessary reenforcement ofr the son's claim. A dual organization lends itself particularly to such ar development.r

r r

r Under a multiple clan system a man's nearer kin are overwhelmingly of onlyr two social groups out of several or many, so that normally he would haver few or no blood relatives, and those more or less remote, in whatever of ther other groups he married into. With a dual organization. however, he mustr necessarily average as many actual kinsmen in the group into which he isr bound to marry as in his own. Under clan organization, therefore, a distinctionr between kin groups and marriage groups tends to be kept alive; in any moietyr scheme it is liable to effacement, at least in mental attitude. As long as ar man must marry into a group in which he has many immediate relatives,r the feeling that he may marry a relative can not be very remote; and now andr then it is likely to crop out and be accepted. Such seems to be the case inr Australia,

where the dual scheme is very deeply impressed on society andr where kin marriage is almost normal. In fact the Australian feeling seemsr to be as much that one should marry persons standing in a certain relationshipr to oneself as that one should not marry certain others; just as the Australianr classes are now properly recognized as not being really exogamic; one isr compelledr r r r to marry *into* a particular group, whereas under the clan system oner is compelled to marry *out* of it. That the Miwok are dualistically organized,r therefore, makes it the more likely that it is this very social scheme of theirsr that gave the impetus to the final step that resulted in cross-cousin marriage.r

r r

r If this argument is valid it reacts to strengthen the probability,r already mentioned, that the Miwok moiety scheme is original and notr a reduced survival of a former clan system.r

r r

r No communication is held between a Miwok man and his brothersr on the one hand and his mother-in-law and her sisters on the other;r nor between a woman and her sisters, and her father-in-law and hisr brothers. A man also does not address his mother's brother's wife—hisr potential mother-in-law in that she is the mother of his eligibler cross cousin.r

r r

r It is said that when speech is urgent between such shame-facedr relatives, and no go-between or third party to be addressed is present,r they will communicate with each other in the plural number—"asr though more than one person were there." The feeling, perhaps,r is that the individuality of the addressed is obscured by the plurality.r The same custom is followed by the Pomo and Kato.r

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r **r Next: 40. The Paiute, Mono, and Koso •r Contentsr** r

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r http://www.yosemite.ca.us/library/kroeber/miwok.htmlr

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r r

Handbook of Indians of California (1919), by A. L. Kroeber (1919)

r r r r

r r r

r Chapter 40.r

r r

r THE PAIUTE, MONO, AND KOSO.r

r r

r r r

r The Northern Paiute.r

r r r

r NOMENCLATURE.r

r r

r The northeasternmost corner of California is held by a Shoshonean people who popularly are known by the blanket termr “Paiute.” People of the same speech and very similar customsr occupy the adjacent parts of Nevada, in fact the whole northwestern third of that State; the majority of the eastern half of Oregon;r roughly the southern half of Idaho; and they extend southwardr along the eastern border of California, except for the local interruption of the Washo, for 300 or 400 miles. In Nevada and Oregonr they are called Paiutes; in central California sometimes by this termr and sometimes Mono; in Idaho they are the Bannock. The form ofr speech over this vast stretch is, however, virtually identical: minorr dialects may be numerous, but intelligibility prevails throughout.r Mono-Bannock is perhaps the generic designation least open to confusion. Paviotso is the term of the Shoshoni proper for the Nevadar members of the group, but, like Mono and Monachi, is too limitedr in its application to serve for the entire Mono-Bannock body without producing opportunity for error.r

r r

r The unqualified term “Paiute” is unfortunate because it refersr to two quite different peoples, both indeed Shoshonean, and Plateaur Shoshonean at that, but of quite distinct divisions. The otherr Paiute are in southern Utah, southern Nevada, and southern California. Their affiliations are with the Ute and Chemehuevi, andr their speech is divergent enough from that of their northern namesakes to be at first contact mainly unintelligible, at least as connectedr discourse.r

r r

r As a matter of fact, the Mono-Bannock and Ute-Chemehuevir divisions seem nowhere to be even in contact, Shoshoni-Comancher r r r tribes intervening from California to Colorado. The distinctionr between Southern Paiutes and Northern Paiutes will therefore ber rigidly adhered to hereafter whenever the term is used at all. Forr the former term, Chemehuevi is a customary and convenient synonym in southern California. For the latter, “Mono “occupies ar similar position in central California. Only the Northern Paiuter in northern California have no alternative epithet. Paviotso originated in eastern Nevada, and is locally unknown in California.r The northwestern Maidu call the Northern Paiute near them Monozir or Mona, which are

evidently forms of Monachi and Mono. Thisr very fact of its being a related name for a related people wouldr make Monozi a desirable designation were it not that Mono hasr become so definitely identified with the central Californian Shoshoneans of the same division that its extension, even in slightly alteredr form, to a people several hundred miles distant would be certainr to cause confusion. For our northeasterly Californians, then, ther unwieldy designation “Northern Paiute” seems to remain as ther only safe one.r

r r

r The only other native ethnic name known for the Northern Paiuter is Toloma, applied by the northeastern Maidu.r

r r

THE GREAT BASIN CULTURE.

