



THE LANGUAGES OF THE COAST OF CALIFORNIA SOUTH OF SAN FRANCISCO.

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INTRODUCTORY.

Through the munificence of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, the Department of Anthropology of the University of California has for several years conducted extensive researches. Among these has been an anthropological investigation of the little known Indians of California, which has recently been organized into an Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of the State. The present paper is based on linguistic notes made in the winter of 1901-2 as part of this investigation. One of the languages on which information was desired being now extinct, it was necessary to have recourse to older records. Thanks are due to Professor W. H. Holmes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for courtesy in granting permission to use several vocabularies containing such material.

The coast of California south of San Francisco was formerly inhabited by Indians of six linguistic stocks. These were, in

Powell's terminology, Yuman, Shoshonean, Chumashan, Salinan, Esselenian, and Costanoan, in order from south to north. Yuman and Shoshonean, the two southernmost of these six stocks, were extensive. Only a small part of their territory lay within the state of California. The four other stocks were smaller, confined to the coast, and entirely Californian. Only these four are treated in this paper.

Throughout the area under consideration, from Santa Barbara to San Francisco, there are now very few Indians. Only a fraction of these, mostly older people, still know the native languages. All the Indians speak Spanish. With one exception no continuous texts could be obtained in any of the languages. To gain an idea of the grammatical structure it has therefore been necessary to depend on sentences. Owing to this fact and the writer's limited command of Spanish, the investigation of the languages was carried only far enough to obtain an outline of the structure. The results elaborate certain conclusions as to the morphological grouping of the linguistic families in California stated in a paper on the Native Languages of California.¹

The following alphabet has been used.

Vowels:

a, ā	as in father, short and long respectively.
ä, ǟ	as in American fat, short and long respectively.
e, i, o, u	short open vowels.
ē, ī, ō, ū	long closed vowels.
è, ì, ò, ù	long open vowels.
ö, ü, ȫ, ǖ	nearly as in German; closed vowels, short and long.
â	English aw.
a ⁿ , e ⁿ , i ⁿ , o ⁿ , u ⁿ	nasalized vowels.
A, E, I, O, U	obscure vowels.
a, e, i, o, u	scarcely articulated vowels.
o, u, ö, ü, ȫ, ǖ, ȫ̄, ǖ̄	peculiar impure vowels.

¹ R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, the Native Languages of California, *Amer. Anthr.*, n.s., V, p. 1, 1903.

Consonants:

	q	g	X	g'	
	k	g	x	g'	ñ
	tc	dj			
	t	d	ç	δ	n
	p	b	f	v	m
w, y, h, l, z	as in English.				
s, c	English s and sh, but often approaching each other.				
j	zh, sonant of c.				
L	palatal l (tl).				
r	trilled.				
t', k', g', x'	palatal t, k, g, and x, approximating ty, ky, gy, xy.				
q!, k!, t!, p!	stressed.				
g, d, b	between surd and sonant.				

CHUMASH.

The following grammatical material on one of the Chumash dialects was obtained at Santa Ynez from Dolores, one of the few Indians there who still know their native language. It appears to differ somewhat from the language of the Lord's Prayer given by Duflot de Mofras as from Santa Ines.¹ Gatschet gives a few phrases and grammatical notes on the Kasuá dialect recorded by Loew,² and Caballeria y Collèll has published several pages of grammatical notes, vocabulary, and religious texts on the language of Siujtu rancheria at Santa Barbara.³

PHONETIC.

The following are the sounds of the language.

Vowels:

a, e, i, o, u; ā, ē, ī, ō, ū; è, ò; (â); o, u, ö, ü, ô, û, ô̄, ǖ.

¹ Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du Territoire de l'Oregon*, 1844, II, 393.

² A. S. Gatschet in Wheeler, *Rep. U. S. Geogr. Surv.*, VII, 419, 485, and *Rep. Chief of Engineers*, 1876, III, 551.

³ Rev. Juan Caballeria y Collèll (E. Burke, translator), *History of the City of Santa Barbara*, Santa Barbara, 1892.

Consonants:

q X
 k x g'
 tc
 t n l s, c
 p m
 w, y, L

The vowels *ö, ü, õ, ũ* are open sounds and give the impression of impurity. They may be identical with *o, u, ô, û*. Similar sounds are characteristic of Shoshonean and Yokuts, two adjacent linguistic families.¹ Both ordinary and velar gutturals occur in Chumash. Sonants seem to be lacking. Palatal L is quite soft, at times difficult to distinguish from l. R has been found only before q, and is probably an induced rather than an independent sound of the language.

All the consonants occur in either first or last position in double combinations, except that y has not been found as the first member of a compound consonant and L not as the second. Combinations of three consonants are rare. Some monosyllabic words that may reasonably be regarded as root-forms begin with double consonants. But none end thus.

As compared with the majority of Californian languages, Chumash is rough.

A euphonic vowel is much used between words and before consonantal suffixes. It occurs even when one of the two words ends in or begins with a vowel.

nai qot'qoti-wun- a ènèrqnerq	<i>I I-see-them women</i>
ma-k-itetu'n- i k-aqciiyak	<i>the-my-son I-like</i>
k-isawōus- i kactāpin	<i>I-sweated yesterday</i>
ma-qo i s-âwo'	<i>the-my-dog he-white</i>
noi moki k-acün- o -woc	<i>I already I-eaten-have</i>
k-siniwē-wun- u -woc	<i>I-kill-them-did</i>

The euphonic vowel is shown in black type.

¹ A. S. Gatschet, Rep. Chief of Engineers, 1876, III, p. 557, speaking of Shoshonean: "O, u, often assume a darker shade by being pronounced surd or by being nasalized. This pronunciation of the three vowels is also peculiar to the Utah, and occurs in many of the Pueblo idioms of New Mexico."

VERB.

Verbs are conjugated by having the following pronominal elements prefixed, generally immediately to the verb-stem.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>First person</i>	k-	kis-	ki-
<i>Second person</i>	p-	pis-	pi-
<i>Third person</i>	s-	sis-	si-

These prefixes are used alike with transitive and with intransitive verbs. They are also used as possessive pronouns with the noun.

p-axotiwil	<i>thou-speakest</i>
s-axotiwil-i-was	<i>he-speak-did</i>
si-cumā-woe	<i>they-good</i>
k-siniwē-lin	<i>I-kill-thee</i>
ma-ènerq s-eXpète	<i>the-woman she-sings</i>
ini-k-müxün	<i>not-I-hungry</i>

The objective pronouns are suffixed to the verb-stem. So far as determined, they are the following:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>First person</i>	-it	?	-ū?
<i>Second person</i>	-in	?	-ō?
<i>Third person</i>	—	?	-ün

With some verbs, -lit is used instead of -it, and -lin or -wīn instead of -in. Sometimes -wūn occurs for -ün. These variant forms appear to be due to phonetic influences.

It will be seen that if the object is in the third person singular, it is not expressed by a pronominal affix. *I kill him* and *I kill* are identically expressed, as in a number of other American languages, including Yokuts and Yuki in California.

In sentences where subject and object are nouns, these parts of the sentence are expressed over again by means of the subjective and objective pronominal affixes in the verb. This fact puts Chumash in a class with those American languages in which the noun-subject and noun-object are regarded as appositions to the holophrastic verb.

enerqnerq ci-aqiik-ün ma-ug'ug'üzig'	<i>women they-like-them the-men.</i>
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The reflexive is expressed by the suffix -caci, which like the object pronouns is appended to the verb stem.

p-aqciiyak-caci *thou-lovest-self.*

Sometimes the word kōkeii, of unknown meaning, is used with the reflexive verb.

kōkeii c-qoti-caci *he-sees-self.*

A past tense, perhaps perfect in meaning, is expressed by the suffix -woc. This suffix follows the objective suffix-pronoun.

A future seems to be indicated by the particle ka, placed before the verb.

The negative of the verb is expressed by the prefix ini-. This prefix precedes the pronominal prefixes.

The interrogative is formed by the final suffix -ē.

The imperative seems to be identical with the stem of the verb.

A desiderative is formed by the prefix sili-.

There are several particles used with verbs, some of them quite frequently. They always precede the verb. Their significance is not clear. The most common one, no, may be a prefix rather than a particle.

The following phrases contain examples of the forms mentioned.

kai ka no-c-tiyepi	<i>this-one will he-teach</i>
kai ka-no-s-axotiwil	<i>this-one will-he-speak</i>
axotiwil	<i>speak!</i>
no-p-na'n	<i>thou-goest</i>
no ni-k-na'n	<i>not-I-go</i>
ini-k-sili-Xalk'inowo'n	<i>not-I-wish-jump</i>
qòlò enerq ini-[s] sil ^h -aqmil-ē'	<i>that woman not-she-wishes-drink-?</i>
noi k-sili-siniwe-lin	<i>I I-wish-kill-thee</i>
noi k-cili eXpète	<i>I I-wish sing</i>
eXpète	<i>sing!</i>
k-aqmil-i-was	<i>I-drink-did</i>
p'-kitwo'n-o-wac-è pi	<i>thou-emerge-didst-? thou</i>

It will be seen that the foregoing prefixes and suffixes include the pronominal prefixes and suffixes between themselves and the

verb, the pronominal affix being always nearest the verb stem. The only exception is the desiderative prefix *sili-*, which itself prefixes the pronoun. It is therefore doubtful whether *sili-* is not to be regarded rather as an auxiliary verb than as a prefix. The following are similar cases:

no k-cūtc ⁿ	<i>I-begin</i>
no k-cūtc-i'-aqmil	<i>I-begin-drink</i>
qòlò s-wòL	<i>that-one he-shoots</i>
k-wòL-siniwe	<i>I-shoot-kill (I kill by shooting)</i>

A verbal noun is denoted by the prefix *a'l-*.

p-olXo	<i>thou-stealest</i>
a'l-olXo	<i>thief.</i>
pīi p'-a'l-olXo	<i>thou thou-thief (thou art a thief)</i>
c-ukeâ	<i>he-(is)-dead¹</i>
a'l-ak'can	<i>(a) dead(one)</i>

A habitual agent is also denoted by reduplication.

k-aXciLc	<i>I-fish</i>
ma-a-caX-caXciLc	<i>the-fisher</i>
xuniowe	<i>hunt</i>
a-xun-xuniowe	<i>hunter</i>

The prefix *a-* in these reduplicated verbal nouns may be a form of *a'l-*.

The stem *acün*, *eat*, is given the meaning *food* by the prefix *lām-*.

k-acün	<i>I-eat</i>
ma-k-lām-acün	<i>the-my-food</i>

NOUN.

The possessive pronominal elements, as already remarked, are identical with the subjective ones, and like them are prefixed. From this fact, however, it can not be concluded, as has been done in analogous cases in other languages, that verb and noun are not distinguished in Chumash, and that the verb is in reality a noun. Were this the case, we should not find the verbal nouns that have been mentioned.

¹ A. Taylor, in Powers, *Tribes of California*, Contr. N. A. Ethn., iii, 564: *shuekshaw, dead.*

Some nouns, when used with the possessive pronoun, have a form different from their simple one.

hūteu, *dog*; ma-p-qo, *the-thy-dog*
ma'm, *house*; ma-ki-ap, *the-our-house*

A word for dog similar to hūteu occurs in many Californian languages; qo seems to be distinctively Chumash.

There is an article, ma. It has wider meaning than the modern European definite articles, inasmuch as it is customarily used with the possessive pronoun. It is a proclitic or prefix, not an independent particle.

tsāya	<i>basket</i>
ma-tsāya	<i>the-basket</i>
ma-s-q'ap	<i>the-its-feathers</i>
ma-k-mūt	<i>the-my-belly (panza)</i>
s'-mūt	<i>his-belly</i>

What may be a distributive, to judge from analogies in other American languages, is formed by reduplication.

ug'ū'ig'	<i>man</i>	ug''ug'ū'ig'
e'nerq	<i>woman</i>	enerq'ne'rq
XoXau	<i>coyote</i>	XoXoXau
hū'teu	<i>dog</i>	hūte'hū'teu
ma'm	<i>house</i>	ma'ma'm
caq!	<i>turtle</i>	caq!cā'q!
p'co'e	<i>snake</i>	p'co'p'co'e
tsā'ya	<i>basket</i>	tsai'tsā'ya

It will be seen that this reduplication comes very near being duplication of the entire word. Both animate and inanimate nouns are reduplicated.

