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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

I: Tulare Lake, Southern Valley, and Central Foothill Yokuts

BY
A. H. GAYTON

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PREFACE

The ethnographic data presented herein were collected for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, on a number of field trips during the years 1925 to 1928; in 1929 and 1930 the work was additionally aided by a fellowship of the National Research Council.

Some of the material then gathered has been published in separate studies, namely, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making (1929), The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California (1930), Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans (1930), and with Stanley S. Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths (1940). Unpublished but accessible data on the use of jimsonweed by the Yokuts and Western Mono are embodied in "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" (Thesis, University of California Library, 1928).

The only original material now remaining in the author's hands are twenty-five or more genealogies and a file of several hundred personal names; these will be combined in a future publication since this already lengthy ethnography could not support addenda.

A valuable addition to my own records is the material on the Chukchansi collected by Miss Barbara Thrall (Mrs. Arthur Wood Rogers) in 1938. On her marriage she generously gave me her field notes to incorporate with my own on Yokuts culture. Mrs. Rogers' material is the result of but two weeks' stay at Coarse Gold, and its richness, for so brief a contact, is a tribute both to her abilities as a budding ethnographer and to the Yokuts as facile informants. A regrettable accident prevented Mrs. Rogers from continuing her work for the length of time she had planned. The myths she recorded will appear in a separate paper by Rogers and Gayton, "Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths (in press).[1]

The basic picture of Yokuts culture as drawn by Dr. A.L. Kroeber in his Handbook of the Indians of California has remained unchanged by later ethnographic data from the San Joaquin Valley. Rather, the picture has been filled out, the composition has gained balance, and the colors have been heightened by more intimate knowledge of the life depicted. Perspective has been added and depth increased. By means of Dr. Kroeber's initial publications, The Yokuts Language of South Central California, Indian Myths of South Central California, and the ethnographic sketch in his Handbook, a cultural orientation was already provided when I began my field investigations.

I have drawn upon Kroeber's early work and upon Mr. F.F. Latta's little book, Uncle Jeff's Story, to augment my incomplete data on Tachi culture, of which it is impossible to get a full description today. Another addition to my Tachi notes comes from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly gave me his record of Tachi moieties and genealogies.

I am indebted to Dr. Stanley S. Newman for the lively account of a Yokuts war, and to Mr. Donald Scott for the photograph of Yokuts specimens in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

A very valuable contribution to the anthropologist's knowledge of the Yokuts is Dr. Stanley S. Newman's Yokuts Language of California.[2] The archaeology of Valley Yokuts territory, already investigated by Gifford, Schenck, Heizer, and others, has been summarized by Dr. Waldo R. Wedel in connection with his own researches at Buena Vista Lake.

A few brief papers from the pen of Mr. George W. Stewart have preserved glimpses of Yokuts life with which he came in contact through his many years of service with the Visalia Land Office. Like Mr. Latta, Mr. Stewart had keen sympathy and respect for the native dwellers in the San Joaquin Valley. One of Mr. Stewart's longer papers and the recent culture element study of Dr. Harold Driver have been examined but not used in the preparation of this ethnography.[3]

Published papers on the Western Mono tribes were few at the time of my field work, chiefly Kroeber's linguistic study, Shoshonean Dialects of California, and Gifford's works on Northfork Mono myths and social organization, "Western Mono Myths" and "Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California."[4] Since that time Gifford's ethnographic account of the Northfork Mono has appeared, but the scantiness of the data in 1925 is indicated by the brevity of treatment received by the Mono in Kroeber's Handbook.[5]

A more thorough knowledge of the Western Mono peoples in contact with the Yokuts of the foothills was exigent to a broader understanding of Yokuts culture and therefore, after working with the Wukchumni Yokuts of Kaweah River, I visited their Shoshonean neighbors to the north, the Waksachi. The contact proved too fruitful to abandon after brief interviews and consequently fairly full accounts were got of both Waksachi and Wobonuch life. So com-

[1]Since published; see Bibliography.

[2]Since published; see Bibliography.

[3]The Yokuts Indians of the Kaweah River Region. Sierra Club Bulletin, 12:385-400, 1927; Culture Element Distributions, VI: Southern Sierra Nevada, UC-AR 1:53-154, 1937. (See Bibliography for explanation of abbreviations.)

[4]JAFL, 36:301-367, 1923; UC-PAAE 11:291-296, 1916.

[5]Handbook of California Indians, 584-589.

pletely had these Western Mono absorbed the culture of the San Joaquin Valley tribes that to separate it from Yokuts for purposes of publication seemed not only artificial but impractical. The result was a somewhat unwieldy mass of material, the sheer bulk of which has been largely responsible for the long delay in preparing it for press.

Even now the record which follows is merely that: a record of ethnographic facts unaugmented by comparative references and unadorned by interpretative conclusions. The random allusions to other cultures often are more remote than immediate, casually calling attention to some ethnic similarity of piquant interest. For those who would completely comprehend the civilizations of the natives of the San Joaquin Valley, two valuable papers on the cultures of adjacent tribes must be consulted, namely, Dr. Erminie W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Ethnography, and Miwok Material Culture, by S.A. Barrett and E.W. Gifford.

My gratitude is cast in two directions -- to the many informants whose amiability and sincere interest sustained them through tedious inquiries and labored explanations, and to those members of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California who sponsored my work and leniently permitted me to prolong its completion: more particularly to Mrs. Josie Alonzo, Mrs. Mollie Lawrence, Mr. Sam Osborn, and to Dr. A.L. Kroeber, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Santa Cruz, California A.H. Gayton
September 13, 1943

Postscript

Since the above was written, certain changes have taken place. A summary paper, "Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization," largely based on the data herein, has been published (1945), and the materials in the thesis, "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" are being augmented and prepared for publication. Wherever possible, bibliographic references have been brought up to date.

The kinship systems originally incorporated herein have been withdrawn and probably will be combined with the genealogies and personal names in a later paper. Kinship systems of several Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are available in the publications of Kroeber, Gifford, and Driver.

An editorial decision to divide the present ethnography into two sections will facilitate both publication and subsequent use. Therefore it will appear in two parts with the subtitles: Part I, Tulare Lake, Southern Valley, and Central Foothill Yokuts, and Part II, Northern Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono. The Index will be found in Part II.

Here I should like to add my thanks to Mrs. Mary Anne Whipple for her meticulous care in preparing the manuscript for press.

November 8, 1945 A.H.G.

INFORMANTS

Below are the names and approximate ages of contributing informants and the tribes about which they gave data. The initials are those under which they appear in the text. Asterisks denote major informants. Interpreters, none of whom were important as personalities, are listed separately. About eleven individuals who will remain unnamed were tried and rejected as informants.

Yokuts: Lake Tribes

*** J.A. Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Nutunutu
** M.G. Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni

Yokuts: Southern Valley

** M.A. Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi
* F.M. Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi
B.J.A. Big Jim Alto, 70, Yauelmani and Hometwali
D.F. Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti

Yokuts: Central Foothills

*** M.L. Mollie Lawrence, 70, Wukchumni and Gawia (blind)
** S.G. Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudanchi
** M.P. Mary Pohot, 55, Wukchumni
** J.P. Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni and Patwisha
* J.B. Jim Britches, 70, Wukchumni
K.G. Katie García, 30, Wukchumni (and a star interpreter)
L. Lottie, 60, Wukchumni
M.S. Mary Sanwihat, 100, Yaudanchi
J.W. Jim Wilcox, 70, Yaudanchi
T.W. Tillie Wilcox, 70, Telamni
A.M. Annie Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
P.M. Pete Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
Mo. Mollie, 60, Chukaimina
** P.D.W. Pony Dick Watun, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich

Yokuts: Northern Foothills

* E.M Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu
* B.W. Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna
C.D. Chicago Dick, 70, Chukchansi
* N.W. Nancy Wyatt, 50, Chukchansi
M.W. Mike Wyatt, 55?, Chukchansi
* J.R. Jack Roan, 80, Chukchansi and Southern Miwok
* P.R. Polly Roan, 50, Chukchansi
M.N. Matilda Neal, 70?, Chukchansi

Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono

*** S.O. Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai and Waksachi (blind)
** B.O. Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi
D. Dinky, 55, Michahai and Waksachi

Western Mono

*** M.J. 'Merican Joe, 80, Wobonuch
** Jn.W. Jane Waley, 65, Wobonuch
* Jo.W. Joe Waley, 75, Wobonuch
* G.D. George Dick, 40, Wobonuch and Entimbich (and a star interpreter)
B.S. Basket Susie, 60, Wobonuch
D.S. Dead Susie, 75, Wobonuch and Entimbich
M. Martha, 60, Wobonuch

Interpreters

M.L., K.G., S.G., G.D., Lillian and Marian Wyatt (Chukchansi), and Martha Waley (Wobonuch)

PHONETIC KEY

a, e, i, o, u	as in Spanish
ɛ	as in met
ɪ	as in it
ɔ	as in off
ü	as in German für
ö	as in German König
ə	the obscure vowel of about or idea
ai	as the vowel sound of eye
ei	as the vowel sound of hay
oi	as the vowel sound of boy
iu	as the vowel sound of you
g	as in gig
ˢ	superior vowel, whispered
j	as in jig
ñ	as in sing (nasalization)
š	as in share
č	as in church
ṭ	postalveolar or palatal placement
x	deep or gutteral aspiration
h	simple aspiration as in hand
’	glottal stop
·	raised period, protraction of a vowel sound
ˊ	accented syllable

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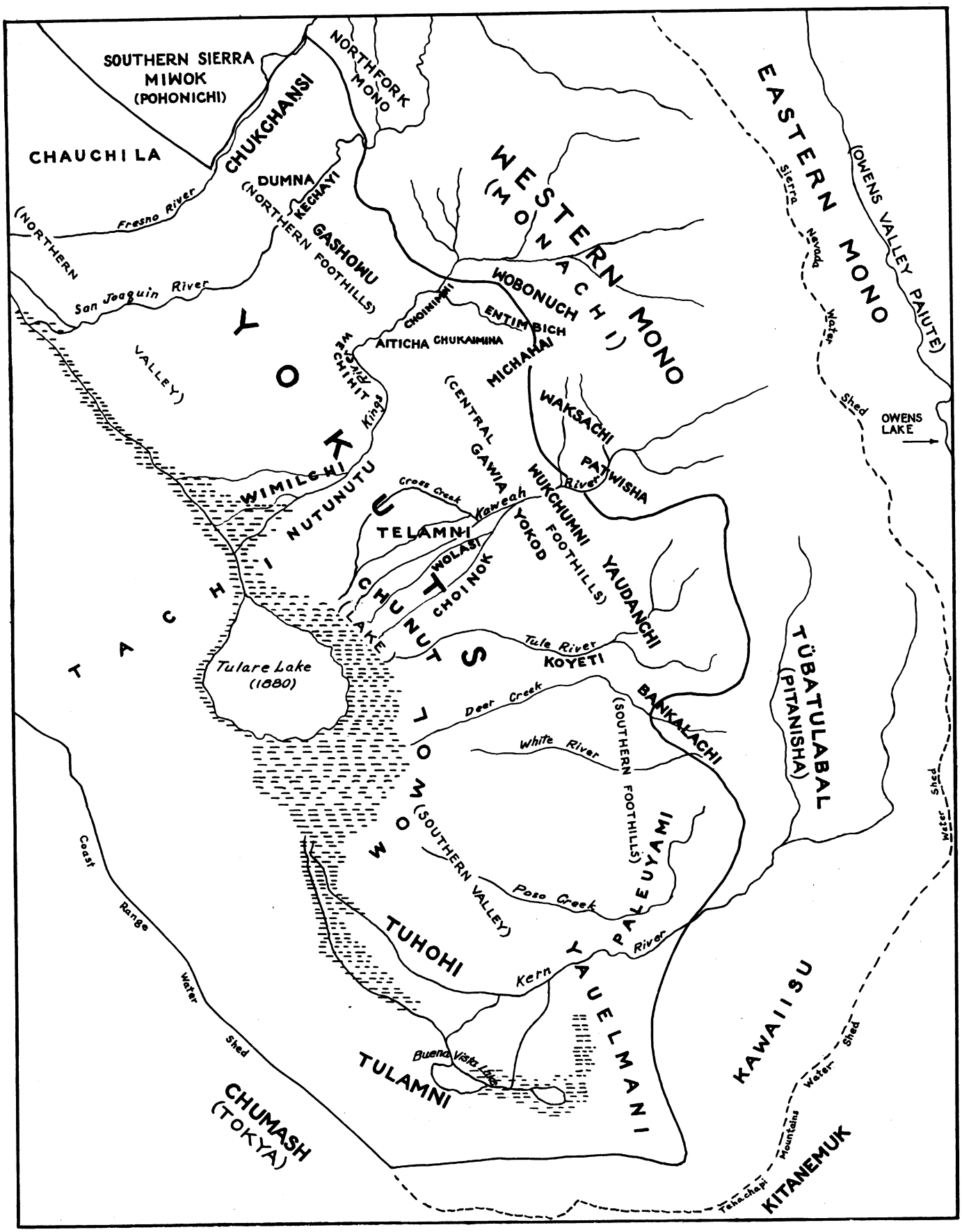


Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

PART I: TULARE LAKE, SOUTHERN VALLEY, AND CENTRAL FOOTHILL YOKUTS

BY

A. H. GAYTON

INTRODUCTION

The ethnographer who works with a subjected people and attempts to recapture their vanishing culture must strive to set his findings definitely in time, to define for others the limits of the time-plane in which the customs described were known to have existed. Fortunately for those of us who have dealt with Yokuts culture the answer is relatively simple. The span of contact with Europeans and Americans, compared with that for some other regions of North America, has been brief, so brief that aboriginal life still flourished late in the nineteenth century. The majority of informants consulted in 1925 were born in native houses in native villages, and while outward destruction of their culture progressed rapidly during their lifetime, they thus not only had seen and experienced traditional Yokuts life themselves but had heard firsthand from their parents of the native ways then currently disappearing.

The civilization described herein, then, is that of the early youth of living informants and that of their parents and even grandparents, for often it was the grandparent who informed or instructed the young, for whom the old people's joy of reminiscence assumed a new and poignant significance in the face of their culture's palpable decadence. The years 1885 to 1860 cover the youth span of my older informants, the years 1860 to 1830 the mid-span of their parents' lives, and 1830 to 1800 the mid-span of their grandparents' lives. The bulk of cultural detail recalled was seen, experienced, or heard about in the years 1840 to 1890 approximately; in other words, it is Yokuts and Western Mono life of those years that we have recorded and described. Naturally, even in 1840 the picture was not uniform for the entire valley, for though the advent of the Spaniards on the coast in 1769 had not seriously disrupted native living in the San Joaquin Valley up to 1820, by 1840 the lake tribes nearest the Coast Range had begun to feel uneasiness and American penetration had started in earnest. By 1850 the stimulus of gold-seeking and land-seeking brought white settlers into the valley to stay, and for the first time the foothill peoples experienced the dismay previously suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders increased in numbers. Still, after the hostilities of 1851 and certain dislocations resulting from attempts to reservationize the natives, a balance of peace between Indians and whites was established and Yokuts life went on. The villages in the foothills resumed their habits and the displaced Indians from the fertile strip between the lake and the foothills straggled in for haven.

In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white intrusion, were still not on easily friendly terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them. Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was manifested by both the Penutians and Shoshoneans, although in differing degrees depending on how far these natives were thrown together because of pressure from a common enemy, the American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870, diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono proselytizers, was the first social affair in which these two groups mingled freely, and even then mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

The outward similarities of culture now to be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter. To analyze both cultures for the segregation of items into culture-historical compartments is a formidable and intricate task which I do not propose to undertake here. Yet some indication of the major features of the question may be given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the Western Mono only as introduced performances. Probably few Wobonuch or Waksachi had witnessed them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

[1]Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

On the side of material culture a more even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are known to have been recently adopted by the Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque hooded twined cradle which are now made by Yokuts women instead of being bought from the Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved, I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts foothills is a craft derived from the Western Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses and have made one innovation, at least, in adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River Reservation; a few families have been permitted to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches of white landowners along the foothills. Some Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of acorn foods and the few implements needed for their preparation, and basketmaking, an art which flourishes because of tourist trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language and kinship terms are in use; family totems are retained, and official functions are aberrantly performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills.

Before entering upon the ethnography which follows, the reader should be familiarized with the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the environment of the upper and lower foothills has changed but little, whereas the great valley floor was unbelievably different in the past from the completely dry, hard plain it is today. There is no better way to present the picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses to speak for themselves. There were many travelers in the area who left records of their experiences with the troublesome mire of the tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada;[6] but no account so well fits our purpose as that of Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850, made a circuit of the valley for military re-

[2]Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3]See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

[4]Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5]Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 595.

[6]E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

connaissance.[7] He entered from the west via San Miguel Pass, already trodden by Spanish predecessors, turned south, then east, to go around the south end of Tulare Lake, then northeast, stopping to make a short digression to the south-southwest, thence back and continuing northward beyond Kings River. After crossing the San Joaquin River at the ferry north of Tulare Lake, he eventually turned south, skirting the west shore of the lake, and left the valley by the pass to San Miguel where he had entered.

On May 1, 1850, after leaving Dick's (San Lorenzo) Creek in the San Miguel Pass, Derby was about to enter territory south of the Tachi villages on the west side of Tulare Lake.

I started accordingly about 10 A.M., and, crossing two ranges of low hills over a broad smooth trail, arrived at the shore of the great Taché [Tulare] lake about 1 P.M. We were unable to get close to the water, in consequence of the tulé which environed it, extending into the lake from two hundred yards to one mile, as far as the eye could reach. With a glass I could distinguish the timber at the north and the tulé at the south ends of the lake, the length of which I estimated at about twenty miles, but we could not distinctly make out the opposite or eastern shore. The peaks of the Sierra Nevada, at this place twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea and covered with perpetual snow, appeared in close proximity, and, rising far above the horizon, seem to us to come down precipitously to the very edge of the water. The distance from our encampment to the lake we estimated at eighteen miles, or nearly a day's march, and as the country passed over was a perfect desert, and I found here no forage for the animals but wire grass, the water standing in the tulé brackish, and no wood at all, I concluded to return immediately to camp . . . . An examination was made on the 2nd . . . which terminated favorable, a good path being found through the southern extremity of the valley, and a trail leading apparently around the south end of the lake[8]

On May 3, Derby's party left the Dick (San Lorenzo) Creek camp and went 24.5 miles "from the termination of the pass," reaching the lake and camping upon the sand.

We found here a ridge of sand about one hundred yards in width, and twelve feet above the level of the lake which divides the water of the northern or Taché from the bed (now nearly dry) of the southern or Ton Taché lake. This last is little more than a very extensive swamp, covering the plain for fifteen miles in a southerly direction, and is about ten in width. It is filled with sloughs and is of course impassable except with the assistance of boats or rafts. The gradual receding of the water is distinctly marked by the ridges of decayed tulé, and I was informed, and see no reason to disbelieve, that ten years ago it was nearly as extensive a sheet of water as the northern lake, having been gradually drained by the connecting sloughs, and its bed filled by the encroachment of the tulé.

We crossed the slough on the 4th, being assisted with rafts of tulé by the ranchería of Sin Tache Indians [Chunut or Wowol?] which we found established at this point. Proceeding on over the desert which we found very painful traveling for the animals, encamped at the southeast point of the lake, having made 12.64 miles[9]

The following day, May 5, Derby gained the east side of the valley by traveling 15.38 miles, "over a continuation of the barren sandy desert which had been our route for the last three days," where he reached a few cottonwood trees on Moore's Creek (now called Deer Creek).

On the 6th he went up Moore's [Deer] Creek 12.20 miles, being then "about five miles west of the high peaks of the Sierra Nevada." As there was good camping with cottonwoods, willows, some large oaks, and luxuriant grass, he arranged to leave his military escort there for the time being.

On the 7th he ascended the creek for about twenty miles, "a small rapid stream, about fifty feet wide and about two feet in depth. We discovered two small branches upon each of which we observed the remains of a large rancheria. The banks of the stream, as well as the hills surrounding, were heavily timbered with oaks, and three large species of pine."[10] This would, presumably, be in Bokninuwad territory, for on the 7th he went but eight to ten miles north from Deer Creek to Tule River, the southeast extremity of which empties into Tulare Lake. Koyeti occupied its banks at the edge of the foothills; within the foothills lived the Yaudanchi.

This stream has two branches, the upper portion of which are well timbered, but the banks are swampy near the lake, and for a long distance in the plain, the tulé running up to within five miles of the hills. All this time the stream was about one hundred yards wide, from twelve to twenty feet deep, and very rapid, which last is a general characteristic of all the streams to the east of the lake. Upon its upper banks and their vicinity in the hills, plenty of large pines are found; lower down it is well timbered with the different species of oak, sycamore, cottonwood and willow.[11]

On May 8, Derby changed his direction of investigation to the south-southwest. Having

[7] Farquhar, The Topographic Reports of Lieutenant George H. Derby, 251 ff.

[8] Ibid., 252.

[9] Ibid., 252-253.

[10] Ibid., 253-254.

[11] Ibid., 254.

gone eight miles he crossed Gopher Creek, which probably dried during the summer, and after having gone a total of thirty-four miles he camped on Cottonwood Creek which he said was a constant stream. This took him through a no-man's-land unclaimed, so far as we know, by any Yokuts tribe.

The soil was not only of the most wretched description, dry, powdery and decomposed, but was everywhere burrowed by gophers, and a small animal resembling a common house rat... of a whitish grey color, short round body, and a very strong bony head. These animals are innumerable, though what they subsist upon I cannot conceive, for there is little or no vegetation. Their holes and burrows, into which a horse sinks to his knees at almost every step, render the travelling difficult and dangerous. The low hills south of Gopher Creek extend about eight miles into the plain, their summit being about on the same level as the plain between that stream and Moore's [Deer] Creek, and are singularly intersected by valleys running nearly south and north, which are crossed by other numerous small valleys running nearly east and west, thus dividing the whole of this portion of the valley into blocks of hills about a quarter of a mile square, and from one hundred to three hundred feet in height.[12]

Continuing southward on the 9th, Derby passed through country we believe belonged to the Tuhohi. He went thirteen miles along the north branch of the Kern River.

...a very broad deep stream with a current of six miles an hour, which, rising high up in the Sierra Nevada, discharges itself by two mouths into Buena Vista lake near its northern extremity. Three large sloughs also make out from the river near its mouth and from an extensive swamp in the plain upon the north bank of the lake. We found the river impassable with animals.

On the 10th, having got across Kern River, he reached Buena Vista Lake in Hometwali territory.

Buena Vista lake is a sheet of water about ten miles in length and from four to six miles in width; it lies about eight miles from the head of the valley formed by the junction of the ridges of the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada. Like other bodies of water in the valley it is nearly surrounded with tulé, and upon its north and east banks there is found a heavy growth of willows. A slough, some sixty miles in length, connects it with the swamp and bodies of standing water in the bed of Ton Taché, and through them with the great northern lake. The surrounding land is sterile and unproductive when not an absolute swamp, with the exception of that portion lying immediately at the head of the valley, and among the ridges of the surrounding hills, where are some extremely fertile and well watered spots.[13]

When returning to his encampment on Moore's (Deer) Creek he followed a course fifteen miles west of his route down.

We found it, however, of precisely the same character throughout -- barren, decomposed soil, and no trace of vegetation but a few straggling artemesias, except upon the margin of the creeks. Gopher creek we found entirely dry, at the point of crossing, its shallow stream sinking in the sandy soil some eight or ten miles above.

On May 13, Derby reached Tule River at a point which was 7.16 miles from Moore's (Deer) Creek -- probably close to the present site of Porterville. Here, Derby reported, the Tule River was 150 feet wide and he had to use wagon floats to get his party across. This was in Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory.

The country much improved in aspect from the time of leaving Moore's [Deer] creek, and upon Tulé river, and during our march upon the 14th, we passed over rich tracts of arable land, fertile with every description of grass, and covered in many places with a fine growth of heavy oak timber.[14]

Continuing north nineteen miles, Derby's party the next day reached the Kaweah River, at that time called the San Gabriel but renamed the Francis by Derby himself -- a name which did not persist. He was in country inhabited by the Choinuk, Wolasi, and Telamni, on the Kaweah River branches, and above them at the edge of the hills were the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchumni.

This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into Taché [Tulare] lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct branch from the Sierra, and joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake. The country, some eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful smooth level plain, covered with clover of different kinds and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oak of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

[12] Ibid., 255.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 256.

At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherías of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his vicinity, and numbering about ninety warriors, had been quite troublesome of late.[17]

On the 19th, Derby went southwest 19.84 miles, probably through Wimilchi territory, and encamped on the edge of the swamp three miles above the mouth of Kings River opposite a Nutunutu village.

I was anxious to cross the river and visit it, but was informed by the Indians a large body of whom swam across to our encampment, that all the country in the vicinity was overflown, and that it would be impossible to cross even if we were to construct "balsas" of tulé owing to the rapidity of the current. It was evident enough that the country was overflown.[18]

The following days, 20th to 23rd, Derby's party spent struggling through mire and crossing eight sloughs to reach the Sanjon de San José, the waterway between Tulare Lake and the southern bend of the San Joaquin River. The Tachi lived to the west of it with a few on the east side near the Nutunutu; above them toward the San Joaquin were the Apiachi.

In all these sloughs a strong current was running southwest, or from the San Joaquin river to the lake. The country over which we passed between the sloughs was miserable in the extreme, and our animals suffered terribly for want of grass. There being no wood upon the plain, except an occasional willow on the largest slough, we could make no fires...

The "Sanjon de San José" is a large deep slough about forty miles in length, connecting the water of the Taché [Tulare] lake with the San Joaquin river, with which it unites at its great southern bend. At this time it was about two hundred and forty feet in width, with an extremely slow current setting toward the river.

The whole country for forty miles in extent in a southerly direction by ten in width, between the San Joaquin river and the Taché [Tulare] lake, is, during the rainy season and succeeding months until the middle of July, a vast swamp everywhere intersected by sloughs, which are deep, miry and dangerous.[19]

After getting aid Derby's party reached the bend of the San Joaquin River, country attributed to the Pitkachi, on May 24.

At the time of our arrival its [the San Joaquin River] waters were at their highest

[15]Ibid., 257.

[16]Ibid., 258-260.

[17]Ibid. Although the Choinimni cannot be held entirely blameless of treachery, it seems doubtful, in the light of the Mayfields' happy experience in the same years (1850-1852), that Garner's murder and other instances of "treachery" should be ascribed to them. The Monachi neighbors are suspect.

[18]Ibid., 259.

[19]Ibid., 260-261.

stage, the back water from the river had filled the innumerable sloughs extending from its banks in every direction across the valley, and I was informed...that the whole country to the north was overflown...The point at which we encamped at the southern bend was about ten feet above the level of the stream and for two miles in extent north and south was not overflown... At this time the river at this point was about two hundred yards wide and from ten to twenty feet in depth, but during the dry season it falls to from four to two and a half feet.[20]

On the 26th, Derby and party started southward on the west side of the San Joaquin River and Sanjon de San José, skirting the western edge of Tulare Lake, bringing them again into Tachi Indian country, for they were near to completing their circuit of the great valley floor.

At a distance of twenty-two miles from the San Joaquin, we crossed the dry bed of a stream flowing during the rainy season from the Coast Range to the lake, upon the bank of which we found a few cottonwood trees and a little grass; but with this exception the whole valley south of the bend, between the Coast Range and the Taché [Tulare] lake, we found miserable, barren, sandy desert, with no vegetation save a few straggling artemesias, and no inhabitants but attenuated rabbits and gophers.

We encamped upon a slough connecting with the Sanjon upon the 28th...We encamped upon the shores of the lake on the 29th, having made 17.32 miles and on the 30th reached the débouche of the Pass of San Miguel...passing en route the rancheria of the Tinta Taches, situated upon the northwest extremity of the lake and containing about two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants...We took up our line of march for Monterey by the same route that we had passed in coming out, upon the 31st, and arrived there without incident.[21]

Such was the San Joaquin Valley before American agricultural projects diverted, distributed, or absorbed the waters which filled the central basin to form the lakes and sloughs and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the east was the fertile land watered by snows of the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

It will be seen that the dwellers about the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had a very different environment from those of the tree-filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels, rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

[20]Ibid., 261.

[21]Ibid., 262.

[22]Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Yokohl Valley (Yokod-Wukchumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

YOKUTS: TULARE LAKE

CHUNUT AND TACHI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

The tribes living in the swampy territory around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

According to M.G. there was no intercamp or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

The Tachi were on friendly terms with all the groups bordering on the lake, but particularly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lama,[24] near the ocean, and far west and south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to visit but not to trade (sic). They, the Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Tɛlwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

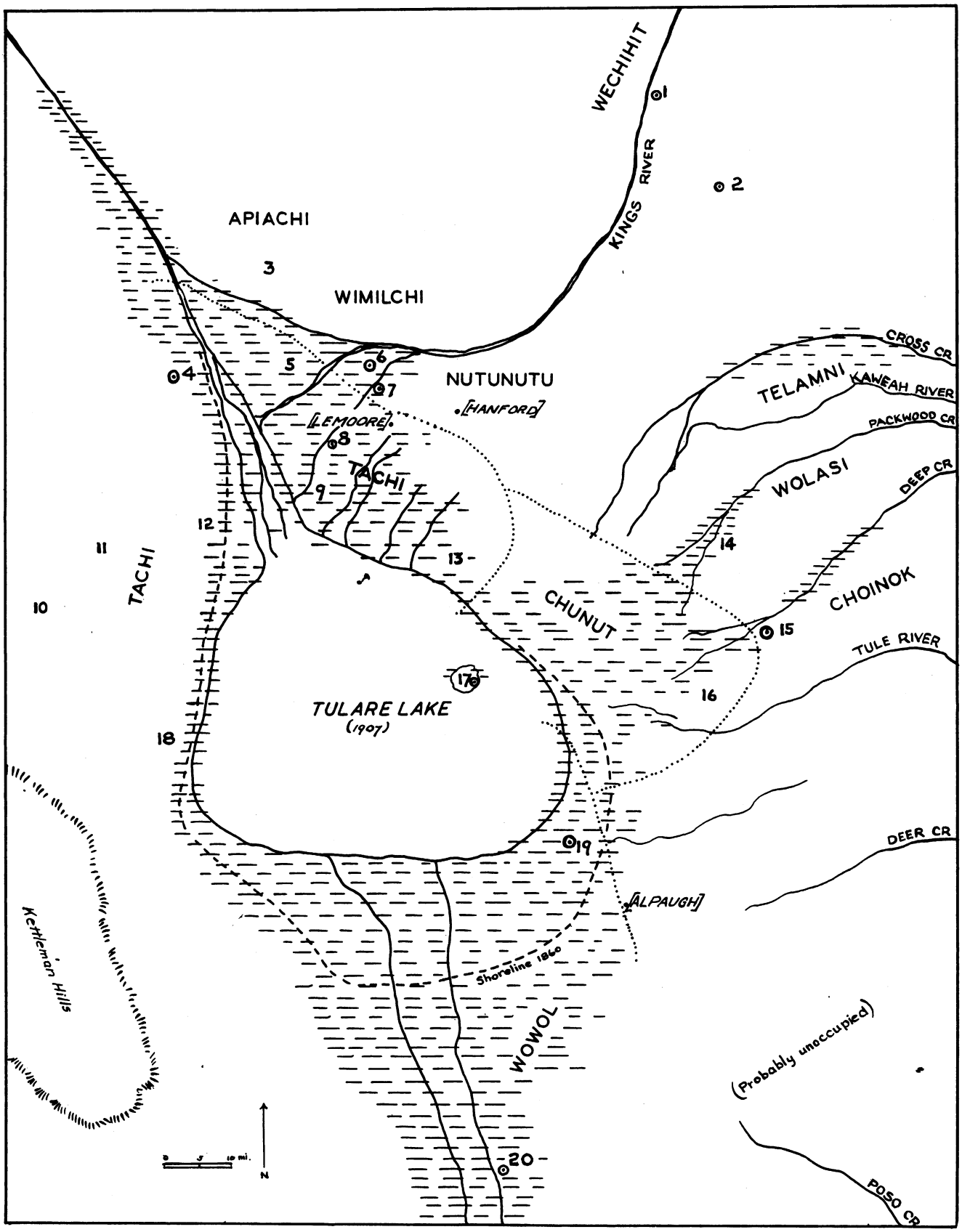
The large Tachi village called Tɛlweyɛt was on the edge of the lake south of the present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwɔ´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a different picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Tɛlweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and Či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city) was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut frequently walked over to the ocean across the mountains to the west, provided relations were

[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.



Map 2. Local Map A: Lake tribes

friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwɔ́ni. An island in Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolówɛn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipékɛl yokóč (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititúwɛt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

The Kawésa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

The Ričikítu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitanísa who lived at Pitánɛn, where there was a deep little river."

