

## Chapter 2. Native Languages of West-Central California

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This chapter discusses the native language spoken at Spanish contact by people who eventually moved to missions within Costanoan language family territories. No area in North America was more crowded with distinct languages and language families than central California at the time of Spanish contact. In the chapter we will examine the information that leads scholars to conclude the following key points:

- The local tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula spoke San Francisco Bay Costanoan, the native language of the central and southern San Francisco Bay Area and adjacent coastal and mountain areas.
- San Francisco Bay Costanoan is one of six languages of the Costanoan language family, along with Karkin, Awaswas, Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon.
- The Costanoan language family is itself a branch of the Utian language family, of which Miwokan is the only other branch. The Miwokan languages are Coast Miwok, Lake Miwok, Bay Miwok, Plains Miwok, Northern Sierra Miwok, Central Sierra Miwok, and Southern Sierra Miwok.
- Other languages spoken by native people who moved to Franciscan missions within Costanoan language family territories were Patwin (a Wintuan Family language), Delta and Northern Valley Yokuts (Yokutsan family languages), Esselen (a language isolate) and Wappo (a Yukian family language).

Below, we will first present a history of the study of the native languages within our maximal study area, with emphasis on the Costanoan languages. In succeeding sections, we will talk about the degree to which Costanoan language variation is clinal or abrupt, the amount of difference among dialects necessary to call them different languages, and the relationship of the Costanoan languages to the Miwokan languages within the Utian Family. In a final section of this chapter, we document the emergence of the alternative labels Olhonian and Ohlone for the Costanoan language family.

### EARLY LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION

#### Father Palou on Monterey and San Francisco Languages

Franciscan missionary Francisco Palou penned the first commentaries about the native language of the San Francisco Peninsula at the time of Spanish contact. Palou arrived in California in the spring of 1773. He served for a year at Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Mission Carmel) before he accompanied the second Spanish

exploratory expedition to the San Francisco Peninsula, under Fernando Rivera y Moncada, in the fall of 1774. The expedition arrived in the Palo Alto area at the south end of the Peninsula on November 28, 1774. There Palou heard words spoken by members of the local Puichon tribe that he recognized from Mission Carmel. He wrote:

At two in the afternoon six heathen from the nearest village came to visit us, all unarmed.... I said to them in the language of Monterey a few things about God and heaven, but, although they were very attentive, I was not satisfied that they understood me, although when I spoke to them about other things they seemed to understand me, and when they spoke I understood many of their words, although I perceived that there was a great difference between the languages (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:265-266).

The Palo Alto area was not the only place where Palou wrote about vocabulary similarities between San Francisco and Monterey Bay local languages during the 1774 exploration. A few days later, among the Urebre people near the north end of the San Francisco Peninsula, he wrote:

I again made them presents of beads and a little tobacco, and as soon as they saw it they called it by the same word as at Monterey, *savans*. They began to smoke, and I noticed in them the same ceremony of blowing the smoke upwards, repeating some words with each puff. I only understood one, *esmen*, which means sun.... We set out from the camp at half-past eight, and the heathen went to the beach of the bay, which they call *aguas*, in distinction from those of Monterey, who call it *calen* (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:278).

Then, on his way south along the Pacific Coast from the Golden Gate, on December 6, he wrote, "I observed that these people here did not understand the language of Monterey" (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:289). Palou clearly did not consider the Monterey Bay and San Francisco Peninsula languages to be the same.

Palou became the founding missionary at Mission Dolores in 1776. After spending nine years at the mission, he retired to Mexico in 1785 to write *The Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Junípero Serra*. In that work he equated the languages and cultures of the Indian peoples of Mission Santa Clara and Mission Dolores. "The natives are of the same language as those of the Port, with one or two very slight differences. They also have the same customs, as they are only fifteen leagues distant" (Palou [1786] in James 1913:214).

### Linguistic Notes from Early Monterey

In the early 1770s, before any mission was constructed in the San Francisco Bay Area, the Franciscans came to realize that two completely distinct languages were spoken in the environs of Mission Carmel, at the south end of Monterey Bay. The earliest surviving written commentary about those two distinct languages, now called Rumsen Costanoan and Esselen, was penned by M. de Lamanon. Lamanon arrived at Monterey with the French La Perouse scientific expedition in 1786. He wrote:

Monterey, and the mission which depends on it, includes the country of the Achastliens and the Ecclemachs.... The country of the Ecclemachs stretches out at more than twenty leagues to the east of Monterey; the language of its inhabitants differs absolutely from all those of their neighbors" (Lamanon [1786] in Broadbent 1972:53).

Lamanon's Achastliens are recognizable as the people of Achasta, one of five important villages of the Rumsen local tribe of the lower Carmel River vicinity. Lamanon's Ecclemachs were the local tribe of the mountainous upper Carmel River drainage. They were identified by that name in some early

Mission Carmel records, but were more commonly identified as “Excelens” in those records; their name has since been applied to the language that they spoke, Esselen.

In a 1789 Mission Carmel report, Franciscan missionaries Arenaza and Señán also contrasted the two major languages in the Monterey vicinity. They used different names for the two groups than had Lamonon in 1786.

All the neophytes of this Mission lived (as the gentiles do now) in a large number of rancherías, usually containing a small number of people, with a captain who is arbitrarily chosen and removed... Nonetheless, to facilitate and make more expedient the government of the mission these days, they are considered as two Nations: the Rancherías of Eslanajan and of Rumsen. These two rancherías have different native languages, and both groups include various rancherías of their own language, with no substantial variation (Arenaza and Señán 1789).

In this quote we see the application of the names of specific local tribes to entire language groups. Arenaza and Señán elevated the term Rumsen, the name of the local tribe of the Monterey Peninsula and lower Carmel Valley (the people called Achastliens by Lamonon in 1786), to the name for the language spoken by the Rumsen local tribe and the neighboring Sargentaruc, Ensen, and Calendaruc local tribes. They elevated another local tribe name, that of the Eslanajan group of the later Mission Soledad area, to represent the second language spoken at Mission Carmel (which Lamonon had called Ecclemach). Rumsen continues to be the name linguists apply to the specific Costanoan language of the Mission Carmel vicinity, but Eslanajan has given way to Esselen as the name for the other language.

The priests at Mission Carmel developed a trilingual Rumsen-Esselen-Spanish manual of religious instruction. A copy of the *doctrina* was brought back to Spain by members of the Malaspina exploratory expedition, who visited Monterey in 1792. It has since been transcribed and published (Cutter 1990). One writer from the Malaspina expedition introduced the alternative spellings “Runsienes” and “Eslenes” for the Rumsen and Esselen languages (see Espinosa y Tello [1792] in Jane 1930:127-130), illustrating typical variation in representing foreign sounds with the written word.

### The 1812 *Interrogatorio* Responses

The Spanish government sent an ethnographic questionnaire to civil and ecclesiastical authorities throughout its possessions in 1812. Question 3 in the questionnaire reads, “Let them state what languages these people generally speak and if they understand any Spanish” (Geiger and Meighan 1976:19). By 1813, when the California missionaries received the questionnaire, all seven of the missions built in Costanoan language family territory were in place. Responses were received from all of those missions.<sup>6</sup> Only two of the responses to the language question are particularly valuable for this study, those from Mission Dolores and Mission San Juan Bautista.

At Mission Dolores Fathers Ramon Abella and Juan Sainze de Lucio responded to Question 3 as follows:

Excepting the native Indians all speak Spanish. Even many of the natives speak it. Five languages are spoken at this mission. The natives who have reached the age of thirty years and more never learn another language than their own (Abella and Sainz de Lucio [November 11, 1814], translated in Geiger and Meighan 1976:21).

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<sup>6</sup> Due to historic circumstances, the California responses to the 1812 *Interrogatorio* never seem to have been sent back to Spain. Instead, they languished in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives until first published by A. L. Kroeber (1908), then republished with new commentary by Geiger and Meighan (1976).

Later evidence shows that the five languages at Mission Dolores were not merely local dialects of various San Francisco Peninsula local tribes. By 1814 Mission Dolores had a polyglot population consisting predominately of Coast Miwok speakers, with large numbers of Patwin speakers from the northeast, some San Francisco Bay Costanoans, some Bay Miwoks, and a few Karkin Costanoans.

The other important response, for purposes of linguistic studies, came from Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta at Mission San Juan Bautista. Father Arroyo, a native of northern Spain, had arrived in California to serve as a missionary at San Juan Bautista in 1808. He was to become an expert on local native languages and was to produce important linguistic documents on them. In his 1814 response to Question 3, Arroyo de la Cuesta pointed to gradual dialect change among neighboring groups of speakers of Costanoan languages.

The Indians of this mission and of this region speak the language of the area where they were born. Though they appear to speak distinct languages this is only accidentally true; that is, some of the words are different only because of the manner of pronunciation, in some cases rough, in others agreeable, sweet and strong. Hence it is that the Indians living in a circumference of thirty or forty leagues [eighty to one hundred and ten miles] understand one another (Arroyo de la Cuesta [May 1, 1814], translated in Geiger and Meighan 1976:20-21).

In 1814, all of the local tribes at his mission, San Juan Bautista, were from Coast Range communities within 40 miles of that mission. Clearly, Arroyo de la Cuesta was emphasizing that they all spoke similar dialects, and that tribes at adjacent missions up to 110 miles away, i.e., as far north as Carquinez Strait, spoke dialects related to those at San Juan Bautista.

### Arroyo de la Cuesta's Linguistic Studies

By the end of 1815, Father Arroyo de la Cuesta completed a grammar and a phrase book of the Mutsun language spoken by the Mutsun local tribe at Mission San Juan Bautista (1861, 1862). Notes in his phrase book indicate that all the Coast Range local tribes in the San Juan Bautista vicinity spoke dialects nearly equivalent to the Mutsuns.<sup>7</sup>

Arroyo de la Cuesta visited Mission Dolores on the San Francisco Peninsula in January of 1821, where he filled a portion of a notebook with vocabularies and notes about five distinct languages spoken there at the time—Karkin, Huchiun, Huimen, Saclan, and Suisun. Only the first two of the five languages have proven to represent the Costanoan language family.

The notes from Arroyo de la Cuesta's 1821 Mission Dolores visit include the first detailed proofs for similarities between Monterey and San Francisco Bay Costanoan languages. His initial entry during the visit contained a word list from Mariano Sagnege from the Carquin local tribe of the northeast side of the San Francisco Bay estuary.<sup>8</sup> Regarding Mariano's language, Arroyo de la Cuesta wrote:

I marveled to hear at this place numbers like those of the Mutsun of San Juan Bautista and I noted that the same fundamental language exists at San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista, San Carlos, and Soledad, as far as the

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<sup>7</sup> Modern linguists have expanded the meaning of the word Mutsun from the name of the local tribe to a name for the language spoken in the San Juan Bautista region by such local tribes as the Ausaimas, Orestacs, and Pagsines, as well as the original Motssum local tribe.

<sup>8</sup> Mariano Antonio Sagnege, listed by Arroyo de la Cuesta as his Karkin consultant, was baptized at Mission Dolores from the Carquin local tribe in 1810 at the age of 25 (SFR-B 3887).

Chalones at this last. But it is so varied at each mission that it seems to be a distinct idiom at each. In reality this is not true, as anyone may see, and observe. This language is understood for 45 or 50 leagues from north to south. Now for the Karkin, which means 'to trade' (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837).

A list of 34 Karkin words and phrases follow this commentary.<sup>9</sup> From Arroyo de la Cuesta's word list and comments, Madison Beeler would be able to prove in 1961 that the Carquins were the northernmost speakers of any Costanoan language.

Following the Karkin word list, Arroyo de la Cuesta added additional commentary emphasizing the clinal nature of the language shifts from one Costanoan-speaking local tribe to another:

The closer two rancherias are to one another, the closer the pronunciations seem in the one as the other, while the farther they are apart, the greater the discrepancies; but the mechanism, or syntax, seems to remain the same. So it is that in all the above-mentioned missions the language is post-positive. Regarding the above, enough (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837).

