

Chumash Placenames

RICHARD B. APPLGATE

THE Chumash lived along the Southern California coast between Malibu and some point north of San Luis Obispo. Their territory included the Santa Barbara Channel islands, and it stretched inland to the southwesternmost edge of the San Joaquin Valley. Over forty placenames of Indian origin survive to commemorate the long Chumash occupation of these lands. There are many other Spanish and English placenames which appear to be loan translations of a Chumash original.

In this paper, I discuss the pattern of Chumash placenaming. Places are named for prominent geographical features and their fancied resemblances, for flora, fauna, and local conditions, and for legendary and mythological incidents. I give priority to those placenames still surviving, of course, but the names of many places long since forgotten appear here too. It is not, however, my purpose to make an exhaustive list of placenames, nor to locate them precisely.

SOURCES

Four sources have been particularly valuable for data on Chumash placenames. For the linguistic aspect of the data, of course, I have relied almost entirely on the voluminous manuscript material recorded by John P. Harrington (1912-1922). Working a generation earlier than Harrington, H. W. Henshaw in 1884 compiled a lengthy list of villages (Heizer 1955:194-200). Alan K. Brown, using mission records and the reports of early explorers, together with modern archaeological findings, presents evidence on the aborigi-

nal Chumash population; his report gives the precise locations of 29 coastal villages (Brown 1967). Finally, Chester King, an archaeologist who used the same sources as Brown, together with the Harrington manuscript, provided me with his unpublished map giving detailed locations of known Chumash villages.

Harrington's manuscript is the primary source for linguistic data on placenames, just as it is the primary source for almost all information on the Chumash languages. The one fortunate exception is Barbareño, for which Madison S. Beeler has produced a grammar and lexicon based on his work between 1954 and 1964 with the last fluent speaker of Barbareño. I have revised Harrington's phonetic transcription (which he changed more than once during his work with Chumash) to bring it into agreement with the phonetic system used by Beeler for Barbareño—the transcription used by most linguists currently working with American Indian languages.

For Harrington, the preservation of the Chumash languages was a labor of love which bordered on obsession. He did most of his work between 1912 and 1922, when there were still some fluent speakers of Chumash left. Although it had been well over a century since the arrival of the missionaries, a few of Harrington's informants were able to recall a great deal of what they had heard of the old people and their ways. In particular, Maria Solares of Santa Ynez and Fernando Librado of Ventura furnished valuable linguistic and ethnographic information. Harrington lav-

ished much time and attention on meticulously recording every syllable his informants uttered.

Harrington was particularly interested in placenames. In addition to simply asking about placenames or reeliciting older lists, such as Henshaw's, Harrington took his informants around to get firsthand information on placenames. Some of his manuscript material includes sketched maps and detailed accounts of these trips. A typical field note entry reads: "*napamu*? is the sharp hill immediately west of the southern end of the Solvang river bridge. On top of this hill was an *?ušakmu*? [shrine]."

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION

Although the Chumash occupied the Channel Islands of Southern California and the rugged interior, their densest population was along the coast. Accordingly, the five missions founded among the Chumash are all on or near the coast: San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, Santa Ynez, La Purisima, and San Luis Obispo. These five missions were linguistic focal points: the idioms spoken in their vicinity must be regarded as distinct languages. At an early date, natives of the islands and the interior were brought to the missions, where they generally merged with the local populations. Thus, Fernando Librado said that in the old days each village had had its own dialectal peculiarities, but that the local dialect of Ventura was adopted by those who came to the mission.

Linguistically, Chumash territory can be divided into a fairly cohesive central area including Ventureño, Barbareño, Ineseño, and Purisimeño (the languages spoken around the four southern missions), a northern area represented by Obispeño, and the island area represented by Cruzeño, from Santa Cruz Island. Despite obvious differences, there was some degree of mutual intelligibility among the central languages. The interior languages

were evidently fairly close to the central languages; the speech of *kaštīq*, at Castaic Lake, for example, seems to have differed only slightly from Ventureño. But of Obispeño, Maria Solares of Santa Ynez said that it was "much trouble," and Cruzeño likewise was quite divergent.

Harrington's informants were quite aware of the differences among the various Chumash languages. For example, Maria Solares could often identify a particular bird name or plant name as Barbareño or Purisimeño, and then give the Ineseño equivalent. Her editorial comment on Coyote's speech in one mythological text was *masaqlēw hi šiša?alapkaswa?*, 'his language is half Barbareño.' Speakers were equally aware of dialectal differences within the same language. Thus, Maria Solares observed that the speech of *soxtokmu?* and *kalawašaq* differed noticeably, although both villages were Ineseño. And Fernando Librado claimed that the name of Wheeler Gorge, *sixulkuy*, means 'one is seated on it' in the Ojai dialect of Ventureño. Different versions of modern Matilija were *matilha* in the Ojai dialect and *matilaha* in the coast dialect of Ventureño.

PLACENAMES IN DIFFERENT LANGUAGES

Harrington's informants often knew the names of places quite distant. They cited such placenames in much the same form all over the Chumash area, but occasionally dialectal differences appear. Thus, for Mount Piños far in the interior, the Ineseño said *?iwihinmu?* while the Ventureño said *?iwihinmu*; for a village in the Tejon region, the Ineseño version *kašinašmu?* differs slightly from the local Castaic Ventureño form *kašinašmu*. Whenever possible, I cite names in their indigenous forms: e.g., Ventureño in the Ventura region, etc.

When the informants were able to etymologize distant placenames, names not in

their own native languages, they sometimes tended to recast such names into a more familiar form. Thus, the people of the coastal village at La Quemada Canyon spoke a dialect of Barbareño; they called their village *šiš uči?*, 'the den of the woodrat.' But in Santa Ynez, Maria Solares gave the name an Ineseño form, *šiš ači?*, with Ineseño *ha-či?* for Barbareño *hu-či?*, 'the woodrat.'

More unusual, placenames may violate language boundaries. A few names in Ineseño territory are clearly Purisimeño in form, for example. The Ineseño called a village near the Mission Santa Ynez *ʔalaxulapu*; in etymologizing the name, Maria Solares said that *ʔalaxulapul* would mean 'the low bend' in Ineseño. There is no question that *ʔalaxulapu* is Purisimeño, since Purisimeño regularly drops the sound 'l' in syllable-final position: hence the correspondence of *ʔalaxulapul* and *ʔalaxulapu*. More rarely, completely different names were applied to the same place. The most notable case is that of Santa Cruz Island. The mainland peoples all called the islanders, at least the natives of Santa Cruz, *čhumaš* (the term *čhumaš* was not a designation for the Chumash nation as a whole). So, Santa Cruz Island was called *mičhumaš*, 'the place of the islanders,' but the islanders themselves called it *limuw*, 'in the sea.'

ETYMOLOGIES

Etymologically, placenames range from the obvious and transparent to the completely obscure. When the meaning of a placename is clear to anyone with a knowledge of Chumash, I simply translate the name with no comment. Harrington himself in the manuscript often did not bother to translate the obvious. Less certain are those etymologies which the informants give with apparent confidence, but which cannot be substantiated on the basis of what else is known of Chumash. These I translate more tentatively with the phrase 'is said to mean . . .'

More dubious are those cases in which an informant etymologized a name on the basis of what it sounds as if it ought to mean. Typical is an entry about *kosoqoq^{ho}*, a place downstream from Santa Ynez. "The name sounds as if it meant 'among the lazy ones,' informant says somewhat amused after considerable meditation," going on to add that the name must be Purisimeño. The hazards of this practice are obvious. Of Cuaslui Creek, east of Los Alamos, an Ineseño informant said that it would mean something like 'where the *qwa?* (a duck species) grows' (cf., *lu-nani*, 'to grow'). It turns out that the original name was *ʔawašʔlay?*, a village on San Antonio Creek. At one point Harrington quotes a native of the place as saying that it means 'sliding place,' but elsewhere he says *ʔawašlay?* is Purisimeño for 'net sack with a wooden mouth-ring.' An intermediate version of the modern name, closer to the original *ʔawašlay?*, was Guaslay; it was later changed to Cuaslui.