The following examples make it difficult to determine whether the reduplication denotes a plural, a distributive, or a collective.

ickōm-a xus	<i>two bears</i>
ekumu-a XoXau	<i>four coyotes</i>
ma-XoXoXau	<i>the-coyotes</i>
ma-ki-tsaya yila	<i>the-our-baskets all</i>
yila p'co'p'co'e	<i>all (the) snakes</i>

It is remarkable that when a noun to which a possessive pronoun is prefixed is reduplicated, the pronoun is sometimes reduplicated with it. Evidently the noun and the pronominal element are regarded as very much a unit.

k-ite-antük, <i>my friend</i>	p-ite-p-ite-antük, <i>thy friends</i> ¹
ma-k-its-is, <i>my younger brother</i>	ma-k-its-k-its-is, <i>my younger brothers</i>
ma-k-ite-tu'n, <i>my child</i>	ma-k-ite-k-ite-tu'n, <i>my children</i>
k-a-wa, <i>my aunt</i>	ma-k-a-k-a-wa, <i>my aunts</i> ¹
	ma-p-aX-p-a-wa, <i>thy aunt</i>
	ma-ki-hax-h-a-wa, <i>our aunts</i>
k'-a-nüc, <i>my paternal uncle</i>	ma-k'-a-k'-a-nüc, <i>my paternal uncles</i>
ma-k'-ap, <i>my house</i>	ma-k'-ap-k'-ap, <i>my houses</i>
ma-ki-ap, <i>our house</i>	ma-pi-ap-i-ap, <i>your houses</i>
ma-k-uwu, <i>my knife</i>	ma-k-öX-k-uwu, <i>my knives</i>
ma-s-uwu, <i>his knife</i>	ma-s-öX-s-uwu, <i>his knives</i>
ma-ki-uwu, <i>our knife</i>	ma-ki-öX-y-uwu, <i>our knives</i>

On the other hand reduplication of nouns occurs also without reduplication of the possessive prefix.

ma-p-qo, <i>thy dog</i>	ma-p-qoX-qo, <i>thy dogs</i>
ma-ki-qo, <i>our dog</i>	ma-ki-qoX-qo, <i>our dogs</i>
ma-k-to, <i>my brother-in-law</i>	ma-k-to-to, <i>my brothers-in-law</i>
ma-k-pepe, <i>my older brother</i>	ma-k-pe-pepe, <i>my older brothers</i>

It appears that when a noun commencing with a vowel is reduplicated, the possessive prefix is reduplicated also. When the noun begins with a consonant, the pronoun is not reduplicated.

Reduplication occurs in the verb as well as in the noun, but expresses an iterative or a continuative, not a plural or distributive. The verb may be used with plural subject or object pronoun without being reduplicated.

XoXoXau k-uniō-wun	<i>coyotes I-seek-them</i>
k-aqeik-ūn	<i>they-like-them</i>

¹ In terms of relationship -ite- and -a- are apparently prefixes, perhaps denoting possession or relationship.

ki-müXün	<i>we hunger</i>
noi qot'-qoti-wun-a ènèrqnerq	<i>I I-look-at-them women (habitually)</i>
qutī-u-wun ènèrqnerq	<i>I-look-at (the) women</i>
no k-tiyepi-o	<i>I-teach-ye</i>
no k-ti-tiyepi-o	<i>I-teach-ye "all the time"</i>

As stated previously, a noun-agent implying more or less iteration of action is formed from the verb by reduplication.

A few verbs are regularly used in a reduplicated form.

wopwūupw	<i>hit</i>
su-taxtaxsün	<i>frighten (su- = causative)</i>

Cases are altogether wanting. A noun is identical as subject and object. The possessive case is expressed, as in so many American languages, by means of the possessive pronoun.

ma-c-uc èmet	<i>the-his-hole ground-squirrel</i>
ma-s-uwu k-itcantük	<i>the-his-knife my-friend</i>
ma-s-kani cīw'	<i>the-his-flesh elk</i>

The various local and instrumental relations are expressed by separate words, placed before the noun.

ksunuwu a Xō'p	<i>with stone</i>
alapā'ya ma'm	<i>on house</i>
māma o''	<i>in water</i>
kitca hū'teu	<i>like day</i>
lülükün ma-tcāi'ya-c	<i>in the-basket</i>

ADJECTIVE.

The adjective seems, like the verb, not to be reduplicated to denote the plural. The following examples show its unchanging use with animate and inanimate nouns and attributively and predicatively.

kièna ènerq i-s-teòhò	<i>this woman she-good</i>
kie p'o'n o-s-teòhò	<i>this wood it-good</i>
teòhò teĩtee	<i>(a) good child</i>
k-teòhò	<i>I-good</i>
hūteū âwox	<i>(a) dog white</i>
no qoti-wac a ciwa âwox	<i>I-see-did elk white</i>

ma-qo i s-âwo' *the-my-dog he-white*
 kèna-Xōp i s-âwo-wac *this-stone it-white-was*

Just as the adjective is used predicatively, a noun can be used predicatively by prefixion of the pronominal elements.

kiku ki-ug'ug'ūig *we we-men (we are men)*
 pii p-a'l'olxo *thou thou-thief (thou art a thief)*

PRONOUN.

To express the ordinary functions of pronouns, the subjective possessive prefix and the objective suffix are generally sufficient. The separate form of the pronoun, used as an independent word, is probably emphatic. The forms of this are:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>First person</i>	noi	kicku	kiku
<i>Second person</i>	pii	picku	piku

There is no third person. It will be seen that these forms are nothing but the subjective-possessive prefixes with -i added in the singular and -ku in the dual and plural. In the first person singular noi takes the place of kii.

These independent forms of the pronoun stand in the same relation to the verb as a noun, being connected with the verb by the pronominal affix which is part of the verb. Hence there are forms such as:

noi k-sili-siniwe-lin *I I-wish-kill-thee;*

corresponding exactly in structure to forms such as:

ma-amelikana si-sili-siniwe-lit *the-Americans they-wish-kill-me*

It would not be possible to use noi, *I*, directly with the verb without k-. On the other hand the prefix k-, denoting *I*, is often used without noi.

DEMONSTRATIVES.

The demonstratives are:

kai, *this one*; plural, kaiuwun
 qòlò, *that one*; plural, qòlòwun

It will be seen that the plural ending -wun is identical with the pronominal suffix denoting the object of the third person plural.

The following adjectival demonstratives have been found:

- kièna, *this*, with animate nouns
 kie, kia, *this*, with inanimate nouns
 qòlò, *that*, with animate nouns

The article that has been described is distinct from the demonstratives both in meaning and in use.

NUMERALS.

The numerals are as follows:

1. pākā
2. ickòm
3. māsōx
4. ckūmu
5. yītipakās
6. yītickòm
7. yītimāsōx
8. malawa
9. ts'pa'
10. tcīya

The numbers from 11 to 19 are formed by putting *na-* before those denoting 1 to 9. Twenty is simply *two-ten*, ickò'm-a-tcī'ya, thirty is *three-ten*, and so on regularly up to ninety. The word for one hundred was not obtained.

The forms given above are used in counting. When used with nouns the numerals are followed by *-a*.

ickòm-a	xūs	<i>two bears</i>
māsōx-a	ènerq'nerq	<i>three women</i>

This numeral system is decimal. There is no trace of any vigesimal method of counting, and none of a quinary one, unless *masōx*, *three*, and *malawa*, *eight*, contain a common element. The word for *four* is related to that for *two*. *Five*, *six*, and *seven* are *one*, *two* and *three* plus the prefix *yīti-*, of unknown origin but equivalent to *four*.¹

¹ Caballeria, op. cit., p. 42, says that the "iti" forming the first part of the numerals five, six, and seven in the Siujtu dialect means "here."

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RADICALS.

A number of the words that denote common or natural objects are monosyllabic and apparently irresolvable.

cūup	<i>land</i>	ò'	<i>water</i>
tüüp	<i>mountain</i>	ũk'	<i>lake</i>
Xōp	<i>rock</i>	p'o'n	<i>wood</i>
Xa's	<i>sand</i>	ma'm	<i>house</i>
q'si	<i>sun</i>	ya	<i>arrow</i>
nũ ⁿ	<i>fire</i>	ax	<i>bow</i>
tòx	<i>smoke</i>		

The following names of animals are monosyllabic:

xūs	<i>bear</i>	p'co'c	<i>snake</i>
cīw'	<i>elk (ciervo)</i>	xcap	<i>rattlesnake</i>
-qo	<i>dog</i>	yox	<i>watersnake</i>
q'ũ'n	<i>rabbit</i>	caq!	<i>turtle</i>
ma'	<i>jackrabbit</i>	qop'	<i>toad</i>
nāq	<i>rat</i>	q'loq	<i>tadpole</i>
slo	<i>eagle</i>	tōq	<i>grasshopper</i>
ā'	<i>crow</i>	e-ik'	<i>louse</i>
X'òX	<i>heron</i>	s-tèp	<i>flea</i>
ceew	<i>owl</i>	kt'ũ't	<i>spider</i>

The following may have been formed by reduplication from monosyllabic stems:

XoXau	<i>coyote</i>	wawau	<i>crane</i>
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The more important parts of the body are frequently expressed by monosyllabic root-like words. Most of them seem to occur only with the possessive prefixes.

noX'	<i>nose</i>	ũ'L	<i>leg</i>
tuX	<i>eye</i>	te'm	<i>foot</i>
tōu	<i>ear</i>	qām	<i>wing</i>
sa'	<i>tooth</i>	āL	<i>liver</i>
po'	<i>cheek</i>	paX	<i>skin</i>
nii	<i>neck</i>	ōc	<i>fur</i>
muut	<i>back</i>	Xot'	<i>penis</i>
pū	<i>arm, hand</i>	se'	<i>bone</i>

The following are polysyllabic:

oqwo'n	<i>head, hair</i>	eleu	<i>tongue</i>
a'tsüs	<i>beard</i>	oXcoL	<i>urine</i>
uszi	<i>chest, heart</i>	tili	<i>vagina</i>
akcuu	<i>belly</i>	eq'wai	<i>nail</i>

Terms of relationship also show monosyllabic roots in most cases; but the roots are generally either duplicated or preceded by ite- or a-.

qò, <i>father</i>	ma-qòqo, <i>my father</i>
tuq, <i>mother</i>	ma-k-tzq, <i>my mother</i>
pe, <i>elder brother</i>	ma-k-pèpe, <i>my elder brother</i>
is, <i>younger brother or sister</i>	ma-k-its-is, <i>my younger brother</i>
tu'n, <i>son or daughter</i>	ma-k-ite-tu'n, <i>my son</i>
nüc, <i>paternal uncle</i>	k-ā-nüc, <i>my paternal uncle</i>
ta, <i>maternal uncle</i>	k-tāta, <i>my maternal uncle</i>
wa, <i>"aunt"</i>	k-a-wa, <i>my "aunt"</i>
tcüix, <i>"woman's nephew(?)"</i>	k-tcüix, <i>my "nephew"</i>
mus, <i>father-, mother-in-law</i>	k-mus, <i>my father-in-law</i>
to, <i>brother-, sister-in-law</i>	ma-k-to, <i>my sister-in-law</i>
ne, <i>parent of mother</i>	k-nène, <i>my maternal grandparent</i>
ma, <i>parent of father,</i>	ma-k-māma, <i>my paternal grandparent</i>
ma, <i>"grandchild"</i>	ma-k-a-ma, <i>my "grandchild"</i>

The following do not reduce to monosyllabic roots.

ma-k-isüyix	<i>my husband</i>
ma-k-tā'lik	<i>my wife</i>
ma-k-sūmepèpe	<i>my son- or daughter-in-law</i>
	[cf. pe, <i>elder brother</i>]
k'-ōna'	<i>my "nephew"</i>
ma-k-ite-antük	<i>my friend</i>

Verbs for the most part, even if of simple significance, are of two and three syllables.