Following that entry, Arroyo de la Cuesta wrote a preface to a word list obtained from Celso Tolecse, a man from the Huchium local tribe. The Huchiums were the immediate western neighbors of the Karkins on the east side of San Francisco Bay.<sup>10</sup>

Juichun: the expressions given to me at the Mission of Our Father by Celso Tolecse, who is of the rancheria and language Juichun, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of January, 1821, with the permission of Fathers Jose and Blas (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837).

Following the Huchium word list, Arroyo added a surprising comment that initially seems to contradict his previous statements regarding gradual changes along the Costanoan language cline.

Note: Now these words are more similar to those of the Mutsun of San Juan Bautista than they are to the Karkin, all [the words] being the same, in principal" (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837).

Arroyo de la Cuesta's emphasis on the abrupt change between Karkin and Huchium has been substantiated by later linguists, who consider Karkin to be an outlier among the Costanoan languages, a branch separate from all the others together.

Arroyo de la Cuesta added three more word lists in his notebook, following those for Karkin and Huchium. Next in order was Saclan, which Arroyo knew to be a non-Costanoan language, but which was not recognized by linguists as a Miwok language until the middle of the twentieth century (Beeler 1955). Arroyo de la Cuesta wrote:

Note well. This idiom [Saclan] has no connection with the Karkin, nor with the Juichun, nor with those of San Juan, Santa Cruz, San Carlos, etc., etc., but it is post-positive, as will be seen next .... [vocabulary list] .... Here is seen the Saclan, which I like very much, and it is post-positive. As I have said, at root Karkin and Juichun are one language, Saclan is another, entirely distinct (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-37:22-23).

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<sup>9</sup> Arroyo de la Cuesta (1821-1837) used the letter "K" and coined the name "Karkin" for the language of Carquinez Strait. Few other Spanish priests of the early nineteenth century used the letter "K." Thus, the name always appeared as "Carquin" in mission register entries. One other priest did spell it "Karqin" throughout the Mission Dolores census of 1818-1822 (Merriam 1970:51).

<sup>10</sup> Celso Tolecse was baptized at Mission Dolores in 1794 at age seven (SFR-B 1434).

Arroyo de la Cuesta's next entry was a Suisun vocabulary supplied by Samuel Copitacse, a vocabulary that represents the Patwin language. At the end of that vocabulary, he mentioned the San Francisco Peninsula people in passing, calling them the Kakonda. He wrote:

I conclude these [Suisun] phrases, which have no equivalents, neither in the graceful Saclan nor in the conspicuous Karkin, Juichun, nor in Kakonda (which is of the present mission), nor mayhaps [*ni acaso*] in the Huimen of the other side of the harbor, of which I am going to speak (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837:25-26).

Arroyo de la Cuesta applied the term "Kakonda" to the people of Mission Dolores itself, presumably the Yelamu group. Other evidence indicates that Kakonda means "Southerners" in San Francisco Bay Costanoan. Derivations of that word might be applied by any speaker to any local tribe to his or her south.<sup>11</sup> It is not surprising that Arroyo de la Cuesta did not take down a vocabulary from any Yelamu people. Only mission-born Yelamu descendents were still alive when Arroyo visited San Francisco in 1821.

The final vocabulary Arroyo de la Cuesta recorded at Mission Dolores in 1821 was taken from a member of the Huimen local group of the southern tip of the Marin Peninsula. The introduction to that word list developed out of the concluding quote on Suisun that is transcribed above. It reads:

[The Suisun words have no equivalents in] ... Huimen, of the other side of the port, of which I am going to speak, and is very common at this mission of Our Patron Saint Francis of Asisi and is completely distinct from the three idioms that I have just written down (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837:25-26).

Arroyo de la Cuesta's Huimen word list represents the Coast Miwok language.

In conclusion, Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta gathered the evidence necessary to prove that five separate languages were spoken at Mission Dolores by January of 1821. They were San Francisco Bay Costanoan (Huchiun), Bay Miwok (Saclan), Patwin (Suisun), and Coast Miwok (Huimen), and the geographically limited Karkin Costanoan. His Mission Dolores evidence would not be used by linguists or ethnogeographers, however, for another 130 years.

## PHILOLOGICAL STUDIES OF COSTANOAN LANGUAGES

The first formal classification of the native languages of North America was proposed by Albert Gallatin in 1836. He did not have the various Spanish sources at hand and thus his system did not include any California languages (Goddard 1996:290-291). The first American philologist to collect any native California language word lists was Horatio Hale of the 1838-1842 United States Exploring Expedition into the Pacific. Among the word lists he collected was one from a member of the Costanoan language family, a short Chalon language vocabulary taken at Mission Soledad in 1842. It was published in 1846 in Hale's *Ethnography and Philology*, the sixth and last volume of a series of reports from the expedition.

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<sup>11</sup> The term Kacunda appears in an 1832 Mission San Francisco Solano death record of Hipolito Gilac, to whit: "Hipolito ... the interpreter of the three languages that predominate at the mission, I mean to say four, which are Kacunda, Petaluma, Suisun, and Huiluc" (SFS-D 443, entry by Buenaventura Fortuny). Petaluma, Suisun, and Huiluc refer to languages now called Coast Miwok, Patwin, and Wappo, respectively. Much later, J.P. Harrington (1921-1929:286) was told by a Chochenyo Costanoan speaker that "Kakontush" meant "southerners" in the East Bay Chochenyo Costanoan language (see Appendix A).

Hale was followed to California by a number of linguists and agents for linguists during the initial American Period. The information they gathered, together with the information from the Spanish period, has led to the language classifications that are accepted today. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century efforts to collect and classify Costanoan language family material are described below in this section.

### **The Mission Dolores Romonan Vocabulary of 1850**

The first and only recorded native San Francisco Peninsula vocabulary was obtained at Mission Dolores in 1850 by Adam Johnson. Johnson was the newly arrived Indian Agent for the United States government in 1850. He gathered a vocabulary of the native language of Mission Dolores from mission native Pedro Alcantara. Philologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft published the vocabulary in 1853, along with the following contextual information provided by Johnson:

The tribes of Indians upon the Bay of San Francisco, and who were, after its establishment, under the supervision of the mission of Dolores, were five in number: the *Ah-wash-tes*, *Ol-hones*, (called, in Spanish, Costanos, or Indians of the Coast) *Al=-tah-mos*, *Ro-mo-nans*, and *Tu-lo-mos*. There were, in addition to these, a few small tribes, but all upon the land extending from the entrance to the head [southern end-ed.] of San Francisco Bay, spoke the same language.<sup>12</sup>

At the time of the establishment of the mission these tribes were quite numerous.

The information contained in this was obtained from an aged Indian at the mission of Dolores, named Pedro Alcantara. He is a native of the Romonan tribe, and was a boy when the mission was founded (Johnson in Schoolcraft 1853:506).

Through sound correspondence, we argue that Pedro Alcantara's list includes three of the four northern San Francisco Peninsula tribes identifiable from the mission records—the Yelamus, alias Aguazios, of San Francisco (*Ah-wash-tes*), the Ssalsons of San Mateo, who had a key village called Altagmu (*Al-tahmos*), and the Aramai of Pacifica (Romonans). The small Urebure group of the northern Peninsula is missing from the list. Of Alcantara's other two groups, his *Ol-hones* are clearly recognizable as the *Oljones* of the San Mateo County coast at San Gregorio. Only his *Tu-lo-mos*, perhaps a reference to "Tulare" or Yokuts people of California's Central Valley, are not recognizable as a local San Francisco Peninsula group.

This cover note for Pedro Alcantara's "Romonan" vocabulary led to the formulation of two subsequent labels for the language family it represented, Costanoan and Olhonean. Schoolcraft extracted the term "Costano" from Johnson's note and used it as the name of Pedro Alcantara's language. It became the basis for Costanoan, the name later used by linguists for the family of languages that included that of Pedro Alcantara.<sup>13</sup> Another of the names on Schoolcraft's list from

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<sup>12</sup> Schoolcraft (1853) published the Spanish word *Costaño* without the tilde over the letter "n." We did not attempt to find Adam Johnson's original 1850 letter, probably in the National Archives, in order to find out how he spelled the word.

<sup>13</sup> Pedro Alcantara was born in 1789 at Mission Dolores to newly baptized San Francisco Peninsula parents (SFR-B 553). Adam Johnson wrote that he was from the Romonan tribe, which we suggest represents the "Aramai" group of the present Pacifica, just down the Pacific coast from San Francisco. Pedro Alcantara's father was stated at his own baptism to have been from the Cotegen, a local tribe further down the Pacific Coast at Purisima Creek (SFR-B 534). Pedro's mother was baptized as a Yelamu from the immediate Mission Dolores vicinity (SFR-B 535). All three groups represent the original San Francisco Peninsula people.

Adam Johnson—Ol-hones—became the root for the labels Olhonean and Ohlone, two recent alternative names for the Costanoan language family.

### Costano and Mut-sun, 1860-1877

Robert Gordon Latham, one of the great philologists of the mid-nineteenth century, produced the first overall classification of native west-central California languages in 1860. Latham (1860:347-350) utilized the few vocabularies from California available to him to propose three linguistic groups in west-central California. They were Moquelumne (including various Miwok word lists and a Mission Santa Clara Costanoan sample), Costano (represented only by Johnson's word list from Pedro Alcantara), and Salinas (including short southern Costanoan, Esselen, and Salinan word lists from missions Carmel, Soledad, San Antonio, and San Miguel). The Salinas cluster, grouping Esselen, Salinan, and Costanoan vocabularies into a single language family, was quite wrong. Latham would have avoided his mistaken grouping had he had access to Arroyo de la Cuesta's extensive Mutsun manuscripts, which were published in New York in 1861 and 1862 as volumes 4 and 8 of *Shea's Library of American Linguistics*.

Linguist Albert Gatschet (1877:157-158) straightened out some of Latham's classification problems. In an 1877 article he proposed two language families in west-central California, the Mutsun (representing all Costanoan vocabularies then known) and the Chocuyem (representing Miwokan vocabularies). Gatschet suggested that the two groups might really represent a single language family (a conclusion now accepted with recognition of the Utian family), but felt that the evidence was not strong (Goddard 1996:296).

John Wesley Powell went farther than Gatschet in 1877, lumping together Mutsun (Costanoan) and Chocuyem (Miwokan) vocabularies into a single Mut-sun language family in the appendix to Stephen Power's *Tribes of California*. He based his Mut-sun family upon eight Miwok vocabularies and four Costanoan vocabularies.<sup>14</sup> Soon after 1877, linguists moved away from consideration of Costanoan and Miwokan as a single language family, and did not return to the concept until the 1960s.

### Powell and Kroeber Classify Costanoan

Powell did not support a unified Costanoan-Miwokan language family for long. As head of the Bureau of American Ethnology, he sent H. H. Henshaw and Jeremiah Curtin to California in the 1880s to gather more information on this language problem, among others (Goddard 1996:296, 300). In the 1891 *Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico*, he utilized the Curtin and Henshaw information to re-divide the Costanoan and Miwokan languages into two separate families (Powell 1891:7).

Powell's 1891 work was the first to apply the term Costanoan to the language group, rather than Costano. His 1891 map of North American language areas showed the Costanoan and Miwokan (his "Moquelumnan") language groups in the general locations accepted today (Figure 4). From 1891 until the 1970s, Costanoan was the accepted term used by all linguists and anthropologists in their discussions of the Costanoan language group (Dixon and Kroeber 1903; Kroeber 1904, 1910, 1925; Levy 1978a). The term Mut-sun was never again considered by the professional linguistics community as a cover term for the Costanoans and Miwoks together, as it had been by Powell (in Powers) in 1877.

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<sup>14</sup> The four Costanoan vocabularies Powell used in his 1877 formulation of the Mut-sun language family included Pedro Alcantara's Costano word list from Mission Dolores, Arroyo de la Cuesta's Mutsun material from San Juan Bautista, a Mission Santa Clara vocabulary obtained by Father Gregory Mengarini, and a Mission Santa Cruz vocabulary that had been published by Alexander Taylor in 1856 (Powell in Powers 1877:535-559).