Localities

The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. músahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewáyo: a Wechihit village
3. wóhui
4. tɛlwéyɛt: a Tachi village
5. ugonə
6. honótan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. číyi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwášiu: a Tachi village
9. waíu
10. údjiu
11. gólon
12. či
13. yímɛl
14. waitáčuiyui
15. písras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iúta
17. witɛtsolówɛn: a Wowol island village
18. wálna
19. yiwómni: a Wowol village
20. sukwútnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wókon; 22, mikéyɛt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, though the account secured by Newman (see below) indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (hótoi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

[26] Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

the distance is regarded as an invitation to battle.[28] A narrative of a famous fight, recorded by Dr. Stanley Newman, has been contributed to this record. Lemondo, one of the leaders, was known to the Chunut informant, J.A.

Lemondo and Tabsa[29]

They knew that they would fight. The Yaudanchi sent a man, who said that they would fight in a certain number of days. The [Southern] messenger (hɔ·ye·lis), sent by the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin, asked him how many [Northern] tribes were allied. He was told that there were three, the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni, and that they would fight in seven days. On being questioned, the [Northern] messenger asserted that he was sure of this, for the leaders had decided upon the time. The [Southern] messenger then said that the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin were not ready yet, but that they would send their own messengers [to get an intertribal agreement upon the time?].

[After the Southern messenger had returned and] made inquiries, the [Bankalachi] leaders told him that it would take them five days to complete their preparations. The next morning they sent him to Tinliw, saying that he should return in five days, for at that time they wanted to know when the [Tinlinin] could come. The [Southern] messenger then went to Tinliw, where the people were numerous, and told their leader, Lemondo, that he had been sent. Lemondo ordered his workers (t'so·'wihni') to assemble the people. He asked the [Southern] messenger whether his news was good or bad and was told that it was bad. His messengers ran swiftly.

One of them went to the Tejon people. On approaching, he shouted and the people gathered immediately. Their leader told them that the news was probably bad, that they had better get their bows and prepare themselves. By the time the messenger [of Lemondo] arrived, they were ready. He told them that the leader [Lemondo] wanted the people to come to his house immediately; they were to listen to one who had come from far off. The people were advised by their messenger to get their bows and their necklace charms [talismans]. Some of them got grizzly-claw necklaces, others got falcon-head necklaces, and still others got eagle-head necklaces.

When they reached the leader's [Lemondo's] place, one of their leaders took them where many people were assembled. There the [Southern] messenger was asked for his news. He reported that the Bankalachi leader wanted the people, for a battle was to take place. On being asked what tribes were angry, he answered that they were Northerners--the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni. At this some of the people asserted that the Northerners were a useless lot, that the Southerners would give them a good clubbing. In reply to further questions, the [Southern] messenger told them that his leader wanted the people in five days, for the [Northern] messenger would return in five days and again in seven days. Some of the warriors were very happy; they promised that the people would arrive at the proposed time.

The [Southern] messenger returned to his leader and reported that he had been successful in persuading the [Tinlinin] people to come in five days. [After five days] the people arrived at the leader's house. The warriors immediately began inquiring who their opponents were and when the fight was to take place. They were told that the Northerners were their opponents and that the seventh day had been chosen for the battle.

The Northern messenger also arrived on the fifth day. He reported that he did not have much news: his people would come to fight on the seventh day. The [Bankalachi] leader said that his people were ready and asked where the tribes would meet. He was told that the place was Chiteetiknawahsiw (tsiti·tiknawa·siw, literally "sliding-place; place where one makes oneself slide"; according to my informant, this place is situated near Deer Creek).

The day of their departure arrived. The [Southern] people went to Gayliw (gayliw, literally "waiting-place, meeting-place," identified as "Lookout Mountain" by my informant), from where they could see other people coming. They then descended to the plains and fought there. They used only arrows and obsidian (t'sa·sip), with which they pierced each other. Half of the Northerners were wiped out, and some of them ran away. Some of the Bankalachi were killed too. Some of those who had run away went far to the west and reported to the Tachi. A Chunut messenger told the Tachi that the Northerners had been wiped out by the Southerners.

The Tachi leader immediately sent his messenger to Tabsa. After receiving Tabsa's greetings, the [Tachi] messenger told him that, according to reports, the Wükchamni had been wiped out by the Southerners. Tabsa assured the messenger that he would leave with his people in two days. After the two days had elapsed, Tabsa went to the Tachi. He asked the Chunut messenger, who was still there, what had happened. The messenger told him that his people had fought and had been badly beaten. Tabsa then hurried him off to gather whatever Chunut warriors remained and to bring them back immediately. The messenger returned home and told the warriors that their allies were speeding preparations to fight the next day. The Chunut joined Tabsa, who again asked for information about their battle with the Southerners. They told him that half of their people had been killed. Tabsa decided that they had better fight the following day. The Chunut messenger offered to carry the news to their enemies, for he knew where they were. Tabsa told him to go immediately.

The [Chunut] messenger journeyed all night, and the next morning he reached the enemies' camp, where he was greeted. He told them that the Tachi had joined his people and asked if they knew of Tabsa; they replied that they did know of him. It was agreed that they would fight the next day in the plains. The messen-

[28] Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 87, 88, abstract 11, note 1. Nevertheless, to approach a village or isolated house without calling out was ill-mannered and regarded with suspicion.

[29] Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Stanley S. Newman from Frank Manuel, Bankalachi.

ger then returned to the Tachi and informed them of the arrangements that had been made for the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their enemies at the appointed place. They fought for a long time, shooting at each other and dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and Xenilal grappled with one another for a long time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had any more arrows; they worked on each other with necklace charms.

At last Tabsa said that they had better quit fighting, now that all of their comrades had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he would never fight again. The Tachi had been severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked when the feast would be held and was told that it would probably take place in seven days. The final greetings were exchanged, Tabsa repeated his hope that they fight no more but live in peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa announced that the feast would take place in seven days. He warned the people not to "talk about anything" when the Southerners and the Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier (wina·ṭum) south to carry the report to all the Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier invited these people to the feast and assured them that there would be no more fighting.

The people went to the feast; all the Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liina') money. This is Indian money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the feast the Southerners were again given bead money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did not think it good for them to fight; he thought it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he told them all to return to their homes and to live peacefully.

Property

Although there were no defined tribal boundaries, customary usage gave people the feeling of ownership of certain land. It was not the land but the produce and game available on it which was the matter for concern. In this way there was a sense of tribal property or "home land." As individuals, women rather than men felt ownership of those places where they and their mothers had gathered seeds. Families did not own land, nor did the captains. According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman went to one place to gather seeds and her daughters went to the same place. Another woman would not come there without invitation, but went to her own patch. If she trespassed, a quarrel ensued. A stake (šo'nɬl) marked the end of a woman's claim; a series of these several feet apart might be set up to include an area about forty feet square. Such plots had no special name.[30] A woman had such a special place for each type of seed. Her daughters continued to use the plot after her death; a sister might claim it if there were no daughters. If there were no close female relatives, M.G. thought it would be used by some woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

A young married woman returned to her mother's plot to gather seeds. If it was too far away, she remained at home to do the cooking instead of going with her mother-in-law. Her own mother would send or bring her foodstuffs from time to time, but the mother-in-law gave her nothing. The young woman cooked for the entire family while her sisters-in-law went with their mother to do the gathering. This, of course, was during patrilocal residence, which was the customary home of newlyweds in the lake area.

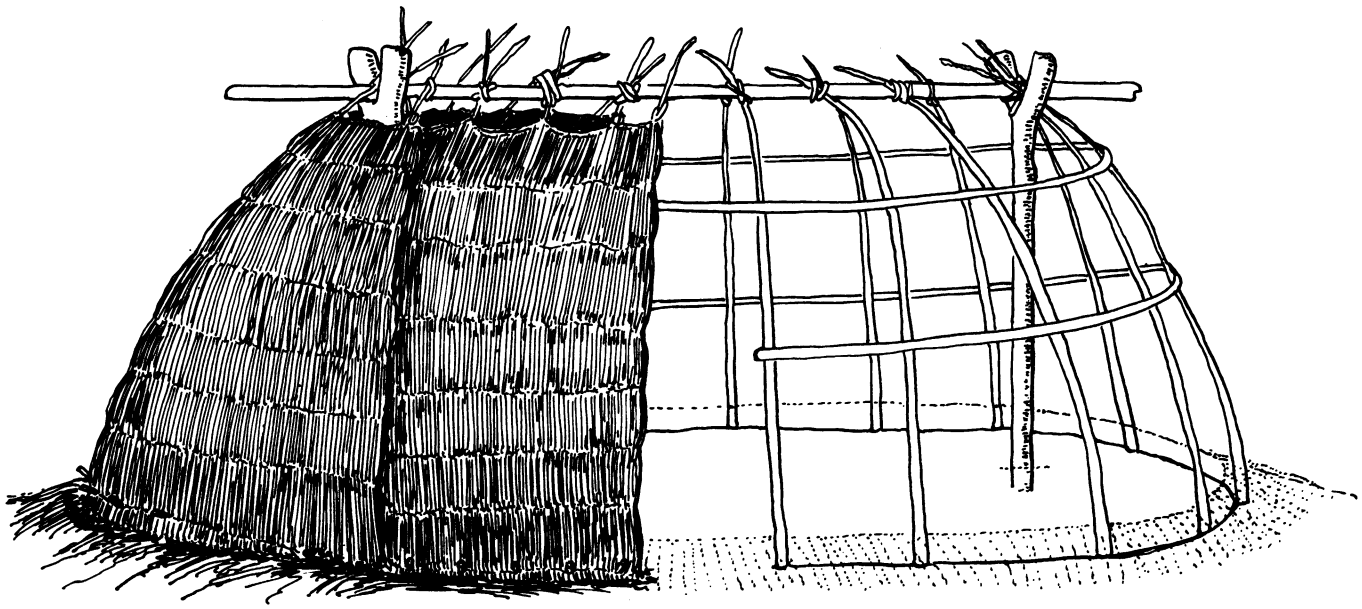
According to M.G., men did not own fishing or hunting places even in the above sense (but on this point a male informant's opinion is needed). They went anywhere within tribal territory for game. Game was never sold, but was often given to friends. Men gathered tule roots more often than women, but whether the men, like the women, had individual claims on gathering places M.G. does not know.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, UTENSILS, AND CRAFTS

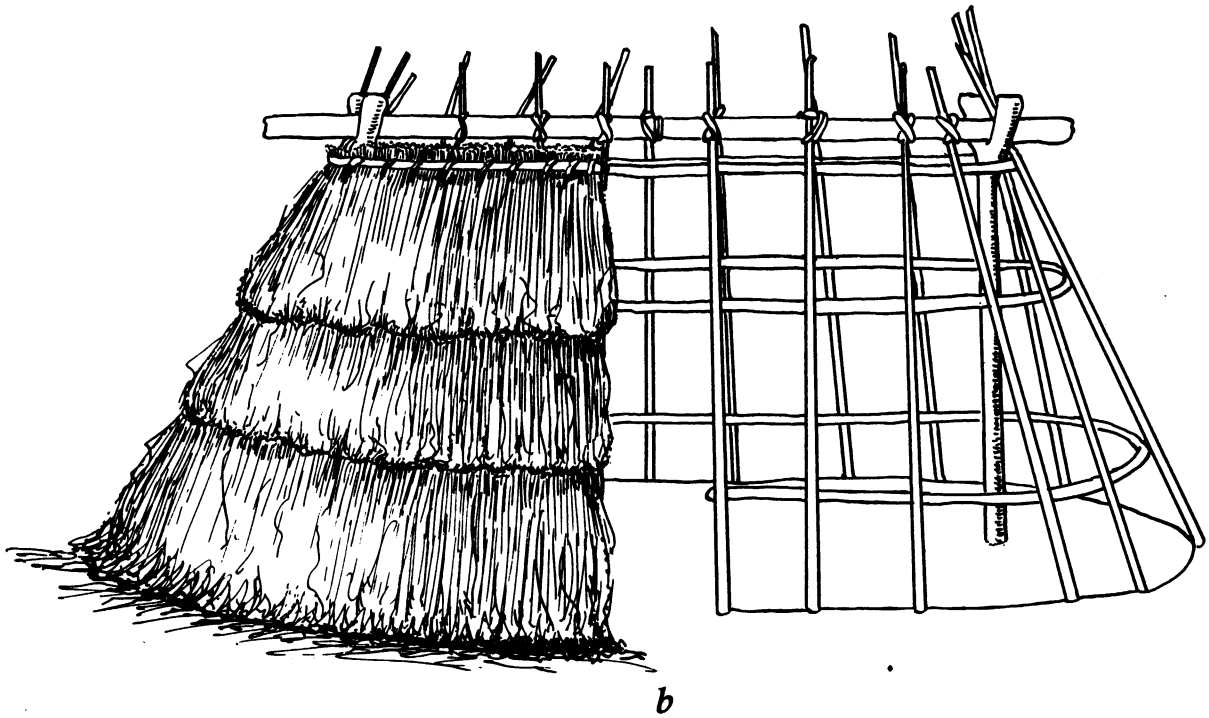
Houses

No adequate description of houses was obtained for the lake region. Two types are well known, the long communal house and oval individual house; but the gabled house pictured by

[30]The informant insisted that this property marking was a very old custom. The interpreter had never heard the word for the marking stake until the older women explained it to her, she claimed.



a



b

Fig. 1. Yokuts and Western Mono oval houses. a, Valley and Central Foothill type, 2-post, mat-covered. b, Waksachi, 2-post, thatch-covered.

Powers, described by Kroeber, and presumably the one meant by Estudillo with his phrase "dobladas sus puntas" was declared unfamiliar by both informants.[31] The conical house was not used here.

The house with oval floor plan and with walls arched into a rounded top was the most common type of dwelling in the valley area generally; according to J.A. and M.G. (fig. 1,a). Two forked posts linked by a tie-beam formed the basis of this structure. Upright poles of willow were set into the ground in an oval line around the center posts and the tips pulled inward and downward and tied to the center beam. Strengthening horizontal withes were tied around this framework. Large mats of tule were hung on the frame and pegged down to the ground. A slot was left along the center beam for the smoke to escape.

The tule mats which covered the frame were about 8 feet high and 10 to 12 feet long; their height roughly equaled the distance from the ground to the center beam. Truly rectangular mats were made by laying the tules alternately tip by butt to equalize the differences in their tip and butt diameters; such mats were used on side walls. For the rounded ends of the house somewhat fan-shaped mats were made by placing the tules butt by butt, thus giving a greater width at the base of the mat than at the top. Men gathered the tules, whereas women made the mats. The reeds, already sorted by size and length, were laid out on the ground. The individual stalks were held together by rows of single cords of milkweed twine looped once around each stem (a half-hitch may have been meant). The rows of binding cord were a hand-span (about 9 in.) apart. All the rows were worked forward at once rather than completed one at a time.

Technically, the long house was really an extension of the oval frame. There was a series of forked center posts supporting a continuous ridgepole formed by overlapping and lashing its units. The overlap did not have to coincide with an upright. Willow withes held the side poles, which were bent toward the center at their tips and were matched by a parallel withe on the exterior which held the tule mat covering in place; both withes were called tumlu''us. Smoke escaped through a long slot left at the ridgepole. The long communal house was partitioned by means of mats. Sections of the house were apportioned to sons' families, each family having its own fireplace, and, if the house were large, its own door. Such a house was "just like a street, you could look right down the middle and see everybody's fire and what they were doing" (J.A.). The long house was covered with tule mats (woi 'yohono; tule-covered house: woi 'yohon ṭi). The frame was called tumlu''us. The oval house was covered with mats of tule or, where available somewhat away from the lake, a grasslike shrub (kana 's ɛts).

The floor of dwellings was not excavated in the lake area since moisture and flood water would seep or run in. Contrarily, if a house site on a rise of ground could not be obtained, the floor was artificially built up by bringing in baskets of earth. For the same reason sleeping places were raised up on a low framework of wood (willow). The Wowol particularly had these, and the Chunut and Tachi who bordered close on the lake. The usual tule mat flooring and bed padding were used.

Kroeber's statement on the long house is somewhat contradictory. It may be partly based on Powers' illustration.

> ... the mat-covered, gabled, communal kawi of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.
>
> The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or dumlus, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

Kroeber goes on to describe the oval house, attributing it to the Wechihit and Tachi of modern times and stating that it may be made with or without a center ridgepole. The house mats were made by wrapping each stalk to the next with "a hitch in a single strand of string," whereas floor and bed mats were sewn. The Wechihit "use a covering of tall mohya stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called te or chi."[32]

A Wechihit informant (J.At.) said houses in her village near Sanger were all mat covered and were placed in any order along the riverbank.

At Tɛlweyɛt both long and oval houses were constructed. At Pisras, the village in Wolosi territory, the oval house covered with grass mats predominated. On the north shore of Tulare Lake Jeff Mayfield saw long houses of the Tachi.

The houses at the lake were the thing I noticed most. I do not remember having seen a

[31] Powers, 370; Kroeber, Handbook, 521; Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

[32] Handbook, 521-522.

house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. remembers Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of patrilocal residence customary with the lake people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

The subsistence of the tular region was composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats (čɛ́mčɛm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

The grubs (ɔḿnol) of horseflies and of bees were eaten; the bees were smoked out with a damp tule smudge. The ground wasp (po'á́onai) larva was said to be eaten by the Telamni (it was scarce in the tular). This was called tapɨsi, was roasted on coals and eaten with acorn mush. Caterpillars (manéča) were skinned (singed?) and eaten.

Turtles (ṭúñkɔt) were plentiful. They were stabbed under the throat with a sharp stick, put on hot coals, and roasted; then the shell was broken off and the larger entrails were discarded.

A great variety of fish was available for all the lake people. The Chunut informant spoke of the following. "Greaser" fish (tawá'at) was a black fish with a large head and small body. The chub (túkɔnu) had "fat all over his tail." The steelhead (?) or "lake trout" was called épɨs. The brook trout (?) (sólul) was colorless save for a red edge on its forked tail. The minnows or young of any fish were called táhɨs. Salmon (dáṭu) were well known and greatly depended upon, but eels were said to appear only at Sanger on the Kings River. A certain fish (úduṭ) had a large head like a catfish but was not the same thing, for catfish were called tamṭána "because he has whiskers" (ṭamúṭanin, whiskers he has). The crayfish (keṭákeṭat) were common, as were water mussels (kápap, the shells; ṭásɨp, the flesh). Abalones (ṭónɨk) were known only by their shells which were brought in from the coast.

Fishnets (tónoi) were dragged between the shore, where one end was fastened, and a balsa which moved in an arc toward the shore. Diving for fish was a common practice, as in the foothills. The Tachi procured fish for Estudillo by diving with hand nets.

> At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs...Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel [Kings] River. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three.[36]

A corral (wisé'i) for catching fish was made in shallow waters by setting up button-willow stakes and intertwining them with tules. Persons waded about with baskets catching up the fish which others drove into the corral. This method of fishing was seen by Mayfield, whose description is included for its graphic qualities. It appears that it was the Choinimni who used the weir while at the lake.

[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

[36] Gayton, Estudillo, 78.

The tribe I was with had an interesting way of catching fish on the lake shore. A weir of willow wicker work was built out at an angle from the shore for a distance of fifty or sixty yards. Then a large group of Indians would wade out beyond the weir and close the opening. This group would form a semicircle sometimes a mile long.

After the circle was completed they would close in, all splashing and yelling and driving the fish into the shallow water behind the weir. In this shallow water were two or three Indians wading about, each with one of the bottomless [sic] wicker baskets that they used up the river for catching fish in pools. When they felt a fish with their feet or saw a ripple made by a fish they would clap the basket down and catch it. It was not possible to see the fish as the shallow water soon became very muddy.[37]

Another type of weir, consisting of two long wings, was erected in shallow water. No drive was made; men waded in in the early morning and dipped up fish with hand nets (po´hač).

According to Mayfield a special raft for fishing and hunting was used by the Tachi at Tulare Lake.

This raft was constructed in a different way.... It was wide and flat and would pass over very shallow water. It was pointed at the ends, but the points were not raised as they were in the raft used on the river.

In the center of the fishing raft was a large hole. Through this hole fish were gigged much as they were from the platform on the river above.

A few feet ahead of the hole was an earthen, or mud, hearth. On this hearth a fire was kindled, and the cooking was done.

He also describes a novel method of fishing in the tular.

Tules will float on the water, and the Indians make use of their buoyancy. On the lake, and sometimes in sloughs along the river, the tules used to float about loose. The wind would drift them into great mats near the shore. The fish used to collect under these mats and we used to walk over them and spear fish from them.[38]

The Tachi fishing implement, as described by M.G., was a single-pointed harpoon (to´´okoi). The hooked point, about two inches long was made of a pelican wing bone which was lashed to the detachable foreshaft with sinew. The foreshaft, about one foot long, was attached to the oak handle by means of a length of tule fibre cord.

Fish poison (yao´ha) was made from a white flower which was pulverized and thrown over quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called t‹´l‹l, was mentioned by M.G.

Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.

They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.

Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so´pas‹n sa´sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

Tule roots (pu´muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[37]Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32-33.

[38]Ibid., 30,32.

[39]Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40]Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41]On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

Several vegetable foods were identified from growing specimens by J.A. The word ṭo´mul is used to cover all green plant foods, but is also specifically applied to all clovers, to yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yɛt ṭomul), to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard greens were cooked, and today bacon is added. Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage. A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but unidentified, was valued for its seeds which were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-purple flowers, ka´syɛn, has tiny edible seeds which are greatly prized; they are rolled into a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu, Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty roots which were roasted and eaten whole or mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower (oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There were many others which must have been well known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu, translated as cough medicine) was cooked and the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the plant was an introduction of the white people. A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains. The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, although M.G. claimed that they did not use it ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly man who did this became delirious for a day or two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after the skin about the fracture had been scarified. Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder when his clavicle was broken. Another man at Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he was badly injured by being thrown from a horse. Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed handler," used the plant medicinally.

A few other plants were identified by J.A. Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called snake's-urine (ya´hɛn ṭuyu´hun). Bird's-eye (a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɛn tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-penis (po´tolo kai´´iyɛn). Two kinds of "wire grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the words for knife and balsa).

The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho, a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk when mashed and which "had no flowers," was boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites; it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the usual materials. Dead willow wood provided only "a slow and punky" fire.

Mortars

The stone mortar and pestle (koi´wus and po´lwai) were obtained through trade with people of the foothills. Mayfield comments that mortars taken by the Choinimni to Tulare Lake were not brought back. Because he saw one dug up at a previous camping site, he believed they all were buried, but more probably many disappeared in trade to the Tachi.[42] The oak mortar (pe´wus), gotten from neighbors in the roblar, was used with a wooden pestle (ma´ta) (M.G.).

Kroeber states:

> The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was a little more than a foot high, half as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called Kowish; and the Choinimni used it.[43]

J.A. insisted that the metate or flat grinding stone (hise´ts) and mano or grinder (lo´wat) were used before Mexican intrusion. Particularly they were used for unshelled seeds, which were rubbed on it, then transferred to the mortar for pulverizing. "All ordinary people had them." Kroeber illustrates a flattish grinding stone from the "Kings River Yokuts" but seemingly there is no textual reference to it.[44]

Bedrock mortars were, of course, unavailable in the valley plains and lake region.

Powers states:

> Around the lake and on Kings River one will often find a family using a well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.[45]

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[42]Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31, 37.

[43]Handbook, 527-528, pl. 45.

[44]Ibid., pl. 66.

[45]P.377. "Thither from the mountains" is probably thither from the Coast Range, not the Sierra Nevada.

The Telamni wooden mortar was described by B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached. A slender pestle of stone was used with it. These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46] Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay was sometimes shaped with the fingers into little dishes (ṭipe´kɬ ki´wɬs). It was chiefly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest. A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

No detailed description of basketmaking techniques was obtained from the Chunut and Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

In the collections of the University of California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed basket made of tules was called a´nas, while an openwork one for fish also was called čotot. A stiff willow basket for seed-beating was called čama´l. All these were twined. The informant J.A. said that both coiling and twining were done by Chunut, Telamni, and Wolasi, but the technique used depended largely on the materials available. Two typical Yokuts shapes, the shouldered or bottleneck basket and the large conical burden basket, were obtained mostly by trade. The shapes which she knew and named were as follows. The circular coiled winnowing tray (tsa´pɬt) and a larger, flatter tray for gambling (tai´´iwan). Two small basket types have incurved tops, one (po´mɬk) has a simple curved side, the other (tsot pomɬk) a flared straight side which eventually curves inward at the neck. The bottleneck basket (o´sa) was known but seldom used. The large burden basket (anas) was bought from the foothill people. The seedbeater (ha´lai) was handled. The basket cap (pukiu´was) was known to have been used in the old days, but was not an addiction as it was with women of northern California.

The tumpline (tsono´lhi) and carrying net (tsuno´lus) were known to J.A., but she did not know how to make them.

The Telamni informant, T.W., whose home had been among Telamni in contact with the Wukchumni and Gawia more than with the Chunut and Tachi, described Telamni baskets as follows. Coiled types were the coiled winnowing and gambling trays (kayo´to); a large, flat-bottomed, flaring-sided basket used for cooked mush and given as a gift basket (kotčao´); and the shouldered or bottleneck basket (osa). The twined baskets were the large conical burden basket (a´ñaš); the oval, handled seedbeater (ča´´aiči); and the large, somewhat globular, cooking basket decorated with bands of red (po´dano).

The tumpline she called šu´ñlɬk, the soaproot brush ṭoho´ṭ.

Blanketmaking

The Tachi made blankets (woi´yon, the word used for mats) of strips of mudhen skins. Rabbits were scarce in the tular, consequently blankets of their skins were obtained only by trade. The chief source was the Wimilchi tribe living up Kings River out of the tular area.

Nevertheless, rabbitskin blankets were made by the Tachi, according to Jeff Mayfield. He describes the process as a kind of looping or netting, not weaving. Variations of the blanket were used as shawls, skirts, blankets, and baby covers.[47]

[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

[47] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 33. It is possible that the lake people with whom Mayfield spent his time were Wimilchi and Nutunutu at the lake sloughs rather than the Tachi proper.

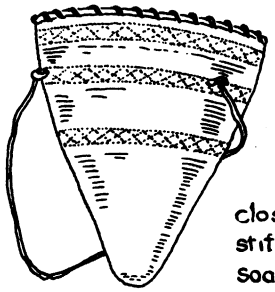
TWINED BASKET TYPES		YOKUTS			WESTERN MONO	
		CHUNUT	WUKCHUMNI	MICHAHAI	WOBONUCH	WAKSACHI
	close twine; always 4 red bands in plain or herringbone pattern					
1 COOKING BASKET		?	pota´na	po·no	poto·n	tapono´ði
	close twine; stiffened with soaproot juice	obtained from the foothill tribes				
2 BURDEN BASKET		a´nas	a´ñaš	a´naš	wo·no po·no	?
	medium open twine; handled					
3 SEEDBEATER		ha´lai	yamaki ta´myuk	ča´ phai	patso·´	taneho
	fine open twine; no handle					
4 SIEVE		?	ta´myuk	ča´phai	pu³´an	?
	coarse open twine; no handle					
5 FISH SCOOP AND CARRIER		?	a´pot	ča´phai	pu³´an	?
	close twine; stiffened with soaproot juice	unknown	obtained by trade ?	obtained by trade ?	to'o'ti^{u}a	?
6 WINNOWER						
	open twine; cage has lid					
7 HANGING BASKET OR CAGE		used by all tribes (native word not recorded)				

Fig. 2. Yokuts and Western Mono twined basket types.

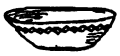
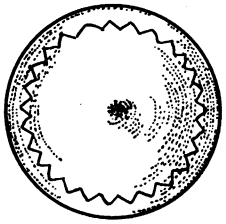
COILED BASKET TYPES	YOKUTS			WESTERN MONO	
	CHUNUT	WUKCHUMNI	MICHAHAI	WOBONUCH	WAKSACHI
 1 MUSH, STORAGE, OR WASHING	?	?	a'oki	sai'op	?
 2 "BREAD BASKET" (MODERN)	used exclusively for storing loaves of bread (native word not recorded)				
 3 INDIVIDUAL FOOD BASKET	?	ka^čao	amat	?	a·po
 4 WOMAN'S CAP (SELDOM USED)	pukiu'was	waki'nits	amat	?	pi·kwo'ĕ
 5 WINNOWING TRAY	tsa'pit	koiyo'ṭo	koiyo'ṭo	sai'ya	?
6 GAMBLING TRAY	tal'iwan	tai'wan	tai'wan	sai'ya	(Patwisha) bo'gtu
 7 TREASURE BASKET	little used by Chunut o'sa	o'sa	o'sa	o'sa	?
 8 GIFT BASKET	po'mik	(8 and 9 are shapes made by the Chunut and probably by other Lake tribes)			
 9 TREASURE BASKET	tsotpo'mik				

Fig. 3. Yokuts and Western Mono coiled basket types.

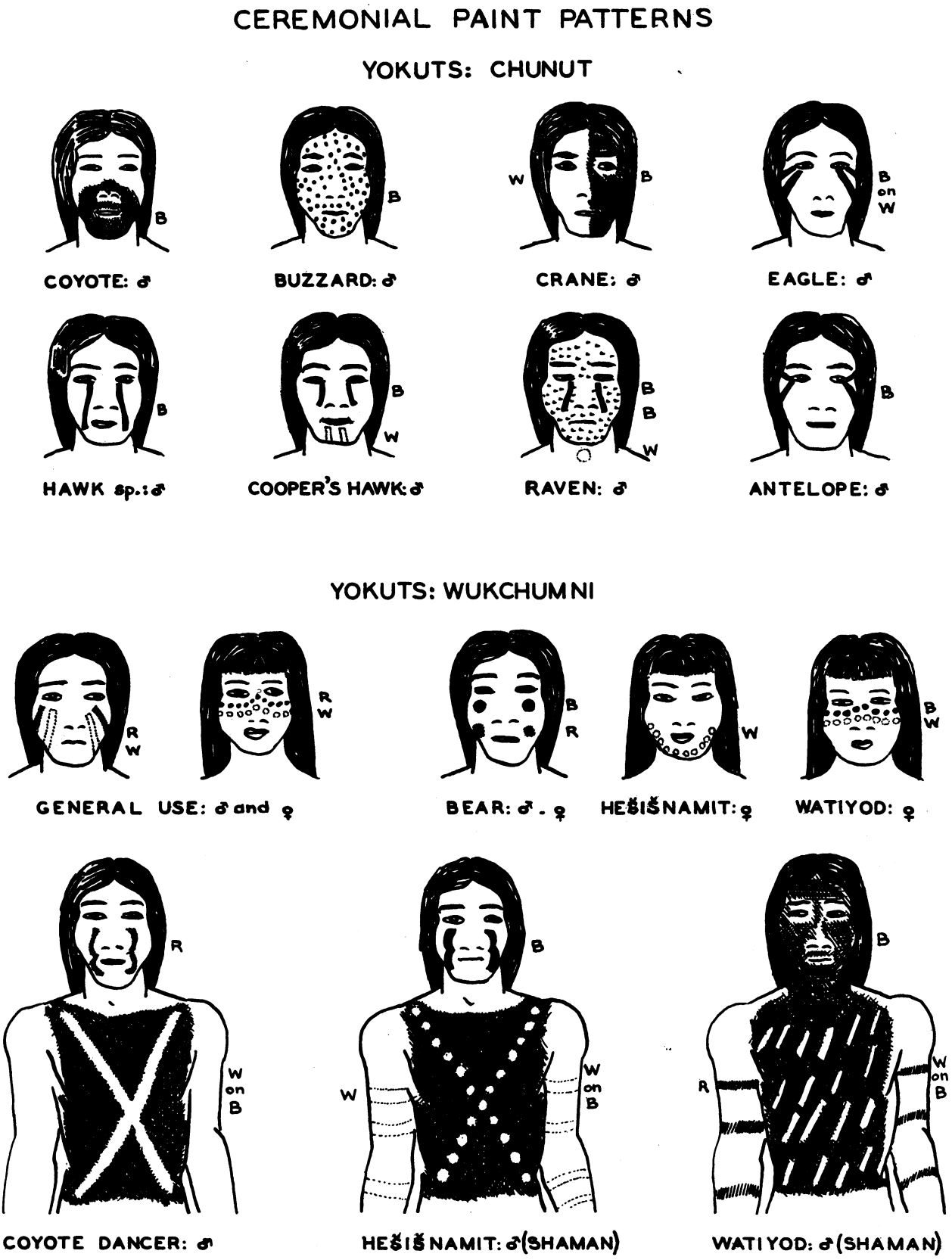


Fig. 4. Yokuts ceremonial paint patterns: Chunut and Wukchumni.

