

# THE VALLEY NISENAN

BY

A. L. KROEBER

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### THE PEOPLE AND THEIR STUDY

The Nisenan are the Southern Maidu. Dixon divided the Maidu into three groups on the basis of speech: Northeastern, Northwestern, and Southern, the area occupied by the latter being about as large as that of the first two together. The two northerly divisions Dixon described monographically in his Northern Maidu;<sup>1</sup> but on the southern group he has only scattering references in this and other papers.<sup>2</sup> Other accounts of the Nisenan are by Stephen Powers;<sup>3</sup> by Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu;<sup>4</sup> and by Gifford, Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies.<sup>5</sup> These relate almost wholly to the hill Nisenan.

The present account is of the valley Nisenan. As might be expected, culture differed considerably in the plains of the Sacramento valley and the foothills of the Sierra Nevada. This is equally

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<sup>1</sup> Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 17:119-346, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> Cited *ibid.*, 122.

<sup>3</sup> Tribes of California, 313-345, 1877 (chs. 31-32, The Nishinam).

<sup>4</sup> This series, 20:35-53, 1923.

<sup>5</sup> Am. Anthr., n.s., 29:214-257, 1927.

true of the Nisenan and of the Northwestern Maidu.<sup>6</sup> To the north, Wintun and Yana show a corresponding differentiation according to valley and hill habitat; and to the south, Yokuts and Miwok. In the case of the Maidu-Nisenan, the relative uniformity of speech<sup>7</sup> has led to a tendency to think of the group as a unit, irrespective of habitat; though Dixon's account clearly shows the degree of difference according to elevation. Among the Nisenan, for instance, the valley people had and the hill people did not have a true religious organization or secret society of Kuksu type.<sup>8</sup>

Strictly, Nisenan is not a specific tribal or group name. The word means merely people or Indian. It is used, in default of a native ethnic name, in analogy with Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, Wintun, Yana, Yahi, which also, in the usage of the people themselves, only denote "persons."<sup>9</sup> The Nisenan differ from the proper or Northern Maidu much as the Patwin ("Southeastern and Southwestern Wintun") differ from the Wintun-Wintu.<sup>10</sup> The cultural distinctness tends to be obscured by the use of designations expressing only a generic speech kinship, much as if we insisted on calling the Assiniboin, Northern Sioux, or the Comanche, Southeastern Shoshone. Nisenan, in the form Nishinam, was already used by Powers.<sup>11</sup>

The data in this report are all from Tom Cleanso, an Indian of perhaps 70, living near Sacramento. His father was born at Pushune or Puzhune (Pujune), near the mouth of the American river, now within the city limits of Sacramento. His mother was from Yukulme, a valley Nisenan village, on lower Feather river, where the dialect differed somewhat from that of Pushune. Tom himself was born and raised at Kadema, a village 7 or 8 miles up the American river. He has been blind since childhood, is now deaf in one ear and hard of hearing in the other, and has lost his upper front teeth; but proved a cooperative and intelligent informant within the limits imposed by his physical infirmities and a consequent habitual apathy. He was generally quite clear where his knowledge ended and belief or ignor-

<sup>6</sup> The Northeastern Maidu live in high valleys, snowed-in in winter, and are a separate people, best described as Mountain Maidu.

<sup>7</sup> And the much faster disappearance of the valley Indians, with consequent loss of the old culture except as a memory.

<sup>8</sup> Gifford, 257; Powers, 326.

<sup>9</sup> "Maidu," homo in Maidu, occurs in Nisenan as maidük, but meaning vir, not homo.

<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the Plains Miwok might be set off from the hill Miwok as the Miuko, following Merriam's Meuko, Mewko.

<sup>11</sup> The final -m is almost certainly an error for -n, even in the hill dialects.

ance began. He lives part of each year with an older half-sister whose physical faculties are less impaired, and they still sometimes speak their natal language to each other; but, both in 1923 to myself and in 1929 to Gifford, she proved an unwilling and practically impossible informant. Tom's enforced non-participation in the unsettled and scarcely successful adaptation of his relatives to civilized life has left him a relatively unclouded Indian point of view to fall back upon.

Tom Cleanso was first interviewed by Dr. A. H. Gayton in 1925. She obtained from him a series of notes, of which Gifford published a few relating to dances. From January 27 to February 7, 1929, Tom was at the University and at the State Industrial Home for the Blind in Oakland, through the courtesy of whose administration the problem of his care was happily solved. Dr. C. Daryll Forde, Commonwealth Fellow, and I worked with Tom during this period. Dr. Gayton and Dr. Forde having generously put their notes at my disposal, these data have been incorporated in the following account.

#### GEOGRAPHY AND SETTLEMENTS

The range of the informant's ethnogeographical knowledge is probably significant of ancient ethnic affiliations and cultural relationships. He knew the villages of his own group on Sacramento and American rivers, but was vague as to such as there may have been off these streams. He had some knowledge of the hill Nisenan settlements higher up in American drainage, but without ability to localize them, perhaps because they did not follow in line along a stream. To the south, among the Miwok Mokosumni and Koni, he knew only the most upstream major village on the Sacramento, had heard of several others mentioned to him without being able to localize them, and was ignorant of the Miwok names of all of them. Up the valley, however, he freely enumerated Nisenan towns on the Feather river which spoke a divergent dialect, and Maidu settlements as far up as Oroville, besides volunteering a few beyond to the northwest. Up the Sacramento also he knew the principal Patwin towns to the end of the range of these people; plus the larger Patwin settlements back of the river in the vicinity of Cache and Putah creek drainages. It is clear that native communications prevailingly followed the large streams, and that therefore the ethnic outlook was directed toward the north and northwest, within the Great valley. The San Joaquin portion of this valley however was foreign. The delta and the Con-

sumnes and Mokelumne entering it were hazily known, though adjacent; the people actually on the San Joaquin and its affluents, scarcely at all, in spite of the continuity of the plains. Nisenan-Plains Miwok hostilities may have been partly responsible; yet there was remembrance of purchase of dances between the two groups. It seems more likely that groups tended to segregate themselves according to physiographic areas, which were defined in the valley by river systems, and elsewhere by elevation which kept the towns out of the stream canyons. Toward the hill Nisenan, the Pujune-Kadema attitude seems to have been indifferent. There was intercourse, but knowledge of their habitat and customs was piecemeal: they evidently followed different ways. Alien speech in itself was not a barrier, else the remoter valley Nisenan of Feather river would not have been better known than the hill Nisenan a few miles up the American, and the distant Patwin better than the contiguous Mokosumni.

The attitude of the river Patwin is similar: they know more about the valley Maidu and Nisenan than about the Wintun up-river or their own Patwin kinsmen back in the hills. In short, the Patwin, Maidu, and Nisenan actually on the floor of the Sacramento valley seem to have formed a partly closed group conscious of its substantial uniformity and concerned chiefly with itself.

In the following lists N, S, E, W denote the north or south sides of American river and east or west sides of the Sacramento and the Feather with reference to the general course of these streams—not with reference to precise situation.

The following seem to have formed a nearer unit with the informant's people.

On American river, in order up-stream:

Puju'ne, Pucu'ne, N, 1 (2 + ?) m. "above" Sacramento city; on a knoll or mound.

Mo'mol, S, opposite preceding.

Yama'nepu', N, up-stream, on a knoll near Puju'ne.

Se'k, N, up-stream, at the new highway bridge.

Ka'dema, N, about 8 miles from Sacramento.

Yama'nködö, N, about preceding.

Ü'tcüp, N, above.

E'k'wo, N, above.

Yük'ü'li, N, above (an orchard now).

A'na'pe', N, above, near Fair Oaks, about 16 m. from Sacramento.

Ci''ba, Ci''pba, N.

Ki'ckic, N.

Yo'limhü, S, near Folsom, farthest up-stream. This appears to be in the lower foothills.



On Sacramento river, in order upstream:

(Wa'la'k, E, near Freeport, 12 m. below Sacramento, was Plains Miwok).

Sa'ma, E, 4 m. below Sacramento, was Nisenan.

De'mba, W, above Sacramento.

Na'wean, E, on a high knoll, 4-5 m. from Sacramento.

Toto'la, E, on a knoll, also an island.

Paka'ikai, E, above, 8 m. from Sacramento.

Wi'cüna, Wi'jüna, E, 9 m. from Sacramento.

Nisenan farther up the Sacramento and on the Feather, dialect somewhat different. In sequence up-stream:

Le'utci, E, on Sacramento, 1½ m. below Wo'l'ok.

Na'we, W, on Sacramento, near preceding.

Wo'l'ok, E, at Vernon, confluence of Sacramento and Feather.

Ko't'cuk, E, on Feather, 6 m. above Wo'l'ok.

Yo'kol, W, Lima'n, W, Ho'k'ok, E, together, 3 m. above preceding.

Ho'l'o', E, south of Nicolaus.

O'l'ac, W near Nicolaus.

Seke'tina, E, at Nicolaus.

Yama'nepu, E. Given also as on American river. Perhaps two settlements with same name, like Bo'tok below.

Pü'itok, W.

Moyu'i', W.

Po'p'o, W.

Yuku'lme, W. Birthplace of informant's mother. At another time he gave this as Hopam, 7 miles below Yuba City.

Hoce'n, E.

Ho'k, W.

Lole'hüpu, W.

Si'sum, W.

Mi'mal, Mimal', E.

Yu'pu', W, at mouth of Yuba river.

Molo'k'um, W.

Ya'manhü, W.

Hi'hyu', Hi'tyu, (Hi'h'yu ?), W.

To'mtco', W.

Somewhere between Molo'k'um and To'mtco' appears to have been the line between Nisenan and Maidu, which is undetermined. Continuing up-stream, in Maidu territory:

Ba'yu', W.

Bo'ka, W, 5-6 m. below Oroville.

He'nokbo, E, relative position uncertain.

Mico'u, E, relative position uncertain, but above preceding.

Bo'tok, W, 2 m. below Oroville.

North or northwest of Feather river, Maidu:

O'lolokpai, near Oroville, northerly, off the river.

E'eken, south of Chico.

Pa'ike, "north" of preceding, at Yankee Hill.

## Patwin villages on Sacramento river, in order up-stream:

K'u'mpe, E, 3 m. above Le'utei, i.e., 4-5 m. above mouth of Feather.  
Tu'lik, E.

Wo'coyok, W. From Le'utei to here, except for Wo'l'ok, the sides of the river may be the reverse of those stated. The course of the Sacramento here is northeasterly, and the informant gave the ambiguous designations "N" and "S."

Yö'döi, W, Knight's Landing, just above the modern town.

Tea't'ei, W.

Bo'tok, E, distinct from Maidu Bo'tok.

Pa'lhü, E.

K'üs, E.

No'wisapel, W.

Sa'kas, E, "Butte City" (?).

Ku'ikui, W.

Cü'nüe, W.

Kaci'l, E ?

Ti'lti, W.

Ta'tno', W, a large village.

Ya'lidihi, W.

Ca'iyai', E ?

Pi'daukü, E ?

Co't, W.

Lo'klok or Loklokma'ti, E ?

Kapa'ya, W, somewhere between Kaci'l and the preceding.

These settlements are not in orderly sequence for the upstream part of the list, to judge by their Patwin equivalents, but they are placed with approximate correctness as to the part of the river's course they lay on. Many of the names are Nisenan renderings of Patwin: Yödöi for Yodoi, Palhü for Palo, Nowisapel for Nomatsapin, K'üe for Koshempu. The list extends to about the upstream limit of Patwin occupation.