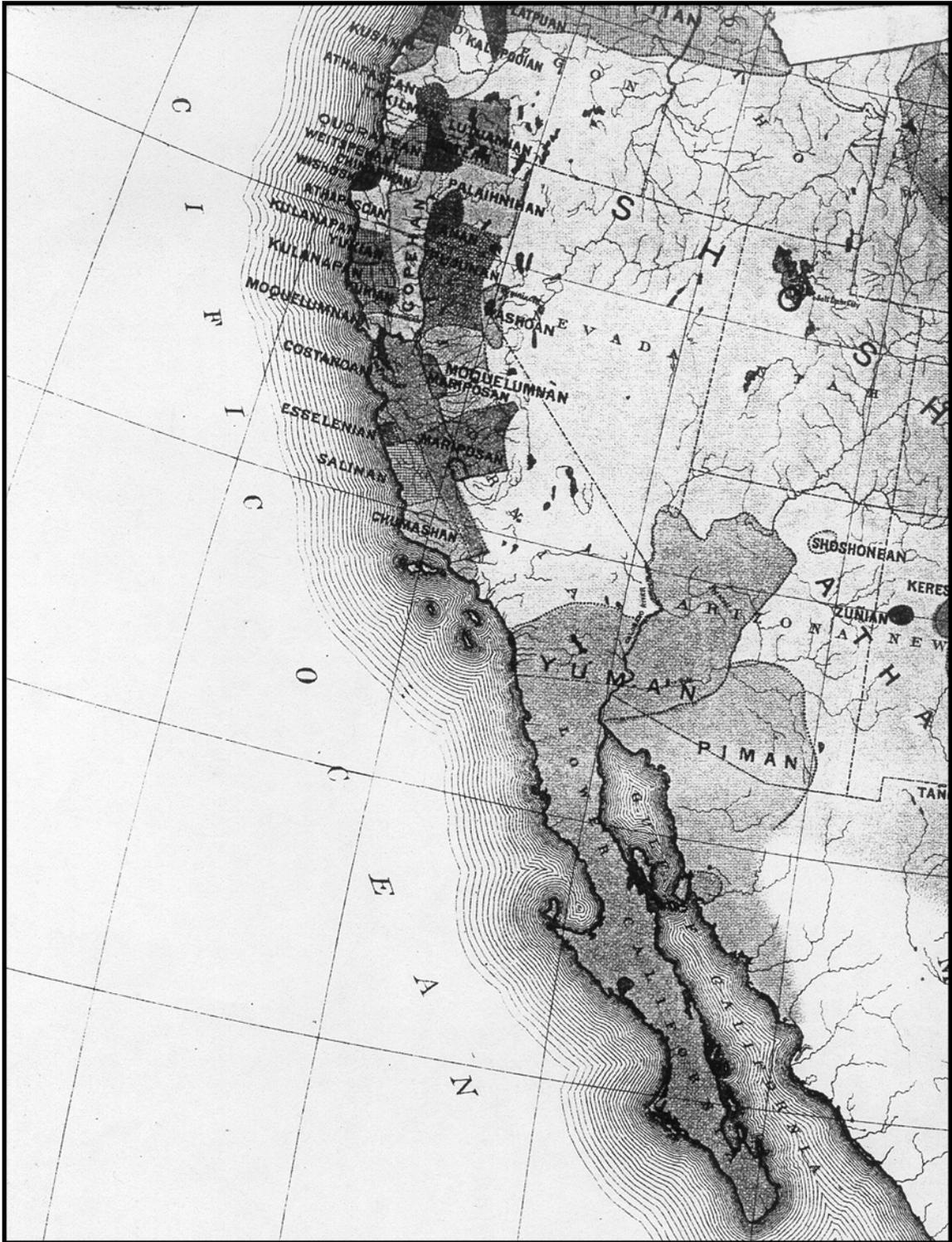


Figure 4. A Portion of John Wesley Powell's 1891 Map of Linguistic Stocks of North America.

A. L. Kroeber became the initial head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley in 1901. In his first publication on California linguistic families, co-authored with Roland Dixon, Kroeber mapped the Costanoans from the coast to the west bank of the San Joaquin River, as had Powell in 1891 (Dixon and Kroeber 1903). Subsequently, Kroeber produced the first detailed phonological and lexical discussion of Costanoan dialects in an article entitled “The Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco” (Kroeber 1904).

Kroeber wrote a short article on the distribution of the Costanoan language family in Volume 1 of Frederick Hodge’s encyclopedic *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* in 1907. The part of the entry relevant to the language family distribution is repeated here:

**Costanoan Family.** A linguistic family on the coast of central California... The territory of the Costanoan family extended from the Pacific ocean to San Joaquin r[iver], and from the Golden Gate and Suisun Bay on the N[orth] to Pt Sur on the coast and a point a short distance s[outh] of Soledad in the Salinas valley on the s[outh]. Farther inland the s[outh] boundary is uncertain, though it was probably near Big Panoche cr[reek] ... (Kroeber 1907:351).

In 1910, Kroeber first identified divergent Costanoan languages and provisionally described their distributions, in an article entitled “The Chumash and Costanoan Languages.” He wrote:

Seven Franciscan missions were founded in territory held by Indians of Costanoan speech: Soledad, San Carlos near Monterey, San Juan Bautista, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara near the present city of San Jose in Santa Clara county, San Jose near Irvington in Alameda county, and Dolores in San Francisco. To these were brought, before the close of the Mission period, probably all the Costanoan Indians then living.

Some record has been made of the prevailing language at each mission, which was normally the dialect of the immediate district. Seven forms of Costanoan speech are therefore known to have existed.

Unfortunately it seems impossible to learn anything as to such other dialects as there may have been, as to transitional idioms connecting the “standard” languages of the missions, or of the territorial extent of each form of speech. It is almost certain that the seven published vocabularies do not comprise all the varieties of the Costanoan language (Kroeber 1910:239).

Kroeber was correct in emphasizing that his seven mission-based language areas were hypothetical, based upon limited data. He was clearly aware that unsampled transitional Costanoan dialects may once have existed.<sup>15</sup>

The earliest mapping of Kroeber’s seven hypothetical Costanoan language areas appears in his 1925 *Handbook of the Indians of California*. He mapped the area boundaries on the basis of watersheds in proximity to the various missions (Figure 5). In his text he again emphasized the hypothetical nature of the seven language regions.

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<sup>15</sup> Kroeber visited and collected small amounts of information from various Costanoan speakers between 1901 and 1914. His fieldnotes, now in The Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley, are organized into notebooks dedicated to specific language groups, notebooks to which he added entries over time. Notebooks 24, 52, and 57 contain his Ohlone/Costanoan information (Kroeber 1904-1914).

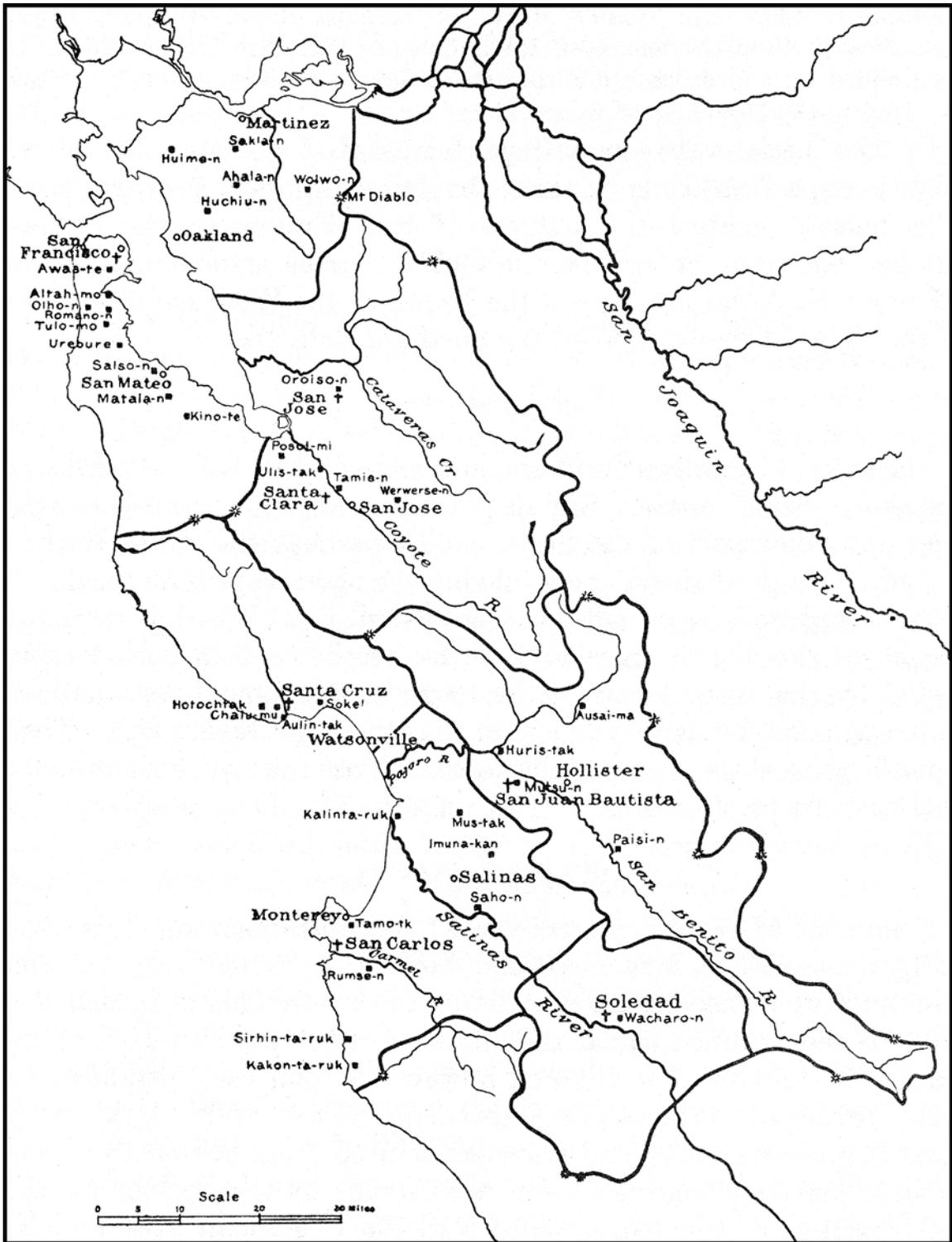


Figure 5. Kroeber's 1925 Map of Costanoan Language Areas and Villages.

Indians not only of distinct villages, but of separate dialects, were brought together [at the missions], and found themselves mingled with utterly alien converts from the north, the south, and the interior. As along the entire coast of the State, there was no political cohesion worth mentioning between the little towns. Native appellations of wider applicability were therefore lacking; and the result was that the dialects that can be distinguished are known chiefly by the names of the missions at which each was the principal or original one. Where native terms have obtained a vogue in literature, they appear to be only village designations used in an extended sense. Of this kind are Mutsun, for the dialect of San Juan Bautista; Rumsen or Runsien for that of Monterey; and Tamien for Santa Clara....<sup>16</sup>

Our information upon Costanoan speech is restricted to some records, often pitiful at that, of the idiom prevailing at such and such points that happened to be selected by the missionaries for their foundations. We can only start from these points as centers, and conjecture the limits of each dialect group by following the watersheds on the map (Kroeber 1925:463).

Kroeber did not intend his hypothetical Costanoan language areas to represent coherent pre-mission political or ethnic community territories. Nevertheless, his 1925 Costanoan chapter and its accompanying maps solidified the scholarly concept of the Costanoan Indians as a single linguistic and cultural unit with seven local areas as ethnic sub-units.

### Field Research of J. P. Harrington

J. P. Harrington was the single most significant person in the history of documentation of the Costanoan languages. Three of the Costanoan languages—Rumsen, Mutsun, and the Chochenyo dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan—are being revived today on the basis of materials he collected between 1921 and 1939 (see the last section of Chapter 10). Harrington was not part of the group that worked under A. L. Kroeber at the University of California at Berkeley. Instead, he was employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C. His linguistic materials have been microfilmed and are available for viewing or special study at some central California locations, among them the library of San Jose State University and the Native American Studies Department at the University of California at Davis.