Monosyllabic verbs:

na'n	<i>go</i>	wopwuupw	<i>hit</i>
we	<i>sleep</i>	ike	<i>give</i>
wöL	<i>shoot</i>		

Polysyllabic verbs:

qoti	<i>see</i>	ni'qot	<i>break</i>
aqciik	<i>like</i>	tiXuan	<i>scratch</i>
axotiwil	<i>talk</i>	caXciLc	<i>fish</i>
eXpètc	<i>sing</i>	tiyepi	<i>show, teach</i>
ilük!ün	<i>sit</i>	aLpät	<i>run</i>
lukumil	<i>stand</i>	olXo	<i>steal</i>
unio	<i>seek</i>	aqmil	<i>drink</i>
xunio	<i>hunt</i>	kit'wo'n	<i>go out, emerge</i>
siniwe	<i>kill</i>	-nowo'n	
acün	<i>eat</i>	Xo-nowo'n	<i>fly</i>
müXün	<i>hungry</i>	Xalk!i-nowo'n	<i>jump</i>

Most adjectives are also of more than one syllable. Prepositional words are all of some length.

There are some words—nouns, adjectives, and verbs—which are reduplicated or duplicated in their normal forms.

wopwūupw	<i>hit</i>
Xul'Xül	<i>heavy</i>
su-taXtaXsün	<i>frighten</i>
tcī'tei	<i>child</i>
XöpXöp	<i>gravel (Xöp, rock)</i>
pèpe	<i>elder brother</i>
māma	<i>paternal grandparent</i>
nène	<i>maternal grandparent</i>
lülükün	<i>in</i>
tâp'ânp'ân	<i>kidney</i>

SALINAN.

In 1861 Shea printed as volume VII of his Library of American Linguistics a Vocabulary of the Language of the San Antonio Mission, California, by Father Buenaventura Sitjar (1739–1808). To the vocabulary Shea has prefixed ten pages of grammatical notes based upon it. These notes serve to give an idea of the grammatical structure of the language.

The chief features of the San Antonio language are a strongly developed plural, both in verbs and nouns, formed by the suffixion or the infixion near the end of the word of a very

variable element, which generally however contains either *l* or *t*; the employment of this plural in verbs for both a plural subject and a plural object; the pronominal conjugation of the verb by means chiefly of prefixes for the subject and suffixes for the object, with considerable unexplained variability of forms; a very peculiar combination of the noun with the possessive pronoun; the absence of cases; and the expression of local relations in the noun by means of separate prepositions. Throughout, the language is remarkable for its apparent irregularity.

Material obtained by the writer at Jolon, upon the dialect of San Miguel, shows this to be a closely related language with the same general characteristics.

The independent pronouns of the San Miguel dialect are:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>First person</i>	ke [ek-toyove]	ka ⁿ [kak]
<i>Second person</i>	mo [mo]	mom

The words in brackets are the San Antonio forms according to Shea.

The San Miguel verbal forms obtained had these pronominal forms suffixed. In some cases the suffix *-leu* or *-lew* seemed to indicate the third person singular. In San Antonio the subjective pronominal elements are chiefly prefixed.

Demonstratives are *na*, *he*, and *hò*. *Na* means *this*; *he* and *hò* presumably indicate different distances of *that*. In San Antonio *na* means *this*, *pe* *that*. Besides *he*, *heūna* is found in San Miguel: *he luwai* and *heūna luwai*, *that man*. *Hewat* or *hiwet* seems to be a plural of *he*.

The plural of nouns is formed by the same methods as in San Antonio. The following forms illustrate its variability.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>man</i>	lowai	dām
<i>woman</i>	lene	lentsen
<i>child</i>	sepxa	sem'ta
<i>old woman</i>	teini	teinten
<i>house</i>	t'ām	t'āmā'niL
<i>dog</i>	hūtcāi	hōste
<i>knife</i>	t'cak	t'cakèL

<i>bird</i>	sāxe	saxtin
<i>dead</i>	cetep	cetlip
<i>beautiful</i>	smat	smatel

The noun is identical in form whether subject, object, or possessor. The possessive case is expressed by the possessive pronoun.

tixep-o luwai	<i>foot-his man</i>
he-menen-o lene	<i>the-hand-hers woman</i>

Local relations in nouns are expressed by independent prepositions.

mumtòke t'a	<i>in the water</i>
memtòke t'ām	<i>in the house</i>
tòke tecaan	<i>in the basket</i>
lèmo t'a	<i>over, on, above the water</i>
lèmo t'akat	<i>on the mountain</i> ¹

The possessive pronoun is fused into one word with the noun. The following are typical cases. The bracketed forms are San Antonio as given by Shea in Spanish orthography.

Meaning	<i>house</i>	<i>teeth</i>	<i>bone</i>
Word	t'ām		
1 s.	t'èm	t'ule't	[ejac]
2 s.	est'me'm	t'mu'let	[cimegae]
3 s.	t'èmo	t'ule'to	[ejaco]
1 p.	tat'èm	tat'u'let	
2 p.	taxt'èm (?)		[za ejac]
3 p.	t'èmòot	t'ule'tot	[zug oejac]
Meaning	<i>elder brother</i>	<i>food</i>	<i>eye</i>
Word			
1 s.	kaiye'	lamxat	cukanit
2 s.	t'umkai'	t'amlamxat	t'omsokanit
3 s.	ākai'y	lamxato	
1 p.			tacukanit
2 p.		talamxat	
3 p.	ākai'yot		

¹ lè̄m-ō = *above, on*, lè̄m = *sky*. So in Chumash: *alapa-ya* = *above, on*, *alapa* = *sky*.

Meaning	<i>father</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>dog</i>
Word			hucā'i
1 s.	tata ^w [tili]	apai'	tī'itco ²
2 s.	t'embek [cimic]	t'mèbex ¹	tm'iteo
3 s.	t'embeko [ecco]	èxo [epjo]	tī'itcoo
1 p.	t'abek [za tili]	t'aebex	
Meaning	<i>knife</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>brother</i>
Word	t'ak, teak		
1 s.	tecak	menenke	[citol]
2 s.	t'mecak	t'umenen	[e ^a tsmitol]
3 s.	tecasto	meneno	[citolo]

The structure of these pronominal forms is very difficult to understand. Additional cases that were obtained do not make the matter clearer. What contributes largely to the complexity is the initial *t'* (*t*, *tc*, *ts*, *c*, *s*), which occurs in many of the forms and is absent from others. It cannot be regarded as part of the pronominal possessive prefix because it occurs with equal frequency as the first sound of many nouns in their simple non-possessive form. Nearly three-fourths of the prefixless names of animals and natural objects begin with *t'* or one of its variants.

It is possible that the initial *t'* is of demonstrative origin, perhaps an article that has become incorporated. It will be remembered that in Chumash the article is generally used with the possessive prefix. If this explanation is correct, San Miguel *t-m-iitco*, *thy dog*, would be equivalent to Chumash *ma-p-qo*. Salinan otherwise shows a tendency to use demonstratives before the possessive prefixes.³

¹ Sitjar: *thy mother*, pe^atzmipeg, matz mipeg, e^atzmipeg.

² Sitjar gives *dog* as *o'tcho* in San Antonio, *my dog* as *zi o'tch'vo* or *zi'tch'vo*. *Nest* is *kiini*, *my nest* *zikiin*, (*his*) *nest* *zikiino*. *Stone house* e^axcon, *my house* ch^vicono^v, *thy house* zimch^vicono, *his house* ch^viconou. *My bed* quiche^ame^at, *thy bed* aquimiche^ame^at, *his bed* quiche^ame^ato.

³ San Miguel:

ho t'umpasi	<i>thy son</i>
he meneno lene	<i>the woman's hand</i>
e t'umenen	<i>thy hand</i>
na tat'òopik	<i>our heads</i>
na t'umkai	<i>thy older brother</i>
na t'mecak	<i>thy knife</i>
na t'ulet, t'ulet	<i>my teeth</i>
ho t'abek, t'abek	<i>our father</i>

San Antonio:

pe ^a tsmipeg	<i>thy mother</i>
pe ^a	<i>that</i>
na cim-lamay	<i>thy right hand</i>
na	<i>this</i>

In the Lord's Prayer given by Duflet de Mofras, Expl. du Terr. de l'Oregon, II, 392, and quoted by Shea, na, *this*, occurs seven times, five of the occurrences being before nouns to which a possessive pronoun is affixed: na zananaol, the our debt; natsmalog, thy will; etc.

On the other hand the Washo language of the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada shows a peculiarity of structure that may be similar to this one in Salinan. The stems of many nouns and verbs are identical in Washo. The first person is indicated by the prefixion of the same elements in noun and verb. The same is true of the second person. The third person is indicated in both noun and verb by the absence of pronominal elements. Thus from the root *añal* are formed *l-añal-i*, *m-añal-i*, *añal-i*, *I live*, *you live*, *he lives*, and *l-añal*, *m-añal*, *añal*, *my house*, *your house*, *his house*. To form the non-pronominal simple noun, a *d-* is prefixed to the root. While *his house* is *añal*, *house* absolutely or *a house*, *the house*, is *d-añal*. There is thus an apparent but unreal formation of the third person possessive by apocope; and there is also a large class of nouns beginning with the element *d-*. As both these conditions are similar to those in Salinan, it is not impossible that an analogous morphological process has been operative there.

The complexity of these pronominal noun-forms is however such that their nature cannot be positively ascertained without extensive study. It is evident that phonetic influences have contributed to bring about the irregularity.

The following are the numerals:

	<i>San Miguel</i>	<i>San Miguel</i> <i>Hale</i> ¹	<i>San Antonio</i> <i>Shea</i>
1	dō'i	tohi	tôl
2	ha'kec	kûgsu	caquiche
3	la'pai	tlûbahi	lappay
4	g!e'ca	kesa	quicha
5	oltcā'd	oldrato	ultrao
6		paiate	painel
7		tepa	que ^{at} té
8		sratel	shaanel
9		teditrup	tetatsoi
10		trupa	zoe

¹Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., II, 126. The marked u in *kûgsu* and *tlûbahi* has the quality of English u in *but*.

RELATIONSHIP OF CHUMASH AND SALINAN.

There are the following lexical similarities between the Chumashan and the Salinan material obtained.

<i>English</i>	<i>Chumash</i>	<i>Salinan</i>
<i>rabbit</i>	q!ū'n	map!
<i>jack rabbit</i>	ma'	g!ōoL
<i>rock</i>	Xōp	c-xap
<i>sky</i>	alapa	lèm
<i>work</i>	talawaxa ¹	talxual ¹
<i>younger brother</i>	its-is	t'-os
<i>older sister</i>	pepe	pe
<i>ground squirrel</i>	è'mèt	c-emkom

Several of these resemblances are probably only apparent. The similarities found² between other Chumashan and Salinan dialects seem doubtful. There is as yet no reason to consider the two languages genetically related.

On the other hand Chumash and Salinan are alike in the following respects:

1. Their general phonetic character, which is not absolutely harsh, but yet less simple and smooth than that of most Californian languages.
2. The existence of a plural, though this is differently formed in the two languages.
3. The employment of the pronominal elements in the form of affixes instead of independent words; further the prefixion of the subjective and possessive elements and the suffixion of the objective.
4. The use with the possessive pronoun of a prefixed element more or less demonstrative in nature.
5. The close fusion of the pronominal elements with the noun, as evidenced in Chumash by reduplication of the pronoun with the noun and in Salinan by the inability of analysis to separate noun from pronoun with certainty.
6. The absence of both syntactical and local cases.

¹ Perhaps Spanish.

² A. S. Gatschet, Rep. Chief of Engineers, 1876, III, p. 553.

7. The use of independent prepositions to express local relations in nouns.

8. The numeral system, which in both languages is decimal, not quinary, and has the words for four and two derived from the same stem. The latter is the case also in Yokuts and Costanoan.