Balsa Construction

The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o´wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo´wɛn ai´yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa´hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots. The Tachi informant said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsoi´amin. The colors were black (ka´lyan) made from charcoal, red (hoi´´iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho´sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were developed as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain comment. Coyote (kai´yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka´nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u´lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (ṭo´hɛl) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su´hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi´yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi´yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li´mɛk) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

The shells for money were obtained whole from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other coastal people to the west). By laying them on a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa´lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48]Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor N.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me [Gifford]: "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49]Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

PLEASURES

Tobacco

Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly described several familiar games.

The hand game (wehala´nwɛca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´ɛš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

Shinny (ko´nwɛč) was played only after a mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

The pole and stick game (aiki´wɛč) was for men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´wɛč) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Tɛlweyɛt and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´wɛč as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´'iwan) or another straight willow (sala´'am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´'al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50]Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51]Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

were many songs connected with this practice, but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

The following birds were identified by J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lɛts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nɛts; from towo´´ə, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" (hu´yu ṭuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land of the dead. The following birds were named without comment: belted kingfisher (tsuṭatu´-klas); Steller's jay (ṭikai´ya [sic]); California jay (ṭai´ṭai); hummingbird (general) (həhə´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo´-kɛts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); California [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker [Flicker] (pala´ṭat); great blue heron (wa´hat); northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird (ṭikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird (ṭolo´həno); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk (po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka); crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane (u´lats); prairie falcon (li´mɛk); chicken hawk (sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´hɛl).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai), housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wukchumni, and other foothill people did. The ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the ground, makes no honey and just raises young ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on coals, a dish called tapɛ´si, which was eaten with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o) was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was' ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night" moth (toino´´ɛn ant'sa) were distinguished, while a very large spotted moth was called "eats dead people" (taṭahə ta´´ats) and literally was believed to do so. Butterflies in general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was called metaphorically "big bee" (matɛk lo´k'o), and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively "little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes (kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´tɛl), and the water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A. Small ants, either red or black, were called by the same name (ke´nɛts); tree ants (ha´sa') "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´´ɛts kenɛts).[54]

The tarantula (ṭu´muñ) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho´´o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko´lol kɛ´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

[52]J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53]Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

[54]J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times. Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and aleṭe´´ɛts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that alete´´ɛts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

carries string' (ṭo´ntom si´lwa)." The black spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful." Another spider with black, red, and yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu) "because every time it is thrown away it comes back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol call to be bitten by one 'to be broken' (ṭa´ṭaiṭa´ṭai)." This is because a paralysis results so the limb is immovable "like broken to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´-t‹ts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi. "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard was solo´toi'i. A small lizard (wile´li) and another one "with colors on it" were known in the foothills and called by the same name. "This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho ma ṭ‹´pni; wile´li t‹´pni)." Lizard was sometimes euphemistically referred to as "my ten fingers" (ṭi´ye nan pu´ntuk), referring to his hands which served as the pattern for human hands.[55]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao'i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po´'ol‹lwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alaṭa´na.

Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions; I was kneeling on the ground when I heard something say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I said. My nephew showed me an alaṭana right under my knees. He said, "That's alaṭana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´'‹tawat. The bullfrog was called ə'oi´‹ts by the Tachi, but wipel‹ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chunut "because he sang all night." Children liked to pull them out of ponds but were always told to put them back. They were never eaten.

[55]Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

Two unrecognizable creatures were described by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s‹n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbɔ´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37).

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l‹l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal‹la´mi.

If a person were feverish, a layman with supernatural power might rub him all over with a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina, Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy‹n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of waṭa´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[56]

[56]A Palligawonap whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pokoh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

Earthquakes (ye´lya) were infrequent, and not attributed to any special cause by J.A. When she was a little girl, she and her little sister were sitting on the ground together when a very heavy earthquake came (1872 ?). She said it caused a tree to fall over.

A flood (hu'u´lu'un) of unusual proportions forced all J.A.'s people to seek refuge on a hilltop when she was little more than an infant; she remembers no other. Floods have become infrequent owing to intensive irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

Chunut chiefs functioned much as those of the foothills, according to J.A: they set the time for mourning and other celebrations, discouraged quarrels, assisted poor people, and played host to visitors. The position was inherited in the paternal line. The chief's wife and children were also called by the chiefly title, ti´ya, but while a brother was called tiya, his children were not unless he succeeded to the position.

J.A. stressed the chief's wealth, but could not specify exact methods of acquiring it. She implied that the chief made a slight profit on all money exchanges which he handled. Moreover, any traveler coming with something to sell first went to the chief's house, as any visitor would, where the chief had the first opportunity to buy and, as a result, could resell at a higher price. J.A. said, "Anyone down here who saved money could get to be tiya," but one had to dream [of Eagle], and "anyone who helped poor people was called tiya." But such a man was not confused with the chief of a chiefly lineage, and he could not acquire an Eagle lineage totem by this means. His prestige was due to his success, and his influence lay in his personality.

Every village had a chief. If groups of people happened to camp together there might be as many as three chiefs, any one of whom officiated over all the people regardless of their moiety affiliations.

While J.A. stated that women became influential as chiefs in their own right, she could not name any, "this was just what she had heard about the old times."

Regarding Motsi, J.A. said that she was not a chief herself; she was the mother of Mu'ustu, the wife of J.A.'s paternal uncle, Pohasa, who was a chief. "Motsi wanted to be called tiya because she had lived with Bob 'Tista," a doctor of chiefly lineage who had much personal influence among the Indians of the plains.

About 1875-1880, at Pisras, there were three captains, Pohasa, Tokelyuwich moiety, Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha´lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wepɛs, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomepɛs (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watsmat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuši, the chief at Tɛlweyɛt.

The official messenger (wina´təm) had much the same duties as in the foothills. Both chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti´yan winatəm and a´ñutun winatəm. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o´ioi) might also be a messenger's totem. Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

A chief's messenger, when going on an official visit, carried a long cane called site´lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

[57]Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58]Gayton, Estudillo, 78, 80.

served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]

The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´'i, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, who often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

The official proclaimer was hile´t‹ts, a term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem, just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hilet‹ts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[60] It would seem that hilet‹s should not be in the clowning category.

Another man who was not a tribal official but had a specific function was pine´w‹ts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The title of the chief is diya. A male chief is described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquín Robert was the nutuwuts chief in the rancheria south of Lemoore, and Brown Wilson, nineteen years of age, the toxelyuwiš chief. The latter succeeded his father [Motsa]. In response to my question, it was stated that the toxelyuwiš chief was regarded as slightly superior to the nutuwuts chief. Anciently, in case of warfare the two chiefs acted in concert.

Although the Tachi roved within their habitat, the principal village (čeemit) of the Tachi was Walna, at the northwestern corner of Tulare Lake. There were dual chiefs there, one for each moiety. The earliest chief remembered by the informant was a toxelyuwiš chief named K'anti, whose totem was the eagle. When this chief died, he was succeeded by his son who bore also the name of K'anti.

The nutuwuts chief at Walna, contemporaneous with the younger K'anti, was José (baptismal name). The contemporaneous chiefs K'anti and José were friends (noičiw‹s), but not relatives, so far as the informant knew. The two modern chiefs of the Tachi are distant relatives of K'anti and José.

José did not inherit his chieftainship from his father Čoiiwai, who was not a chief, but a shaman (anču); Čoiiwai was a nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. José was his son by one of his many wives. José was appointed chief by the nutuwuts people because the preceding chief died without male heirs and his daughters did not want the position.

José was married twice. From his first wife Meyula he separated. José's second wife, Motsi, was a female toxelyuwiš chief at the present village near Lemoore. She was nominated for this position by her second husband, Bob Bautista, a nutuwuts man of influence in the community, being a rattle-shaker and singer (wipelit). Before becoming chieftainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem. This example seems to strengthen the case for an association in the Tachi mind between the chief of birds and the chief of men.

The chief's messenger is called winado and the message feather which he carries is called laasis. Over the shaft of the feather beads are slipped, one for each day referred to by the message, as, for example, when a group is invited to a ceremony at a fixed time.

Powers mentions a Tachi chief, one Santiago, who had two sons, Ka-teh (Kanti?) and Ku-to-mats, "of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he [Santiago] designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingeniously acknowledged, 'he was the smartest'."[61] This was about 1871. J.A. states that "after Kanti died his spirit returned [went] to a place called Kantu over towards the northwest where there is a large church and many Mexicans living. Kanti's spirit is in that church."

Moieties

The Tachi, M.G., gave information on moiety manifestations and the classification of

[59]This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[60]Handbook, 497.

[61]Powers, 371.

totemic animals. The words tokɛlyuwɨč and nutuwɨč she aligned with west and east respectively, and the head of each as Crow and Coyote, respectively.

Further categorizing was as follows.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ˀnkas:	crow
ho ˀtoi:	raven
lɨ ˀmɨk:	falcon
upye ˀˀi:	mourning dove
hi ˀtyi:	raccoon
te ˀpɨk:	seal[62]
poho ˀˀot:	weasel
po ˀhiyɔn:	Cooper's hawk
šo ˀˀšoˀ:	"chicken" hawk[63]
Nutuwich, east	
kai ˀyu:	coyote
ulo ˀˀi:	black bear
soi ˀyol:	antelope
ma ˀčwi:	elk

A member of one moiety "respected" all the totemic animals of his moiety, but had one animal as his lineage totem. Members of the same moiety should not marry. Persons with the same lineage totem could not marry, nor could cross or parallel cousins. Moiety members called each other merely "friend."[64]

In playing games and in mourning ceremonies, moiety members were reciprocally opposed. In the doctors' contest, which was a feature of the mourning ceremony, there was no moiety opposition, but there was tribal opposition. Sometimes there were doctors from different tribes on one side, but no men of the same tribe would be opposed. Doctors on the same side might be relatives or "just friends."

With respect to moiety manifestations in other tribes, M.G. had rather definite ideas. The Hoshima (northerners) called people of the same moiety cousin, i.e., literally sibling. The Choinuk and Chunut had the same divisions as the Tachi. The Wowol had, too, she believed, but it was not customary for a Tachi to ask a Wowol what his "pet" (totem) was. She was uncertain whether the Gawia and Yokod had moieties.

A village was not necessarily ruled by two chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would only have one chief, another large place, like Tɛlweyɨt, might have three. At Tɛlweyɨt there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in dreams were often mountain lions and bears rather than totemic animals. A man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl Speotyto cunicularia (wečiča), the screech owl Otus asio (tokleli), the great horned owl Bubo virginianus (hututu), the short-eared owl Asio flammeus (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

[62] M.G. twice gave tepɨk as seal, her interpreter adding "just like you see in the circus." Kroeber gives tŏpŭk as beaver (The Yokuts Language, 242), as does Gifford (ndebig). J.A. agreed with M.G., also giving tepɨk as seal. I think we may be sure that the animal M.G. meant was seal, regardless of the correctness of the name she used. Fages states that "seals and otters occur as far as one hundred and fifty leagues upstream in the Rio de San Francisco" [San Joaquin River and its sloughs] (Fages, A Historical, Political and Natural Description of California, 77).

[63] This is probably osprey, as given by Gifford. M.G. could only say of the bird that "he went up to a little pool in the mountains and got fish there."

[64] For the Tachi kinship system see Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, 81-82.

[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 494.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti [south] upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

be Speotyto cunicularia), the male sparrow hawk Falco sparverius (tütič), the female sparrow hawk (liklikča), the marsh hawk Circus hudsonius (istis), the prairie falcon (limik), the Cooper's hawk Accipiter cooperi (pohiya'), the sharp-shinned hawk Accipiter velox (kohuiye), the skunk (čok), and the seal (nahaat). Perhaps of mythologic significance is the statement of one informant (Sam Thomas), that "we have forgotten our (limik's) language and speak wečiča's instead."

Eagle and coyote are respectively the heads of each moiety, or perhaps more correctly each group of moiety totems, though more often crow and coyote are used as eponyms for the two moieties. Apparently, the eagle is especially connected with the moiety chief, for in the case of the woman Motsi who became a chiefess, it was said that originally the crow was her "pet" as it was her father's, but when she was elevated to office the eagle became her "pet." Moreover, it was said that a toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem.

Tachi meeting and not knowing one another's moiety, say: "Hatnuk kwun puus? What is your pet" (literally "dog")? A nutuwuts person replies: "Katyu. Coyote." A toxelyuwiš person replies: "Kankus. Crow." Sometimes a toxelyuwiš person names the killdeer instead of the crow.

The Chunut informant, J.A., aligned animals as moiety totems in the following way.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ˊnkas:	crow
su ˊhup:	hawk
lɨmɨk:	prairie falcon
o ˊčoč [sic]:	roadrunner
ulaṭi:[67]	meadow lark
ho ˊhwimus:	swan
tsu·toktə ˊklus:[68]	kingfisher
koiyotˌwat:	frog (small)
oˌoˊyɨts:	frog (large)
ma ˊčwɨs:	elk
yɨtsa ˊhats [sic]:	antelope
sopas, pumuk, tsos, etc.:	all seeds
Nutuwich, east	
caiˊyu:	coyote
weṭiˊṭi:[69]	pygmy owl
hutuˊlu:	"hoot" owl
təklaˊli:	"screech" owl
pohoˊˌoṭ [sic]:	weasel
pohoˊˌoṭ:[70]	ground squirrel
tuˊnul:	wildcat
aˊdza:	fox
tepɨk:[71]	seal
nahaˊˌat:	otter
kɨyoˊkɨut:	badger
hoi:	deer
čiˊu:	cottontail rabbit
tsaˊpal:	jack rabbit
mamɨl:	blackberries

During a discussion which added nothing definitive on the classification of animals by moiety, J.A. added the following to her list of Nutuwich animals: Cooper's hawk (pohiyon)[72]; pelican (hahal); bat (tcɛmtcɛm)[73]; rattlesnake (ṭaˊmhana); a bird "like kingfisher but bigger" (ṣakaka); Steller jay (ṭikaiya).

Of no moiety were ducks (waˊtswats, duck; uˊluiˊlum, drake); whippoorwill (waiwai); two unidentified birds, one "sang sometimes and used to be like people" [lived in prehuman era] (yɨtswahats), and the other (laˊptana) "walked lame like a seal."

Eagle (tohɨl) was "on both sides because both moieties had chiefs."

The animals listed are not all lineage totems, and few are dream helpers. It appears that those creatures which are not lineage or dream totems, and do not serve as food, are arbitrarily forced into the moiety alignment. The informant's uncertainty may in part be due to the disintegration of her culture and the disappearance of the wild life; it may also be an indication of an attempt to carry the classification beyond its normal limits.

Ordinarily a child followed the paternal moiety, but the rule was not rigid. In a large family a man might "give his wife" one or two of the children: they would assume the duties and tabus of the maternal moiety. Tribal affiliations, too, were normally patrilineal, but J.A.'s daughter, whose father was without moiety (i.e., a Hutsammi "southerner" from Tule River Reservation), "didn't feel like them and followed her mother's people."[74] Ordinarily, even after marriage, a woman continued to associate herself with her paternal moiety in any situation where moiety alignment was called for.

Moiety exogamy was usual but not obligatory, as the genealogies disclose. Since lineage was the fundamental regulator of marriage (the consanguineal tabu group), no difficulties arose as the result of rearing a child in the maternal rather than paternal moiety. Members of the same moiety who knew themselves to be

[67]Meadow lark was "mean" in the prehuman world; he was a cannibalistic gambler (see Gayton and Newman, 17).

[68]Kingfisher had supernatural power; he helped doctors.

[69]All owls were "doctors," and were Nutuwich. Pygmy owl was the first doctor, and he was "often on both sides [moieties]"; people quarreled about this "because he was a doctor's [dream] helper and could easily be on both sides."

[70]Ground squirrels were eaten by Tokelyuwich people.

[71]These animals were caught in rivers and lake "west of Lemoore," and at Summit Lake little ones were caught in nets; the Tachi informant M.G. also insisted tepɨk was seal "just like you see in the circus."

[72]He was "official shaman killer" ("daredevil") of all the birds.

[73]Bat was a dream helper.

[74]This was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that the girl's family lived among Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol in a rancheria where moiety functions prevailed.

distantly related called each other yoko ˊčn·m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči ˊn·m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta·ˀa ˊtin·m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma ˊkši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa ˊlun·ts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills.

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman.

Bears were not redeemed.

Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

> The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.
>
> Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[75] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.
>
> For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.
>
> ...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu ˊsami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

The mother remained on a bed of hot stones and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e ˊp'·n (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

[75]The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiw·s "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little party" (wič̌i lonu´'iw·s) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa´tsas hu´toñ). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'čau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

Puberty

Menstruation was called paiya´h·n (pai´ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little ceremony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

A young man went to a girl's house and remained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

The lineage was primarily a nuclear exogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

fact that cremation was once practised, the remaining bones and ashes being buried. Relatives moved to a different locality to ease their grief; "they would get sick if they cried all the time." J.A. said the Chunut burned the house of a deceased person, whereas the Tachi merely moved away. M.G. denied any notions of life in the afterworld.

The following is from E.W. Gifford's notes on Tachi moieties.

At a funeral three women from each moiety, six in all, attended to making the funeral pyre, or nowadays to digging the grave. They were appointed by the respective moiety chiefs. These women were called onotim. According to my informants, berdaches (lokowitnono) had no established functions at funerals. Kroeber states the contrary for Yokuts in general.[76] His information being the older and positive is probably more reliable. Moreover, with a scarcity of berdaches women would no doubt function as substitutes.

The ceremonial functions of the toño ˊčɨm (corpse-handler) at the time of a Tachi's death are given in some detail by Kroeber.[77]

The Tachi had a more elaborate ceremony, known as tonochim hatim, "Tonochim's dance," on the occasion of the first gathering after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called yakeyaknan, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

At burial, the dead person was admonished not to return.

> You go to another land
> You like that land
> You do not live here.[78]

Kroeber also states:

The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned everyone of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they did not bury the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tipɨ ˊknɨts (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

M.G. offered the following information on Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (ko ˊlṭat) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's offer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called anɛ ˊčwal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyɔn) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.

A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

[76]Handbook, 497.

[77]Ibid., 500.

[78]Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 375, and Handbook, 509.

[79]Handbook, 499.

[80]Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81]Metsa means "true, authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

then he would dream of the creature. When he arose he ate and drank nothing but tobacco. He absented himself from home, walking about during the daytime. If possible he went to a pond of water where some supernatural animals might come out and talk to him. He did not have to take jimsonweed.

Moiety affiliations do not limit the walaṭ talismans secured through dreams: thus Cooper's hawk (pohiyɔn) can be dreamt of by anybody. So could the ground owl (wetiṭi), who was so commonly a shaman's helper "that people didn't know which side [moiety] he belonged on." Other owls were definitely Nutuwich, so that "if a Tokelyuwich person dreamt about owl, he'd think a Nutuwich doctor was talking about him." Such a dream visitor might even be recognized as a specific person's helper.

Those persons who did not want to possess ṭɨpni (supernatural power) even for private use had to be respectful to a supernatural visitation when it came onsought. J.A. declared herself such. When a young woman she ate tobacco but dreamed nothing in result. She was a little fearful of power and really did not want it.

One night a white spider (kolokɨ ́lwoi metsa) bit her. She threw it away but it came back to her. The spider said, "you are going to dance in [at?] the fire." She replied, "No, I wouldn't do that. Om na ṭɨpni (I am not ṭɨpni). Don't bother me. I'm just a plain person."

Last year (1926) she dreamed an old man said to her, "I'd like you to be tiya." He offered her a big basket. J.A. did not want it, returned it to the old man. This man was remembering that her father's brother had been a chief. They argued for a bit, but J.A. maintained her negation. However, "she got sick later on because she didn't believe this," i.e., she made no prayerful or grateful response, had not thought of it as a supernatural dream.

A short time ago she dreamed that her present son-in-law [brother of her daughter's first husband] came and wanted to marry [?] Belle. He stood behind the door. Then he kicked J.A. over each eye. She woke up. She went to sleep again and dreamed that she was praying. Her daughter Belle stood there pointing to heaven "because some kind of devil was after her." When J.A. awoke in the morning she decided that this dream had no supernatural significance, that "there was nothing to it," that she and Belle were both good and did no one harm. She said to herself:

om na heuto ́ho
not I prostitute, [to go around]

om na lowai ́tna
not I male sexual partner

hina ́ na na'as toṭi
happy I, I not bad

om na'as heho ́ma topo ́lṭi
not I to-get-rich genitals-by

Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful manner, as if to convince herself and any unknown power behind the dream, that all was well. [A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prostitute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

The man who accepted dream help and wished to become a professional shaman continued his fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long period of time. He secured walaṭ, the talismans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walaṭ always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with ṭɨpni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walaṭ, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walaṭ, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walaṭ kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walaṭ of the Chunut is identical with the ai ́nɨtc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana ́ṭwal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ainɨtc), the lake people the second part (walaṭ).

Sickness and Curing

In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

feathers (so´nɬl or wača´m) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso'o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walaṭ or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa´pɬl) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (añutun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on his death; they were not inherited even though the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A shaman would probably have one son who would be a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there "was no rule about it" and it "all depended on his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.[84] "When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya."

In such cases of deliberate harm, if a person sent for a doctor other than the one who had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of evil shamans and ṭɬpni people. If a doctor were going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[85]

Shaman's Cache

As in the foothills, doctors were believed to have private caches where the wealth they accumulated was hidden: such a cache is called tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called hɛ'u´te'ɬts ka´lɬl (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (i) na ṭipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭɬpni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

[84]See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[85]Ibid., 404.

This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about it and warned her to keep away from it. He said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

A doctor who has not practised long, yet shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not afraid of graves or of dead people. When they opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

Doctors who were believed to cause deaths were usually killed when someone had courage to do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure, merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by sucking blood (pai´yamɨt) from the forehead just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: ṭomo´luna. This was due to a long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not treated unless very severe. The roots of a hard-wood shrub (atsai´yɨn ho´pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko´tɨts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation. She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice.[87] J.A. has seen her cure.

A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yɔt (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukotɨts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[86]Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

[87]This is the woman known as Poi''in or Bo''iyon to other informants.

[88]Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked out the scorpion poison. But she herself was poisoned by it: she lived a little while after making the cure, then "turned yellow all over and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times; usually it varied somewhat but its essence remained the same. Her talismans of supernatural power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these. It "caught the sickness" which then would be squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibition. When curing, she sat in front of her patient and held onto his head, meanwhile calling on her dream helpers. She "went around to fast and dream just like a man."

Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came and stood at each side of her feet. They told her to ask God what she should do. Soon a little baby came and sat near her; it was sucking its fingers; she could hear it crawling about in the leaves. No one came to help her. Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of the neck and at each temple and sucked. She got better soon. A girl there cooked some atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She recovered soon after.

Sumtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929). The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiwɨs. He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow and sucked out blood and a little white pointed object from each incision.

Poisoning

Another kind of injury caused by doctors is that called poisoning, but neither it nor the shamans using it are distinguished by any special term. The poison itself is called añta-ʻwa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu). Poisoning is thought to operate by means of actual contact with poisonous substances which may be put on any object which the victim is likely to touch, or the poison may be administered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisible. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling of parts (thought to have been touched by the poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar; this was called mɨts añtaʻwa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiyɨʻnɨl, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[89] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and tɨpni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated objects and burned them--for instance, a person in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by tɨpni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, Tɨpwaʻtswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimoʻndo, from Fort Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in Tɨpwatswats' coffee. Soon after

[89] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

that Tɨpwatswats' wife was killed by a shaman. He had come to where she was sleeping and pulled the blankets off her; she resisted him; she was pregnant at the time with a posthumous child and was very angry. The rejected shaman poisoned her immediately after.

Then another maternal uncle, Ha'tna (Frank) died soon after this. His daughter, Tsai''iyat (Nancy), who did not want to sleep with a certain shaman, was killed after he had killed her father. The bereaved widow and mother then moved down to Porterville to escape the persecution which followed the family.

J.A.'s aunt, Yuki''at (Mary), went down to the Tule River Reservation where a tiya named A'nats gave her a large handsome basket which proved to be poisoned. Yuki'at's forearm and mouth swelled up from handling it. As there was no doctor at Pisras at that time, she died.

Kanti, the Tachi chief, was poisoned by some other tiya. He got sick at his stomach and his legs swelled up.

Wepɨs, J.A.'s brother, stepped on a stick and sprained his ankle. His leg swelled up and he vomited blood. Naha'at, a Choinimni doctor, cut and sucked his leg but it did no good. He was sick all winter and died in the spring. J.A. considers this a case of poisoning.

P.D.W. is in the hospital (1929). Somebody put out poison for him to sit on, "just to find out if he had power enough to cure himself." [The truth is, he went over to Friant to cure some one there and suffered exposure in the recent storm.]

Specialized Shamans

While the lake tribes do not seem to have had specialized doctoring, i.e., weather shamans, snake-handlers, as strongly developed as in the southern foothills, they possessed one class of shamans, the Bear doctors, who were merely dancers and transformers in the foothill regions. The emphasis on Bear shamans who were also transformers is probably another indication of the cultural alignment of the lake tribes with those to the north -- Chukchansi, Miwok -- rather than to the east. It is from Kroeber and Gifford that the present Tachi data are derived. The bit of Chunut information from J.A. concerns the Tachi; she did not recall any Bear doctors among the Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol gathered at Pisras.

Kroeber gives the following information on Tachi Bear shamans.

> Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans other than as exhibitors of their powers is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.[90] ... The Tachi ascribed to their bear doctors, and of course, especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped and roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors.[91]

A man became a Bear doctor by the same methods -- bathing, fasting, dreaming -- by which one acquired tɨpni power for other purposes, according to Kroeber's anecdote.

> A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.[92]

J.A. was told of a Bear shaman by Juana, her Tachi "aunt" (mother's cousin).

> A man was called Piwa'sa, a name referring to his Bear shamanism, although his real name was Aho'ni. He had bear's hair on his chest. When the blackberries were ripe he would turn into a bear and go to play with real bears. He would say, "I am going out to be Bear." He had a knife and killed anyone who came to kill him. When he was a little boy he dreamed of Bear; he told Bear that he was his friend; Bear became his dream helper (pu'us). All bears are classed as Nutuwich but this does not mean that the man belonged to that moiety.

Gifford reports on a Tachi shaman:

> In the genealogical information obtained, but two shamans are mentioned. Halhalis is the older. He was a Nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. He was a čipni shaman, one who had derived from a dream the power to turn himself into a bear. His son Coiiwai became an ordinary curing shaman (anču).

> One shaman, Solo'lo, known to J.A., specialized in ghost scaring: this practice was called ane'tapɨn wɨpɨ'l. He was said to have learned this from dwarfs; he just sang. He was not [sic] paid for his services.
>
> Another man got special gambling power from his father's cutting flint, which he kept as a talisman. This made him unbeatable (yamɨ'nɨl).

[90] This statement obviously does not apply to the Tachi or other lake dwellers who rarely, if ever, encountered bears in their territory.

[91] Handbook, 516-517.

[92] Ibid., 514-515.

Rain-Making

The Chunut, Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol (the lake tribes) did not have special practitioners for rain-making. J.A. recalls a Pitanisha named Hutu´ [Hopodno ?] who was asked to come up to Pisras to make rain. He had an object "like an egg (se´'el) without any shell on it. When he threw this up in the air, water fell all over from it."

Rain could be made, or a storm might even be caused, by the use of the charmstones (unok) found in the lake region. Any doctor or plain person who wanted to could use one. They are associated with thunder and are thought to be natural, i.e., not man-made objects.[93] To operate these a little water was sprinkled on them and they were cast out in the direction from which rain was desired: gentle rains came from the west or northwest, hard rains from the southeast. If a violent wind was wanted too, a little earth was put on the charmstone with the water.

In February (1929) J.A. and her godchild were out gathering mushrooms. The girl found an unok, picked it up and asked what it was. After she heard J.A.'s explanation she thoughtlessly threw it away, for which she was chided. As a consequence it rained and stormed for two weeks [which it did].

With the fear that the owner might be careless, J.A. has consistently refused to sell an unok she has in her trunk. When a bad thunderstorm comes up it is always said that someone has been playing with an unok.

Kroeber gives us the following with regard to Tachi rain-making.

> ...but the Tachi and southern tribes describe cylindrical stones 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of this amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.[94]

Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

A very long time ago there were two girls called ta´ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na·watsa´ meke´, elao´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (ṭ·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

Water babies (wi´ṭ·p a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (ṭ·pni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[93] Described and illustrated in Gifford and Schenck, 93-97, pls. 33-34. They also were used by the Indians of Lompoc, Santa Barbara, and Ventura as weather-making amulets (Yates, Charmstones, 299-305).

[94] It would seem, from J.A.'s evidence, that these cylindrical stones are not similar to, but are, the charmstones of the California archaeologist. The loss of power, through loss of the amulet, is common to all persons having supernatural power. There was always anxiety over the safety of talismans.

[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

An old man whom J.A. knew once had an abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold; was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi'i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutunutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kṭo). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots"). These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

> The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

As an example, J.A. described the use of jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

For fractures the skin was scarified all around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was used in the valley as it was in the foothills, i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood recalled a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´čɨk, who handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´wəs.

The Bear Dance was made by the people of the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[99]The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Hutsammi in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She knew of one man, Sapa'te, who did this dance; the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušlɨ'lɨn, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu'iwɨs), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to berries and seeds. All seeds (pa'wəs, so'pas, tsos, su'kun, ya'ha''al, tsa'mɨt, and ṭaltoi'ya [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyuwich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma'mɨl) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who had the ability. It is classified as a "dance" by its name "magic dance" (ṭɨpni ha'tim) in Chunut. Poso'o and Sapagai (a Wowol ?) were the only two doctors known to J.A. who could do this.

In the early spring these men "were careful about what they ate"; they ate nothing made of a new seasonal crop, as, for example, young tule roots. About the middle of February they gave their performance at night by a fire. (These were individual affairs, however.) At least one singer served as accompanist (Jim Wilcox sang for Poso'o, who used a cocoon rattle). The doctor danced almost continuously all night, while the singer sang a series of songs about "birds and animals." Not all these songs had words. Two of them which J.A. recalls are "soisoi maiyin" (see Wukchumni) and the following:

ma''an(a) gut hoi'yiuhɨn
you that come back

pa'wus mai'yɨn ye'ha ye·e·e·e·'ha
seeds are coming, coming

uya'yi uya'yi
[exclamation]

hotɨnihɨ'nke wača'ma
[burning?] shaking hand feathers

hia'ma ṭa'iho'awa
now reddening

so'pas inana'he
[a plant with red berries]

wi'ya ṭa'ho'iwahɨn
will be reddening

At some time during the night the magic display was made. Poso'o made seeds of food plants appear on the floor by the fire; if many seeds of a certain kind were manifest, it indicated that these would be plentiful.

Sapagai's exhibition was more elaborate. He danced about near the fire. When he kicked the ground, seeds appeared all over it. Then he would stamp on the ground, and the plants themselves were there, growing. Another demonstration made use of the ornamental bunch of feathers (sonɨl) carried by doctors in their hands and used in curing processes. Sapagai would hold his sonɨl over a large tray, and when he squeezed it downwards, seeds fell from it onto the tray. But the seeds were magical, not real, and melted away before the spectators' eyes.

During this display the people would query the shaman about the crops of wild seeds for the coming season. "Where were the seeds going to grow?" He would point in certain directions, or even reply that they would be prolific near a specific person's seed-gathering place.

[100]J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

At the end of the singing and dancing people who had long illnesses would be brought in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently held. A chief might give such little parties (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house. His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did not always have words"; they probably were of the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

At another time J.A. made brief reference to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwɨs). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above, the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (čo´pɨt) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni, and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (M.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[102]

[102]Handbook, 501.

The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said Pusl ɨ´lɨn was an old man who could make that dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one else, without this totem, could dance with snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaudanchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (ɔ´šwɨš), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata´mɨč or wa´tiyɔd) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa´tawɨl). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance," referring to the songs which were about birds and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi´awe na ko´no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa´o wa na ko´no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho´hima) is singing.

he´li ipai´ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers to pelican's method of putting fish in his pouch]

[103]Ibid., 506.

[104]Ibid., 507.

[105]Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (ibid., 369).

Annual Mourning Ceremony

The primary reciprocity at Chunut and other valley tribes' mourning ceremonies was between tribes, secondarily between moieties. The tribal reciprocity was like that of the foothills, and the tribes functioning in this relationship likewise were called gi''i. J.A. remembers two large celebrations, one a Telamni ceremony where the Wowol were the gi'i, and another in Drum Valley where the Wukchumni served as gi'i to the Waksachi. On this last occasion moieties were not involved as neither tribe was moietized.