Harrington first worked with a person who spoke a Costanoan language in 1921, when he gathered data on an East Bay Costanoan dialect from María de los Angeles (Angela) Colos of Pleasanton, California. He called the language “Chocheño” and “Nepeño,” from Maria Colo’s names for the Mission San Jose Indian people who spoke it. Shortly thereafter, in January of 1922, Harrington met and worked briefly in Gilroy, Carmel, and Monterey with speakers of Costanoan languages formerly spoken at missions San Juan Bautista, Carmel, and Soledad. After leaving the area during the mid-1920s, Harrington returned to Monterey in 1928 to gather Carmeleño Costanoan material from local people there. From July of 1929 until late January of 1930, Harrington recorded a rich body of Mutsun linguistic and ethnographic information from aged Asención Solorsano in Gilroy. Harrington returned briefly north to Pleasanton in March of 1930 to record Mission San Jose

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<sup>16</sup> Kroeber in 1925 failed to recognize that Mutsun, Rumsen, and Tamien were originally the names of multi-village local tribes. He thought that each was an independent village. Mission records show that Mutsun was a local tribe, with specific villages such as Xisca and Juristac (Milliken 1993). Rumsen also was a local tribe, with the villages of Achasta, Echilat, Ixchenta, Soccoronda, and Tucutnut (Milliken 1987). The names of specific Tamien villages were not documented at Mission Santa Clara.

material with Jose Guzman, companion of the then-deceased Angela Colos. Harrington began intensive work on the Carmeleño (Rumsen) language with Isabelle Meadows of Monterey in March of 1932. He worked with Meadows in Monterey and in Washington, D.C. off and on until her death in 1939; thus Rumsen is the best-attested of any of the Costanoan languages.<sup>17</sup>

Harrington's information from Angela Colos and Jose Guzman is by far the largest body of San Francisco Bay Costanoan language material.<sup>18</sup> Harrington applied the term "Chocheño" to their dialect, a term which more recent authors have modified to "Chochenyo," perhaps in order to avoid searching for the "ñ" in character typesets. The origin of the term is obscure. It may have been the colloquial California Spanish name for "people of Mission San Jose," as the following excerpts from the Harrington notes suggest:

The Chocheños called the Juaneños 'uhráimas  
The Ind. name of the Chocheños is lisiánish Impt.  
Nesc. Ind. name of Clareños or Doloreños or Rafeléfonos  
(Harrington 1921-29:57).

The San José Indians were of many tribes – gathered at the mission. They are called Chocheños. Inf. knows the Carmeleños. There were some of them here at Pleasanton. ... (Harrington 1921-29:110).

The term "Jose-eño," the logical term for the Indian people of Mission San Jose, does not appear in Harrington's notes. Nor is it known to have been used at all in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Angela Colos interacted with Indian people who lived on the San Francisco Peninsula at various times in her life. Among the bits of information she supplied to Harrington are references to the people of the San Francisco Peninsula as Ramay people.

They call the lado de San Francisco rámai', All the side (lado) where the San Francisco is ([illeg.]) – San Mateo, etc., = rámai. Call the people rámaítush (Harrington 1921-29:368)

This quote and other similar ones led Richard Levy (1978a) to later apply the label "Ramaytush" to the Costanoan dialect spoken on the San Francisco Peninsula. The reference above and other references in Harrington's Chochenyo notes pertinent to language differences and ethnogeography around San Francisco Bay have been extracted and reproduced in Appendix A.

### **Beeler Reclassifies Saclan out of Costanoan**

The first important step toward constructing the modern classification of the Costanoan languages occurred in 1955, when Madison Beeler of Berkeley discovered and corrected A. L. Kroeber's misclassification of the Spanish-contact linguistic relationships in lands on the east side of San Francisco Bay. Kroeber had identified the Saclan people of the area east of San Francisco Bay, as far inland as Mount Diablo, as speakers of a Costanoan language in an inset map in his 1925 *Handbook of the Indians of California*, although he had no vocabulary material to support that supposition.

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<sup>17</sup> The dates of J.P. Harrington's various working periods in central California are found in *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution, 1907-1957: A Guide to the Field Notes: Native American History, Language, and Culture in Northern and Central California* by Elaine L. Mills (1985). More extensive discussions of Harrington's interaction with his Mutsun and Rumsen consultants is provided by Linda Agren (2002).

<sup>18</sup> Other San Francisco Bay Costanoan materials consisted, until recently, merely of short word lists and a Lord's Prayer collected by Eugène Dufloy de Mofras (see Beeler 1961 for a list of sources). A recently re-discovered catechism, transcribed and published by Blevins and Golla (2005), has added a significant amount of new material.

In the early 1950s, Madison Beeler at the University of California at Berkeley discovered Arroyo de la Cuesta's 1821 Mission Dolores notes, which included the Miwokan vocabulary of the Saclan local group (Beeler 1955, 1959). Beeler initially classified Saclan as follows:

Saclan belongs with Sierra Miwok and ... constitutes a new or fifth member of that group, although showing especial affinities with the foothill dialects and particularly with Northern or Amador speech (Beeler 1955:203).

Not initially knowing where the Saclan people had lived before they moved to Mission Dolores, Beeler (1955:209) incorrectly speculated that the heartland of Saclan Miwok speech was in the San Joaquin Valley east of Mount Diablo.

Sherburne Cook (1957) provided evidence confirming Kroeber's 1925 geographic placement of the Saclan in central Contra Costa county. That placement was acknowledged by Beeler in a 1959 article. By 1961, James Bennyhoff had identified a number of other East Bay local tribes, besides the Saclan, that probably spoke the same Miwok language. Bennyhoff (1961, 1977) renamed the language Bay Miwok, a term that has come to be accepted by linguists.

All in all, by the early 1960s, linguists and anthropologists understood the distribution of languages among San Francisco Bay Area local tribes at Spanish contact, due primarily to Madison Beeler's work with Father Arroyo de la Cuesta's word list of the 1820s.

## MODERN CLASSIFICATION OF COSTANOAN LANGUAGES

The modern understanding of the relationships among Costanoan languages has emerged out of linguistic studies undertaken at the University of California at Berkeley since 1950. Part of that modern understanding is a re-recognition of what John Wesley Powell believed in 1877, that the Costanoan languages form a single family with the Miwokan languages, also of central California. Below in this section we discuss the steps the Berkeley linguists took to clarify the internal relationships among the Costanoan languages and to prove the relationship of Costanoan and Miwokan within the Utian language family.

### Madison Beeler's View of the Costanoan Languages

In 1961, Madison Beeler summarized a view of internal Costanoan linguistic affinities that was only slightly different than Kroeber's, but based upon a much better linguistic analysis.

Since Kroeber wrote much new material has been made available, and parts of his scheme must now be revised. The major division into a northern and southern branch will still stand; and it is still true, as Kroeber noted, that Santa Cruz will occasionally agree with the southern group, and, less frequently, that San Juan Bautista will coincide with the northern. Within this southern group, now that we have much more copious material on Soledad speech than the mere 22 words available to Kroeber, it may be confidently stated that San Juan Bautista and Soledad appear to be more closely related to each other than either one of them is to Carmel....

The position here taken will be that Karkin speech is sufficiently differentiated from all other forms of Costanoan that it must be regarded as constituting by itself a third major dialect group within the family, coordinate with the northern and southern branches now accepted. Although it agrees in some instances with other members of the northern group by contrast with the southern, the converse is true in other instances (Beeler 1961:194-195).

So Beeler argued for a three branch structure to the Costanoan languages—Karkin, a northern group, and a southern group. Within the northern group, he followed Kroeber in maintaining that the speech communities of the San Francisco Peninsula, Santa Clara Valley, and East Bay were separate from each other.

A second thesis here defended will be that we must recognize, within the northern group, a subdivision which may be called East Bay Costanoan, represented by the vocabularies from Juichun, San Lorenzo, Niles, and San Jose; the setting up of this subdivision, which does not include Santa Clara, involves the repudiation of an especially close relationship between San Jose and Santa Clara. The differences between the speech of these two places, which are not more than fifteen miles apart, are as great as those between Santa Clara and San Francisco on the one hand and Santa Cruz on the other (Beeler 1961:195).

The strong divergence between Karkin and the other Costanoan languages has been supported by subsequent research (Callaghan 1988a, Okrand 1989). The difference between the Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara dialects, however, has since been downplayed, as will be discussed in a subsequent subsection below.

### Levy Renames and Reclassifies the Costanoan Languages

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, graduate students at the University of California at Berkeley were reexamining the relationships among Costanoan languages (Levy 1976, Okrand 1977). Some were unhappy that not all of the languages had native Indian names at that time. Although Kroeber (1925:463) had suggested Indian names for some of the languages, writing, “Of this kind are Mutsun, for the dialect of San Juan Bautista; Rumsen or Runsien for that of Monterey; and Tamien for Santa Clara,” he had retained the names Soledad, Santa Cruz, and San Francisco for other Costanoan languages, or dialects, as he understood them. Richard L. Levy coined native terms for those Costanoan languages for which Kroeber had merely provided mission names. He renamed the Soledad language “Chalon,” the Santa Cruz language “Awaswas,” and the San Francisco (Mission Dolores) language “Ramaytush,” introducing the new terms in his Costanoan chapter of the 1978 California Volume (Volume 8) of the *Handbook of the Indians of North America* (Levy 1978a:485).

Figure 6 reproduces Levy’s (1978a:485) hypothetical boundaries between the Costanoan language areas. Most of them mimic specific Franciscan mission outreach areas, following Kroeber. Levy labeled the weakly documented and roughly mapped Costanoan language groups “ethnic groups” (1978a:485), a problematic concept to which we will return in Chapter 3.

Levy (1976) re-evaluated the genetic relationships among the Costanoan languages on the basis of statistical relationships in shared lexical, phonological, and semantic innovations between the languages Beeler had defined. He found that he could reach different conclusions regarding the nature of the relationships among the languages, depending upon how he weighted different aspects of his analysis. He found:

I would suggest that the Costanoan languages arose from a dialect chain. While there appear to be definable language boundaries there is little to suggest the presence of closed subgroups within the family. Languages are invariably most closely related to their geographic neighbors (Levy 1976:38).

Levy’s emphasis on a clinal relationship among Costanoan languages calls to mind the insights of Arroyo de la Cuesta during his visit to Mission Dolores in 1821.

Levy concluded, despite the clinal relationship among all neighboring Costanoan languages, that there are two separate Costanoan family sub-groups (excluding the divergent Karkin), in which