More dubious still are the cases of two or three or even more different etymologies suggested for the same placename. The name of *laxšakupi*, a Purisimeño village, was said to mean variously 'where they light a fire,' 'gust of wind,' and 'there is danger ahead.' This is especially common with placenames on the islands and in Purisimeño territory, since Harrington had to rely largely on informants who were no longer active speakers of the languages of these areas.

Finally, there is a sizeable residue of completely unetymologizable placenames. The manuscript often shows the entry "no etymology," indicating that Harrington must have asked specifically what the name meant.

LOAN TRANSLATIONS

At least three hundred placenames occur in the Harrington manuscript. Of these, some forty survive in much their original form, with some phonetic modification and often with some geographical perigrinations. For exam-

ple, *ʔanyapax* has become Anacapa due to a cartographer's error (Gudde 1960:10), and Zaca Lake was named after *ʔaʂaka*, now Zaca Station, some miles southwest of the lake.

In addition, an indeterminate number of modern placenames in Spanish and even English seem to be translations of original Chumash names. Thus, *kaʂap kama*, 'the house of the jackrabbit,' is preserved in Liebre Creek and Liebre Mountain between Gorman and Castaic Junction; *liebre* is Spanish for 'hare,' viz., 'jackrabbit.' La Hoya ('the dell') Creek on the old Rancho San Julián was once *malutiq̄ip̄in*, 'the dell.' But beyond such cases in which the name is somewhat unusual, it is difficult to prove that a modern placename is definitely a loan translation from Chumash. Thus, Sycamore Canyon in Santa Barbara was called *mixʂo* 'place of the sycamore,' and Las Cruces Hot Springs was called *ʔalapič̄i*, 'the hot one.' Due to the obvious presence of a hot spring or many sycamores, as well as the popularity of this style of placenaming in both Chumash and the invading languages, the modern names might well be independent inventions in such cases.

THE CITATION OF PLACENAMES

I have included all of the Chumash languages in this sampling of placenames, although the three languages for which we have the best documentation—Ventureño, Barbareño, and Ineseño—are naturally cited most often. Whenever possible, I identify placenames by language, as indicated by differences in vocabulary, grammatical forms, and phonetics.

Vocabulary is a clue with *kaȳiw̄eʂ̄*, 'the head,' now seen as Calleguas Creek northeast of Point Mugu. The form *ȳiw̄eʂ̄* is clearly Ventureño, since all the other languages have completely different words for 'head.' Similarly, *xonxoni ataʔ*, 'tall oak,' now Jonata, is clearly Purisimeño: *xoni*, 'to be high, tall,' occurs only in Purisimeño. Besides vocabu-

lary, differing grammatical prefixes in the various languages provide a clue. For example, the article with nouns is *si-* in Ventureño, *hu-l-* or *he-l-* in Barbareño, and *ma-* or *ha-* in Ineseño, hence, the difference between Barbareño *ʂ̄iʂ̄ učiʔ* and Ineseño *ʂ̄iʂ̄ ačiʔ* for 'den of the woodrat' at La Quemada.

Finally, the various languages show distinct phonetic differences. Thus, *ʔawhaȳ*, 'moon,' now Ojai, is Ventureño; in the other languages, the word occurs without the 'h' found in Ventureño: *ʔawaȳ* in Barbareño, *ʔawaȳ* in Ineseño, *ʔawaʔ* in Purisimeño, and *tawaʔ* in Obispeño.

On the other hand, many placenames cannot be ascribed to any one Chumash language in particular. For example, as a placename near Maricopa, *kamup*, 'cave,' would appear in this form in any of the central languages. But when a name can definitely be ascribed to one language, I identify it as such, abbreviated as V. Ventureño, B. Barbareño, I. Ineseño, P. Purisimeño, O. Obispeño, C. Cruzeño, and C.V. Castaic Ventureño.

THE PATTERN OF PLACENAMING

The pattern of placenaming was quite uniform among the various Chumash groups. Placenames fall into several broad semantic categories, with a certain inevitable overlap. Placenames may be general geographical terms used in a specific local sense; they may refer to the presence of water, or to minerals, vegetation, or animal life found in the area, or even to local weather conditions. Descriptive placenames may be based on fancied resemblances, on the lay of the land and unusual features of the landscape, or on directions and orientations. Some placenames refer to activities within historical memory, while a large number refer to legendary or mythological incidents. Many placenames defy etymology.

The Chumash tended to use general terms as the names of specific places. Thus, I.

kamatak, 'mud,' was the name of a particular spot at the mouth of a canyon west of Santa Ynez, and *koʔoʔ*, 'water,' was the name of Zaca Lake. These general terms may be qualified, as in I. *malaxca'ax a'ʔoʔ*, 'cold water,' a spring south of Santa Ynez, but qualification is not the prevailing practice. The potential ambiguity here is not as great as it seems, however, since within the sentence placenames as proper nouns behave differently from the common nouns on which they are based.

Not only was the pattern of placenaming uniform among the various Chumash groups, but certain popular names were applied to more than one place. Thus, 'house of the sun' was the name of a cave in the Cuyama Valley and a mountain in Ventura, and three different spots were called 'the nest of the eagle' in their respective languages. Similarly, names such as 'hot water,' 'tule,' 'white clay,' and 'the pass' were widely applied. The willow is well represented: there is *kaštayit*, 'willow,' a village at Santa Anita near Gaviota; *mištayit*, 'willow place,' west of Arroyo Burro in Santa Barbara; *kaxaw*, 'willow,' at Harmon Canyon in Ventura, and *pqawqaw*, 'the willows,' on Santa Cruz Island. Placenames based on plant life (especially tules, sycamores, and willows), on water (especially hot or bitter water), and on minerals (especially tar, mud, clay, and sand) seem to be the most likely to be applied in much the same form to many places. These equivalent placenames are usually widely separated, but Harrington makes special mention of two recurrent names within Ineseño territory: there were two spots called *ʔaswaʔ*, 'tule place,' and two called *šaxšilik*, 'bog.'

With the single exception of *mičhumaš*, 'place of the islanders,' Santa Cruz Island, Chumash placenames were not based on ethnic names. Instead of naming places after the peoples inhabiting them (cf., England, 'land of the Angles'), the Chumash named peoples after places. In fact, the names for

various peoples can nearly always be translated as 'inhabitant of' plus some village name; the prefix used is related to the word for 'house,' *ʔap*, in most of the Chumash languages: I. *ʔalap-kalawašaq*, 'people of *kalawašaq*,' east of Santa Ynez; B. *ʔanap-qasil*, 'people of *qasil*,' a village at El Refugio; V. *ʔalap-muwu*, 'people of *muwu*,' a village at Mugu; C. *ʔayet-swaxil*, 'people of *swaxil*,' a village on Santa Cruz. Locally, these terms refer very specifically to the inhabitants of a particular village, rather than to a larger tribal identity. For reference to other Chumash groups, the names of a few important villages could sometimes be used, so that the Ineseño, for example (at least at the time Harrington did his field work), could refer to the Barbareño collectively as *ʔalap-kaswaʔ*, 'people of *kaswaʔ*,' and to the Ventureño as *ʔalap-micqanaqai*, 'people of *micqanaqai*.' It should be noted that *kaswaʔ* and *micqanaqai* are in the immediate vicinity of their respective missions, so this practice may be a late development.

But there are a few purely non-geographical collective terms for various ethnic groups, some applied to one's own group, some applied to other groups. The Ineseño called themselves *šhamala*, a term without etymology; the San Emigdio people called themselves simply *hulkuhkuʔ*, 'the people,' and the cognate Obispeño term for the Obispeño themselves was *titʔu titʔu*, 'the people' (Kathryn Klar [n.d.] writes this as *tiʔu tiʔu*). It is not likely that other groups used these names in referring to the Ineseño, Emigdiano, or Obispeño. The Castaic people were called *ʔalkuli*, at least by the Ventureño; the term may mean 'badger' in reference to their inland home. The coast dwellers by Santa Barbara were called *šmuwič*, 'he is of the sea,' and some version of this name seems to have been used by the Barbareño themselves. The Santa Cruz islanders did not call themselves *čhumaš*, as they were called by all of the mainlanders,

but used the term *?ayetlimuw*, 'people of *limuw*,' Santa Cruz.

GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS IN PLACENAMES

The absence of general qualifying geographical terms in Chumash placenames is striking. English usually requires some general term such as 'mountain,' 'creek' or 'canyon,' 'point' or 'peak,' as in 'Frazier Mountain' or 'Point Mugu.' In Chumash, such compounds of general geographical terms plus specific placename occur very seldom. It is possible to refer to the environs of a particular spot, say the village of *kaswa?* near the Mission Santa Barbara, as 'the canyon of *kaswa?*' or 'the creek of *kaswa?*,' but more commonly the Chumash used the specific placename in a broader sense to include the immediate vicinity as well. More commonly still, each village and distinct geographical feature had its own name. As the Harrington manuscript notes, "in ancient times there must have been placenames all up and down the canyons."

But some placenames are purely geographical terms which are used in a specialized sense. Of those placenames which have survived, one of the clearest examples is V. *muwu*, both 'beach' in general and the name of a Ventureño village, now Mugu, in particular. Likewise, P. *naxuwi* ~ *?anaxuwi*, 'meadow,' is also specifically a village near modern Nojoqui. Another Purisimeño village name, *?itiyaqš*, was said to mean 'dell'; it survives in Ytias Creek on the Rancho San Julián. And I. *malutiqšpin*, 'the dell' (literally, 'surrounded by rock'), is also specifically a place on the Rancho San Julián. The designation survives in loan translation as La Hoya ('the dell') Creek, west of Ytias Creek. These seem to have been two distinct spots, rather than one spot with two names.

The other examples of purely geographi-

cal terms in placenames have left no trace. Near Maricopa was *kamup*, 'cave,' and in a canyon east of Santa Ynez was a spring called I. *?aqmilimu?*, 'spring, drinking place.' The northern mountains, especially those in San Joaquin Valley drainage, were called *milimol*, meaning both 'mountain' and 'north.' The falls in Santa Paula Canyon near Ventura were called V. *?aliwolxoyoyo*, 'waterfall,' and V. *xonmoyoyo*, 'gorge,' is one particular arroyo in the Ventura region. The names of some important passes follow this same pattern. San Marcos Pass was *malames*, 'the pass'; the pass between Santa Ynez and Santa Rita was I. *malivēy* ~ *?alivēy*, 'the pass,' and the pass between the Simi and San Fernando Valleys was V. *kashivēy*, 'the pass.' These latter two are both based on a stem *-vēy*, 'to be notched.'

MINERALS IN PLACENAMES

Placenames are often derived from some mineral found locally. The only such placename surviving is O. *pismu?*, 'tar, black stuff,' seen in several San Luis Obispo placenames as Pismo (Klar n.d.). A possible loan translation is V. *siyopyop*, 'the tar,' now Canada de la Brea near Ojai. A Barbareño parallel is B. *woqwoqo*, 'tar,' a place at Moore's landing. Other such items commonly named are mud, sand, and clay. White clay, for example, inspires three separate placenames. One of these, on Santa Rosa Island, was C. *pipiwi*, 'the white clay'; it was a bed of white clay exposed only at low tide, through which fresh water seeped, whitish but drinkable.

Goleta Slough was called *tiptip*, 'salina, salt flat,' and not surprisingly, the Ventureño equivalent V. *sitiptip* was applied to Hueneme lagoon. An important village on Santa Rosa Island was called *qšiwqšiw*, 'droppings,' because of its proximity to a cliff whitened by the droppings of countless seabirds. The Chumash called Santa Catalina Island *huya*;

huya means 'soapstone,' from which they fashioned many articles.

WATER IN PLACENAMES

An important class of placenames deals with water. The availability of water, and its quality, is a vital consideration in a region where many watercourses are dry during part of the year. The only certain water placename still surviving is *taxiwax*, 'leak,' modern Taji-guas Creek, said to be named for a dripping rock. The same root is seen in *mištaxiwax*, 'where it leaks,' modern San Marcos, and in *saputiwax*, 'it seeps,' a spot near Santa Ynez. It is possible that *somis* could be interpreted as V. *šo mis*, 'water of the scrub oak'; the original *somis* was near Ojai, while modern Somis is east of Saticoy. It is also possible that P. *lompo?* ~ *?olompo?* now Lompoc, is a water placename; it is said to mean 'stagnant water,' in reference to a former lake south of the river near Lompoc.

A few water names simply refer to water itself. Thus, Zaca Lake was *ko'o?*, 'water,' and a village on Mescalitan Island in Goleta Slough, B. *he'lo?*, 'the water,' was remarkable in that it had a fresh water spring while all around was brine. The constancy of the supply is mentioned in C. *silimihi*, a village on Santa Rosa Island whose name is said to mean 'always water' (but the name is also given as *siliwihhi*), and *silpoponomu?* is said to mean 'where it runs constantly in all seasons' in the Refugio dialect of Barbareño, as the name of a village in San Antonio Canyon.

At least three different spots derive their names from the presence of hot springs, such as V. *ka'ališaw ka'o*, 'hot water,' a hot spring at Sulphur Mountain above Santa Paula. A number of placenames refer to the poor quality of the water. 'Bitter water' is the name of three springs; one of these names may have survived in loan translation, since a canyon east of Summerland was once called in Spanish *El Amargo*, 'the bitter,' formerly

B. *?alšon*, 'bitter one.' A swamp north of *he'lo?* in Goleta Slough was called B. *?ukšulo?*, 'stink water,' and Mud Creek north of Santa Paula was once V. *ka'alušyoxoč ka'o*, 'mud-died water.'

While the water placenames so far mentioned are flatly prosaic, there are some more fanciful ones too. A place below the Miravel Rancho in Santa Ynez, said to be a spring in the form of a devil, was I. *šo? kuku*, 'devil's water.' A spring in Santa Barbara was called B. *siyo? laška?*, 'water of the coyotes,' and in Ventura was V. *siyo kinik*, 'water of the little *kilik* (a hawk species),' with *kinik* as a diminutive form of *kilik*; it was said that *gavilancitos* (Spanish 'little hawks') drank there. A more unusual water placename is I. *mašo? a'oqhoš*, 'the water of the sea otter.' It was said that the otters on their way to and from the islands created a spring of fresh water in the sea, unmixed with brine, and that the old Chumash seamen used to stop there in the channel to drink.

PLANT NAMES IN PLACENAMES

A large number of placenames are based on plant names. Whenever an explanation of such names was offered, it was nearly always that the plant in question was found in abundance at the spot. Thus, for a spot near the Mission Santa Barbara called *?axtayuxaš*, 'islay,' Harrington's entry says that there "was a mata [patch] of islay there formerly just in the gap. Hence the name."

Several of these plant placenames still survive, some quite clear, and others more problematic. The Purisimeño village name *xonxoni ata?*, 'tall oak,' survives in the Rancho San Carlos de Jonata, and P. *lospe* gave its name to Lospe Mountain near Guadalupe. The name is said to mean 'flower field' (Gudde 1960:174); *spe* is 'flower' in Purisimeño. Near Santa Maria, a village name P. *?aliswey*, 'in the tarweed,' left its mark in the Rancho Suey and Suey Crossing. Further

south, there was another *?aliswey* (apparently not a village) which now appears in a slightly altered form as Lisque Creek, northeast of Los Olivos.

Surviving Ventureño village names are *V. sitoptopo*, 'the carrizo patch,' now Topatopa Creek and Topatopa Mountains, and *kamulus*, 'juniper,' now Camulos, said to be named for a lone juniper near the Santa Clara River. Kroeber (1916:61) claims that *ta'apu*, now Rancho Tapo north of Simi, means 'yucca,' although none of Harrington's informants could etymologize the name.