Once understood, the double reciprocity of tribe and moiety is very simple: opposite moieties of the opposed tribes washed each other, thus theoretically, Tokelyuwich of Tribe 1 washed Nutuwich of Tribe 2, Nutuwich of Tribe 1 washed Tokelyuwich of Tribe 2. Details are given in place in the following account of the week's ceremonial.

A little ceremony, "the private mourning ceremony," was held in the third moon following a death. The relatives of the deceased sent some money to the chief of the opposite moiety. At the end of six days the chief had much meat and mush cooked up. He appointed someone to wash the male mourners, and the food was consumed after the washing was done. This was called witi lonuwɨs (little ceremony), or one said of it teya´o wa'ha´l tsumə´lnut (first cry going to wash).

When the time approached for the "big," or annual, mourning ceremony, a preliminary ceremony called kiyu´wɨs was held for the purpose of making plans.[106] A Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich chief assembled the people of each moiety. They all gathered and danced, and each moiety paid the other for this entertainment. The chiefs "each had a family to do the washing."

The Tachi, M.G., said that all the chiefs of a village had to unanimously favor a mourning ceremony before one could be given. There were no secondary chiefs (tuye''i) here, as there were in the foothill tribes.

Although "money passed between chiefs" at mourning ceremonies, it was not a matter of payment for loans: the distribution of money for interest, elsewhere called laknɨ'nɨts, J.A. could not define or describe. Neither was there a fetishistic element involved.[107] "At the end of ten months they [the mourners] took money to some tia''a. At the end of six days this tia'a had lots of mush cooked up. He washed those men," said J.A. She believed the money was given solely for the specific service of washing, not for the food.

The mourning ceremony itself (lonu´iwɨs) lasted six days. Each day for four days special mourning singers (ahe´nɨč) sang in the early morning and evening; there were criers (pa''ič) also. Everyone who felt like it would join the singers and criers in their activities, which were of short duration. The singers would put out their hands and the mournful sounds ceased. During the six days of the affair men could play pole games, but no other games.

J.A. gave the order of rituals for the Annual Mourning Ceremony thus: huhuna (Huhuna), guksai (Guksai), heswas (shamans' contest), ma´ṭek pa´hat ("big" cry), tsumo´lwas (ceremonial washing), hatim (pleasure dance with women participating), and kam (doctor's dancing with songs).

On the third day the Huhuna Dance was given. The performer, who was not a shaman, was dressed entirely in a full-length costume of feathers. A net closely covered his face and head, and to it were affixed two abalone discs which covered the eyes, and two feather horns resembling an owl's "ears." He had a bone whistle in his mouth and carried a little stick (see fig. 8, c). He went around the dance space and found money. (J.A. says he could see in spite of the shell discs, i.e., naturally, not magically.) A winatum had built a fire, and by it a doctor prepared his shot to kill Huhuna. It appeared to the spectators that Huhuna was unaware of his fate: they wept. When the doctor propelled his invisible shot and Huhuna fell unconscious, a winatum carried him aside. The doctor sucked out the shot, spat it on a tray; the winatum burned the intrusive matter. On Huhuna's revival the weeping ceased.

The people who were giving the mourning ceremony paid Huhuna [and the doctor, presumably]. When J.A. was a little girl she attended a Tachi (?) mourning ceremony where Tsewa (Joe, a Tachi of Nutuwich moiety) performed the Huhuna Dance; she does not know who the doctor was. Another time, twenty years ago, she saw the dance at Tule River Reservation; and again she saw it at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley (Wukchumni territory) where it was followed by a Guksai Dance. Inferentially it appears it was not normally part of a Chunut mourning ceremony.

On the fourth day of the mourning ceremony the doctors' contest (hɛ´swas) took place in midafternoon. There was no preliminary or little contest as there was in the foothills. The contest began with the making of airshot (tu´yus sa´mɨn, airshot make). In the dance space, which had no special name or enclosure, the doctors' winatums had built fires for each doctor. Soaproot (ṭo´hot) and "some other root that has little spines all over it, from the lake" were put on the fire to make the shot, but nothing visible resulted. At Pisras, and also at Čiau (Kingston) three doctors were on each side and, in the center, one powerful

[106]Such was my understanding; no amount of questioning seemed to clarify J.A.'s statements.

[107]Cf. Strong, Aboriginal Society, passim.

shaman who was in the range of shot from both sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa´pɛt) and in unison they held these -- in both hands, at opposite edges, and tray face outward -- over the fire, toward the west, the east, upward, then toward the north, the south, and face down over the fire. While the tray was over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it with his hand. The tray was then laid on the ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray was picked up and "smearing" motions made over it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the hand made these rubbing movements.

The doctors sang "hela´lmo ha! ha! ha!" (breathed heavily) as they did this, and a crowd of boys who had been standing on each side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual ceremonial costume, had otter (naha´'at), weasel (po´hət), or beaver (?) (waki´'as) skins fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te´pɛk] could not be used for this purpose; if it were, everyone present would have pains and sickness.) These animals, which were talismans of a sort, caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The doctor could extract such shot, put it on his own tray, and return it to its sender. The shot was propelled by the usual method of banging the tray violently on the ground face downward.

When a doctor was struck he staggered about and fell down; his winatum placed a basket beside him and everyone put in a little money. At the same time the contestants shifted their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic] known to fall. It was he who must begin reviving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies at Pisras it was always Ṣapagai who took the center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A. saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting doctors were all supposed to be benevolent, i.e., to be willing and able to revive their victims, because they were working for display purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid them for their services.[108]

The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people spent in preparation for the big cry (ma´tɛk pa´hat) that night. At the dance place winatums had a large fire built which was lighted at dusk. The members of the mourning families paraded around the fire twice during the night. Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes and draped with beads [money] on long poles; others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or other valuable objects. When these were finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called wɛkči wɛs and made the sides yɛt ka yɛt (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of that moiety, then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa´osɛl. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("mɛm tulun. hi´na ma hi´nasu munɛn").

Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

The pleasure dance (hatɛm) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all night. Some people who had special supernatural powers might dance also. Oṭo´ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not tɛpni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o´po (Bill Osborn), Waksachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono´lenɛn. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identify them. The Waksachi called the Wukchumni gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

[108]But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie [the chief, Tipwatswat] that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa ́na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hiletːts, a great talker.

The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatwːl). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai ́na·na·ni na ́na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

The dance itself, called soto ́twi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi ́'thː ́twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Co'opo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (tːpni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya ́ a· ya ́ e· hai ́ya kawai ́yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

YOKUTS: SOUTHERN VALLEY

PALEUYAMI

Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owɔ́tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yaoʻwɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Moʻlpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowiʻyɨt, was yoʻwekəd, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One woman, named Insiʻʼɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpoʻpi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tonoʻčɨm) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, otherwise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is Tɨpɨʻknɨts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took place, the buriers had a special dance (toʼončiʻma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

All of the buriers were called tonočɨm, but not all were transvestites. The apparent women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[109]This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110]Such a carrier was Wɨliʻhana, whom M.A. recalls.

[111]Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112]It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Rattlesnake (te´'ɛd) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others and lost continuously. People teased him unduly and he became very angry. The following day he called on all his powers (ai´nɨč) to make a storm that would destroy the houses of those who had twitted him. A terrible hailstorm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her sister had gone to the river for water. They ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for shelter. The storm continued unabated for an hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

CEREMONIES

Rattlesnake Ritual

M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he picked the snake up by the tail and made it bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A doctor named Či´čɛn revived him. Solopono was a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was Po´slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly Pušlɨlɨn, the Choinimni); all the others were strangers: there were six of these men who danced with snakes.

Jimsonweed Ritual

M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; although she did not partake herself, her mother did. Her mother was sick and wanted to discover the cause: she saw that the cause of her sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod). Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the ritual was called tañai´'ɨts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

[113]See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

[114]Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115]Powers, 372.

[116]Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

central basket by the leader, sprinkled with eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader called prayerfully upon "god" (tɨ´pnɨm; supernatural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying, "You gave us this. Now these people are going to drink it for you. Give them a good life; let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done in the late afternoon. The participants fell asleep at once and toward morning began talking. A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed the rite.

Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here in the prehuman era.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

M.A. was a little girl, still living at Tule, when a Chonotachi (Chunut) came to tell them about the big dance, that they all must go to Eshom Valley; for if they did not, they would "turn to ashes, a coyote, or something." M.A.'s uncle was very reluctant, but went because he was afraid. M.A. knows she must have gone to Eshom Valley but remembers little about it save that the dead people were supposed to come back. She thinks that two dances were held in Eshom Valley, one at Tule, one at Kolpopo afterwards, but probably none at Tejon.

KOYETI

The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao´wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancheria on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

D.F. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.[117] He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye´mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (hɨtwai´´iya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci´čɨn, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

Hyhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camsu´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

[117] Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winatum there.

[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christman, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kam or do conventional dance steps.

himself and was shot at the end." The doctor who resuscitated huhuna was Toi''isɨk, but D.F. does not know if he was the one who "killed" him.

D.F. saw jimsonweed (ta'nai) taken at Fort Tejon; this was done in the early spring. Mashed jimsonweed roots were steeped in water and the decoction was drunk after about eight days' fast. It was taken by members of both sexes who were at least sixteen years old. But men and women did not drink it together. There was no "retreat" during the fast; the drinking was done on three successive days [sic]. It was taken "for long life and to see everything," and the experience might be repeated as often as a person wished. D.F. had never taken jimsonweed.

The Ghost Dance (soto'twi 'ha't ɨm) was first seen in Koyeti territory on Deer Creek. D.F. does not know who introduced it "unless it was Wačila'la," a Gawia. How far the dance spread beyond Fort Tejon, D.F. has no idea. They came up from Fort Tejon to see it. Some people made it there when they went back.

TULAMNI

A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

> All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their villages the natives live in the winter in very large squares, the families divided from each other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

Utensils.--A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

Foods.--Fages speaks at length of the animal and vegetable foods available, and, like all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

Several familiar vegetable foods are mentioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns, which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, x, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the other in the midafternoon.

String.--It appears that both hemp and nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Fages attributes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with disheveled hair hanging down over the face." [Possibly Fages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

Games.--Two dice games, and hoop and pole, are recorded by Fages. The first, for women only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

The tossed hoop and pole game he describes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

Signals.--Fages states that during all-night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[124]

BANKALACHI: YOKUTS-SHOSHONEAN

Frank Manuel was born at Soto´tlo, a large village of about twenty families, on Deer Creek where both Bankalachi and Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) lived. His maternal grandfather, Čoxo´no, was a Pitanisha chief there. There were two other chiefs whose names F.M. does not remember.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

[122]See Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 19.

[123]Stone pipes occur in archaeological remains from the southern valley but were not used within the memory of informants; they may also have come by trade from the Chumash (see Kroeber, Handbook, 564).

[124]Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

[125]This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi´'in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´^{wu} in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ʻ´n^{u}wao, was east of Čena^{wu}. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´sʻts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya´wʻl ti´'i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi´'i.[128]

The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´tʻm (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´wʻs, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´'i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[126]See Voegelin, 7.

[127]Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128]This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129]Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

[130]Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

known. The clapper (tawa´twɨl) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu. [131]

Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wəs) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´səp) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called yɛ´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

Medicine.--Redwood sap (ṭa´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

[131]Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132]Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

[133]F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana ´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na ´nək ma ana ´təlhɨn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi ´ʾɨt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɨn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɨn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɨts. She "thought about power [tɨpni] day and night until she dreamt." She married Ceče'ɨs, who was Wati'sti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wu'ni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɨn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino'lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

[135]This may be a reason for the reluctance about name-mention encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136]See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

YOKUTS: CENTRAL FOOTHILLS

WUKCHUMNI

LOCALITY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

The territory in which the Wukchumni lived comprised beautiful, oak-studded, foothill country on both sides of the Kaweah River. Situated on the edge of the valley plain yet within the shelter of the hills, the benefits of both were theirs. No section of the valley was more lush than that watered by the Kaweah River and its fingerlike delta of creeks between the foothills and the lake. An almost ecstatic description has been left us by an early visitor, James H. Carson, who saw the country in 1852, two years after Lt. Derby's tour and the same year in which Jeff Mayfield arrived in the San Joaquin Valley.[137]

The Four Creeks are the next waters met with. These deep and rapid streams are formed by one river [the Kaweah River]. Lieut. G.H. Derby of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, who made the first surveys of this portion of California, in May, 1850, named this the Francis River. It is larger than the San Joaquin or any of its tributaries where it leaves the mountain.

This stream can be heard when you have gone a few miles in among the Buttes at its entrance on the plain, thundering from the rocky heights of the snowcapped Nevada. Its waters, as if tired of their task, seem to stop to rest in a beautiful small lake, formed amongst the conical hills.

These hills divide the waters of Francis [Kaweah] River at the foot of the Lake into the four streams known to the traveller on the plains as the Four Creeks. These creeks meander thro' heavily timbered and beautiful country, some twenty-five miles, where they empty their water into Tule [Tulare] Lake.

Allow me here to digress for a few moments from the tenor of these sketches, and you who admire the beauties of nature, untouched by the hands of man, accompany me to the top of the conical hill[138] that rises its head near the mountain -- far above the rest that surround it- and there view the fancy pencillings of the finger of the unseen Hand that formed from chaos this the most lovely spot in California.-- Now from its top we see around us a hundred conical hills rising from the plain, smooth and diagrammatically shaped, as if done by the chisel of the artist. Here, too, the Sierra Nevada rises abruptly from the plains -- its wall-like, rugged sides running almost perpendicularly up, until its spiral peaks are capped with the eternal snows that shine with dazzling brightness from the rays of the rising sun. Yonder, far in the plain, rise tall spiral cones of long, slim, rocks, whose bristling tops look like piles of spears stacked by giants of another age... Here on the green plain, from which the Buttes rise can be seen here and there the broad, low-spreading branches of the evergreen oaks. The stillness of nature around is broken only by the thunder of the waters of the Francis River as they come through the rocky gorges of the mountain passes: but, here at our feet, their white foam has died away, and in this crystal lake, where fish of a thousand species sport, they seem to stop and rest before they hurry on to their destination. Now let us turn and look westward. -- The oaks, in their majesty, thickly cover the plain for miles around, and stretch away to the shore of the Tulare Lake. Amongst them and through high green grass, meander the Four Creeks. To the right, at the distance of 25 miles, runs the belt of timber, marking the course of King's River to the lake. On the left is seen at the distance of twenty miles, the broad body of timber that marks the course of Tule river. The body of land, thus bounded, is the best in the valley -- well timbered and watered, and covered with the finest grass in California. Stretching beyond this to the west lie the placid blue waters of the Tulare lake, whose ripples wash the foot of the low hills of the Coast range -- the blue tops of which set a boundary to the scene.

Trade

The limits of Wukchumni land are indefinite, for all so-called boundaries were trespassed by hunting and seed-gathering groups on all sides, yet limits were recognized at certain points by common consent. On the north Wukchumni territory touched Waksachi in Antelope Valley, which was occupied by Wukchumni families. On the east, up the Kaweah River at the modern hamlet of Three Rivers, a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village marked the beginnings of Patwisha holdings. On the south the Wukchumni roamed as far as Yokol, the Yokod nuclear village (the present railway station of Yokohl), and on the west as far as Woodlake where Gawia land began. The small lake there was regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod for fishing, waterfowl-hunting, and shellfish-gathering. Telamni, Choinuk, and Wolasi sometimes came there too.

The Gawia, M.L. said, lived along the river west of the Wukchumni and had special campsites at springs near Haditao and Sokodao,

[137]Carson, Life in California, 64-66.

[138]Probably the hill called dai'a'pnus (Local Map B, no. 32) by the Wukchumni and regarded by them as their "home spot" or traditional primordial locale. -- A.H.G.

although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther north than Lindcove.

The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

To the east the Wukchumni went into Patwisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Very little that is definite can be learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Patwisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure of white encroachment.

The Eastern Mono, called Mona´či by the Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an undercurrent of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humtᵾ´nᵾn).

Wukchumni Villages

I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most prominent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohət were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been held. The chief decided when to move; he would call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141] It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

the families in Diapnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound construction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohət (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohət later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pɨno (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´osəs (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po'o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. Itɨmwi´'iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´'iɨn[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

It is to be noted that the infamous shaman Watisti and his mother were among those at Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam [watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Garfield sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances" for an account of this entertainment.) No other dance or ritual was ever given at summer camps. J.B. said that they all returned to Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that there visitors could be accommodated and the location was secluded from encroaching whites. Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no place to pasture horses; all the land was taken up by whites."

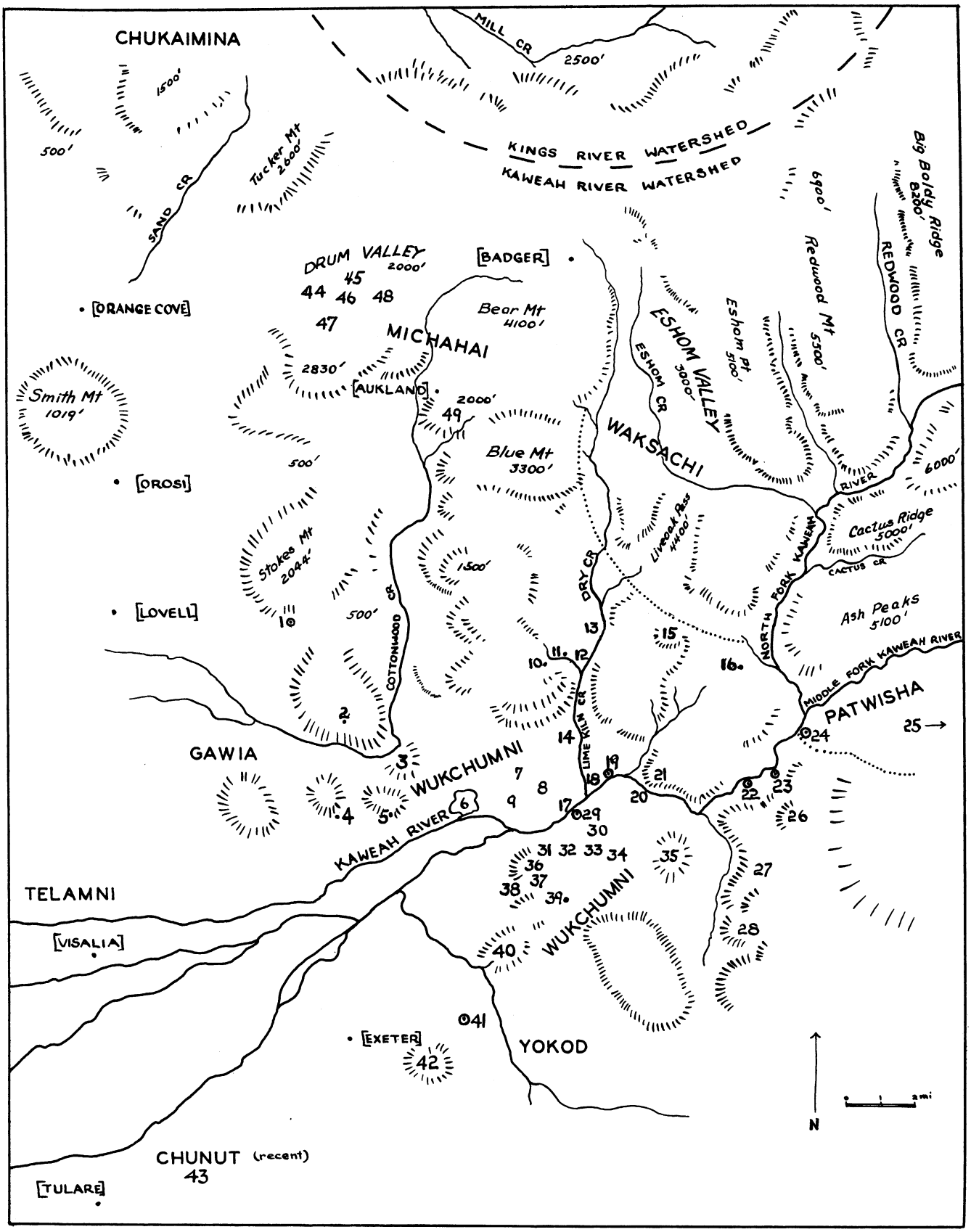
Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could recall only three families. The chief there was Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the couple continued to live with Biseti's mother because "his father had gone to live with another woman." In another house lived an old man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife, Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet another woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi. The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai; his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named O´mo. L. said they had no children "because Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. Another chief, Ke´wɨč (John Davis) lived there, and in a third house were relatives of Jim Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano. Later Walai moved out there; and this chief Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who previously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister, female parallel cousin (called elder sister), her older brother, and her maternal grandmother all lived in one house. When her father was alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in a house of their own. Her father's mother, father's brother, and father's sisters all lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establishments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers, or cousins, would build their houses close together." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi during the winter, but in summer went on seed-gathering trips towards the plains. They would stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not have special places to hunt food, anyone went with anyone else just as they wished." [A slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that women quarreled over their claims to berry and seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[142]Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.



Map 3. Local Map B: Wukchumni and neighboring territory

and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and freshwater oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Waksachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye''itao: Gawia central village
2. sokoda'o: Gawia campsite
3. čedɛpwi'ša: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida'pwiš
4. poanai'yu: Gawia campsite
5. hadɛta'o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa''asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai''yuhao
8. čašɛ'ša: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau'ču
10. topo'ño: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai''yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa'o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo'kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču'm: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya'gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo'ñyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi'yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono': a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu'mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño'našu
21. čoiši'šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi'šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa'o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu'nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village
24. patwi'ša: westernmost Patwisha village; there was a painted rock there from which women copied basket patterns [143]
25. bai'o'ma: Mineral King peak in the high Sierra Nevada
26. šadama'o: a sharp peak
27. usta'nyu: hill east of Lemon Cove
28. guta'o
29. ho'ganu: Wukchumni village; location called "Iron Bridge" (across river) in English
30. čoi'yo
31. šaiwɛta'o
32. dai'a'pnus: hill west of Lemon Cove
33. dai'apnu'ša: Wukchumni village; present site of Lemon Cove
34. pada'o
35. pupuna'o
36. kučɛnpida'o: called "dog road," reason for name not known; a Wukchumni seed-gathering site
37. sañanhɛnta'o: meaning "someone killed," the hill above Goodale ranch
38. muču'npida'o: trail between the hills west of Lemon Cove
39. šiye'du: summer seed-gathering camp of people from no. 33; present site of Moffett
40. šaikču'mnyu
41. yoko'l: Yokod village
42. čaha'šana'o
43. čunɛta'o: recent Chunut rancheria, about 1890-1910; not definitely located
44. yuna'pyu: Drum Valley
45. wača'mao: Bowman Ranch
46. wa'una'o: Button Willow Peak (2269 ft.), above Drum Valley schoolhouse
47. nauwi'šɛnyu: Corn Jack Peak (2000 ft.), hill south of Drum Valley schoolhouse
48. pačikɛna'o: rock with pictographs on Cutler Ranch; a shaman's cache
49. čoho'mina'o: Bear Mountain east of Aukland

Locations indefinite: čašɛ'ša (no. 8), not positive; gutao (no. 35), Ed Morris [Morse?] Ranch; duda'dyu, Arthur Ragle's [?] place, an old Wukchumni campsite; čihoi'li, Stokes Flat [?]; dono'ñwiyu; čai''oč; pupu'na (a quarry on Lime Kiln Creek called "shoot rocks"; an onamatopoetic name?)

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

The Central Foothill culture included structures of both mountain and valley types. The sweat house was practically without variation, but dwellings were of bark-slab type, brush or grass thatch, or covered with tule mats, according to the availability of these materials. The type of storehouse built was governed by the same consideration. The ramada was much used even in the mountains. Lean-to's were built only at campsites, where even permanent house frames were often established.

[143] Perhaps one of the localities referred to in Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

The sweat house.--The sweat house (mos) was first obtained from Bear.[144]

Bear always had a sweat house and that is where people first got it. People saw it and wanted one like it. Eagle, the chief, sent Dove to ask Bear about his sweat house. It took the messenger a day to reach his place. Bear received him and agreed to come the next morning. When Dove started to go, Bear detained him. "If you can beat me to that gap in the hills down there, you may go." Dove ran off. If Bear had caught him before he reached the spot, he would have killed him. But to Bear's astonishment Dove got there first and continued on his trip home.

The next morning Bear came. He asked the people where they wanted their sweat house. They said, "Close to the water." He went out and cut a lot of long poles. He dug out a pit in the ground. He built the sweat house just like his own. No one helped him, yet he had the structure completed by sundown.

The chief sent for all the people to pay Bear. Bear told them not to start a big fire in the sweat house yet, to have just a little one for the first day. Then Bear received his pay and went home.

The people got brush and made a fire, then lay down near it. They wondered who should sing; they decided that a man with Bear as his lineage totem had better do it. So a Bear man sang: hoyoho´ na'a, hoyoho´ na'a, ho' ho' ho' (hoyoho, Bear, hoyoho Bear). He repeated this over and over and kept time by slapping his thighs (J.P.).

Now it is nearly always a Bear or Eagle man who sings in the sweat house, although any man may do so if he wishes or is asked to. According to Kroeber, men sometimes divided themselves in two groups, singing songs and competing with each other in enduring extreme heat. Such a sweat was followed by bathing and a sound sleep. Another swim was taken in the morning.[145]

The flute was frequently played there. But no dancing of any type took place within the sweat house in the Central Foothill region.

Any man who wished to might go in the sweat house. On rare occasions boys went in while a sweat was in progress. But a lad was not allowed to take a severe sweat until he was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the physical strain was too great. Boys of eight or so onward were permitted to sleep there at night; especially were they sent there when the home was crowded. Young men and single men slept there the year around. Married men occasionally stayed there for social pleasure and during a wife's tabu period after childbirth, according to my informants; whereas Kroeber states that men slept there regularly during the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat house only when it was empty of men, as it was at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was chiefly during very cold weather that they went in to warm themselves, and they left instantly when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes women sat just outside to listen, if the men within were singing especially well, but ran off when the inmates were about to emerge.

Sweats were often held twice a day, sometimes one in the morning, and invariably one in the late afternoon. Though it was the winatum's duty to keep the sweat house provided with some wood, the major portion of the supply was brought by the individuals who were going to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they were needed: there was no fire-tender's office. An intensive sweat seems to have been the vogue. Many informants speak of participants staggering as though drunk when they left the sweat house. After the sweat there was a general rush to the river for a swim. The men then returned to the sweat house to sleep or lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when the evening meal was ready.

A village of any size had at least two sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be built by a group of friends, though there was no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership involved. If the number of men in a village was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more appropriate to their needs; especially was it more easily heated. When one burned down, as they occasionally did, or the supporting timbers of an old structure weakened beyond repair, steps were taken toward building a new one. Men would talk among themselves about it; then the chief was consulted. While his permission was not absolutely necessary, he usually directed, by means of his winatum, the construction of a new sweat house. Three or four men whose skill was recognized were selected to undertake the job. They were paid for their services by the chief, who received contributions for the purpose from the men of the village. Apparently there was no fixed fee: informants said each man "would give a little bit," or that occasionally workers were not paid "because they wanted the new sweat house too."

The area of a sweat house floor was excavated about two feet. Digging sticks were used to loosen the soil which was piled into

[144]The Walapai held a similar belief (Kroeber, Walapai Ethnography, 118). Also mentioned in a myth (Gayton and Newman, 89).

[145]Kroeber, Handbook, 523.

[146]Ibid. Fages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were probably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147]This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

old baskets with the hands. The baskets were carried or dragged out by helping men and boys. Women sometimes helped at this, but the service was regarded as somewhat of a joke by all concerned. The excavated earth was heaped in one place for later use in covering the structure. The interior diameter of an average sweat house was about 15 to 20 feet. The shape was somewhat elliptical if it were a large house with two center posts, circular if smaller and with but a single center post. Not more than two center posts were ever used in this region; vertical side walls were not known.[148] The center posts, placed 6 to 8 feet apart and extending above ground some 4 or 5 feet, were forked and supported a center beam. These posts were usually of oak. The roofing poles, preferably of alder, were some 4 to 6 inches in diameter and of a length sufficient to project 6 inches beyond the center beam and 1 foot beyond the excavated side wall. The bark was not removed. The poles were laid as close together as possible, alternate poles from opposing sides projecting on the center beam. Toward each end of the beam the grounded ends of the poles were spread out slightly. The ends of the house were covered by poles laid into the fork, other poles were laid over these and the grounded ends fanned out to form rounded ends (basically the same structure as the two-post oval dwelling). The bunched upper ends were tied with coarse rope (ho'o). Over this foundation roof was laid a similar but more haphazard arrangement of slender alder or willow poles which filled in the interstices.

A doorway was left by spreading the poles at one end. (Informants disagreed on the position of the door of the two-post house, whether on the side or end.) Three parallel posts were set upright, inside at the bottom but projecting outside, on either side of the opening left between the roof poles. Upon these uprights were set two crosspieces: one lay flat, the other outward one rested above it. Together they formed an angled brace against which the butts of short roof poles rested. There was no closure for the doorway.

The roof was now ready to be covered with a layer of brush and long grass upon which the excavated earth was spread.

The doorway was about 3 feet high, the interior of the house slightly less than a man's height. In a two-post house 20 feet in diameter, sixteen men could sit comfortably. The fire was always directly opposite and just within the doorway: heat within forced the smoke to push through the low door while the fire itself prevented too great a draft from entering. The firewood was placed in two piles, one each side of the entrance. Manzanita wood about one inch thick was preferred, as its smoke was believed to be less irritating to the eyes than that of other woods.[149] About the edges of the room lay such tule mats as various individuals brought in for their own comfort. A flute-player might habitually thrust his flute up into some little cranny at the roof's edge (J.P., S.G.).

Kroeber's unlocalized description of the Yokuts sweat house agrees in general with the above.[150]

> The sweat house, mosh or mos, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends, and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber.... The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel wind-breaks.

The single-post sweat house differed from the larger form only in size and in the relation of roof poles to center post. The center post was forked and supported a few radiating roof poles laid into its crotch. Others were laid against these, and the resulting bunch of pole ends were lashed together and about the post with coarse rope. The interstices were filled with slender rods, and the whole covered like the larger form. No door frame was made, the doorway being merely a narrow opening between poles spaced apart for the purpose (J.P., S.G.).

The Yaudanchi sweat house was a two-post affair. The floor was excavated about two feet. Then a frame of sticks radiating from a center beam to the ground was lashed in place, a willow roof laid over it, and the whole thing covered with mud. The doorway was about 4 feet by 4 feet, which seems excessively wide. The fire was just within the entrance. About ten men were accommodated. Any man was free to enter and sweat, but youths did not attempt it until about twenty years old. Usually there were two singers who sang during the evening sweat.

Dwellings.--The construction of a house was a family affair; friends helped each other only when assistance was a physical necessity to the builder. Some men might build a little house for an old woman who had no relatives, but more often such a person would take up residence in an abandoned house or vacant storehouse. The work of house-building was divided. The man of the family obtained the poles and heavy withes for the framework, dug out the floor space, and set up the framework. In the

[148] Ibid., 596, pl. 60, shows a southern Californian sweat house identical with the Yokuts type of side construction. The exterior of the small Yokuts sweat house probably resembled that of the Koso (cf. ibid., 590, pl.56).

[149] The Wintu also preferred manzanita wood (Du Bois, Wintu, 122).

[150] Handbook, 522, 523.

