

THE CULTURAL CONNECTION OF CALIFORNIAN
AND PLATEAU SHOSHONEAN TRIBES

BY

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A cursory survey of the cultures of California and the Shoshonean region to the east suggests a basic and ancient connection between them. Very little has been published regarding the Plateau or, to use Barrett's term, Basin Shoshoneans. Since I have had an opportunity to visit a considerable number of their tribal and subtribal groups, I venture to set forth observations on a number of points, all relating to non-material culture, which seem to have a bearing on the cultural relations of the two regions mentioned, or at least on the probable antiquity of a recorded custom in either.

MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

The custom of segregating an adolescent girl, as well as an older woman, during the menstrual period is widely diffused among the Shoshoneans and must be reckoned an ancient trait of the stock. Among the Lemhi of Idaho the usage was still rigorously observed in 1906. Comparison with neighboring Plains tribes, such as the Blackfoot, Crow, Gros Ventre, and Arapaho suggests that while menstrual restrictions of some sort may have been universal in North America there was a definite line of cleavage, probably coterminous with the eastern boundary of the Shoshoneans, which separated tribes stressing the relevant taboos from those which attached less significance to them. This statement cannot of course be taken in an absolute sense, for the Omaha, to cite a single instance, had the menstrual hut and very definite regulations associated with it. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, the area of intensive menstrual taboos seems to begin immediately to the west of the Plains and to extend to the Pacific.¹

¹ R. H. Lowie, Notes on the Social Organization and Customs of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians, *Anthr. Papers Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 93, 1917.

Relative intensity is of course a somewhat elusive thing. It can safely be stated, however, that in the concrete observances clustering about woman's periodic illness the Far Western tribes are rather clearly set off from those living eastward. One feature that more especially allies the Shoshoneans with the Californians is the rule that a menstruating woman shall not eat meat. I have noted this for the Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, the Paviotso, the Northern and Southern Ute, and the Shivwits Paiute.² So far as I can learn, the Omaha women, though eating apart, were not subject to dietary restrictions and those of the Yuchi are known to have eaten meat in their retreat.³ On the other hand, corresponding though not identical rules for adolescent girls have been reported from the Thompson River Salish, and among some of the Northern Athabaskans (Carrier ?), the women are said to have lived on dried fish during their seclusion.⁴

In California the use of a head-scratcher by a girl during the puberty rite is distributed from the Yurok in the north to the Diegueño in the south. I did not make specific inquiries on this point, but the lack of evidence from any of the groups visited indicates that this feature cannot have figured so prominently as among the Californians. It must, however, be noted as a significant fact that after the birth of a child both Ute parents were required to employ a scratch-stick, for a mutual influence of parturition and menstrual observances is not only a priori conceivable but is definitely established for the Lemhi and the Southern Ute. The latter make the expectant mother abstain from meat, while the former have her retire to a menstrual lodge. Accordingly, the occurrence of a head-scratcher after confinement renders plausible the use of the same device as a catamenial implement. This, however, is merely a provisional hypothesis. From the point of view of Californian relations it is more significant that the head-scratcher is definitely linked with the puberty rite of the Nootka, the Thompson River Indians, and the Tahltan.⁵

² The people spoken of as Paviotso in this paper are those designated in volume x of this series and elsewhere in this volume, as Northern Paiute. The Shivwits and Moapa are subdivisions of the Southern Paiute, who are dialectically affiliated with the Ute and are to be distinguished from the Northern Paiute or Paviotso.

³ J. O. Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 3d Ann. Rep. Bur. Am. Ethn., 267, 1884. F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi*, Anthr. Publ. Mus. Univ. Pa., 1, 97, 1909.

⁴ J. Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11, 312 ff., 1900. A. G. Morice, *The Canadian Dénés*, Ann. Archaeological Rep. (Toronto), 218, 1906.

⁵ E. Sapir, *A Girl's Puberty Ceremony among the Nootka Indians*, Trans. Royal Soc. Can., VII, 79, 1913. G. T. Emmons, *The Tahltan Indians*, Anthr. Publ. Mus. Univ. Pa., IV, 104, 1911.

The last-mentioned tribe shares with more eastern fellow-Athabaskans of the North⁶ the notion that menstruating women exercise a malignant influence on fishing or hunting luck. So far as I know, this feature is not prominent among the Shoshoneans, yet the Southern Ute justify the meat taboo by the evil effect on the hunting luck of a transgressor's husband.