r

r These people should be described in connection with those ofr Nevada and Oregon, of whom they constitute a minute peripheralr fraction. They can, in fact, not be described here because nothingr of any significance is known of them, and little of moment of theirr main body to the east. Their country was un-Californian. Whatr has been said before of Great Basin tribes that belong to Californiar unnaturally and only through the courtesy of arbitrary politicalr lines is particularly applicable here. The land is one of sagebrushr and cedar, as what appears to be really a juniper is currently called.r The acorn of California has vanished. The true pine nut takes itsr place only in a measure. The soil is desert, the mountains rocky,r with timber in spots. Lakes are numerous, but they are evaporationr pools, swampy sinks, or salt basins. Streams run only in the mountains, and flow nowhere. The outlook is wide of necessity, ther population scant, travel and movement almost enforced. The Californian self-chaining to a short compass, with a dim gloom everywhere beyond, is impossible. But, to compensate, subsistence isr slender and a constant makeshift. There may be leisure indeed,r but it is an intermittent idleness, not the occupied and productiver luxury of well-fed time. The imagination has little occasion forr flight; or when the opportunity arises, there is but scant stimulusr r r r in the concrete basis of life. Customs, therefore, remain rude. Theyr are too flexible to bear any ramifying elaboration. Ritual, symbolism, and art attain little intensity, and monotonous simplicity takesr the place of a rich growth. Where an activity specializes, it developsr in isolation, and fails to merge or expand into a broad scheme: eagler hunting, shamans’ singing, mourning customs fix the attention, notr an assemblage of the gods or a coordinated series of rites.r

r r

r The very poverty of Nevadan native civilization endows it with anr interest. Its numberless little but crudely effective devices to struggle along under this burden, its occasional short plunges here orr there, contain a wealth of significance. But we can only glimpser this cultural story from bits of stray knowledge. Its import andr tenor can scarcely be mistaken; but the episodes that make the realr tale have never been assembled.r

r r

r We must leave the Northern Paiute of our northeasterly angle ofr California to some future historian of the bordering States. Thatr they had much in common with their Maidu and Achomawi neighbors in the detail of their existence can not be doubted. But it isr equally certain that in other respects they were true Basin people,r members of a substantially homogeneous mass that extended eastward to the crest of the Rockies, and that in some measure, whetherr to a considerable or a subsidiary extent, was infiltrated with thoughtsr and

practices whose hearth was in the Plains beyond. Several tracesr of this remote influence have already been detected among ther Achomawi.r

r r

THE TWO GHOST-DANCE WAVES.

r

r It was a Northern Paiute, though one of Nevada, Jack Wilson orr Wovoka, who in 1889 in his obscurity gave birth to the great ghost-dancer movement; and before him his father, or another relative, aboutr 1870, originated a similar wave, whose weaker antecedent stimulusr carried it less far and scarcely impressed the American public. Inr both cases the fringe of Northern Paiute whom we hold under consideration were involved with the main body of their kinsmen to ther southeast, and passed the doctrine westward, the first time to ther Modoc, the second to the Achomawi. The later and greater agitationr stopped there: the California Indian inside the Sierra had longr since given up all hope and wish of the old life and adapted himselfr as best he might to the new civilization that engulfed him. But inr the early seventies less than 25 years had passed since the pre-American clays of undisturbed and undiluted native existence. The middle-aged Indian of northern California had spent his early years underr its conditions; the idea of its renewal seemed not impossible; and itsr appeal to his imagination was stirring. From Klamath Lake ther tidings were carried to the Shasta; from them they spread to Karok,r r r r Yurok, and Athabascan tribes. The doctrine, taking new forms, butr keeping something of its kernel, worked its uneasy way about andr somewhere was carried across and up the Sacramento Valley, until,r among the Porno and southern Wintun, it merged with the old religion, crystallized, and remains to-day a recognizable element inr ceremonial.r

r r

TRIBAL DATA.

r

r The band of Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley and on Upper, Middle, andr Lower Alkali Lakes, south of Fort Bidwell, were the Kaivanungavidukw. Tor the north, around Warner Lake in Oregon, but ranging southward toward orr to Fort Bidwell, were the Tuziyammo, also known as Ochoho's band. Ther Honey Lake group were the Waratika or Wadatika, the "*wada*-seed eaters."r East of these, over the State line, the Smoke Creek region seems to haver belonged to the Kuyui-dika or "sucker-eaters," the Pyramid Lake people orr Winnemucca's band. (Pl. 37.)r

r r

r The California limits of the Northern Paiute are not quite certain. Ther doubts that exist have been aired in the foregoing discussions of Achomawi,r Atsugewi, and Maidu. The present population appears to be in the vicinityr of 300. It probably never exceeded double this figure.r

r r

THE MONO.

r r

DESIGNATIONS.

r

r After the alien Washo have been passed in a southward journeyr along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada, Mono-Bannock peopler are again encountered. They can now be named Monos with littler fear of misunderstanding.r

r r

r The word Mono means “monkey” in Spanish, but this signification, some guesses notwithstanding, can be eliminated from consideration of the origin of the term. So can a Yokuts folk etymology,r which derives it from *monai, monoyi*, “flies,” on the ground that ther Mono scaled the cliffs of their high mountains as the insect walksr up the wall of a house. Monachi is the Yokuts term for the people,r corresponding to Miwok Mono-k, and to Maidu Monozi for ther Northern Paiute. It is a meaningless name. The subtraction of ther tribal suffix *chi* leaves a stem of which a Spaniard could hardlyr have made anything but Mono. Whether the Yokuts originatedr the word, or whether it comes from some Shoshonean or other source,r is not known. The Mono call themselves only Nümü, which meansr no more than “persons.”r

r r

r Besides Monachi, the Yokuts call the western Mono Nuta'a (plural Nuchawayi), which, however, is only a directional term meaning “uplanders,” andr therefore generally easterners. That it is not a true ethnic term is clear fromr the fact that Garcés, in 1776, used the same name, in the form Noche, for ther southern foothill Yokuts themselves. Malda is a specific southern Yokuts termr for the Kern River Shoshoneans, and perhaps for all members of the family.r r r r r The eastern Mono of Owens Valley are called by themselves or their kinsmenr Pitanakwat, which probably means “pine-nut-eaters,” after a system of tribalr or band nomenclature that prevails over much of Nevada and the surroundingr Shoshonean regions. The Kern River Tobatulabal call the eastern Mono,r Yiwinanghal; the western Mono, Winanghatal.r

r r

EASTERN AND WESTERN MONO.