Patwin settlements between the river and the Coast ranges, not in geographical order:

O'cli, on lower Cache creek.

A'ncak, above, probably on Cache creek.

Pü'töi (Putah?).

Wa'ikau.

Wa'ila.

Tu'duc.

Bo'lau.

Li'wai (evidently Liwai near Winters).

Yu'kal.

So'skol (evidently Suskol at mouth of Napa river).

Hill Nisenan villages in American drainage, not in geographical sequence:

Pi'u'hu, Pi'whu, west or south of Auburn.

Ho'lakceu, near Auburn.

La'kta, west or south of Auburn.

Kö'köt.

Hu'u'l.

We'n'e'a, near Auburn.

These do not agree with the names published, as in Dixon's map.

The informant was vague as to Sekumni, Yodok, and Yalisumni, given by Dixon as on or near American river in valley Nisenan territory. The two first he thought Mokosumni, Miwok. Sekumni was "in the middle of the country," that is, not on a large river; O'n'ona was chief there once. Yalisumni he did not recognize. Sekumni is evidently the informant's own *Se'k*, on American river. It would therefore appear that -umni is a Plains Miwok (and Yokuts) termination, not Nisenan.

The informant did not know the following Plains Miwok village names: Yumhui, Yomit, Lulimal, Mayeman.<sup>12</sup> He also did not recognize Ta'latui. He did know Umucha as Mokosumni, that is Plains Miwok. Evidently there was little visiting of the Miwok by the valley Nisenan, though the informant once understood some Plains Miwok. Beyond the Mokosumni, "on the San Joaquin" (*sic*) were the Ko'ni, the northern hill Miwok, whose language was harder to understand than Mokosumni. Two of their settlements were Ce'w'a and Ca'kayak ("scouring rush" in Nisenan).

#### TECHNOLOGY AND SUBSISTENCE

*Houses.*—Dwellings, hü', were earth-covered. At Wolok, at the mouth of Feather river, they were made tule-covered. However, American river houses also contained tule mats—either to support the roof soil, or as lining for the walls. The large dance or assembly house, k'um, was distinct from the small sweat-house, k'um-im-hü', literally "dance-house house." Both were earth-covered. Details of the k'um are given under "Kuksu Cult"; entrance was not from the roof, it is said.

<sup>12</sup> Merriam, *Am. Anthr.*, n.s., 9:349, 1907, gives these and several others as settlements of the Mokozumne group of the Plains Miwok. Alec Blue, a Nisenan half-breed, in 1915 informed Gifford that they were Nisenan, except Umucha, which was Miwok. In Kroeber's *Hand-book*, 444, these names are starred as Nisenan designations of Miwok villages. The present data show Merriam to be right; they are Plains Miwok names of Plains Miwok villages.

A village might have six or seven houses and a *k'um*—sometimes two. The *k'um* was used by men for sedentary work—net or basket making. Hand-game was also played there. Women entered it when dances were put on. The *k'um* was little used in summer. The owner of a *k'um* would often make a *hu'sla* in summer, a feast or picnic without dancing, under a shade in front of the *k'um*. The sweat-house was not visited by women. Men sweated mornings and evenings.

*Boats.*—Besides balsas made of the round tule, *ku'ye'*, which "waterlogs" least, there was an approach to a canoe in the form of a log raft. This might consist of two logs, lashed with grapevine, or of a single large log. In either case the trunks were flattened, at least on the side intended for the top; the working was with stone, presumably by splitting. If the informant was understood correctly, the ends rose up into a prow and stern; but the logs, though plank-like, were not hollowed. These rafts were large enough to stand on and to carry women and loads. They were made of "redwood," man, by the Yuba Indians and sold down-stream. Different names were used for the log raft at Hok, Olash, and on American river.

The paddle had a handle about a yard long lashed to an oblong blade through two pairs of holes in the blade. This was about a foot and a half long and half as wide. The Nisenan had no tools with which to work out a one-piece paddle. Both kinds of rafts were pushed in shallow water by a pole 12 to 15 feet long.

*Clothing.*—This comprised bark or tule aprons for women, duck feather blankets for women and round "shawls" of tule for men in winter, perhaps occasional moccasins of buckskin, and the men's hair net. The aprons were of inner bark of *pot'o'* or *ha'lawai* willow, soaked until it came off like paper. This material seems to have been more characteristic of the Maidu. The Nisenan often beat the round or especially the triangular tule stems, *ku'ye'* or *walak'a'i*, into a sort of "cotton" for apron fibers. The same two tules were plaited into mats; the flat tule, *sa'ule*, was not used.

The duck blanket was of feathers, not of strips of skin. Two or three sacks of fine feathers were needed for a good *te'i*. These were wrapped into a two-ply cord as this was rolled on the thigh. This cord, *walam*(?), seems to have been the warp, which was wound back and forth between two vertical poles about four feet high. The weft, *yus'a*(?), was put in about two inches apart, in pieces just long enough to reach from the ground to the highest warp, and tied top and bottom. This suggests that the weft was double and twined in;

it appears to have been of plain cord. The work was done indoors in winter, chiefly by men, with the women "helping." The hill people did not make such blankets.

*Weapons.*—The bow was made of to'n, digger pine, the sinew-backing attached with a glue called wai. The bow was short, the string of sinew. The "sinew" was taken from the back of the deer. Arrowpoints were of obsidian, which was broken after being warmed. It came from several places in "the mountains" (the Sierra Nevada), among them Shingle Springs (*sic*: flint may be included under the term la'i'yi). Only some men knew how to work obsidian or make bows. Arrow shafts were of o'lolo, a water or marsh plant with white balls of flowers. They were about as long as the bow, length being believed to add to their trueness and distance. Three (split) hawk feathers were attached with wai glue and sinew lashings. Hard oak points were also used. The quiver was a fox, wild cat, or brown bear cub skin.

The spear, used only in war, was of willow, about a fathom long, with large obsidian head lashed into a nock with sinew. The informant knew nothing of armor and recognized no descriptions of such.

The salmon harpoon appears to have been of the usual Californian type. The toggle head was called by the same name as the awl, showing that it was of bone.

A sling is described under "war."

*Food.*—The mortar, 'a", was of oak; the hole was burned out so as to be hard. In the hills, stone mortars were used. Wooden vessels were not made: "the people had no tools for that."

"Clam" shells from "lakes" were used both as spoons and as knives for cutting meat or fish. Bone and wood were cut with flat (split?) stones. These were called simply "stone."

The earth-oven was used to cook la'ka and perhaps other plants, also dried powdered salmon. Such food was eaten hot. Other plant food was dried raw and stored, wai bulbs, for instance, gathered in spring by men and women.

The root of the flat tule, sa'ule, was boiled, or roasted under the fire, dried, and pounded into a meal.

Acorns were shaken down with a long pole by people up in the oak. The shells were cracked with the teeth and the kernel dried. Some people owned particular trees.

Spring salmon were good. They ran up the American river to about Folsom—the limit of the informant's exacter knowledge; beyond, the river was shallow. Winter salmon had white meat, were often without tails, and inedible; presumably these are the returns after spawning. Salmon was kept in two ways: dried raw; or cooked, dried, and crushed to powder. The former, or sliced meat, was hung on poles to dry.

Salmon and other fish were taken by means of weirs across the river, built communally. The fish passed through gates into enclosures from which they were scooped with nets.

Deer, including perhaps antelope, were hunted with the decoy head and skin.

Various foods are mentioned in the vocabulary under animals and plants.

*Salt*.—This was dug from the ground or cooked from a plant with cabbage-like leaves gathered in summer. The leaves were piled on a fire in a pot, in which the "salt" collected in a cake so hard it had to be broken with a stone.

*Baskets*.—Shapes and materials are listed in the vocabulary. The material used for red designs, apparently redbud, had to be got in the hills; the wire-like marsh roots used for black, probably *Carex*, were split in half. Feather-covered baskets of Pomo type were made; the informant even mentioned one that seems not to have been described previously, the mu'mu. This was about the size and shape of an egg, open at each end, worn on a necklace at dances or gatherings. It was entirely covered with red woodpecker feathers. The informant had seen one made by his mother.

Carrying baskets and seed-baskets were made by the men in the k'um. These were of coarse openwork willow ware. Close-woven baskets were made by women in the houses or outdoors. Women carried firewood in openwork carrying baskets, men in a back pack lashed with grapevine. It is not clear whether men brought wood only for the sweat and dance house or also for the dwelling.

*String or nets*.—Both string and rope were made of p'u', a tule-like plant growing among the tules. This was the only cordage material, milkweed (*Asclepias*) being "no good," according to the informant. The p'u' was gathered in fall when its leaves began to drop. It was soaked, beaten, and long fibers drawn out of the skin of its stems (?). These were kept damp. The spinning was done on

the thigh and tension secured from a spindle with a stone whorl, amteu' or tilili. This was a perforated stone. The string was wound on the spindle, the point of which rested on the ground. The informant was positive that this was a pre-Caucasian device. It appears to be the first whorled spindle reported from California.

Fish and bird nets are described in the vocabulary. The measuring by fathoms and meshes is of interest. The goose nets, mo'l'a', were set in spring, in a series one behind the other, and tied to one long rope, with a pole of elderberry—chosen for its lightness—for each net where the rope crossed it. These were either propped vertically or more likely laid flat where the geese came to feed on grass. A pull on the rope by concealed men drew the series of nets (up and) forward and down over the geese. The duck nets were stretched across water at dusk and the birds caught in them as they flew at night; they were held by poles at the ends. Men often stayed up to take the birds out. Snares were used for geese, cranes, swans, and smaller birds. They consisted of a loop on a stick that was sprung.

*Tobacco*.—This was planted each spring from seed kept over.<sup>13</sup> It was planted in shallow holes, about the village or "anywhere," as it grew easily. It was picked, dried, tied up into tight bundles so as to retain its strength, crushed, and kept in a small sack. Nothing else was planted.

Chiefly old men smoked. The pipe was of wood and held with bowl end elevated—i.e., it was tubular; but it bulged at mouth and especially at bowl. Some men put a coal into the bottom of the bowl to keep the ashes from falling through the bore.

*Money*.—The essential facts are in the vocabulary. Shell beads were rubbed round on a slab.

*Musical instruments*.—See vocabulary. The flute was smoothed inside by having scouring rush drawn or pushed through.

The bullroarer, li'wan'ü, was mentioned as a toy, as among the Maidu, or as a wind maker, not as a device used in secret society rituals. It was sometimes painted black, and hung on a high pole, until the wind caught it and made it hum. This was done in summer to bring a breeze.

*Games*.—The principal facts are listed in the vocabulary. The fan-tan type of guessing game, o'ca, has been previously reported from this part of California. Part of a heap of sticks was set aside.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Faye, this series, 20:40, 1923.

The rest was counted off by fours after the players had bet that the last remainder would be 0, 1, 2, or 3. This looks like an interesting independent parallel to the Chinese game. Importation seems unlikely, on account of the compactness of recorded distribution in central California. The informant of his own accord called this an old Nisenan game as compared with the Patwin stick dice.

In the guessing or hand-game the number of calls for the bones is interesting, because suggestive of borrowing due to games between people of different speech. There were one or two players on a side, each with a pair of bones.

Duck heads ornamented with beads, haliotis, yellowhammer feathers, etc., were stuffed as toys for babies.