Since the southern half of California was in appreciable measure the home of Shoshonean tribes, the question arises whether or not a peculiarly close bond links the adolescence and other menstrual customs of the Plateau people with their congeners to the south and west. This assumption must be negatived. The resemblances between the observances of the Cahuilla,⁷ e.g., and those of the Moapa Paiute or Southern Ute are of an almost exclusively generic character. On the other hand, three special features connect the Plateau with the non-Shoshonean tribes of northern California: the running of the Ute adolescent; the carrying of firewood obligatory among the Paviotso; and the bathing feature of the Paviotso. These features recur, respectively, among the Luiseño, Maidu, Achomawi, and Hupa; the Karok, Hupa, Shasta, Achomawi, and Maidu; and the Yurok, Hupa, Achomawi, Maidu, and Mohave. To these should be added the duration of the rite for five days or a number which is a multiple of five, the first menses leading to a ten days' seclusion among the Northern Ute and a five or twenty-five days' seclusion among the Paviotso. Since the custom of duration for five or ten days does not seem to extend beyond the Maidu, our comparison leads to the conclusion that the affiliations of the Plateau Shoshonean menstrual customs are predominantly with the northern Californian equivalents. On the other hand, the Californian usages display genetic relations in two directions, not only eastward but also northward well into British Columbia, as witnessed by the distribution of the head-scratcher.

BIRTH CUSTOMS

According to Kroeber, practically all Californians practice a modified form of the couvade, both parents being subject to a number of restrictions on the birth of a child. The weakest development of the usage is in the northwestern part of the state.

Several of the Plateau Shoshoneans share the couvade of the Californian pattern. The Moapa abstained from sexual intercourse

⁶ S. Hearne, *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* (London), 314, 1795.

⁷ L. Hooper, *The Cahuilla Indians*, present series, xvi, 347, 1920.

for a month or more, during which period neither parent ate any meat. Further, as soon as the father heard of the child's birth he would run some distance and back again in order to secure longevity for himself. The Southern Ute mother must remain indoors and abstain from meat and cold water for a month, while the same regulations extend to her husband for four days. If a man drank cold water before the expiration of the four days, his teeth were believed to rot. He was further expected to run round the hills the morning after the birth lest he lose his luck in catching deer. Both parents were forbidden to scratch themselves with their fingers, a wooden stick being carried for the purpose, nor were they permitted to rub their eyes on pain of becoming blind. For several days after the birth of the infant its father must not ride horseback. The Paviotso father, like his wife, abstained from all flesh, piled up wood for twenty-five days, and assumed all his wife's household duties.⁸ Among both the Lemhi and the Wind River Shoshoni, the parents abstained from meat for several days before the birth, the wife's fast being continued for a month in the Wind River group.⁹

So far as I know comparable customs do not occur in the region to the east of the Plateau.

Since the material on other natal customs is fragmentary and negative evidence accordingly counts for little, all the Plateau Shoshoneans are best compared as a group with the Shasta-Achomawi and Maidu.¹⁰ Of the Californian features, the following have been recorded: the menstrual hut as confinement lodge (Northwestern Maidu, Shasta; Lemhi, Wind River); scratching-stick (Shasta; Southern Ute); paternal wood-gathering (Shasta, Achomawi; Paviotso); change of cradles (Shasta; Paviotso); five-day taboo period (Shasta, Valley Maidu; Paviotso). On the other hand, the taboo against the mother's drinking of cold water and the practice of placing her in a pit are shared by Southern Ute and Cahuilla.¹¹

⁸ S. W. Hopkins, *Life among the Piutes* (Boston), 49 ff., 1883.

⁹ R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshoni*, *Anthr. Papers. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, II, 214, 1909.

¹⁰ R. B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, *Bull. Am. Nat. Hist.*, xvii, 228-232; *ibid.*, *The Shasta*, *ibid.*, 453-456; *idem*, *Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi Indians of Northern California*, *Am. Anthr.*, x, 217, 1908.

¹¹ L. Hooper, *op. cit.*, 351.

MORTUARY USAGES

The only Plateau Shoshoneans who sometimes disposed of corpses by cremation are the Moapa and Shivwits, who also practiced interment or deposited the bodies in the clefts of rocks. The Paviotso interred, and expressly deny having ever cremated, the dead. The Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni preferably placed the corpse in the cleft of a rock. It is presumably not without significance that the only tribes which cremated are also those which in recent times adopted the South Californian mourning ceremony.