r r

r The bulk of Mono territory and population is still in the Greatr Basin; but a branch is established in the high Sierra, at least in itsr marginal, permanently habitable portion, from which they lookr down on the foothill and valley Yokuts. The upper San Joaquin,r Kings, and Kaweah comprise this domain, in which all the piner forest, and some stretches below it, are Mono. The dialect east andr west of the huge crest is not identical, but appears to be remarkablyr similar considering that the two parts of the people have only theirr backs in contact—if contact it be with one of the earth’s greatestr walls between—and that their outlooks are opposite. The western,r cis-Sierra, truly Californian Mono can hardly, therefore, have comer into their present seats very long ago, as the historian reckons; andr they are certainly newer than their neighbors, the Tübatulabal ofr Kern River, or the southern Californians of the same family. Bothr the western and the eastern halves answer to the name Mono, and ther Yokuts call them both Monachi.r

r r

WESTERN MONO DIVISIONS.

r r r

r The western Mono have several distinctive names applied to themr by the Yokuts. It is not clear whether the Mono themselves employr these, or equivalents; nor whether, as the names might indicate, ther Mono have borrowed the tribal organization of the Yokuts, or ther latter merely attribute their own political unity to each Mono groupr to which its habitat gives a topographic unity.r

r r

r On the North Fork of the San Joaquin, close to the Chukchansi, Dalinchi, andr half-mythical Toltichi, as well as the uppermost of the southern Miwok onr Fresno River, was a Mono band that survives in some strength to-day, but forr which no “tribal” name is known.r

r r

r South of the San Joaquin, on Big Sandy Creek, and toward if not on ther heads of Little and Big Dry Creeks, were the Posgisa or Poshgisha. Theirr Yokuts neighbors were the Gashowu.r

r r

r On a series of confluent streams—of which Big, Burr, and Sycamore Creeksr are the most important—entering Kings River above Mill Creek, were ther Holkoma. Towincheba has been given as a synonym and Kokoheba as the namer of a coordinate neighboring tribe, but both appear to be designations of Holkoma villages.r

r r

r At the head of Mill Creek, a southern affluent of Kings River, and in ther pine ridges to the north, were the Wobonuch. Their Yokuts associates werer the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Entimbich. In regard to the latter there isr some confusion whether they are Yokuts or Mono.r

r r r r

r On Limekiln and Eshom Creeks and the North Fork of Izaweah River werer the Waksachi, whose Yokuts contacts were primarily with the Wükchamni.r

r r

r On the Kaweah itself, especially on its south side, the Balwisha had theirr home. They, too, associated with the Wukchamni lower down on their ownr stream, but also with the Yaudanchi on the headwaters of Tule River, ther next stream south.r

r r

r This makes six named western Mono divisions, one each, roughlyr speaking, on each side of the three great streams that flow throughr their territory. Their more precise location appears on the Yokutsr map (Pl. 47).r

r r

EASTERN MONO TERRITORY.

r

r The eastern Mono inhabit a long, arid depression that lies alongr the base of the Sierra. Numerous small streams descend, even onr this almost rainless side, from the snowy summits; and throughr most of the valley there flows one fair-sized longitudinal stream,r the Owens River—the Jordan of California—and, like it, lost in ar salt sea. The exact southward limits of the Mono have not beenr recorded, it appears. The line between them and the Koso, the nextr group beyond, has been drawn between Independence and Owensr Lake; but it is possible that the shores of this sheet should haver been assigned rather to the Mono.r

r r

r Eastward and northward the Mono extend indefinitely across ther diagonal line that gives the State of Nevada its characteristicr contour. There appears to be no consequential change of dialect andr no great modification of custom. On Owens River and around Monor Lake the people are sometimes called Mono and sometimes Paiute; inr western Nevada they are only Paiutes; as the center of that Stater is approached, the Shoshoni name Paviotso begins to be applicable.r To the Paiute of Pyramid Lake they are all, together with the bandsr far in Oregon, one people.r

r r

r To the northwest, toward the Washo, the Mono boundary is formedr by the watershed between Carson and Walker Rivers.r

r r

NUMBERS.

r

r The Mono are to-day the most numerous body of Indians inr California. The eastern Mono alone exceed, according to censusr returns, every group except the Maidu and Pomo; and at that bothr the latter are composite bodies, each including distinct languages,r and are likely to have been more completely enumerated. The returnsr show 1,388 Mono in California. But as Mono and Inyor Counties, which are wholly eastern Mono except for a few Koso, arer credited with nearly 1,200 Indians; and as the western Mono arer about half as numerous as their eastern kinsmen, it is impossible tor avoid the conclusion that the total for the combined group is abover r r r rather than below 1,500. Part of them have probably been classedr under other names, such as Paiute, or reported without tribalr designation.r

r r

r This relatively high standing is, however, of recent date. A century ago the Mono were feeble in numbers compared with manyr other groups. The very inhospitability of their habitat, which thenr caused their population to be sparse, has prevented any considerable influx of Americans and has spared them much of the consequent incisive diminution that a full and sudden dose of our civilization always brings the Indian. They may retain in 1916 a full one-half of their numbers in 1816; the proportion among tribes situatedr as they are is in the vicinity of this fraction. A conservative estimate of their original number is 3,000 to 4,000; 5,000 or 6,000 a veryr liberal figure.r

r r

r Much the same result is reached by comparison. If 50 Yokutsr tribes totaled 15,000 to 20,000, the 6 western Mono divisions higherr in the mountains may have aggregated 2,000 at best; and allowingr double for the eastern division, we are still within the range of ourr estimate.r

r r

r It is a subject for thought that a body of people that once stoodr to their neighbors as three or four to one should now be outrankedr by them one to three, merely because the former were a few milesr more accessible to Caucasian contact.r

r r

CULTURE.

r

r Mono civilization is little known, either as to customs or preserved implements. It is not even certain that they formed a groupr other than in speech and origin. There may have been a deep cultural cleft between the two halves, the western people being essentially Yokuts in practices and ideas, the eastern little else than Nevada Paviotso. Or they may really have been one people, whoser western division had their civilization overlaid with a partial veneerr of Yokuts customs. Information is practically lacking, for ethnologists have put little on record concerning either half of ther group.r

r r

TOTEMIC GROUPING.