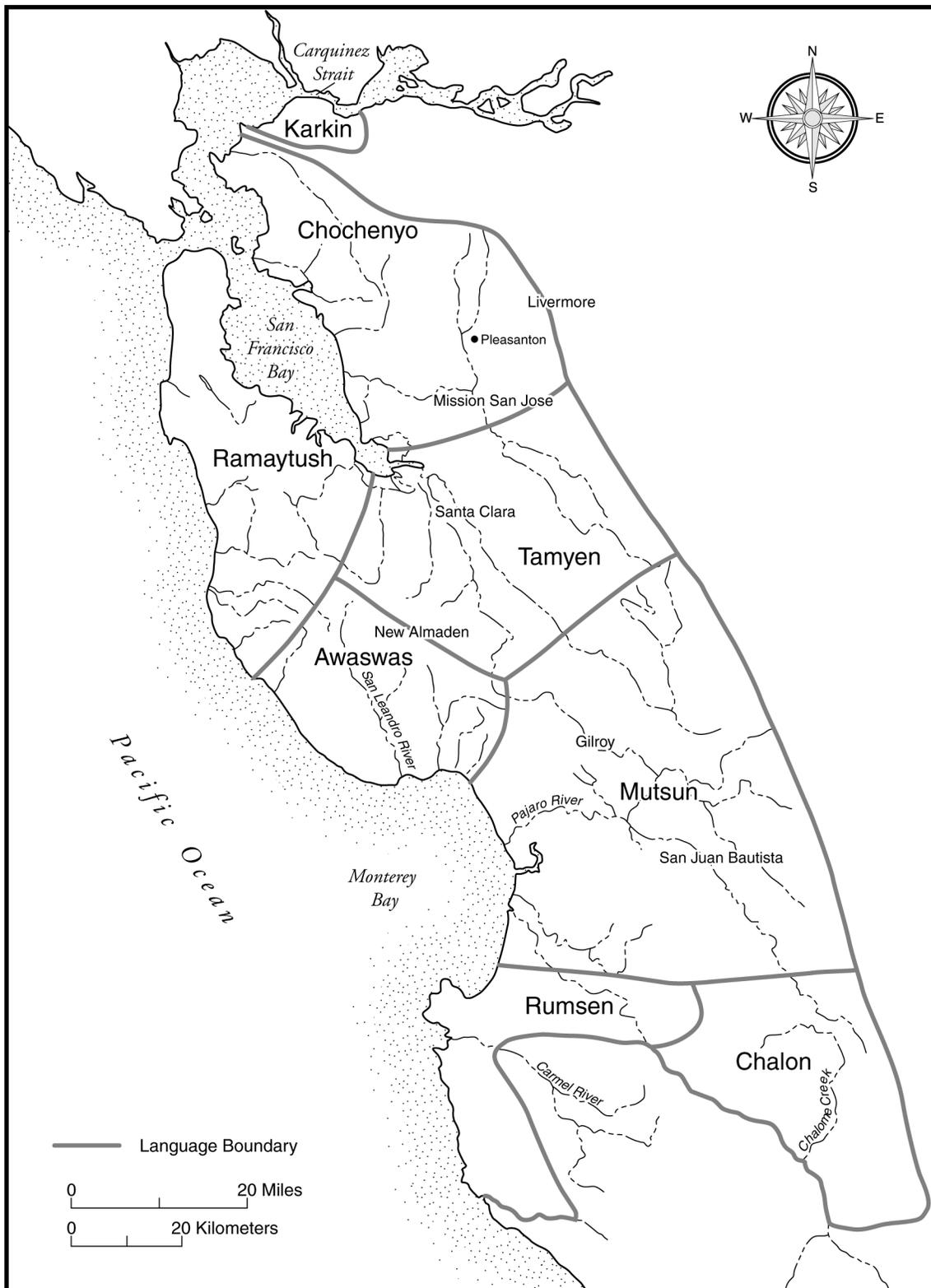


Figure 6. Map Showing Levy's 1978 Interpretation of the Costanoan Language Boundaries.

“languages are more closely related to other members of the subgroup than to any language outside” (Levy 1976:38). Like Beeler, he isolated a northern subgroup (Ramaytush or San Francisco; Chochenyo or East Bay; Tamyen or Santa Clara) from a southern subgroup (Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon or Soledad). He differed from Beeler by removing the Santa Cruz (Awaswas) language from the northern subgroup and placing it alone as an intermediate language between the north and the south.

### A Single San Francisco Bay Costanoan Language

Recent publications and encyclopedic websites regarding California Indian ethnography follow the conclusions of Kroeber, Beeler, and Levy to the effect that three separate Costanoan languages—Ramaytush, Tamyen, and Chochenyo—were spoken in adjacent areas around San Francisco Bay at Spanish contact. Over the past few years, however, three linguists actively working on the problem—Catherine Callaghan, Victor Golla, and Juliette Blevins—have concluded that Ramaytush, Tamyen, and Chochenyo are dialects of a single San Francisco Bay Costanoan language. We consider acceptance of that conclusion to be a key tenet of the current report.

As of 1997, Callaghan was beginning to move away from the commonly accepted stance of three separate languages. She wrote:

According to Maria de los Angeles Colos—Harrington’s Chocheño consultant—Ramaytush, Chocheño, and Tamyen were similar dialects. While I think they formed a dialect chain, I am reasonably certain that Karkin, Chocheño, Mutsun, and Rumsen were not mutually intelligible, and I am uncertain of the status of Awaswas and Chalon. The Costanoan languages were probably as far apart as the Romance languages (Callaghan 1997a:44).

In 2005, Callaghan concluded that the Ramaytush, Chochenyo, and Tamyen idioms were mutually intelligible and should therefore be considered three dialects of a single language on the basis of a new comparative study of the various San Francisco Bay Costanoan vocabularies. She described her method and results in an email to Milliken, as follows:

I decided to re-examine the Ramaytush and Tamyen vocabularies to determine their relationship to Chochenyo, and I have come to the conclusion that they are all dialects of the same language. To this end, I typed out the Ramaytush in Schoolcraft, and entered it in parallel columns with Chochenyo and Mengarini’s Tamyen, along with additional Ramaytush and a little Tamyen from J. P. Harrington, and the Santa Maria [Huchiun-ed.] Ramaytush. ... Harrington elicited several sentences in Ramaytush, which show a morphology nearly identical with Chochenyo, including the past and future (different from Mutsun), the medio-passive and the negative imperative (except for the word for “don’t”). Esterenyo (Oakland Chochenyo) has *shotto* for “fire” and Harrington has Ramaytush *shottow*. One difference within Chochenyo itself is the word for nine. Arroyo has *tulan* for Juichun “nine,” the same as the Santa Maria [Huchiun-ed.] word. Both are different from standard Chochenyo [which uses *telē’ktis*-ed.].

Another problem enters. When the researchers asked Indians for the word for “father,” they discovered that the answer often meant “my father,” so they evidently changed tactics and asked for “my father,” which resulted in “thy father.” An analysis of Mengarini’s Tamyen shows this to be the case—“-m” following vowels, and “-em” following consonants, as in Chochenyo. The rest of the [Mengarini] vocabulary is similar enough to Chochenyo that I think it is part of the dialect chain, with both Tamyen and Ramaytush being divergent Chochenyo dialects. Also, the Ramaytush,

Chochenyo, and I think Tamyen could understand each other (Callaghan, email personal communication to Milliken, April 6, 2005).

How could Callaghan be so certain that Tamyen and Chochenyo texts were samples from a single language, given Richard Levy's statistical evidence for a separation of Tamyen and Chochenyo at the language level? The answer lies with two recent linguistic discoveries.

One piece of new evidence that changes the linguistic view of San Francisco Bay Costanoan was Callaghan's discovery that one of the two Mission Santa Clara word lists available to Beeler in the 1960s, and to Levy in the 1970s, includes numerous words that do not derive from any Costanoan language. The word list in question was collected by H. W. Henshaw from Felix Buelna in 1884 (Heizer 1955). "I suspect that when Buelna did not know a Santa Clara word, he substituted a word in some other language, but I'm not sure," states Callaghan (email personal communication to Milliken, April 25, 2005). Felix Buelna's background is important for understanding the problem with the vocabulary. Buelna was born at Mission Soledad in 1813 to a family from Sinaloa, Mexico (SOL-B 1489). He married a woman named María Bernarda Rosales, adopted and possibly Indian, at Mission Santa Clara in 1836 (SCL-M 2661). Historian Alan K. Brown found evidence in a Santa Clara Valley land case document from the 1860s indicating that Buelna was not really familiar with Santa Clara Valley Costanoan. Called upon by the court to interpret Indian words on a land case map, he was able to interpret one but had no idea about another, although it was in fact a common Costanoan word. This led Brown (1994:38) to conclude that Buelna merely "had pretensions to literary culture."<sup>19</sup> The evidence, in sum, indicates that the Buelna vocabulary, which was a key part of both Beeler's and Levy's analytical corpus, must be considered useless.

The other new discovery also pertains to the Tamyen dialect. A book of prayers and a catechism were discovered a few years ago in a trinket shop in Mexico City and sent to the Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacatecas. There the texts came to the attention of California linguists Juliette Blevins and Victor Golla in 2002. Blevins and Golla recognized that eight pages of the text as represented a dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan. Handwriting comparison by Randall Milliken indicated that it was written by Father Jose Viader, who spent his entire central California career, from 1796 to 1833, at Mission Santa Clara. The manuscript has now been transcribed, translated, and published by Blevins and Golla (2005), who are careful about its provenance:

The dialect of the manuscript resembles Chochenyo, but there are some differences. If the association of the manuscript with Fr. Viader is correct, the dialect attested may instead be Tamyen or "Clareño," the dialect of Mission Santa Clara (Blevins and Golla 2005:37).

On the basis of the new Santa Clara texts and the discrediting of the Buelna material, Blevins and Golla concluded that all Costanoan languages except Karkin should be lumped into a single dialect chain divided into two major groups. They write:

The Karkin language on the northern periphery is quite distinct from adjacent varieties, while the Chalon (Soledad) language, on the southern periphery, shows numerous distinctive features. Otherwise the Costanoan languages form a dialect continuum, with a major division between Northern and Southern groups. Because nearly all Costanoan language data is known from mission or post-mission times, dialect labels like "Chochenyo," "Mutsun," etc. should be understood as referring to a

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<sup>19</sup> Victor Golla pointed out these critical pieces of information about Felix Buelna, including the Alan K. Brown reference, in his email to Catherine Callaghan (cc: Juliette Blevins, Randall Milliken) of May 30, 2005.

mix of regional varieties brought together at specific missions rather than the aboriginal dialect pattern (Blevins and Golla 2005:36).

Table 2 lists the Costanoan languages in relationship to one another as currently understood by Callaghan (email personal communication to Randall Milliken, August 3, 2005). It places Chalon in a northern branch with San Francisco Bay Costanoan, while it places Awaswas in a southern branch with Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon (cf. Okrand 1989). It must be noted that Blevins and Golla (2005) take the opposite approach, placing Chalon in the southern branch with Mutsun and Rumsen, while placing Awaswas (Santa Cruz Costanoan) in the northern branch as a language most closely related to the San Francisco Bay dialects. Furthermore, Blevins and Golla (2005) suggest that Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon may have been mutually intelligible within the southern branch, while Callaghan (email personal communication with Randall Milliken, August 3, 2005) believes that Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon were not mutually intelligible.

Table 2. Heuristic Concordance between Utian Languages and Selected Indo-European Languages.

UTIAN FAMILY (COSTANOAN AND MIWOKAN SUB-FAMILIES)	INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY (ROMANCE AND GERMAN SUB-FAMILIES) <sup>a</sup>
<i>COSTANOAN SUB-FAMILY</i>	<i>ROMANCE SUB-FAMILY</i>
<i>Karkin Branch</i>	<i>French Branch</i>
Karkin Language	French Language
<i>Northern Branch</i>	<i>Italian Branch</i>
San Francisco Bay Language	Italian Language
Ramaytush Dialect	Venetian Dialect
Chochenyo Dialect	Tuscan Dialect
Tamyen Dialect	Lombard Dialect
Chalon Language	Sardinian Language
<i>Southern Branch</i>	<i>Iberian Branch</i>
Awaswas Language	Catalan Language
Mutsun Language	Spanish Language
Rumsen Language	Portuguese Language
<i>MIWOKAN SUB-FAMILY</i>	<i>GERMANIC SUB-FAMILY</i>
<i>Western Branch</i>	<i>Western Branch</i>
Coast Miwok Language	German Language
Lake Miwok Language	Dutch Language
<i>Eastern Branch</i>	<i>Northern Branch</i>
Bay Miwok (Saclan) Language	Swedish Language
Plains Miwok Language	Danish Language
Northern Sierra Miwok	Norwegian Language
Central Sierra Miwok	Faroese Language
Southern Sierra Miwok	Icelandic Language

Notes: This chart was finalized by Randall Milliken in 2006, following personal communication with linguists Catherine Callaghan, Victor Golla, and Norval Smith; <sup>a</sup> Romance and Germanic languages are not as closely related to one another within Indo-European as Costanoan and Miwokan are to one another within Utian.

Table 2 also models Costanoan language differences against those of the modern Romance languages of Europe. It represents the differences between the three dialects of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language as being approximately equivalent to those between local dialects of the Italian

language. The table suggests that Rumsen, Mutsun, and Awaswas were as closely related as French, Spanish, and Portuguese, following Callaghan (and remembering that Blevins and Golla consider those southern languages to have been more closely related to one another.) Regarding the time depth of the Costanoan Subfamily, Callaghan writes:

I would put Proto Costanoan at about the time of Latin (2000 years BP). A speaker of Chochenyo would have as much trouble understanding a speaker of Rumsen as a Romanian would have with French. Again, we must consider whole languages, not just shared lexical items which give the illusion of a dialect chain. And remember this: Romance speaking soldiers could understand each other pretty well until 1000 AD, and there were many borrowings between Romance languages, as there were between Costanoan languages (C. Callaghan, email personal communication with Randall Milliken, August 3, 2005).