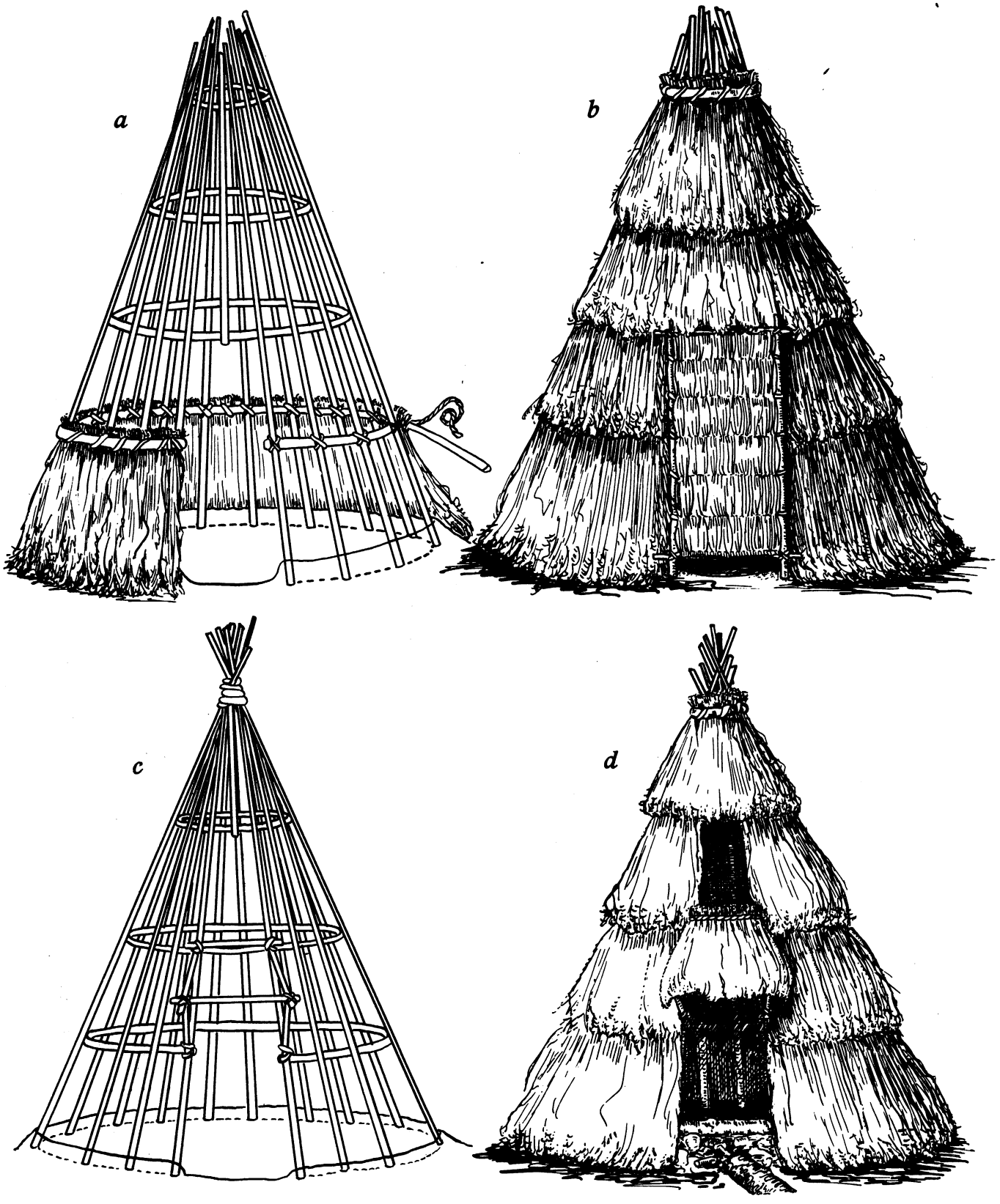


Fig. 5. Yokuts and Western Mono conical houses. a, b, Central Foothill type with inner ring at smoke vent and mat door. c, d, Chukchansi type with smoke vent and rain shed over door (after Rogers).

meantime the cover, whether thatch or mat, was prepared by the wife and other female relatives who had a personal interest in the dwelling. The lower layers of covering were tied on by women, but the upper layers, which could be reached only by climbing on the frame, were fastened by the man.

The size of the house depended upon the needs of the family, that is, the number of persons in the household and the amount of entertaining to be done. A chief, though perhaps having a small family, would always have a large dwelling because he was frequently visited. If decrepit relatives crowded a home, a small house, which was often little more than a hovel, would be built for them near by. (The ancient mother-in-law of one informant was living in such circumstances.)

In the Central Foothill section houses with a conical framework predominated. A house of any type was called ṭi', those covered with brush, ṭi ʹyao ʹwɨl (yao ʹwɨl, brush or tall grass), those covered with tule, pu ʹmuk (round tule). The name of the bark house was not obtained: Kroeber gives it as samish.[151] Among the Gawia and Yokod the tule-covered house predominated. The Wukchumni house was commonly brush- and grass-thatched, though tule was preferred when obtainable, as at Gutsnumi. For them, the bark house was rare, whereas the tule house was rare for the Patwisha, who used brush and bark coverings about equally. Kroeber states that the common Yaudanchi house, called te, had a conical framework and sewed tule mat covering, although the ridged house, with a fireplace and door at either end, was also known to them. They made use of a special species of tule called shuyo growing in the vicinity.[152]

The first step in building a house was outlining its circular area on the site selected. There is a difference of opinion among informants as to the hollowing of the floor: perhaps this feature varied with each builder's preference. Certainly the floor was never lowered more than a foot, but at least a slight cavity was made to brace the frame poles. For the conical house three oak poles were tied together near their tips and set up as a tripod. Two poles were closer to each other than to the third; these became the door frame, while the third was opposite, at the back of the house. Other poles were then leaned into the crotch at the apex; they were spaced 18 inches to 2 feet apart. The length of the poles depended upon the diameter of the house, which in the conical form was some 6 to 9 feet. The butts of all poles were embedded in the ground at the edges of the floor cavity. They were held in place by horizontal bands of pliable willow bound on with ho'. The first was about a foot above the ground, others, of which there might be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[153]

A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently built outside under the ramada. The floor was covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

Mats were rarely used on a conical frame as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[151]Ibid., 522.

[152]Ibid.

[153]No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

which Kroeber mentions for Yaudanchi and the lake peoples.[154]

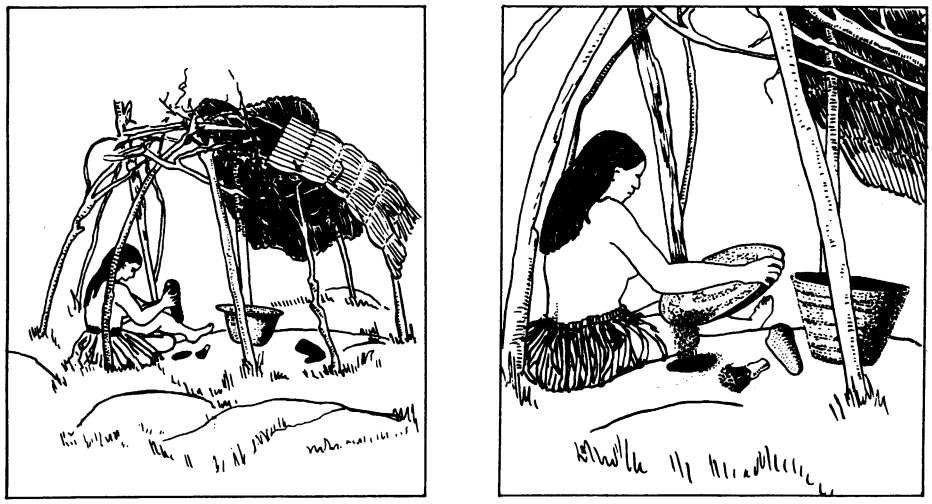
The oval house was also frequently built in the lower foothills. Most of the houses at the Wukchumni village of Gutsnumi were of this form, as were those of the Gawia and Yokod though they did not reach the extreme dimensions of the lake region long houses.

To start construction two forked posts were erected and a ridgepole laid between them. Side and end poles with pliable tips were braced in the ground at the periphery of the floor area and bent toward the ridgepole to which their tips were lashed with ho'. As with the conical house, horizontal side braces were lashed on. The oblong house was never thatched but was covered with twined or sewed tule mats. These were tied to the framework and, in expectation of stormy weather, were bound down by a lashed on, outside withe. No smoke hole was left, the smoke merely escaping through the rough slotlike aperture along the ridgepole. The oval house of the Central Foothills was not usually divided into compartments as it was in the lake region.

The bark house was of necessity smaller in size than the thatched or mat-covered type. Kroeber's unlocalized description of the bark house may serve here, as this structure was not well known to Wukchumni informants.[155]

A bark house of similar type [conical] is called samish. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

The bark lean-to, with which Wukchumni and Patwisha were familiar, was used by them at summer camps in the higher hills where cedar and pine bark were obtainable. The structure was started by setting in the ground a forked post 4 or 5 feet high. Into its crotch were laid poles which radiated in a half-circle. Spaces were filled in with more slender poles, and against the whole were leaned overlapping slabs of bark stripped from fallen or decaying trees. Earth was piled against the base both outside and inside to keep the pole and slab butts in place. (M.L., J.P.)



a *b*

Fig. 6. Wukchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

The brush lean-to, particularly used by women at seed-gathering camps, was semi-dome-shaped in form. The earth was dug away slightly from a half-circle. Two pliable poles were set down in holes at the points of the half-circle. Their tips were drawn together, overlapped, and bound in place. Two or three other poles were set up along the curve, bent forward, and tied to the arc. Loose scraggy brush was piled up against this crude frame, and, if a tule mat had been brought along, it would be tied over the top. Such a lean-to served not as a shelter, but as a shade. Women had such shades, often completely hemispherical, built over their bedrock mortars (fig. 6).[156] (M.L., M.P.)

[154]Handbook, 521, 522.

[155]Ibid., 522.

[156]The type of shelter depicted by Gifford (Northfork Mono, pl. 3, b) may or may not be of similar construction, but the finished effect is like that described by my informants.

The ramada or shade, čɛ́niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of provisions, more acorns would be bought from someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but preferably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states that the breechclout was not removed during bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

The belt was of milkweed string woven ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi´koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi´'ɛč (fig. 13, g). Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom which was perhaps diffused through Spanish influence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

A sandal (daki´'ɛč) of thick hide, deer neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very hot weather or when making a long journey. Several layers of hide were cut to the foot pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

Sandals were not worn by women. No type of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

[157]An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, c).

[158]The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

[159]Powers, 382.

[160]Handbook, 519.

[161]Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

their construction were all unintelligible. M.L., now blind, said that the Wukchumni and Patwisha, but not the Gawia, had a moccasin called woñka´da. It had two seams and a "piece up the front" (a tongue?). The Yaudanchi bought ready-made moccasins from the Eastern Mono. These had a seam up the toe-front and tied in front at the ankle; they were called ča´k‹t (M.S. did not know their Mono name).

Men ordinarily wore the hair long and parted in the middle; they did not wear bangs. When it proved a nuisance at work, it was tied at the nape of the neck with a length of string or leather thong. Yaudanchi men, on dress occasions, tied their hair in a "club" at the nape of the neck with an eagle-down string (ča´yi); this arrangement was called a´pati. In hunting, the hair was knotted and held in place with wooden skewers.

A hair net was not used on ordinary occasions, but as a foundation for feather head ornaments with ceremonial dress. It was not used by women. Of fairly fine mesh, 1 to 2 inches to a taut loop, it was rectangular, roughly 12 to 15 inches wide and 30 to 40 inches long. There was a definite way of putting it on (fig. 7). With the hanging hair pushed into a cluster at the back of the neck, the net was laid lengthwise over the head so that the front end hung over the face to the tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

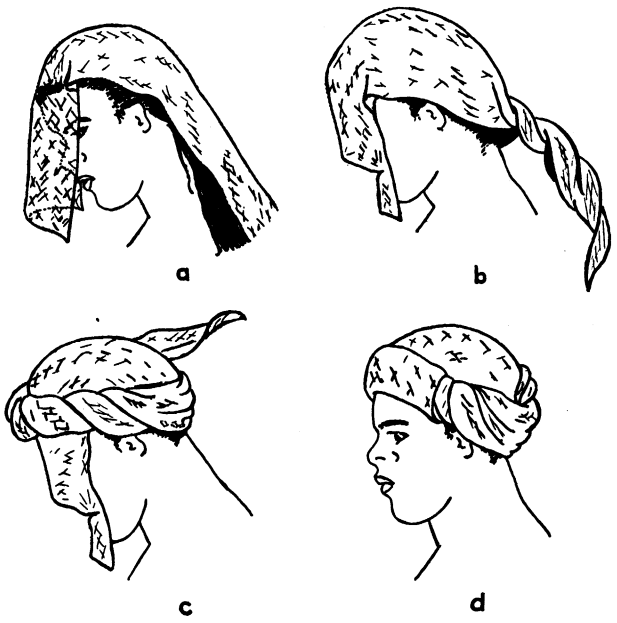


Fig. 7. Method of donning hair net. a, net laid on with flap over face. b, flap gripped in teeth, hair and net twisted together. c, twist wrapped around head. d, end tucked in and flap rolled back over twist.

It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary occasions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

Women's dress.--Women also wore a buckskin breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ţo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

[162]Handbook, 519.

[163]Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

available. Large tules were pulled into strips; they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nɨp) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always coiled, of a shape similar to the small individual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.). While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

Women's hair was long save during the period of active mourning, when it was singed close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

On special occasions eagle down was stuck on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

Both sexes took care in the disposal of hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected. Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

One of Ju´'ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost everything. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

Fig. 8. Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonial dress. a, Waksachi male dancer at naming ceremony. b, woman dressed for any ceremony. c, Huhuna costume. d, shaman in full regalia. (Reconstructed from descriptions, photographs, and museum specimens.)

and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´ñiš (M. and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´'ɨts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills (po') surrounded with quail crests.

Necklaces (walaṭ) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nɨt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yɨn, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cinnabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint (hoso´ša, J.B.; hošo´hɨt, M.L.; white color, čau´dəd, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek. Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when attired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

Tattooing.--Many women used tattooing as a permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

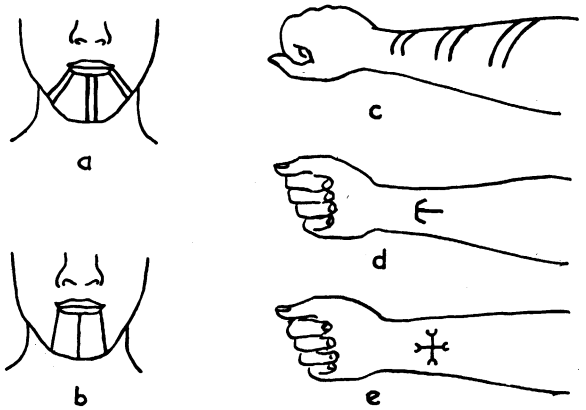


Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

[164]The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165]Kroeber gives chohun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166]See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

be the localization of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. The Wukchumni, M.P., said her pattern represented dove's feet because she had Dove totem (fig. 9, d); the Telamni, T.W., said hers represented "a cross because I belong to the Catlick," a tactful evasion (fig. 9, e). M.L.'s forearm had bars on the upper side (fig. 9, c).

Face patterns are shown in figure 9, a, b. M.P. said favorite Wukchumni patterns were two stripes downward from each corner of the mouth or one horizontally from each corner of the nose. (No example of the latter was seen by the recorder.) Tattooing was sometimes done on the thighs, and M.P. once saw an old woman who had several stripes on her chin which continued onto her neck and thence into zigzag lines on her chest, breasts, and thorax. Men to the north (Hoshima) were known to use facial tattooing, but "none down this way." Kroeber shows several tattoo designs.[167]

The tattooing was usually done by some old woman. The pattern was marked on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick. The lines were then abraded with a fine-pointed small arrowhead, and a paste of grease and charcoal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, and no person seen with tattooing showed any welting or scarring as a result. The color was dark blue-grey.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

A Wukchumni, J.B., says that his Patwisha father-in-law, Ha ñhaš, was a fine hunter. Deer was his dream helper. He always supplied deer meat for large gatherings and was paid for this service. He ate deer meat, but abstained from it for three days after killing a deer. When about to kill an animal he spoke to it: "I am going to kill you. These people are going to eat you. I kill you every year." When killing a bear he addressed it in the same way "so the bear wouldn't hurt him." (J.B. claimed he had never heard of anyone transforming himself into a bear.)

Great respect was shown deer when they were killed, according to S.G. A hunter would tell the deer "that he wanted him to rise in three days." A plain man, without special dream aid, would just tell the deer he was sorry he had to kill him.

In the old days when a hunter killed a deer, he laid it on a pile of brush while he was skinning it. After it had been quartered and the viscera removed, the parts that remained, the ribs and the shoulder blades, were laid up in a tree. Dogs must never be allowed to touch deer meat or the carcass remnants. Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

[167] Handbook, 520, 521, figs. 45, h-l, 46, m-o.

[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 98).

The eagle's carcass was returned to the hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

Eagle lived over the water before the world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛts ṭo´hɨl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi´tɨs), and grey eagle (ṭohɨl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

J.P. said that when a man went out to kill bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi´ta pŏ´dta ma ṭupɨ´nita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi´pɨni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned inside out as it was worked off and the antlers removed with it. For the costume, the cut under the throat was sewed up and the head and neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head rested on the man's head, the skin hanging down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that the hunter looked out through the eye-holes, with the skin tied under his chin, does not sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied to the body with a belt, in such a way that the weapons pushed the skin up at the back making a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned on two short sticks to assist the four-legged pose as he walked. These he cracked together to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a man could approach within twenty feet of grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive, two to scare up the deer and one to kill by waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming" animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons. J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and lime and to vomit the night before hunting. They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel, and departed in the morning. The only tabu was on saying where one was going, "if you told, you would never see any deer." Neither has he heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or claims on special places since game was so plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to get deer, but a hunter would often take another man along to help him, and this man received some meat in return. S.G. believes that everybody ate deer meat, but some people do not like bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar flesh although many people did.

J.P. said "there were five animals just like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were not totemic). These were: šo´koi, elk, wandered east of the swamps in the valley; soi´yɔd, a goat with straight horns, belongs in the valley, seen near the foothills at Hadi´dɨt; duwe´sɨp, mountain sheep, had curved horns and belonged in the mountains; wɔ´kno, antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and hoi, deer.

Bear hunting.--Bears were not ordinarily shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as game. The meat was not eaten by many people, and the animal was held in considerable awe. When deliberately sought to be killed, the creature was roused during hibernation, forced to run out into the open, and shot from ambush. The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by members of the Bear lineage, certain members of which would use these parts in the Bear Dance. As an illustration of the hunting method and its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

Weapons.--The plain bow (ta'dup) and sinew-backed bow (tap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse'ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end recurvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

Of the ten plain Yokuts bows in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, four still have the bark on the inner side. None shows much recurving, and they are no doubt the basis for Kroeber's comment that Yokuts "common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick...."[172] Plain bows had strings of čidɨk twine.

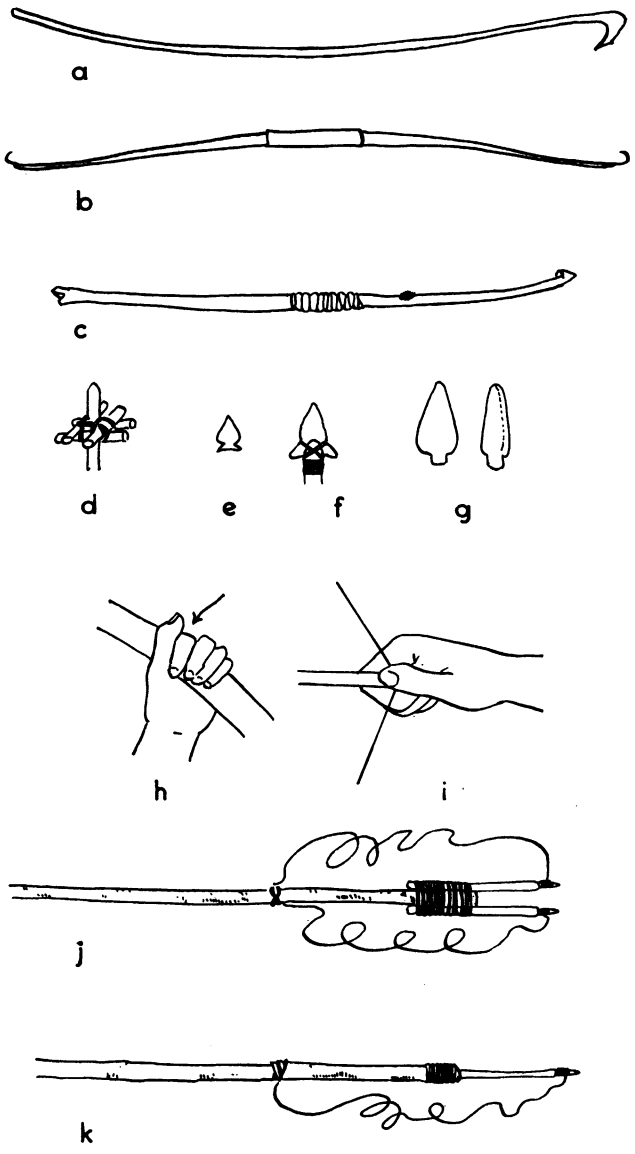


Fig. 10. Hunting and fishing equipment. a, rodent hook. b, sinew-backed bow (about 4 feet). c, self-bow (about 3 feet, unstrung). d, bird-arrow tip. e, obsidian tip of deer arrow. f, same showing fastening. g, flint tip of war arrow. h, bow grasp with arrow rest. i, arrow release. j, k, double and single harpoons.

[172]Handbook, 530.

As the best instrument of this group, No. 1-3943 was selected for description. It measures 3 feet, 7-3/4 inches in over-all length and is 1-3/8 inches in width at center. The bow curvature is slight, and only one end is now recurved. The ends differ, one having a projection to carry the permanent fastening of the bowstring, the other hooked (fig. 10, c), the string being hooked and unhooked over this end. This weapon differed from the others of the group in having a hand grasp 7-1/2 inches wide of skin thong wound around the bow at the center. The wrappings were exactly parallel, touching but never overlapping. The wrapping was started by laying one end along the outside and returning the wrapping over this end. On the back about 6 inches above the grasp was glued a red-headed woodpecker's scalp. It is possible that this was a hunter's talisman.

The sinew-backed bow (fig. 10, b) was doubtless made of mountain cedar [juniper] as Kroeber states, as was true for the neighboring Mono from whom, in fact, most Yokuts bows were obtained.[173] The sinew used was that taken from the long back muscles of deer; it was fastened to the back of the bow with glue made of boiled deer brains. The string was of sinew (pik·t).

Kroeber states:

> The commonest type [of bow], primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.[174]

Powers describes Yokuts bows as he saw them.[175]

> As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows [sic--no sinew-backed bows], but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.
>
> I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining -- for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow -- and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped onto it.

Arrows (toi´yuš) according to S.G., were about 2 feet long for deer, a bit less than 2 feet for bear-killing, as not more than 2 inches of the arrow extended beyond the bow when it was drawn. For small game a 4-foot, one-piece, arrow of willow (kai´wan) was used. The cane arrow (si´k·d) had a foreshaft of oak sprout, which, when shaped to a point, was ground down on a rock and then heated over coals for hardening. Deer arrows were of cane with an obsidian tip (fig. 10, e, f) on the foreshaft. All arrows had three feathers, preferably "squirrel" hawk (šo´hup) wing feathers. The top of each split feather was fastened first, each one being inserted under a separate turn of the binding sinew. When the bottoms of the feathers were fastened down, they were laid a trifle out of line to give a slight spiraling of the feathers, "to make the arrow fly straight." The feathers had to be left wing feathers, as only one half of each feather was used, and these were always laid on with the "right side" (outside) toward the worker.[176] S.G. did not know how the obsidian points were made. He says a natural obsidian was obtained from the lake people: if his statement is correct they must, in turn, have gotten it from Coast Range people.

Arrows were kept in a quiver made of a whole fox skin with fur left on. It was called a´oja timai´ya (fox sack) and was hung on the right shoulder.

Of Yaudanchi arrows Kroeber states:[177]

[173] A description of making the sinew-backed bow is in the Wobonuch section, Pt. II.

[174] Handbook, 530.

[175] P. 373.

[176] I neglected to inquire if a left-handed arrowmaker used right wing feathers which, it seems, would be required. Possibly such a man would insert the feathers with the wrong side toward himself.

[177] Handbook, 530.

The arrow, shikid, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, djibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used the plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling, pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a similar method by which they captured eagles.[181]

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo''owɨn). They had their own booths up there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

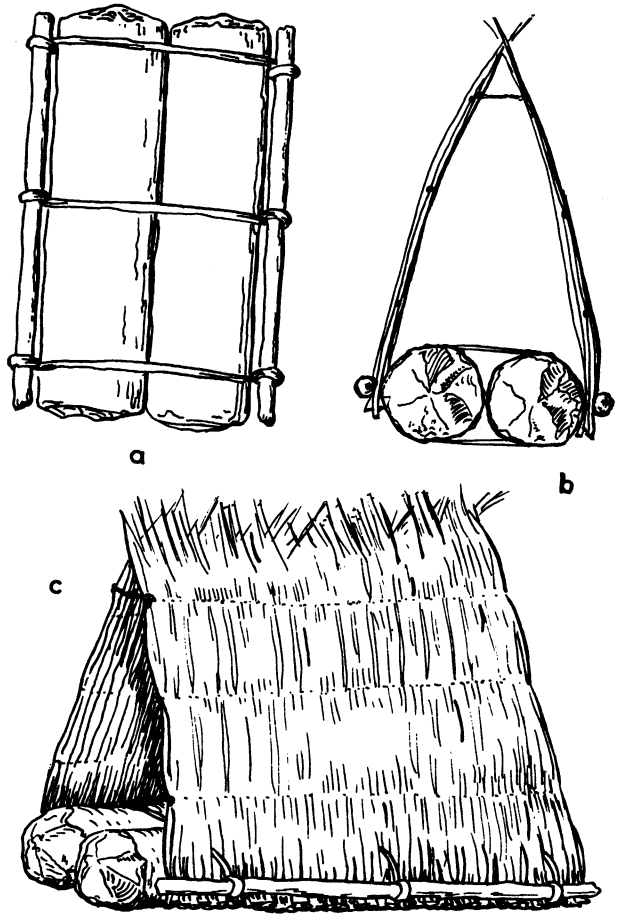


Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

[178]P. 374.

[179]Handbook, 530, pl. 49, c.

[180]Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.G.

[181]Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 46.

A floating hunting blind, described by S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čitᵻk) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čitᵻk), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po ́hot), tree squirrels (sa ́ñsañwide ́ᵓᵻt), gophers (hu ́ñhəd) and chipmunk (aho ́ᵓŏt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet long; different lengths were used for different depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.) the handle [more probably a part of the handle] could be detached entirely if one was working under bushes, but this does not agree with other information. Two hollow shafts of deer tibia (to ́koi) were lashed on one end, and into these were fitted bone points (pi ́če tu ́h'na) about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet of "play" leashed the point to the main handle. The point was essentially a toggle when freed from its housing, the attaching cord usually being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing with pitch or asphalt.[182]

A separate harpoon point in the University of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422) has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is 3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954) is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3 inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid against the middle of this and probably lashed around several times and then is fastened to the metal by a dark substance which may be asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some mineral substance which looks like feldspar from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183] Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

Weirs of willow were set across rivers or streams at suitable places. The willows used were about finger thickness and 3 feet long. They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18 inches in diameter; as many as three of these might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry, men, women, and children would wade downstream driving fish ahead of them into the basket traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

A favorite method of catching fish in pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were used. One, ta ́dad, was a plant which grew near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as they jumped about near the surface they were grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large openwork baskets. The other plant, ya ́oha, "grows on the mountains." It was soaked in water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put in the fishing hole. The person who performed this service was facetiously referred to as a doctor (añṭu). Kroeber mentions two other

[182]One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183]Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

poisons: buckeye nuts ground with earth, and crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish became stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

Diving for fish was an indulgence of an able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all who knew him to be an expert at this) would swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possible a handful of sand was taken along or grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb under the gills. It took much practice to do this, and the skill is better regarded as a pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad), lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´ñtau) were designated by M.L., but other informants (M. and J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two. Certainly two fit the general aboriginal pattern better, as known here and elsewhere. Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a little meat. Everyone of any character was up before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at about that time. The evening meal was much larger and had added to the staple mush and meat such extras as the day provided--"greens," fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The evening meal was taken just before sundown. Both men and women had "snacks" during the day; children ate as often as they pleased; this may be a continuance of the unregulated nursing pattern.

Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Waksachi all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten but wildcat and raccoon were considered very good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves, and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar, but most people looked askance at bear meat. For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained that this would never have happened with any other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs never touched it because this animal had been a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens. However, all agreed that deer meat was more often roasted than boiled, and that this was done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River and its several sloughlike branchings, and Woodlake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia. M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pɨs); minnows [?] (ta´kɨč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´tɨč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wɨs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral strips from an initial cut down the backbone. The back sinews were first removed as they were the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock salt which was in strong solution or pulverized. The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[187] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

[184]Handbook, 529.

[185]Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the soaproot stiffening.

[186]Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Waksachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

[187]The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and put in a basket to boil. They were later drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pɨn) or mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihɨt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´'utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ö´'išün.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mɨtski´ša (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hɨč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tɨk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´šta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going out to clover patches in the spring and there directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Yauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´dɨk, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned katɨk and čidedɨk. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waša´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´syɨn, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

A´ptu (manzanita berries) were used only for cider, although a few might be tasted "just for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

[188]Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

[189]Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

The mass of crushed fruit was placed in a sieve basket over a large watertight coiled basket and water was slowly poured through. When sufficient liquor resulted, it was poured out of the under receptacle and again put through the berries; this might be repeated two or three times.[190] If kawa seeds were to be added, this was done after the liquor had been drained for the last time. The drink was greatly enjoyed, particularly as it was available during the hottest summer weather. Usually it soured in twelve hours; in colder weather it might keep up to forty-eight but, as M.P. said, this seldom happened, "people drank it up too fast." It was always made up fresh as the soured liquor was not considered fit to drink.

Firewood

Trees and limbs for firewood, as well as for house poles and ramadas, were felled and severed by firing. A hole was dug around the base of the selected tree and filled with dry grass and chips. Oak sticks were kindled as torches and applied to the base of the chosen tree while the fire surrounding it was burning. Several of these torches were used, and as the tree began to burn they were pushed and wedged into the burning trunk. The flames were beaten back from the upper trunk. Usually two men worked together, a man and his son often undertaking the job, one to rekindle the sticks as they went out, as they often did, the other to adjust those at the tree trunk and to knock away charred parts of the tree. The workers took care not to look up the tree; if they did, the fire would creep up the trunk. When the tree finally collapsed, the main branches were severed by the same means, as were other parts that could not be broken into portable lengths.

Felling or severing limbs by fire was best done on dead or already fallen trees, but since these were not always obtainable, live trees were attacked in winter when they were drier and there was less danger of brush and grass fire. Old trees were easier to fire than young ones. Both men and women packed wood, but only men did the firing.

The load of wood was held on the back by means of a tumpline. This passed over the upper forehead -- if a woman was the carrier, across the chest, if a man -- and extended down the back under the wood and out and back over the load, each end returning over each shoulder to be grasped in the hand (fig. 13, vignettes). Long poles were dragged home with ropes of willow fibre (ho') by men. Ordinarily each family provided its own firewood; a felled tree belonged to the men doing the work. At the time of a big gathering the messengers got wood in the same way.

[190]The Miwok used a similar method but evidently added no flavoring seeds (Barrett and Gifford, 161-162).

Salt

Modern "American" salt is called kuyu. In old times two kinds of salt were available. Rock salt (tus) was bought from the Monachi (Eastern Mono), who said it "came from a whole hill of salt that looked like snow." Before it was used this salt was heated on hot coals, which caused it to crumble. The other and more common salt (a'dit) was derived from marsh grass, and was called in English "red salt" because "it looked red all over the grass."

Once M.L. and her stepmother, who was a Gawia, went over to Haditao for salt. The old women dug up the grass that grew there. She got some wood and made a fire. At sundown she put the grass on the fire which had burned down to coals. M.L. went to sleep but her stepmother stayed up until the grass was reduced to ashes. Then she lay down for a little while. She would not let the little girl look closely at the fire, nor would she herself eat anything. She worked all the next day piling up more grass. At sundown she ate a little bit but would not drink, explaining that if she ate much or drank water there would be nothing in the fire when she finished. When the ashes were brushed away there were lumps of salt in the bottom of the fire. The old woman lifted these out and freed them from the ashes by shaking them in an open-twined basket.

In 1925 M.L. had some grass-salt which she prized. It was greyish pink in color, had the texture of coarse sugar and the taste of mild vinegar.

Kroeber makes a somewhat different statement about grass-salt.[191]

> The Yaudanchi,...with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as alit and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

This was a grass growing in alkaline ground which was abundant in the tular.

Woman's Household Equipment

A Wukchumni woman's housekeeping equipment comprised one or more digging sticks, a soaproot brush, hot-rock lifters, and a "set" of baskets. The digging stick (ča'poi, lit., mountain ash) was made of manzanita, if obtainable, or of young white oak. The length varied according to the owner's preference. The tip was charred and rubbed down on rough stone which gave a heat-hardened point; the point was reworked by the same method when it became too blunt. Sometimes a woman who liked a short stick (about four feet long) would contrive a

[191]Handbook, 530.

nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soaproot and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (č·ne´š·l) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[192] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hairbrushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings of string. The liquid from the bulb was viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[193] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

The "set" of baskets comprised six types essential for food-gathering, preparation, and cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a´ñaš) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put in it. The apex of the basket was protected with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled scoop of fine openwork twine. When used as a beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pot) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´to) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na) was invariably of twined weave, coarse and close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´n·ts) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´'iwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

Not every woman owned pottery cooking vessels (ki´w·c) but all did who could make or afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

[192]Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[193]University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket. Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore eyelids or to the rectum when irritated by diarrhea.