The two languages differ in the following points of structure:

1. The presence of reduplication as a syntactical or formal means in Chumash, and its absence in Salinan.

2. The presence of a plural in verbs in Salinan and its absence in Chumash.

Some of the features enumerated are of a general nature and of weight in showing similarity only because most of the neighboring languages are different. For instance, while the use of independent prepositional words is in itself not a very specific characteristic, it becomes so in California and the surrounding region, where almost all the less extensive families, as well as the larger Shoshonean, Yuman, Piman, and Sahaptian stocks, employ case-like suffixes in place of prepositions. In general the salient characteristics common to Chumash and Salinan are not found elsewhere in the region, and the two languages must therefore be regarded as constituting a morphological group.¹

ESSELEN.

The Esselen people and language having become extinct, the author is indebted to the courtesy of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the material on which the following account is based.

The extant material belonging to this linguistic stock is very limited and unsatisfactory for grammatical purposes, consisting only of several short vocabularies which include a few phrases.² There are no texts, not even a Lord's prayer.

Two short Esselen vocabularies, one of twenty-two and the other of thirty-one words, were collected before the close of the eighteenth century by la Pérouse and Galiano. These have been

¹ American Anthropologist, n. s. V, p. 1, 1903.

² The total number of words and phrases in all of the vocabularies is over three hundred, but there are little more than two hundred different words.

reprinted once or twice.¹ Duflot de Mofras gives a set of Esselen numerals under the heading Carmelo.² The Franciscan missionary Arroyo de la Cuesta, from whom we have a Mutsun grammar and phrase-book, wrote in 1821 a manuscript entitled "Idiomas Californios," containing brief material from a dozen Californian languages and dialects, one of which is Esselen. He gives some fifty words and phrases. A copy of this manuscript, then in Santa Barbara, California, was made in 1878 by Mr. E. T. Murray for the Bureau of American Ethnology. In 1888 Mr. H. W. Henshaw, then investigating the languages of California south of San Francisco on behalf of the Bureau, obtained one hundred and ten words and sixty-eight phrases of Esselen, in part from a man named Pacifico, but mainly from an old woman at Monterey, named Eulalia, who has since died.³ Neither de la Cuesta's nor Henshaw's vocabularies have been printed. They constitute the material which has been put at the author's disposal by the Bureau of Ethnology.⁴ In 1902 the writer attempted to obtain Esselen material at Monterey, but found only an old Costanoan woman who after considerable effort succeeded in remembering half a dozen Esselen words.

As the extant Esselen material is not likely to be increased, and as most of it has never been printed, it is here given entire and unchanged from the originals.

¹ Neither the original account of the voyage of la Pérouse, nor Galiano's *Relacion del viage hecho por las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana*, 1802, have been accessible. The la Pérouse vocabulary, taken by Lamanon, was reprinted in the English translation published in London in 1799, and this has been available. La Pérouse's vocabulary was also reprinted by A. S. Taylor in the *California Farmer*, October 17, 1862. These two la Pérouse vocabularies show discrepancies in regard to six words, of which one is an omission by Taylor. Of Galiano's vocabulary a manuscript copy from the Bureau of Ethnology has been available. Galiano's vocabulary has been reprinted in the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, II, 137, and by A. S. Taylor in the *California Farmer*, April 20, 1860. Of these two reprints the former shows nine variations and one omission, and the latter seven variations, from the Bureau manuscript copy.

² Duflot de Mofras, *Expl. du Terr. de l'Oregon*, 1844, II, p. 401.

³ In the *American Anthropologist*, III, 45-49, 1890, under the title "A New Linguistic Family in California," Henshaw gives an account of the obtaining of his Esselen material.

⁴ De la Cuesta's vocabulary is in Spanish orthography, while Henshaw used the Bureau of Ethnology alphabet. Galiano's spelling is Spanish, that of la Pérouse and de Mofras French.

ESSELEN

	<i>Henshaw</i>	<i>de la Cuesta</i>	<i>de Moyras</i>	<i>Galiano</i> ¹	<i>la Pérouse</i> ²
1	pék	pec	pek	pek	pek
2		julan	oulhaj	u-lhaj	oulach
3	hu-lép	julep	koulhaj	julep	oullef
4		amaug	kamakous	jamajus	amniabou
5		pemajaba ³	pemakala	pe-majala'	pemaca
6		pelmalanai ⁴	pegualanai	pegualanai	pekoulana
7		julaghualanai	kulakulanai	julia-jualanai	houlakoalano
8		julepghualanai	kounallepla	julep-jualanai	koulefala
9		jamaghualanai	kakouslanai	jamajus-jualanai	kamakoualane
10	tomálla	to'mola	tomolla	tomolla	tomolla
11		peekelenai			
12		julagkelenai			
<i>friend</i>	nic-fé'; ⁵ nic-i'-wis; n/o-fé	nisienoje		mish-fe	nigefech
<i>bow</i>				payunaj	pagounach
<i>beard</i>					iscotre
<i>to dance</i>	mé/p-pé; mé/p-pe-yi/-si				mefpa
<i>teeth</i>					sour
<i>no</i>	me'-tea; a'-na				maal
<i>yes</i>	i/-kê				ike
<i>father</i>		haya		a-hay	aoi
<i>mother</i>	ma't-si			azia	atzia

¹ Taylor, Cal. Farmer, April 20, 1860, shows the following variants: *two*=*utay*; *five*=*pemajabala*, *six*=*pequealanai*, *seven*=*julep-julanai*; *son*=*pana*; *woman*=*janutek*; *time*=*nimstaha*. Most of these are misprints. Taylor's manuscript is in the library of the University of California. He wrote *u-thaj*, *pemajabala*, *pegualanai*, *jula-jalanai* or *julep-julanai*, *pana*, *tanutek*, *nimstaha* or *nimstaha*. The vocabulary printed in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., II, 127, has these variants: *six*=*pegualanai*; *seven*=*jula jualanai*; *eight*=*julep jualanai*; *nine*=*jamajus-jualanai*; *bow*=*payunaj*; *small*=*ojask*; *fire*=*ma-namenes*; *daughter*=*tapana*; *brother* is omitted; *woman*=*tamitek*.

² Taylor, Cal. Farmer, October 17, 1862, has the following variants: *four*=*annahon*; *ten*=*tomouéla*; *friend*=*nigefech*; *bow*=*pagounache*; *father*=*avi*; *seat* is omitted.

³ b for l.

⁴ lm for ku.

⁵ "trusted friend."

	<i>Henshaw</i>	<i>de la Cuesta</i>
<i>my father</i>		maaths
<i>my wife (mi muger, ó esposa)</i>	n'ic-tə; nic-ta'	nista
<i>child</i>		panajueg
<i>I will eat (voy a comer)</i>		ne amlala
<i>I will cry (voy a llorar)</i>		ne sia hualala
<i>grandfather</i>	nēm-Is-mī't-tei; ¹ mē't-h'ē	metg
<i>hit him (pegale)</i>		hachilis mu
<i>sing (canta tu)</i>		na me
<i>wood</i>	i-i	ii
<i>mountain</i>		polo'mo
<i>sun</i>	a'-ci	assi
<i>give me (dame)</i>	to'-h'Y'-sa	tugesā
<i>take it (toma)</i>		yu
<i>stone</i>		shiefe
<i>the ground (tierra)</i>	mak-sa'-la	mathra
<i>cottontail rabbit (conejo)</i>	t'ci'-ci	chis
<i>fish</i>	koh'l-koh'l	calul
<i>he died (murio)</i>		moho
<i>I</i>	ēn-nī	enne
<i>you</i>	nē'm-mī	name
<i>he (aquel)</i>	lal	huiniki
<i>we</i>		lees
<i>ye</i>		nomeths
<i>they (aquellos)</i>		laths
<i>I eat (yo como)</i>		enne ama
<i>you eat (tu comes)</i>		name ama
<i>he eats (aquel come)</i>		huiniki ama
<i>come with me! (ven conmigo)</i>		iyo enemanu
<i>I go with you (voy contigo)</i>		ninenu nanmemanu
<i>come! (ven)</i>	i-yu'	iyo
<i>look! (vete)</i>		abscula
<i>don't cry! (no llores)</i>		au siahuage
<i>I love you much (te quiero mucho)</i>		mislayaya colo
<i>hit me with the stone! (dame, ó pegame con la piedra)</i>		pejuisma shiefent
<i>it is finished (se acabo)</i>		amomuths
<i>there is no more (ya está no mas)</i>		alepus
<i>foot (pies)</i>		ke'le
<i>hair (pelo)</i>		haca
<i>nails (uñas)</i>		uloje
<i>body (cuerpo)</i>		menjel
<i>heart (corazon)</i>		masianeg
<i>flea (pulga)</i>		huojehahui
<i>eyes (ojos)</i>		ca
<i>head (cabeza)</i>	ka'-ta	jissi
<i>mouth (boca)</i>		catusneg

¹ The two last vowels are not quite certain in the manuscript.

	Henshaw	de la Cuesta
above, up (<i>arriba</i>)		ausai
under (<i>abajo</i>)		jujuhuai
what is your name? (<i>como te llamas?</i>)		kiakit na mismap
speak! (<i>habla tu</i>)		alpa nanme
river (<i>rio</i>)		asum
creek (<i>en la Soledad arroyo</i>)		cuchun
dry creek (<i>arroyo seco</i>)		aspasianag
old woman	u'-i-yan	
dark or black woman	a-la'-ki-u-yun	
boy	ě-hĭ-pa-na'-sis	
girl	so-le'-ta	
my daughter	nic-â-lě't-a	
little girl; baby	u-ku'+s-ki-ta-pa-na'-si	
little boy; baby	u-ku'+s-ki ě-hě'-note	
little white girl	hěł-ě'l-ki-pa-na	
old man	la-lĭ-he'-si	
devil (other informant: <i>dark</i>)	tu'-mas	
the devil or evil spirit	tu+mas-ate-hâ-pa	
you are a devil	ha-teoh'-pa	
mother-in-law	i-si'-kĭs	
sister	i'-tei	
niece	tut-su'+	
my son	nic-pa'-na; mĭs-pa'-na	
said to be an oath	at-sa'-ni-ca	
nothing	a-na-i	
knife	kum-mal	
dizzy	ti-ma'-ma	
he is drunk	la-wa'-ti-ma'-ma	
dandy; fop	ti-hi'k-pas	
to flirt	ti-hi'k-pas	
joker	těn-nĭ'n-paic	
a nuisance; one who is in the way	tsě'-ěs	
bay	i-mi-lâ'n-o	
house	i-wa'-no	
basket, water-tight	t'si-la	
winnowing basket, small jug or bottle of wicker	ku'-uh', ku'uh'	
roasting pan of roots	ie-pa-ca'-a+	
winnowing basket	ca'k-a	
rabbit robe	ě-he'-păs	
asphaltum	ci'-kĭl-i	
wet ground	a'-sel-hěł-ki-ta	
hole	i-mu'-sa	
ground-squirrel	mě'-h'ě	
freshly made squirrel hole	a'-sal-hě'l-ki-ta-mě'-hě-i-mu'-sa	
people	ěf-fe'-h'ĭ	

Henshaw

"common people (<i>gente de razon</i>)" ¹	mats-hai'-ba
rat	ma'-kél
coyote	ma'te-kas; mǔ'te-kās
dog	ute-mas; hu'-teu-mas; can-â'-eo
deer	a-mi'-sah'
<i>gopher (pocket)</i>	ta-na'-ni
<i>bear (black)</i>	kol-ta'-la; ko'l-ta-la
<i>mountain lion</i>	h' ǝ'-kɪs
<i>wild cat</i>	tâ-lo'-ma
<i>quail</i>	ku'-mul
<i>birds; all birds that fly</i>	tea'p-his
<i>crow</i>	ɪc-ka' ²
<i>salmon</i>	ta'-lɪn; ki-li'-wǎ
<i>rattlesnake</i>	tsǝ't-sǝlk-ka-ma-thi
<i>mussels</i>	ha-la/k-al
<i>cat</i>	mɪ's-ka-tas (Carmelo lang.?)
<i>chicken</i>	kai-yi'-nap-ca
<i>acorn</i>	pa-la't-sa
<i>white-oak</i>	has+
<i>tule</i>	ka-pa'-na
<i>grass roots used to make baskets</i>	ǝ'te-e
<i>good night</i>	sa-le'-ki-it-su ³
<i>yesterday; another day</i>	la'-wa-ef; la'-wa-ǝf
<i>running water</i>	teâ-lo-lâ'-si
<i>tobacco</i>	k'a'-a, k'a'-ah
<i>give me tobacco</i>	ka/k-a-to-he'-sa
<i>salt</i>	mak-h'a-la-na
<i>smoke</i>	te'a-h'a
<i>sea, ocean</i>	i-mi'-lǎ
<i>seeds of plants for food</i>	i-ya'm-pas
<i>meat</i>	tâ't-si
<i>pinole</i>	a-mu'h'; am-muh'
<i>mush (of acorns)</i>	tse'r-wɪn
<i>to eat pinole</i>	hu'-ɪ-ya-a-muh'
<i>a quantity, much</i>	ma'-li-ai-ha-pa'
<i>spotted tail</i>	su-hu'-lul-pa-wɪs
<i>necklace of beads</i>	am-hǝ'n-ni
<i>a favorite dance on feast days</i>	le'-ɪ-ma
<i>that is the truth</i>	man-tah'-i-te
<i>I am hungry</i>	ma-cai'-pa-ǝn-nɪ; ma-cai'-ɪ-pa-ǝn-nɪ
<i>he is hungry</i>	la'l-ma-cai-pa
<i>we are going to bring wood</i>	tei'-ɪ-ha's-la
<i>bring water</i>	ǝs-la'-ha-sa'-na
<i>build a fire</i>	lu-cu'n-huh
<i>where do you come from</i>	ke'-ya-i'-ya-nǝ'm-mɪ

¹ "Gente de razon" denotes civilized people, the whites.² Or a-ɪc-ka'. Manuscript doubtful.³ The third vowel may be e.

Henshaw

<i>give me this</i>	i-yuh'
<i>come to bed</i>	i-yu'h' -pok-a-ni'-si
<i>get up, to get up</i>	ak-kih' -pi-si; a'k-h' i-pi'-si
<i>are you going</i>	i-ya/k-al ¹
<i>let us go</i>	tei'-li-yä/k-al'
<i>who knows</i>	me/-tea ²
<i>go away</i>	tei-li-nën-i
<i>let us go home</i>	i-yak-al-i-wa/-no
<i>are you married?</i>	mut-ti-ha/-wī-nünt
<i>good day</i>	sa-le/-ki a-sa't-sa
<i>haven't got it; there is nothing</i>	ma-li-tah' -pa
<i>you have arrived</i>	la-wa-lâ-hâ-yi-si
<i>bring the coat (of rabbit skins)</i>	i-yu'h' hi-ti'-ta
<i>I am glad</i>	hi-la/-pa-ën-nī
<i>I am mad</i>	h'īl-lä-h'īl-lük+ën-nī
<i>he is angry</i>	la-wat-su'-h'a-i'-sa
<i>he is coming to-day</i>	lâ'-ma-ca-pa ën-nī
<i>women are going to bring a load</i>	u'-mis-wa-lu'-si ta-note a-wai-a-ke-
<i>of tule</i>	su-lo-hâ/n-ka ³
<i>give me a drink</i>	to-h' e-sa-pëk-lu+-ku ⁴
<i>drink (of water)</i>	lu'-ku
<i>you are nice</i>	o-wë'p-päs
<i>I am cold</i>	su'-tuk-ën-nī
<i>come, come!</i>	i'-yu-i'-yu
<i>put it on</i>	e-më'n-na-h'u
<i>what are you laughing at?</i>	pa-cl'm-a-ke-na't-su
<i>talk, talk, what is the matter!</i>	hal-pa-ma-tei'-hal-pu-matc-ka'ts-ski
<i>I am sleepy</i>	a-tīn-ni-a
<i>to sleep</i>	po-ko-ni's-h'i; ats-i-ni'-si
<i>to sleep near the fire</i>	i'c-to-lo
<i>who is that?</i>	ki-nik-i-la-lī
<i>that is that</i>	a-ka-la-li-a-ni-ki
<i>he is over there</i>	a-ka-la-ci-ha-ni-ki
<i>is it your wife?</i>	nīm-mīc-ta
<i>to sit down</i>	ko-sūn-noh'; ko'-so-ni's-h'i
<i>where are you going?</i>	kë'ts-pam-në-ni'-puk
<i>where is he?</i>	ki-ki
<i>to relate; to tell</i>	hu-mu'l-pa
<i>to eat</i>	a'-ma
<i>food</i>	ha-ma'k'-cu
<i>come</i>	i-yu'
<i>to bet</i>	su'-I-yun-hu'
<i>to run</i>	can-ca-yi'-si

¹The manuscript has ya- at some distance before i-ya/k-al, apparently not intended to form part of it.

²Cf. "no."

³"u'-mis-wa-lu'-si = load of tule," "a-wai-a-ke-su-lo-hâ/n-ka = are coming."

⁴"pek- = one."

	<i>Henshaw</i>
<i>to walk</i>	ně'n-ŷ
<i>to laugh</i>	a-ke-ni-si
<i>to sing</i>	ma-wi-pa
<i>sing, sing!</i>	mau'-wŷ
<i>hip, buttock</i>	hi's-ki-si
<i>nose</i>	ho'-eŷs
<i>mouth</i>	i'-eŷ
<i>ears</i>	tu-su's-nŷ-ya'
<i>sole of foot; footprint? or foot?</i>	ěs-ke'-li
<i>bone</i>	i'-ya
<i>your bones</i>	ně'm-mŷ-ci'-ya
<i>eye</i>	hi'k-pa; a'-ha
<i>your eyes</i>	ně'm-mŷs-hi'k-pa

Scant as this material is, it allows the determination of a number of the structural traits of the language.

PHONETICS.

The sounds of Esselen are the following:

u	o	a	e	i
ai				
k		x		
tc, ts				
t			n	l c, s
p	f		m	
	w, y, h			

Of the vowels, a is the most frequent, and i is nearly as common. These two sounds constitute two-thirds of the occurrences of vowels. U and e are of about equal frequency, but o is uncommon. There are a few cases of diphthongal ai.

Among the consonants full sonants are probably lacking. F, an uncommon sound in America, is found several times: *niefe*, *effeh'i*, *lawaef*, *shiefe*.¹ La Pérouse states that it is spoken as by Europeans.

¹R. given twice by Henshaw (*tserwin*, *mush*; *kinianermi*, *who are you*) is probably not a true sound of the language (cf. *nemmi*, *you*). The same may be said of Henshaw's sporadic ç (*tsetsekamathi*, *rattlesnake*), b (*matshaiba*, *gente de rason*), and ñ (*lucunhuh*, *build a fire*, which probably = *lucunxux*). The ths of de la Cuesta appears to be meant for tc. La Pérouse gives r twice and b once.

There appears to be a certain correspondence between *s* and *h*, *x*, *k*. Thus, *asanax*, *asanas*; *mitci*, *methe*, *metg*; *eh'inute*, *ejennutek*; *tanote*, *tanutek*.¹

All consonants except *w* appear at the beginning of words and all except *t*, *m*, *ts*, and *w*, *y*, *h* have been found at the end of words. It is probable that in larger vocabularies *t*, *m*, and *ts* would be found occurring finally.

Vowels constitute more than one-third of the initial sounds of words, and considerably more than two-thirds of the final sounds. The syllable of most common type therefore consists of a consonant followed by a vowel. There are no words commencing with two consonants and none ending with two. There are no combinations of three consonants in the middle of words. It is clear from this that the syllables of the primary elements or radicals of the language contain no double consonants, and that all combinations of consonants are due to composition or derivations. Part of the occurrences of double consonants can, by analysis, be shown to result from this cause. For instance, *am-lala*, *es-keli*, *nic-fe*, *hatcoh'-pa*, *mis-katas*. Nevertheless double consonants are not rare. *K*, *t*, *x*, *n*, *m*, *l*, *s*, *c*, *ts*, *te* occur as the first sound, and *k*, *t*, *p*, *x*, *f*, *n*, *m*, *l*, *w*, *h* as the second element in such combinations. Accordingly all the consonants but *y* enter into combinations.

It thus appears that the phonetics of Esselen are simple and regular.

PRONOUNS.

The Esselen pronouns appear to be the following:

- 1 s. *eni*, *ene*
- 2 s. *nemi*, *name*, *nanme*
- 3 s. *lal*
- 1 p. *lec*
- 2 p. *nomete*
- 3 p. *late*

¹The same variability is found in Moquelumnan (Powers, *Contr. N. A. Ethn.*, III, 362) and in the Diegueño of Yuman stock. *S* and *h*, *x*, *k* are also interdialectally equivalent in Moquelumnan and Costanoan, and in certain Shoshonean dialects of Southern California.

There is nothing to show whether *lal* and *late* are pronominal or demonstrative.

The possessive forms, which are prefixed, are:

- 1 s. *nic-*
2 s. *nemic-, mic-*

It is possible that *m-* is a possessive prefix of the second person.¹ Parts of the body are found without affixed possessives.

Nearly all the conjugational forms of the verb show the full unabridged pronoun.² De la Cuesta puts the pronoun separate from the verb and before it.³ Henshaw makes it follow the verb, except in the third person.⁴ It appears from this that Esselen does not belong, as do Chumash and Salinan, to the type of languages characterized by incorporated pronominal elements.

There is only one doubtful occurrence of an objective pronoun. This form is identical with the possessive pronoun of the same person, and like it is prefixed.⁵

The third person intransitive shows two forms, *lal* and *lawa*.⁶

Instead of *lal*, de la Cuesta gives *winiki* for *he* (*aquel*). A similar form, *aniki*, is found once or twice in Henshaw's material with demonstrative meaning.⁷ The stem of the interrogative is *ki*. *Who?* is usually *kini*,⁸ and *where?* *ke*.⁹

¹ Cf. "mother": Henshaw, *matsi*; Galiano, de la Pérouse, *atsia*.

² The exceptions are: *ne amlala, voy a comer, ne siawalala, voy a llorar*.

³ *ene ama, I eat, name ama, you eat; winiki ama, he eats; but alpa nanme, habla tu.*

⁴ *macaipa eni, I am hungry; lal macaipa, he is hungry; keya iya nemi, where do you come from? hilapa eni, I am glad; lawa tsuxaisa, he is angry; etc.*

⁵ *mislayasa kolo, te quiero mucho, I like thee much.*

⁶ <i>lal-macaipa</i>	<i>he is hungry</i>
<i>kini-ki-lali</i>	<i>who is that?</i>
<i>lawa-timama</i>	<i>he is drunk</i>
<i>lawa-tsuxaisa</i>	<i>he is angry</i>
<i>lawa-lohâyisi</i>	<i>"you have arrived"</i>

⁷ <i>aka-lal-i-aniki</i>	<i>that is that</i>
<i>aka-lac-i-haniki</i>	<i>he is over there</i>

⁸ <i>kini a nē/me</i>	<i>who is that fellow? (quien es ese?)</i>
<i>kini-a-ne(r)mi</i>	<i>who are you?</i>
<i>kini-ki-lali</i>	<i>who is that?</i>
<i>kiki</i>	<i>who is he?</i>
<i>kiakit na mismap</i>	<i>what is thy name? (como te llamas?)</i>

This *ki-* may be the same as the *-ki* in *winiki, aniki*.

⁹ <i>keya iya nemmi</i>	<i>where do you come from?</i>
<i>kets-pam-nini-puk</i>	<i>where are you going?</i>

From the fact that unabridged forms of the independent pronoun are used in the verb conjugation, that the personal pronouns can assume the case endings of nouns,¹ and that words denoting parts of the body are used without possessive pronouns, it is evident that the pronoun of Esselen is substantival rather than syntactical.

VERBS.

The imperative seems to be formed by the stem. An optative or imperative is expressed by *teili-*.

