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Salinan Linguistic Materials

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AT the time of European contact in the eighteenth century, Salinan was spoken along the south-central coast of California from just north of the present town of King City south to Paso Robles and east to Coalinga. Randall Milliken's work with the California mission registers and recent archaeological studies by Gibson (1975, 1982) and Breschini and Haversat (1980) have refined Kroeber's (1925) geographic distribution of Salinan speakers. The most significant change from

Kroeber's boundaries is to move the southern coastal limit 40 miles north and to suggest a western-eastern, rather than a northern-southern division between speakers of the two attested dialects: Antoniaño and Miguelino. The Salinans' neighbors at the time of European contact were the Esselen (Hokan linguistic stock), the Soledad Costanoan (Penutian stock), the Yokuts (Penu-tian), and the Obispeño, or Northern, Chumash (Hokan). The Salinan language is conventionally designated a member of the Hokan linguistic stock.

OVERVIEW

There are approximately twenty sources of linguistic data on Salinan, dating from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century, slightly more than 150 years during which written records of Salinan were made. The majority are written in idiosyncratic orthographies and eight are glossed in Spanish. The last speaker died thirty years ago, but the language nearly disappeared within 100 years after the establishment of the first Franciscan mission in Salinan territory.

That mission, San Antonio de Padua, was founded in 1771 by Fr. Junípero Serra, as the third Franciscan mission established in Alta California. Mission San Miguel, Arcangel, was founded in 1797 by Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar, the incumbent of Mission San Antonio. In order to evaluate the progress of their efforts, the missionaries required their Indian converts to speak Spanish (Engelhardt 1929, 1972). The Franciscans' proselytizing brought about the eventual eradication of Salinan aboriginal culture at all levels, including their language.

SOURCES

The missionaries made some attempts to communicate with the Indians in their native language, attested by the surviving documents of the mission period: a "Confession-

ario" (sic), a paradigmatic noun vocabulary, and a prayer board. These are now found in widely separated locations: the original Confesionario (Sitjar MS) is in Washington, DC, at the Georgetown University archives; the vocabulary with the noun paradigms, partly composed by Fr. Sitjar and partly by Frs. Cabot and Dumetz (Cabot and Dumetz MS), is in the Boston Athenaeum; and the prayer board (Pieras and Sitjar MS) is at the National History Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. All of these are, of course, glossed in the Spanish of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Salinan can be identified as the Antoniaño dialect, but it is written in *ad hoc* orthographies that are not even internally consistent. The Spanish itself poses some problems because these missionaries were not educated academicians, and many of the Spanish glosses reflect a local late eighteenth-century Spanish dialect from Galicia in northwest Spain.

Also dating from the mission period, Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar's "Vocabulario de la Lengua de los Naturales de la misión San Antonio, Alta California" was published in 1861 as Volume 7 in Shea's Library of American Linguistics, but it was compiled much earlier, because Fr. Sitjar died in 1808. A. S. Taylor dated this at 1787. The original is in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. This document, too, is in an idiosyncratic orthography, but the Spanish is much easier to understand. The published version is preceded by a grammatical sketch by Shea.

During the last century, several visitors to California compiled short vocabularies of the two Salinan dialects, glossed in English for the most part, but only eight are sources of particular linguistic interest. The earliest of these vocabularies consists of a list of the numbers from "one" to "sixteen" taken down by Dr. Thomas Coulter, a Dublin physi-

cian, in 1834 (Coulter 1848). This was followed by slightly fuller vocabularies by Scouler (1841:247-251), Latham (1856), Taylor (1860), Gatschet (1877), Pinart (1878), and Henshaw (1884). Henshaw compiled the longest of these vocabularies, completing most of the extensive Bureau of American Ethnology schedules for both dialects of the language. Less useful sources include Lapérouse (1797), de la Cuesta (1821, 1833), Gallatin (1848), Yates and Gould (1887), and Pieras and Sitjar (MS).

All of these vocabularies are in idiosyncratic transcriptions based on English, French, and Spanish, except for those of Henshaw, who had the directions of Powell (1880) for his orthography. In some cases his transcriptions are helpful because he indicated syllable boundaries with hyphens.

The twentieth century saw the efforts of Kroeber (1901, 1904), Merriam (1902, 1933), Mason (1912, 1916-1917, 1918), Harrington (1922, 1932-1933; cf. Callaghan 1975, Walsh 1976), Bright (1954), and Jacobsen (1954, 1955, 1958). These twentieth-century recordings are more modern: they pose fewer philological problems, and the majority are glossed in English.