Ša''apəš roots were used for a sore mouth; they were mashed and held in the mouth. If a baby had a sore mouth, it was attributed to the mother's having eaten yellowjacket larvae (an extension of the meat tabu, because yellowjackets eat meat). To cure the infant, dried yellowjacket larvae were pounded up with ša'apəš and the baby's mouth swabbed out with the mixture.

Pineapple weed (Matricaria suavolens) was made into a tea and drunk for fever or cramps, and was a favorite remedy of old people, said M.P., who showed me the plant but could not give the native name for it.

Taka'ti, a small, sour, round red berry which grows on a low bush, was mashed and eaten uncooked as a purgative.

To'pino, a root, was mashed and clenched between the teeth for severe toothache.

Ka'watopa had a yellow flower (possibly yarrow). Its roots were "strong" and, mashed, were also used for toothache. Tired feet were soaked in a decoction of the boiled roots.

Ta'mɨk was cooked and put on the abdomen as a poultice for intestinal pains.

Te·semui'sa (a Chamaenerion ?) looks like a willow leaf, grows in river bottoms. The leaves were chewed for pleasure; they were bitter at first, then turned sweet. To discourage coughing one chewed a leaf and then drank a swallow of water.

Lipɨt has a big leaf, is a low bush with white blossoms. Only the roots were used which, when boiled, turned red. The resulting drink was strong, "tastes like pepper." A cupful was drunk three times a day when one "ached all over."

CRAFTS AND MANUFACTURES

Pottery

Pottery was made and used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi Yokuts of the Central Foothills. The complete process of manufacture has been previously described.[196] The important points are these. The clay was selected on the basis of the amount of natural sand temper which it carried. First dried and pulverized, it was wetted again and pounded thoroughly while wet to increase its viscosity. Pots were built up by the coiling process which proceeded in a clockwise direction. After thorough drying by sunlight, the pots were heated by the fireside. Firing was done in a pit in which oak bark and oak wood had been burning for several hours and lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. While still hot, the pots were coated inside and out with

[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

[196] Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

thin acorn mush to produce a hard, nonabsorbent surface.

Two standardized shapes for cooking purposes -- and Yokuts pots were used for little else -- were a flat-bottomed, conical pot, often with two lugs, and a serving dish with flat bottom and flaring sides.[197] These are roughly comparable in shape to the deep, twined cooking basket and individual food basket. Shapes were not differentiated by name.

Pipes of pottery were made. These are described and illustrated in the sources mentioned.

Tanning

Deer, wildcat, cougar, and bear hides were tanned. The first two, with fur removed, were the best skins for breechclouts and aprons. Cougar and bear hides were used as fur bed covers or were folded for seats of important men. My impression is that cougar hide was not much used. The cougar was difficult to approach within range for a deadly arrow shot; it was, within that range, highly dangerous and was feared for its physical as well as supernatural power. Only fine hunters dared kill the animal and, since many expert hunters had Cougar as their supernatural dream helper, they would not kill it.

Men did tanning, although occasionally women finished wildcat skins for their infants or rabbitskins for blankets.

When a woman wanted a wildcat skin with fur on for her baby, she pegged it fur side down on dry ground or sand in a spot where dry air but not direct sunshine would play on it. In winter, direct sunlight would not be too strong. After all the adhering tissue had been scraped off with a dull obsidian scraper, she loosened the pegs so that the delicate skin would not tear as it shrank in drying. It was then left until dry, twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Then deer brains which had been soaked in water were rubbed over the skin; when the skin was quite wet it was taken up and the brains worked into the skin with the hands. This was a softening process, and only a bland solution of brains was used as it was not desired to loosen any of the hair on the reverse side. Again the skin was pegged out loosely and left. After a day or two the skin was taken up, rinsed off in water, and any remaining tissue was picked off. Finally it was wrung lightly with the hands and rubbed until soft. It was then hung on a pole to dry in the shade. Later it was again pulled, rubbed to soften and stretch the skin, and was shaken vigorously to fluff out the fur. "This made a nice little blanket," and was used carefully as the outer wrapping around a baby while strapped in its cradle. (M.L.)

Much the same process was used for deerskin, which was dehaired with a strong solution of deer brains. Some men were better tanners than others; while most men got enough deer brains in the course of their hunting to keep themselves supplied, dried brains could be bought from expert hunters who had more than they needed. The brains they mashed into flat cakes which they dried on warm rocks, then stored. J.P. said only deer brains were used: he pronounced cougar and bear brains "dangerous" when asked about them.

Hides were pegged out on sand, fur side down, for about a week. When dry they were folded by being stepped on and put in a storehouse, unless they were to be tanned at once, in which case the skin was not folded but was turned over and again pegged out, this time over damp sand or earth. A strong solution of deer brains, which had been soaking overnight, was worked into the fur. This was left for twenty-four to thirty-six hours and, if the brainy ointment had dried out meanwhile, the dry places were remoistened. When the skin was ready, a scraper of deer rib bone was used all over the hide to scrape off the fur; finishing was done by careful plucking with the fingers. On the inner side all adhering tissue was scraped off with a dull obsidian blade. The skin was then rinsed thoroughly in water and wrung out. A man alone would wring it by bunching it lengthwise and looping it around a ramada post or near-by strong sapling and twisting the ends. Two men would wring a hide by having one hold the two ends while the other turned a stick thrust through the loop. After as much water as possible had been pressed out, the skin was pulled out, stretched, and rubbed. At this stage care was taken not to get dirt on the clean damp skin, the work being done on tule mats or grassy ground. When ready for final drying the skin was hung lengthwise over a horizontal pole in the shade (today wire fences serve this purpose). To soften the skin later it was folded twice and pounded lightly with a round hand stone, then pulled and rubbed until soft. (J.P., S.G.)

Rabbitskin Blankets

The skins of rabbits were invariably saved for blankets. Their only other use, according to M.P., was as warm padding to be laid around babies on the cradle board. Such skins were split ventrally, after skinning; they were usually skins already mutilated. The normal method was to cut the skin under the throat and around the head in front of the ears. The four paws were cut off just above the toe joints. Then casing was commenced by pulling on the ears; when the skin was pulled back over the

[197] Ibid., pls. 99-102; Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 51.

shoulders and off the forelegs, the ears were cut off at their base. The skins were dried reversed, and adhering tissue was gently scraped off with a small rib bone; an obsidian knife was "too sharp." When ready, the skin was converted into one long strip by cutting around it spirally, beginning at the neck. This was done with an obsidian blade against a smooth flat stone.

These strips were tied together into about twenty-foot lengths (four to six skins). Doubled, the open ends were tied to something firm, often a ramada post. The worker then held the loop end taut with a hooked stick and twisted it. When the tension was sufficient, the double rope was allowed to turn back on itself, making a rope of four strands in all.

This informant (M.P.) insisted that no loom was used for blankets, a point on which there is much discrepancy among all informants. She said the doubly twisted ropes of skin were laid out parallel on the ground "just to measure them out nice." They were then picked up one by one, and a milkweed string in a split wood needle was sewed through parallel twists. The technique is the same as that used in making packstraps, but, of course, a rectangle some 3 by 5 feet was produced. While this informant is a relatively young woman, she nevertheless said she had made a blanket that way, and her motor actions of demonstration were convincing. It is her generalizing statement that no frame was used which is dubious, not her description of the method she herself used. Probably there were different ways of making them. At least there is common agreement that double twisted warps of rabbitskin were always used, and that the weaving frame, if any, was not horizontal.

The skins of jack rabbits and of cottontail rabbits were never combined in the same blanket. Ground squirrel skins and duck skins were sometimes used for blankets of this type, and a particularly delicate little blanket for a baby was made of quail skins. M.P. says men made the skin strips and twisted them into ropes for use, but that women did the "sewing." Men sometimes "sewed" wildcat skins, cured with fur, together to make a big blanket. This "sewing" was with an awl and sinew thread.

The Yaudanchi informant (M.S.) gave a different but equally circumstantial account. Her father, a fine hunter, went out every day to shoot rabbits. They were wanted as food, and for their skins. The skins were cut in strips and rolled on the thigh with two strands of milkweed string. The finished ropes were 8 to 10 feet long; they were then twisted double [method?], making them half that length. A pole resting on two forked sticks served as the frame for "weaving." The ropes were hung from it by passing the loose ends through the looped end. The split wooden needle was not used; the weft string, which was several feet long, was kept in a hank of folds about four inches long held in the right or left hand as need be. Work commenced at the top right. The weft was passed through the adjacent twists as described above. When the bottom was reached the loose ends of the warp were tied together. The loops at the top were slipped off the pole, were given a couple of twists, and were sewed across as elsewhere in the blanket.

The frames were set up outdoors, and blankets were made when there was no danger of rain (April to November). There was no rule or belief that they should not be made at other seasons, the matter was controlled entirely by the prospects of the weather. M.S. insisted that only men made blankets. It is conceivable that this was so in her father's time, but that Mission influence led to women's weaving.

A third method of weaving rabbitskin blankets was described by the elderly blind Wukchumni informant, M.L. She stated that the double twisted ropes of rabbitskin were tied together to form a long continuous rope. This was wrapped round and round a two-pole upright frame. The lower pole was held down by pegs which were loosened as the blanket grew more taut. The weft of string was "sewed" across through parallel twists as above. Back and front warps, caused by the breadth of the frame poles, were pulled into a flat position beside each other.

Tule Mats

The word ṭi´ñi was used for any sort of mat; if one of tule were meant specifically, it was called su´´iu ṭiñi. Those for houses were made of the large triangular tule (pumuk). These reeds were laid out closely side by side on the ground, with stem ends alternating, in an amount needed for a mat. The worker started at the left-hand corner nearest her and, placing her right foot across the first three or four reeds and kneeling on her left knee, ran a thread of čitɨk string in a deer-bone needle through each successive stem. This meant that the needle was held in the left hand while the right hand forced the tules onto it (M.L.). (Unlike European sewing, the needle was a passive instrument when used in this manner.) The sewer moved onto the tules as she progressed, and started back from the opposite end for the next row of stitching. The rows were about a foot apart.

Sleeping mats and floor mats were made of the smaller round tules (šu´yu). The worker sat in a favorite Yokuts woman's position, with left leg forward and knee slightly raised, the right leg doubled sharply at the knee, the foot under the left thigh.[198] A pair of tules was

[198]The posture when working at the bedrock mortar (see fig. 6, herein), or at leisure (the normal posture of M.G. and M.L., who always sat on the ground); cf. Holmes, pl. 30.

taken up and tied in four places with long strands of string which were to be the twining wefts. The tules were added in pairs. Twining progressed over some six to ten tules in the first row before the string was tied in a single knot; then twining was commenced on the second, third, and fourth rows and continued in the same manner. The manipulation is shown in figure 12. While the first finger of the left hand held down one string which was turned back over the last pair of tules, the second and third fingers held the pair just being inserted by the right hand. The next move was to bring the loose string up over the latter pair, and have it replace the taut string which was released to become the next binding element. A well-finished mat would have a three-ply braid of fine tules sewed on all around the edge.

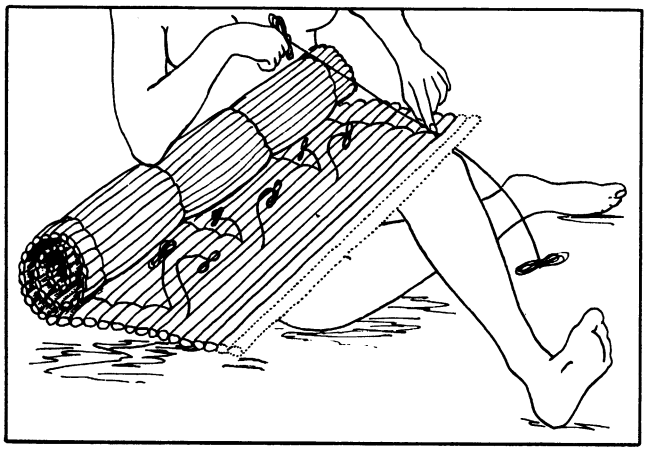


Fig. 12. Wukchumni method of twining small mats. Left hand about to press down on tightened wrapping, freeing right hand which will place next two tules (dotted in position) and pull under string up over them.

The same technique was used for all household mats, babies' mattresses, casings for feather ornaments, etc. Women invariably sat on mats when working outdoors in front of their homes (M.L.).

Flat tule (kots, "cattails") were little used.

Cordage and Nets

The strongest cord or rope (ho'), which was employed for all heavy purposes, was made from the inner bark of the button willow. Trees were ringed by means of an obsidian blade at intervals of three to five feet, depending on whether one or two sections could be gotten. The ringing and stripping were done in the fall. The inside bark peeled off readily after it was removed from the tree. It was laid out on flat rocks without being allowed to dry, and pounded with a stone, then rolled on the thigh into a two-ply cord (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II, for fuller account of method). Making of cordage was a man's task throughout (M.L.).

A medium-weight cord was made of milkweed (ša'). It was used for wide carrying bands, tying cords, fish and duck nets, trap strings. Its manufacture is described by Kroeber for the Yokuts generally.[199]

The commonest string material was milkweed, Asclepias, called shah or chaka. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fiber, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply.

Another and finest string (čitɨk) was made of hemp or dogbane. This was used for the ordinary narrow tumpline, carrying and head nets, belts, bead stringing. M.L. said ho' was willow, ša', milkweed, and čitɨk, nettle. Neither the "hemp" nor "nettle" was identified by the recorder.

The carrying net (wa'dak) and tumpline (šu'ñdɨč, any rope or band for carrying burdens) were always made of hemp (?) according to M.P. and J.P.; other informants (M.L. and S.G.) say that the finer grades of milkweed twine were used (fig. 13, a). Women always placed the tumpline across the upper forehead, occasionally wearing a coiled basket cap for protection. Men placed the burden strap across the upper chest and deltoid muscles (see vignettes, fig. 13). Bundles were never carried on the head and seldom in the hands.

Formerly the making of straps and nets was a man's work. A carrying net was begun by coiling a length of cord around the left hand four or five times and tying the ends together, forming a ring about four inches in diameter. (The dimensions herein are those of an ordinary carrying net owned by the informant, M.P.) This was fastened to a ramada post, a tree, or any convenient place at about the shoulder height of the maker. The twines used were always of double thickness. That is, a length of twine was chosen and its center point thrust into the split end of a wooden needle: the two dangling ends were rolled together on the thigh to form a single length of twine. The open end was fastened to the rope ring with a few half-

[199]Handbook, 534.

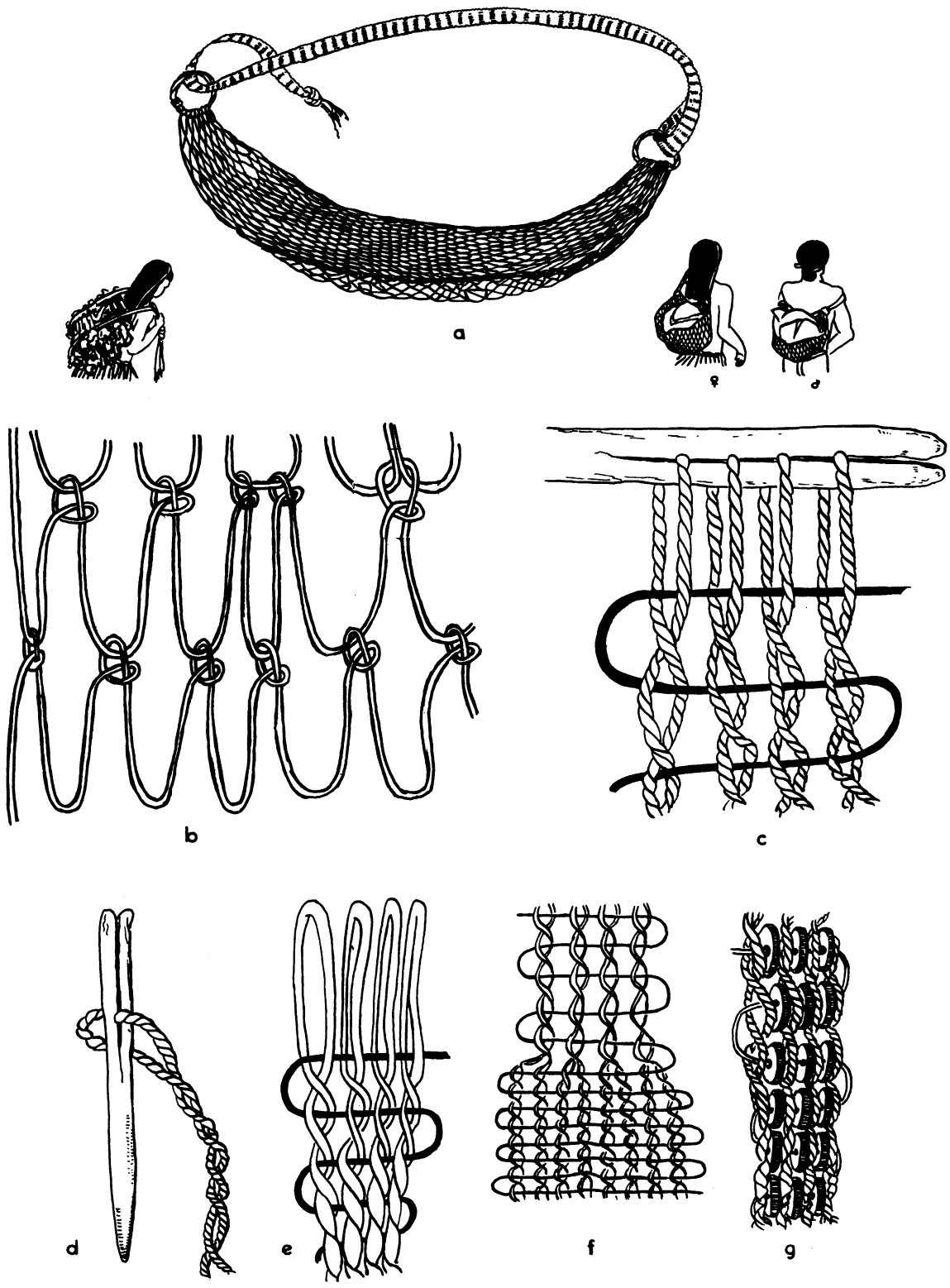


Fig. 13. Wukchumni netting and weaving techniques. a, carrying net and tumpline. b, enlargement of simple netting knot. c, enlargement of tumpline weaving. d, weaving needle. e, tumpline with warps and wefts expanded. f, change from 4 to 8 double-twisted warps. g, belt with shell discs inserted on weft between warps. Vignettes: manner of using tumpline.

hitches; then the netting stitch began. This was a simple knot and the same throughout, merely being reversed when work changed from right to left progression and vice versa. There was no rule which way the worker should start. Some workers endeavored to keep the length of twine with which they were working coiled in the right hand, others allowed it to dangle. Knots were made when a new cord joined on.

The loops at start and finish were about 4 inches deep, that is, the length of twine between knottings was some 8 inches. As work progressed toward the center of the net, the loops narrowed to 3 inches or 1-1/2 inches doubled, thus producing finer netting where most needed. As each knot was drawn taut the fingers of the left hand were spread along the cord of the loop next being formed, the adjustment of the fingers determining the amount of cord in the loop. No netting gauge was used. Each knot was made into (i.e., around) the cord of the loop above it save when widening and narrowing the width of the net was desired. Widening called for additional loops made into the same host loop. Narrowing was done by pulling two host loops together into one knot. When the last row of loops was reached they were strung on a coil of cordage similar to that at the start. The coil passed through the looped end of the tumpline.

There were 18 rows of loops in the net used for demonstration. It measured about 3 feet in length and 5 in breadth when pulled taut in one direction or the other. Spread equally in both directions when in use, it formed a capacious and adaptable hammock-like container.

Tumplines, which appear to be woven or even twined since the longitudinal strands are twisted in pairs, were made by what is more nearly a sewing process. (The same process was used in making rabbitskin blankets, according to two informants; see above.) Four cords, about 12 to 15 feet long, were twisted individually and doubled on themselves, forming loosely twisted two-strand cords about 6 feet long. The closed ends which formed a loop were inserted in the cleft of a split stick. They were pushed close together and, as they were practically identical and had been twisted at the same tension, the turns in each of the double cords were in line with their neighbors (see fig. 13, c-f). We will call these the "warp" cords. The loops of the warp cords were forced open with the forefinger of the left hand to a point about 4 inches below the binding stick, and here a cord ("weft") attached to a split-stick needle (awo´ka) was drawn through to its end. From this point on the weft cord was drawn back and forth, progressing through each series of adjacent turns in the four warp cords (see fig. 13, c, e). When the weft was drawn tight, it disappeared from view save at the sides of the band which was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordinary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi´'ič, in reference to the beads.

Sinew string (pikit) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Waksachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

Practically no information on basketmaking was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

materials have been analyzed by Merrill.[200] In the present paper under the heading "Woman's Household Equipment" is a description of basket types; a comparative display of shapes and techniques is shown in figures 2 and 3, and plate 1 shows a typical collection of Yokuts baskets.

The informant M.L. said that not all women made baskets: "anyone could learn that wanted to but some were too lazy."

All Yokuts coiled baskets were made on a multiple-rod foundation, the favorite material being a grass called toša ́kɨs. The wrapping was usually a split root called ho ́pət, which came in 4- to 6-foot lengths. The outer bark was scraped off and the interior split into two parts by holding one half in the teeth and splitting the other away with the fingers. K.G. started a coiled basket for demonstration.

To start a coiled basket a piece of the wrapping material about four inches long was shaved down to a point at one end. This end was rolled into a tiny coil, the loose end projecting to the maker's right. Another short piece of the same material and of fine grade (i.e., split thin) was set with one end under the turn of the coil and held in place with the fingers of the left hand. The coil, with inserted binding, was of a size to fit securely within the worker's left thumb and forefinger. The right hand began the wrapping process. The free end of the wrapping was poked repeatedly through the center hole of the coil with the aid of an awl until all the coil was wrapped and the center hole filled. By this time the first round of the coil had been made and the next wrappings were passed around the turn of the foundation "rod" between the previous stitches: a skilled basketmaker did not split even these small beginning stitches. Now a transition was made from the single foundation to the multiple-grass filler which would continue throughout the rest of the basket. This was done by inserting a few grasses under the end of the single "rod," and more and more were added as the coiling progressed until the desired foundation thickness was obtained.

The loose ends of the foundation grasses, which jutted out to the right from 2 to 4 feet, were kept under control by a small ring of the wrapping material (nowadays more often a twist of string) which could be slipped up and down the bundle of grass stems and through which each new grass was inserted before its butt was poked in under the last turn of wrapping. Only one grass was added at a time and these at about three-inch intervals, depending, of course, on the dimensions and coarseness of the basket under construction.

Work progressed from left to right (clockwise) from the worker's point of view, and for all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a ́nəp), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono ́hɨč). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail topknot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to which I can add only one called "waves" which is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.[201] This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

In old times the cradle, with forked-stick foundation and tule mattress, was used exclusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated cradle by ethnographers,[202] functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

[200]Kroeber, Handbook, 531-533; Merrill, Plants Used in Basketry.

[201]Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[202]Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

baby and mattress were both lashed to it by means of one set of cords. The cradle frame (with its permanent mat) was called a'hi ́liˌč; the separate mat (mattress), even when the infant slept in it, was still called mat (tˌiñi, the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home ́tˌn (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoiˌč, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; močo ́ko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi ́yo is a small red glass bead;[204] and tedi ́diduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

The descriptions of the method of measuring strings of clamshell discs and the values attached to them differ slightly from informant to informant (fig. 14, a, b). The čok, the measurement around the hand, all informants agree, was equivalent to 5 cents. Other values were about as follows: 2-1/2 čok was called hista ́'a and equaled 10 cents; 2 hista'a equaled 20 cents. A single strand which reached from the wrist around the elbow and back was valued at $2.00, but a continuously half-hitched strand covering the same distance

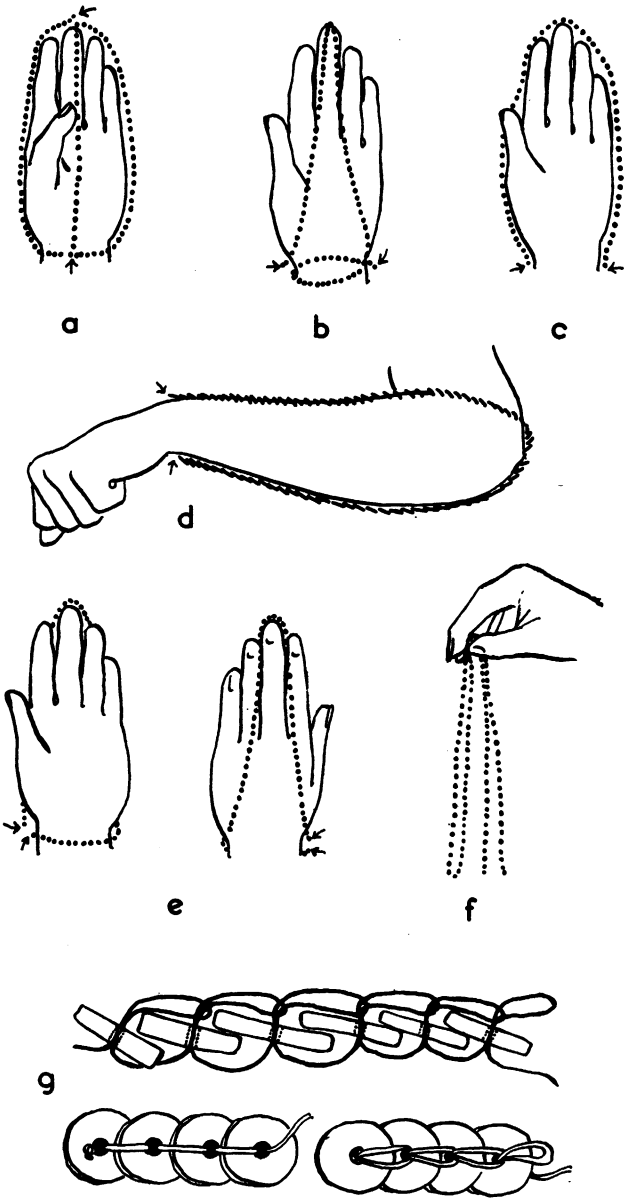


Fig. 14. Bead money measurements. a, b, d, Wukchumni. c, Kechayi. e, f, Waksachi. g, method of half-hitching beads together.

[203]Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, m.

[204]Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.P.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Visalia-Lemon Cove district.

was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207] states that the unit of measurement in the north was the chok, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

1. yɛt	6. tu ́dipi
2. po ́ñoi	7. no ́mčɨn
3. so ́pɨn	8. mo ́ñus
4. ha'po ́ñi	9. no ́nɨp
5. yu ́tsɨnuk	10. ṭi ́'uv

11. ti'uv yɛt 100. yɛt pɨč
12. ṭi'uv poñoi etc. 1000. ṭi'uv pɨč
21. poñoi ṭi'uv yɛt
22. poñoi ṭi'uv poñoi etc.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS

Informants differ somewhat in their designation of the day's phases and in the pronunciation of words; such differences are indicated by the individual's initials.

Times of day.--

sala ́lwidao: morning (M.L.); hiam [now] šala ́dwidao: early morning (M.P.)
te ́yao ču ́ka: before noon (M.P.)
ču ́kao: noon, noon meal (M.L.); hiam ču ́ka: noon, noon meal (M.P.)
wakhu ́šu ču ́ka: afternoon (M.P.)
ne ́wao: sundown (M.L.); ni·a ́wi·ao: sundown, early evening (M.P.)
hiam ni·u ́ši: evening (M.P.)
toi ́yuma: night, dark (M.L.); hiam ta'ɨ ́nši: night dark (M.P.)

Designation of days.--

o ́piu: day, light (M.L.); u ́piu: day, light (M.P.)
he ́če u ́piu: today (M.P.)
šala ́dwidao: tomorrow [lit., morning] (M.P.)
ati ́opo ́do: short day as in winter (J.B.)
wa opo ́do: long day as in summer (J.B.)

The days of the week have received native names which are based on the numbers 1 to 7, as follows (J.B.):

wuda ́o: Monday
pu ́ne'uñɨč: Tuesday
supe'a ́ta: Wednesday
hai ́'obata: Thursday
yɨča ́o: Friday
ča ́odɨtpi: Saturday
no ́mčɨn: Sunday

Phases of sun and moon.--

o ́piu: sun. The sun goes into the lake [Tulare; ocean?] every night and comes up on the other side every morning (M.P.).
opo ́da: sun (M.L., J.B.)
woi ́yo opo ́do: solstice (lit., turning-back sun). The solstice was noted, and recognized as the turning point for the length of days, but otherwise was without significance (J.B.).
u ́pɨs: moon (M.L.); u ́pɨš (J.B.)
hača ́m u ́pɨš: new moon [lit., young moon] (J.B.). If the new moon in winter showed the faint circle of its complete sphere, it was said to be "making its house," and was regarded as a sign of rain.[209]

[205] A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[206] Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207] Handbook, 498.

[208] P. 375.

[209] Cf. Hopi (Beaglehole, Notes on Hopi Economic Life, 35).

hiam mapɪ ́nši u ́pɪš: full moon (J.B.)
hiam katai ́šu u ́pɪš: old moon (J.B.)
u ́pɪs tawi ́či: waning moon [lit., dying moon] (M.L.); hiam tawi ́tɪl: now dying, said of waning moon (M.P.)
kamu ́tu u ́pɪš: dark of moon [lit., lacking moon] (J.B.)

That the moon served as a month or time marker was disclaimed by J.B., which is not credible. In this connection he said there was "an old lady who told what kind of weather was coming; she was just like an almanac." He had no notion of how she acquired this ability.

An eclipse was called by the entire phrase: u ́pɪs [or opo ́do] kai ́'iyu doi'ye ́di (moon [or sun] Coyote eats). During an eclipse of either planet, people rushed out and shouted: am pi' he· u ́šɪt nanu ́nwa (not eat leave-some please) (M.L.). The same idea was rendered in English by M.P.: "Leave me some sweet stuff!" The grandmother of M.L. had told her that it was so dark for two or three days once that people had to carry torches in order to secure their wood, food, and water.[210]

Stars, constellations.--

toi ́tɪs: any star (M.L.); čo ́təč: any star (J.B.)
tawa ́nɪt: morning star (M.L.); tawa ́nɪl: morning star (J.B.). All men of character were up in time to greet the morning star. The Yaudanchi, Tm.W., said that on his way for his morning swim he would say to the star: "My elder brother comes now" (nipɛ ́čnɪm hi ́am ti ́ši). Other men or women made prayerful remarks of the same sort. Some asked help of the sun and moon. To the sun Tm.W. would say: "I talk to you Sun, help me" (na man haiyo ́d apo ́d, a ́mɪd nɪm).
ni ́ye'ao: evening star (J.B.)
goi ́yuma: Pleiades (lit., young women) (M.L., J.B., M.P.). These always appeared in the fall when it was cool; they marked the beginning of winter (M.L.). There is a popular myth, localized by each tribe, that these girls left their husbands and flew to the sky.[211]
hoda ́otšɪd: Milky Way [lit., to race] (J.B.). Falcon and a fast flying duck (ho ́dodo) raced there; Falcon won.[212]

Nature.--

mɛt i ́dɪk: a large stream, such as Kaweah River
po ́čuč idɪk: a small stream, such as Lime Kiln Creek
pa ́'asi: any pool or lake, such as Woodlake
po ́kɪd: a spring of water
hota ́o: rain (M.L.); hoto ́'o: rain (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
hosyu ́mai: a big rain after a thunder storm (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
ṭaka ́'a: thunder (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
ḳomu ́da: thunder, another name, but not a different kind (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
howo ́ṭa: hail (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
tida ́ša: wind (M.L.)
wi ́ti tida ́ša: a slight wind, breeze (M.L.)
wu ́hna tida ́ša: a hard wind (M.L.)
čedu ́ditu: a cessation of wind, "a wind died down" (M.L.)
wo'o ́kyɛd pa ́'an: earthquake [lit., trembles or shakes ground]. J.B. said "the old folks were afraid of earthquakes," but he did not know what caused them. Nothing was done when they occurred, nor does he recall any damage done by them. He is of the opinion that earthquakes are a recent manifestation, "there weren't so many in the old days." One very severe one he recalls from his youth, possibly that of 1872. He never heard of successive world creations and destructions. In this S.G. concurred, saying that "this is the first and only world," and that Eagle made it.