*Dogs.*—These were scarce. Some were woolly.

*Calendar.*—The month names obtained are given in the vocabulary. They number ten. This may not be lack of memory: the Mountain Maidu name only nine moons, those of summer being undesignated.<sup>14</sup> Most of the Nisenan names end in men, "season," not in "moon."

#### SOCIETY

*Officials.*—The chief, hu'k, was selected when he was young. Succession was mostly from father to son. In default of a son, a grandson, nephew, or other kinsman succeeded. The installation feast or ceremony was called wo'kwok: everyone contributed to the new chief; there was much to eat, and the people sang, slapped their thighs, and danced. The old dance house was not destroyed; the new chief kept it "because it had been his father's." It was replaced only when it began to decay. Any dance might be the first to be made in a new dance house. The (larger) villages had one dance house, Pujune for instance; some, like Kadema, had two formerly, the informant had been told by his father. Pujune in the informant's father's time had two chiefs, Humpai and Teduwa, who were brothers. At Kadema Tawec was chief.

Three kinds of heralds, criers, or spokesmen were mentioned. The pe'dau seems to have been the chief's official speaker in assembly.<sup>15</sup> He talked in the k'um, about "chief's business," fur and feathers and property; everyone answered 'ä', 'ä', 'ä'. The pe'taye was a sort of town crier, and was "a common man." He shouted, morning and

<sup>14</sup> Faye, 39, lists only six for the hill Nisenan.

<sup>15</sup> Faye, 43.



evening, for everyone to hear, from somewhere in the village, on the ground, not from a roof top. The wö'u was the secret society announcer, under orders of the peipi. He sat on top of the k'um, morning and evening, at certain (ritual) times, and called to the people to wake up, to have no quarrels, to be well-behaved men and women. He finished with a call heiiii. Sometimes there were two wö'u to call out.

*Marriage.*—Marriage within the village was not forbidden. Cousins married. This certainly refers only to cross-cousins, perhaps only to one kind of cross-cousin.

*Disposal of the dead.*—Those who died of sickness were cremated and their bones buried. Shamans could see the dead go north from the pyre. Those who died violently—"from a bear, or war"—were buried. Small children were buried. People who died at a distance were buried there, or burned and their bones brought home for burial. A bear skin and ornaments were put on a dead person, so he would not trouble his living kin. The body was tied, in extended position. The informant knew of flexed burial, but not among his own people. Weapons and personal effects of the dead were burned. Mortars and pestles were not destroyed; they were "like family property."

Hair was cut in mourning and buried. Burning would spoil it. Women sometimes kept their combings to use in what they manufactured.

*Kinship.*—The terms obtained are given in the vocabulary. There are several gaps and uncertainties, but it is clear that the system is similar to that of the hill Nisenan<sup>16</sup> and not very different from that of the Maidu.<sup>17</sup> All the Nisenan-Maidu form a rather close unit in their kinship designations. Although centrally situated, they are not comprised in the Central California valley area of kinship systems.<sup>18</sup> They are the only Penutian people not so comprised. On the basis of a statistical count of similar features, they rank high, or generalized, in California—from 970 to 1010 on a scale ranging from 708 to 1025.<sup>19</sup> The number of similarities which each of the three divisions possesses is highest with one another, next highest with remote and unrelated groups like the Shasta, Achomawi, Klamath, and Mono.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Gifford, *Californian Kinship Systems*, this series, 18:47, 1922.

<sup>17</sup> p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> Map 24, p. 203.

<sup>19</sup> p. 194.

<sup>20</sup> Table 3, p. 197.

Resemblances are conspicuously few to adjacent Patwin and Miwok; fewer to Patwin than to more distant Wintun-Wintu. This means that the Patwin and Miwok have specialized. The Maidu-Nisenan retained a widely spread and presumably old type of system.

From the point of view of the valley Maidu and Nisenan, this means that they have mainly retained the set of kinship terms used by their hill kinsmen instead of modifying these along the lines of the Patwin whom they specifically resemble in most of their culture. In other words, generic linguistic affiliation more than generic cultural affiliation has determined their kinship system.

*War.*—Ya't designated a brave man or war leader; k'öi, war. The Mokosumni were often eager to fight against Kadema, Yük'üli, and other Nisenan villages; but they were cowardly and quit as soon as they lost a man. Slings and spears were specific war weapons, the former used by those that had no bows. The sling was said not to have been used for hunting water fowl. It was made of a piece of skin with a string at each end; stones could be hurled across the river with it.

Dead people's eyes, presumably from foes, called k'öyim ca'wen, were used to bewitch the enemy. Medicine men tied them up with feathers and put them into a hole. This made the foe "like drunk," weak, foolish, or crazy. The hill Nisenan did the same. The informant seemed to know nothing of scalps nor of a victory dance over heads.

#### KUKSU CULT

The Kuku society or religious organization of the valley Nisenan is of the type known from the Maidu and Patwin, but strikingly different in many details. There seem to be two societies with separate initiations: a general society taking in only males but all or most of these, and a Kuku society consisting of a limited number of men and women. This is also the scheme of the Patwin, except that these possess a third society, the Wai-saltu or North-spirits, which seems not to be represented among the Nisenan.<sup>21</sup> The Nisenan general society conducts most of the dances, but the most important of these among the Patwin and Maidu, the Hesi, does not occur, its place being taken by the *Akit*, which ranks next to the Hesi among the Maidu but is not

<sup>21</sup> The situation for the Maidu is not clear, Dixon's data having been collected before anyone suspected that there might be more than one society. His reference to Kuku as head and initiator (p. 323) may indicate that there was a separate Kuku society.

made by the Patwin. Into the Akit enter a number of dances and of spirit impersonators, most of the latter being unreported from the Patwin and Maidu, while the most sacred impersonations of these groups, such as the Moki, Sili, and Yohyoh, are unknown to the Nisenan. In innumerable specific features, and the emphasis placed on them, the Nisenan variably agree or disagree with the two other peoples.

From the hill Nisenan there is a sharp differentiation, since according to Powers<sup>22</sup> and Gifford<sup>23</sup> these do not possess a secret society, and hence, strictly, no Kuksu cult. Gifford has shown that most of the hill Nisenan dances were introduced as late as 1870-72, by a movement which was in some way a repercussion of the first or Californian Ghost Dance. Some of their other dances are remembered as brought in somewhat earlier from the north, presumably from the hill Maidu; and the remainder, or oldest and locally native stratum, while bearing some resemblances to features of the Maidu Kuksu cult, such as performance in the dance house, use of the foot drum, occurrence of skunk and creeper dances, are not organized into a system. In other words, the hill Nisenan took over some Kuksu cult elements; and quite likely the Kuksu tribes now and then borrowed from them elements which they worked into their own system. It is only in this sense that it is possible to agree with Gifford's interpretation that the "oldest stratum"<sup>24</sup> of hill Nisenan dances belongs to the "God-impersonating Cult." These people evidently had neither true, disguised impersonations of spirits, nor a society, nor any system of relating dances into a scheme; they did have certain performances and paraphernalia that elsewhere formed part of such an organized cult.

From the Pomo and Yuki, the valley Nisenan, Maidu, and Patwin differed in that their organization which made the elaborate dances is the less esoteric part of their system, whereas their Kuksu and Wai-saltu societies, which on the whole correspond most closely to the Pomo-Yuki ghost or spirit society, are more esoteric, limited in membership, but open to women. Loeb's interpretation that the ghost and resurrection initiation is the oldest portion of the cult, the showy dances being a subsequent addition,<sup>25</sup> may therefore hold for the Pomo, or for the world at large if religious initiations everywhere are

<sup>22</sup> p. 326.

<sup>23</sup> p. 257.

<sup>24</sup> Still more does the "second stratum" from the north resemble Kuksu elements: witness the kamin, lolé, luhuyi, yomuse dances.

<sup>25</sup> Pomo Folkways, this series, 19:338, 354, 371, 384, 1926.

to be led back to a single historic source; but it cannot be accepted as proved for the Californian Kuksu cult as a unit. All that can be said as yet is that there has been a shift of emphasis, as regards participation and esoteric quality of the ghost, Kuksu, and spectacle-dance strains of the cult, between the Pomo-Yuki and the Patwin-Maidu-valley Nisenan.

*General society.*—Initiates in the general dancing society were called k'a'kin, spirits or "dancers." Any boy or young man who danced well was taught by the pe'ipi', the "dance doctors" or "head men," i.e., the older full initiates or directors. (In Maidu peheipe, pepe, means clown.) The boys were kept in the dance house "about a week," and were given no fat, fish, or meat. They were not let out for fear they would eat these things and become sick. At the end of the training the boys had become light, untiring dancers. The peipi learned from other old men; the informant thought they did not pay for the instruction.

The informant also denied the practice of "pay dances" for his people, although he was acquainted with it among Maidu and Patwin.

Pi'wenan, "outside (people)," seems to mean uninitiated, as contrasted with the k'akin or initiated.

*Temeya or Kuksu society.*—The te'me'ya ceremony or society had the ku'ksui performers. It was held in summer in the dance house, as a great show, men and women looking on. There were two kuksui, flanked by two wu'lu, four in all. The kuksui wore a very large head-dress, a black-feathered net covering his whole person, and a long whistle of sand-hill crane bone; he ought to be tall to look impressive. The temeya was made at Pujune, Kadema, Hok, "everywhere," even among the Patwin. The "temeya people" or members were both men and women; and only they had the nose septum bored. In it they wore a very white ornament called cü'mü, of bone, 3 or 4 inches long. The informant in his childhood had seen a woman wear this while dancing in the temeya.

A special act was the "wood-temeya," te'a'm te'me'ya, which was performed by a shaman (yomuse, "medicine doctor"). This act was bought from the Mokosumni by Kadema. The dance house was made dark; then something unseen called o'lec, something dangerous, was heard to fly and fall repeatedly. Then an object containing whistles and sturgeon bones, perhaps other things also, and covered with gray down of the sand-hill crane, was exhibited. A performer threatened it with a spear: then this object cried "hhh" as if afraid and shook

like a live animal. The father of the informant's "uncle" (father's cross-cousin) Mike made this *te'am temeya* performance; the purchase was made when Mike was a boy. This is all the informant knew of any stabbing or shooting such as the Pomo and Patwin practice in initiation.

*Dances and ceremonies.*—In the general dancing society the *a'kit* was the greatest ceremony. It is described as the Patwin describe the *hesi*: "all spirit enactors can appear in it and many dances come in it." The following dances are part of the *akit*: Deer; Raccoon, *packa'tü*; Grasshopper, *e'ni'*; *waka'i* worm; Goose; *la'li'* trapeze performance. The *akit* lasts from two or four days to a week.

The other dances and ceremonies can be briefly listed. Unless otherwise stated, they are performed in the *k'um*, by men only, and were made at Kadema and Pujune. The known occurrence, ancient or recent, of dances of the same name elsewhere is indicated by M for Maidu, P for Patwin, Po for Pomo, H for hill Nisenan, Mw for Miwok.

*k'a'min* (H.-M, generic word for dancing).

*sa'lalu*, similar to *k'a'min* (M).

*lo'le*,<sup>26</sup> women holding a long feather rope, a man with a whistle at each end of the line (M, P, Po, H, Mw, Salinan).

*lu'hui*,<sup>26</sup> men and women; hold small ornaments of yellowhammer feathers (H; M, luyi).

*yo'muse*, women only; outdoors (H). The word also means shaman.