Finally, no comparison between Costanoan languages and any group of European languages will be a perfect one, especially given the continuing doubt regarding the internal relationships in Costanoan. Nevertheless, all linguists currently working on the problem agree that the San Francisco Bay dialects of the Costanoan language family (Chochenyo, Ramaytush, and Tamyen) were similar to one another and that they were distinct from the Costanoan languages of the Monterey Bay Area. Be that as it may, all six Costanoan languages share a common history deep in time that is distinct from the history of the other west Central California languages, such as Coast Miwok, Bay Miwok, Esselen, Southern Pomo, or Wappo.

### **Utian Family and Possible Yok-Utian Family**

Linguists now recognize that Costanoan and Miwokan are sub-families within a single Utian language family. Catherine Callaghan (1962) first published the modern evidence for the Utian language family in an article entitled “Comparative Miwok-Mutsun with Notes on Rumsen.” In that article she laid out a large amount of data showing sets of related words between Proto-Miwok and the Mutsun Costanoan language that were inherited from a common word in a hypothetical ancestral language. In that article Callaghan did not state any explicit conclusion regarding the genetic relationship between her Mutsun word set and her Proto-Miwok word set.

The label Utian was first applied to the combined Costanoan-Miwok family by Shipley (1978:84). Aware of Callaghan’s discoveries, he built the name Utian from *uxi*, a word that means “two” in Proto-Costanoan and which is close to the words for “two” in most Miwok languages. Callaghan first used the label Utian in her 1986 article “Proto Utian Independent Pronouns” which presented only a small portion of her Proto-Utian phonology (see also Callaghan 1988b).

Callaghan has recently reconstructed the proto-language that underlies all Costanoan and Miwok languages, using the Harrington notes and all other available vocabularies. She has suggested that the Miwokan languages are as closely related to one another as are such Germanic languages as English, German, Dutch, Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian (Callaghan, personal communication to Randall Milliken, 2003). Table 2 illustrates those comparative examples. (While that comparison is internally valid, however, the Miwokan languages together are more closely related to the Costanoan languages, as a group, than the Germanic languages are to the Romance languages.)

A higher level linguistic family, Yok-Utian, has recently been accepted by some linguists (Golla 2007:76). Again, the analytic work, showing a number of proto-word forms and language structure rules shared by the Yokuts languages and the Utian Family (Costanoan and Miwokan), was carried out by Callaghan (1997a, 2001). Alternatively, Proto-Utian and Proto-Yokuts developed side by side many thousands of years ago, probably in the western Great Basin. That question will be taken up in more detail in the Chapter 3 section about archaeology and linguistic prehistory.

## Utian within the Penutian Phylum

The Utian language family (Costanoan-Miwokan) is classified within the Penutian language stock or phylum. Roland Dixon and A. L. Kroeber proposed a consolidation of many western North American language families into a smaller number of higher order phyla on the basis of some interesting relationships among typological features (Dixon and Kroeber 1903). A few years later they argued for deep genetic relationships among some California languages, introducing the concepts of the Penutian and Hokan language phyla (Dixon and Kroeber 1912, 1913, 1919). They proposed that five contiguous central California language families—Costanoan, Miwokan, Maiduan, Wintuan, and Yokuts—belonged together in the Penutian phylum. Those five families were enshrined as Californian Penutian by Kroeber in 1925. Figure 7 shows the distribution of the language phyla of California as Kroeber understood them in 1925.

By the 1920s Edward Sapir was finding languages outside of California that he considered to be members of either the Hokan or Penutian phyla. He expanded the Penutian phylum to include a Plateau cluster (Klamath-Modoc, Sahaptian, and Molala-Cayuse), Takelman of Oregon, Chinook of Oregon and Washington, Tsimshian of British Columbia, and two languages in Mexico (Sapir 1929). In 1929 Sapir proposed that all the North American native languages could tentatively be subsumed into the following six stocks (phyla): Algonkin-Wakashan, Nadene, Penutian, Hokan-Siouan, Aztec-Tanoan, and Eskimo-Aleut. All of the groups except Eskimo-Aleut were represented in California.

Over the succeeding decades, linguists set out to prove or disprove the phyletic language relationships that first Dixon and Kroeber, and then Sapir, had inferred. In 1964 scholars met in Bloomington, Indiana to assess and revise his scheme. Their conclusions, called the Consensus Classification, supported most of Sapir's major groupings but split up some others (Goddard 1996:312-320). The Consensus Classification group recognized the Penutian, Hokan, and Aztec-Tanoan phyla, albeit with reduced memberships from those proposed by Sapir. Among the isolates they recognized was the Yuki language family (including Wappo) from areas just north of San Francisco Bay (Goddard 1996:319). They pared down Sapir's Penutian to sixteen language families. They retained Costanoan, Miwokan, Maiduan, Wintuan, and Yokuts within Penutian, but rejected Dixon and Kroeber's concept of a unified California Penutian subgroup (Goddard 1996:315, 319). In fact, new studies since the 1960s have argued that the California Penutian groups derive from three separate radiations, one from Oregon (Wintuan), one from the northern Great Basin (Maiduan), and one from the central Great Basin (Yokuts and Utian) (Golla 2007:76).

Figure 8 illustrates the distribution of the major phyla and language families of the western United States. The Penutian phylum, for those linguists who currently accept it at all, includes language families from Tsimshian in western Canada south to Yokutsan in California, then east to Zuni in New Mexico. Penutian is considered hypothetical by some linguists today because the relationships among its language families are so old that it is difficult to distinguish the results of borrowing from the results of proto-language radiation (Shipley 1978:82).

To an extent, the doubt surrounding the reality of Penutian as a group of genetically related languages is moot for purposes of this study. If the Costanoan languages are genetically related to other imputed Penutian language families, the time depth of their division is as deep as that of the Indo-European family, over 5,000 years, and carries no implications for the cultural relationships among California groups at the time of Spanish entry.

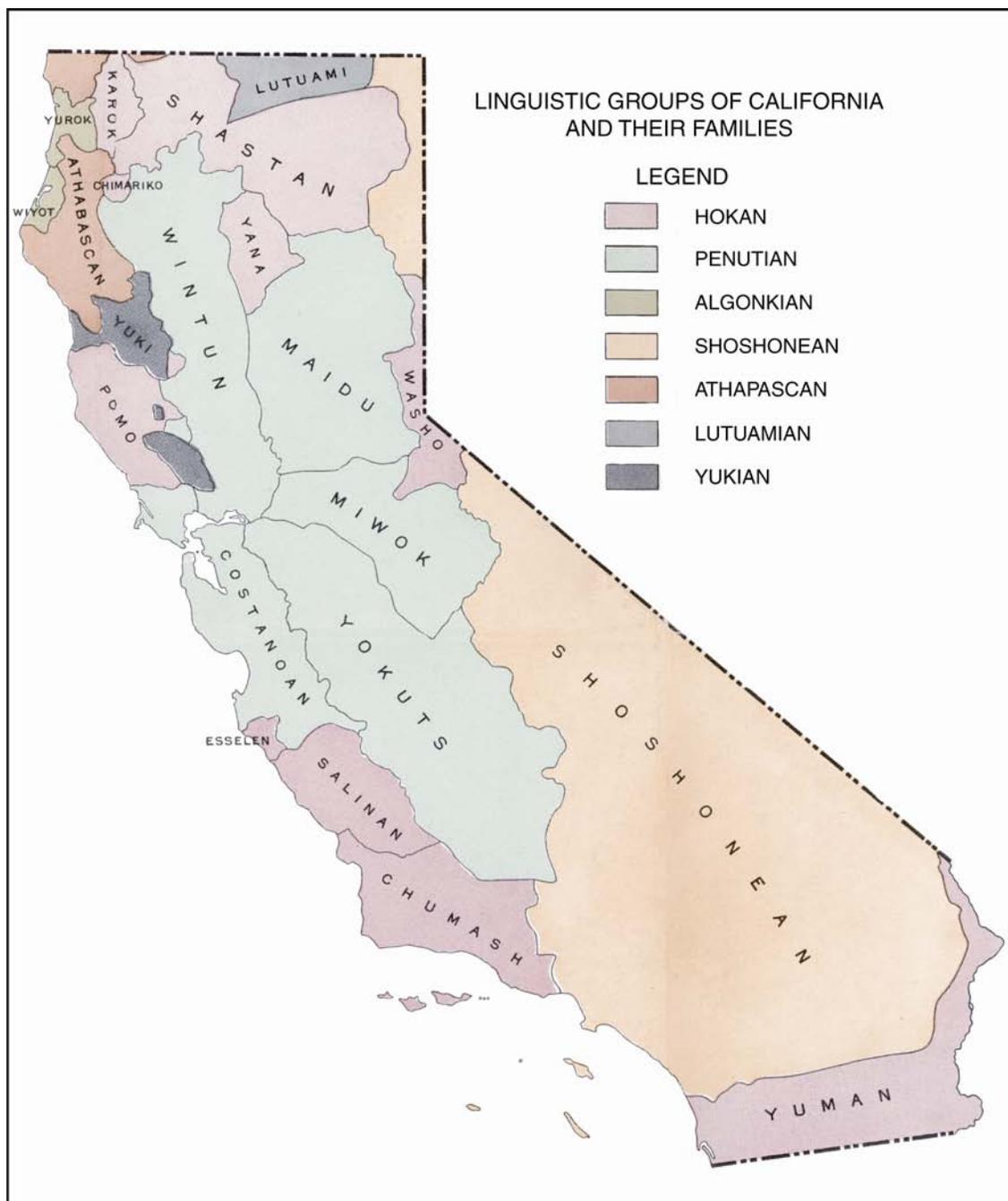


Figure 7. Kroeber's 1925 Map of the Native Linguistic Groups of California.

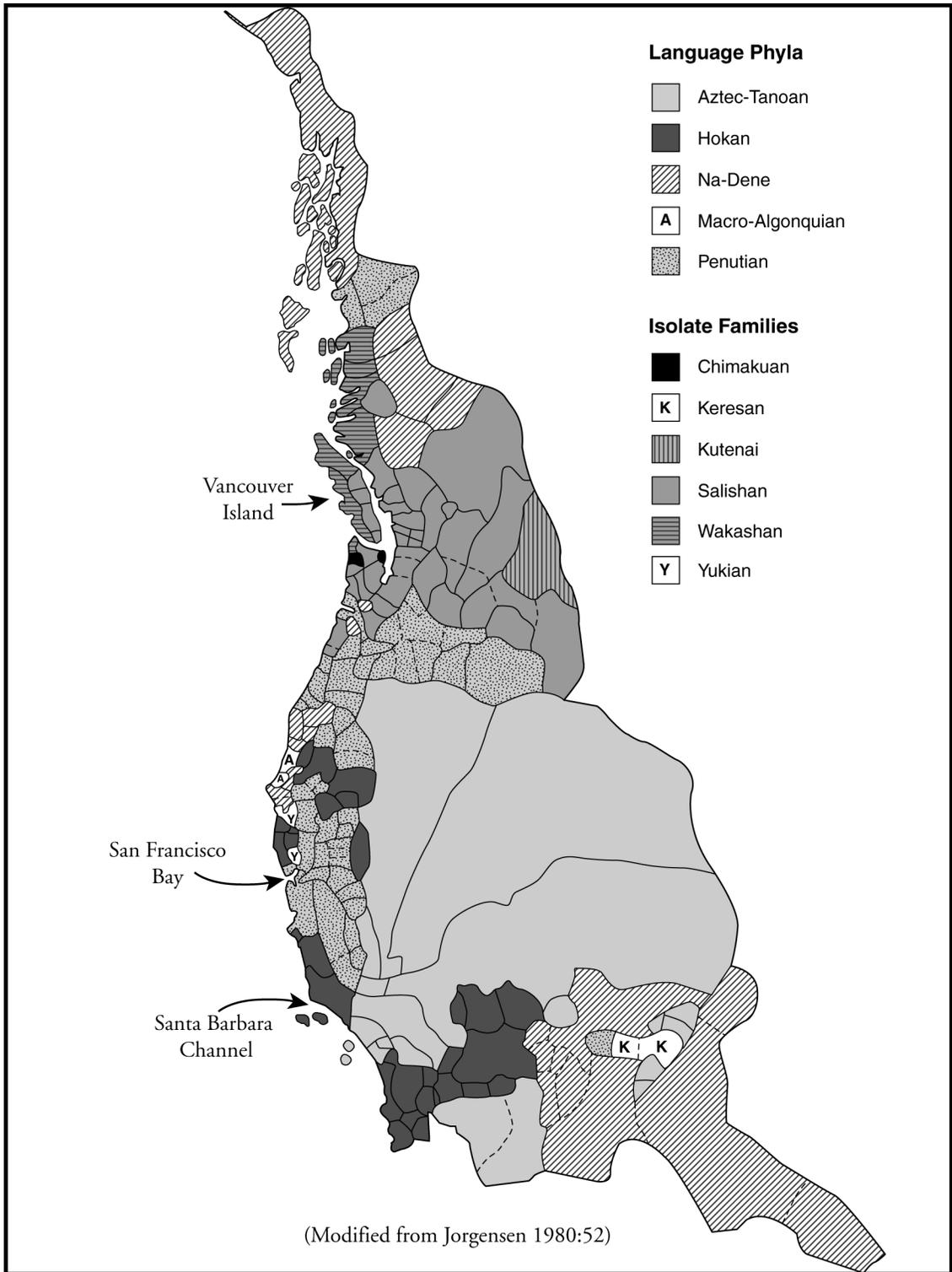


Figure 8. Map of the Native Language Phyla and Isolates of Western North America.