A more problematic name is *V. šuwalaxšo*, now Big Sycamore Canyon below Point Mugu. The name may be a loan translation, since *xšo* is 'sycamore' in Ventureño. In addition, the landgrant on which *šuwalaxšo* was located is called Guadaldasca, a word without etymology in Spanish; Brown (1969: 48, note 17) suggests that Guadaldasca is a Hispanicization of *šuwalaxšo*. A possible loan translation is Sycamore Canyon in Santa Barbara, once *mixšo*, 'place of the sycamore.'

Of the many other placenames based on plant names, none have survived. On the boundary between Purisimeño and Obispeño territory was a village near Santa Maria, called in Purisimeño *?axwapš*, 'in the nettles.' The name also occurs in the San Luis Obispo baptismal registry as *'Tgmaps*, '*Camapse*,' etc. (Brown 1967:15), obviously based on the Obispeño form of the word, *xmaps*, 'nettle.' Other examples of simple plant names include: *wimā*, 'red pine,' also Santa Rosa Island; *kašowšow*, 'pespibata patch,' a village in Piru Canyon; *V. kačik^hinhin*, 'pine,' a village on Las Virgenes Creek inland from Malibu; and C.V. *matapxwelexweł*, 'village of the cottonwood,' at the mouth of Grapevine Canyon, in the San Joaquin Valley.

Many of the same plant names recur in placenames scattered all over Chumash territory. Particularly popular are the willow, the sycamore, and various species of tule (*swa?*,

mexmey, and *taqš*). The best known of these is *kaswa?*, 'tule,' a village near the Mission Santa Barbara.

A few placenames are based not just on the occurrence of the plant, but are more descriptive. *Jonata* is a surviving example, from *P. xonxoni ata?*, 'tall oak.' Other examples are *V. kalnaxalkay kakuw*, 'offset oak,' a hill near Santa Ana with an oak slightly down from its top, and *V. kanwaya kakuw*, 'little hanging oak,' where there used to be a small live oak hanging over a bluff on the Ventura River.

ANIMAL NAMES IN PLACENAMES

Animal names occur frequently in placenames. Such placenames may be simply the name of the animal, but more often than with placenames based on plants, animal placenames may be quite fanciful. They also tend to be less recurrent than are plant names, although there are three widely separated spots all called 'the eagle's nest.' The standard explanation of animal placenames is that the animal in question was common at that spot. The entry for *V. čap ?ipoyok*, 'the house of the *po yok* (a fish species),' is typical: "half-way between Cañada de los Sauces and El Rincon there was a rock beneath the surface of the sea where the fish called in Ventureño *po yok* abounds."

The animal placenames surviving in their original form are somewhat problematic. An important village upstream from the Mission Santa Ynez was *kalawašaq*, said to mean 'the shell of the turtle'; this name now appears as Calabazal Creek, a folk-etymology based on Spanish *calabaza*, 'squash, gourd.' Near the head of Piru Creek is Mutau Flat and Mutau Creek. One of Harrington's informants claimed that a settler named Mutau was murdered there, but Chester King (personal communication) identifies the spot with the Ventureño village *matapxaw*, 'village of the

fox.' The name of Arroyo Sequit, between Point Mugu and Zuma, was etymologized as *V. seqis*, 'beachworm.' While *seqis* fits the modern placename very nicely, older records all agree in showing something like *lisiksi* for the name of a village at the mouth of Arroyo Sequit (Brown 1967:44). One of Harrington's informants, asked about *lisiksi*, repeated it as *lisiqsihi*. Brown suggests that Lachusa Canyon and Lechuza Point, southeast of Arroyo Sequit, may be folk-etymologies of *lisiqsihi*, based on Spanish *lechuza*, 'barn owl.'

But other animal names survive in loan translation. In addition to *V. kašap kama*, 'the house of the jackrabbit,' now seen as Liebre Mountain and Liebre Creek (*liebre* is 'hare' in Spanish), there are: *?anaqpuw*, 'wildcat,' now Gato ('cat') Canyon, west of Santa Barbara; *qwa?*, 'a duck species,' now La Patera, 'a place where ducks (Spanish *pata*) gather' (Gudde 1960:162), perhaps the earlier name for Goleta Slough; and *V. situ'kem* 'the mountain lion,' now Lion Creek, just south of Ojai.

In addition to the simple animal names which have survived in some form, such as *V. situ'kem*, there are many others of which no trace is left. These include: *step*, 'flea,' a village on San Antonio Creek; *P. noqto* ~ *?onoqto*, 'eel,' a village on Pedernales Creek; *mikiw*, 'place of the mussel,' one of the villages at Dos Pueblos; and *V. sihawhaw*, 'the foxes,' a spot near Ojai. On the beach at Arroyo Burro, the village of *sknonon*, 'worm,' was said to be named after worm tracings in the rocks.

More complex animal names usually refer to the animal's habitat. This may be the nest of a bird, as in the three spots all named 'the eagle's nest,' or in *V. kaspat kaxwa*, 'nest of the heron,' east of the Rancho Santa Ana. The den of a rodent is referred to in *B. šš uči?*, 'den of the woodrat,' a village at Arroyo Quemada. With other animals, the recurrent phrase is 'the house (*?ap*) of . . .,' as in *V. šap wš*, 'house of the deer,' a village inland from Mugu. The island at the east end of Anacapa

was called *C. pi?awa phew*, 'the house of the pelican.'

There are also more unusual animal placenames. A deep narrow canyon in the mountains above Santa Ynez was called *I. sxel-mesmu? ačili*, 'jumping across place of the antelope.' At the mouth of de la Cuesta Canyon, south of Buellton, was *I. šuw mačay*, 'the bluejay eats.' A spring on the Rancho Viejo north of Ventura was called *V. kašoxšol kawš*, 'urine of the deer.' The old people used to come from far away to drink and bathe at this spring, whose waters they regarded as curative. The Harrington manuscript even contains the text of a prayer made at *kašoxšol kawš*, along with the appropriate offering of shell beads, for the recovery of a sick relative.

WEATHER IN PLACENAMES

A few placenames make mention—direct or indirect—of the weather at various places. Two of these, Anacapa and Saticoy, still survive in much their original form. Harrington's informants etymologized the name of Anacapa Island, *?anyapax*, as 'mirage, illusion.' Russel Ruiz of Santa Barbara (personal communication) points out that during warm clear weather, when the thermal inversion layer is low, to an observer on the mainland the island seems to dance and flicker on the horizon like a mirage. The Santa Cruz islanders, with a different perspective, simply called the tall center island of Anacapa *luqtiqay*, said to mean 'big, high like a peak.'

The etymology of Saticoy is more problematic. Evidently influenced by the Hispanicized version of the name, Harrington's informants all gave *sati'koy* as the placename, for which they could suggest no convincing etymology. But a generation earlier Henshaw quotes from Juan Estevan Pico a version of the name which can only be interpreted as *sa'aqti'koy* (Heizer 1955:96). In Ineseño, there is a verb *aqti-koyi*, which means 'to be sheltered from the wind, set back from the

wind.' While I have not seen this verb in the Ventureño manuscripts, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the Ventureño placename might mean something like 'a place sheltered from the wind.'

Other weather placenames have left no trace. Just south of Ventura at *šap watuhuy*, 'house of the rain,' the surf was said to be much louder than elsewhere on the coast. The old people said that when the sea roared at *šap watuhuy* for two or three days, it was a sign of rain soon to come. A couple of names refer to the wind. At Gaviota was a cave called *hušap husaxkiw* in some dialect of Barbareño, 'the house of the wind,' in reference to the strong winds which blow through Gaviota Pass. An ancient sycamore tree on San Antonio Creek north of Ventura was called V. *ka'aqtawaq*, 'north wind.' The 'wind sycamore,' or 'wind tree,' as Harrington called it, rustled constantly. Russell Ruiz (personal communication) adds that this tree was also called 'the talking tree'; one who listened intently at the talking tree would hear the voices of his ancestors in the tree's murmur.