NAMES

The aversion to telling one's personal name has persisted among Californian peoples until the most recent times.¹² I encountered exactly the same reluctance among the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. On the other hand, this sentiment seems to me to be far less pronounced in the Plains region. We are indeed told, e.g., that it is rude to ask a Blackfoot his name, yet "he himself seems free to speak of it on his own initiative."¹³ The Crow do not scruple to ask for one's name, the phrase *darás sak iō'* ? being a definite cliché. The Omaha, like the Blackfoot, regard it as exceedingly impolite to make such inquiries and altogether invested the name with a halo derived from its sacred gentile associations.¹⁴ Nevertheless I get the impression that even in this case there is a somewhat different feeling from that found in California and among the Shoshoni, where the emphasis seems to be less on the impoliteness of the query and more on the impossibility of an individual's himself divulging his name. Thus, a bystander among the Wind River is not forbidden to reveal the information sought.

As for the names themselves, there is some variation. What might broadly be termed the nickname style of designation occurred among the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, the Ute, and Paviotso. But the Paviotso named the majority of their girls for flowers, and some of the Southern Ute names are said to be meaningless, as are those of the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute.

¹² R. B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, 231.

¹³ Clark Wissler, *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, *Anthr. Papers Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vii, 18, 1911.

¹⁴ A. C. Fletcher and F. La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe*, 27th Ann. Rep. Bur. Am. Ethn., 334 ff., 1911.

The name of a deceased person was tabooed in his kindred's presence among the Southern Ute. It is interesting to note that the free use of a dead individual's name is shared by the Wind River Shoshoni with the Arapaho, and among more remote Plains tribes with the Hidatsa.¹⁵

MARRIAGE

Though gifts and even purchase are occasionally referred to, bride-service figures far more prominently in the accounts of Shoshonean informants. As might be expected, initial matrilocal residence is linked with it, being explicitly ascribed, though not necessarily as an obligatory practice, to the Northern Ute, Paviotso, Lemhi, and the Wind River. One statement permits the inference that it also occurred among the Paiute.

The relative insignificance of formal payment for a wife stands of course in contrast to Northwest Californian usage, where bride-service and matrilocal residence appear as mere makeshifts for the orthodox institution of purchase.¹⁶ In this respect the Achomawi and Maidu come much nearer to the Shoshonean norm.¹⁷ It is interesting to find the Cahuilla uncompromisingly patrilocal, while the non-Shoshonean Yokuts are stated to be definitely matrilocal.¹⁸

Levirate and sororate are both reported from the Moapa, Shivwits, Paviotso, and Wind River Shoshoni; the sororate alone from the Northern Ute. In this instance, too much weight cannot be attached to negative evidence, of course. Probably both customs belong to the ancient Shoshonean culture. Although they are shared by nearly all the Californians, their occurrence is so wide that no specific historical inference can be drawn from this similarity. However, the general distribution of these institutions suggests a chronological conclusion of wider bearing. They are found more or less throughout the region of sibless tribes; they coexist in many cases with the sib organization; they are lacking among the Hopi and Zuñi. Since North American students are now agreed that the sib organization is a relatively late development, linked as it usually is with the relatively advanced economic condition of horticulture, it is reasonable to assume that levirate and sororate are earlier than the sib.¹⁹

¹⁵ A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., xviii, 17, 1902. R. H. Lowie, *Notes on the Social Organization and Customs of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians*, 50.

¹⁶ R. B. Dixon, *The Shasta*, 462 ff.

¹⁷ *Idem.*, *Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi*, 47; *idem.*, *The Northern Maidu*, 239.

¹⁸ L. Hooper, *op. cit.*, 354. S. Powers, *The Tribes of California*, Contr. N. Am. Ethn., iii, 382, 1877.

¹⁹ R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 163 ff., 1920.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The phenomena of kinship terminology are strongly indicative of an ancient connection, whether direct or indirect, between the Basin and Californian areas. The most significant fact is that they share certain highly characteristic features which are wholly or virtually unknown in the more eastern region of the continent. A full comparison must be postponed until the publication of Mr. Gifford's complete survey, but the following data are worth stressing at the present time.

