Meeting on Central and Southern California
Areal Linguistics and Prehistory

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On June 5, 1982 eleven linguists, archaeologists and mission register specialists met in Berkeley, California to discuss their work, focussing on the south central coast of California, i.e., the territory of the Esselen, Salinan and Chumash Indians and their neighbors. In attendance were Wallace Chafe, Robert Gibson, Leanne Hinton, Kathryn Klar, Randall Milliken, Marianne Mithun, Michael J.P. Nichols, Alice Schlichter, David Shaul, Michael Swernoff, and Katherine Turner.

Three types of evidence for the prehistory of the region were presented: archaeological by Robert Gibson and Michael Swernoff; mission records by Robert Gibson and Randall Milliken; and lexical linguistic comparisons by Kathryn Klar and Katherine Turner. The correlation of information from these three areas of research was very high and furnishes an excellent example of how a more complete prehistoric picture of the region is available through the combination of skills.

The archaeological record of the region has not been fully explored, so both Swernoff and Gibson were emphatic in stressing that their findings are sketchy at best at this stage and that much more remains to be done. With this in mind, their evidence shows that the Chumash, Salinan and Esselen were not on good terms: trade patterns show an East-West orientation, not North-South. A trade network of sea shells, shell beads and obsidian had existed between the Salinan and the Yokuts for 2,000 - 2,500 years and between the Chumash and the Yokuts for 9,000 years. The obsidian found in Chumash and Salinan sites is from east of the Sierra Nevada at Coso Hot Springs and Mount Casa Diablo.

Settlement patterns in Salinan and Esselen territories show sites clustered around the routes that were used to get to the coast. They are located on the eastern sides of the ridges of the coastal mountains.

Twelve miles in from the coast in Salinan territory, the quantity of marine material, dating from 400 A.D., is the equivalent of what is found in a coastal midden in the Los Angeles area. The density shows that the inhabitants went to the coast quite often for food, a day or a day and a half away.

The marine orientation in Salinan territory dates to 2,000 - 3,000 B.C. when the tools and technology became available to exploit the littoral zone. It developed with the technology to process acorns. The inland Chumash equally far from the coast did not travel to the coast for food.

There is no archaeological evidence for a "Playano" group along the coast in Salinan territory. The coastal evidence is sketchy, but what there is from Willow Creek dating from 0 A.D. matches up one-to-one with what has been excavated inland, e.g., 450 sites on the Hunter Ligget Military Reservation.
Archaeologically, the Esselen were a transitional people between the Salinan and Costanoan groups, and the Obispeño Chumash were a transitional people between the Salinan and other Chumash groups. The Salinan were organized in a political-religious fashion and the Chumash in an economic fashion, e.g., money beads found in Chumash territory stop at the Salinan border.

In summation, the area shows 7,000 - 8,000 years of cultural continuity, contrasting with 4500 years of cultural continuity for the Rumsen Costanoan.

The mission records have revealed more details concerning the relationships and borders between the Salinan and their neighbors in the early historic period. Marriage ties show a strong East-West orientation, in some cases in a 10 mile wide strip. The assumption is made that high status, or chiefly, families tended to perpetuate themselves better within the mission system than did their more common brethren. Very little kinship interaction is shown between the Northern, Antoniaño Salinan, and Southern, Miguéleño Salinan: both appear to have had more ties with their neighbors than with each other. Several ties are seen with one Esselen village and the Antoniaño and with Chumash and Miguéleño Salinan, although a border between Obispeño Chumash and Miguéleño emerges in studying the marriage ties.

Perhaps the most far-reaching result of Gibson's recent work for all the fields involved in research of the peoples of the area is the new definition of tribal boundaries. According to Gibson's findings, the borders shown on the Kroeber (1925) map have been refined. The northern boundary between the Salinan and the Esselen is placed in the vicinity of Reliz Canyon, just north of King City. The border between the Salinan and Costanoan was in the vicinity of King City and San Lorenzo Canyon. Most strikingly, however, is the boundary between the Salinan and Chumash, moved approximately 40 miles north along the coast to the area of San Carpofora Creek and Ragged Point, and inland near Paso Robles.

The first map shows Gibson's refinement of Salinan historic boundaries as a dotted line, superimposed on the formerly accepted boundaries: the small dots represent tribal divisions and the solid lines, linguistic boundaries. The second map is from Gibson's (1982) thesis, showing Salinan kinship ties. The third map, also from Gibson's thesis, shows only Salinan territory as attested by the mission records.

The linguistic evidence is also preliminary and confined to lexical comparisons. In 1974 Klar found several sets of look-alikes between various Uto-Aztecan languages and Obispeño Chumash, giving strong support for Gamble's (1973) suggestion that the Yokuts were intrusive in the Central Valley.

Turner (1981) corroborates this finding and suggests evidence for even more movements of peoples prehistorically: the Chumash may have been intrusive between the Salinan and Uto-Aztecan groups, and, later, Yokuts.

There is less evidence for friendly, long-term contact between the Salinan and Yokuts than between Salinan and Uto-Aztecan as reflected in lexical similarities, suggesting a more southern and eastern spread for Salinan speakers prehistorically.

The lexical evidence shows only 3 sets of look-alikes between Salinan and Yokuts and 3 more between Salinan, Yokuts and Chumash, for a total of 6. In contrast, there are 19 sets of look-alikes between Salinan and Uto-Aztecan. Possible genetic affiliation may partially account for the 14 sets
of look-alikes found between Salinan and Esselen and the 38 between Salinan and Chumash.

**TABLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Salinan and Esselen</th>
<th>Salinan &amp; Chumash</th>
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<tr>
<td>to be afraid</td>
<td>acorn</td>
<td>ankle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>beads</td>
<td>bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat. aunt</td>
<td>bird (generic)</td>
<td>pigeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body</td>
<td>to give birth</td>
<td>to bathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>bow</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to breathe</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td>blackbird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older brother</td>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>to be brave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chia</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>to break off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child, brother</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>bro.-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chin</td>
<td>to finish</td>
<td>chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be cold</td>
<td>to hunt</td>
<td>clam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to come, go</td>
<td>bush rabbit</td>
<td>clover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau., child</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fawn, cub</td>
<td></td>
<td>to cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be like</td>
<td></td>
<td>dove</td>
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<tr>
<td>old. sister</td>
<td></td>
<td>to be extinguished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td></td>
<td>flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sleep</td>
<td></td>
<td>half</td>
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<tr>
<td>three</td>
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<td>jackrabbit</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>knife, arrowhead</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>near, close</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>valley oak</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ocean</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>pelican</td>
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In conclusion, the lexical evidence, combined with the archaeological findings may suggest that the Salinan were relatively new to their historically confined location. Klar's tentative hypothesis is that the Chumash settled on the mainland from the islands in several stages, with the exception of the Obispeño, who have been on the mainland as far back as we can tell. The Purisimeño were the first to come from the islands and they settled near the Obispeño; the Barbañeno and Inezeno were next and finally the Ventureño. Klar has pointed out that boundaries are not static, and that in addition to tribal movements, we must consider the possibility of movements of speakers of a particular language within linguistic families.

The conference exemplifies the value of communication between the scholars of several related fields. The picture of a region which emerges from such an exchange of information is much more complete than even the best work in just one of the fields could give us.

**Acknowledgment**

I would like to thank the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages for their financial support of this meeting.
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PREFACE

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1982 Conference on Far Western American Indian Languages was not able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. All the papers in this volume were presented in an earlier version at the 1982 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order they appeared on the program.

The participants of the conference gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Professor William Shipley and his students, which made the conference run so smoothly and enjoyably. We also wish to thank the Center for Syntactic Research at the University of California, Santa Cruz, for the support of the conference, without which the conference would not have been possible.

Copies of the 1977, 1978, 1980, and 1981 workshop proceedings are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. The volumes of the 1975 and 1976 workshops, which appeared in the SIU-C series, University Museum Studies, and of the 1979 workshop, which appeared in the OPOL series, are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hard bound volumes from the ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 3250 Prospect St., N.W., Washington, DC 20007.

The 1983 Hokan Languages Workshop will meet at The University of California, San Diego, June 16-18, 1983.

James E. Redden, Editor
Carbondale, July 1983
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