r

r The western Mono, at least those on the San Joaquin and veryr likely those on other streams also, possessed one important centralr California institution that had not penetrated to their easternr brothers nor to any trans-Sierra people: the totemic moieties. Butr these moieties exhibit one feature that is neither Miwok nor Yokuts:r they are not exogamous. Marriage is within or without the moiety.r Descent is in the male line, and a group of animals is associated asr r r r “ pets” or “dogs” with each moiety. These animals, at least ther birds among them, were sometimes reared in captivity. When adultr they were either despoiled of their feathers or released unharmed.r The personal name is of Yokuts rather than Miwok type: it is inherited, and generally meaningless, not of totemic connotation.r Chieftainship was dual as among the Yokuts, but the chief of ther moiety represented by the eagle had precedence.r

r r

r Besides being nonexogamous, the Mono moieties are peculiar inr being definitely subdivided. The entire scheme is:r

r r

r *Moiety I*, corresponding to Miwok “land” and Yokuts “downstream;”r Yayanchi.r

r r

r Subdivisions: Dakats, Kunugechi.r

r r

r Totem animals: Eagle, crow, chicken hawk.r

r r

r The name Dakats suggests Kawaiisu *adagatsi*, “crow,” and Yayanchi ther *yayu* hawk, identified with the opposite moiety.r

r r

r *Moiety II*, corresponding to Miwok “water” and Yokuts “upstream:”r Pakwihu.r

r r

r Subdivisions: Tübahinagatu, Puza'ots or Pazo'odz.r

r r

r Totem animals: Buzzard, coyote, *yayu* hawk, bald eagle.r

r r

r Pakwihu is probably from *pakwi*, “fish”; Tübahinagatu perhaps from *tüba*,r which seems to mean “pine nut” in certain Shoshonean dialects—comparer “Tüba-tulabal “; Puza'ots recalls *oza'ots*, “magpie “—a bird of the opposite moiety among the Miwok—hut the etymology seems more than venturesome.r In fact, *oza'ots* may be nothing but a modified loan ward, the Yokuts *ochoch*.r

r r

r The animal associations are the same as among the Miwok andr Yokuts. The *yayu* may prove to be the Yokuts *limik*, the falcon,r and as for the “bald eagle” on the buzzard or coyote side, thisr may be the “fish hawk” whom the Tachi put in the same division.r But the Mono totemism is perhaps looser than that of their neighbors; it is said that a person may change his moiety.r

r r

OTHER NOTES.

r

r The relationship terms of the San Joaquin Mono are, like thoser of the eastern Mono, of Great Basin type. Cross cousins arer “brothers” or “sisters,” not “parents” or “children” as amongr the Miwok and central Yokuts. This circumstance, coupled withr the absence of exogamic regulations, makes it very probable thatr none of the Mono practiced cross-cousin marriage, a peculiar custom established among the Miwok.r

r r

r The western Mono observed rather strictly the taboo betweenr mother-in-law and son-in-law. If speech was necessary, these persons addressed each other in the plural, as if to dull the edge ofr personal communication by circumlocution. This device has already been noted among more northerly tribes. Some restraint orr shame, though of a milder degree, was observed also toward ther r r r father-in-law; and—as among the Yana—between brother and sister. The eastern Mono knew nothing of these customs.r

r r

r The rough Yokuts type of pottery seems to have been made by ther western Mono but its precise range among them is unknown.r Their basketry agreed with that of the Yokuts in forms, technique,r and materials. A diagonally twined cap from the eastern Mono isr shown in Plate 55, *d*.r

r r

r The southern Yokuts report that the Mono cremated their dead;r but it is not clear to what, subdivision this statement refers. Ther eastern Mono about Bishop buried.r

r r

r The mourning anniversary of south and central California wasr probably made by the western Mono. The eastern Mono burnedr considerable property over the graves of dead chiefs and possiblyr of other people, too; and saved their remaining belongings in order to destroy them a year later. This is an echo of the standardr mourning anniversary.r

r r

r The ritual number of the eastern Mono was four.r

r r

The Koso or Panamint.

r r

CONNECTIONS.

r r

r With the Koso (also called Kosho, Panamint, Shikaviyam, Sikaium,r Shikaich, Kaich, Kwüts, Sosoni, and Shoshone) a new division ofr the Plateau Shoshoneans is entered—the Shoshoni-Comanche. Thisr group, which keeps apart the Mono-Bannock and the Ute-Chemehuevi (Fig. 52), stretches in a tenuous band—of which the Kosor form one end at the base of the Sierra Nevada—through the mostr desert part of California, across central and northeastern Nevada,r thence across the region of the Utah-Idaho boundary into Wyoming,r over the Continental Divide of the Rockies to the headwaters of ther Platte; and, as if this were insufficient, one part, and the mostr famous, of the division, the Comanche, had pushed southeastwardr through Colorado far into Texas.r

r r

HABITAT AND POPULATION.