One of the most widespread features of the nomenclatures found east of the Rockies is the designation by a single term of the father and the father's brother, and the corresponding classification under one head of mother and mother's sister. This type of grouping, whether ultimately due to a sib organization or to the joint influence of levirate and sororate, is empirically found to be very frequently associated with exogamous sibs. But in California even a tribe like the Miwok, who are organized into exogamous moieties, only partly conforms to the norm: while *üpü* denotes father's brother and father alike, there are three distinct words for mother, mother's elder sister, and mother's younger sister, viz., *üta*, *tomu* (in one locality, *ami*), and *anisü*.²⁰ This failure to merge collateral with lineal kin in the first ascending generation is common to a number of Californian tribes. Thus, the Yokuts call the father *natet* (or vocatively, *opoyo*), the father's brother *koymoish*; the mother *nazhozh* (vocatively, *ishaya*), the mother's sister *mokoi*. The Washo denote the two parents as *koi* and *la*, while the parallel uncle and aunt are *eushi* and *sha'sha*. The Pomo have *e* (voc. *harika*) and *te* (voc. *nika*) for the parents, *keh* for the paternal uncle, *tuts* and *sheh* for the mother's elder and younger sisters.²¹ From Gifford's unpublished records it appears that the Karok also distinguished between father, *ākā* or *ifyu*, and father's brother, *pānāhī*; as well as between mother, *īta* or *tātete*, and mother's sister, *djūkāte*. The same authority's notes may be quoted for the Maidu. In each local subdivision the same differentiation appears. Thus, the Northwestern Maidu have *kuli* for father, *kumi* for paternal uncle; *konti* for mother, *de* for mother's sister.

²⁰ E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Moieties*, present series, XII, 172-174, 1916.

²¹ A. L. Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, present series, XII, 352 ff., 362 ff., 370 ff.

This use of distinct terms for parents and parallel uncles and aunts is eminently characteristic of the Plateau Shoshoneans. On this point my unpublished notes on the Paviotso confirm Kroeber's data for the same group, and I am likewise able to corroborate by independent observations in other local groups those of Sapir among the Kaibab Paiute and the Northern Ute.²² Suggestively enough, it is only the Shoshoni proper, with their contiguity to the Plains, who merge the uncle and parent kin after the fashion of the Eastern systems. The Californians and Basin peoples thus form a unit set off against a vast area to the east of them. But it is clear that the total range of this feature is even somewhat larger, embracing the Chinook and some of the Salish.²³

To turn to another feature of kinship nomenclature. The differentiation of maternal from paternal grandparents is of such rarity in cismontane North America that Morgan does not provide distinct tables for them and especially comments on their discrimination by the Spokane. Elsewhere I have shown that this trait, far from being exceptional, is shared by some other Salish tribes and by the Takelma and Wishram, in addition to occurring in the Southwest.²⁴ Of the Plateau Shoshoneans all but the Paiute exhibit this feature, and even the Moapa distinguish at least the father's father and mother's father. Among the Ute, both Sapir and I find discrimination of female as well as male grandparents according to the sex of the connecting relative. Kroeber and I have independently obtained the same distinction from Paviotso informants, and it certainly is characteristic of the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. But here again a feature that separates the Shoshoneans from the East links them with California. The Karok call either grandparent on the father's side *atic*, while the maternal grandparents are designated as *gut* and *git*. In Yuki the father's father is *osh*, the mother's father *pit*, the father's mother *pop*, the mother's mother *tit*, while the corresponding Pomo terms are *madili*, *gach*; *mats*, *ghats*. The Yokuts have a generic word for grandfather but distinctive terms for the two kinds of grandmother.²⁵ All divisions of the Maidu display complete differentiation. Thus, the Northwestern Mountain group has *aam*, *pa*; *sakam*, *to*; and the

²² *Ibid.*, 359. E. W. Gifford, *Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu Kinship Terms*, present series, XII, 245-247.

²³ R. H. Lowie, *Family and Sib*, *Am. Anthr.*, 28-40, 1919.

²⁴ R. H. Lowie, *Historical and Sociological Interpretations of Kinship Terminologies*, *Holmes Anniversary Volume*, 298, 1916.

²⁵ A. L. Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, 353, 370, 373.

Southern Maidu equivalents are aai, opa; saka, koto. Of the non-Shoshonean South Californians the Salinan and Mohave differentiate between paternal and maternal kin of the second ascending generation.²⁶ In short, the trait in question is widely distributed in both the Californian and the Basin regions.