Directions.--These are listed in the order voluntarily given.

da ́ṭu: west, plainsward
ho ́mot: south
huši ́m: south
do ́mtoi: east, mountainwards
ti ́pɪn: up
a ́dɪd: down

The mountains to the east (the Sierra Nevada) were called du ́mɪts; to go up into the mountains, domta ́o; nuta ́wi was also given as mountainwards by M.L.; to go toward the plains, da ́ṭu. People to the north were called hošo ́ma; to the east, nutu ́wɪč; to the west, tokɛlyu ́wɪč; to the south, humtɪ ́nɪn.

do ́mtu i ́dɪkao: upstream
da ́ṭu i ́dɪkao: downstream

Seasons.--Some informants followed the general Yokuts pattern of three seasons. The choice of three might be due to the influence of "ritual numbers" (3, 6, 12 for Yokuts), but seems attributable to the natural phases of the climate, a brief mild sunny season, spring; a long, hot sunny season, summer; a brief cold rainy season, winter. The introduction of a fourth season ("autumn") seems due to European influence, yet may merely be a further refinement like the "late spring" given by J.B.

tiša ́miu: spring (M.L., M.P., J.B.); February to April (J.B.). When the flowers were in bloom; women began repairing their

[210]This might be a factual statement or hearsay derived from myths of Coyote's race with the Sun and the subsequent darkness (Gayton and Newman, 83, abstract 96, note 3).

[211]Ibid., 26, 65, abstracts 44-52.

[212]Ibid., 67, abstract 54.

seed-gathering baskets [for summer use]; three kinds of clover and wild onions were eaten.

ko´toi tiša´miu: late spring (J.B.); May (J.B.)

haiya´di: summer (M.L., M.P., J.B.); June to October or November (J.B.). The very long season of "dried up" grass; people moved to seed-gathering camps. Toward the end of this season the mourning ceremonies were held after people were back in their villages (M.L.).

wu´so: autumn (M.P.); wu´sao: autumn (J.B.)

tomo´kšiu: winter (M.L., M.P., J.B.) (M.P. also gave ñe´ao, perhaps from Spanish nevar, to snow); December to January (J.B.). The acorns were just down; there were fogs, and later rain and frost. The mountains got white; about November to March (M.L.).

PLEASURES

Games

Shinny.--There were two forms of shinny (kotdi´wɨš), one played with a ball (o´dɔd) and one with a hoop (wuku´wɨč). Both were essentially a race to see which of two opposing sides could propel its ball or hoop over the course, strike the turning post (kite´'u), and reach the goal hole (ko´wɛš) first. The shinny stick (ku´tɛt), slightly curved at one end, was preferably made of mountain ash (ča´poi). The length of the playing field (kota´dwɨšu) depended somewhat on the number of players normally available. Since the ball or hoop was struck from partner to partner, the more players there were, the longer the course needed. A hole at the starting point was the goal for the finish, the course being marked at its opposite end by a post which the player must strike with his ball before turning about. He holed his ball at the finish.

If two men were trying to prove their individual prowess, the course would be shortened. In contests of this sort onlookers usually demanded six wins in succession. Otherwise six hoɪes to either side in any order normally won the game. An onlooker was selected to hold whatever bets were made; he urged on each side impartially, calling on first one, then the other to win. Bettors, however, yelled encouragement to their favorites. There were no songs. There were no recognized rules which informants could give me, yet doubtless there was tacit agreement upon many points. An especially well played game which won admiration from spectators was called "pretty" (poiyo´mi).

Two to five partners played on each side. If the first man striking the ball did not succeed in making it reach his partner, he took another stroke, or as many strokes as necessary: the only penalty was the loss of time involved for him to run after the ball and strike again. Sometimes a "cranky" partner would not run if his companion made poor strokes.

A variant of the game, in which only one ball was used, necessitated opponents' fighting for it all around the course. J.P. said this form of the game was generally condemned as "too rough" and "no fun because there was more fighting than running."

In the foothill region, where there were no moiety divisions, the composition of opposing sides followed the will of the players -- friends, co-villagers, or relatives might join together or be opposed. In any case, the opposing side was called gu´'i, as were the complementary sides in mourning ceremonies. Women played as well as men, and occasionally even opposed them. There was no seasonal discrimination against the game save that brought about by excessive rain or disbanding for summer camping. Even during the week of the great mourning ceremony the game might be played, provided it was taken some distance from the scene of mourning and the shouting was not excessive. (J.P., S.G.)

When a hoop was used instead of a ball, the field was marked with a stake at each end. The hoop, about 18 inches in diameter, was of peeled willow bound with leather strips. The stick, about 4 feet long, was bent at one end. The bent end of the stick was hooked under the hoop which was tossed through the air to a partner. If the partner, holding up his stick, could succeed in catching it on the fly, he could run with it to the turning stake, where he would toss it by means of his stick to a third partner, or to the first man if but two were playing. A hoop which fell to the ground had to be tossed from this point with the stick. To be the first to return to the starting stake counted as one in tallying (J.P., S.G.).

Wukchumni and Yaudanchi women played this form of the game just as they did the one with the ball; Kroeber implies that this was exclusively a woman's game with the Chukchansi.[213]

Hoop and pole.--This game (wuku´wɨč), which consisted of casting a straight pole at a rolling hoop, was a favorite masculine pastime. The aim was not to pierce the hoop with the pole, but to cause the hoop to fall atop the pole as it came to rest. This counted one (J.P.). Kroeber gives the name of the game as hochuwish, the pole, payas, the "buckskin-bound ring," tokoin, and the "carefully smoothed ground, often by the side of the sweat house" as i'n. "The game ... extended as far north as the Chukchansi."[214]

Chip and pole.--The object of this game (ai´ku'ɨč) was to shove a small block of wood toward a stake by means of a pole cast with a long underhand motion at the block. The block or "chip" (ai´yɨš), about 2 inches in diameter and 3 to 4 inches long, was of peeled willow.

[213]Handbook, 539.

[214]Ibid.

In playing, if one man's chip was near the goal stake, his opponent would try to slip his own between them. If it was possible to carry an opponent's chip along with one's own, two points were gained. (The scoring and winning counts of this game were not clear entirely.) Four men sometimes played in opposing pairs, but never more than this. It was exclusively a man's game, as was the hoop and pole (J.P.).

Dice game.--This game (huču´wɨč) was played only in the daytime and only by women (M.P., J.P., S.G.), although one informant (M.L.) said men occasionally played.

A coiled tray (koiyo´to), 18 to 24 inches in diameter, flat across the center and gently upcurved at the edges,[215] served as the base on which 8 dice (ho´wač) were cast. The dice were made from halves of walnut shell filled with pine pitch or asphalt into which bits of abalone shell were pressed. Since both walnut shells and asphalt are products of Chumash territory it is probable that the dice are a southern importation.[216]

In playing, the dice were gathered in both hands cupped together, raised about two feet above the tray, and cast not directly downward but with a slight sideward movement. As the dice left the hands of an adept player, she clapped her hands together, and briskly waved the right hand as closely as she dared over the settling dice. This stereotyped gesture was theoretically supposed to fan the dice into falling in the preferred direction. Both M.P. and M.L., blind as she was, used these tactics, which greatly amused Powers when he witnessed the game:[217]

> The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims yet´-ni (equivalent to "one-y"), or wí-a-tak, or ko-mai-éh, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting. One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face all withered, but with a lower jaw of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will -- a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of others -- after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate wiatak! It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Informants and recorders disagree on scoring, and it may well be that there were local or even individual terms agreed upon at the time of play. They range as follows.

According to M.L.: two face up, 1; five face up, 1; all up, 4; all down, 4.

According to Powers: two face up, 1; five face up, 1.

According to Kroeber (Yaudanchi): two face up, 1; five face up, 2.

The score was kept by a woman who took no part in the game. The scorekeeper for any game was called ho'o´po'ɨč. She held the scoring sticks, peeled willow rods about 1/4-inch in diameter and 6 inches long, and the stakes offered, and was "paid a little" for her part. The Wukchumni, Michahai, and Chukaimina used 18 counters; according to Kroeber the Yaudanchi used 12. A special manner of holding the sticks, in groups of threes between the fingers, as they were taken from the pile was in vogue with the Wukchumni. Different stages in scoring were designated: mulu´lšima, when all the counters are taken from the pile; čamšu´ma, when one side has all the counters; kayušu´ma, when each side gets all the counters alternately; tu´ši, the winning score, which is having possession of all the counters twice in succession, i.e., 2 čamšuma.

Women gambled as heartily as men. The stakes rarely ran over an equivalent of $2.50, and might comprise bead money, baskets, or some object which an opponent specifically desired.

Menstruating and pregnant women played, but a pregnant woman would pick up a little stick and thrust it in her belt or sit on it, "to bring good luck." No explanation could be offered for this by informants.

Hand game.--The game (hi'u´tniwɨč) was played only at night, usually outside by the assembly fire. The rationalization given for this practice was merely "that it didn't look pretty in the daytime" (M. and J.P.). The method of play for the Yaudanchi is vividly reported by Kroeber in an account too long for reprinting here.[218] As with the Wukchumni, the marked piece was guessed for. Wukchumni of both sexes enjoyed the game and often played in opposing groups. Women hid the bones under a blanket; men held them behind their backs. The sexes sang and sat differently: women sat cross-legged, men knelt and thumped the rhythm of the singing with one knee. The singing was started by the women and followed by a phrase from the men so an alternating progression of song was made. The following lines were given by M.P.; the first phrase in each line was repeated three times.

[215]The gambling tray differed in silhouette from the winnowing tray (tai´wan) for practical reasons (see fig. 3).

[216]The native California black walnut grew in Santa Barbara County and the southern California coastal areas (Jepson, 279). Fages (p. 75) mentions dice of snail shells; possibly this is a translator's misunderstanding. Tray, dice, and manner of play are well illustrated by Holmes, (pls. 40, 41).

[217]Pp. 377-378.

[218]Handbook, 539.

Women:
oi yo no´ ma na ho we ha´ na·
Men:
hoi lo wi´ le hoi yo ho´ wi le·
Women:
me´ wal he yo´ ha we hɨn nɨm
Men:
mɨn lo we´ ta pi soi lɨ´l hɨn nɨm

These phrases were meaningless to the informant who claimed they were "just a song," although the last lines have marked Yokuts attributes. The "ho we ha na" appears in many Yokuts songs and is analogous to the European "tra la la." When a guess was incorrect, the opponents sang jeeringly:

ko we mɨ soi yo ho we ha·´na

When the person hiding the bones was ready, he shouted, "kača´ta!" a kind of challenge meaning, "You can't get me!"

The Wukchumni informant, M.L., gave the name of the hand game as he'ne´'wia. Four or five persons played on each side. The guessers folded their hands over their eyes and sang while the hiders manipulated the bones (or sticks) under a cover, such as a deer skin. The guess was for the marked stick. The counters were kept by a scorekeeper.

Another Wukchumni informant, J.B., stated that this game was not "old time" but had "come from somewhere," which is consonant with Kroeber's statement that it is of less importance in south central California than in the northern part of the state.[219]

Various games.--Kroeber mentions the dice game of split sticks but does not attribute it to any specific Yokuts groups. He gives the name as tachnuwish, the sticks, of which there were 6 or 8, as dalak, "of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin."[220]

The cup and ball game, cat's cradles, and matching drawings were all known as pastimes but could not be adequately described by any of the Wukchumni informants. Arrows were shot at marks on trees, or over a certain treetop.

Dolls of stuffed rabbitskins were sometimes made for little girls, but I suspect this is of post-Spanish origin. D. said that girls sometimes cut hair off each other's heads for these dolls, particularly that they would cut it from "some little girl that didn't know any better."

Musical Instruments

All informants agree that no drum of any type was used by the Yokuts or, for that matter, by the Western Mono. The foot drum of the Miwok was known, and was referred to as pu´mpum.

A whistle (pu´sač) of eagle leg bone was used by doctors and by the huhuna dancer.

Ordinary whistling as Europeans know it was not indulged in, but instead a kind of "humming through the front teeth" was practiced. Some women did this, but mostly men while working at odd jobs (J.P.). This "whistling" was called šišɨ´k'nɨta; perhaps was a sort of hissing.

The flute (utoi´'i) was of elder wood, averaging about eighteen inches long. It was end-blown, but was held at the right side of the mouth, not centered, at an angle of about 45° below horizontal (S.G.). The flute was reedless and had four holes.[221] A frequent custom for men was to nap at home or in the sweat house, during a rain and, on awakening, to play the flute.

A clapper (ta´owɨd) of elder wood was used for ordinary pleasure dances such as the watiyod, whereas the cocoon rattle (sa´ñač) was used only for serious performances like the Bear Dance.

The cocoons used for rattles were those of the ceanothus silk moth which infested the oak trees of the roblar and chaparral of the foothills. The cocoon was carefully freed from its moorings, a twig inserted into one end and then held close to glowing coals to singe off the "silk" and kill the pupa within. At this time the cocoon shell was soft, and was pressed about the twig, being wrapped and held in place by a bit of sinew string. The cocoon was left in the sun until the pupa had become thoroughly dried and, shrunken to a hard small mass, rattled about inside. Pebbles were sometimes inserted. Two to four such cocoons were then tied onto a little handle about six inches long.[222]

Deer-hoof rattles were not used, but the hoofs were sewed around the edge of women's deerskin aprons where "they made a pretty noise" (M.L.). This informant claimed a rattle made of deer hide and pebbles was used for the Bear Dance.

Tobacco

Tobacco (šo´gən) grew all through the foothills. Any person who wished to might pre-

[219]Ibid., 538. It is possible that this game was introduced with the Ghost Dance. At the time of my field work I was not aware of the peculiar association of these two "culture elements."

[220]Ibid., 540.

[221]Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., pl. 43,b. Although Kroeber states that the "holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relation of distance" (p. 509) it appears that the 4-holed flutes (pl. 43) have spacings roughly constant in relation to each other and the total length of the instrument.

[222]Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., fig. 37, a.

pare tobacco for his own use or for sale, but usually there were one or two older persons, men or women, who made a business of it.[223] "It was easy work for old folks who wanted to make a little money" (M.L.). M.L. used to go over toward Yokol with her grandparents to gather it.

Tobacco was never planted or cultivated. But when in the early spring an interested person saw a good growth of tobacco, he would return to it a few weeks later and pinch out the tops of the plants "to make the leaves grow big" (ku'u´tuna ta´ñhi mita´m ţu´dan nɨp ta´ptap). When the plants were full grown and the lower leaves about to turn yellow (hi´am aku´m ţada´ki'aš, now perhaps yellow), these leaves were picked off. As others showed a faint change of color, they too were picked. The leaves were washed individually in a basket of cold water, were packed together while still wet, and tied in bundles. They were left in a clean shady spot for about two weeks, during which time they soured and turned dark yellow. Then they were untied and spread out in the sun to dry.

In the meantime the last leaves left on the plants had ripened, and these were picked, put in a pottery jar, covered with water, and boiled for one day. The decoction was then left to stand for a full day in the sun.

Now the dried, soured leaves were pounded up in a special hole reserved for the purpose in a bedrock mortar. This process, too, usually took all day. The resulting powder was combined in a large jar with the cooked thick liquid in such proportions that the mixture had a doughlike consistency. It was taken out in fistfuls, shaped in small rough lumps, and laid on a rock to dry. When entirely dried, these lumps were broken up and repulverized in the mortar hole. Once more the powder was combined with the tobacco liquid and shaped into little cakes. This time the cakes were carefully shaped, either into round balls or low, broad cylinders "like a thick pancake." Such cakes were merely called "tobacco" (šogən). When thoroughly dried, they were carefully collected and stored in a buckskin sack. Later on they might be taken about and sold; they were said to bring $2.50 to $5.00 each, depending on their size.[224]

Some liquid remained in the pot: only a very small amount of these fine dregs was ever available. This was boiled down, or left to stand in hot sunshine until it had become thick enough to shape. It was worked into small slender cylinders about the size of one's forefinger. This was called pulči´na, was very expensive, and had special uses. Often a hole was drilled through one end of the cylinder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

The cake tobacco (šogən) was eaten in minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

A group of men would gather at one house about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´wɨš) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

The shell used for the lime constituent was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´'u, the whole thing "when alive," ka´'upɨč. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

Pipes.--A cigarette of cane (ka´dkɨd) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

[223]A full account of Tübatulabal tobacco manufacture, with comparative data, is given by E. Voegelin (pp. 36-38).

[224]The price seems high. Neither informant (M.L. or J.P.) could evaluate them in terms of shell beads.

long time as only two puffs were taken on any one occasion. Some women smoked, usually elderly ones. The favorite time was just before sleeping. A little ritual of prayerfully puffing smoke toward the west at bedtime was called šuhuwa´da. Both sexes did this, just once each night; no words or gestures accompanied the act (J.B.).

The cane cigarette Kroeber attributes to the Yaudanchi;[225] the Wukchumni had to obtain their canes "from a swamp below Porterville" (Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory perhaps). Some man would go down there to get it, then bring it back to sell. The same canes were used for arrowshafts. The cane cigarette was often carried in the hole of the ear lobe.

Pottery pipes were made of fired clay, but were clumsy affairs.[226] The shape follows the old pattern of known wooden ones, i.e., it was straight (no elbow) and somewhat flaring. Informants insisted they were aboriginal, as the shape seems to indicate.

The elderwood pipe was disclaimed for the Kaweah River region by all Wukchumni informants.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

Chief.--"Eagle was the first chief; all others were made from that" (M.L.). The name or title (ti´ya) was applied to the acting chief, his wife (or wives), and their children. It was also applied to his brothers and sisters, since they too were the offspring of a chief, but not to their spouses or their children. If, when the chief died, the office passed to a brother, as it often did, that chief's children would then be known as tiya. While they would be called by this term for their lifetime, it would not pass on to their children but to those of the man who became the next chief.

The office passed in paternal descent. Normally a brother succeeded to chieftainship and, at the death of his youngest brother who would be the last chief in that genealogical stratum, it reverted to the eldest (or another) son of the first chief. M.L. was the one informant who thought the office passed from son to son, never laterally to a brother. When nearing death, an old chief named the person to assume his office. The selection had to have the approval of other tiyas in the tribe; whether or not there was a formal ratification, I do not know. But all informants made it clear that an unfit chief -- a vacillating or irresponsible personality -- would not be tolerated. Only M.L. said that the eldest son of the chief succeeded him, regardless of his administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

The eagle was invariably the totemic or lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (lɨ´mɨk), "wolf" (iwe´yɨt, the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehɛ´šɨt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

[225]Handbook, 538.

[226]Illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery Making, pl. 102, d, h.

chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the Southern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services, unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

A particular and constant source of financial drainage to the chief was the payment of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

Informants like to refer to the chief's wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers [doctors, singers, winatums] involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

> The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.
>
> We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227]Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228]This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in $5.00, the tuye'i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokn'nwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn'nwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

Messenger.--The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had no special mark or manner of dress. But when traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

When a winatum arrived at a village, he went directly to the chief's house. A mat was set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he was through his collation, gave his message. If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a purse or sack called gušta'la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu'ñəd), fox (a'dja), or tree squirrel (sa'ñsañwide''ɨt) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[229]My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

[230]Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

that needed extra service, he would ask another chief if the winatums from his village would come to help.

On ordinary occasions of celebration a winatum took charge of the organization and gave orders. "He called for the Bear Dance [when the moment arrived for it to be given] or the pleasure dance (wa'tiyod). At a watiyod everyone kept still and listened to what he said."

The following data on Yaudanchi messengers were contributed by Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Among the Yaudanchi Yokuts, who are without moieties, the winatum is the messenger and attends to camping and feeding of visitors at fiestas. The mourning dove (uplali) was winatum in mythical times and the term uplali seems to be applied to the winatum today. At the time of my visit the informant Francisco Pancho spoke of the incumbent winatum, Dick Francisco, as uplali. The chief (diya) pays the uplali [winatum] after a fiesta is over. In mythical times when the dove was winatum, toxil (eagle) was diya. Limik [falcon] was hiauto or war leader as was also poiyun (Cooper's hawk). The hiauto takes orders from the diya. The hawk limik as well as the dove was winatum for the diya in ancient times.

Ceremonial manager.--This position (hide'tɨts)[231] was hereditary in the male line; Raven (ho'toi) was always its family symbol. There was never more than one in a village, as he was not often needed. The chief called on him to be a general manager for a very large gathering like the Annual Mourning Ceremony, and paid him in return. The man's duty was to keep things running smoothly: he called to people to get up in the morning; he went out to meet guests as they arrived, showed them where they were to camp, and notified the chief of their presence; he stopped children who were playing too noisily or women who were quarreling. But at mealtime it was the winatum who announced that food was ready to be eaten.

J.B. gave a somewhat different statement. The manager at ceremonies he called hide'tič and gave Snake (general) as his lineage animal. It was an inherited office; women never held it. "There were two or three of these at every fandango." They consulted with the chief concerning where visitors' camps should be placed, where to have meals, and when to have all the dances; they prevented fighting (and in recent times drinking), and sometimes "called out for dancing, though this was usually a winatum's job." Two particularly efficient managers were Ta'sowɨk (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and Ka'osuna (a Telamni).

Shaman-killer.--The person designated by this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The hi'auta were called upon to rid the community of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

Clown.--There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

[231] Kroeber gives hiletits (Yauelmani) as a clown or ceremonial mocker; he does not record an office of dance manager (Handbook, 497).

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

being related." They thought that M.L.'s segregations of related animals (see below) had no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

To turn to the positive information, the terms tokɛlyuwɪč and nutuwɪč were known to both M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is tokɛlyu´wɪč. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dɪkao and da´tu idɪkao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping into effect only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Even then the grouping was not followed when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

Neither did the moiety affect the arrangement for reciprocal washing during the mourning ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily between families having the same totemic animal (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so assigned (eastside or westside), and as families arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

The spatial arrangement at a mourning ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visitors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

The second manifestation of this tribal moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Ceremony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To exemplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe, totem animal, and directional affiliation, as follows:

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sowɪk (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlɪlɪn (Rattlesnake); Kaplɪlɪn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´sɛš (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

When J.B.'s attention was called to the fact that his groupings, as given above, were aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

was a Tokelyuwich chief, Cougar a Nutuwich."

As a result of my questioning M.L. made a weak attempt to classify totem animals by moiety with absurd results: Clark Jay (čaku´du) as Tokelyuwich; Rattlesnake "and Bear maybe" as Nutuwich.

It is clear that the moiety was not a basic factor in Wukchumni social organization. On the contrary, the moiety concept, as applied to tribes (i.e., visitors) at the Annual Mourning Ceremony, makes it appear to be an adaptation of a barely understood scheme to a particular situation. Its manifestation in the Shamans' Contest, in which participants were drawn from both Valley [moiety] and Foothill [non-moiety] cultures leads one to suspect that the concept and adaptation peculiar to the Wukchumni is the result of the socially superficial co-mingling that occurred between hill and valley tribes during the mourning ceremonies.

In attempting to clarify the facts of moiety classification in Wukchumni culture, M.L. gave the following names of animals which she grouped as ṭa'a´ṭi (relatives), i.e., of one lineage or family. The groups appear here in the order in which she gave them, and at first it seemed (as with group 1) that these might be a moiety classification; later it turned out that they are all zoölogical classifications, so to say. I think the first group is a mythological grouping referring to animal cliques of the prehuman era, hence the song reference.

1. ṭe´wiša: flicker
ṭu´'ud: rattlesnake
ñahõ´'õ: grizzly bear
ṭa´'ɨšwide´'ɨt: black-and-white woodpecker
duˊhun: cinnamon bear
aho´'ot: weasel
sañsañwide´'ɨt: tree squirrel
po´'hot: ground squirrel

M.L.'s comment: When a Bear Dancer danced he called [sang] to all of these. Flicker and black-and-white woodpecker were her mother's and maternal grandmother's extra "poša" because they danced with the Bear Dancer. "When ñahõ'õ got beaten he got mad and told his winatum to get Cougar and Fox and Wildcat [to fight them] but Cougar said he didn't want to fight because they were all ṭa'a´ṭi."

2. kai´'iyu: coyote
a´ḍja: fox
tu´nəd: wildcat
wahu´sɨt: cougar
iwe´yɨt: wolf [mountain coyote]

M.L.'s comment: All Coyote's people look alike, cinnamon bear (duhun) was the only one that didn't.

3. upiye´'i: dove
so'o´no: pigeon
hɨ´mɨd: quail
No comment.

4. ṭu´hɨt: eagle
u´wɨk: golden eagle
ṭa´nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi´tu: mouse
tumatu´mud: woodrat
sañsañwide´'ɨt: tree squirrel
aha´'ot: weasel
po´'hot: ground squirrel
hə´ñhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo´koi: elk
soi´yod: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe´sɨp: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wɔ´kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

The person and his totemic animal.--The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša´m (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the poša of its owner), pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

Pets.--Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

[234]This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the pošam probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poša, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, which was believed by many young girls. It was thought that, if a girl ate quail, when her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu´šɨt) and mountain coyote (?) (iweyɨt, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wukchumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tunəd) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

Redemption of totem animal.--When eagles, bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

J.P. described the ritual for bears and eagles.

If a man killed a bear, he would take it to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

It was incumbent upon the Bear people to redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the hunter's people would have a big feast, for

[235]It appears that the man had assumed this poša, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236]These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a´duwɨts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko´widai, who said "kɔ' kɔ' kɔ'."

they got the meat as well as the money since the pošam could not eat it. No special disposal was made of the carcass, according to this informant, a statement which I have always thought dubious.[237]

"Eagle was worse. If a man killed an eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then all the chief's relatives would gather to pay for their totem; a winatum called them to come. All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or three chiefly men in a village they would divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing feathers, another the leg bones, and another the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the meat. "The chief would not let those people gathered there go away until all the meat was eaten." When the killer had finished, the chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in water so that it would be revived and return to its supernatural home. As he did this he said, "tuñdi´ta po´dta ma tupɨ´nita" (? ? you go up). This was the same phrase used by a hunter when he had killed game.

The same thing was done with a coyote carcass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who called his people to pay for it. The coyote lay on a blanket, the people threw down their strings of money over it, and cried. If the hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man "buried the whole thing right then because nobody ate that meat."

Totemic animals and associated professions.--J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduwɨts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone having deer as poša (though he could be a dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other birds. No person killed or ate any portion of his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these informants could recall for Wukchumni people. They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other tribes had the same family totems: "they were just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

[237]See, for instance, Heizer and Hewes, 592 ff.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

"Women went by the moon and men by the sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, her mother or grandmother made the first cradle for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that delivery took place in a private hut. If the separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No men were ever present, unless a shaman was called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či''up, či''up, či''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's, and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbitskin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (ṭanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deerskins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the introduction of European blankets the steamer surrounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

During the first week the baby was called yɛt nɔ ́mčɨn, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po ́ñoi nɔmčɨn, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi ́ti lonu ́wɨs) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

A child was nursed for two years, even if a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those things better and wanted them all the time." Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

Mothers talked to their children telling them what they must do. M.L. said naughty children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

There were certain beliefs concerning childbirth and children. It was lucky to give birth at the new moon: the child, whether male or female "would grow with the moon." If a woman was sterile, it was because she had played at intercourse with boys when she was a little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O ́mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

Twins were not regarded as good or bad fortune, though they entailed special care, if they were to survive. If one twin died, the other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would have them also. She had never heard of anyone, native or white, having triplets and, when told of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill the mother. She herself expressed a physical fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

The Wukchumni kinship terms have been withheld with others from this publication. As with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins were classed with siblings and called by the same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the same term as that relative; thus, a father's sister's cousin would be addressed as father's sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child (ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.[242] Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

[238]Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239]This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240]This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241]M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

[242]This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ṭa'aṭi (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo'dɨs (another father's brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a'hɨt (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no'či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta'naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tamɨk were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests remained one or two days. They brought with them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course, impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa'duwɨš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men sometimes lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summertime and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage

The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

[243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

would be called hokoi´šan yiwɨ´nši (sister marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two recently married young Waksachi who are second cousins. He added that he thought "people to the north" married their cousins. No special punishment was attempted in the old days when such a marriage occurred. The parents of both participants, having done their best to prevent it by verbal argument, would not, and apparently could not, do anything more. There was undoubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how far this affected the offspring of such a union cannot be said. The mere fact that informants could not formulate rules for these marriages is in itself an indication that commonsense entered, according to the particular circumstances. J.B. said that such marriages "never occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there is no genealogical evidence to prove the contrary, we can scarcely accept a complete negative. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

A man could marry where he wished, within the tribe, within his own village, and even a woman having the same family totem as himself, provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If he had been betrothed to a girl at her first menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek her bed at night. But in doing so he committed himself to a serious union with the girl and to obligations in the provision of food to her family. For two or three months he rose early, going for the morning bath and thence to his parents' home for breakfast. During the day he would fish or hunt, taking the game to his wife's home and remaining there for the evening meal. If he did not go there he hung about the sweat house and slept there at night; this was especially true if the girl's home was already crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely lasted out a year. If the girl became pregnant at once, she usually wanted to stay with her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the husband's home or to a house of their own. When gathering seeds, or on any other food-collecting expedition, the young wife joined her mother if it were physically possible. If she did not accompany her mother, then she did not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but attended to household tasks and helped in the preparation of the food when it was brought in.

It may appear that a young man and woman were wholly independent in their choice of a mate, and especially so in their married life. But the parents of both participants exerted strong personal influence. They frequently arranged betrothals at puberty and made every effort to see that the marriage not only took place, but continued. The parents-in-law and their brothers and sisters all called each other by the reciprocal term ma´kši from the time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by conversation or argument with the young couple to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the instigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

Two wives were not uncommon, but all informants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother who, having two wives, sought a third. The unfortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[244]

Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[245] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

[244]Merriam, The Em´-tim´-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[245]A Wobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawe´dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not essential at marriage, constancy was expected from a wife. The husband was entirely within his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

The berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The bereaved persons wept and wailed until interment. Some professional corpse-handlers (tono´čɨm) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) The corpse of a person who died not more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men.

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term gu'i) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the gu'i to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the gu'i brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tonočɨm) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

All persons who came to visit the bereaved at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

All Wukchumni informants stated that it was the women tonočɨm who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, waiʼʼɨs, who was cremated by his two wives, Mawoʼkono, a Wukchumni, and Pawečikuʼdo, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

Meanwhile other tonočɨm were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonočɨm by means of tumpline and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonočɨm said, "I have carried you, čoinəmniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ṭɨpni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonočɨm and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the mourners washed the tonočɨm and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

Whether all the tonočɨm were transvestites is a moot point.[247] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and burier. Among the Yaudanchi, too, women who had borne children were funeral singers, for instance M.S.'s stepmother's mother, Yakaʼnɨč, and another known mother, Tuʼnɨč. S.G.'s denial is perhaps understandable in the light of M.L.'s statement that one of his paternal uncles was a transvestite, a fact S.G. declined to admit. If any of the group of tonočɨm was a transvestite, it was probably the one who actually carried the corpse to the grave. Informants all said this was "a big strong woman." There is also the question of how many berdaches in female guise would be available in any village or tribe; expectably they would be really few. S.G. stated that even in a large tribe of more than one village there would be about three women who normally looked after the tasks of burial; if there were not more than one in any community, the chief would appoint some other women to help her and these, too, would be called tonočɨm. Thus it seems possible that some, but not all, tonočɨm were transvestites. S.G. also said that, if a burier had female children, they would carry on the profession.

J.B. claimed that tonočɨm were of either sex and, like others, he denied their homosexuality or transmuted habits.

Mourning was marked by singeing off the hair, the degree to which it was shortened indicating the amount of discomfiture. A wife would have her hair cropped short at her husband's death; so would a daughter for her father or mother. Men were less extreme in their outward exhibition of grief. It was the practice to forego washing and, to heighten the disheveled appearance, pitch was applied to the face and chest; on this dirt accumulated. It was permissible to wash the hands. Meat or grease was strictly tabu, and an almost complete fast was attempted by some mourners. Absolutely no participation in public gatherings was permitted, although it appears that this prohibition was motivated by melancholy rather than by a sense of spiritual uncleanliness.

Possessions of the deceased person were hidden away until after the release of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The bereaved did not want to look at these reminders of their sorrow.

Some women mourners wailed ritually morning and evening until after the private mourning ceremony. While in mourning retirement women spent all their time making baskets for the forthcoming mourning ceremonies.