r

r The territory of the westernmost member of this group, our Koso,r who form as it were the head of a serpent that curves across ther map for 1,500 miles, is one of the largest of any Californian people.r It was also perhaps the most thinly populated, and one of the leastr defined. If there were boundaries, they are not known. To ther west the crest of the Sierra has been assumed as the limit of ther Koso toward the Tübatulabal. On the north were the eastern Monor of Owens River. Owens Lake, it seems, should go with the streamr that it receives; and perhaps Koso territory only began east or southr of the sheet; but the available data make the inhabitants of its shoresr r r r " Shoshones "and not "Paiutes." On the south the Kawaiisu andr Chemehuevi ranged over a similarly barren habitat, and there is sor little exact knowledge of ethnic relations that the map has had to ber made almost at random. The boundaries in this desert were certainly not straight lines, but for the present there is no recourse butr to draw them.r

r r

r The fact is that this region was habitable only in spots, in oases,r if we can so call a spring or a short trickle down a rocky canyon.r Between these minute patches in or at the foot of mountains werer wide stretches of stony ranges, equally barren valleys, and alkaliner flats. All through California it is the inhabited sites that are significant in the life of the Indians, rather than the territories; andr boundaries are of least consequence of all. In the unchanging desertr this condition applies with tenfold force; but ignorance prevents ar distributional description that would be adequate.r

r r

r It is only known that at least four successive ranges, with ther intervening valleys, were the portion of this people—the Coso,r Argus, Panamint, and Funeral Mountains, with Coso, Panamint,r and Death Valleys. Thirty years ago they actually lived at fourr spots in this area—on Cottonwood Creek, in the northwestern armr of Death Valley; south of Bennett Mills on the eastern side of ther Panamint Mountains, in another canyon leading into Death Valley;r near Hot Springs, at the mouth of Hall Creek into Panamint Valley; and northwest from these locations, on the west side of Saliner Valley, near Hunter Creek at the foot of the Inyo Mountains.r

r r

r It is not clear whether the terms "Coso "and "Panamint "werer first used geographically or ethnically. The latter is the mostr common American designation of the group, and would be preferable to Koso except that, in the form Vanyume, it has also beenr applied to a Serrano group.r

r r

r Koso population was of the meagerest. It is exceedingly doubtfulr whether the country would have supported as many as 500 souls;r and there may have been fewer. In 1883 an estimate was 150; inr 1891, less than 100; a recent one, between 100 and 150. The Kosor are not sufficiently differentiated from adjoining groups in the popular American mind to make ordinary census figures worth much.r

r r

MANUFACTURES.

r

r The Koso must have lived a very different life from the San Joaquin Valley tribes; but they share many implements with the Yokuts,r through intercourse of both with the Tübatulabal; and it can not ber doubted that ideas and practices were also carried back and forth.r The ceremonial skirt of strings of eagle down is one such evidence.r Whether this traveled from west. to east or the reverse, it is almostr r r certain to have transported with it some religious associations.r (Pl. 42.)r

r r

r Flat feather bands are of the type of the yellow-hammer ornaments so characteristic of the whole cis-Sierra region, but their detailed form, as revealed in total length, inaccuracy of stringing, andr proportion of feather to quill, allies themr more particularly to the corresponding articler of the Luiseño and other southern Californians. (Pl.58.)r

r r

r Baskets, again, are of Yokuts rather thanr southern affinities. The plate or shallowr bowl, it is true, is coiled; but there is a conicalr carrying basket, and it is twined. Ther pitched water basket is indispensable to ar potless desert people. The carrying cap wasr worn by women. It was coiled. The foundationr for coiled ware is a bundle of *Epicampes*r grass stems containing a single woody rod;r the sewing is strands of willow, and blackr patterns are made with the horns of Mart yniar pods, or *Scirpus* bulrush roots soaked in ashes.r For red, tree yucca root is used. Twined vesselsr are of strands of willow or sumac onr shoots of the same. The patterns are also inr *Martynia*, or if red, of tree yucca root.r

r r

r The carrying net is of southern Californiar type (Fig. 53), but without tilt convenientr loops of the Cahuilla form (Fig. 59).r

r r

r Earth-covered sweat houses were usedr regularly, at least by some men. They werer large enough to stand up in. The soil wasr heaped over a layer of “arrowweed,” *Pluchear sericea*. (Pl. 56.)r

r r

r The bow is of juniper, short, and sinew-backed.r The string is sinew, or *Apocynum*,r wild hemp, the usual cordage material. Ther arrow is of willow, or of *Phragmites* cane;r the latter has a long point of greasewood.r The cane arrow is heated in the groove of a stone straightener ofr Yokuts-Cahuilla type, then seized in the teeth and the ends bent.r

r r

SUBSISTENCE.

r

r The most important food in the oakless country was the Nevadar pine nut, from *Pinus monophylla*. Seeds were gathered by beatingr r r as by the more favored Californian tribes. *Oryzopsis*, the desertr sand grass, perhaps furnished the most abundant supply. Seedsr of evening primroses, of *Ephedra*, and of the devil's pincushionr cactus, were also available. Most of these were ground and thenr parched with coals in a shallow basket. The mesquite bean,r *Prosopis*, was pounded in wooden mortars; the stalks of the commonr reed, *Phragmites*, were treated similarly and cakes of the flourr toasted.r

r r

r The "mescal" of the Southwest and southernmost Californiar hardly penetrates the Koso country, but the tree yucca bud affordsr a substitute, which has the advantage of being edible after roastingr on an open fire, whereas the agave butt or stalk requires prolongedr steam cooking in an earth-covered pit.r

r r

r Prickly pear joints, however, are treated by the Koso in thisr manner, and can then be kept indefinitely, or are sun dried andr boiled when wanted. The thorns are first rubbed off.r

r r

r The leaves and shoots of several varieties of crucifers are eaten.r

r r

r In the fertile parts of California clover and other greens arer mostly eaten raw, but the desert vegetation requires repeated boiling,r washing, and squeezing to remove the bitter and perhaps deleterious salts.r

r r

r Animal food is only occasionally obtainable. Rabbits, jack rabbits,r rats, and lizards, with some birds, furnish the bulk. Mountainr sheep take the place of deer as the chief big game. On the shoresr of Owens Lake countless grubs of a fly were scooped out of ther shallow water and dried for food.r