*ha'lule'*, men and women; the informant never saw this.

*ke'nu* (M, P).

*mo'lo'k*, condor. A separate ceremony; dangerous on account of its food taboos. The dancer wears a condor skin; his head is reddened. Sold by Pujune to Ol'ac (M, P, Mw).

*ya'tce'*, another Pujune dance sold to Ol'ac.

*ki'l'ak*, high eagle feathers on head (P, Po, H, Mw).

*tu'lat*, yellowhammer quill band worn fore-and-aft on head (H).

*ma'mac*, similar to last; carried staff; did not "come to Kadema" (H).

*hi'w'e*, costume of fine owl feathers on body; staff carried by each dancer. From "Sonoma county" (Pomo); the Mokosumni also had this. (Po, H, Mw, Costano, Salinan.) The last four dances seem associated in the informant's mind.

*ya'pi*, a dance (?).

*wa'iko'* and *oke'a*, old dances of Pujune and Kadema, never seen by informant; men and women danced in these, he was told.

Deer (M, P), Raccoon, Goose(?) (M), Grasshopper (M, Mw), Wakai worm, dances in the *akit*.

Turtle (M), Skunk (M), Tsamyempi (M), Grizzly Bear (M, P), Coyote (*dape*) (M, P), not made, though the Patwin were known to make the last two.

Waima (M) and Waisaltu (P), not known.

<sup>26</sup> Descriptions of the *lole* and *luhui*, obtained from the present informant by Gayton, are given in Gifford, 235.

The following are acrobatic performances:

la'li', in which men climb up a center post and hang head down from stringers. In the *akit* (M).

wa'k'at, each performer four times climbs up a center post, halfway up turns round until his head is down, and leaps down.

lu'man, a pole ceremony, not made at Kadema; but sold by Pujune to Lampakan of Hok; then Lampakan sold it to the Patwin, and died soon after. The informant, when a boy, saw the performance at Hok. Evidently the transfer took place well before the 1872 ghost dance. The ceremony has not been reported from the Patwin; but the Pomo have a pole rite.<sup>27</sup> The Nisenan pole, lu'man, was long and painted red. It was held horizontally by many men and women, who raised it in rhythm, whistling. One man had a long feather rope. This was outdoors. Then the pole was raised and planted in a hole, with one man at its top, "like a woodpecker." He talked spirit language, leaped down, and all danced. That night they danced in the k'um. The pole was left standing several days. The performer on the pole was the only k'akin, the dancers being non-initiates.

There appears to have been no sequence of dances through the winter as among the Maidu; in fact no such dance season has been reported anywhere except at Chico. The *akit* was made about April, yo'men; the *lole* usually followed it, but also came in summer. Most dances and ceremonies were specified as made in summer: thus the temeya, yomuse, k'amin, wai; also the mourning ceremony and shamans' exhibitions. Midwinter was too cold for dances.

*Spirit impersonations.*—The spirits (k'akin) impersonated are the following:

ha'ihio', with head feathers.

hu'ihu', with two long split-stick rattles painted white and red.

ha'kakyo, looks like a duck.

a'nayo, with a large headdress.

k'ut, the deer.

'ili'i'li, with feathers on head and neck.

kü'lem k'akin, woman spirit, with the hair and clothing of a woman. Evidently the equivalent of the Maidu *dü*, but this name was not used by the informant.

Some of these may be named after their cries or calls. The list perhaps is not exhaustive.

The Maidu or Patwin *moki* (wüta), *sili*, *yati*, *yohyo* spirits were unknown to the informant by these names, evidently because they appear primarily in the *hesi* ceremony.

He mentioned the *wu'lu* as appearing both in the *akit* and the *temeya*. In each case there are two, with one *k'akin* between them in the *akit* and two *kuksui* in the *temeya*. These appear to be escorts rather than spirits.

<sup>27</sup> Loeb, 372.

*Dance house.*—The dance or assembly house, k'um, had its door to the west. There was a second door at the back, used on occasion. In front of this rear door was the foot drum, laid crossways. This was hollow, like a canoe, and was stamped on in dancing. The two main posts were set up first, in east-west line; then the side posts. The fire was between the two main posts. The roof hole served as smoke vent, and there was only one. It was not used as an entrance, even in ceremonies, though the informant had heard of people elsewhere so using it and knew a name for ladder. The floor seems not to have had the same ceremonial importance as among the Patwin, and nothing was learned of its subdivision into "seats" or places apportioned to different participants.

*Dance regalia.*—

yo'to, a "belt" about four inches wide, a fathom long, of red woodpecker and green mallard feathers and beads.

cu'dut', a similar belt made wholly of red and white Spanish or Hudson's Bay beads.

ci'luc, a visor of woodpecker feathers fringed with black feathers, valuable, owned only by important people. This is the Patwin tarat.

pa'lalak, yellowhammer quill headbands.

Double whistles and men's hairpins were of sand-hill crane bone.

Dance invitations were by knotted strings, p'un, sent out by the chief, one knot being cut off by the recipients each day before the event.

*History and later developments.*—It would seem as if the Kuksu cult had been still in a plastic state at the time of its break-up. Societies, ceremonies, dances, impersonations, while all cast in generically similar molds, varied or were entirely replaced by others locally. Sometimes the name changed; sometimes the name was applied to a different act or performer.<sup>28</sup> Ritual elements evidently were freely detached and recombined. Dances were newly acquired by purchasers and given up by the sellers. Outside the Kuksu area was a zone in which Kuksu elements were taken over without Kuksu setting, and from which they were drawn to be placed in the setting. There was thus plenty of precedent for the sort of introductions of dances into new territory which Gifford describes as having occurred among the hill Nisenan and Miwok about 1872.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Nisenan peipi, full initiate or director; Maidu peheipe, clown. Nisenan wulu, more or less corresponding in function to Maidu mesi (Kroeber, *Handbook*, 383); wulu, hill Maidu, dance in adolescence rite; hill Nisenan, a dance (Gifford, 236). Nisenan temeya, the Kuksu proper society or performance; Patwin temeyu, a dance house official and performer; hill Miwok temeyasu, a dancer and dance; recent hill Nisenan temaya, dance manager.

<sup>29</sup> pp. 229–233.

Yokteo, the introducer of valley dances to the hill Nisenan in the first ghost dance period,<sup>30</sup> was known to the informant as a good dancer from Mu'k'el, presumably the Plains Miwok village Mokelumni. He was never sick, died of old age at Elk Grove in Plains Miwok territory, and left no (adequate) successor. He made his dances at Elk Grove, not among the valley Nisenan.

Near Auburn among the hill Nisenan, a local man named Ca'wino, and after him Ba'ti, who was not quite so powerful, made a ceremony or seance called o'ye, which the valley Nisenan did not make. At night the dance house was left dark to make ghosts of the dead, wo'nomüse, appear. Singing by the performer brought them. They were heard shaking the cocoon rattle, sometimes crying, sometimes singing, sometimes telling of the cause or circumstances of their death and "anything that was happening in the world." They were known because they named themselves. Those who wished might touch them: they had no head or limbs but were as smooth as a thigh. Sometimes they could not let go of the rattle; then the performer blew native tobacco on them and the rattle could be heard to fall as the ghost departed. The informant had one of his relatives appear at Bati's summoning.—This may have been post-ghost dance; but the type of shamanistic exhibition is likely to be old hill Nisenan. The informant knew of nothing similar among the valley people, and told the above in answer to a question as to ghost society practices of the Pomo kind.

#### OTHER RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

*Mourning anniversary.*—This was known as he'i'pai' and came "in summer." It seems to have been an inconsiderable affair compared with that of the hill people, lasting only one day. Clothing, baskets, beads were burned (not at night), and all cried. There were no images. These were known from the hills, where they were made "like dolls" with eyes of haliotis, danced with, and thrown into a hole while property was burned and all wailed.

*Girls' adolescence.*—The girl sat in a hole surrounded by tule mats, in the house, or outdoors in summer. She was not let out for fear a tree might fall on her or she sicken and die. She ate only plant food, no fish, fat, or meat. Women, sometimes men, sat by and sang. There was no dancing. The second menstruation was not so dangerous for her, and she could eat meat or fowl but no fish. The stronger taboo

<sup>30</sup> Gifford, 229.



on fish is surprising. Like many Californians the Nisenan had separate words to denote the first and subsequent menstruations—see the vocabulary.

*Weda feasts.*—The Nisenan were given to outdoor feasts. They held the yo''we'da and sa''we'da, which were "like picnics," with races, hand-games, play, and a hu'sla or great meal given by the "great people" (see chief). The yo''we'da was held when all the flowers, yo'', were in bloom, and the women wore them on their hair, ears, and hands. The sa''we'da came later in the season, when flowers were gone and everything was in leaf.

*Dances and rites unknown to the informant.*—These include the Kauda or rattlesnake shaman's performance; a formal first-salmon ceremony; the victory or scalp dance; dancing at the girl's adolescence observances; jimsonweed drinking—even the plant was unknown.

While the informant knew nothing of an annual first-salmon rite by a shaman—"all the men went to catch salmon, not a doctor"—the first salmon caught in any new net had to be consumed completely.

When rattlesnakes were feared, medicine was put on the feet. The snakes would smell this and keep away.

#### SHAMANISM

The shaman, yo'muse, seems to have got his power chiefly from older people—either a kinsman who taught him, or the gathered shamans who trained him. The informant did not appear to connect shamanistic power with dreaming; nor did he have anything to say of spirits. The medicines were roots, seeds, leaves, which were crushed, boiled, and drunk. Curing was partly by sucking blood from a cut. With the blood, some other object, the cause of the disease, came out: a dead fly, clot of blood, or such. This was shown, but immediately buried. The shaman's rattle for singing was of cocoons; his whistle was of wekwek hawk bone, which, like the bird, was small but shrill. The shaman's bag was called do'kdok. This was not inherited because it was kept secreted and therefore lost with the owner's death. Shamans might show and give their medicines to their sons or other relatives, but not their poison; this was hidden at a distance. The bag might be shown to others for pay. The viewer had first to take a medicine; in fact the shaman himself took some before handling the bag. Some of the contents were so powerful as to cause nosebleed. On the whole these practices savor of Patwin and Pomo point of view rather than of hill and mountain Maidu.

Shamans shot novices to train them,<sup>31</sup> and other shamans in contests or exhibitions—the two objectives were not distinguished by the informant. The magical object shot was called *ci'l'a'*; the performance, in midsummer, *ci'l'a'mü'*. The shaman was paid by the novice “for bringing him alive again”; all came to see him do that. The novice would fall dead, but the old people would sit by and laugh, knowing he was not dead. Then the shaman would suck out the *ci'l'a'*, and when the young man got up would put leaves on his head and keep and treat him for a number of days, until he was well. This gave the novice some of his own strength. Should the youth however eat meat, fish, fat, or salt, he would sicken of *matai* or taboo-breach, his tongue would draw back into his throat, and he would invariably die.

In other cases there was more of an exhibition of power. The shaman would smoke, then take his arrow-like *ci'l'a'* and, looking between his legs, shoot it from a miniature bow of quill with a woman's hair, at a man perhaps “a mile off,” who dropped. Then the shaman—a real shaman, of course, not an ordinary one—revived him, and he was new, stronger than before.<sup>32</sup>

Shamans never cured their close kin, but paid others to do so. A woman with a good heart was often preferred to a man shaman; presumably, because she was considered less likely to use poison.