Private mourning ceremony.--For about two or three months after the death of a spouse or parent, a bereaved man or woman refrained from eating meat, from washing more than the hands, and from participating in social activities. In the case of a spouse's bereavement the family of the deceased decided when the tabus should be lifted; that is, the relatives-in-law provided for a small cleansing ritual and

[247] The native word, tonočɨm, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe´nɨč). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept in accompaniment. This performance was called paho´tɨt and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners -- cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), manhood, and old age.

wi´tɐp, wi´tipɐč: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
gu´tum witɐp: baby boy
mo´kɨs witɐp: baby girl
hi´am paha´ta witɐp gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason García, aged 5]
witɐp mu´kɨs: little female, i.e., girl
hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix García, aged 10]
hiam pahata mukɨs: growing girl, 8 to 10 years
hiam pahata wu´h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years
goi´yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years
witɐp mi´tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years
hiam pahata mitač mukɨs: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years
pahata gu´tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)
moho´do gu´tum: old man, 50 or over
modo´'o mu´kɨs: old woman, past childbearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

When a boy was about the age of ten or a little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream helper, which was usually an animal or bird. He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

All persons with supernatural power, and those respectful to this cosmic force, tɨpni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

If a man wanted to live long or wished for other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either going or returning. If the stream were small or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there [where his body was] but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

"What a man dreamed he kept right on him": he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

Although theoretically any one might seek power by this means, and the dream was its only source, there was a tendency for shamanism to "run in families" just as there was for other occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ɨn].

The dream helper was called ai´nɨč (from ana´ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

Supernatural power (tɨpni) bestowed by the dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai´'ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word aiɨnɨč was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).

was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An owner of one would fear its discovery by a malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

Sometimes supernatural help came unsought in the following ways. Although J.P.'s examples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mɛts hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

The special gifts bestowed by animals as dream helpers are formulated in the following comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted to show he had power through Cougar would wear the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija ha'jɛt) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu'du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

All shamans had a collection of talismans, which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭ'pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (lɨmɨk). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ainɨč) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took precautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

poison is real or imaginary I could not discover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai'iwan, Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit., nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun, grabbed toward it with the hands, and then rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could be transformed into living creatures. Thus a shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it would change into an owl that went and talked to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed that persons with supernatural power, not necessarily shamans, could transform themselves under conditions of great stress into the form of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanši's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ‹pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

Flying power.--The power of flying through space, while mentioned, was only incidental. Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Ela´mki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haićača, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičača had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

Shamans were feared because of their ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.[257]

When a shaman was believed to be a public menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hi'auta) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Ki´paṭ, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Cihoi´li. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Košowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Košowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

[255]Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256]Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

[257]Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ·pni."

The Shaman's Cache

It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which opened at the owner's command. The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš·šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever located, Čoiš·šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain·c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake; he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

5. The power of flying, known to northern neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

7. J.B. accused Čokonɨk, a Choinimni shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokonɨk used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ainɨč). He was well paid with money and baskets.

8. M.P. lived with her maternal grandmother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

Finally one night Haičača dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said, "Hello, napaš [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of the ensuing night and then came home and slept until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for breakfast. Haičača continued this routine until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho'toi), who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ainɨč), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainɨč) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

Haičača became a good doctor; "he never hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P., of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

11. The only case known to my informants of a water creature serving as a family totem (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter" (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[264]

[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokonɨk of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ɨ lkɨn. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epɨs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

A woman going seed-gathering in the spring and summer would smear her forearms and legs with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments, such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

But such ornaments were dangerous to wear at other seasons because they attracted thunder [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu'ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

Goldfinches (soi'soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča'ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

A railroad train is called hu'da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

[265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

The dancers who participated in the all-night dance after a mourning ceremony were always doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

The singers used clapper accompaniment (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

The name "war dance," which has become attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or hostile intention was ever associated with this dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

The wa´tiyod was a dance performed by shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying singers used the clapper (taowɨd). The dance could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was, nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač´am) in each hand. His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle down glued across her forehead, wore a deerskin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Garfield), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

minutes. When the dancer wanted his singer to start or stop, he held his hand feathers out toward him. For each dance unit there was a new song although the steps remained the same.

J.B. was unable to repeat any of the songs, but he said their content dealt solely with the animal creatures who inhabited the world during the mythical prehuman era, they were all about Eagle, Coyote, Dove, etc. He did not think there was any defined order for the series of songs.

The informant M.L. used to participate in the watiyod as one of the female dancers along with her mother, mother's sister, and mother's brother. She said that nearly always the women would be some kin of the men performers. She described the affair as follows.

This dance could be held at any time of year -- whenever a doctor wanted to make some money or was asked to perform. Usually it was an evening spectacle. The village winatum would build a fire at the dance space, a large one in winter, a small one in summer. Spectators brought tule mats and sat around to watch. They also brought a bit of money as payment, which was collected by the singer accompanists who shared in the profits.

Usually there were four or five men and four women participants. The men wore feather skirts (ṭu´hun), bracelets and anklets of crow feathers, and each carried one large black quill in the right hand. Their bodies were painted with horizontal stripes of white. The women wore deerskin aprons (some of them trimmed with rattling deer hooves), bead necklaces, ear plugs, and carried a feather bunch in each hand. Their faces were covered with red paint and over it a horizontal row of white dots crossed the cheeks and nose.

Two or three singers sat at one side using clappers. The doctors had their own songs, which the singers knew, and all sang together. And, said M.L., the women sang also in a loud shrill manner.

The dancers all stood in a row with two women taking the end positions. The men stamped heavily with each foot, swaying the feather quill back and forth, while the women jumped from side to side with feet clamped together, moving their feather bunches in unison with their feet. If a "tiya wanted a dancer to show off he would have his winatum call to him to step out of line and dance alone for a bit." A winatum could also call out mistakes made by the dancers. M.L. could not say what such errors might be other than getting out of step with one's companions. A singer might attract attention to a dancer's mistake by stopping his clapper, patting his hand against his mouth and uttering a loud ululatin "Ha-a-a-a," at which everybody laughed.

The songs were "all about animals." A few M.L. recalled appear below. She said the first two were sung by Chunut doctors,[267] the other four were Wukchumni.

1. ta´wɨt ṭɨ´nima tawatawɨl [repeat 4 times]
dead maybe motion of hand feathers in dancer's hands

soisoi ma´yɨn tawɨt ṭɨnima
Goldfinch calls dead maybe

ho ma ta´niša tawɨt ṭɨnima
are you going dead maybe

soisoi mayɨn
goldfinch calls

Perhaps dead? feathers moving
Perhaps Goldfinch tells [you] to be dead
Perhaps you are going to the dead
Goldfinch is calling [you]

2. hiwai´ṭɨn ni
walking I [it is understood Bear is speaking]

hu´nai hiwaiṭɨn ni
nothing walking I

hunai hoi´yuwo nɨm
nothing come back my

ča´wai hunai o´yai
someone nothing calls

I am walking
I am just walking for nothing
My return is for nothing
Someone is calling me for nothing

3. so´kšok šo´kšok ṭu´mɨt na ṭɨpni ṭumɨt na ṭɨpni
kingfisher kingfisher cover me power cover me power

šo´ho· šo´ho· na· na´hɛt na· na´hɛt
[nonsense line]

kate´ wahɨn na
doing circle I

Kingfisher, Kingfisher, cover me with your power
I am circling about [as a kingfisher flies when hunting]

4. ñohõ´ʼõ o´mta na ma hanɛ´nwa
Bear hunting I you all

ma ah´taha na
you hunt I

ṭepa´ne ma
power you

Bear, I am hunting you all
You have great supernatural power

[267]Later on, while we were working with the Chunut at Lemoore, little girls were overheard singing the first song (1). Kroeber gives several Yokuts songs in The Yokuts Language, 363-372.

5. aiyama´tɨn na pa´nɨn
worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´yɨn do´mto panɨn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

Another dance or game was described most incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking (taña´yɨn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra supernatural power might take it each year, or every few years, provided he observed the usual tabus. A man who desired special power was not differentiated from other participants during the ritual but behaved and was treated like the novices.

The ritual leader was "any man" who knew how to administer the drink safely and who was of good character, i.e., "who had never killed anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man" (M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation, set the day for the rite, and it was announced twelve days in advance by a winatum. Thereafter the participants drank only thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers (both paternal and maternal) of the novices went to the leader and arranged the details of their grandchildren's participation. An experienced participant did not necessarily need a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoišɨšiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[268] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the assembly space where blankets were laid out for them. Each child had a blanket, an individual drinking basket, and two women sponsors [the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader brought the decoction and made a speech telling the youths to pay attention to what they would see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

[268] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

or animal, it would become their helper in time of need. Then each boy and girl was given a drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers as they stirred and became active. About the time they were expected to awake several women would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi· uka´naka tañá´ya lu´lhɛ' lula´lhɛ'
Arise. Drink tañai. Walk! Walk!

As the drinkers became active they were able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick person would come, give the drinker a feather bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

As an example of typical behavior M.L. said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-strap toward his mother, immediately brushed her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated. It was said that an evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would try to render the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a general celebration took place. The children dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for betrothal if any families cared to take advantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything, and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

Jimsonweed was well known as an anaesthetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anŝi's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, although visitors might send or bring food, for which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down headband, etc. The singer accompanist, who was also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side and used a cocoon rattle. The dancers stood in a row, with the most powerful or important man at the right end, the woman at the left (from the audience's point of view). The men held their hands cupped to their mouths to augment their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held her hands beside her shoulders, wide open, palms forward, and her elbows close to her sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled, the dancers turned toward their left, and the men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained in her place and, with feet together and heels off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls of her feet. The upper part of her body and her shoulders she turned to right and left on alternate "bounces." She kept this up continuously while the men jumped and walked backward to their former positions three times. The whole performance lasted no more than ten minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be repeated under any circumstances until the following year. For this reason it was particularly admired, and urgent demands for repetition from the onlookers, with consequent refusals from the dancers, seem to have been a traditional part of the affair. If the spectacle were to be witnessed again that season, it would have to be in some other village or tribe with other dancers.

When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spectators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's see your hair!" At once the black portions turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

The dance was supposed to be a replica of real bears' antics; they were said often "to dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

[269]This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same, She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

The male dancers wore whole bearskins fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their songs follow:

1. so´nowau nɨm luka´omao
   storehouse my [place name]

   (My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa´šo wa·ha·so· hu·še·me·hu
   small basket small basket [futurity]

   wa´šo ukun husɨm ñohõ´'õ na husɨm
   small basket drink [futurity] Bear I [futurity]

   (I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance and Huhuna Dance to the Yaudanchi, attributing these dances and any performers making them to the Wukchumni.

[270]Handbook, 517.

Deer Dance

Another dance, ascribed primarily to the Patwisha and of somewhat the same genre as the Bear Dance, was the Deer Dance. According to J.B.'s account:

This was done every spring soon after the Snake Ritual. It was danced by Ni´wič and Ha´ñaš, brothers. Both men were fine hunters. They assumed no deer ornaments, merely dancing in the usual ceremonial regalia. They held their hands up close to their shoulders, palms out, and took dainty steps markedly to the left and to the right, at each step uttering a plaintive "Ma·a·a·!".

Like the dancing bear she had seen, J.B.'s wife also saw some dancing deer, a very rare experience.

This was on a little hill near Dunlap. Six deer came tripping out from some undergrowth. They progressed by taking a step to the right, hesitating, then a step to the left, hesitating, and so on. At each step they said "Ma·a·" in squeaky little voices "just like lambs." J.B.'s wife remained utterly still until the deer, still mincing, vanished into the brush.

Beaver Dance

Another ceremony of the display type was staged by men who had power from fish, or possibly from water or water creatures. Both M.L. and M.P. had witnessed this, but neither of them could attach any purpose to it. The citing of "fish camps" along the rivers suggests that the rite might have something to do with the fish supply.

According to M.L., the Beaver Dance took place about midwinter. A doctor who had power from fish (čadut añṭu, catfish doctor) built a tule-covered house around the outside of which he hung cured beaver skins (tau´piš). While spectators gathered outside, he entered the booth, sang, and danced. As he did this the beaver skins trembled and a "swsh-swsh, swsh-swsh" sounded continuously. Then a woman, a "plain" woman, who had no ṭɨpni power and who was not sick, would lie down and groan. The doctor emerged, brushed her off with his hand feathers, and sang in a soft whispering voice:

   ča´dut, ča´dut, ča´dut
   catfish, catfish, catfish

   e´bɛse, e´bɛse, e´bɛse
   trout, trout, trout

koko ˊčo, koko ˊčo, koko ˊčo
[a very large fish]

tapa ˊpsu, tapa ˊpsu, tapa ˊpsu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha ˊho·'ho·', ha ˊho·'ho·', ha ˊho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja ˊ'amu añṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta ˊkɨt, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rain-making, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His description of the rite is as follows:

...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

From no informant was I able to obtain a description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo ˊno, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

One of the participants at Diapnuša was J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill; J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle (wa ˊhɨd or šo ˊho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo ˊmɨš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

[271] Ibid., 507.

[272] Ibid., 504-506.

was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

While the doctors were doing their preliminary dancing before picking up their snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene. There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over his own. He was painted with black about the eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was not the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

Approaching the snake pit, he would run up and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of ṭɨpni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

Then people began shouting for the "biting" display. "They would put up $50 to $60 for this." The doctor who was daring enough threw his snake to the ground to anger it. It would turn toward him and bite him. The arm was extended, so that the snake struck high in a spectacular manner; the reptile was displayed dangling by its fangs from the doctor's arm.[273] Then the other doctors sucked the wound and spat on a tray, and the victim recovered at once. This ended the ritual, usually about 5 p.m.

The feast provided by the doctors was then eaten. They, of course, received the payment in the pit. The next morning they returned the rattlesnakes to their respective dens.

J.P. said "the worst he ever saw" was a doctor whose snake struck him three times. He was given the sucking treatment and lived, but he remained unconscious until the following morning.

J.P. said the "sun snake" was more dangerous than the rattler. If a doctor wanted a sun snake, he "held his tray up to the sun to get power" (this at the time he was seeking the reptiles for the ritual).[274]

The informant Tm.W. had seen Pušlɨlɨn get snakes for a dance at Maštɨnao (a Chukaimina village). He went out with a bone whistle. When the snakes heard it they "rose right up in the rocks and were told to 'Come on!'" As a snake turned away, the doctor grabbed at the back of its neck. He put it in a willow cage called čo´mɨs. Tm.W. had also seen Solopono do the Rattlesnake Ritual at Porterville, but this informant was not equal to describing it. A rattlesnake was called pu´čuš tu'ud (little rattlesnake) or mɨts tu'ud (big rattlesnake).

The Rattlesnake Ritual was held by the Yaudanchi at Moko early each spring. Several doctors participated. Those M.S. recalls were her stepfather Kipat (Patwisha), Čokonɨk (Choinimni), Umičana (Wukchumni), Čiwɨn (Wukchumni), and Šu·t (Gawia). Each man had a snake which he had obtained at its den. This informant's description of the rite differed from others in the following respects.

During the dance the coiled snake was held out on the palm of the hand, or was wound around the neck "like a muffler." There was no "biting" display. Each doctor had a hole for his own snake; the people who filed by paid each snake by dropping in a bit of money, stamped at the side of the hole, and passed on. While in captivity, the snakes were kept in bottlenecked baskets (osa) instead of cages. A pole (wi´čɨt, any stick or pole) was set up beside the dance space and gifts of baskets for the doctors were hung upon it. The doctors

[273] I do not know whether this "dangling" is physiologically possible for the rattlesnake, but Kroeber reports the same action (ibid., 505).

[274] M.A., the Paleuyami, said her father "made snakes come down from the sun."

provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

The disposal of this sum was called lakana ́nɨč and followed an established method. A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected as the recipient; but this tribe was not the tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu ́'us. (The normal rate of interest was at 50 per cent, tu ́ñwɨs.)

To return to the original contributors of the sum, each one who had put in an amount, say $10.00, had to agree to provide an equivalent amount of food or gifts ($10.00 worth) which would be received by the recipients at the end of the ceremony. In other words: in terms of value, no profit was made on either side; in terms of materials, the hosts received money in exchange for commodities. The money was required to pay the washers, singers, winatums, huhuna dancer and accompanying shaman, the participants in the Shamans' Contest, and entertainers on the final day of celebration, and, above all, to pay for the food provided and consumed throughout the week. The recipients who received the commodities could sell them on the spot if the transactions were possible. All informants agreed that a great deal of side trading went on during, and on the final day of, the ceremony. Naturally, the opportunity was unparalleled throughout the year.

At the inception of a mourning ceremony then, a sum of money was made up by the mourners, chiefs, and investors of the host tribe and taken to another tribe by a winatum. Before setting out, the winatum was given a meal and a payment by his chief: in return the winatum made a slight gift to the chief, which might be money, food, or clothing. At the village to which he was sent the winatum was received as usual by the chief and given a meal. An assemblage was called, the purpose of the visit announced, and the money distributed to those tribal members who wished to accept it, knowing the obligation it entailed and the "gifts" they might expect in return. The chief of the recipient tribe was responsible for the personal accounts, as it were, of his fellows. That is, at the ensuing ceremony, the return of the money with its interest and the receiving of gifts from the hosts were carried out between the chiefs (by means of winatums). The individual sums were not collected until the last day of the ceremony (the day of the washing ritual) when they were presented in toto to the host chief, or such was my understanding.

The tribe approached as recipient was not obliged to accept. If it were deemed advisable by the chiefs, subchiefs, and others to decline, this was done, or a compromise might be suggested, i.e., that they take part of the funds and that the remainder be sent to another tribe. Even if accepted the money could yet be returned within six days if on further consultation the recipients felt they could not meet the obligation. If this happened, the sender's winatum was sent to take back the money; the recipient winatum did not take it but took only the message to the sender chief explaining the situation. When, as a result of this, the sender's winatum went after the money, he was paid by both parties for the service.

When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.B., and corroboration of some of them later came independently from Waksachi informants.

Wukchumni	Waksachi
Čiwiñyi's family (chief)	Bill Osborn's family (chief)
J.B., his mother and brother	Bill Tyner's family
Jim Hangton (Pohot family)	Bob Osborn[275]
Mollie Lawrence	Tom Bacon
Walai (winatum)	Sam Osborn (winatum)

Sometimes, J.B. said, a chief's family would wash two or three other families, not necessarily all acting chiefs, but of chiefly lineage.

The reciprocal pairs of tribes were listed by J.B.; statements of other informants are initialed.

Wukchumni-Waksachi	Gawia-Yokod
Wukchumni-Patwisha (secondarily)	Wolasi-Telamni
Wukchumni-Yaudanchi (J.P.)	Choinuk-Chunut
Waksachi-Entimbich (secondarily)	Tachi-Nutunutu
Waksachi-Michahai (secondarily)	

The families who came to wash the mourners brought with them the special washing baskets and new clothes in which to dress the released mourners. These, after they were washed, dressed, and in receipt of the washing baskets, paid the washers either with cash or with gifts of valuable objects. Informants seemed to think that this exchange was an equal one; at least in theory neither washer nor washee was a gainer.

Organization and Administration

The host tribe, the reciprocant tribe, and the financial associate tribe by no means comprised all the persons present at an Annual Mourning Ceremony. Anyone who wished was welcome to come as a spectator, and these were many. Interchanges of festivities took place between the following tribes, from whom attend-

[275]See the Waksachi account of a recent mourning ceremony wherein Entimbich people served as washers because "the right people" [the Wukchumni Pohots] were not there.

ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit, Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts); also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobonuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from the list as given by J.P.; the list is corroborated, of course, by other informants and much indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

The organization and administration of the ceremony lay in the hands of one or two officials who functioned only on such occasions, the yate''ič or "dance managers." Not all informants agree whether this was a regular official or not; perhaps only larger tribes had need of them. They were the "bosses" of the winatums who, both male and female, were worked to the utmost in their responsibility of providing shelter, water, firewood and, above all, sufficient food for the crowds. Around the assembly space were erected long shades, with back screens if needed, under which the visitors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the hosts, the other visitors at each end; informants were indefinite as to how far this plan was followed. In the families of the winatums all members helped: the older winatums saw that there was sufficient food and generally directed activities, while their sons supplied wood and water and carried messages, and their wives and daughters prepared and cooked food. The visiting winatums, particularly those of the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts paid for their services just as they paid their own winatums. The preparation and organization of these affairs for a large tribe like the Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks of this at Chischa.[278]

I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the first day or two (Monday and Tuesday)guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

[276]Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277]Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278]Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

Ritual weeping.--Throughout the week a group of professional mourning singers, the tonočɨm, at dawn and at sunset sang mourning songs accompanied by wails of the bereaved. According to M.P., on these occasions the bereaved took out the effigy dolls, the gifts of money and baskets, and exhibited them by carrying them to the assembly fire. The singers and mourners all moved with a special dancelike step as they alternately sang and wept. The singers sang; then their leader held his hands forward palm down as a signal to cease, at which the mourners immediately broke into wails of grief. As soon as this was over, the effigies and treasures were retired to the special hut in which they were kept.

The informant M.L. maintained that the singers and mourners gathered outside the village for this ritual expression of grief, and Estudillo's encounter with a mourning chief retired from his village corroborates her statement. (Practices may have differed.)

> [I] continued eastward [from the Choinuk] and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives . . . .[279]

Effigy-making.--The first two days of the week of the mourning ceremony (Monday and Tuesday) are devoted to the construction of the effigy dolls (woi´doš). These are made by women, one image for each person mourned. The basis of the doll was a cross of wood, the upright staff of which was about 5 feet long, the horizontal about 2-1/2 feet tied on about 18 inches from the top. "It must be high but not too heavy to carry when dancing" (J.P.). In old times the covering of the frame, making a sort of solid body, was of fine tule matting, more recently of calico. If the effigy was of a woman, a little basket cap was put on the head. Each image had quantities of beads hung about the neck, and especially made baskets with beads woven into them hung from the arms, back, and front. When finished, the effigies were placed in a specially constructed house at the assembly space and covered with blankets. While the mourners were thus engaged, the chief of the reciprocant tribe came and talked to them and they all wept in response. Here also were placed all the gifts and offerings for the final night of crying.

Huhuna Dance

On the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was given. This would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Muṭoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu) (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu´ḍu) for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'owɨts [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, although J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so´nɨl). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

[279] Ibid., 73.

The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Ša´maka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (tai´'iwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (sonıl) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest was called gokosyu´ñıt. It was a more or less spontaneous affair and, if held at all, preceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (hɛ´šwaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.); the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

[280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the onlookers as there were at games: the spectators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with"A·'a·'a·h!" During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the airshot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the tribes whose shamans had participated in the contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or used his hand feather bunch to brush down the body of the patient. A winatum held a tray beside him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed off the granular airshot from the feathers. The shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

In discussing the revivings, J.P. said that at this time "chiefs would bribe each other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of one that was knocked out." If any of the magic ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim, "he died in about three days," or at best would linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[281]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday) the group of people known as tonočim who handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonočim, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[282] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´tič) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonočim approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[283] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonočim danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

[281]The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[282]The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Waksachi, if any Western Mono tonočim were present.

[283]As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

them, and these were grabbed by the women and thrown over their shoulders into the baskets. When the dance ended the tonoč·m retired with their goods and then, giving a great shout, they all ran to the river to swim. (Although this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus nor were they considered unclean after they had performed a burial service.)

Effigy Parade

The remainder of the sixth day was spent in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums called the active mourners and brought out the effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each doll was carried by a member of the same sex, usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased it represented. Other mourners carried money and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure basket (osa) filled with money, while women carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and 4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of singers, paraded around the fires with a curious halting step. On each alternate step the effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the others lowered them, pointing the doll heads toward the fire and making a feint at throwing them in. The others made the same feint with the treasures they carried. During the intervals between the parades the chief of the reciprocants rose to make a speech in which he referred to the deceased persons they were mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring much sorrow and privation; he spoke of the effigies as if they were the actual corpses, saying how they were to be burned, destroyed, and forever forgotten, and how the mourners might look forward to release from their grief. These simple topics were long drawn out to a continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners, who had again retired. At intervals the singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large, deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs. The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

During the washing and dressing at least two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

During the afternoon the host chief and his subchiefs (tuye'i) assembled to settle the payment of debts for food supplied either by visitors or by members of their own tribe. This type of debt was called hočao´'ɨšna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi´'inad mai hočao'ɨšna mayɨn; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama´mai du´haš hočao'ɨšna mayɨn; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

While daylight lasted the shamans of the host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony was curtailed and confused. It is given merely because it differs in what may be some significant respects from the descriptions by other informants. He did not assign a definite order to the series of ceremonies, but stated that the Shamans' Contest took place every morning of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku´kəsyu´ñɨt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku´siyɨč. Two doctors and a singer (uda´kɨč) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any people who wanted their doctors to make money could have them go into this fight if they liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville, and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon toward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´tɨs was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´ḍṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

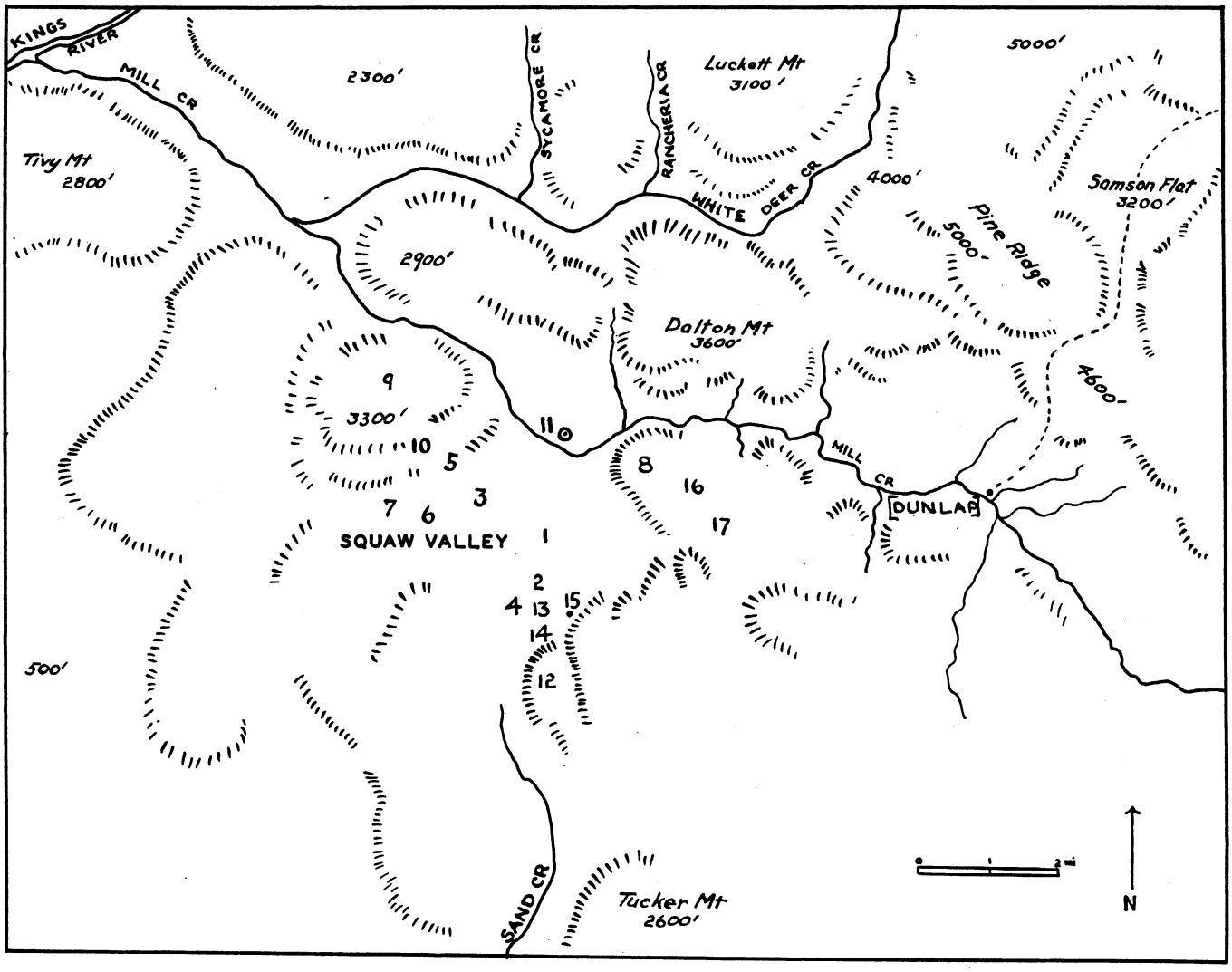
After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokonɨk, although J.B. had seen Ma´mɨl, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

The last, or Saturday, night of the ceremony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana´ñɨt. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dowɨš) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the ritual was called ka´mɨts. This custom of tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

The introduction of the Ghost Dance was attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[284] "He went

[284]The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).



Map 4. Local Map C: Chukaimina and Michahai sites

over toward Nevada every year to get the songs and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?] was making there. He [Moman] was painted red." In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers would go north to learn the new songs from Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came south, which he did once or twice later on. The group of singers came back and held the first dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went "to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon. They held no dances on the return trip. In several subsequent years they retraveled this route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore: "singers from there came to dances in the foothills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui, and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and A´paw·č, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname) (all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them [then].

The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago: J.B. did not know why. There was never any revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did not believe the dance was a preventative of sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a little fellow and went with his father and mother and boy cousin." He had three older brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that by no means did everyone go to the dance "though most did because they were afraid not to"[but of what he did not know].

The dance was called soto·´tow·id kam (to-be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and] women, usually alternating, and holding hands, moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept, or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

M.L. said she was a small girl living at the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono" came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

The following information is regrettably brief and not always clear. The available informants at Squaw Valley were inadequately equipped in personality and language to discuss or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory. They were not able to distinguish clearly between events at Maštinao and those occurring at neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages. Neither could they get down to cases. For example, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M., A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given for the sake of complete record: only the moiety data can be used safely as it was rechecked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h·ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

7. šu ́lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa ́no: long hill lying northeast to southwest on east side of valley
9. toi ́yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
10. wiše ́lao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo ́nyu: village site on flat
12. ṭo ́po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe ́yu
14. soiyo ́'o
15. wai ́yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta ́o: a "bald" hill
17. ka ́lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, didɨ ́pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opnɨ ́nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po'o ́lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt ɨ ́nao: most important Chukaimina village.

The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo ́'ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu ́lat, married Pu ́lkos; their son was Pusɨnɨnwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi ́yut, married a grandson of Pušlɨlɨn named Ai ́jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai ́nɨk (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo ́pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si ́kɨd) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša ́taš ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[286] The first (bi ́'ɨč) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki ́lɨč) was the larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown, which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method and said the ware was fired about two days.[287] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (huču ́ša). The pieces used

[286]Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[287]For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

were called: ča´pai (tray); ho´wɨč (dice made of nut shells); ča´kat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čune´ti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wič ɨ´l) were held by a score-keeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wukchumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (hena´oša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages, were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

to´hɨl: eagle
ö´lö´l: roadrunner
to´nol: wildcat (tukobɨč, Western Mono)
ţuna´o: badger
ti´či: raccoon
su´hup: chicken hawk (su´pa, Western Mono)
wihɛ´šɨt: cougar (tuwa´wiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

lɨmɨk: falcon
hots: buzzard (wi´ho, Western Mono)
kai´yu: coyote (hu´'ušu [sic], Western Mono)
nahõ´'õ: bear (bi´owɨši [sic], Western Mono)
he´wi: dove (Western Mono)
ţe´'el: rattlesnake
hutu´lu: owl

All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called ti´ya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

Mo. said that her paternal grandmother, who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about Lɨmɨk [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni´ša); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

mourning or for mother (ɛpla´oiša); Shamans' Contest (hɛša´oišaš); Rattlesnake Ritual (laiya´la); [rattlesnake, ṭe´'el]; shaman's pleasure dance (ka´mkam).

P.M. had seen the Ghost Dance but Mo. had not.

Mo. claimed that the only mourning ceremonies she had witnessed were recent ones at Dunlap by the mixed Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, Chukaimina, Michahai, and some Choinimni.

Mo. said her father, Maka´na, participated in the Rattlesnake Ritual with Pušlılın. "They had little whistles to call the snakes." She never saw this; "all she knows is what P.M. told her."

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AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology.
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore.
PMM-B	Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
PM-P	Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Papers.
SI-AR	Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report.
UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records.
UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
USNM-R	United States National Museum, Reports.
YU-PA	Yale University, Publications in Anthropology.

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PLATE AND EXPLANATION

Explanation of Plate 1

Yokuts Specimens in Case 76, Room 15, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Miwok specimens to left of verticals, Western Mono specimens to right of verticals. (Photograph by courtesy of Peabody Museum, 1939.)

Top: large ceremonial basket flanked by other baskets of gift or ceremonial type. Across center: twined ware -- left, sieve with stripes; center, fish basket; right, seedbeater over coiled ware circular winnowing tray (perhaps a shaman's), flanked by small bottleneck or "treasure" baskets. Three fine bottleneck baskets with quail plume ornament. Bottom: gambling trays, mush basket type, small mush baskets. On floor, right: stave dice, arrow straightener, pair of hiding bones; center, bone awls and cane arrows; right verticals, looped rocklifters, plain bow, digging stick, and shaman's staff (black).

PLATE 1. YOKUTS SPECIMENS, PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY