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*Studies in Native American Languages II*

*Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics*

*Volume 8, number 2, 1983*

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## Areal and Genetic Linguistic Affiliations of the Salinan

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Students of American languages are well acquainted with the linguistic diversity of the Hokan stock, and there is dissatisfaction with currently available studies of its members. Reliable descriptions and internal reconstruction of individual families and isolates are needed for credibility of the view of a unified group. Included under the label 'Hokan' are the following: Karok, Palaihnihan, Shastan, Yanan, Pomoan, Washo, Esselen, Salinan, Chumash, Yuman, Seri, Chontal (Tequistlatecan), Subtiaba-Tlappanec, and Jicaque (Kroeber 1904, Dixon & Kroeber 1919, Sapir 1921). Since 1970 continuing exchanges among Hokanists have spurred further comparative Hokan studies beyond the binary comparison of vocabularies. Haas (1964) has demonstrated lexical similarities between Hokan and Penutian, Yukian, and Ritwan, showing the need for areal studies as well.

In pre-contact times the Salinan language was spoken in the area of south central California south of the present town of Monterey and north of Paso Robles. Further refinement of the area is still in progress (Gibson 1975, 1982); Robert L. Hoover's continuing research at Mission San Antonio (CA-Mnt-100) is most promising, as well as the investigations of Chester King and Steven Craig of the mission registers.

The position of Salinan within the Hokan stock is uncertain, and it is presently considered an isolate. There are two dialects: Antoniaño, spoken in the north; and Migueleño, spoken in the south (Kroeber 1912, Mason 1912 & 1918, Shipley 1973, Gibson 1982). The Esselen, Soledad and Mutsun Costanoan, Yokuts, and Obispeño Chumash were their neighbors from north to south. There are no living speakers.

Classification of Salinan as a member of the Hokan stock (Sapir 1917, Dixon & Kroeber 1919) followed a preliminary period starting with Gallatin (1848), during which classifications of the numerous languages of North America (and, specifically, California) were attempted (Latham 1856, Gatschet 1877, Powell 1891, Dixon & Kroeber 1903, Kroeber 1910, Dixon & Kroeber 1913a & b, Dixon & Kroeber 1919).

In 1917 John Peabody Harrington (AA 19:154) wrote that Chumash and Yuman languages are genetically related, which, by inference, placed Salinan with the Hokan stock for the first time, since Dixon & Kroeber (1913b) had proposed that Chumash and Salinan be grouped together as Iskoman. All that appeared in the Harrington article was a brief paragraph with no justification or discussion.

Also in 1917, Edward Sapir published the first 202 cognate sets

sets for Hokan, including Salinan with Shasta-Achomawi, Chimariko, Karok, Yana, Pomo, Esselen, Yuman, Chumash, Seri, and Chontal. He wrote that 'Salinan and Chumash are at present of more doubtful inclusion than the others. I hope, however, to have helped to dispel this doubt by data presented in the course of the following pages' (1917:1-2). His Salinan data came from Kroeber (1904), and besides his frequent use of Salinan forms, he refers to Salinan specifically in his discussion of local suffixes (Chumash, Salinan and Yana use prepositions) and his reference to syncope of the second vowel of the stem. This was the first appearance of Proto-Hokan forms.

In 1919 Dixon and Kroeber accepted Salinan as part of Hokan on the basis of Harrington's and Sapir's statements and included Salinan forms in 10 of 60 cognate sets they presented for Washo's inclusion in Hokan. They also published Washo cognate sets prepared separately by Sapir, including 11 Salinan forms.

In 1920 Sapir published a ten-page article giving a comparative vocabulary of 114 items for Hokan-Coahuiltecan languages, with 4 additional Chumash-Coahuiltecan forms (1920a). Salinan data is cited in footnotes to these sets, incorporating J. Alden Mason's Salinan data from his manuscript. Salinan appears in 8 footnotes.

The assumption of Salinan being a Hokan language is abundantly illustrated through Sapir's correspondence with J. Alden Mason and in two more papers published in 1920. In the correspondence of this period between Sapir and Mason, Mason sent Sapir a 'refined' phonetic list of Salinan forms that Sapir accepted as 'probably related to Yana' (July 26, 1916), and Sapir thanked him for the 'Salinan-Hokan cognates' (Aug. 25, 1916). Mason also commented on the vowel syncope phenomenon (sic) and gave examples of the verb 'to drink' *icim*, *ecim*, *acim* for illustration (July 26, 1916). Sapir's 1920 (b) article on Chimariko includes a comparison with pronominal segments in Salinan, assuming a genetic relationship.

In 1921 'A Supplementary Note on Salinan and Washo' Sapir added Salinan forms to numbered sets from the previous comparative article (1920a) and numbers 119-126 were added to the total comparative vocabulary, based on Mason's new Salinan data. Sapir states that 'Salinan is unmistakably Hokan in structural type and resemblances in morphology to Chimariko, Yana and other Hokan languages suggest themselves at every turn' (ibid 68), and he gave 28 more sets based on 'a casual reading of Mason's paper' (ibid 70) though they 'do not directly bear, for the present, on the Hokan relationship to the Coahuiltecan languages' (ibid 70).

Sapir offered an explanation for Salinan's tardy inclusion in the Hokan stock. 'All in all, there can be no reasonable doubt that Salinan is a Hokan language, in all probability a more typical one than Yana. A somewhat involved morphology and the obscuring of a number of phonetic

laws had prevented its proper classification at the time the Hokan group was set up' (ibid 72). As well as Sapir's final Hokan paper (1925), Salinan data has been used in more than 265 cognate sets with other Hokan languages, often questionably, and it was included in every article published after 1917 which examined the entire Hokan stock, as well as in many binary studies as supplementary forms.

Salinan has been subgrouped with Chumash as Iskoman (Dixon & Kroeber 1913b), with Seri added (Sapir 1925), and there was a suggestion that it be examined in the light of Shasta data (Haas 1963). Possible ties with Seri have been dealt with by Bright (1956) and Haas (1964). Possible ties with Shasta are inferentially dealt with by Silver (1964). Chumash ties were generally assessed by Klar (1974).

In reviewing the evidence for Salinan's inclusion in the Hokan stock, I conclude that if one accepts the evidence for a Hokan stock, one may as well accept Salinan's inclusion in it. A closer look at Salinan's ties with its geographically nearest Hokan neighbors, Chumash and Esselen shows that the evidence is equivocal regarding any distant genetic affiliations for Salinan. At present Salinan should continue to be considered an isolate.

Phonologically, Salinan and Proto-Chumash each have a two stop series, plain and glottalized, and this is the only feature only these two languages of the area share, e.g., Proto-Chumash shares a *q* with Takic, Mono and Hopi, *ɬ* with Uto-Aztec languages, and vowel harmony with Yokuts and Southern California Uto-Aztec.