<i>teili-hasla</i>	<i>we are going to bring wood (esla, bring)</i>
<i>teili-yäkal</i>	<i>let us go (iyakal, are you going?)</i>
<i>teili-neni</i>	<i>go away!</i>
<i>ha-teili-smu</i>	<i>hit him! (pegale)</i>

The suffix *-la* may denote the future.

The negative is probably *an*.²

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives appear almost always with a suffix *-ki*. If the translations are correct, this suffix serves to render the adjective attributive. This process is analogous to one in Costanoan. The adjective precedes the noun.

<i>oxusk, ukuski, uhusk</i>	<i>small</i>
<i>ukūski ta-pana-si</i>	<i>small girl, female infant</i>
<i>ukūs ehinite</i>	<i>small boy, male infant</i>
<i>heleki pana</i>	<i>little white girl</i>
<i>alaki uyun</i>	<i>black (old) woman</i>
<i>putuki, yakiski</i>	<i>large</i>
<i>saleki asatsa</i>	<i>good day</i>
<i>saleki itsu</i>	<i>good night</i>

NOUNS.

It is impossible to determine from the limited material whether syntactical cases, either possessive or objective, existed in the language.

¹ See p. 61.

² *au siawaxe (for an?)*, *do not weep (no lloras)*; *ana, no*; *anai, nothing*.

Of local-instrumental cases there are a few instances.

pexuisma	ciefe-nu	<i>hit-me stone-with!</i>
iyo	ene-manu	<i>come me-with!</i>
ninenu	nanme-manu	<i>I-go thee-with</i>

It appears that -nu is instrumental and -manu comitative. The occurrence of these case-suffixes, analogous to those found in most Californian languages, distinguishes Esselen quite sharply from Chumash and Salinan. The use of these suffixes on the pronoun shows that this part of speech had much the morphological value of a noun.

The vocabularies give several forms that purport to be plural, but there is nothing to show that any of the forms given are really so. Such identical forms as

iya	<i>bone</i>	nemic-iya	<i>your bones</i>
hikpa	<i>eye</i>	nemis-hikpa	<i>your eyes</i>

may be due to real absence of a plural or to inexact translation. There is nothing that has the appearance of being a plural suffix.

It is possible that final reduplication was used to express a plural.

k'a, k'ax, kaka	<i>tobacco</i>
aimoulas [for aimutas?]	<i>star (la Pérouse)</i>
amutatas	<i>stars (de la Cuesta)</i>
tus-us-niya	<i>ears (de la Cuesta)</i>

In Washo final reduplication expresses a category related to the plural.

NUMERALS.

The Esselen numerals, as they may be reconstructed from the various vocabularies, seem to be:

- 1 pek
- 2 xulax
- 3 xulep
- 4 xamaxus
- 5 pemaxala
- 6 pek-walanai
- 7 xulax-walanai

- 8 xulep-walanai
- 9 xamaxus-walanai or xamax-walanai
- 10 tomoila
- 11 pek-kelenai
- 12 xulax-kelenai

This system is strictly quinary. The numerals from six to nine are formed from those for one to four by the addition of walanai, and those from eleven to fourteen by the addition of kelenai. Two and three show analogous forms, xulax and xulep. Five, pe-max-ala, appears to contain the root of pek, *one*, while its last element, -ala, occurs also in the formative walanai.

REDUPLICATION.

There are about fifteen instances of reduplication in the Esselen vocabularies. It does not seem likely that these can all be accidental and meaningless. Owing to the disjointed nature of the sentences and phrases, the functions of this reduplication are, however, not ascertainable.

amomute	<i>it is finished (se acabo)</i>
cancayisi	<i>to run</i>
ne amlala	<i>I will eat (voy a comer)</i>
ne siawalala	<i>I will cry (voy a llorar)</i>
mislalaya kolo	<i>I like thee much</i>
timama	<i>dizzy</i>
lawa-timama	<i>he is drunk</i>
xuxuwai	<i>under, below, (abajo)</i>
suh-ul-ul-pawis	<i>spotted tail</i>
mamanes	<i>fire</i>
lelima	<i>a dance</i>
kaka, k'a, k'ax	<i>tobacco</i>
amutatas	<i>stars</i>
tus-us-niya	<i>ears</i>
koxlkoxl	<i>fish</i>
kalul	<i>fish</i>
xilaxiluk-enni	<i>I am angry</i>
teololosi	<i>running water</i>
tsetselkamati	<i>rattlesnake</i>
opopabos	<i>seal</i>

DERIVATION.

A number of suffixes, both nominal and verbal, are discernible, but the meaning of most remains conjectural.

-nex occurs on nouns:

masianex	<i>heart</i>
katusnex	<i>mouth</i>
aspasianax	<i>dry arroyo</i>
anix	<i>fire</i>

-no is also substantival:

imiläno	<i>bay (imila, ocean)</i>
iwano	<i>house</i>

-s is a common ending of nouns:

tumas	<i>"devil," dark</i>
tse-es	<i>nuisance, one in the way</i>
lotos	<i>arrow</i>
ehepas	<i>rabbit-skin robe</i>
mutckas, matchkas	<i>coyote</i>
tcaphis	<i>birds</i>
utemas, hutcumas	<i>dog</i>
mis-katas	<i>cat (Spanish)</i>
iyampas	<i>seeds for food</i>
hocis	<i>nose</i>
tomanis	<i>night</i>
mamanes	<i>fire</i>
nic-inatas	<i>day</i>
opopabos	<i>seal</i>
panasis	<i>boy</i>
isikis	<i>mother-in-law</i>
nic-iwis	<i>friend</i>
xekis	<i>panther</i>
amutatas	<i>stars</i>

-la is found both in nouns and in verbs. In the latter case it appears to denote a future or an optative:

tcili-has-la	<i>we will bring wood</i>
es-la hasana	<i>bring water!</i>
yoku-la asanax	<i>bring water!</i>

iuk-la asanax	<i>give me water!</i>
ne am-la-la	<i>I will eat (voy a comer)</i>
ne siawa-la-la	<i>I will cry (voy a llorar)</i>
absku-la	<i>look! (vete)</i>
tsila	<i>a kind of basket</i>
koltala	<i>black bear</i>
imila	<i>ocean</i>
maksala	<i>ground</i>
tomoila	<i>ten</i>

-sa:

tohi-sa, tuxe-sa	<i>give me!</i>
lawatsuxai-sa	<i>he is angry</i>
atsani-ca	<i>an oath</i>
imu-sa	<i>hole</i>
kaiyina-p-ca	<i>chicken (Spanish)</i>

-pa:

macai-pa eni	<i>I am hungry</i>
lal macai-pa	<i>he is hungry</i>
malitax-pa	<i>haven't got it, there is nothing</i>
hila-pa eni	<i>I am glad</i>
lá'-maca-pa eni	<i>"he is coming to-day"</i>
mawi-pa	<i>"to sing"</i>
hal-pa, al-pa	<i>talk, speak!</i>
humul-pa	<i>tell, relate</i>
hatcox-pa, atehâ-pa	<i>devil; you are a devil</i>
matshai-ba	<i>whites (gente de razon)</i>
malinaiha-pa	<i>a quantity, much</i>
hik-pa	<i>eye</i>

One of the commonest suffixes is -pisi, which also appears as -nisi, -isi, -pis. It makes substantives of verbs. Many of the verbs given by Henshaw as in the absolute form have this suffix and are therefore probably really nominal participles.

malpa-pic ⁱ , alpapisi	<i>hablador, gossiper, talkative man</i>
kolxala-bie, kolhala	<i>hablador, story-teller</i>
akix-pisi, akxi-pis	<i>get up</i>
lawaloho-yisi	<i>"you" have arrived</i>

iyux poka-nisi	<i>come to bed</i>
poko-nisxi	<i>sleep</i>
atsi-nisi	<i>sleep (atina, I am sleepy)</i>
koso-nisxi	<i>sit down</i>
canca-yisi	<i>run</i>
ake-nisi	<i>laugh</i>
mepe-yisi	<i>dance (also: mep, mefpa)</i>

Several forms in -pas are probably to be included:

tihik-pas	<i>"dandy, fop;" "to flirt"</i>
tenin-paic	<i>joker</i>
owe-pas	<i>"you are nice"</i>

The same suffix is perhaps present in the following nominal forms:

lalihesi	<i>old man</i>
hiskisi	<i>hip, buttock</i>
teololosi	<i>running water</i>
iyampas	<i>seeds for food</i>
ehepas	<i>rabbit-skin robe</i>

COMPOSITION.

The following instances of composition have been observed:

asi, aci	<i>sun</i>
as-atsa	<i>day</i>
xetsa	<i>light (luz)</i>
itsu	<i>night</i>
tumas	<i>dark, devil</i>
tomanis	<i>night</i>
tomanis-aci	<i>moon</i>
pana	<i>child</i>
ta-pana	<i>daughter</i>
pana-xuex	<i>son</i>
ta-pana-si	<i>girl</i>
ehi-pana-sis	<i>boy</i>
ehi-nute	<i>man</i>
ta-note	<i>woman</i>
sole-ta, ni(c)-cole-ta	<i>girl, my daughter</i>

mak-sala, matra	<i>ground, earth</i>
mak-xalana	<i>salt</i>
imi-ta	<i>sky</i>
imi-la	<i>sea</i>
kele	<i>foot</i>
es-keli	<i>sole</i>

The formation of the words for man and woman is analogous to that in Costanoan. Night-sun for moon is common in American languages. The similarity of *sky* and *sea* is curious if not fortuitous. In other languages *sky* and *earth* are sometimes from the same root.

While derivation takes place through suffixes, in composition the qualifying substantival component precedes, as is customary in American languages.

VOCABULARY.

Verbal stems appear to be mostly disyllabic.

al-pa	<i>speak</i>	am	<i>eat</i>
pok-o-n	<i>sleep</i>	akix, akxi	<i>get up</i>
at(s)-i-n	<i>sleep</i>	can-ca	<i>run</i>
kos-o-n	<i>sit down</i>	mepe	<i>dance</i>
ak-e-n	<i>laugh</i>	mawi	<i>sing</i>
macai	<i>hungry</i>	iyu	<i>come</i>
siawa	<i>weep</i>	tihik	<i>flirt</i>
neni	<i>go, walk</i>	tox-i	<i>give</i>
moho	<i>die</i>	es-la	<i>bring</i>
hila	<i>glad</i>	tima	<i>dizzy</i>
luku	<i>drink</i>		

To facilitate comparisons the most common nouns are added in a uniform orthography.

Parts of the body:

haka	<i>hair, fur</i>	tus-us-niya	<i>ears</i>
xisi, kata	<i>head</i>	kele	<i>foot</i>
ici, katus-nex	<i>mouth</i>	menxel	<i>body</i>
is-kotre (<i>sic</i>)	<i>beard</i>	masia-nex	<i>heart</i>
aur (<i>sic</i>)	<i>teeth</i>	hiskisi	<i>hip, buttock</i>
ka, axa, hikpa	<i>eye</i>	iya	<i>bone</i>
hocis	<i>nose</i>	uloxe	<i>nails</i>

Persons:

exi-	<i>man</i>	lalihesi	<i>old man</i>
ta-	<i>woman</i>	uyan	<i>old woman</i>
pana	<i>child</i>	efehi	<i>people</i>

Terms of relationship:

ahai, maate ¹	<i>father</i>	atsia, matsi	<i>mother</i>
miits	<i>"brother"</i>	itei	<i>"sister"</i>
metee, metxe	<i>grandfather</i>	isikis	<i>mother-in-law</i>
ta (<i>woman</i>)	<i>wife</i>	tutsu	<i>"niece"</i>
fe	<i>friend</i>	iwis, ienoxe	<i>friend</i> ²

Animals:

xekis	<i>panther</i>	opopabos	<i>seal</i>
toloma	<i>wild cat</i>	tcaphis	<i>birds</i>
koltala	<i>black bear</i>	icka	<i>crow</i>
matchas	<i>coyote</i>	kumul	<i>quail</i>
hutemas, canoco	<i>dog</i>	koxlkoxl, kalul	<i>fish</i>
amisax	<i>deer</i>	talin, kiliwa	<i>salmon</i>
teici, tcis	<i>cottontail rabbit</i>	tsetselkamati	<i>rattlesnake</i>
mexe	<i>ground-squirrel</i>	halakal	<i>mussels</i>
makel	<i>rat</i>	woxewawi	<i>flea</i>
tanani	<i>gopher</i>		

Various:

aci	<i>sun, moon</i>	maksala, matra	<i>earth</i>
x-etsa	<i>light</i>	imita	<i>sky</i>
tuma-s	<i>dark, night</i>	imila	<i>sea</i>
amutas	<i>star</i>	asanax	<i>water</i>
anix	<i>fire</i>	asum	<i>river</i>
tcaxa	<i>smoke</i>	polomo	<i>mountain</i>
ii	<i>wood</i>	ciefe	<i>stone</i>
payunax, pagunax	<i>bow</i>	pawi, lotos	<i>arrow</i>
kumel	<i>knife</i>	iwano	<i>house</i>
totsi	<i>meat</i>	amux	<i>pinole</i>
tsewin	<i>acorn-soup</i>	tsila	<i>basket</i>

¹ haya, ahay, aoi, maaths in the original.² A number of the terms of relationship are preceded in the vocabularies by the possessive prefixes or proclitics nic-, mic-, nemic-. It is possible that where initial m- occurs in terms of relationship it is a possessive prefix also. The ending -te or -tei is found on the words for father, mother, brother, sister, grandfather, niece.