Some shamans could handle rattlesnakes with impunity, but there was no public rattlesnake rite. A person bitten by a rattlesnake was isolated in a shelter, not allowed in the house, and attended only by a shaman. After being cured, he was given special medicine, else he would be bitten again.

Shamans who could “make” weather were called *ha'ikat*, the name given the principal personage in the creation. They could make or stop rain or wind. The informant was told the following by his grandfather. On a hot summer day people were in the tules, fishing, some eight miles from their village. *Lampakan*, already mentioned in connection with the *Kuksu* cult, was with them. A young man taunted him to make rain and called him a liar about his powers. *Lampakan* became angry but said nothing. He pulled a young tule shoot, pointed and shook it; soon there were clouds, then wind, then the rain came, and the people trudged home in the mud.

<sup>31</sup> Faye, this series, 20:47, 50, 1923.

<sup>32</sup> Same, p. 46; his *lomuse-m-payo'q* seems to mean “shaman's dance” (1 for y). In the valley, *yomuse* is a women's dance—see *Kuksu* cult.

This incident shows that Lampakan was prominent both as a ritualist and as a shaman; but in theory the two are distinct. As the informant said, a peipi does not kill people with cil'a' like a yomuse, but makes food grow and general luck.

Grizzly bear "doctors," cu'lik, are friends of the grizzlies. They do not put on a bear skin but "use their own hides." Women are stronger at this than men. The cul'ik go about in summer in groups, attack whom they find, cannot be shot. They do this from inherent viciousness.

O'epe or ho'epe are a kind of "doctors" different from both peipi and yomuse. They neither cure nor direct dances, but "sing for luck." In spring, in the dark dance house, they sing night after night to make acorns, seeds, fish, ducks grow in abundance.

Ca'wen is poison, such as shamans use to kill people. It occurs in the air, water, or ground. If a man knows a poison root and takes the proper preventive medicine, he can dig it out. One such kind is called ho'kpol; it is potato-like and red. Another is a bird, la'lakeo, like a goose but many-colored, that sometimes got caught in duck nets. A water poison comes from wa'listcak, which also looks like a bird. A man spearing salmon might see one, spear, kill, and keep it to kill people with; but he must take medicine to protect himself before using it.

The o'lele' was a luck bird, looking like a dove but staying in the water. It seemed tame and kept close to people but was very hard to catch. If one kept a feather it had dropped, one was lucky in fishing and hunting and gambling and became rich. The feather was kept covered and not shown.

These beliefs seem the reflection of a life and thoughts in terms of water, fish, and fowl more than of land and game.

#### MYTHS AND TALES

*Earth diving.*—There was no land, only water. They wanted earth, but no one could reach it. Many tried diving on a long rope but could not come near the bottom. They asked Turtle. He was reluctant. Finally he went, taking his rope, and reached bottom. He brought earth up in his paws and Haikat (weather shaman) shaped it into the world. Haikat could make anything. Turtle now can live on land or water.

*Death.*—Haikat said, "They will die for four days and nights, then live again and be young." Coyote protested, "No, they will stink if they lie so long. Better have them die for good and be put away." Then Haikat agreed. But he laid a scouring rush (a banded, smooth stem) on the path to the river. Coyote's daughter came along to get water. The rush turned into a rattlesnake, bit her, and she died. Then Coyote said, "Let's have them live again when they are

dead." "Dear kec (younger cross-cousin), no, I can't do it now." Coyote brought out all his belongings, all his wealth. "It is too late," Haikat said; "I can't make things over and over. We shall have to bury her. Let us do it now."

As this episode was told the first time, the informant named Wekwek, the falcon, instead of Haikat.

Coyote called Haikat poci. Coyote was always getting killed. Whatever he attempted, he readily died from it.

*Fire.*—There was no fire. Across the sea was Condor-mountain. People all looked toward it, but only the two mice saw smoke. They told, but no one else could see it. So Wekwek sent the mice on a raft to steal fire. They took punk for tinder, firewood, and mud (for a hearth). So they went far across the sea. On the shore of the mountain were many rafts. They gnawed through the grape-vine lashings of these. Then they entered every house and gnawed the bowstrings. In a great assembly house in the mountain, the condors guarded their fire, huddled over it with their wings spread. At last the mice gnawed their way in through their wing feathers. They caught fire in a stick, ran away, jumped into their canoe-raft, pushed off. The condors followed but their balsas fell apart and they rolled into the water; those that tried to shoot found their bows stringless. So the mice came back with fire. Then Haikat put it into trees, wood, and stones, and there it can be found now. Even some stones spark when struck.

Wekwek was mentioned as above in one version obtained, Haikat in the other.

*Salmon.*—The river used to be like a lake, without current. Two boys killed many yellowhammers. Their mother's brother made ornaments of the (orange-red) quills and put these on them. Then he threw them into the river. They turned into salmon; that is why the meat is red; (and the current began to flow). Their uncle watched them and was glad: "You have a good place to live now."

*Thunder.*—Two boys were always playing shooting their hoop. Their father and mother were dead; their mother's father raised them. He did not eat food of this earth but only of the sky, where he had his kin. He would speak in spirit (k'akin) language, acorn bread would come down, and last him a month. Once the boys followed him away from the house and saw this. Then they wanted some of the bread. He gave them a very little and said it was enough. They thought it the best they had ever eaten. He said, "You have plenty of other food; don't touch this." They thought, "We will eat some more when he is gone." So they went out to play. When they came in again, the old man was not there. So they helped themselves; but it did not replenish as it had before. When their grandfather came back from the k'um, the bread was nearly gone and he knew what they had done. He called them, gave them arrows, and told them to shoot a yellowhammer. When they brought it in, he divided the feathers, those of the right wing to the older, of the left wing to the younger; the tail he split, six feathers to each. Then he made them headbands, put them on them, tightened their belts, and sent them out to play. He told their hoop to lead them to a good place to live. They threw, and it rolled and rolled. They ran after but could not overtake it. When they slowed, it rolled gently; when they ran, it rolled faster. So they went over the mountains. Then the younger began to sing:

Dear my older brother, it is taking us away  
Haike nida, hunününini.

The old man heard them like thunder on the highest mountains. Then they took off their belts, made them into slings, threw a stone up, broke the sky, the

hoop rolled up, and they climbed. The old man heard them: "Now they are in a good place where there is no trouble and there is better food than here." It is thunder when they roll the hoop.

*Grizzly-bear and Antelope.*—Grizzly-bear and Antelope were sisters-in-law. Grizzly-bear had a baby, Antelope two boys. The two women went out to pick greens, leaving the children at home. After a time they sat down. "Louse me," said Antelope. Grizzly-bear found none. "Nibble all around the edge of my hair." "Perhaps I might bite your neck." So she bit along until she bit through her neck. Then she ate her up, except the head, and this she put in the bottom of her carrying basket, loaded clover over it, and pressed it down. The Antelope boys were waiting. "Our mother is coming now." "Only one is coming!" They asked her, "Where is our mother?" "Your mother met her relatives. She is staying with them. She will be here tomorrow. Come, eat clover. But take it from the top only." They ate; but the younger brother dug to the bottom of the basket. "Our mother's head is in here!" The older saw it too and they cried. "Why do you cry? Your mother is coming home tomorrow." That night they burned all her belongings. "What are you burning?" she asked. "Oh, we are only burning pine bark," they told her.

In the morning she went outdoors. "Take care of my baby," she said. They heated stones, boiled water, put the baby in. When it was cooked, they set it before the door. "The baby is asleep. We are going to gather firewood," they told her. They spat in a place. "We are piling up wood here, aunt," they called to her. Four times they did this. "We are coming now," they called. But they went up on a high hill. She came back to the house. "Oh, see, they have had fun with my baby, they have painted it black in the face!" When she picked it up, it fell apart. She ate it. Then she followed them. "Where are you, na'uno'?" "Here we are!" But when she came there it was only their spittle. Four times their spittle deceived her. Now they had heated stones on the hill. She was climbing up, panting. "Open your mouth wide, aunt!" they called. The older threw a hot stone with a sling. "What was that?" she called, as it missed her. "That was a hummingbird whirring. Don't be afraid! Open wide!" He threw again and missed, and again. Three stones were gone; only one was left. Grizzly-bear was nearly at the top. The younger brother said, "Let me try!" They scuffled, but he took the stone from his older brother. He was left-handed. "Open wide!" he called, and slung the hot stone into her mouth. It came out behind and killed her. They danced. "Now what shall we do?" They cooked her and ate her up. Only the gall they could not eat and threw it away into the mountains, where it turned into grizzly bears. O'mlakai is the hill where this happened. Her tracks are visible there now.

"Where shall we go to live?" "Let us try to go to the sky." "How shall we do that?" They slung a stone with a cord on it and climbed up that. In the sky they made a little hoop and began to play. It rolled and rolled, into their mother's lap. The younger brother found her first. "Come on," he called, "our mother is here." They sat one on each of her knees.

The women called each other *nik'epe'*. The boys called the Grizzly-bear *ka'ti*; she them, *kam*; they the baby, *kec*.

*Skunk.*—Two great bear brothers were killing people all about. Skunk went out to put an end to this. An old man went with him. They got to a country full of bears. Skunk was chirping and whistling to himself. Inside the *k'um* the two big bear brothers heard him and sent people out. Skunk hid under a log. Then he whistled and talked to himself again. The bears sent people out once more, with orders to turn everything over. This time they found Skunk and

brought him into the k'um. "Who are you? Why do you whisper and whistle about?" "I was whispering 'food' because I was hungry." They gave him food, but all he would eat was teoka. "I was whispering nothing bad," he said, and they believed him. They went to sleep. Overhead was a bird singing the night through and guarding the bears. At last it too fell asleep. Skunk took his spear and killed the two bears. He ran and the warning was given. As the others chased him, he shot them (with his scent), one after the other. All about his place their bones lay like timber.

*Son-in-law's trials.*—An old man had a fine daughter. Whenever any one came to marry her, the old man gave him poison tobacco to smoke. When he fell dead, the old man hooked him with his claws and threw him away.

Far in the south lived a man who was powerful and wise. He told his wife he was going. She warned him, but he took his "gun" and went. When he came to where there was much game, he shot once and killed everything. He saved the quail and put a duck's head on the end of a stick.

When he arrived, the old man asked his old woman to give him his tobacco, and lit it. The visitor made a hole in the ground and drew the smoke into it.

The old man, disturbed, asked his wife for stronger tobacco. But the visitor did the same with it. Then a quail head flew from him and around and around the house. The old people were frightened and let the man have their daughter.

In the morning the old man said he was hungry for meat. The man went out, shot once, and killed everything about. "What is that?" asked his father-in-law when he heard the shot. The man returned and told his wife, "I have killed one." When they went out, there was a pile of game. There was so much, it was divided among all the village.

Next day the old man said he was sick and wanted to eat birds. His son-in-law went to the lake and at one shot killed everything there. At dark he returned. "Well, I killed one little thing," he said and stood his gun up in a corner. The family went out and found birds piled up as high as a hill.

Again the old man was sick and wanted fish. The man made a net and drew one haul (etc., as per pattern).

He asked for fresh salmon. The son-in-law took a harpoon and put a feather on his head. He speared a gigantic salmon, which almost drew him under, but he finally killed it with a stone. (Pattern as before.)

The old man asked his son-in-law to make him a good fire in his sweat-house. But in it he had a fawn and two bad bears. The son-in-law took his hair net. He drew the bears out, one after the other, killed them, and brought them to the old man.