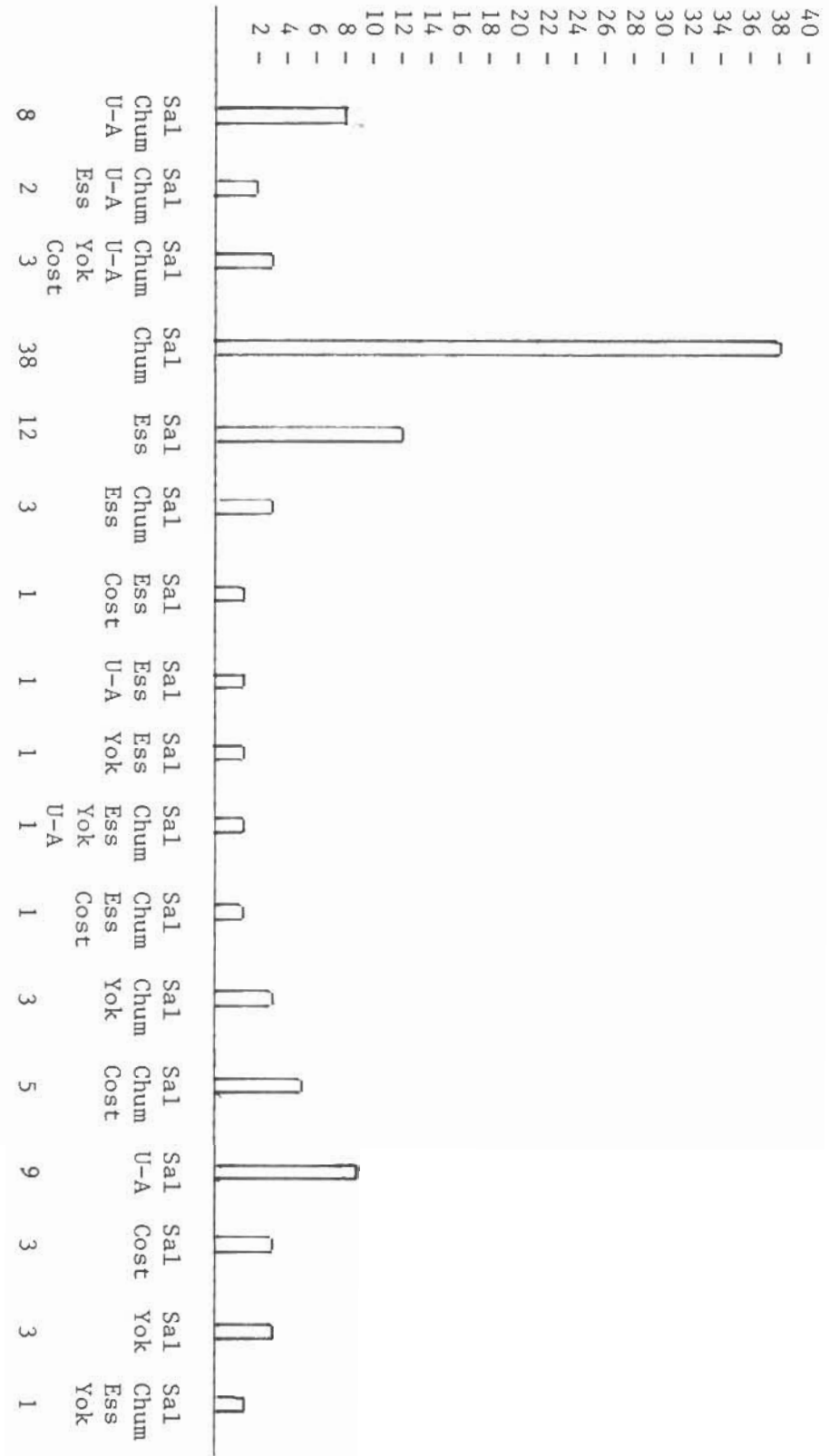
I examined the lexicons of all the languages in the area in a comparison with Salinan.<sup>1</sup> The overwhelming number of look-alikes were between Salinan and Chumash: 67. It should be noted that these forms have not necessarily been used in published comparative work. 23 look-alikes were found between Salinan and Esselen. Salinan and Chumash share 38 look-alikes not found in the lexicons of the other languages of the area.

Salinan and Uto-Aztec languages had 25 look-alikes, 9 of them from just these two lexicons. Salinan and Costanoan languages share 16 look-alikes, 3 of them for these two only; Salinan and Yokuts 11, which also share 3 uniquely. The bar graph illustrates these numbers, **and** lexical sets of look-alikes involving Salinan and non-Hokan languages appear in the appendix.

Finding 67 look-alikes between Salinan and Chumash is relatively high. Finding as many as 23 look-alikes with Esselen may be more significant than the 25 found with Uto-Aztec languages, since there are only about 300 Esselen words surviving. The remainder of the look-alikes are numerically insignificant.

The sets of shared forms between Salinan and Chumash fall into the following categories: body part terms, animals, birds, plants, kinship

Look-alikes shared with Salinan and other languages of the area



terms, verbs, nouns, and modifiers. Sixteen of the Salinan forms have appeared in various Hokan cognate lists, including all six of the bird names, which could otherwise be argued for exclusion as wide-spread onomatopoeic forms (Turner 1975). In fact, bird names were the one category of words to which I gave only cursory attention, since previous studies and work in progress (Nichols) have studied onomatopoeic forms in detail, and since these forms cover a much wider geographical area than southern California.

Salinan - Chumash forms<sup>2</sup>

In.	kep'	'to bathe'	
Bar.	kep'	"	
Ven.	kep	"	
P. Cent. Chum.	*kep	"	(root)
Mig.	kó'pe	"	
Ant.	kó'ayek	'tirarle agua, means like bañar'	

This verb has not been used in previously published cognate lists for Hokan or Iskoman. The Migueleño form is from Mason (1918) and is given in the infinitive. The corresponding form in Antoniaño is from Harrington, the only form of this verb recorded in that dialect. The p' :: ? correspondence is regular. Most verbs in Salinan are prefixed with either k- or p-, which Mason (1918) labelled an intransitive-transitive distinction, and Sapir (1920c), a static-active. I favor the latter. So, this is either chance resemblance or a borrowing by Chumash.

In.	kla?	'to break off'	
Bar.	kla?	"	
Ven.	kla	'broken in pieces'	
P. Cent. Chum.	*kla?		
Mig.	lap'	'broken'	
Ant.	kla?	"	

Although 'broken' has not appeared on Hokan cognate lists, 'to break' has. In this case, Migueleño seems to have a different form from the other languages until the k- stative prefix is recalled. It is likely that Mason (1918) removed a k- prefix from this stem (Turner 1980). What makes this look like a Chumash borrowing is that besides the near-identity of form, the k- is segmentable in Salinan, as in the previous example.

In.	xu'la	'to cry (much)'	
Ven.	xu'la	'to belly ache'	
Mig.	xá'ta	'crying'	
Ant.	xa'ta	'to cry'	

'Cry' has appeared in a cognate list (McLendon 1964) exactly as



the forms for Salinan given here, accompanied by xáLa (pl.). This looks like a nearly one-to-one correspondence with the Inezeño and Ventureño forms, but I cannot judge the cognacy without better information about Chumash verb inflection. Kenneth Whistler (p.c.) informs me that the normal word for 'cry' in Central Chumash is miš.

Ob.	-šepe?	'to be extinguished'
In.	-pše?	'to fall, be extinguished'
Bar.	pše	'to be extinguished'
Ven.	tipše	'to squeeze juice out by stripping through the fingers'
Mig.	šap	'extinguish'
Ant.	šap	"

'Extinguish' is another verb that has appeared on Hokan cognate lists (Crawford 1976) as Antoniaño šap 'extinguish, put out' from Mason (1918). It looks like a metathesized form of the Central Chumash words, but much closer to the Northern Chumash form.

In.	ox-lolon	'to snore'
Bar.	xox	'to snore'
Ven.	ox-konono	'to snore, grunt'
Mig.	ʔoxon	'to snore'
Ant.	ʔoxon	'to snore'

'To snore' has not appeared on Hokan cognate lists. These forms look similar, but the prefixed ʔ- of the Salinan forms throws the verbal translation into doubt, since ʔ- is usually a nominal prefix.

Ob.	-qso?, -qšo	'to urinate'
In.	oxšol	'urine'
Cr.	aqšol	"
Bar.	oxšol	'urinate' ʔoxšoluš 'urine'
Ven.	oxšol	'to urinate'
Mig.	ešxa·l	'urine'
Ant.	ešahá·l	"

The cognacy looks good for these forms, if one accepts the x (q), š metathesis for either Salinan or Chumash. Since the Antoniaño form actually shows a vowel between the consonants, I would suggest that this is the more basic form. This has appeared on one cognate list (Gursky 1974).

In.	alawan	'to kill'
Ven.	alwa	'to murder'
Mig.	wé·le·	'to kill'
Ant.	wa·xal, Ó·wahl	'to kill'
In.	takti?	'to kill'
Bar.	taktí, taktiʔl	'to beat up, hit'
Ven.	takti	'to kill, slaughter; hunt, kill (an animal)'
P. Cent. Chum.	*takti?	
Mig.	tekít'	'to kill'
Ant.	teka	'to kill'

These final two verbs with the same gloss make an interesting set. Unfortunately, the semantic difference in the Salinan forms is not readily apparent from the few elicitations. The first set compares Inezeño and Ventureño with three Salinan forms, and the resemblance is obvious. The second form of 'to kill' appeared in Gursky's (1974) cognate list. The Migueleño form is identical to the Central Chumash forms, except for the metathesized second syllable.

Ob.	ʔaqa, ʔaxa	'bow'
In.	ʔax	"
Bar.	ʔax	"
Ven.	ʔax	"
Ant.	xak'	"

This is one of two Chumash words for 'bow'. The other term is glossed 'sinew-backed bow', a more specialized term. Migueleño has another form for this word which looks like Esselen, but the Antoniaño form is very similar to Central and Northern Chumash and suggests cognacy. The Antoniaño form was used by Gursky (1974), and the forms xakʔéoʔ, xak' 'bow' (SHOOT), by Crawford (1976).

In.	tiwalulay'	'flute'
Cr.	-tiwolilay	"
Bar.	tiwaluʔlay	"
Ven.	oqtowolič	'to play the flute'
Mig.	to·lo·lé?	'flute'
Ant.	tololé?	"

The word for 'flute' has not appeared on a Hokan cognate list. The Northern and Central Chumash forms have an extra syllable, but the labial consonant of that syllable may be responsible for the long back vowel of the first Migueleño syllable. Otherwise, the forms are nearly identical. They may also be onomatopoeic. Kenneth Whistler informs me

(p.c.) that the form is also found in Patwin as lollol, possibly from Miwok, and it has been 'borrowed around'.

Cr.	t <sup>h</sup> sa	'arrowhead'
In.	s <sup>h</sup> a	'arrowhead'
Bar.	s <sup>h</sup> a	'arrowhead'
Ven.	-s-sa	'its tooth' > 'fishhook' > 'arrowhead'
Mig.	tša·k	'knife'
Ant.	ṭšek	'knife'
	asa <sup>ka</sup>	'flint'
	?ašák	'arrowpoint'

'Flint' or 'arrowpoint' has appeared as šxap, (t)šxa? 'knife, stone' (Greenberg & Swadesh 1953 and Crawford 1976) and tešak, tša·k 'knife' (Gursky 1974).

In.	skuntao	'lightning'
Bar.	squntaw	"
Ven.	squntaw	"
Ant.	šokénto ṭéloho?	'lightning'

'Lightning' is an interesting example of a borrowing by Chumash from Salinan, since the Antoniaño form 'lightning' means, literally, 'its-eye thunder' and the Central Chuamsh words for 'lightning' are the Antoniaño words for 'its-eye'. This example is a helpful reminder that look-alikes are not necessarily cognates, especially in geographically contiguous languages.

Bar.	sxal	'snow'
Mig.	čaxél	"
Ant.	čaxél	"

'Show' is a short but suggestive set.

In.	sxa <sup>min</sup>	'ocean'
Bar.	sxa <sup>?</sup> min	"
Ant.	škem	"

'Ocean' was used by Gursky (1974) in a Hokan cognate list with Purisimeño and Inezeño Chumash, in a somewhat modified form from Mason (1918), šk<sup>h</sup>em.

In.	ku	'person, people'
Bar.	ku	" "
Ven.	ku	" "
P. Cent. Chum.	*ku	

Mig.	kʷal	'person'
Ant.	kʷel	"

'Person' is given by Gursky (1974) as the gloss for a cognate set, but he uses the form *la* for Antoniaño, *laN* for Migueleño, 'husband'. The form given in this set is glossed 'person, people' by Harrington in several places and it appears to be a good candidate for cognacy or borrowing with the Central Chumash forms.

In.	meš	'sack, bag'
Bar.	meš	"
Ven.	meš	"
Mig.	mo·xét	'sack'
Ant.	moxwót	"

'Sack, bag' has not appeared on a Hokan cognate list either. If the Chumash *-š-* to Salinan *-x-* correspondence is valid these may be considered cognates rather than borrowings.

In.	malak'	'soft tar'
Bar.	maʔlaq	"
Ven.	malak	"
Mig.	smak'	'tar'
Ant.	smak'	"

The words for 'tar' also look a lot alike. The *s-* prefix in the Salinan forms is very common in nouns. It has not been used in cognate lists.

In.	saxkit	'wind' (noun)
Pur.	axtakit	'wind to blow'
Bar.	saxk <sup>h</sup> it	'wind' (noun)
Ven.	(ʔaqt <sup>h</sup> iw <sup>h</sup> w)	"
Mig.	ča·káy	'wind' (noun)
Ant.	ča·káy	"

This word has not appeared on a Hokan cognate list either. Perhaps the Salinan form should be *tʔ-sa·káy*, since some of the Central Chumash forms have an *s-* initial.

In.	s-weni-waš	'half'
Bar.	ʔawini	'the other side'
Ant.	ʔ-ewá(*)y	'half'



The evidence for 'half', Inezeño, Barbareño and Antoniaño, is as sparse as 'snow' or 'ocean', but it is suggestive.

Cr.	kaham	'near'
Ven.	kaneʔeʔe	'it is close'
Mig.	ska <sup>h</sup> m	'close'
Ant.	ska <sup>h</sup> m	"

Although this qualifies as a sparse set too, the s- prefix of the Salinan forms shows the stem as Migueleño -ka<sup>h</sup>m, looking very much like Cruzeño.

In.	kilamu	'stupid'
Bar.	kilamu	'to be stupid'
Ven.	kilamu	'crazy'
Mig.	kólo <sup>h</sup> n	'stupid'
Ant.	kólo <sup>h</sup> n	"

The Salinan forms for 'stupid' show the verbal prefix k- and the stem is therefore -ólo<sup>h</sup>n. Perhaps the kilamu forms in Central Chumash are loans from Salinan.

Ob.	sol-óʔ	'ankle'
In.	šow	"
Bar.	šow	"
Ven.	šow	"
P. Cent. Chum.	*šow	"
Mig.	šó <sup>h</sup> wan'	"
Ant.	šó <sup>h</sup> wan'	"

If the Obispeño l to Central Chumash w is regular, these must be cognates. If not, it looks like the Obispeño borrowed from Antoniaño.

In.	toʔ	'brother-in-law'
Cr.	-toʔo	" " "
Bar.	toʔ	" " "
Ven.	to	'a man's brother-in-law'
P. Cent. Chum.	*toʔ	'brother-in-law'
Ant.	tó <sup>h</sup> s	'younger brother'
Mig.	(tóm <sup>h</sup> ta <sup>h</sup> )	" "

This term has not been used in a Hokan cognate list. The Northern and Central Chumash forms match the Antoniaño form rather well.

In.	ʔusuyʔ	'chest' (body part)
Pur.	ʔusuʔu	"
Mig.	t-ešoʔ	'my chest'
Ant.	ṭ-ešoʔ	'my chest'

The words for 'chest' look a lot more like cognates. The Salinan forms t-išuʔ, t-iletšoʔ 'breast' were used by Sapir (1917, 1921), tēšoʔ by Jacobsen (1958) and Gursky (1974), and e·tš-oi, išóʔ 'breast, bosom, chest' (to SUCK) in Crawford (1976).

Bar.	ʔal-išxey	'cousin'
Ven.	al-išxey	'the elder sister of a man (after she is married) and her children'
Mig.	tam-asáxa	'cousin'
Ant.	ʔésxa	"

The two Central Chumash stem forms for 'cousin' are nearly identical with the Salinan.

In.	šapukʔ	'tuche'
Bar.	šapúkʔ	'clover'
Mig.	spók(?)at	"
Ant.	špokʔ	"

Except for the elided vowel in the Salinan forms, these are nearly identical, arguing borrowing.

Ob.	miṭala	'bat'
In.	makal	"
Bar.	makal	"
Ven.	makal	"
Mig.	(čemčem)	"
Ant.	s-tamká(*)l	"

There are six animal terms, four of which have been used in Hokan cognate lists, but which may also have an extensive areal distribution (Nichols p.c.). For instance, although the forms for 'bat' look like good candidates for cognacy between Chumash and, at least, Antoniaño, compare the word for 'rat' (appendix), which not only bears a more than superficial resemblance to these forms, but shares it with Uto-Aztecan. Of course, these may be Hokan cognates, borrowed by Uto-Aztecan, but they may also be borrowed between Hokan languages, but it is impossible to judge. The Antoniaño form for 'bat' was used by Gursky (1974).

P. Cent. Chum.	*xus	'bear'
----------------	------	--------

Mig.	taxáy'	'bear'
Ant.	taxáy'	"

'Bear' has not appeared on Hokan cognate lists and may not be an appropriate candidate, but the x is suggestive, at least.

Ob.	č-kuyama	'Pismo clam'
Mig.	čkóya•m	" "
Ant.	koyáma	" "

The Obispeño form for 'clam' has almost certainly been borrowed by Salinan via Migueleño as the č- initial, segmentable in Obispeño, shows.

Ob.	t-ma?	'jackrabbit'
In.	ma?	"
Cr.	ma?	"
Bar.	ma?	"
Ven.	ma	"
P. Chum.	*ma?	"
Mig.	map'	'cottontail rabbit'
Ant.	map'	" "

'Jackrabbit' is so obviously a shared form that it appeared on the Iskoman cognate list (Dixon & Kroeber 1903). The unusual feature of this form is the final -p' in Antoniaño suggesting a borrowing from Migueleño.

In.	kūn	'rabbit'
Cr.	kun	"
Bar.	ku?n	"
Ven.	ku?n	"
P. Chum.	*kun(V)? (?)	"
Ant.	kol(?)	'jackrabbit'

In 'cry' there was a medial -t- in Salinan corresponding to a Chumash -l' and another example will be seen in the words for 'pigeon'. This set shows final -l' and -?n, hampering a conclusion.

In.	naq	'rat'
Bar.	naq	"
Ven.	naq	"
P. Cent. Chum.	*naq	<u>Dipodomys agilis</u> , Pacific kangaroo rat
Mig.	s-na•k	'kangaroo rat'
Ant.	s-na•k	" "



Although the form may be more wide-spread than comparison with these two groups of languages shows, Gursky (1974) used this form in his Hokan cognate list.

The last group are the words for birds, notoriously liable to onomatopoeia (Turner 1975) and may shorten the list of Chumash - Salinan look-alikes to 33. The forms are 'blackbird', 'bluejay', 'dove', 'killdeer', 'pelican', and 'pigeon'.

Bar.	čʔoq	'blackbird'	
Ven.	č̣oq	"	
Mig.	č̣o(·)l'	"	
Ant.	č̣ol'	"	
In.	č̣ay'	'bluejay'	
Bar.	čʔaʔy	"	
Ven.	č̣ay, č̣ay'	"	
Mig.	ʔay'	"	
Ant.	ʔay'	"	
Ob.	toqmoloqlo	'dove'	
Bar.	tukutuk	"	
Ven.	šukušuk	"	
Mig.	ʔaxwén'	"	
Ant.	ta·xwén	"	
In.	ciyiciy	'killdeer'	
Ven.	ciyiciʔy	"	Bar. stuʔ, ctuʔ
Mig.	č̣eyáta·ta	"	Ant. sto·t'
Ob.	sewene	'pelican'	
In.	hew	"	
Cr.	hew	"	
Bar.	xeʔw	'California brown pelican'	
Ven.	hew, wow	"	
Mig.	te·wé	"	
Ant.	te·w	"	

In. wele-wel' 'pigeon'  
 Bar. wele?wel 'band-tailed pigeon'

Mig. (tekmó)  
 Ant. kléwet 'pigeon'

There are twelve possibly shared forms between Salinan and only Esselen.