In a few words Esselen resembles other languages, especially Costanoan.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Esselen.</i>	<i>Costanoan.</i> ¹
<i>dog</i>	hutemas	matean
<i>coyote</i>	matekan	
<i>cottontail rabbit</i>	teici	
<i>jack rabbit</i>		te!eis ²
<i>meat</i>	totsi	
<i>deer</i>		toot ³
<i>ear</i>	tus-us-niya	tuxs ³
<i>nose</i>	hoc-is	wus
<i>foot</i>	kele	koro ⁴
<i>eat</i>	am-	am-
<i>sleep</i>	atin, atsin	etn
<i>drink</i>	luku	ukis ⁵

These similarities do not justify an assertion of relationship between Esselen and Costanoan. The roots *ute* and *am* for *dog* and *eat* are found among many unrelated families in California.⁶ The word for *ear*, being found in Yokuts as well as Costanoan, also proves little. The words for *rabbit* seem to be susceptible to borrowing throughout this region, as Chumash and Salinan also have a word in common. The Rumsien word for *deer* is not found in distant Costanoan dialects, and may therefore be taken from Esselen. Finally, such important words as *head*, *eye*, *mouth*, *bone*; *house*; *sky*, *sun*, *night*, *fire*, *water*, *rock*, *wood*; *man*, *woman*; *run*, *dance*, *sing*, *sit*; as well as the numerals; are dissimilar in the two languages.

Esselen must therefore be regarded as an independent language lacking a synthetic pronominal structure, possessing case-suffixes, and of simple phonetics, and accordingly morphologically similar to the central group of Californian linguistic families.

¹ Rumsien dialect treated below.

² Yokuts, several dialects, *te!iu*.

³ Yokuts, Tule River dialect, *tuk*.

⁴ Moquelumnan dialect obtained at Pleasanton, Alameda county, *kolo*.

⁵ Yokuts, Tule River dialect, *ukun*.

⁶ Amer. Anthropologist, n.s. V, 14, 1903.

COSTANOAN.

There exists a grammar of one of the Costanoan languages, the Mutsun of the mission San Juan Bautista in the north-western part of San Benito county. This was written by Arroyo de la Cuesta early in the nineteenth century and is accompanied by a vocabulary.¹ If the so-called Moquelumnan languages shall prove to be related to Costanoan, as still seems possible, Gatschet's sketch of the "Chumeto language"² spoken on Merced river in Mariposa county must be regarded as a second contribution to the grammatical knowledge of this stock.

The following notes on the Rumsien language, spoken about Carmel Mission, were obtained in Monterey from three informants. The youngest of these was in his sixtieth year. Although all three informants had forgotten more or less of the language, some songs and a few broken mythological texts were obtained.

PHONETICS.

Phonetically Rumsien is an unusually regular and smooth Indian language. Consonants do not accumulate; the vowels are pure and simple; and stressed consonants and catches are wanting. The sounds of the language are:

u, o, a, e, i
 k g x ñ
 tc
 t'
 t d n r, l, s, c
 p b m
 w, y, h

The vowels are much more often short than long, but do not become obscure.

¹ Arroyo de la Cuesta, *Grammar of the Mutsun Language*, Shea's Library of American Linguistics, IV, 1861. *Ibid.*, *Vocabulary or Phrase Book of the Mutsun Language*, Shea, VIII, 1862. F. Müller has utilized this material for a sketch in *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, II, 257.

² A. S. Gatschet, *Specimen of the Chumeto Language*, *Am. Antiq.*, 1883, pp. 72, 173.

Of the consonants, *g*, *d*, and *b* are similar to *k*, *t*, and *p*, and on account of some difficulty in distinguishing the two classes they have been written with the latter characters throughout. *Ñ* occurs only before *k* and is therefore evidently only a modified *n*. *X* is comparatively smooth; the *h* that has been written in many words is probably the same sound. *S* and *c* are sometimes hard to distinguish.

Except *tc*, which is treated by the unconscious genius of almost all languages as a simple sound, only single consonants occur initially. At the end of words the following combinations of consonants have been found: *kx*, *kc*, *ks*, *kt*, *tn*, *tk*, *pc*, *ps*, *py*, *xs*, *xc*, *xt*, *ns*, *nk*, *mk*, *mp*, *rs*, *rx*, *rk*, *rks*, *rps*, *ls*, *ws*, *tes*, *st*, *ct*. It will be seen that with the exception of *rks* and *rps* all of these combinations consist of only two consonants. In the middle of words, where composition gives favorable opportunities for the accumulation of consonants, the following additional double combinations have been observed: *tw*, *nw*, *nts*, *mx*, *rtc*, *rm*, *tek*, *sw*, *sm*, *sx*, *sy*. *K*, *t*, *p*, *x*, *n*, *m*, *s*, *te*, and *w* thus occur in combinations as both first and last component, *r* and *l* as first element only, and *y* as second element only.

Two vowels rarely follow each other. Even diphthongs are uncommon; and it is likely that their *i* and *u* can be referred to a radical *y* and *w*.

THE PRONOUN.

It is known that in many American languages the pronominal elements exist only in composition. The verb is conjugated subjectively and often objectively by the affixion of these elements. In the noun possession is expressed by the affixion of pronominal elements which may or may not be identical with those used with the verb. These pronominal affixes are one of the chief means by which the language has structure. Without them, most sentences would fall to pieces syntactically. On the other hand independent pronouns used like nouns or in place of them are generally wanting in these languages. The words which superficially appear to correspond to Indo-European pronouns, and have generally been called such, are really demonstratives or emphatic phrases. Forms that resemble *thou*

and *we* actually mean *it is thou* or *this we*. Therefore they are not used in ordinary constructions and are always outside the essential structure of the sentence. This has been shown very clearly by Seler of Mayan and by Kleinschmidt of Eskimo. The same is true in Dakota, Arapaho, and Nahuatl.

This specialized and characteristic type of structure is found chiefly in a group of important and extensive languages occupying the eastern part of the continent. It has often been regarded, especially by theoretical writers, as representative of all American languages. On the Pacific side of the continent, however, there are languages whose pronouns are complete words corresponding in function and use to substantives. In regard to the pronoun, two types of American languages must therefore be distinguished. Chumash and Salinan have been shown to belong to the former, and Esselen probably to the latter. Costanoan, like Esselen, lacks incorporation and has independent functionally substantival pronouns.

There are two forms of the pronoun. The simpler is used as subject of the verb, whether this is transitive or intransitive, and, without any change whatever, as possessive pronoun with the noun. The second form is used as object and is derived from the first by the suffixion of *-e*.

	<i>Subjective-Possessive</i>	<i>Objective</i>
1 s.	ka	kac
2 s.	me	mec
3 s.	wa	wac
1 p.	mak	?
2 p.	makam	mamac
3 p.	uti	utsen

Besides *makam*, *mam* and *mamakam* were also found.¹

¹ The pronouns of San Juan Bautista and Chumeto respectively are:

	<i>San Juan Bautista</i>		<i>Chumeto</i>		
	<i>Subj. and Poss.</i>	<i>Obj.</i>	<i>Indep.</i>	<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Poss.</i>
1 s.	kan, ka	kanise	kanni	-ma	-nti
2 s.	men, me	mese	mi	-ni	-nu, -no
3 s.	wak	?	—	—	-hu, -ha
1 p.	makse	maksene	mahi	-mahi	-mahi
2 p.	makam, maam	makanis	miko	?	?
3 p.	aisa	aisane	—	—	-hu, ho

The suffix forms of Chumeto are evidently not very closely joined to the verb, for the tense-suffixes interpose between the verb and them. *Uti*, *they* in Rumsien, means *many* in Chumeto.

The pronouns are placed before the verbs and nouns to which they refer. They do not appear to be prefixed but to be rather closely connected with these words, much as in French. The subject pronoun precedes the object.

ka mec xat *I thee hit*
wa koro *his foot*

THE VERB.

Tenses are formed by suffixes and by preposed particles.

A very frequent suffix, added directly to the root, is -n or -in. Its meaning is not certain. In San Juan Bautista -n forms a preterite.

A preterite suffix is -ki or -aki. This is not found in San Juan Bautista, which employs -n, -s, -skun, -gte.

The particle ar or ara, placed before the pronoun, seems to mean *now* or *already* and to express a perfect tense. It is used with or without the preterite suffix -ki. In San Juan Bautista ar is one of several adverbs that give a past meaning to the verb.

The particle ku denotes a future. It is placed after the subject pronoun but before the object pronoun. Future particles in San Juan Bautista are et, iete, iti, munna, piny.

The negative of the verb is expressed by the particle kue or ku. In distinction from the future particle ku this adverb is usually placed before the subject pronoun.

Examples of tense and negative forms:

ka rite-aki *I spoke*
ka ku rite *I shall speak*
ara makam urs-eki *have ye learned*
ku ka iusen *not I like*
isku mam ku lakun *that ye not die*
ku ka tuman xin *not I can walk*

The imperative is the stem. Amxai, xurk, eres, lupup, nenei mean *eat! swallow! bathe! dive! search!* In San Juan Bautista the imperative is formed by a suffix -ya.

The imperative with an object of the third person is formed by the suffix -iñk.

nimiñk *kill-him!*
cumiñk *give-him!*

In San Juan Bautista the corresponding suffix is -i, and there are other suffixes for the plural and the first person. These objective suffixes of the imperative are the only instance of pronominal incorporation found in the language.

A noun-forming suffix of verb stems is -s:

rite	<i>speak</i>	ritcs	<i>language</i>
xurk	<i>swallow</i>	xorks	<i>throat</i>
tep-ek	<i>shoot</i>	teps	<i>arrow</i>

Words like *purps*, *hat*, and *utes*, *lamp*, are probably derived from verbs by this suffix.

A very frequent suffix of substantival or participial force is -st. It also often occurs on adjectives. It appears that many adjectives of this language are at bottom verbs, and are rendered attributive by this suffix.

lakun	<i>die</i>	lakuet	<i>dead</i>
coxelon	<i>fear</i>	coxelost	<i>coward</i>
artcenin	<i>be jealous</i>	artcest	<i>a jealous one</i>
citim	<i>to fight</i>	citpist	<i>fighter</i>
yeteem	<i>"diablo"</i>	yeteimect	<i>bad</i>

ixsist	<i>fool, crazy</i>
petcuct	<i>talker, talkative</i>
karsist	<i>black</i>
yurtsist	<i>white</i>
axelust	<i>alone</i>
lokest	<i>blind</i>
lituct	<i>toothless</i>

tsorekoi piri	<i>dry (was the) world</i>
tsorkost piri	<i>(the) dry world</i>

In the Costanoan dialects of Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and San Juan Bautista, -min seems to take the place of this -st.