Kroeber did a workmanlike job of compiling a short vocabulary of the Miguileño dialect and his notebook (Kroeber 1901) currently is in the Survey of California and Other American Indian Languages at the University of California, Berkeley. He displayed some of the classic errors of an inexperienced field linguist: he did not record word-initial glottal stops and his Salinan glosses for body parts translate as "your (singular)" body part, meaning that when he asked how to say "my leg" or "my arm," he elicited instead the word for "your leg" or "your arm."

C. Hart Merriam's original notebooks and diaries are in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. The

problems of working with Merriam's English-based orthography are well known. He did, however, have a "phonetic" key to his spellings at the beginning of each of his printed schedules: "Field Check Lists" (Merriam 1902a, 1933a) and "Vocabularies of North American Indians" (Merriam 1902b, 1933b). If the philologist is already familiar with the American Indian language Merriam was recording, his elicitations are quite valuable, especially with reference to flora and fauna. Merriam was a biologist and used specific Latin taxonomic terms for his glosses. With Salinan, however, one should be aware that Merriam was working through a Spanish-speaking interpreter.

J. Alden Mason, a student of Edward Sapir, began his work with Salinan in 1910 and published his dissertation "The Ethnography of the Salinan Indians" in 1912. His "Language of the Salinan Indians" was hurried into print at the urging of Kroeber in 1918. Mason, too, worked with a Spanish interpreter but transcribed his elicitations phonetically, using the conventions of Boas et al. (1916). He, too, had problems with word-initial glottal stops and with glottalization in general. I have found it more useful to work with his notebooks (Mason 1916-1917) rather than with the published version because of a few printing errors, but the chief caution one should exercise in working with his materials involves his mixing of the two dialects. He also retranscribed his interpretations of Fr. Sitjar's (1861) "Vocabulario . . ." in his stem list.

Luckily, the language came to the attention of John Peabody Harrington. He used Mason's published work as a primary source for his re-elicitations, and, although he had some peculiar orthographic practices, his "ear" was so accurate and his attention to phonetic detail so exhaustive that his work goes a long way toward disambiguating Mason's work. Harrington (1922, 1932-1933)

provided the information necessary for a phonemic reconstitution of the language. His extensive documentation of Salinan is housed in the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., and is now available on microfilm. Harrington glossed many of his elicitations in a peculiar "California" Spanish which I have translated only with great patience and good luck, consulting frequently with Latin American Spanish speakers.

William Bright made a brief visit to Salinan speakers in 1954 and has recorded a short vocabulary notable for its modernity in transcription.

The only completely reliable modern transcription of the language of any length was made by Jacobsen (1954, 1955, 1958) while he was a graduate student. He has kindly put a copy of his notes at my disposal. The language was nearly moribund by the time he worked with speakers of Salinan, and he faithfully recorded the phonological, morphological, and syntactic simplifications that were in progress as the language reached extinction.

In summation, then, a modern linguistic analysis of Antoniaño Salinan has been possible based on the work of Mason, Harrington, and Jacobsen, with the aid of, principally, Fr. Sitjar, Frs. Cabot and Dumetz, and Henshaw. Mason was the only one to record texts, Harrington to record phonetic detail of previously elicited vocabulary, and Jacobsen to record completely reliable modern phonetic transcriptions of extensive vocabulary and paradigms of both nouns and verbs.

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Exwanyawish: A Luiseño Sacred Rock

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EXWANYAWISH was first described by Constance Du Bois (1908:159):

One of the most striking rocks in this locality of ancient monuments is the painted rock, *Exwanyawish* which was one of the Temecula people, a woman, who turned into this form. Indians suffering bodily pain rub against the rock to obtain relief. It is not known when the painting on the hollowed side was done, nor when the sacred stones, wiala, were poised on top. The oldest man remembers that they were always there, though the touch of a hand might overturn them.

This report presents ethnographic testimony collected 30-40 years ago by the senior author which pinpoints the location of *Exwanyawish*, and provides additional information concerning the pictographs located thereon. Initially, we had some concern about publicizing the exact location of this important feature, but we realized that although the site had been recorded archaeologically many years ago, its ethnographic significance had become confused. Many of the Luiseño elders who knew the details connected with the rock, its pictographs, and its mythological connections have since passed away, so it is important from an ethnographic perspective to fill in as many gaps as possible while the remaining carriers of this knowledge are alive.

It is clear from the context of Du Bois' description of ancestral Luiseño landmarks (1908:158-160) that *Exwanyawish* is located in the vicinity of Potrero, not far from the ancestral home of her informant, Lucario Cuevish (Fig. 1). Another reference is included in her myth entitled "The Dance of the Spirits" (Du Bois 1908:154). A man from Ahoya (Ahuya; near Rincon) stopped at the place Kamak (Potrero) to spend the night