The Harrington manuscript also contains weather lore not directly related to placenames. In reference to *seŋeq*, Santa Ynez Peak (also important mythologically), there are two versions of a rain sign. In one version, it is a sure sign of rain when even the smallest cloud appears above *seŋeq*. According to the other version, when the gathering clouds come down until they touch the peak of *seŋeq*, then rain will follow. Much the same belief surrounded Anacapa Island: when the clouds come down and wreath the tall island of Anacapa, this means rain if the wind is from the south, and a strong wind if the wind is from the west. In either case, it was said, Chumash seamen would head for shore once the clouds touched Anacapa.

DESCRIPTIVE PLACENAMES

A particularly common pattern of place-

naming involves descriptive geographical names. Such descriptive names may be based on fancied resemblances, on the lay of the land, or on directions and orientations.

At least a dozen placenames apparently based on fancied resemblances are body part terms, such as *kaštiq*, 'the eye, the face,' a village at Castaic Lake. Also still preserved are V. *šeqpe*, 'kneecap,' now Sespe, and V. *siša*, 'the eyelash,' the name of a horizontally striated mountain and a nearby village east of Ojai, now seen as Sisar Creek and Sisar Peak. North of Maricopa, *sxeneri*, 'shoulder,' is preserved in loan translation in an old Spanish placename *La Paleta*, 'the shoulder blade.' Similar names of which no trace is left include: B. *šnoxš*, 'nose,' a bluff in the hills behind Santa Barbara; V. *ʔalqilkoŋi*, 'white of the eye,' named after a white rock, now Little Sycamore Canyon near Malibu; and *kaselew*, 'tongue,' a village near a sharply protruding rock in Piru Canyon.

Of other placenames based on fancied resemblances, the only one to survive is I. *stuk*, 'wooden bowl,' now Stuke Canyon just east of Cachuma Canyon. The village of *stuk* lay in a hollow in the mountains said to resemble a bowl; this site is now known as La Jolla Basin. Black Mountain, south of Ojai, was called *kaxus*, 'bear,' because of its color. A hill in Cañada de Corral just east of Refugio, thought to resemble the prickly pear, was called *kaxi*, 'prickly pear.' Near Nojoqui is a long low hill like an overturned boat, called I. *maštomol axuxaw*, 'the boat of Coyote,' and a domed rock in Santa Barbara was B. *sixim hulaška*?, 'storage basket of Coyote.'

The overall lay of the land may be described. The only such placename to be preserved is *ʔanapamu*?, 'rising place,' the name of a hill both in Santa Ynez and Santa Barbara; Anapamu is now a street name in Santa Barbara. Of such placenames not preserved, perhaps the best known is the name of

the mission village at Ventura: *micqanaqan*, 'place of the jaw.' This name is attributed to a shaman who saw the descending ridges on either side of the mouth of the Ventura River as the jaws of a great coyote. Further upstream, the ridge between the river and Cañada Larga was referred to as 'the tongue of Coyote.'

A well-known Ineseño village was *kasaqunpeqen*, 'a long thing ends,' situated at the mouth of a canyon north of Santa Ynez. A deep canyon on Alisal Creek south of Santa Ynez was *šaqlalamš*, 'it is tucked in.' A village in San Emigdio, at a sharp bend in the canyon, was called *tašlipun*, said to mean 'to crook the arm.' The name of the village near the Mission San Luis Obispo was *tilhini*, said to mean 'isolated,' because of its location between two creeks. Two similar placenames are I. *miswaskin*, 'where it spreads out,' the lower reaches of Santa Agueda Creek, and *mismatuk*, said to mean 'expanse' in the Dos Pueblos dialect, a village at the mouth of Arroyo Burro near Santa Barbara.

Placenames may describe some more particular aspect of a spot, although the surviving examples are uncertain. For *humaliwo*, now Malibu, Beeler (1957) suggests the etymology '(the surf) sounds loudly all the time,' based on the stem *iwō*, 'to sound,' and a prefix *mal-* which can refer to the terrain. One of Harrington's informants offered the explanation that *humaliwo* means 'a port of theirs,' presumably in some dialect of Ventureño. This etymology is unconvincing on linguistic grounds, but Chester King (personal communication) points out that the mouth of Malibu Creek is an excellent launching spot. West of Malibu, Zuma Creek and Zuma Beach derive their name from *sumo*, a village at the mouth of Zuma Canyon. One informant claimed that the name means 'abundance' in the Malibu dialect, in reference to the easy abundance of food in the area.

Other than Malibu and Zuma, none of the

many placenames in this rather miscellaneous category have survived, unless perhaps Montecito is a loan translation of B. *helxelēl*, 'the big rock,' on Hot Springs Creek. Typical of such placenames is *heqep*, the name of a village near the Cuyama River. Maria Solares etymologized the name as 'slab.' "It is a spot that's not worth anything," she said, "I don't know how those poor people lived there. There was nothing but rocks at the place with the cliffs all around." She added that the people of *heqep* were known as sorcerers, and that they spoke a language very different from Ineseño.

Other examples of this style of placenaming include B. *ʔaputiwayanamū*?, 'streaming down place,' a rock by El Capitan where the waves dash high against the cliffs and stream back down. A well-known village in central Santa Barbara, *ʔalpinče*?, is etymologized as 'a thing that is split,' "because there were acorns of live oak and white oak that opened themselves readily." In addition, there were: *qasil*, a village at El Refugio, said to mean 'beautiful' in the Dos Pueblos dialect; B. *ʔalwatalam*, 'congested one,' a weed-choked lake at La Patera; *ʔalul*, El Tranquillon Heights near Point Conception, said to mean 'conspicuous,' and V. *kaʔališaw kašup*, 'hot earth,' a place near Simi.

A few placenames refer to directions or orientations. One of these still surviving is *ʔaqicumh*, first Hispanicized to Quichuma, and now Cachuma; *ʔaqicumh* was said to mean 'a constant sign' in Ineseño, because the canyon in which it lay leads straight on toward San Emigdio. Modern Calleguas Creek, northeast of Mugu, is named for V. *kayiwīš*, 'head,' which one informant claimed was being used in the sense of 'principal place,' just as a chief might be referred to as 'the head.' In Carpinteria, the village name *mišopšno* was said to mean 'correspondence,' because it is at the coast end of a pass leading from *koyo*, now Casitas Canyon; *koyo* itself is said to mean

'beginning,' in reference to the pass toward Carpinteria.

In Santa Barbara, B. *heliyik*, 'the center,' was one of the villages on Goleta Slough, although as the westernmost of these (Brown 1967:30, map), it was hardly the geographical center. The largest village on Santa Cruz Island was C. *nimatlala*, also said to mean 'center.' The westernmost village on Santa Cruz was C. *lalale*, 'west,' and at the other end of the island San Pedro Point was called C. *čaqušquy*, 'it points toward *luqtiqay* (Anacapa).'

LOCAL FUNCTIONS AS PLACENAMES

Some placenames make reference to specialized functions of various localities, either economic or cultural. There are clear examples of such names still surviving. One of the northernmost Purisimeño villages was P. *kasmali*, 'it is the last,' now Casmalia. Harrington's entry says simply "kasmali means 'last' because it was the last rancheria where their dialect and friendship extended." The modern placename Sisquoc derives from P. *ʔasukawʔ*, said to mean 'stopping place.' North of Point Conception was *xalam*, 'bundle,' now Jalama Creek. As the manuscript says: "It was a gathering place. People would bundle up their things, and take them there temporarily—hence the name." On the mainland, the closest point to the islands was V. *wenemū*, 'sleeping place,' now Hueneme; after their periodic trading expeditions to the mainland, the islanders used to spend the night at *wenemū* before heading back to Santa Cruz in the morning calm. The return trip was said to take about three hours.

An Obispeño placename still surviving is *nipumuʔ*, 'village,' now Nipomo (Klar n.d.), although another entry claims that *ʔanipomo* means 'promontory' in Purisimeño. If the name of the village was O. *nipumuʔ*, 'village,' then this is one of the clearest cases of a general term used in a specific local sense. A

less than thoroughly convincing etymology suggested for *kuyam*, now Cuyama, is 'repose' (*kuyam*, 'to sit, wait'), since "piñon gatherers went there to rest." The word also means 'clam.'