Ant. ské?en 'winnowing basket'

Ess. cə́k-a, ku'-uh, ku'-uh<sup>c</sup> 'basket' (Henshaw)

The s- in the Antonaiño may be segmentable, making these look more comparable.

Mig. šá·xe 'bird' (generic)  
 Ant. šá·xwe? "

Ess. tca'p-his 'birds' (Henshaw)

As a possible cognate set, the Salinan forms, at least, have appeared in McLendon's (1964) and Crawford's (1976) cognate lists with other Hokan languages.

Mig. páse 'to give birth'  
 Ant. tsepex 'to give birth' (Mason 1918)  
 kásey' 'to give birth' (Harrington 1932)

Ess. aozapa? 'to give birth' (Ga)

This form appeared on Gursky's (1974) cognate list as the first (Mason) Antoniaño form. The Migueleño form and the second Antonaiño form look quite different until they are segmented.

Mig. ké·šewče 'muy tomador' (Harrington)  
 Ant. -eše- 'to drink' (stem)

Ess. eššě 'I drink' (P)

This form has not appeared on cognate lists, but it looks like a good candidate.

Mig. šókenet 'eyes'  
 Ant. šoként 'eye'

Ess. ca 'eye' (A)  
 a'ha, hi'k-pa 'eye' (Henshaw)  
 sixpa 'eye' (Ga)

'Eye' was used by Crawford (1976) in its Antoniaño form. It is the second syllable of the Salinan forms that may resemble the Esselen. However, Kenneth Whistler (p.c.) has pointed out that the resemblance between the last two Esselen forms and the Ventureño *t̥iq* 'face', as well.

Mig.	to'n	'face'
Ant.	to'w	"
Ess.	aua'	" (Ga)

The Antoniaño form for 'face' has appeared on several Hokan cognate lists (Sapir 1917:128, 1925:9; Greenberg & Swadesh 1953; Gursky 1974). The resemblance with Esselen is clear once the initial *t̥*- prefix is segmented from the Salinan.

Ant.	omp	'to finish' (Mason)
	k-omp-lo?	'he finished' (Harrington, WHJ)
Ess.	anomuths	'it is finished' (A)

'To finish' has not appeared on cognate lists. It is the second syllable of the Esselen form which is being compared to the Salinan stem.

Mig.	ámte?	'to hunt'
Ant.	k-ámte?-e?	'he hunted' (Jacobsen)
Ess.	takampa	'to hunt' (Ga)

'To hunt' appeared on Gursky's (1974) cognate list. It is a highly metathesized version of a comparison, if it is valid.

Mig.	xánes	'beads'
Ant.	xánes	"
Ess.	am-hě'-n-ni	'necklace of beads' (Henshaw)

'Beads' has not appeared on cognate lists and looks very much like the second and third syllables of the Esselen form.

Mig.	sa'mé?	'bush rabbit'
Ant.	sa'mé?	" "
Ess.	samàs	'rabbit' (Ga)

'Bush rabbit' has not appeared on cognate lists, either. The -as may be segmentable from the Esselen.

Mig.	máṭa·l	'white'
Ant.	máṭa·l	"
Ess.	mats-ha'í-ba	'gente de razon'

This form is another example of a word which has not appeared on Hokan cognate lists but links Salinan with Esselen.

Mig.	papxawe?	'bow'
Ess.	pawi	'arrow' (Henshaw)
	paṣu-nax	(Gursky, from payunaj, G. and pagounach, LaP)

'Bow' appeared on Gursky's (1974) cognate list. Again, it is only one of the dialects of Salinan which appears to resemble the Esselen, but this time it is the southern one.

There are three words which all three contiguous Hokan groups share. This is not a significant number, but they make interesting sets.

P. Chum.	*ta?	'valley oak'
Mig.	p̣at	'oak sp., roble'
Ant.	?at	'white oak'
Ess.	pa-la't-sa	'acorn' (Henshaw)

The Salinan forms look like metathesized versions of the Proto-Chumash form, bearing in mind the p̣::? correspondence. It is the second syllable of the Esselen form which is being compared.

In.	?axul'is	'blood'
Cr.	axolis	"
Bar.	?axu?liš	"
Mig.	p̣ákata	"
Ant.	?ákata?	"
Ess.	max'ana	" (Pinart)

'Blood' has appeared on many Hokan cognate lists (Sapir 1917:137, 1925:3; Greenberg & Swadesh 1953; Bright 1956; Gursky 1974; and Crawford 1976).

In.	ik <sup>h</sup> il-us	'to go'
	ik <sup>h</sup> it	'to fetch, bring (for)'
Bar.	ik <sup>h</sup> il	'to go after'
Ven.	ik <sup>h</sup> i?il	'to go to get'

Mig.	ke·, e·	'to go'
Ant.	ke·	'to go'
Ess.	el'-lep'-po mak'-ke	'I'm going'
	i'-kan-mak'ke	
	hoo'-lin	'you will come back again'

'To go' has appeared on Hokan cognate lists in this form. The Esselen form that is being compared is the -ke.

In addition to these lexical sets, Klar (1973a, 1974) has pointed out several features Chumash languages share with Salinan. Northern and Central Chumash is VOS as is Salinan. Klar posits a non-etymological dental prefix for Northern Chumash, Obispeño, which has spread to this one Chumash language from Salinan. According to Sapir, however, Central Chumash and Island Chumash languages have lost this Hokan feature, while Northern Chumash has retained it. Phonologically, a two stop series, as mentioned before, is the only feature shared by Salinan and Proto-Chumash exclusive of the neighboring languages.

Klar (1974) mentions the similarities between what Beeler refers to as 'locators' in Central Chumash, Obispeño demonstrative particles, and Salinan demonstrative particles. Obispeño and Salinan also share the use of an articular prefix, or definite article. Pronouns, possession markers, numerals, etc., offer no further clues. Unfortunately, not enough is known yet about Esselen details for comparisons to be drawn, despite Shaul's recent work (1982a, b, and in press).

After taking into account the evidence for borrowing and the evidence for Salinan's genetic affiliations, I must conclude that Salinan should still be classified as an isolate. Although there are some lexical similarities, they are comparatively few, though relatively numerous considering the size of the Esselen lexicon: approximately 300 words. What resemblances there are among the three contiguous Hokan groups may just as well be due to areal diffusion, chance similarity, or borrowing among them, as to genetic relationship.