Certain stems are indifferently used as verbs or nouns without alteration.

ka ukx	<i>my friend</i>
ka mec ukx	<i>I thee befriend</i>

There appears to be a true substantive verb, a.

misix ka a	<i>well I am</i>
misix a tsorkost piri	<i>good is (the) dry world</i>
ïim ka a kati	<i>ever I was thus</i>
artcest ka a	<i>jealous-one I am</i>
ka artcenin	<i>I feel-jealousy</i>

This verb to be is however not always expressed, for forms like *otekoet ka*, *deaf I*, occur.

To be with reference to location is expressed by *rot* or *rote*; *tcawar* was also found once with the same meaning.¹

anrot	<i>where-is-it?</i>
inta rote	<i>what is-there?</i>
an ku tcawar ka iswin	<i>where will be my children?</i>
tea ku root me iswin	<i>here will be thy children</i>

THE NOUN.

No plural was found. In view of the fact that San Juan Bautista, a not very different dialect, has a plural both in nouns and verbs,² it is not impossible that Rumsien also possesses a plural but that defective material was obtained on this point.³ Chumeto has a prominent plural in noun and verb.

Exe, *much*, is sometimes used with nouns of plural meaning.

Syntactical cases are wanting. The possessive is identical with the subjective, as in the pronoun. The possessive relation between two substantives is expressed either by juxtaposition

¹ In Arroyo de la Cuesta *rote* and *tsahora* are said to mean to *exist, stand*, or *be locally*, the former being used of inanimate and the latter of animate objects. No such distinction seems to exist in Rumsien. Arroyo de la Cuesta, while admitting a third verb meaning to *exist in a place*, *nua*, denies that the language possesses a true verb substantive. *Nua*, however, seems to be composed of *nu*, *here*, and *a*, to *be*. He has the following sentences:

p. 31: *nua emetscha tsares, alli hay un hombre*

p. 41: *misia imiu, todo es bonito*

Elsewhere in his examples *good* (Rumsien *misix*) is given as *miste* and *misimin*.

² Nouns in San Juan Bautista form a plural by the suffixion of *-mak* or *-kma*; verbs by the infixion of *-s-*.

ara to give to one, to give once

arsa to give to several, to give several times

³ Lamanon, in la Pérouse (London, 1799, I, 409), says that the Achatlian (Rumsien) language has a plural.

or by aid of the pronoun. The regent follows its regimen unless the possessive pronoun is used.¹

ores koro	<i>bear's foot</i>
ka ukx t'ip	<i>my friend's knife</i>
wa-ukx apc	<i>his-friend my-father</i>
wa-ruk ca lateiamk	<i>her-house the woman</i>

The objective case is also not expressed. In San Juan Bautista the objective is expressed in both noun and pronoun by -se, -e, -ne.² The -c of the Rumsien objective pronoun evidently corresponds to these suffixes, but no trace of it has been found on the noun. Only the interrogative pronoun *inta*, *what*, shows this objective suffix in the phrase *inta-ci aiiwin what did-you-see?*

Local and instrumental case relations are expressed by suffixes.

Locative (in, on, at),	-ta, -tai
Introessive,	-tak
Terminalis,	-atk
Instrumental,	-eyum

San Juan Bautista among other cases has a locative and terminalis -tka and -tak, and an instrumental -um, -ium, -sum; Chumeto a locative -to, -t, and an instrumental -s.

In the texts and sentences obtained, these local case suffixes are replaced, about as often as they are used, by another construction. This consists of the simple form of the noun, with the use before it, like a preposition, of the demonstrative adverb *xuya*, *there*.

neku xop <i>xuya</i> tcipil	<i>then it-rose to the-hill</i>
wasyilum <i>xuya</i> wa koro	<i>approached to his feet</i>
<i>xuya</i> me tolc	<i>in your knee</i>
exe poor <i>xuya</i> ka ruk	<i>many fleas in my house</i>
ot' <i>xuya</i> me eten	<i>go with thy uncle</i>

The last sentence would literally mean *go there thy uncle* or *go where thy uncle*.

¹ In San Juan Bautista the possessive and subjective also coincide in form and the regimen is likewise placed before its regent.

² Chumeto forms the objective case by the ending -i.

DEMONSTRATIVES.

The following words are demonstrative:

ne	<i>here</i>	nepe	<i>this one</i>
		nupi-akan	<i>those</i>
		pina	<i>this one, this</i>
tea, teiya	<i>here</i>		
xu, xuya	<i>there</i>		

A suffix -kai, of unknown meaning, is much used with wa, *he*, and pina, *this*, and occasionally with other words.

In San Juan Bautista there are the following demonstratives:

neppe,	<i>this</i> ,	pl. nepe-an
nuppi,	<i>that</i> ,	pl. nupe-an
pina,	pinasset,	<i>that (eso)</i>

A demonstrative ea, which is not far from a definite article in meaning, is frequently used before nouns.

Interrogatives are formed from the stems an- and in-.

an	<i>where?</i>
amp	<i>who?</i>
antus	<i>another</i>
inta	<i>what?</i>
inwa	<i>when?</i>
inkatce	<i>why?</i>

NUMERALS.

The Rumsien numerals are formed on the quinary system. Two and four are from the same root.

1	imxala
2	ut'is
3	kapes
4	uut'itim
5	haleis
6	halecaken
7	utxomaicaken
8	kapxaiscak
9	pak
10	tantsa

REDUPLICATION.

Reduplication is not a means of expressing a grammatical category. A few words occur normally duplicated or reduplicated.

porpor	<i>cottonwood-tree</i>
polpols	<i>pinto, varicolored</i>
kakaru	<i>crow</i>
tutelun	<i>buzzard</i>
yeyexem	<i>pelican</i>
nenei	<i>look, search</i>

In San Juan Bautista and Chumeto reduplication is equally restricted.

ORDER OF WORDS.

The order of words in the sentence does not seem to be altogether fixed. The verb generally stands at the head, the nouns follow. The personal pronouns, however, always precede the verb. When an adjective takes the place of the verb as predicate, it usually also stands at the head of the sentence, but the pronouns instead of preceding it often follow.

COMPOSITION AND RADICALS.

While there is considerable composition and derivation, the structure of words is clear. When there is sufficient comparative material, the elements of compound words can often be determined without difficulty. Many common words are composite. Thus the words for *man*, *woman*, *boy*, *girl* all contain the suffix -iamk. Wherever the primary elements or radicals can be obtained they are monosyllabic. For instance the essential elements of the four words just referred to are muk, late, cin, ats. Very few if any of these radicals contain double consonants.

Of parts of the body, the following are denoted respectively by monosyllabic and disyllabic words. None of three syllables were found.

Monosyllabic:

xin	<i>eye</i>
wus	<i>nose</i>
sit	<i>tooth</i> ¹
xai	<i>mouth</i>
ut'	<i>head, hair</i>
tuxs	<i>ear</i> ²
aw ¹ c	<i>chin</i>
kat'k	<i>neck</i>
olt	<i>shoulder</i>
is	<i>arm</i>
puts	<i>finger, hand</i> ³
tols	<i>knee</i>
kok	<i>tail</i>
turs	<i>nail</i>
teate	<i>bone</i>
xurks	<i>throat</i>

Disyllabic:

uri	<i>forehead</i>
koro	<i>foot</i>
sire	<i>liver</i>
payan	<i>thigh</i>
patcan	<i>blood</i>
kuluc	<i>elbow</i>
pitin	<i>belly</i>
wamun	<i>feather, wing</i>
wipeur	<i>lips</i>
syimpur	<i>eyebrow</i>

Since the monosyllable *xurks*, *throat*, is not a radical but a derivative, meaning *swallower*, it seems probable that these disyllabic forms are composite.

Names of animals are largely composite.

Verbal roots are usually monosyllabic. While there are many verbs that appear polysyllabic, this is no doubt due to the fact that the derivational and inflectional suffixes are as yet very imperfectly known.

¹ Chumash, *sa'*.

² Chumash, *tu*.

³ Chumash, *pu*, *hand*.

ka	<i>eat</i>	pexc	<i>cough</i>
mut	<i>eat</i>	xin	<i>walk</i>
xurk	<i>swallow</i>	ot'	<i>go</i>
xis	<i>make</i>	wat	<i>go</i>
oy	<i>take</i>	pox	<i>go to</i>
tcik	<i>gather</i>	co	<i>ask</i>
rut	<i>pull</i>	et'n	<i>lie, sleep</i>
urs	<i>learn</i>	tate	<i>kick</i>
wal	<i>cut</i>	cum	<i>give</i>
tcit	<i>dance</i>	xaw	<i>marry</i>
op	<i>pull out</i>	xop	<i>rise</i>
ma	<i>kiss</i>	ok	<i>send</i>
iws	<i>like, desire</i>	aiw	<i>look</i>
tat	<i>take, grasp</i>	cak	<i>see</i>
sat	<i>roast</i>	rite	<i>speak</i>
tcic	<i>copulate</i>	kai	<i>say</i>
it'k	<i>hiccup</i>	a	<i>be</i>
pate	<i>hit with fist</i>	rot	<i>be</i>
xat	<i>hit</i>	xet	<i>flee</i>
lik	<i>hit</i>	tep	<i>shoot</i>

There are preposed particles but no prefixes in the language.

SPECIMEN TEXT.

Nèku kài tatukima'tsan mī'six a' tso'rkost pi'ri o't'
 Then said Coyote: "Good is dry world." "Go
 ai'wis wa'tcos-ta i'nta ro'tēi wa'tcuc-ta i'mxala a'tsiamEk
 look river-in! What is river-in?" "One girl
 mī'six mè ku xā'wan ca a'tsiamEk ān ku rō'ot ka-ii'swin
 pretty." "Your will-be wife this girl." "Where will be my-children?"
 xū'ya mè dō'lc wac kai'i sī'irx kū'wè kwè mī'six ku'luc-da
 "In your knee." Him said Eagle: "No, not good." "Elbow-in."
 kuwe mī'six syi'mpur-ta kuwe mī'six rū'usent kūe mī'six
 "Not good." "Eyebrow-in." "Not good." "Back." "Not good."
 nèku kai ūmun kue mī'six nè mī'six pī'tin-ta neko kai'
 Then said Humming-bird: "Not good! Here good belly-in." Then said
 ca a'tsiam'k i'nk ku' ka anamī' i'nk ku anamī' ka i'swin
 the girl: "How will I make? How will make my children?"
 o't' me xā'wes mè ku xawan ca a'tsiam'k neku watin
 "Go you marry! Your will-be wife this girl." Then went

huya ca a'tsiamEk kaii tat'ikimatecan kas ka'xi nè'ku wac
 with this girl. Said Coyote: "Me louse!" Then him
 donei ba'keliw neku co'xelon neku atcip ba'keliw neku
 found wood-tick. Then feared. Then threw wood-tick. Then
 wac u'ru tatekimatecan ne'nei ne'nei õ'yonk ka't a'mxai ka
 her seized Coyote. "Search! search! catch-it! eat! eat my
 ka'x neku kac ca a'tsiam'k xurk xork neku pa'i'sen ca
 louse!" Then ate the girl. "Swallow! swallow!" Then pregnant the
 atsiamEk neku co'xelon neku ũ'uwin ca a'tsiam'k neku xi's
 girl. Then feared. Then ran the girl. Then made
 misix i'nix ku ka i'usen ca i'nix
 pretty road. "Not I like this road."

RELATIONSHIP OF ESSELEN AND COSTANOAN.

A few words similar in Esselen and Costanoan have been pointed out. They fail to prove genetic affinity. But in general phonetic system the two linguistic stocks resemble each other. Structurally they are also alike in lacking a developed pronominal incorporation, in the possession of local and instrumental case-suffixes, in the absence of all prefixes except perhaps pronominal prefixes in Esselen, in the probable derivation of attributive adjectives from verbal stems by means of suffixes, and in a quinary numeral system. In all these respects they differ from Chumash and Salinan.