There are other such placenames for which the name is clearly connected with the function. Some of these are of religious significance. In Alamo Pintado Canyon north of Santa Ynez, in a very large old sycamore tree—the Alamo Pintado—was a hanging repository for the belongings of the dead. The tree, and the whole vicinity, was called I. *ʔalaliwayan*, 'one that hangs.' Another well-known repository for the belongings of the dead was the point across the river immediately northwest of Ventura, called V. *čwašt-wil*, 'shrine.' Fernando Librado mentioned that in the old days no one would touch the articles left at these mortuary shrines, partly out of respect for the dead, but also out of fear that the offerings might have been magically poisoned.

On the Santa Ynez River was a hill known as *ʔušakmuʔ*, 'shrine,' literally 'casting place (for offerings).' And to the north was a shrine mountain called *ʔowotoponus*, 'adorned (with plumes),' in reference to the feathered pole which customarily marked shrines and sacred places. The ridge of the sacred mountain *ʔiwhinmuʔ*, Mount Piños, bore an entire row of these feathered poles. A mountain seen from the village of *huwam*, El Escorpión at the western extreme of the San Fernando Valley, was called V. *cwaya cuqele*, 'the feathered banner is waving.' According to Henshaw (Heizer 1955:158, note 68), sorcerers used the *cuqele* for summoning up the wind.

Deep in the interior were the two sacred mountains *ʔiwhinmuʔ* and *tošololo*, Mount Piños and Frazier Mountain. Chester King (personal communication) reports that this region was considered to be the center of the world, and that it was one of the last

strongholds of native sorcery. Between *?iwhi-nmu?* and *tošololo* was a plain called *?antap*, now Cuddy Valley. It was said that spirits lit their fires and began to dance there at dusk, making a whizzing sound. The primary meaning of *?antap* is 'initiate, member of a secret society'; in many ceremonies the *?antap* would swing the bullroarer to warn the uninitiated of supernatural goings-on. As a placename, *?antap* was also applied to a ravine immediately behind the town of Ventura. Many of the participants in ceremonies made their ritual entry onto the dancing ground from the ravine *?antap*, and the common people were well advised to avoid this area during ceremonial occasions.

Of economic import is the name of a village on Santa Cruz Island, *?alalakayamu*, said to mean 'it is piled up,' because at harvest time this was supposed to be a very well provisioned village. This same explanation might apply to C.V. *kašilašmu*, 'where much is stored,' a village at the mouth of Pastoria Canyon in the San Joaquin Valley. Two widely separated coastal villages are called *šišolop*, 'mud,' one at Ventura and the other at Cañada del Cojo just below Point Conception, but the name is also said to mean 'port.' Chester King (personal communication) points out that both of these villages must have been trade centers, according to archaeological evidence. In particular, the *šišolop* at Ventura was the western terminus of the trade-route from the San Joaquin Valley. By the village of *mičiw* at San Onofre, near Gaviota, was a spot called *walapmu?*, 'landing place,' because "the ocean is very calm there." North of Santa Ynez was a plain called I. *?anamičimi?*, 'crushing place'; many stone traps were set there for ground squirrels, in which the squirrels were caught when they removed the acorns propping up stone slabs.

Other placenames of this type, with no story recorded to substantiate the name,

could refer either to actual specialized functions or to legendary incidents. Those which look as if they do not necessarily refer to the legendary past include: I. *?amaxalamiš*, 'at the fiesta,' a village at Los Cigarros, north of Santa Ynez; *?axwawilašmu?*, El Capitan, said to mean 'dancing place' in some dialect of Barbareño; V. *kamaxakmu*, 'bark-stripping place,' east of Ventura; and C.V. *ka'aqtahanmu*, 'cooling off place,' now El Monte near Castaic.

LEGENDARY PLACENAMES

A good number of placenames look as if they might refer to specific incidents which had passed into legend, or even into an oblivion relieved only by the name itself. Harrington's informants etymologized such names freely, but could not offer stories to substantiate the names. No doubt many of these would fall into place in the light of the tantalizing bits of stray information which the Harrington scholar can expect to stumble across without warning.

Surviving names of this type include V. *?awhay*, 'moon,' now Ojai, and *?asaka*, etymologized as Purisimeño for 'in the bed,' now Zaca Station. The placename *matilha*, now Matilija, is said to mean 'division' in the Ojai dialect, but it is not at all clear in what sense this translation is to be taken. Modern Teapusquet, the name of a creek and a mountain east of Santa Maria, might derive from the name of a Purisimeño village *?alaqupsqen ~ laqupsqe*, 'one that gives out,' although the name is also etymologized as coming from *tapuxtey*, said to mean 'go in and touch it.'

Other placenames which seem to refer to potentially legendary incidents include: *?ilwiví*, 'getting lost,' a place in the Santa Ynez Range; V. *šap tutu*, 'house of the squint-eyed man,' at the confluence of the Ventura River and Cañada Larga; I. *či?amu?*, 'groaning place,' on the Rancho San Julián; V. *kawačiwšmu*, 'archery-match place,' on Santa

Paula Creek; V. *kašapiwil ?ini*, 'fire is born,' a slope south of Ventura; and B. *šiyaxšaptuwaš*, 'they went up together,' a hill in Santa Barbara.

MYTHOLOGICAL PLACENAMES

Some placenames appear to be mythological in origin; a great many others are mentioned in various myths.

Point Conception figures prominently in Chumash mythology. The version of the name given as *kumqađ* is etymologized as 'the ravens come,' although the commoner version *humqađ* defies etymology. It was said that the soul at death passed by Point Conception on its way to *šimilaqša*, the western land of the dead. Ravens came from the other world, the spirit world, and pecked out the eyes of the soul as it passed *kumqađ*. The groping soul plucked two poppies, which it put into its empty sockets with which to see until it reached the spirit world. There it got new eyes of blue abalone.

The sun was an important figure mythologically. A cave on the Cuyama River was called *mašap aqsi*, 'the house of the sun' (an Ineseño rendering of the indigenous name?). In it were life-sized animals turned to stone. As the Harrington manuscript says, "at that place there were the following animals turned to stone: Eagle, Hawk, Bear—the bear was seated, the form of a bear, with water trickling from his mouth. It's good water; one can drink it. Lion, Coyote—Coyote is withdrawn apart from the others . . ." Just how neatly this cave name fits into Chumash myth emerges elsewhere in the manuscript, in a text on the sun. The sun was a very old man, a widower with two daughters who wear skirts of live rattlesnakes. "The house of the sun is very large. There in the *miluk* [interior] are snakes, bears, lions—he has them all, tame, right in the same house where he lives and eats. These are his animals, *masqohqo?* [his pets]." Northwest of Ventura, Red Mountain

was likewise called V. *kašap ši?išaw*, 'house of the sun,' although there is no story to back up the name.

The story of the 'two thunders,' two boys who became the two thunders, is widespread in California. According to the Chumash, the mother of the Two Thunders, a mortal woman, came from the village of *homomoy* a few miles east of Santa Ynez. This village name is based on *momoy*, 'Jimson weed, toloache,' used to induce visions. And the aunt of the two thunders lived at *señeq* mountain, Santa Ynez Peak. The name of the mountain is etymologized as either 'by the woman' (*?eneq*, 'woman') because the aunt lived nearby, or else as the aunt's own personal name. Less convincingly, another informant claimed that *señeq* means 'sign,' in reference to the belief that clouds over *señeq* prefigure rain.

Chismahoo Mountain, northeast of Carpinteria, is also important mythologically. The name *čismuhu* is said to mean 'it streams out,' and it figures in the story of man's emergence into the world. This information does not appear in the Harrington manuscript, but was related by Russell Ruiz (personal communication). Man was created on *mičhumaš*, Santa Cruz Island: the mother goddess *šup* ('earth') dropped some chilicothe seeds and man sprang up from these. Soon mankind multiplied to the extent that the collective tumult kept *šup* awake at night. She made a rainbow bridge which arched above the fog from Mount Diablo, the highest point on Santa Cruz, to *čismuhu* on the mainland. She warned the people not to look down from the rainbow bridge, and she sent them across to *čismuhu*, where they streamed out to populate the world. Those who looked down fell into the sea and became dolphins.