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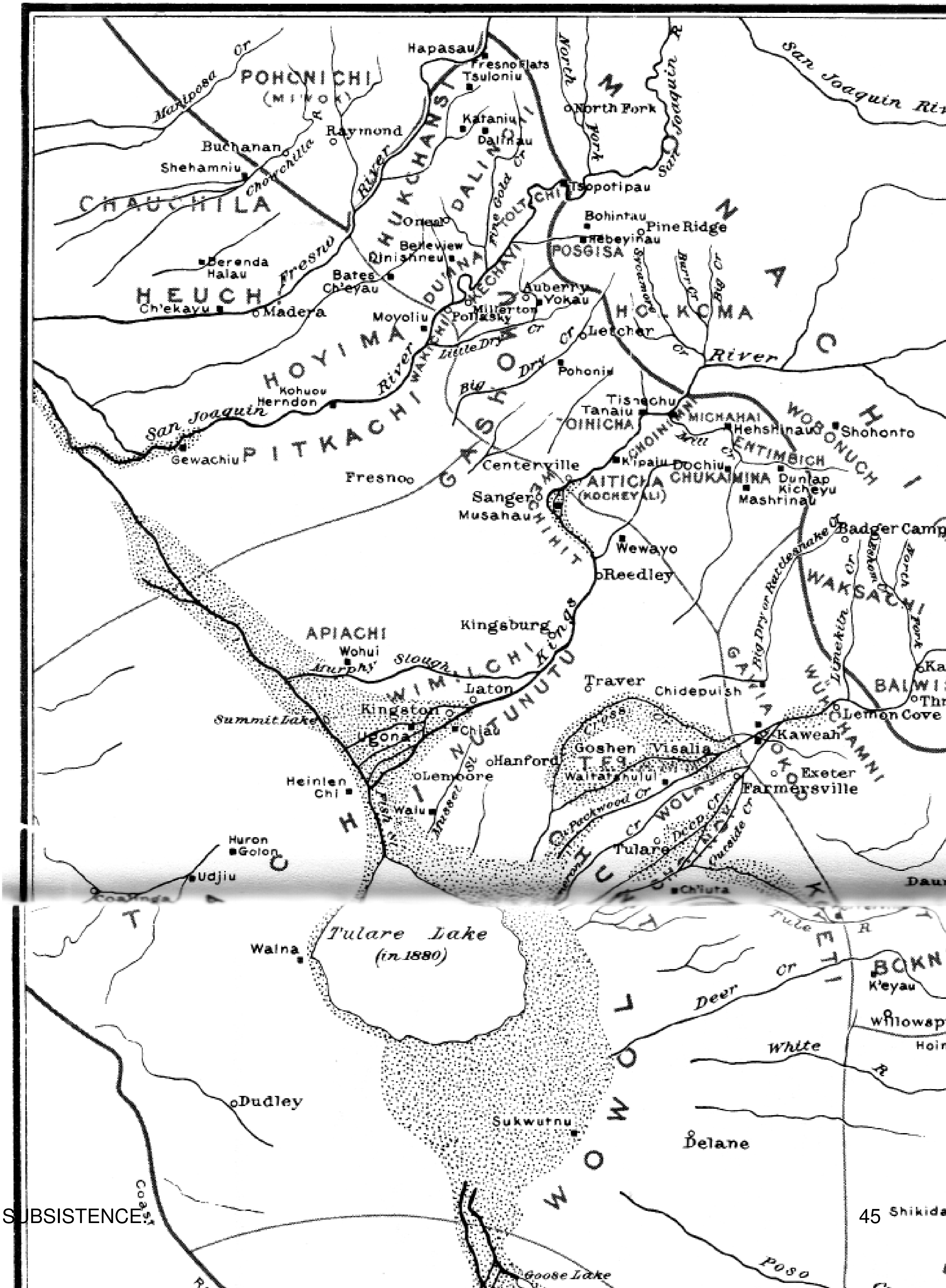
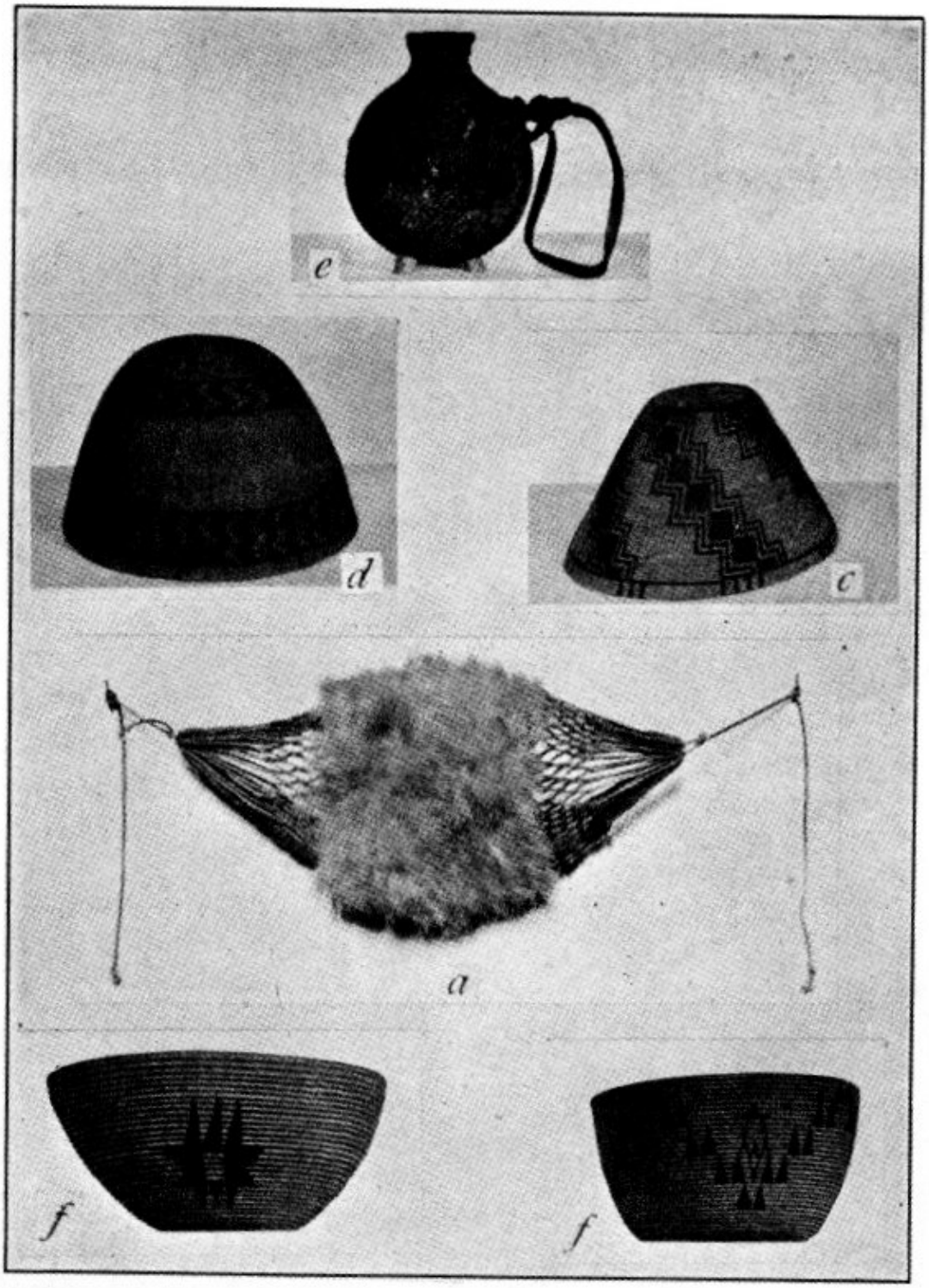