Taken as a whole, the evidence suggests Salinan as the oldest population in this area of California with, possibly, a more eastern and southern extent than historically. Contact with all of the present languages of the area is certain, as well as contacts with Miwok and Uto-Aztecan before the differentiation of the latter. The resemblances with Takic, Numic, and Miwok lend support to Whistler's hypothesis of a movement of Chumash-speakers from the interior (p.c.). The Chumash would be the first intrusive peoples between the Salinan-speakers and Uto-Aztecan-speaking peoples, later pushed further south and west by Yokuts intrusion from the north into the Central Valley. Contact between Salinan and Miwok-speakers would have been broken as well. Ancient and long-term contact is shown for Salinan and Uto-Aztecan, with contact continuing with various Uto-Aztecan languages after their differentiation.

## Appendix

Please note that in almost as many of these areally shared forms, the Salinan form appeared in a Hokan cognate set as in the Chumash - Salinan and Salinan - Chumash - Esselen sets of look-alikes just given. One must take into account the possibility of chance similarity in looking over these sets, e.g., Alice Schilchter (p.c.) noted 11 look-alikes between Yuki and Esselen and 13 between Wintu and Esselen, and, as far as I know, no one has suggested that those three have a genetic relationship.

The dates after the Salinan forms indicate their inclusion in a Hokan cognate set.

Salinan - Chumash - Uto-Aztecan<sup>3</sup>

(1)	Ob.	-q <sup>h</sup> o	'to be afraid'	
	In.	xuxaw'	'coyote'	
		axšič	'to be afraid'	
	Ven.	xuxa	'to be fearful, cowardly'	
		?al-xuxa	'coward'	
	Lu.	šuwó?	'to be afraid'	
	Hopi	suvu-m-ti	" " "	
	Mig.	šxálo?	" " "	
	Ant.	šxálo?	" " "	
(2)	Ob.	tata	'older brother'	
	In.	tata?	'maternal uncle'	
	Ven.	tata	'mother's brother'	
	Hopi	tá·?ta	'brother'	
	pU-A	*tata, *ta	"	
	Ant.	ta?	'father's younger brother'	
		tata	1919, 1974 'mother's brother'	
		tata	'father' 1974 (2)	
(3)	Ob.	ɪ?ipi	'chia' (sage)	
	In.	?i?lepeš	"	
	Bar.	?i?lepeš	"	
		?ilepeš	"	
	Ven.	?itepeš	"	
		Lu.	pá·sa-l	"
		p-Cupan	*pášal	"
		Mig.	pásel	"
		Ant.	pássel	"

- (4) Ob. -qšilho? 'cold'  
 In. ?oxtokow "  
 Bar. saxtatax "  
 Ven. aqtaha "  
 Lu. ?i·ta- 'to be cold weather'  
 Mig. epča 'to be cold'  
 Ant. epča " " " (1956)
- (5) Ob. suwa? 'child'  
 In. šay' "  
 Bar. ša?a?y "  
 Ven. ša?y "  
 Ven. ša?ay 'daughter'  
 Lu. -šawá·-may 'child'  
 Ant. ʧ-éšaw' "  
 Soledad (suris) "  
 Bar. suwa 'bear cub'  
 Lu. šú-ka-t 'deer'  
 Hopi sowi "  
 p-Cupan \*súqat  
 pUA \*su, \*suka  
 Gen. Yokuts xoy 'deer'  
 Mig. soxá? 'fawn'  
 Ant. so?xwá? "  
 (6) Ob. kič 'to be like'  
 Bar. ka?neč " " "  
 Ven. kašnehet 'like, to be like' (root: nehet)  
 Lu. ?á·n-ki-š 'like, resemble' (root: an)  
 Hopi (soniwa) " "  
 Mig. ke·š 'like, resembling'  
 Ant. ke·š " "  
 (7) In. pepe? 'elder sister'  
 Bar. (?a?mi) 'elder sibling'  
 Ven. (?ami) " "  
 Lu. -pé·t 'younger brother'

pUa	*pe	'younger brother'
PN	*paity	'daughter'
Mig.	pe·pé?	'my older sister'
Ant.	pe?	'elder sister' 1919, 1974 (pe) 'younger brother'

## Salinan - Uto-Aztecan

(8)	Lu.	ʔá·na-t	'ant'
	Hopi	aanu (aaʔant)	'ant'
	p-Cupan	*ʔánVt	'ant'
	pU-A	*ane	"
	Mig.	hel-ká·t	"
	Ant.	le-ká(·)t	"
(9)	Hopi	mʔwi	'paternal aunt'
	pU-A	*mona	'affinal relative'
	Mig.	mo·né?	'my mother's younger sister'
	Ant.	mon	" " " "
(10)	Lu.	-pá·-may	'paternal aunt'
	pU-A	*pa	'aunt'
	Mig.	apáš	'father's younger sister'
		ʔapahš	" " "
	Ant.	pás	'child' (see: 'brother')
(11)	Lu.	-tá·xaw	'body'
	Hopi	(toko)	"
	p-Cupan	*táxawi-	"
	Mig.	t-ékaw	"
	Ant.	t-ékaw	"
(12)	Mono	ʔoho	'bone'
	Kawaiisu	ʔohoo-by	"
	pU-A	*ʔo, *oho	"
	Mig.	páxa·k	"
	Ant.	ʔaxá·k	" axa·k 'bone', 1917:57, 1925: 4, 1953, 1974, 1976
(13)	Lu.	hakwís-	'to breathe'
		háka-	'to breathe deeply'
	Mono	suwah-ka	'to breathe'
	Kawaiisu	soo-kwi-dy	'to breathe'



	Ant.	xó(·)weyʔ	'breath'
(14)	Lu.	ʔó·yi-l	'chin'
	Hopi	ʔyi	'chin, jaw'
	pU-A	*ʔoyi	'chin'
	Mig.	š-koyʔ	'my chin'
	Ant.	š-koyʔ	" "
(15)	Lu.	páahi	'six'
	Serrano	paavə̀heiʔ	"
	Mig.	páya·ʔel	"
	Ant.	payá·nel	"
(16)	Lu.	kúp-	'to sleep'
	Hopi	puwi	" "
	Cm	-kupa-	'kill'
	p-Cupan	*kúp-	'to sleep'
	pU-A	*ku, *kup	" "
	Mig.	k-aw	" "
	Ant.	k-aw	" "

## Salinan - Chumash - Esselen - Uto-Aztecan

(17)	In.	yiti	'to come'	(back from)
	Cr.	-yet	'to come'	
	Bar.	yiti	'to come'	
	Ven.	yit	'to come'	
	P. Cent. Chum.	*yit	'to come'	(root)
	pSU-A	*yi	'to come'	(sg.)
	Mig.	ya	'to come/go'	
	Ant.	ya	" "	1919, 1921:20, 1974, 1976
	Ess.	i-yu', i'-yu	'to come/go'	(Henshaw)
(18)	Cr.	wašwaš	'sun'	
	Bar.	ʔal-išaw	"	
	Ven.	išaw	'to be warm, feverish'	
		ʔišaw	'day, the sun'	
	Lu.	ʔamu-ʔéxɲay	'morning'	(lit.: 'formerly-tomorrow')
	Mig.	esxay	'morning, day'	
	Ant.	kʰ-ešxáy	'morning, the dawn'	1917:54, 1953, 1974
	Ess.	asi, aši	'sun'	

asa-tsa 'day'