A feature to a remarkable extent associated with the one just discussed is that of reciprocity. As I pointed out some years ago, reciprocal terms are largely lacking in the cismontane area and occur more or less conspicuously in the Southwest, California, and the Plateau area. By "reciprocal" terms I here understand those stems used simultaneously with little or no change for both of two correlative relationships, such as maternal uncle and sister's child. The word corresponds to Professor Kroeber's "self-reciprocal" or "verbally reciprocal." For the sake of definiteness and simplicity, I will confine consideration to the grandparental terms. In Wind River Shoshoni all of these are reciprocal: *kō'nu* means a man's son's child as well as father's father; *gā'gu*, a woman's daughter's child as well as mother's mother; *dō'ko*, a man's daughter's child and maternal grandfather; *hu'tsi*, a woman's son's child and paternal grandmother. Three of these very stems occur in Paviotso with minor phonetic alterations and the same meanings, while the stem *mu'a'* is an exact equivalent of *gā'gu*. In Sapir's Northern Ute list, all the four Shoshoni stems reappear, but the junior member of each pair of linked relatives is set off by a diminutive ending, e.g., *qōnun'*, father's father; *qōnuntein'*, man's son's child. My Southern Ute informants did not differentiate in this fashion, but applied Sapir's longer form to both grandparent and grandchild. On the other hand, my Moapa Paiute nomenclature follows the Northern Ute pattern, at least for the paternal and maternal grandfather stems, and inferentially for the others also. The Kaibab and Shivwits have only two grandparental terms, since the sex of the connecting parent is not made a basis for discrimination, but they also fall in the same category with the Northern Ute.

Turning now to California, we discover a suggestive series of parallels. The Karok terms for grandparents cited above are strictly reciprocal; the Pomo ones, in the absence of distinctive grandchild terms, are at least sometimes used reciprocally. Though the Yana case is not absolutely certain for each of the words in question,

²⁶ R. H. Lowie, *op. cit.*, 341, 1916. J. A. Mason, *The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians*, present series, x, 170, 1912.

Sapir's discussion of two terminologies from this stock establishes a considerable measure of reciprocity.²⁷ The corresponding Yokuts designations are fully reciprocal; those of the Washo are likewise, but with a diminutive ending for two of the grandchildren.²⁸ According to Gifford's notes, there is a good deal of local variation among the Maidu, but, while in the Northeast only one grandparent term is reciprocal, all four are among the Northwestern Plains Maidu, and two among the Southern and the Mountain Maidu. Moreover, the distinct word *pe* given for daughter's child in the last two groups is suspiciously like the stem *pa* for mother's father. However this may be, the highly characteristic development of reciprocity must be reckoned a common trait of Basin and Central Californian terminologies.

MISCELLANEOUS

The mystic number of the Paviotso is undoubtedly five.²⁹ Whether or not this holds for the more southern Shoshoneans is not clear, but at Lemhi occasional references to five occur in ceremonialism and mythology.³⁰ This is a trait shared by some Oregonians, the Shasta, the Northwest Californians, and in some measure the Maidu.

As respects the practice of shamanism, the Shoshoneans to my knowledge differed from the Plains Indians in summarily killing a practitioner who had lost a patient. So late as 1912 I was able to observe the effects of this conception among the Southern Ute, for one fine evening a medicine man from Navajo Springs came driving up to Ignacio with his family to escape the vengeance of a dying patient's kin. This characteristic trait occurs also among the Shasta and the Miwok and seems to be widely diffused in central and southern California.³¹ In other respects there are interesting points of both agreement and divergence, though I cannot too strongly insist on the scarcity of information on this topic. Like the Californian shamans, those of the Shoshoneans acquired power through dreams; conscious quest of revelations, more particularly through fasting, is reported as having existed to some extent among such tribes as the Ute and the Shoshoni, but this is readily explained as a phenomenon due to contact with the Plains Indians. Disease is undoubtedly conceived as the consequence of the entrance of a pathogenic agent to be

²⁷ E. Sapir, *Yana Terms of Relationship*, present series, XIII, 156, 162 ff., 1918.

²⁸ A. L. Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, 353, 363.

²⁹ S. W. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, 15, 47, 48, 50, 57.

³⁰ R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshoni*, 217, 275 ff.