POHONICHI
(MIWOK)
Mariposa Cr
Chowchilla R
Raymond
Buchanan
Shehamniu
CHAUCHILA
Berenda
Halau
Fresno River
HEUCH
Ch'ekayu
Madera
Hapasau
Fresno Flats
Tsuloniu
Kataniu
Dalinau
HUKCHANSI
DALINCHI
Fine Gold Cr
TOLTCHI
North Fork
North Fork
San Joaquin R
San Joaquin River
Tsopotipau
Bohintau
Pine Ridge
Hebeyinau
POSGISA
Sycamore Cr
Burr Cr
Big Cr
HOLKOMA
MONACHI
River
Oneal
Belleview
Dinishneu
Bates
Ch'eyau
DUMNA
KECHAYI
Auberry
Yokau
Millerton
Pollasky
Moyoliu
Letcher
Pohonia
Little Dry Cr
Big Dry Cr
WAKSACHI
HOYIMA
River
Kohuou
Herndon
San Joaquin
Gewachiu
PITKACHI
GASHOWU
Tishechu
Tanaiu
OINICHA
MICHAHAI
Hehshinau
Shohonto
WOBONUCH
ENTIMBICH
Kipaiu
Dochiu
CHUKAIMINA
Dunlap
Kicheyu
Mashrinau
Centerville
AITICHA
(KOCHEYALI)
Sanger
Musahau
Fresno
CHOINIMNI
WECHIHIT
Wewayo
Reedley
Badger Camp
Rattlesnake Cr
Big Dry or Rattlesnake Cr
WAKSACHI
Limekiln Cr
North Fork
Kingsburg
APIACHI
Wohui
Murphy Slough
WIMILCHI
Kings
NUTUNUTU
Laton
Traver
Chidepuish
GAWIA
WUKCHAMNI
BALWISHA
Lemon Cove
Summit Lake
Kingston
Chiau
Ugona
Cross Cr
Goshen
Visalia
Kaweah
Hanford
TELAMNI
Waitatshulul
Exeter
Farmersville
YOKOD
Heinlen
Chi
Lemoore
Fish Sl
Mussel Sl
Walu
Packwood Cr
WOLASI
Deep Cr
Outside Cr
Tulare
CHUNUT
Huron
Golon
Udjiu
TACHI
Coalinga
Ch'iuta
Tule R
KOYETI
Tulare Lake
(in 1880)
Waina
Deer Cr
BOKNINUWAD
K'eyau
Willowap
White R
Dudley
Sukwutnu
Delane
WOWOL
Coast
Poso
Goose Lake
Shikida

r r r
r r

PLATE 55



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r **r Next: 58. Place Names [Miwok and Mono only] •r Contentsr • Previous: 30. The Miwokr** r

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Handbook of Indians of California (1919), by A. L. Kroeber (1919)

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r Chapter 58.r

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r PLACE NAMES.r

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r Table 12.—Source of Some California Place Names of Indian Origin.r

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r [*Editor's note: only Sierra Miwok and Mono place names in the* Handbook *are copied here—dea.*]r

r

Ahwahnee	Miwok village in Yosemite valley.
Chagoopa	Probably Mono
Cosumnes	Miwok village
Hetch Hetchy	Miwok name of a plant.
Kaiaiauwa	Possibly Miwok.
Koip	Probably Mono "mountain sheep."
Kuna	Perhaps Mono "firewood."
Mokelumne	Miwok "people of Mokel," a village.
Oleta	Perhaps Miwok.
Omo	Miwok village.
Omochumnes.	Miwok "people of Umucha."
Pohono	Probably Miwok.
Taboose	Perhaps a Mono Shoshonean word.
Tehipite	Perhaps a Mono Shoshonean word.
Tenaya	Miwok chief.
Tissaack	Miwok place name of mythological origin.
Toowa	Probably a Mono word.
Yosemite	Miwok: usually said to mean "grizzly bear;" perhaps "killers."