## NON-COSTANOAN LANGUAGES OF WEST-CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

In this section we discuss the Miwokan languages as well as the five non-Utian languages of our west-central California maximal study area. The Miwokan languages were spoken in the North Bay, the East Bay, in the Mission San Jose outreach area of the Sacramento Valley, and in portions of the Sierra Nevada that were lightly touched by outreach from the Costanoan-area missions. The non-Utian language are Wappo and Patwin of the North Bay, Delta Yokuts and Northern Valley Yokuts of the San Joaquin Valley, and Esselen of lands around Mission Soledad and south of Mission Carmel.

### The Miwokan Languages of the Utian Family

Miwokan, the sister language group to Costanoan within Utian, was spoken in three areas of central California. Coast Miwok dialects were spoken on the Marin Peninsula and contiguous areas just north of the Golden Gate. Lake Miwok was spoken in a few small Coast Range valleys in the upper Putah Creek watershed, just south of Clear Lake. The eastern Miwok languages were spoken in an arc of lands across interior central California from the Walnut Creek watershed (just east of San Francisco Bay) through the northern portion of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, up into the Sierra Nevada east of Elk Grove and Lodi, thence south in the Sierra Nevada to the Yosemite vicinity and a few miles further south (Levy 1978b).

Catherine Callaghan determined the relationships among Miwokan languages on the basis of lexical items, structural similarities, and sound correspondences. She first established the relationship of Bay Miwok (Kroeber's Saclan) to the other Miwokan languages (Callaghan 1971). She then went on to reconstruct Proto Sierra Miwok, Proto Eastern Miwok, Proto Western Miwok, and Proto Miwok (Callaghan 1972, 1997b). She has suggested that the Miwokan languages are roughly as divergent as the Germanic languages:

The Miwok sub-family consists of languages approximately 3,500 years apart, roughly analogous to the Germanic family, which includes English, German, Dutch, Icelandic, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish (Callaghan, personal communication to Randall Milliken, 2005).

This comparison has already been cited in an earlier section and is illustrated in Table 2.

Only Bay Miwoks and Coast Miwoks, of all the Miwokan language speakers, intermarried with San Francisco Bay Costanoans prior to the Mission Period. The Bay Miwok language was sampled by Arroyo de la Cuesta (see the first subsection of this chapter), but was mistakenly classified as Saclan Costanoan by Kroeber (1925). It was properly re-classified as Miwokan by Beeler (1955). The original Saclans were one of the two westernmost Bay Miwok local tribes. They were intermarried with their San Francisco Bay Costanoan neighbors of the Oakland-Richmond region, the Huchiuns, with whom they moved to Mission Dolores in the winter of 1794-95. Southwest of the Saclan homeland, in the San Leandro Creek area, was a group of seemingly bi-lingual Bay Miwok-San Francisco Bay Costanoan people who went to Mission Dolores under the name Jalquin and to Mission San Jose under the name Irgin (Milliken 1995:244-246). They and other Bay Miwoks of the current Contra Costa County area were intermarried with San Francisco Bay Costanoans of the Livermore Valley prior to the Mission Period.

Two specific Coast Miwok local tribes were inter-married with San Francisco Bay Costanoans, the Huimens and Abastos of the southern Marin Peninsula. They were inter-married with their San Francisco Bay Costanoan-speaking neighbors across a narrow stretch of the northern San Francisco Bay estuary to the east, the Huchiuns of the Oakland-Richmond region. It was noted that the chaplain of the first Spanish ship into San Francisco Bay heard and recorded San Francisco Bay Costanoan words while visiting Huimen villagers on the southern tip of the Marin Peninsula in

1775 (Beeler 1972; Brown 1973a). Milliken has shown that the largest body of those words was actually spoken by Huchiuns who came to the ship from the East Bay; he explains the two Costanoan phrases clearly recorded by the chaplain at a Huimen village as evidence that the Spaniards had learned some Rumsen Costanoan, and that the Huimens knew enough San Francisco Bay Costanoan to try to respond in that closely related language (Milliken 1995:244).

Plains Miwok individuals from the lower Sacramento intermarried with San Francisco Bay Costanoans after they moved to Mission San Jose; such marriages would not have taken place prior to the Mission Period. Also, some Sierra Miwok speakers intermarried with speakers of various Costanoan languages during the late Mission Period at missions San Jose, Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista and Soledad.

### **Other Penutian Families in Central California: Wintuan and Yokutsan**

Three other languages of the inferred Penutian Phylum were spoken by people who lived adjacent to one or more Costanoan language areas. They were Patwin of the Napa Valley (a Wintuan language), Delta Yokuts of the northern San Joaquin Valley and Northern Valley Yokuts of the middle San Joaquin Valley (both Yokutsan languages).

The Patwin language was spoken in the lower Napa Valley and on the Suisun Plain at the northeastern edge of the San Francisco Bay estuary system by people who moved to Mission Dolores. Patwin extended north from those areas up the west side of the Sacramento Valley and adjacent interior Coast Ranges to the present Colusa-Glenn county border. It was one of three languages of the Wintuan family, along with the Nomlaki language of the west-central Sacramento Valley and the Wintu language of the northern end of the Sacramento Valley (Shipley 1978:82-83). Whistler (1977) has shown that proto-Wintuan developed in Oregon, probably in proximity to Takelman, another hypothetical Penutian phylum member. Large numbers of southern Patwins moved to Mission Dolores, and smaller numbers moved to Mission San Jose.

Delta Yokuts was spoken in the northern San Joaquin Valley by local tribes that moved to Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara between 1810 and 1826. It was closely related to Northern Valley Yokuts, spoken by people from the central San Joaquin Valley. Shipley (1978:83) wrote, "Probably any Yokutsan dialect was intelligible to the speakers of immediately neighboring dialects with only some minor adjustments; on the other hand, speakers of two widely divergent dialects were almost certainly incapable of understanding each other." Ken Whistler and Victor Golla (1986) took a closer look at the Yokuts dialects and argued (a) that Far Northern Valley (Delta), Northern Valley, and Southern Valley Yokuts are separate, but closely related (and only recently differentiated), languages within a sub-family labeled Valley Yokuts; (b) that Valley Yokuts itself is part of a higher-level Northern Yokuts group that also includes the Gashowu and Kings River dialects; and (c) that Northern Yokuts languages are distinct from Yokuts languages of the Tule-Kaweah, Buenavista, and Poso Yokuts sub-groups.

Prior to mission times, the only Delta and Northern Valley Yokuts local tribes that intermarried with Costanoan-speaking local tribes were those along the long language boundary at the break of the Coast Ranges and San Joaquin Valley. After the missions were established, large numbers of Yokuts speakers moved to missions San Jose, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and San Juan Bautista in Costanoan-speaking territory, where they did intermarry with local Costanoan family members in patterns that did not occur in earlier times.

### **Esselen of the Inferred Hokan Phylum**

The Esselen language was once spoken in the mountains south of Monterey Bay and in the Salinas Valley in the area where Mission Soledad was founded. Most Esselen speakers joined Rumsen Costanoans at Mission Carmel between 1778 and 1806. However, a large number of Esselen speakers joined Mission Soledad between 1792 and 1806. Also, a few moved to Mission San Antonio as early as 1776.

Dixon and Kroeber (1912, 1913, 1919) included Esselen in the Hokan Phylum, along with Pomoan, Karok, Achumawi-Atsugewi, Yana, Washoe, Yuman, and Chumashan. Sapir (1929) expanded Hokan into a Hokan-Siouan superfamily, including Hokan, Iroquoian, Caddoan, Siouan, and Muskogian. The formulators of the Consensus Classification of 1964 found no evidence for a Hokan-Siouan superfamily and broke off the non-Hokan languages into a completely separate Macro-Siouan phylum (Goddard 1996:316).

The 1964 Consensus Classification group supported Dixon and Kroeber's original association of Yuman, Pomoan, Achumawi-Atsugewi, Shastan, Yana, Washo, and Salinan as belonging together in Hokan. But no agreement was reached regarding the relationships of Chumashan and Esselen to other western North American languages (Goddard 1996:319). Esselen may be a complete isolate, unrelated to any putative Hokan language family member or to any other known language family.

### **Wappo of the Yukian Language Family**

Wappo was spoken in the middle and upper Napa Valley and in valleys further north, almost to Clear Lake, at the time of Spanish entry into California. Some Wappo speakers moved to Mission San Rafael in the early 1820s and many more moved to Mission Dolores in 1821 and 1822. Most of them, from both missions San Rafael and Dolores, moved back north to help found Mission San Francisco Solano in Sonoma in 1823.

Wappo was recognized as having a single sister language, Yuki (another North Coast Range language), by Powers (1877:126, 197). Sapir placed the Yukian family within his since-repudiated Hokan-Siouan phylum (Goddard 1996:314). Sawyer (1964) argued that Wappo and Yuki were both isolates, related only by long term borrowing, but Elmendorf (1968) provided the evidence that convinced Sawyer (1978) and most other linguists that they are indeed genetically related. Goddard (1996:323) notes that the Yukian language family is now believed by most linguists to be completely unrelated to any other language family or phylum.

## **ALTERNATE TERMS TO COSTANOAN: OLHONEAN AND OHLONE**

Over the past 150 or so years, while professional linguists and anthropologists have built a naming system for California Indian groups based upon a variety of Indian and Spanish names, some anthropologists and historians have sought labels for local groups from Indian words alone. Relevant to this report, the words Olhonean and Ohlone have been applied as alternative labels to Costanoan. We have already described how the label Costanoan was assigned by John Wesley Powell and enshrined by A. L. Kroeber. In this section we will describe the origins of the alternative labels Olhonean and Ohlone, as applied to the Costanoan language family and to smaller segments of that family.

### **Origin of the Term Ohlone**

Most people who have looked into the question concur that the term Ohlone, as used in reference to the Costanoan language group, derives originally from Adam Johnson's reference to "Ohlones, (called, in Spanish, Costanos or Indians of the Coast)" in his 1850 letter to H. H. Schoolcraft quoted above in the Philological Studies section of this chapter. Johnson was certainly referring to the local tribe from the San Mateo County coast whose name had been spelled "Oljon" by the Spanish missionaries. The Oljon local tribe was absorbed into the Mission Dolores population in the 1780s, as will be discussed in Chapter 4 below.

The switch in spelling from "Olh-" to "Ohl-" first appeared in the *California Farmer* newspaper of May 31, 1861, in an article about San Francisco Bay Area Indians by Alexander Taylor.

The tribes of Indians upon the Bay of San Francisco, and who were, after its establishment, under the supervision of the Mission of Dolores, were five in number;

the Ahwashteas, Ohlones (called in Spanish Costanos, or Indians of the Coast), Altahmos, Romanons, and Tuolomos (Taylor 1861a).