³¹ R. B. Dixon, *The Shasta*, 479. S. Powers, *op. cit.*, 354.

removed by suction (Ute, Lemhi, Wind River), but in addition we also find the conception that the patient's soul has departed and must be recovered (Lemhi, Paviotso).

Finally, I should like briefly to call attention to the affinity of Plateau and Californian mythology. The ease with which tales are transmitted and adopted is notorious and might deter from basing far-reaching historical conclusions on community of mythological plots. We must not ignore, however, the equally important fact that while some episodes have an enormous distribution others for no clear reason are never diffused beyond a rather definitely circumscribed territory. When two tribes agree in a large number of plots or share tales not reported from elsewhere, this fact has not a little historical significance. In addition should be considered the elusive flavor of a mythology that may or may not definitely align one people with a neighboring group.

Though my acquaintance with Californian mythology is unfortunately meager, the evidence already seems to me to demonstrate decisively that the Plateau Shoshoneans form with the Californians and presumably their northern neighbors an ultramontane group. Taking the Lemhi, who lived so close to typical Plains Indians, we find indeed a number of parallels to Plains Indian traditions, but neither their number nor their importance is impressive. Such resemblances as occur are readily balanced by others linking the Shoshoni with such groups as the Nez Percé, Kootenai, or Wishram. A most striking point is the paucity of references to buffalo, which by itself suffices to cast doubt on Brinton's theory that the Shoshoneans once occupied the area between the Great Lakes and the Rockies. On the other hand, several very important Lemhi myths and motives are characteristically Californian, as I pointed out years ago.³² "The Bear and Deer," "The Theft of Fire," "The Origin of Death," occur among the Maidu, as does the antagonism of Coyote as a marplot to a benevolent creator. All these are rather widely diffused in California. The two boys cutting mouths for mouthless people and Coyote's conquest of a woman whom no one previously had been able to marry represent motives shared with the Yokuts.³³ The story of the Weasel brothers, according to Grace M. Dangberg, is paralleled among the Washo. Even more important perhaps than specific resemblances is the agreement in general cast and spirit. This

³² R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshoni*, 235.

³³ Kroeber, *Indian Myths of South Central California*, present series, iv, 205-209.

naturally is less tangible and is not easily defined, yet would probably be felt by every ethnologist in passing from the Plains mythologies to those of the Plateau and California. In part, it is probably due to the preponderance of animal stories rightly noted by Mason as a Shoshonean feature,³⁴ but the disparity in one direction and essential unity in the other cannot be reduced to so simple a formula. But, as in the case of kinship terminology, the affinities are not exclusively Basin-Californian; they must be understood to embrace the tribes of Washington and Oregon and to some extent of the Canadian Plateau as well.

CONCLUSION

With reference to a number of distinct traits of non-material culture, the Plateau Shoshoneans reveal far-reaching relations to the Californian peoples. A wider survey suggests that both these groups, together with other Far Western tribes, may perhaps be conveniently united as representing a single basic ultramontane culture area or stratum marked off from the remainder of the continent. This conception differs from one set forth some years ago by Professor Kroeber³⁵ in enlarging the area to be regarded in antithesis to the Eastern region, and supports his most recent assumption of many and significant bonds between California and the Basin.³⁶ I hope the preceding notes, fragmentary as they are, tend to negative the older view that "the Plateau cultures unquestionably appear very uncharacteristically Pacific in type." Not merely in concrete features but in the subtler flavor of their cultural settings, the ultra-montane peoples seem to me to belong together. The simpler representatives of this ultramontane group, stripped of special environmental adaptations, probably come as close as any Indians of recent periods to the primeval North American culture, and this fact, irrespective of the lack of color incident to rudeness, lends to their study a peculiar fascination. Kroeber conceives the higher Northwest Coast culture as a special structure reared on the pristine Far Western substratum. I am strongly inclined to extend this conception to the Pueblo area and to regard its culture as largely resulting from the superimposition on the primeval ultramontane layer of the horticultural complex originating to the south.

³⁴ J. A. Mason, *Myths of the Uintah Utes*, *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, xxiii, 299, 1910.

³⁵ A. L. Kroeber, *The Tribes of the Pacific Coast of North America*, *Proc. Intern. Cong. Am.* xix, 399, 1917.

³⁶ A. L. Kroeber, *California Culture Provinces*, present series xvii, 168, 1920.