As for the name of Mount Diablo on Santa Cruz, it does not occur in the manuscript with any such specific designation. But there is mention of a place called *siwoi*,

sometimes identified as the Santa Barbara islands *in toto*, sometimes identified as a sacred place either on one particular island or else perhaps in the spirit world. A line quoted from a prayer is *kakalulkuw hi siwoť*, 'I am in awe of *siwoť*'; another is *siwoť kakamih*, '*siwoť* is my body.' This *siwoť* may be Mount Diablo; the name might be connected with *woť*, 'chief.'

Another place associated with the mother goddess *šup* is La Cumbre Peak behind Santa Barbara (Russell Ruiz, personal communication). This mountain was called *tiptipšup*, said to mean 'high high earth,' and in the 1800s, before the peak was renamed La Cumbre ('the summit'), its original Chumash name was folk-etymologized to Tiptop Mountain.

ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA IN THE MANUSCRIPT

The Harrington manuscript contains a great deal of ethnographic information not always etymologically related to the place-names cited. This ethnographic data deals with various aspects of mythology, legend, customs, material culture, and practical lore about the environment. A sampling of this material, at least that which concerns particular places, might be in order.

A dietary taboo emerges in an entry on *?iwhinmu?*, Mount Piños. Maria Solares recalled camping at *?iwhinmu?* once during her childhood, piñon gathering. One man of the party told her not to eat any meat there, because it was a dry camp. Fernando Librado also mentioned this taboo against meat-eating when no drinking water is available.

Legends preserve some evidence of population movement, particularly from the islands to the mainland. Thus, according to tradition, the village of *šuku* at El Rincon was founded by *matipuyawt* of Santa Cruz Island; *matipuyawt*, whose name is said to mean 'one to be respected' in Cruzeño, was the brother of the woman who founded *syuxtun*, one of

the principal Barbareño villages. Fernando Librado, who claimed to be a descendant of *matipuyawt*, added that the people of *šuku* still spoke much Cruzeño even in mission days.

In speaking of *mičhumaš*, Santa Cruz, Maria Solares mentioned a race of giants who waded over to the islands in ancient days. "The first people were tall—they did not have to use *tomol* [boats], but crossed to the islands walking. And the old men told her that people had found bones on Santa Rosa Island very big, and at *mikiw* [Dos Pueblos], big bones, yards long, but of people."

The male principle complementary to the mother goddess *šup* was *?alapay*, 'the one above,' known as the sky father or the cosmic serpent (Russell Ruiz, personal communication). He was embodied in the Milky Way; lightning was his tongue, and he gave the gift of fire to man. The cosmic serpent was said to have spent some years on earth in a cave in the Santa Ynez Valley. The Harrington manuscript mentions the serpent only passingly, but it elaborates on the location of the cave. This cave is in the northern cliff of the hill *?anapamu?*, 'rising place,' on the south side of the Santa Ynez River just southwest of Solvang. The name of the cave is not given. There was a shrine on top of this hill, an *?ušakmu?*; in the old days it was marked by a feathered pole. The name *?ušakmu?* was also applied to this spot as a general placename.

Certain places were regarded with a certain degree of awe and fear as supernaturally charged and potentially dangerous. Thus, speaking of San Cayetano Mountain, northeast of Santa Paula, an informant etymologized the name *waha?as* as "it is very ominous; you don't dare call out or anything, for that canyon is very *?alitišwič* [supernaturally charged]." Harrington noted that when asked about *lisamu*, his informant "knows that it is a place by the coast up by San Luis Obispo. Also that it is a sacred place. People

went there only when they wanted to *ušakštiš* [sacrifice].” The whole vicinity of the sacred mountain *ʔiwhinmuʔ* was heavily forested with piñon pines, but on the mountain itself the Chumash would not gather the nuts. The summit of *ʔiwhinmuʔ* had a shrine which no Indian would approach except to make sacrifice, and the manuscript alludes to some misfortune said to befall anyone who talked while going up one of the sacred mountains to sacrifice.

Some of the ethnographic information concerns sorcery; it is mentioned quite often. The village of *heqep* in the Cuyama region was known for witchcraft, Maria Solares said. “The people of *heqep* were very wicked, very much given to witchcraft. Almost every person in *heqep* was a sorcerer.” Three Ventureño informants had all heard of a cave occupied by a bear doctor; one informant “heard that in that cave a bear medicine man lived and would sally forth from there as far as Ventura to frighten the people. Nobody ever entered the cave. The cave was on the inland side of a ridge.” They gave no name for the cave, but it is on V. *čap šiʔišaw*, ‘house of the sun,’ now Red Mountain northwest of Ventura. In reference to the southernmost village on Santa Rosa Island, *nilalhuyu*, Henshaw reports Juan Estevan Pico’s claim that it “was a town celebrated for sorcery; no women or children were allowed in this town, only men” (Heizer 1955:197). However, Brown (1967:11, note 14) reports that this claim is discredited by mission baptismal records.

PLACENAMES WITHOUT ETYMOLOGIES

There are many placenames for which no etymology is recorded or suggested. At least five of these still survive: *takuyʔ*, now Tecuya Creek and Tecuya Mountain near Grapevine Canyon; *teqepš*, now Tequepis Canyon, south of Lake Cachuma; *šimiyi*, now Simi Valley; *šnaxalayiviš*, now Najalayegua in the Rancho

Los Prietos y Najalayegua on the upper reaches of the Santa Ynez River; and *wasna* ~ *ʔawasna*, now Huasna, north of Santa Maria. Of the many unetymologizable placenames which have left no trace, a few follow: *ʔanaxacux*, a village on Salsipuedes Creek, south of Lompoc; *ʔaxsak*, a village near Maricopa; *kenepst̄in*, Oak Park in Santa Barbara; *loxostoxni*, a village at Trancas Canyon, west of Point Dume; *mičiw*, a village at San Onofre, east of Gaviota; *nuhum*, a spring in the Cuyama Valley; *qoloq*, a village at Carpinteria; *suluphup*, Pyramid Peak behind Santa Barbara; *tuqan*, San Miguel Island; *ʔupop*, a village at Cañada del Cojo Viejo, near Point Conception; and *wanam*, Laguna Blanca in Santa Barbara.

No doubt a deeper knowledge of the Chumash languages would clarify some of these opaque placenames. But even to Harrington’s most inventive informants, many placenames were blanks for which they could suggest no etymology.

THE GRAMMAR OF PLACENAMES

For those with some linguistic inclination, a sketch of the grammatical devices used in placenaming might be in order. Just as the semantic pattern of placenaming was uniform among the various Chumash groups, the grammatical composition of placenames was quite uniform too. Placenames may be basically nouns, basically verbs, or whole phrases.

Nouns as placenames show the simplest pattern. These may be just a bare noun stem, as in I. *stuk*, ‘wooden bowl,’ a village upriver from Santa Ynez; V. *muwu*, ‘beach,’ a village at Mugu; or a noun with the third person possessive prefix *s-*. These usually belong to the class of inalienably possessed nouns which never appear without some possessive prefix: B. *s-ʔaxp̄ilil*, ‘its root,’ a village near Goleta; and V. *s-ʔeqpe*, ‘its kneecap,’ now Sespe.

Occasionally a noun occurs with the definite article; this is an integral part of the

placename, since the articles otherwise do not occur with placenames and proper names. The article is *ma-* in Ineseño: *ma-šul-šulul*, 'the shale bed,' a white bluff by the river; *he-l-* or *hu-l-* in Barbareño: *he-l-ʔoʔ*, 'the water,' a village on Goleta Slough; and *si-* or */s/* plus some vowel in Ventureño: *sa-ʔ-aqti-koy*, 'a thing sheltered from the wind,' now Saticoy.

The locative prefix *mi-* may occur with nouns, as in V. *mi-c-qanaqañ*, 'place of his jaw,' a village at Ventura; and *mi-čhumaš*, 'place of the islanders,' Santa Cruz Island.