## Salinan - Uto-Aztecan - Costanoan

(19)	Lu.	pá:hi	'three'		
	p-Cupan	*pah	"		
	pUA	*pahi	"		
	Tub.	pahai	"		
	Mig.	lápáy	"		
	Ant.	k-lápáy	"	<u>lapai</u>	'three' 1919, 1925:102, 1974
	Mutsun	kaphan	"		
	Soledad	kappxan	"		
	Rumsen	kappes	"		
	Ess.	xulep	"		('with infix -l-' Sapir 1925: 102)

## Salinan - Chumash - Uto-Aztecan - Yokuts - Miwok-Costanoan

(20)	Ob.	-sapi	'brother'		
	Lu.	-pá·ʔaš	'elder brother'		
	Hopi	paava paatupsiki	'elder brother'		
	p-Cupan	*-paš (?)			
	pU-A	*pa	'older brother'		
	Gen. Yokuts	no <sup>h</sup> op <sup>h</sup>	'father'		
	Mig.	šəpxáʔ	'child'		
	Ant.	pás	"		
	Soledad	hapša, happa	'father, your father'		
	Rumsen	ca-appan, appa	'father'		
	pMiMu	*pá(·)pa	'grandfather'		

(21)	Ob.	weqeq	'frog'		
	In.	waqaq	"		
	Bar.	waqaq, waqaq	'frog'		
	Ven.	waqaq	'frog'		
	Lu.	waxá·-wu-t	"		
	Hopi	paakwa, paavakut	'frog'		
	p-Cupan	*waxa-	'frog'		
	pU-A	*waka	"		
	Mig.	wa·kwát	"		
	Ant.	wa·keṭ	"	<u>wa·kit</u> , <u>wákaṭ</u>	1974 (2)

	pMiMu	*waṭ(ar)aki	'frog'	
(22)	Ob.	lele, leqlele	'goose'	
	Ven.	leʔle	'Canada goose'	
	Pur.	lexlele, alexlele	'wild swan'	
	Lu.	láʔala	'wild goose'	
	P-Cupan	*láʔala (?)		
	Gen. Yokuts	laʔlaʔ	'goose'	
	Mig.	kalák	"	
	Ant.	kalák	"	1964M, 1964S, 1974
	Mutsun	la•lak	"	
	L. Miwok	(lóhlok laka	'mudhen' 'goose'	
	pMiMu	*la	"	

## Salinan - Esselen - Costanoan

(23)	Mig.	nayékʔ	'black mussel'	
	Ant.	hayékʔ	" "	
	Ess.	ha-laʔk-la	'mussel'	(Henshaw)
	Rumsen	akku, xakkaū	'mussel'	

## Salinan - Esselen - Uto-Aztecan

(24)	Lu.	pá•munkal	'mole'	
	Tüb.	ma•gula-t	'weasel-skin purse'	
	Mig.	mákel	'rat'	
	Ant.	mákel	"	1974 (1)
	Ess.	maʔ-kěl	"	

## Salinan - Chumash - Esselen - Costanoan

(25)	Ob.	-ʔuw	'to eat'	
	Bar.	umu, ʔuw	" "	
	Ven.	ʔuw	" "	
	Mig.	la•m	'come eat'	
	Ant.	lam	'to eat' (stem)	1917:86, 1919, 1920, 1921:78, 1953, 1964H, 1964M, 1974, 1976

Ess.	ampà, amma, a'-ma, ama, am-	'to eat'
Mutsun	?amma	'eats'
Rumsen	xamp	'to eat'

## Salinan - Chumash - Costanoan - Miwok

(26)	Ob.	(sa?, ?ema)	'grandmother'
	In.	nene?	'maternal grandmother'
	Bar.	ne?ne	'(any) grandmother'
	Ven.	nene, nenewaš	'man's grandmother'
	P. Cent. Chum.	*nene?	
	Mig.	ne·né?e	'grandmother'
	Ant.	ne(·)né?	'maternal grandmother' 1919
	Mutsun	mennen	'grandmother'
(27)	Ob.	(-wala)	'hole'
	In.	loq	"
	Cr.	loq	'hole, ribs (?)'
	Bar.	loq	'to have a hole in'
	Ven.	(wal)	'hole' (-swal 'a hole')
	Mig.	šólokne	'cueva chiquita'
	Ant.	šó·lokne?	'a hole'
	pE.Miwok	*?ól·a	'hole'
(28)	Ob.	(tasit <sup>y</sup> uyu)	'woman'
	In.	?eneq	'female'
	Cr.	enexma	'old woman'
	Bar.	?eneq	'woman'
	Ven.	(x?anwa)	"
	Mig.	t-énxa	'relative'
	Ant.	t-enax	"
	Rumsen	lessexem	'old woman'
	Mig.	lené?	'woman'
	Ant.	lecé?	"
(29)	Bar.	?ač?ač?	'magpie'
	Ven.	?ačac	"
	Mig.	xa·čá·č	"
	Ant.	?atéč	"

	pE.Miwok	*ʔáčʔáč-	'magpie'
	Mutsun	aʔaʔ	"
	pMiMu	*ʔáč	"
(30)	Ven.	kumel	'bad'
	Mig.	komo	"
	Ant.	xomoʔ	"
	B. Miwok	ʔómu	"
	Mutsun	umulu	'filthy, vile'
	pMiMu	*ʔVmu	'bad'

## Salinan - Costanoan - Miwok

(31)	Mig.	ʔ-akay,	ʔ-a·káy'	'salt'	
	Ant.	ʔ-a·káy'	"	"	1976
	Mutsun	ʔakkes	"	"	
	pMiMu	*ʔákʷ·es	(?)	"	
(32)	Mig.	ʔahó(·)1	'tule'		
	Ant.	ʔaxó·1	"	"	1974, 5a
	L. Miwok	kó·1	"	"	
	Mutsun	xale	"	"	
	pMiMu	*xo·1	"	"	

## Salinan - Yokuts - Costanoan

(33)	Gen. Yokuts	ʔuyoš	'arrow'
	Mig.	ʔ-eʔe·néʔ	"
	Ant.	ʔ-et(ʔ)óyən	"
	Mutsun	tuyos	"
	Soledad	tohios	"

## Salinan - Esselen - Yokuts

(34)	Gen. Yokuts	no·č <sup>h</sup> i	'friend'
	Mig.	ʔ-eno·čeʔ	"
	Ant.	ʔ-éno·čeʔ	" (this word is said to a cow in endearment)
	Ess.	nisienoje	" (A)
		(mish-fè)	" (Ga)
		nic-fě, nĩc <sup>˘</sup> -fě,	nic-í-wis (Henshaw)
		nigefech	'friend' (LaP)

## Salinan - Chumash - Esselen - Yokuts - Uto-Aztecan

(35)	Ven.	ʔoqwo	'hair (of head)'
	Mig.	ʔ-ó·pék	'head'
	Ant.	ʔ-ak'	"
	Ess.	ka'-ta	" (Henshaw)
		hatazex	" (Ga)
		kxattasex	" (P)
	Valley Yokuts	ʔoʔow	'head'
	PN	*kata	'nape, occiput'

## Salinan - Chumash - Esselen - Yokuts

(36)	In.	mi-polomol, mi-limol	'north'
	Bar.	ni-polomol	'mountain'
	Ven.	mi-nimol	'the country up by Tejon'
		mi-limol	'north'
	Cr.	milimol(?)	'north'
	Gen. Yokuts	lomith	'mountain'
	Mig.	ʔ-opó-	'mountain'
	Ant.	ʔ(?)-pó(·)l-	'mountain'
	Ess.	polo'mo	'mountain'

## Salinan - Chumash - Esselen - Yokuts - Costanoan - Miwok

(37)	Ob.	tuʔ	'ear'
	P. Cent. Chum.	*tuʔ	"
	Gen. Yokuts	tʰuk'	"
	Ant.	ʔ-éškóɪ'	" 1963, 1964H, 1974 (2)
	Rumsen	tušs	"
	Mutsun	tuksus	"
	Ess.	tuk <sup>x</sup> susu	" (Shaul reconstitution 1981)
	P. Sierra Miwok	*ʔo·/lkoš	"

## Salinan - Chumash - Yokuts

(38)	P. Cent. Chum.	*pu	'arm, hand'
------	----------------	-----	-------------

- |      |             |                                     |                        |
|------|-------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
|      | Hill Yokuts | p <sup>h</sup> uṭ <sup>h</sup> oŋ   | 'arm, hand'            |
|      | Mig.        | ṭ-nópok'                            | 'arm'                  |
|      | Ant.        | ṭ-ópok'                             | " 1956, 1974           |
| (39) | In.         | x <sup>o</sup> ox                   | 'crane'                |
|      | Bar.        | x <sup>o</sup> ox, xox <sup>o</sup> | "                      |
|      | Ven.        | x <sup>o</sup> ox                   | 'night bird' (generic) |
|      | Gen. Yokuts | wa·xaṭ'                             | 'crane'                |
|      | Mig.        | ta(·)lwáx                           | 'crane, heron'         |
|      | Ant.        | xalów'                              | 'crane'                |
| (40) | Ob.         | t-pilaká                            | 'woodpecker'           |
|      | In.         | pulakák',                           | pulaqáq' 'woodpecker'  |
|      | Bar.        | pulakák'                            | 'woodpecker'           |
|      | Ven.        | čulakak                             | 'flicker'              |
|      | Gen. Yokuts | pala·tat                            | 'woodpecker'           |
|      | Yawelmani   | pala·kák'                           | "                      |
|      | Mig.        | palakák'                            | "                      |
|      | Ant.        | pala·ka <sup>o</sup>                | "                      |

## Salinan - Yokuts

- |      |             |  |                          |
|------|-------------|--|--------------------------|
| (41) | Gen. Yokuts | ṭ <sup>h</sup> inik'                           | 'nose'                   |
|      | Mig.        | t-énet   | "                        |
|      | Ant.        | ṭ-e·nṭ'  | "                        |
| (42) | Gen. Yokuts | ṭ <sup>h</sup> ip <sup>h</sup> na <sup>o</sup> | 'supernatural power'     |
|      |             | ṭ <sup>h</sup> ip <sup>h</sup> ni <sup>o</sup> | 'powerful being, person' |
|      | Mig.        | sótopen  | 'dream-helper, pet'      |
|      | Ant.        | sótopen  | " " "                    |
|      |             | tepné· <sup>o</sup>                            | 'pain'                   |
| (43) | Tachi       | peni ilik                                      | 'ocean'                  |
|      | Mig.        | lapé <sup>o</sup>                              | "                        |

## Migueléño - Soledad

- |      |         |                   |                 |
|------|---------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (44) | Mig.    | ?aká <sup>o</sup> | 'brother'       |
|      | Soledad | tagaŋ             | 'older brother' |

## NOTES

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## 2. Sources and abbreviations:

- Ob. = Obispeño Chumash from Kathryn Klar's unpublished Obispeño Chumash Dictionary and cognate sets for Chumash.  
 In. = Inezeño Chumash from Richard Applegate's Inezeño Chumash Dictionary, Kenneth Whistler (p.c.), and Kathryn Klar's cognate sets.  
 Cr. = Cruzeño Chumash from Beeler and Klar's unpublished manuscript and Kathryn Klar's cognate sets.  
 Bar. = Barbareño Chumash from class notes Linguistics 230 with Madison S. Beeler at the University of California, Berkeley; Kenneth Whistler's Barbareño Chumash Dictionary (manuscript); and Kenneth Whistler (p.c.).  
 Ven. = Ventureño Chumash from Kathryn Klar's cognate sets and Kenneth Whistler (p.c.).  
 Pur. = Purisimeño Chumash from Kathryn Klar's cognate sets and Kenneth Whistler (p.c.).  
 P. Cent. Chum. = proto-Central Chumash from Kenneth Whistler (p.c.).  
 P. Chum. = proto-Chumash from Kenneth Whistler (p.c.).  
 Mig. = Migueleño Salinan from Mason (1918), phonemically reconstituted; J.P. Harrington's field notes; and William Jacobsen's field notes.  
 Ant. = Antoniaño Salinan from Mason (1918), phonemically reconstituted (Turner 1981); J.P. Harrington's field notes; and William H. Jacobsen's field notes.

## 3. Sources and abbreviations:

- PN = proto-Numic from Michael J.P. Nichols (p.c.).  
 NP = Northern Paiute from Nichols (p.c.).  
 Lu. = Luiseño from Bright's Luiseño Dictionary and Bright & Hill's "The Linguistic History of the Cupeño."  
 Hopi is from David Shaul (p.c.).  
 p-Cupan = proto-Cupan from Bright & Hill, above.  
 pU-A = proto-Uto-Aztecan from Miller's "Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets"  
 Tlb. = Tlbatulabal from Mace & Munro's manuscript dictionary.  
 Mono is from Klein (1959).  
 Kawaiisu is from Klein (1959).  
 Serrano is from Bright & Hill, above.  
 SUA is from David Shaul (p.c.).  
 Yokuts is all from Kroeber (1963).  
 Mutsun is from Okrand (1977) and Callaghan (1962).  
 Soledad is from Heizer (1952).  
 Rumsen is from Heizer (1952) and Callaghan (1962).  
 all other Costanoan is from Callaghan (1962).



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