"Well, I am going now," he said, and took his wife. Part way home they made camp. There she had a baby. They arrived and he lived there with both his wives.

This story seems to be a fusion of native and non-Indian elements.

#### PLACE AND RELATIONS OF THE CULTURE

Culturally the Nisenan of the lower American and Sacramento rivers affiliated most closely with the other tribes of the Sacramento plains and waterways—the northerly Nisenan, Maidu, and Patwin. A number of traits unite them also with the Pomo of the Coast ranges in the same latitude. Resemblances to the hill and mountain Nisenan

and Maidu are fewer, even though valley and hill Nisenan speech are rather closely similar. Subsistence habits determined by physiography and ecology evidently colored the social and religious culture more than did linguistic affiliation.

From the San Joaquin valley, on the other hand, open and contiguous as it lay to our Nisenan, the cultural outlook appears to have been relatively averted; perhaps on account of hostility, perhaps because the Mokelumne and delta peoples shared patterns and attitudes of a different culture centering farther south. Unfortunately the Plains Miwok and northern valley Yokuts broke up before more than scant notes of their culture were recorded, and it is only the central and southern Yokuts of whom something is known. The Nisenan ignorance of the Plains Miwok, however, if the present informant's attitude is typical, suggests that the culture of this people was Yokuts in type, and that the San Joaquin portion of the Great valley formed a cultural sub-unit distinctive from the Sacramento portion, the line falling in the plains between the American and Cosumnes, and the joint delta belonging with the San Joaquin.

The following trait distributions are evidence of these affiliations:

*Relations with the Sacramento valley peoples.*—Geographical knowledge and communications; dependence on fish and water fowl; geese and duck nets; shaped log raft; duck feather blanket; wooden mortar; roasting salt in pits; fathom measuring; general type of Kuksu cult; lack of specific ghost society in Kuksu cult.

*Relations with Sacramento valley and Pomo.*—Feathered baskets; coarse baskets made by men; fan-tan type guessing game; two secret societies; pole ceremony; absence or slight development of victory dance, dance at girl's adolescence, images in mourning anniversary; shaman's paraphernalia bags; shamans taught, little dreaming.

*Relations with hill and mountain Nisenan and Maidu.*—Calendar of less than twelve named moons; weda feasts; shamans' exhibitions or contests.

*Relations with San Joaquin valley.*—The wooden mortar, the shamans' public contest, the absence of an adolescence dance, reappear in the middle San Joaquin valley, the northern portion being without data.

*Southern Valley Nisenan peculiarities of culture.*—Cordage of p'u' instead of Asclepias or Apocynum; stone whorl for spinning; shell knife; mumu necklace basket; human eyes used for bewitching enemy; primacy of Akit dance.

Of these twenty-nine characterizing traits, six are local, twenty are shared with valley Maidu and Patwin, ten with Pomo, three with hill Nisenan and Maidu, three with Yokuts. Roughly, these proportions seem to describe the affiliations of the culture.

## APPENDIX: LANGUAGE

Since there is practically no Nisenan linguistic material accessible beyond old word lists, the vocabulary obtained is given in full. Many minor points of culture have been embodied therein. For this reason the arrangement is topical, not alphabetical. It must be borne in mind that this vocabulary represents the extreme southwestern form of Nisenan, and of the Maidu stock as well; and that both in the valley along lower Feather river and in the hills on the middle courses of American river, speech, though still Nisenan or Southern Maidu, was somewhat different.

*Phonetics*

*Vowels.*—An *a* of less clear quality than “normal” *a*, due probably to partial tongue elevation, was occasionally heard, as in *aka'n*, a small fish; but being observed only in short syllables, it may not be an organic sound of the language. The vowels *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* are usually if not always open. A few cases of apparent closer quality have been indicated by the macron, thus, *ū*. Of impure vowels, both *ü* and *ö* seem to occur. They are unrounded, as in Shoshonean and Yokuts, and perhaps better represented by *ĩ* and *ë*. Of the two, *ü* is much the commoner; *ö* possibly represents only a variant apperception.

Final vowels—and it may be assumed all vowels organically—seem either to end in a surd aspiration or in a glottal stop: *aʰ* and *aʷ*. The feebleness of the informant’s larynx led to many being recorded without differentiation of termination. Most of these are likely to be aspirated, the glottal stop being generally easier to hear. An initial glottal stop was sometimes recorded, but more often is likely not to have been heard.

Diphthongs are frequent: *ai*, *ei*, *üi*, *öi*, *ui*, *au*, *iu*, etc., and of a duration equivalent to a single long or short vowel. Where the vowels seemed to constitute separate syllables without an intervening glottal stop, they have been separated by a hyphen.

*Stops.*—These appear to occur in three series, surd, sonant, and glottalized. The latter are feeble, and may not always have been distinguished. They are both organic, as in *kʷum*, dance house, and induced (stop + glottal stop) as in *nikʷeʷi* (*nik-ʷeʷi*), my older brother—*ct. nikʷaʷi* (*nik-kaʷi*), my great-grandfather, *nik-paʷpa*, my mother’s



father. Surd stops were recorded both aspirated and unaspirated. The distinction may be functional; or the stops written as unaspirated surds and as sonants may really constitute only one series: the sonants appear to have a less prolonged sonancy than in English. Two peculiar sonants were heard,  $b^w$  and  $d'$ , different from  $b$  and  $d$ ; in the former a heavy labialization seemed to obtrude, in the latter, glottalization. These evidently correspond to Dixon's "inspirational"  $b$  and  $d$ .<sup>33</sup> Final surd stops are often not released; that is, they consist only of occlusion:  $k$ ,  $t$ ,  $p$ . These were difficult to distinguish from one another and from glottal stops, and errors may have crept into the record. There are also released final surd stops. Glottalized stops were not heard at the ends of words. The surd stops occur intervocalically with lengthened occlusion:  $k'$ ,  $t'$ ,  $p'$ , also  $t'c$ . The informant's loss of upper teeth made the determination of the dental-alveolar group uncertain as to true dental articulation. Mostly  $t$  and  $d$  were heard alveolar, about as in English. A post-alveolar or pre-palatal  $t$  was repeatedly recorded, but also confused with  $tc$ .

*Continuants.*—These include  $s$ ,  $ʃ$ ,  $c$ ,  $j$ ;  $l$  and  $l$ ;  $m$ ,  $m$ ,  $n$ ,  $n$ ;  $w$ ,  $y$ ;  $h$ ,  $h$ ; and the affricatives  $ts$ ,  $tc$ . There are probably two organic  $s$ -sounds,  $s$  and  $c$ , the latter made with less flat tongue than English  $sh$ , and  $s$  representing a more  $s$ -like apperception of it. Inter-vocalic  $c$  was sometimes doubtfully heard sonant and written  $j$ , as in *pujune*. It may be questioned whether this is a separate organic constituent of the language. Its limitation of position suggests sonant infection of  $c$  by the adjacent vowels. There appear to be two  $l$ -sounds:  $l$  is thick in quality, and perhaps produced with more sudden articulation both at beginning and end. It was chiefly recorded finally, sometimes initially. The nasal continuants are often surd when final:  $m$ ,  $n$ . A glottal stop was sometimes detected, and sometimes not, between vowel and consonant:  $a'n$  and  $an$ . I suspect that all final sonant nasals were imperfectly written:  $an$  should always be  $a'n$ , but  $an$  and  $a'n$  differ. There is no  $\tilde{n}$  ( $ng$ ) on careful enunciation; nor  $x$  (palatal fricative); an occasional somewhat constricted  $h$  preceding another consonant has been written  $h$ .

*Length.*—Long vowels and consonants have been indicated by the same device, a superior period. Long consonants recorded are the stops,  $l$ ,  $n$ ,  $m$ ,  $w$ . They occur chiefly after short vowels. Syllables are long, accordingly, either in the vowel or in the consonant.

<sup>33</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Bull. 40, pt. 1:684, 1911.

*Accent.*—Stress falls most frequently on the penult, but may come anywhere from the final syllable to the fourth from the last, at any rate in the compound words. Final accent is perhaps less common than indicated in the vocabulary: the effort to articulate clearly sometimes induced the informant to stress the last syllable unnaturally. Pronominal possessives are proclitic.

### Vocabulary

\* Forde; † Gayton; A, American river; F, Feather river.

#### Body Parts

tol, head (†teol)	po'mbok, ankle
teo'ltaktak, crown	pa'idadat, †pai; foot
ono', hair (†oi'; F, kui)	lo'lo', bone
sün, forehead	sü'dei, blood
wi'skon, eyebrow	pu', ma'mpu', skin
hi'n, eye	hüt, fat
sümu', nose	hon, heart
si'm, mouth	huhu'', lungs
ma'sau, beard (†F; A, sumba)	kü'l'a, liver
teiki', tooth (†F, teawai)	ei'', gall
a'li'', tongue	tsü'p, teüüp, stomach
ya'kb'a', cheek, face	po'tom, intestines
b'o'no', ear	o'l'i', brain
tea'kanwa', jaw	pa'kai, sinew
†mutcao, chin	mo'', horn, antler
soto.'lo, throat.	buk, tail
k'ui, k'u'icop, neck	ya'kan, saliva
da'dat, shoulder	he'lop, sweat
tutu', chest	wom, tears
mi'n, breast, milk (†F; F, teut)	hun, mucus
tei'tei, rib	u'teu', urine
ta'ta, back	pi'tcüi, faeces
bökö'yal, small of back	yu'bui, shadow
e'la, belly	ni' ya'm(üm), my name
soť, navel	min ya'müm, your name
pe'l, penis?	
pa'kpak, testicles	
wo'loc, scrotum	
bu'n, pubic hair	
yim, arm	
k'i'pis, elbow	
ma'', hand	
süküküp, fingers	
bite-i'', nails	
ya'wak, thigh (†A; F, hoi)	
po'dok, knee	
wü'mpü, shin	
lö'k'öc, calf	

#### Persons

nise'na'n, person, Indian
ma'idük, man
kü'le', woman
ye'pimme', old man (†hoel)
tu'eno', old woman
ma'n'a', boy (†F; A, yepo')
k'onai'i', girl (†yen; F, kolo)
k'onobe'i, young woman (cf. new)
pa'ta', baby
to'koi, first menstruation
wü'üs, menstruation
hu'k (hu'k'?), chief

pe'dau, chief's speaker, in dance house  
 pe'taye', common crier  
 wō'u, secret society crier, on dance house  
 k'a'kin, spirit, dancer, initiate  
 pe'ipi', full initiate, director, "dance doctor"  
 pi'wenan (outside-at), non-initiate  
 yo'muse, yo'muse, "medicine doctor," shaman (†F, yom)  
 ho'epe, o'epe, "luck doctor," sings to make food abundant  
 ha'ikat, "weather doctor," rain maker; also creator  
 cul'ik, grizzly-bear "doctor"  
 ya't, war leader, brave man  
 nik'o', minko', my, your friend  
 k'ule'e, widow, widower  
 wo'le', white man  
 kü'lümüse', Negro  
 wo'nomüse, ghost