Taylor was attempting to reproduce Adam Johnson's information as published by Schoolcraft. Either he or the newspaper typesetter reversed two of the letters to come up with "Ohlone." A few years later, Hubert Howe Bancroft (1883:453) reproduced Taylor's version of the Adam Johnson note, repeating the spelling "Ohlone," in the *Wild Tribes* volume of his *Native Races* series.

Meanwhile, Johnson's original spelling, "Ol-hones" found its way into a local history publication in the East Bay when Frederick Hall (1871:40) wrote in his *History of San Jose and Surroundings* that the "Olhones or (Costanos)" were the "tribe of Indians" who lived between San Francisco and San Juan Bautista. Years later, Kroeber documented the term in the following short note in Hodge's encyclopedic 1910 *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*.

**Olhon.** A division of the Costanoan family, formerly on San Francisco peninsula and connected with mission Dolores, San Francisco, Cal. The term Costanos, also made to include other groups or tribes, seems to have been applied originally to them.—A. L. Kroeber, inf'n, 1905.

Alchones.—Beechey, *Voy.*, I, 400, 1831. Ohlones.—Taylor in *Cal. Farmer*, May 31, 1861. Olchone.—Beechey, *op. cit.*, 402. Ol-hones.—Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, II, 506, 1852. Oljon.—Taylor in *Cal. Farmer*, Oct. 18, 1851 (Kroeber [1905] in Hodge 1910:118-119).

We have already discussed the Schoolcraft (1853) citation and the Taylor (1861a) citation of May 31, 1861. In October of 1861, Taylor (1861b) published the local tribe name "Oljon" within a list of local tribe names extracted directly out of the Mission Dolores registers. The Beechey references derive from the journal of Frederick Beechey, captain of a British scientific expedition, who visited San Francisco Bay in 1826 and was told about "the Olchone, who inhabit the seacoast between San [sic] Francisco and Monterey" (Beechey 1831:78); the reference could have been to no other group than the Oljon local tribe from San Gregorio and Pescadero creeks on the San Mateo County coast.

In 1915 the spelling "Ohlone" appeared on a bronze plaque placed at the Indian cemetery at Mission San Jose in honor of the Indian people buried there. The plaque, which read "Here sleep four thousand of the Ohlone Tribe," was placed at the behest of a Mrs. C. L. Stevens (Barnby in Cummings 1937). The source of the spelling must have been either Taylor in 1861 or Bancroft in 1875. By the early 1930s, Mission San Jose Indian people were listing themselves as "Ohlone" and "Olonian" Indians in their documentary responses to questionnaires sent out by the federal Office of Indian Affairs under the Jurisdictional Act of 1928 (see Chapter 10).

In 1964, when the previously named Ohlone Cemetery at Mission San Jose was in danger from highway construction, the American Indian Historical Society joined a group of local Mission San Jose Indian descendants to protect it (Galvan 1968). The highway was moved and the local Indians were granted an easement to the cemetery land. Soon thereafter, the local Mission San Jose Indian descendants formed a short-lived chapter of the American Indian Historical Society called the Ohlone Indian Historians (Costo 1965d).

Several eastern Miwok people from the Sierra foothills went to Mission San Jose to join the local Ohlone group in re-dedicating the Ohlone cemetery. Ione Miwok elder John Porter was quoted as suggesting at the event that word Ohlone was a variant of the Sierra Miwok word indicating the direction west—"O'lo'no wit" (Galvan 1968). While it is clear to us that the term Ohlone derives from the name of the Oljon local tribe of the San Mateo Coast, we now know that San Francisco Bay Costanoan and Sierra Miwok arose from a single Utian proto-language. It is possible that "Oljon" and "O'lo'no wit" did indeed arise from a single root term that signified a western area or a westerly direction.

## Olhonean and Ohlonean as Language Family Labels

Olhonean was applied by C. Hart Merriam as an alternative to Costanoan during the early part of the twentieth century (Merriam 1967:371-403). Merriam visited Ohlone/Costanoan Indian people in Monterey, San Juan Bautista, and Pleasanton at various times between 1902 and 1931 (Heron 2002). His field linguistic material is neither voluminous nor of the best quality, but it does include important basketry and ethnobotany vocabulary and material culture information. His data also contribute to determinations of linguistic boundaries.

Merriam was opposed to the application of non-Indian words as names for native groups and languages. He coined the term “Olhonean” as an alternative to “Costanoan.” Prior to his death, however, his alternative language names were found only in his own unpublished notes. Heizer (1969:7) catalogued Merriam’s notes and published most of them, including his Ohlonean material (Merriam 1967:371-403). Merriam’s names for language groups are listed in Table 3 (see also Heizer 1966:41).

Table 3. California Linguistic Group Names as Provided by Kroeber, Powers, Powell, and Merriam.

STOCKS OR PHYLA	LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE FAMILIES			
KROEBER (1925)	KROEBER (1925)	POWERS (1877)	POWELL (1891)	MERRIAM <sup>a</sup>
Athabascan	Athabascan	Tinneh	Athabascan	Athabascan
Algonkian	Yurok	Yurok	Wiestpekan	Polikla
	Wiyot	Wishosk	Wishoskan	Soolahteluk
Hokan	Achomawi	A-cho-ma-wi	. . . .	Achomawan
	Chumash	Santa Barbara	Chumashan	Chumash
	Chimariko	Chim-a-ri-ko	Chimarikan	Chimareko
	Esselen	. . . .	Esselenian	Esselen
	Karok	Ka-rok	Quoratean	Kahrok
	Pomo	Po-mo	Kulanapan	Pomoan
	Salinan	. . . .	Salinan	Ennesen
	Shastan	Shas-ta	Shastan	Shastan
	Washo	Washo	Washoan	Washoo
	Yana	. . . .	Yanan	Yahnah
Penutian	Costanoan	Mut-sun	Costanoan	Olhonean
	Maidu	Mai-du	Pujunan	Midoo
	Miwok	Miwok	Moquelumnan	Mewan
	Wintun	Win-tun	Copehan	Winton
	Yokuts	Yo-kuts	Mariposan	Yokut
Shoshonean	Gabrieleno	Sho-sho-ni	Shoshonean	Tongva
	Koso	Sho-sho-ni	Shoshonean	Shoshonean
	Tubatulablal	Sho-sho-ni	Shoshonean	Tubotelobela
Yukian	Yuki	Yu-ki	Yukian	Yukean
	Wappo	Ash-o-chi-mi	Yukian	Mi-yahk <sup>1</sup> -mah

Notes: These lists follow those published by Heizer (1966:25), although some additional Shoshonean and Yukian names have been added from the original sources; <sup>a</sup> Merriam never published the tribal names he used in his manuscripts. Heizer (1966) brought them together from those manuscripts. Heizer (1966) also published a composite map of Merriam’s tribal boundaries as the latter had reconstructed them on working field maps.

Milliken (1981), following Merriam, used the term Ohlonean as a substitute for Costanoan in his monograph on the Rumsen local tribe of Monterey and the Carmel Valley. Writing at the end of the 1970s, he was influenced by a rise in concern for Native American history following the Alcatraz occupation of 1969-1971 and subsequent nationwide movement for Indian self-determination. He utilized Merriam's native term for the language family to show respect for native cultures in California.

An alternative spelling form, "Ohlonean" was placed in the literature in 1969 by anthropologist and Yuma Indian Jack Forbes, who used "Ohlonean (Costanoan)" in lieu of Costanoan in *Native Americans of California and Nevada*. Like Merriam, Forbes found native terms preferable to non-native ones for native language group labels. But Forbes did not follow Merriam's "Ohlonean" precisely. Instead he reversed the "l" and "h" to synchronize "Ohlonean" with "Ohlone," the name that descendants of the Mission San Jose people called themselves. Forbes suggested the following linguistic relationships and terminology for the erstwhile Costanoan languages:

Ohlonean (Costanoan) branch

1. Muwekma division
  - a. Ohlone/Costanoan (San Francisco, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Jose) dialects
  - b. Huichun-Karkin (San Pablo) dialects
2. Mutsun-Rumsen division
  - a. Mutsun (Humontwash, San Juan Bautista) dialects
  - b. Rumsen (Monterey) dialects
  - c. Chalón (Soledad) dialects (Forbes 1969:184)

Some of Forbes' language relationships are not accepted by linguists today (see Table 2). However, his work is important to us for its introduction of the precise terms "Ohlonean" and "Ohlone/Costanoan" into the ethnographic literature.

### **Ohlone First Equated with Costanoan in 1978**

The term "Ohlone" was first applied to the Costanoan language family as a whole in Malcolm Margolin's (1978) popular book *The Ohlone Way*. Margolin developed his book as a description of the pre-contact Indian people of the San Francisco Bay Area only, not all pre-contact Costanoans. He was aware that the Mission San Jose Indian descendants called themselves Ohlones and therefore used that term in his book title. In the introduction to the book, Margolin (1978:1) wrote:

The descendants of the Bay Area Indians dislike the name [Costanoan] quite intensely. They generally prefer to be called Ohlones, even though Ohlone is a word of disputed origin: it may have been the name of a prominent village along the San Mateo coast, or perhaps it was a Miwok word meaning "western people."

Margolin originally intended his book to be limited to the San Francisco Bay Area. He expanded the groups covered shortly before publication to include those of the Monterey Bay Area, on the basis of conversations with Randall Milliken. Milliken, who was researching his own study of the Rumsen Costanoan people of the Monterey Peninsula at the time, and who was using Merriam's label Ohlonean in place of Costanoan, made a map used in *The Ohlone Way* that identified the entire Costanoan language area, from San Francisco Bay south to Big Sur, as the land of "Known Ohlone Tribelets." Thus Milliken influenced Margolin to reframe the term Ohlone into an equivalent term to Costanoan.

Since 1978 the label "Ohlone" has replaced "Costanoan" in works by some Indian authors (Costo and Costo 1995, Lydon and Yamane 2002), some anthropologists (for instance, Bean 1994, Shanks 2006), and most popular writers (Baker 1999, for example). Alan Brown may have captured

the reason for its rapid acceptance when he noted that Ohlone has a euphonious trisyllabic pronunciation “which obviously provides a sound-echo evoking the well known native California name Ahwahnee with its pleasant associations” (Brown 1994:38). However, the term Ohlone is not favored by all descendants of Costanoan language speakers.

### **Conclusion: Ohlone/Costanoan as a Practical Alternative**

The standard names for native North American languages and tribes in scholarly literature derive from terms applied by French, English, or Spanish writers from a variety of sources. Some are the names specific local tribes called themselves, while others are the names applied to tribes by neighboring groups. Neither Costanoan, nor Olhonian, nor Ohlone are terms that California native peoples would have recognized at the time of Spanish settlement. The local tribes did not need language group names because they did not experience life at the language group scale.

No conclusion satisfactory to all of the Indian descendants has been reached regarding the proper label for the erstwhile Costanoan language family. That leaves anthropologists, historians and linguists in a difficult position. So far, linguists and most anthropologists have remained with Costanoan because that term is deeply embedded in their literature. Popular writers have moved entirely to the term Ohlone. Two descendant political groups incorporate Ohlone and Costanoan in their group names. They are the “Amah/Mutsun Band of Ohlone Costanoan Indians” (Ketchum 2002) and the “Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation” (O.C.E.N. Brochure extract, 2002). Many government agencies, including the National Park Service, currently use the label Ohlone/Costanoan for the entire language family.

In this report we have chosen to use the label “Costanoan” in reference to the language family, but to use the label “Ohlone/Costanoan” when talking about the descendants of speakers of the various Costanoan languages as a whole. Historian Alan K. Brown provided a useful summation of the problem of appropriate native language labels.

A general conclusion ought to acknowledge that we live with many a misnomer, consciously or unconsciously, and when we become conscious of one, we handle it however we see fit—there is no general law, and “America” and “Indian” are two famous problems which we easily may wish to solve in opposite ways. A closer parallel might be the case of such well known peoples as the Greeks and the Germans, who get their English names from otherwise long-forgotten small tribes... As Juan Crespi wrote on another occasion, people as a whole are free to give names according to what pleases them. But the record of choices needs to be kept clear (Brown 1994:38).