The agentive prefix *ʔal-*, 'one which does,' seems to have a locative force with nouns in placenames: P. *ʔal-s-ʔakay* → *ʔasaka*, 'in its bed,' now Zaca Station; P. *ʔal-swey* → *ʔaliswey*, 'at the tarweed,' which is now called Lisque Creek.

The verbal prefix *ka-* with nouns seems to make them into one word sentences; this predicative prefix is particularly common in placenames: *ka-mulus*, '[it is] the juniper,' now Camulos; *ka-s-tiq*, '[it is] its eye, face,' now Castaic. Sometimes nouns in placenames are reduplicated; reduplication is an extremely common process in Chumash, and it occurs in grammatical environments of all sorts. Usually with nouns, reduplication simply has a plural force, but it may have more a collective sense in placenames, such as B. *woq-woqo*, 'much tar,' a place by Moore's Landing; and V. *ka-xšo-xšo*, '[it is] the sycamore grove,' near Ventura.

Verbs in placenames only rarely show the bare verb root without some prefix. The few examples include: *taxiwax*, 'to leak,' now Tajiquas Creek; and *tašlipun*, 'to crook the arm,' a village in San Emigdio. Otherwise, nearly verbally based placenames show some prefix or derivative suffix. The predicative prefix *ka-* is common with all verbal placenames.

Verbs are very often prefixed with *s-*, the third person singular subject marker (and possessive marker in nouns): B. *s-yux-tun*, 'it

splits in two,' a village in Santa Barbara; V. *ka-s-tixwan-uč*, 'it is scratched,' a hill in Ventura. Verbs may take the agentive prefix *ʔal-*, 'one which does.' Examples include: B. *ʔal-waʔalam*, 'one that is congested,' a weedy lake at Goleta; I. *ʔal-ali-wayan*, 'one that hangs,' the Alamo Pintado near Santa Ynez. They may also take the indefinite subject marker *am-*, often in conjunction with the agentive prefix *ʔal-*: I. *ʔal-am-kuyam*, 'what they get on top of,' now Los Olivos.

The locative prefix *mi-* may occur with verbs: I. *mi-s-waskin*, 'where it spreads open,' upriver from Santa Ynez, but the suffixed equivalent *-muʔ*, 'place where,' is much more common; V. *weil-muʔ* → *wenemu*, 'sleeping place,' now Hueneme; I. *ka-s-pax-muʔ*, 'its turning place,' near Santa Ynez; C.V. *ka-siñay-š-mu* → *kašičašmu*, 'where much is stored,' a village at the mouth of Pastoria Canyon.

Phrases as placenames are fairly common. Usually they are possessive phrases: the possessed noun with possessive prefix *s-* is followed by the possessor noun, as is usual in Chumash: I. *ma-s-ʔap ha-qsi*, 'the house of the sun,' literally 'the his house the sun,' in the Cuyama Valley; V. *ka-s-oxšol ka-wi*, 'urine of the deer,' a spring near Ventura. The possessed noun may be derived from a noun with *-muʔ*, as in I. *s-xel-mes-muʔ ha-čtli*, 'jumping across place of the antelope,' a narrow canyon above Santa Ynez.

Verbal phrases may also function as placenames. The verb precedes the subject noun, as in I. *s-ʔuw ma-čay*, 'the jay eats,' a canyon south of Santa Ynez; and V. *c-waya cuqeles*, 'the feathered banner waves,' a mountain west of the San Fernando Valley. The verb is often subject to relativization, as in I. *ma-l-iton ha-ʔoʔ*, 'water that is bitter,' a spring; and V. *ka-ʔal-išaw ka-ʔo*, 'water that is hot,' a hot spring. It may also be truncated, as in B. *[s]-ukš hu-l-ʔoʔ* → *ʔukšuloʔ*, 'that water stinks,' a spot in Goleta Slough.

The irregular treatment of some placenames indicates that Chumash speakers might have regarded them as unanalyzable units, or at least as less subject to analysis than many other placenames. These placenames may show extreme truncation or irregular phonological developments which blur morpheme boundaries. As examples of extreme truncation, some names are phrases in which most or all inflectional affixes are lost, particularly the article with nouns: I. [s]-*kum* [ha]-*qaq* → *kumqaq*, 'raven comes,' Point Conception; and V. [ka]-*s-ʔap* [ka]-*wi* → *šapwi*, 'house of deer,' a village name.

Morpheme boundaries are blurred by the propagation of vowel harmony into affixes which normally do not exhibit vowel harmony. Thus, while the low vowels /e a o/ in stems and certain prefixes all agree, other prefixes are immune to vowel harmony. But occasionally in placenames, the non-harmonic predicative prefix *ka-* and the agentive prefix *ʔal-[do]* show vowel harmony: I. *ka-ʔoʔ* → *koʔoʔ*, 'water,' now Zaca Lake; I. *ka-s-tepet* → *keštepet*, 'it rolls,' a hogback hill; and V. *ka-xšo* → *koxšo*, 'sycamore,' a spot in Ventura. A couple of other placenames which irregular phonological developments have made less transparent are: *wayanmuʔ* → *wayamuʔ*, 'hanging place,' an inland plain; and *ʔal-am-iqim-muʔ* → *ʔanamiqimiʔ*, 'where they crush,' a plain near Santa Ynez. For these two, the regular development would be **wayanumuʔ* and **ʔalamiqimimuʔ*, with an epenthetic vowel between the two nasal consonants and no vowel harmony in the suffix *-muʔ* in the second placename.

Further, many placenames in Ventureño (and a few in the other languages) show a process of diminutive consonant symbolism (Harrington 1974:9); here, l → n, x → q, and s, c, and š → č, as in V. *c-ʔax-pilil* → *čaqpinil*, 'little root,' near Cañada Larga; and V. *si-xwapš* → *čiqwapč*, 'little nettle,' now Cañada Larga. Consonant sym-

bolism plus irregular vowel harmony shows up in V. *ʔal-koʔ* → *ʔonkoʔ*, 'at the little soap-root,' a village near the Rancho Santa Ana.

It may be that some of these apparently irregular placenames represent an older stratum of Chumash settlement. Much the same process operates in the phonological reduction of many old placenames in English, such as Wessex or Plymouth, which are no longer segmentable for many speakers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the course of this research, I have learned a great deal from extensive talks with several people also familiar with the Chumash and with the Harrington manuscript. They are Madison S. Beeler, University of California, Berkeley, working primarily with Barbareño, but also Cruzeño and interior Chumash; Thomas Blackburn, California Polytechnic Pomona, who wrote his dissertation on Chumash oral tradition; Chester King, University of California, Davis, an archaeologist who has worked in the Santa Barbara area; and Russell Ruiz, Santa Barbara historian, who is intensely interested in all things Chumash. My thanks to Shirley Silver, Sonoma State University, who first suggested that I write this paper.

*California State University
San Jose*

REFERENCES

- Beeler, M. S.
1957 On Etymologizing Indian Place Names. *Names* 5:236-240.
1966 Hueneme. *Names* 14:36-40.
- Brown, A. K.
1967 The Aboriginal Population of the Santa Barbara Channel. University of California Archaeological Survey Reports No. 69. Berkeley.
- Gudde, E. G.
1960 California Place Names. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Harrington, J. P.
1912- Unpublished manuscript materials, particularly Box 726, Bundle 4, on Ineseño placenames; Box 747, Bundle 20, on Ventureño and island placenames; and Box 748, unnumbered bundle, on Barbareño placenames. Manuscripts on file at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
- 1922
- 1974 Sibilants in Ventureño. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 40:1-9.
- Heizer, R. F.
1955 California Indian Linguistic Records: The Mission Indian Vocabularies of H. W. Henshaw. *Anthropological Records* 15(2).
- Klar, K.
n.d. Pismo and Nipomo: Two Northern Chumash Placenames. Names (manuscript in press).
- Kroeber, A. L.
1916 California Placenames of Indian Origin. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 12(2).