*Kin*

nikte'', my father, and reciprocal for males  
 nikne'', my mother  
 nikpo', my daughter  
 ni'mana'i, my son, woman speaking (cf. boy)  
 'ei, nik'e'i, (my) older brother  
 tün, niktün, (my) younger brother  
 e'ti'', older sister  
 k'aci', younger sister  
 nikpa'', my father's father  
 nikpa''pa, my mother's father  
 ko'to, nik'o'to, (my) grandmother  
 pei, grandchild  
 ka'i, nik'a'i, (my) great-grandfather, and reciprocal  
 niksa'k, my great-grandmother, and reciprocal  
 nikto'm, my father's older brother, mother's older sister (?)  
 nik'üce', my father's younger brother, stepfather  
 ka'ti, nik'a'ti, my father's sister, uncle's wife, mother's sister-in-law  
 kaka'', mother's brother  
 nikde'', my mother's younger sister  
 o'm'o', stepmother; †mother's sister

ko'le, reciprocal of to'm and de''—  
 et. son-in-law; (parallel nephew-nieces called children)  
 kam, recipral of kaka'' and ka'ti  
 poci', older cross(?) cousin; parallel cousins apparently called by sibling terms  
 kee, reciprocal; younger cross-cousin  
 nikpe'ti, my mother-in-law, man's father-in-law  
 nikte'te, my father-in-law, woman speaking (cf. father)  
 ni'ma'nai, ("son"), woman's son-in-law  
 ko'le, man's son-in-law (cf. nephew)  
 niki'kole, woman's daughter-in-law  
 k'e'de, wife's brother, and reciprocal  
 mac, man's brother's wife, and reciprocal  
 nik'epe', my husband's sister, and reciprocal  
 nik'a'ne, my wife's sister  
 wo'kli, woman's sister's husband, reciprocal of last  
 k'o'po, parent of child-in-law, reciprocal  
 ni'tu'le, my relatives, kin, generic  
 k'o namesake

*Mammals—Carnivore*

ka'pa'', grizzly bear  
 e'mul, black bear  
 e'l'ak, brown bear  
 hi'li't, puma  
 to'loma', wild cat  
 tee'l'i, "tiger," smaller than puma, kills deer  
 lo'la, wolf  
 ol'e'', coyote  
 hau, fox  
 †suku, dog  
 packa'te, raccoon  
 b'u', skunk  
 pim, badger  
 do'kdok, mink  
 ka'ki', otter

*Mammals—Others*

b<sup>w</sup>a'dab<sup>w</sup>ada, bat  
 k'a'weyum, mole (cf. earth)  
 bo'ye, jackrabbit  
 pala'l, cottontail rabbit  
 hi'lou', ground squirrel  
 tsa'mbau, tree squirrel  
 he'mei, gopher  
 yotso', rat  
 b<sup>w</sup>üde', mouse  
 pa'nteak, beaver  
 düp'e', deer  
 win', elk  
 na'u, antelope

*Birds*

mo'l'ok', condor  
 hu'kpas, eagle  
 hü's, buzzard, turkey vulture  
 te'ktek, a chicken hawk  
 lo'klok, a chicken hawk, edible  
 su'yu, a chicken hawk  
 we' kwek, "duck hawk" (pairic  
 falcon?)  
 pi'l'au, a hawk  
 hü'mhüm, large owl  
 tei'l'iklik, an owl that kills chickens  
 go'nda, a chattering owl  
 tok'o'k, small burrowing owl

ko'k, raven  
 a'k, crow  
 atat, magpie  
 te'a'p'ol, blackbird (eaten)  
 wa'imis, meadowlark  
 li'sno', hummingbird  
 wictakta'k, robin  
 wo'lolok, yellowhammer  
 pa'nak, red-headed woodpecker  
 ha'n, wild pigeon  
 pu'lba, dove  
 ha'npai, quail; caught in net over  
 seed bait in path

*Water Birds*

po'ye', duck, generic  
 si'n'a, mallard  
 mu'li'n, similar, smaller  
 he'lwa, a white-backed duck  
 la'k'uc, a long-tailed duck  
 to'lok, mud hen

la',lak, gray goose  
 wa'u, wa'w, white goose  
 ko'molo', large honker goose  
 kou, swan  
 ho'lhol, loon  
 ko'kto', cormorant(?), from sea  
 a'wu, gull(?), from sea  
 so'mo', similar, smaller  
 ale'wo,† alewak, "crane"  
 tea'lteal, white crane  
 wak, small crane (heron?)  
 k'üu, smallest crane

*Reptiles and Amphibians*

ko'imo', rattlesnake  
 \*ho'toto't, gopher snake  
 \*pal, racer  
 \*(h)ucko, water snake  
 \*yililuk, a small snake  
 \*petsak, blue-breasted lizard  
 \*lowo, larger gray lizard  
 okope'ipei, horned toad  
 a'wan, turtle, roasted, eaten; shell  
 good for rheumatism  
 potpoto, toad(?)  
 \*wohokoc, large frog  
 \*wakat, small frog

*Fish*

pala'', fish, generic or small fish  
 mai', salmon  
 ho'lmai', sturgeon  
 teü'men, "spring salmon" (really:  
 spring of year?)  
 yat'a'dak, summer salmon  
 ko'wo, lamprey eel  
 pe'te'u'', pike  
 hoyo', sucker  
 teu'su, perch  
 Aka'n, a small flat fish

*Shellfish*

tsunda'', river mussel, long  
 a'na'', lake clam, flat  
 tsu'wel, crab, from sea

*Insects*

t'ükü's, flea  
 pe'des, body louse  
 di'', head louse  
 kül, net

e'melulu, fly  
 ko'wawa, butterfly  
 wo'soso, cocoon, cocoon rattle  
 e'ni', grasshopper; young driven  
     with leaves into pits, eaten  
 pa'pe, mosquito  
 i'l'ük, yellowjacket  
 mu'lka, bumblebee  
 e'pen, small ground bee

*Worms*

ka'ye', angle worm, eaten  
 waka'i, worm or grub in grass in  
     spring, eaten  
 ho'la, large worm or grub in ground,  
     not eaten

*Plants*

u'ti, acorn (of next? generic?)  
 ba'bak, valley oak  
 tea'kau, white oak, in valley  
 pi'ki, white oak, in valley  
 ha'msü, black oak acorn, in hills  
 po'ekwo, oak gall  
 ti't'i, mistletoe  
  
 pot'o'', red willow  
 mo''i, black willow  
 ha'lawai, another willow  
 pa'takpag, cottonwood  
 su'tum, alder  
 †sit'i, buckeye  
 ca'kan, "ax wood," ash (?)  
 a'ntai, elder  
 tci'tok, poison oak, Rhus  
 muck'u'lk'ul, wild rose; haws eaten  
  
 cu'mu, sugar pine  
 to'n, digger pine  
 'in'in, bull pine  
 no'unou', yellow pine (†digger p.)  
 man, "redwood pine" (†yellow p.)  
 tü'tük, fir (?)  
 ha'lui, cedar (?)

†enan, blackberry  
 †muimui, huckleberry  
 †fanfan (*sic*), red clover  
 †su, clover, smells like celery

†choya, large bulb, edible  
 †ka'o, Mariposa lily (?) bulb

\*wai, a bulb, Brodiaea (?)  
 wi'nek, a root or bulb  
 \*haka, cooked in earth oven  
 \*awolo, leaves (?) boiled  
 tu', small seeds, generic  
 si'wi, seeds of a red-flowered herb  
 se'k'ol, seeds of a white-flowered  
     herb

ku'ye, round tule, for mats and  
     skirts

walak'a'i, triangular tule, for mats  
     and skirts  
 sa'ule, flat tule, root eaten  
 lu'muku, "cotton," or fiber of tules  
 ca'kayak, scouring rush, to smooth  
     arrows and flutes

*Plant Parts*

te'a', wood  
 kai', log  
 pa'pak, stump  
 te'awal, limb, fork (1 partly surd)  
 to'til, root  
 t'i'lka, gum, pitch  
 ka'pum, bark  
 te'i'o, pine bark, for flares

*Shape*

tuke'', hole  
 nok', end  
 ecto'', middle, half

*Earth*

loklo', world  
 k'au, land, earth, soil  
 a'hil, sand (i obscure, but not ü)  
 ya'hai, gravel  
 o', o'o, stone, rock  
 ya'man, mountain  
 ü'k'üi, hill  
 to'na, valley, plain  
 pe'pai, canyon

*Water*

mom, water  
 mul', deep water  
 wo'lem mom, ocean  
 mo'mti, river, large stream  
 ceu, slough, creek  
 ka'ye', lake  
 yak'in, tule marsh

lit'op, mud  
 ta''mom, Sacramento river  
 no'to'mom, (east-water) American  
 river  
 ka'yimceu, (lake-slough) Feather  
 (and Bear?) rivers  
 o'ta, Yuba river  
 haka'mom, Cache creek

*Fire*

ca', cato''ye, fire  
 suk', smoke  
 teu'min, lol, ash  
 hem, coal  
 pi''lo', brand, half-burned wood

*Meteorological*

hi''pin, sky, up  
 oko'', sun  
 po''mbo', moon  
 po'ketcük, star  
 †molomolo, morning star  
 †yoteok, Pleiades  
 ya'', cloud  
 ''ba''i, rain  
 b''oye'', snow  
 ko'', ice  
 ko''kin, frost  
 te''l, ko''teüle, hail  
 cu'mukla', fog  
 yo'wo', thunder  
 yo''wil, lightning  
 po''ho', po''hom, †po', night  
 e'ki', e.ki'm, day  
 o'fo', morning(?), evening (star?)  
 tü'k'üi, whirlwind

*Months and Seasons*

ma''tmen, "acorn-bread season," a  
 month, also autumn  
 lo'lmen, "ashy season," the foggy  
 month  
 nempo''mbok, "large moon," mid-  
 winter month  
 li'm'e', "brush," leafing month  
 yo'men, "flower season" or month  
 tu'men, tu'hmen, "fine seed season"  
 or month  
 i''lak, i'hlak, "hot" month  
 te''mi'lak, "little hot" month

mo'ik'i, "great" month  
 k'ummen, "dance house season," a  
 month

ta'm'ac, winter  
 o'k'omen, summer

*Houses*

hü'', house  
 k'um, dance or assembly house  
 k'umi'mhü'', sweat house  
 'u'i', floor  
 hücü'm, door, to west in k'um  
 da'l, hü'mbol, smoke hole  
 cu'dok, wü'k'üi, two center posts of  
 k'um  
 yö'löl, ye'löl, side posts  
 ma'l'o, stringers, roof  
 üpa'imtea, ladder (-te'a?—see wood)  
 k'ü'nün, road (cf. round)  
 †uctu, "cemetery" (Maidu, mourning  
 anniversary)

*Food and Preparation*

'a'', mortar, of oak, in hills of stone  
 bai', pestle  
 b'at, b''a't, acorn meal  
 tel, coarse acorn meal (1 partly  
 surd)  
 wo''tok, acorn bread, dough  
 ma't, same, at Hok, Yupu  
 pu'co', acorn mush, soup  
 ma'eu, \*ana, spoon, of "clam" shell  
 \*taba, †ba, salt burned from a plant  
 \*balok, †kaiba, salt dug from ground

*Baskets*

p'ö'löe, cooking basket  
 \*mucpa, smaller basket, cup or dip-  
 per  
 ko'yo', carrying basket, made by  
 men  
 teo'tdoi, tray basket  
 wo'da', flat sifting basket  
 pata'i, to sift  
 pu'luc, p'u'luc(?), basket covered  
 with woodpecker and mallard  
 feathers  
 mu'mu, minute basket with wood-  
 pecker feathers, on necklace

*Basket Materials*

mo''i, black willow, basket material  
 pi''to', root, basket material, has  
 knife-like leaves  
 lül, redbud, for designs; from hills  
 pa'k', for black designs; wire-like  
 roots from swamps (*Carex*?)