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r **r Contentsr • Previous: 58. Place Names [Miwok and Mono only]r** r

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Handbook of Indians of California (1919), by A. L. Kroeber (1919)

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r Appendix.r
r PRONUNCIATION OF NATIVE WORDS.r

r r r

r Many an Indian language contains more different sounds than the Roman alphabetr has letters. If, according to a basic rule of philology, a distinct character were to ber employed for each distinct sound, an alphabet of several hundred characters would haver had to be devised for this book, since there are nearly a hundred native dialects inr California of which some record has been made, and the vast majority of these containr sounds that are not identical. Such a scheme of orthography is both impracticable andr unnecessary for anything but purely linguistic studies. On the other hand, the writing ofr Indian words with the current English values of the letters—sometimes falsely calledr "phonetic"—was out of the question, because words written in this way can often be readr in two or three ways. If anyone can correctly pronounce a foreign word written by ther English method, it is not because he can read it, but because his tongue remembers ther pronunciation. It is impossible to convey to others a fixed pronunciation of alien termsr rendered in English orthography.r

r r

r The system of spelling followed in this work employs only letters of the Romanr alphabet and three or four diacritical marks. In general, the vowel signs have the soundr of the letters in the languages of the continent of Europe, the consonant signs ther sound of the English letters. This system does not permit of any one of the Indianr languages referred to being pronounced with absolute correctness. On the other hand, ifr the description of the sound or sounds denoted by each letter is carefully observed, thisr spelling will permit of the pronunciation of the native terms in this book withr sufficient accuracy for an Indian to recognize all the words quoted from his dialect.r

r r

r a as in *father,* sometimes as in *what;* in Yurok only, sometimes as in *bad.*r

r b usually a little more difficult to distinguish from p than in English.r

r c not employed; s or k has been written instead.r

r ch as in English, or nearly so.r

r d somewhat as in English; but its quality is like that of b, its tongue position like t.r

r dh inr Mohave and Luiseño only, like th in English *the.*r

r dj as in English, but with some approach to ch quality (compare b, d, g).r

r e as in *met, there;* sometimes like a in *mate.*r

r f rare; the upper lip touches the lower lip, not the teeth.r

r g as in *go,* but harder tor distinguish from k than in English; in Yurok, always a "fricative," that is, like g inr Spanish *gente* or colloquial German *wagen;* in Pomo, and occasionally in otherr languages, both values of g occur, but are designated by the one letter.r

r h sometimes as in English; occasionally fainter; sometimes more harshly made withr constriction at the back of the mouth, producing a sound equal, or nearly so, to Spanishr j or German ch. H must always be sounded, even at the end of words.r

r hl a "surd" l, made without vibration of the vocal cords.r

r hw a "surd" w, much like wh in English *which.*r

r i as in *pin,* long or short, or as in *machine,* long or short.r

r j not used, except in dj.r

r r in languages which possess g, is as in English; in those which do not, it is usuallyr somewhat nearer g k than is English k, at least at the beginning and in the middle ofr words. Indian k is often pronounced much farther back in the mouth than English k.r

r l never quite the same as in English, but near enough in sound to be unmistakable.r

r m substantially as in English.r

r n substantially as in English.r

r ng as in English *singing,* not as in *finger*.r

r o as in *come, ore;* when long, sometimes like o in *note,* more frequently like aw in *law*.r

r p as in English, but with a tendency of approach toward b like that of k toward g.r

r q not used; kw has been written instead.r

r r much as in German, French, Spanish, or Irish brogue; only in Yurok it is "soft" as inr American English. Yurok er is a vowel.r

r s is a sound of the same type as English s, though rarely quite identical. In languagesr like Yana and Mohave, in which sh has not been written, s is usually as similar in effectr to English sh as to English s.r

r sh much as in English, but probably never quite the same.r

r t tends to approach d as k does g. Pomo, Yuki, Costanoan, Yokuts, Luiseflo, Diegueño,r Mohave, and perhaps other languages, possess one t made with the tip of the tonguer against the teeth, and another against the front palate, the latter sounding almost liker English tr; but the two sounds have been represented by one letter.r

r th in Mohave only, like English th in thin.r

r tl an "affricative surd" l, much like tl in English *little*.r

r u as in rule, long or short; or as in *full,* long or short; never as in *unit*.r

r ü in Shoshonean, Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Maidu, is spoken with the tongue in position for u,r the lips formed as if for i or e.r It is almost the "opposite" in articulation from German ft or French u.r

r v in Shoshonean, Mohave, and Karok; the lower lip touches the upper, notr the teeth. w as in English, or nearly so. x. not used. The sound of English x isr represented by ks; the "fricative palatal" sound usually denoted by x in works onr American Indian languages is here represented by h.r

r y as in English.r

r z as in English zebra.r

r zh rare; like s in *pleasure* or z in *azure*.r

r ' the so-called glottal stop; a contractionr of the larynx or Adam’s apple, closing the breath passage; a cessation of sound, orr pause, and therefore inaudible except sometimes as a faint click or catch. When writtenr after p, t, k, ch, ts, tl, the closing of the larynx is usually simultaneous with the firstr part of the consonant, while the last portion of the sound is reenforeed and has to ther ear something of the quality of a smack or crack.r

r

r denotes the accented or most loudlyr spoken vowel of the word. Accent is generally less marked in the Californian Indianr languages than in English, and its designation has been omitted in all but a fewr instances.r

r

r when used, denotes a long vowel; but as a rule, length and shortness of vowelsr have not been distinguished. Lengthened consonants are represented by being writtenr twice. This device does not indicate shortness of the preceding vowel as in English.r

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Miwok and Mono chapters from *Handbook of Indians of California* by A. L. Kroeber (1919)

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r [*Editor's note: only Sierra Miwok and Mono chapters from* Handbook *are copied here—dea.*]r

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About the Author

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r Alfred Louis Kroeber (A. L. Kroeber)r was born June 11, 1876.r He is known as an influential anthropologist of ther early 20th century.r He sought to understand the nature of culture and its processesr through studying the cultures of the American Indian people.r He was a professor at University of California Berkeleyr and is most known for his work with Ishi, the last survivorr of the Yahi Indian people.r A. L. Kroeber died in October 5, 1960.r

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Bibliographical Information

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r A. L. Kroeber (Alfred Louis Kroeber) (1876 - 1960),r *Handbook of the Indians of California,*r *Bulletin 78*r of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institutionr (1919)r

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