*Smoking*

pan, tobacco, planted  
 ta''kmu', \*wöde, pipe (†A, wüde; F,  
 tukmu)  
 ku'la, pipe, hill dialect  
 \*sawo', fire drill

*Weapons*

k'öi, war  
 pa'ndak, bow  
 \*wai, glue to fasten sinew backing to  
 bow  
 ola'u, arrow (†F, al'ao; A, huya)  
 no'ka, quiver, of fur  
 boco', b''o'co'', arrowpoint, spear-  
 point  
 la'i'yi, obsidian (also flint?)  
 a''tan, spear with obsidian head  
 †yatoi, spear wholly of wood  
 eu''nak, sling  
 ho'e, salmon harpoon, at Pujune  
 ya'ka', same, at Kadema  
 ma'i-mü', same, at Olac  
 'üm, head of salmon harpoon, in all  
 3 dialects

*Boats*

ta'me', tule raft, balsa  
 wa'k'ai, log raft, at Pujune, Ka-  
 dema (†wakai)  
 ha'pa', same, at Olac  
 nü, same, at Hok (†nu)  
 li''a', long pole for pushing raft  
 to'lokmu', short paddle for raft

*String, Nets, Fishing*

hina'', dip net, 5 feet wide, with  
 (half) hoop on pole  
 a'w'ai, small net, one-finger mesh  
 hu'tu'tuk, seine for salmon or small  
 fish, in river or lakes  
 da'kdak, fish poison, leaves crushed;  
 used in sloughs

ho''hyau, fishing with poison (?)  
 ye'w'a, duck net, 50 fathoms long,  
 24 meshes wide, 5-inch mesh  
 mo'l'a', goose net, 12 fathoms long,  
 set in series, pulled  
 to'le', elderberry prop for goose net  
 p'u'', string material, from tule  
 marsh  
 \*tilili, \*amteu', spindle whorl  
 to'kno', fathom  
 k'i'pic, cubit, elbow

*Dress and Adornment*

d'üi, woman's skirt or apron of bark  
 of pot'o' or ha'lawai willow  
 te'i, blanket of duck feather cords  
 mo'loi', buckskin  
 so'lom, moccasins of buckskin  
 'üm, awl for sewing and basketry;  
 also harpoon head  
 ce'k'i', man's hair net  
 ma'tap, ma'tcap, man's cap with  
 beads or haliotis pendants  
 b''o'no, ear ornaments, of wood-  
 b''o'no, ear ornaments, of woodpecker  
 feathers, haliotis, or incised bone  
 cu'dut', belt of glass beads  
 †soilak, nut with 4 seeds, burned to  
 make shiny black paint  
 †yi, red paint, from springs

*Money*

ho'w'ok, disk beads, strung; shell  
 from ocean, rubbed on stone;  
 counted  
 ö'lau', haliotis, for necklaces  
 lakla'kce, cylindrical magnesite  
 beads; from west

*Religion*

we'ne', medicine (cf. "good")  
 ma'tai', taboo food, kills  
 ca'wen, poison  
 k'ö'yim ca'wen, foes' eyes used to  
 paralyze enemy  
 ne'di'', dream  
 wai, a dance or feast in summer  
 yo''we'da, feast in flower season  
 sa''we'da, feast later, in "leaf"  
 season

hucla, husla, summer feast before  
dance house  
he'ipai', mourning anniversary  
co'tak, images in same, in hills  
only

*Dance Paraphernalia*

pa'lalak, yellowhammer quill head-  
band  
yo'to, woodpecker feather belt  
ci'luc, woodpecker feather visor  
ki'lem, foot-drum

*Musical Instruments*

wo'soso, cocoon rattle  
lu'la, flute, at Kadema  
ya'lulu, flute, at Hok, Chico  
ko'wa', musical bow, Jew's harp  
li'wan'ü, bullroarer, toy and wind-  
maker

*Games*

he'lai', he'lam hin, hand game,  
guessing game  
ci'p'o', grass to envelop bone  
tep, mo'wi', unmarked bone  
(“man”) or call for same  
wi', ce'wi, luk', ta'liti, marked bone  
(“woman”) or call for it  
te'l'a, 6 stick dice, of elder, red and  
black sides, men and women play;  
from Patwin  
o'ca, sticks divided, counted by  
fours, remainder guessed  
ti'kili, women's game, basket rack-  
ets, ball  
lu'm'u, stuffed buckskin football,  
men's running game  
k'ü'nün, (“round”), hoop of oak,  
black and white, thrown at with  
poles or shot at with arrows, in  
spring

*Adjectives*

külüm, kül'üm, black  
k'ou', white  
p'ana'nak, red  
ko'te'is, yellow, green  
b"apb"a'p, blue, gray  
pötöpötö, pink  
b"o'nope, spotted  
huha'c, striped

püte'o'no, rough  
ka'nanae, smooth  
wi'c'ap, heavy  
hü'co', light  
bi'pik, strong  
lo'kokoc, weak  
muk', large, wide (†A, upek; F,  
enem)  
mana'i', small (cf. boy) (†A; F,  
yempom)  
u'idee mana'i', narrow  
lam, long  
t'un, short  
hipi'ndi, high (cf. sky, up)  
k'a'udi, low (cf. land, down)  
ca'la', ca'lam, wet  
e'k'al, dry  
wa'dai, straight  
mok'o'no, crooked  
k'ünü'n, round (cf. road)  
we'n'em, good  
oc'i'm, bad (cf. something)  
dek', rotten, decayed  
t'ün, stinking  
cu'nak, sweet  
te'üte'ük, sour  
o'ho', bitter  
he'c, he'jem, old  
b'e'i, new (cf. now, young woman)  
pök'a'uti(m), ugly, nasty  
wa'ekakti(m), pretty  
lo'kom, many  
p'i't'il, sharp  
  
wa'da', alive  
wo'no, dead  
wa'mai', sick  
hutu''pe, crazy

*Directions*

to'cim, north  
ta'i', ta'm, west  
ko'mo, south  
no'tou, east, upstream  
hi'pin, up, sky (cf. above)  
k'a'udi, down (cf. below)  
to'cimomti, far upstream (“north  
large river”)  
to'cibü, north wind  
ta'bü, west wind  
ko'mobü, south wind  
no'tobü, east wind



*Adverbs of Space*

yimdükna'n, right (cf. arm)  
 da'ku'nän, left  
 ca'nän, in front  
 ki'w'nän, ki'unän, behind  
 hi'pin'an, above  
 k'a'u'nän, below

la'm'di', far (cf. long)  
 me''le'di', close, near  
 hon'a''di, inside  
 pi'we''di, outside  
 hu'mpui'di, outdoors

*Adverbs of Time*

b'eidim, now (cf. new)  
 ho'y'a', a long time  
 ho'yadi'him, long ago  
 he'hëp, he'tin, hëthë'tin, quickly  
 he'de-moko, today  
 k'a'ipin, yesterday  
 oto'pai, tomorrow

*Affirmations*

he'', yes  
 wi'n, no, nothing  
 müya'tce'i, perhaps

*Numerals*

wükte'', 1  
 pe'n, 2  
 sa'pwi, 3  
 tcüi, 4  
 ma'wuk, 5  
 tümbo'', 6  
 to'p'ui, 7  
 pe'ntcui, 8 (-tcüi?)  
 pe'l'io', 9  
 ma'team, 10  
 ho'woto', 11  
 pe'neto', 12  
 sa'pwini'a'l, 13  
 tcü'ini'a'l, 14  
 hi'w'al, 15  
 hi'w'alta'ka, 16  
 oice'to', 17?  
 wüktem ma'idük, 20  
 hewaltok?, 30  
 la'wik, 40  
 la'wik ma'team, 50  
 tcü'ina ma'idük, 80? 19?

*Pronouns*

ni', I  
 ni'm ni', that is I  
 mi', mi'', you  
 na'e, we two  
 ma'm, you two  
 ne'e, we  
 me'm, you plural  
 nik, my, proclitic to specific kinship terms  
 ni, my, before boy, relation, name  
 min, your

*Demonstratives and Interrogatives*

he'de, he'dem, this, here  
 ho'dodi, there  
 ho'de, where?  
 ho'demi, where are you?  
 mene'be' mi, who are you?  
 hecibe, what?  
 o'e'i, something

*Verbs*

ye'wop, run  
 üye'p, walk  
 ü'pi, come  
 uk'o'ipö, uko'ipö, let's go  
 bo'op, jump  
 pa'yo', dance  
 iski't, sit  
 dükü'p, dökö'p(?), stand  
 tuki't, lie  
 t'ui', sleep  
 ot'o'p, wake up  
 ma'me, take hand (cf. hand)  
 pa'p, eat  
 mo', drink (cf. water)  
 he'num, talk  
 sol, sing  
 pi'nim, hear  
 pi'nk'üt, listen  
 et'a'p, look  
 e'i, see

*Greetings*

ho'mo'na'n ü'daukani', where have you been?  
 we'n tin i'cimni, I have stayed (sat?) well  
 uk'o'yim ni, I am going (good-bye)

cita'pai o'mic, "take care of your-  
self," farewell  
ce'kac'in, Pujune greeting  
homa'bini, Kadema greeting

*Phrases*

pa'bene ü'ye, come on, eat  
mo'mi mo', drink water  
o'ci he'nüm, talk something

he'ci col kani', what are you sing-  
ing?  
e'i ni', I see it  
menewete wekawim, there has been  
nobody  
mene'be' mi', who are you?  
heci'ya yape'bimi, what is your  
name?

*Suffixes*

Several suffixes are distinguishable in this vocabulary. Their Northeast (Mountain) Maidu equivalents are designated by Dixon's numbers.<sup>34</sup>

-*m*, relational, connective, nominalizing ? Dixon, pp. 688, 711. See ocean, Feather river, night, day, black, good, bad, many, north, 20, pronouns, this.

-*im*, -*em*, -*üm* appears to be the same. See name, sweat house, ladder, old.

-*i*. Compare boy, small; handgame; alive, straight; girl, young woman. Cf. also sick, taboo food; west, phrases.

-*müse*. See ghost, Negro.

-*pe*, *be*. See crazy, phrases, name, what. Dixon 46, p. 705.

-*wete*. See phrases. Dixon 52, p. 706.

-*di*, locative. See adverbs, demonstratives. Dixon, p. 712.

-*nan*, locative. See adverbs. Dixon, p. 713.

-*pö*, let us. See go. Dixon 22, p. 702.

-*p*, on verbs, perhaps imperative. See run, walk, jump, stand, awake, eat, look, quickly. Dixon 19, p. 701.

-*im*, on verbs. See greetings. Cf. sit, hear.

-*ka*, on verbs. See phrases. Dixon 30, p. 703.

-*bene*, on verbs. See phrases. Dixon 24, p. 702.

-*ti-m*. See pretty, ugly, near, now, long ago.

-*to'*, on numerals. Cf. Dixon 45, p. 705; also p. 708.

-*al*, -*ni'al*, on numerals.

These correspond sufficiently to Maidu forms to suggest that the grammar of Nisenan and that of Maidu are rather similar.

<sup>34</sup> Bur. Am. Ethn., Bull. 40, pt. 1, 1911.

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