# THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA, VOL. 2, NO. 5, PP.169-393

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## A. L. KROEBER

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BY

A. L. KROEBER

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#### A. L. KROEBER.

#### CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introduction	169
I, THE YAUDANCHI DIALECT	173
Phonetic System	173
Vowels and vocalie mutations	173
Consonants	
Structure of the syllable	181
Account and enclitics	182
Summary	V 70 70 70
Structure	
Means of expression of grammatical structure	184
A, Reduplication	184
B and C. Suffixion and vocalic mutation	186
List of suffixes occurring in the language	186
Categories of grammatical form expressed	
The Noun	189
Plural	
Cases	
Objective	V11722.200
Other cases	
Cases in the plural	
The Verb	2.73700
Semi-derivatives	
Tense, mode, and voice	
Vocalic mutations of the stem	
Imperative	
Future and participle	
Continuative	
Past tenses	
Passive	
Participles and verbal nouns	
Interrogative and negative	
Verb substantive	221

Ам. Акси, Етн. 2, 13

		PAGE
	The Pronoun	221
	Personal pronouns	221
	Demonstratives	225
	Interrogatives	228
	The Adjective	229
	Numerals	230
	Adverbs and Unsyntactical Words	
	Order of Words	233
	Vocabulary	234
	Composition	
	Derivation	235
	Reduplication	
	General character of the vocabulary	
	List of principal words	
	Nouns	
	Adjectives	
	Adverbs and particles	
	Alphabetical list of verbs	
	Yaudanchi texts	
	Tangled-Hsir	
	Anaylsis	
	The Prairie-falcon's Wife	
	Partial Analysis	
	The Prairie-falcon fights	
	The Prairie-falcon loses	
	Mikiti	
	The Visit to the Dead	
	Fight with the Pitanisha	
	Ini and Bluejay	
	Summary	
т.	THE YAUELMANI DIALECT	970
1.	Phoneties	
	Means of grammatical structure	
	The Noun	
	The Verb	
	Semi-derivatives	
	Suffixes of tense, mode, and voice	
	Imperative	
	Vocalic Mutations Various Suffixes	
	Particles	
	The Pronoun	
	Numerals	
	Composition and derivation	
	Vanalmani Santanoes	299

	PAGE
III. OTHER DIALECTS AND COMPARISONS	
Dialectic Divisions	
Valley Division	
Foot-hill Division	
Relations of Dialectic Groups	. 313
Lexical Relations of Dialects	. 316
Phonetic Relations of Dialects	
Grammatical Relations of Dialects	333
Personal Pronouns	334
Demonstratives	. 337
Verbal Suffixes	. 337
Composition and Derivation	339
Reduplication	343
Summary	346
The Various Dialects	347
Paleuyami	347
Buona Vista Group	
Wükehamni	351
Chukaimina and Michahai	351
Aiticha	351
Choinimni	352
Gashowu	352
Kechayi	353
Dumna	353
Tottiehi	354
Chukchausi	357
Chapehila	358
Hoyima	359
Wakichi	359
Wechikhit	360
Nutunuta	360
Tachi	361
Chunut	362
Wo'lasi	363
Choinok	
Texts in Various Dialects	
Status of Volute Among the Languages of California	

### THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

The Indians of the Yokuts linguistic family, sometimes also called Mariposan, inhabited the southern end of the San Joaquin basin in California. Roughly, their territory extended from the Sierra Nevada to the Coast Range, and from the Tehachapi mountains which shut off the San Joaquin basin on the south from the desert, to the Fresno and Chowchilla rivers in the north. The higher Sierras all along this territory, and certain foothill regions in the south, were occupied by Indians belonging to the Shoshonean family. The great level stretch of valley throughout, and in most cases the foothills also, were occupied by the Yokuts. A detached branch of the family, known as the Cholovone, inhabited a small area on the east bank of the San Joaquin, in the vicinity of Stockton, considerably nearer the mouth of this river than the remainder of the stock. The Cholovone are perhaps entirely extinct and are certainly practically so. Their language is unknown except from one published vocabulary, which shows it to have been a Yokuts dialect not very different from the remainder of the family.

The Yokuts were divided into a large number of groups somewhat resembling small tribes. As is not uncommon in California, each of these groups had a dialect, but, what is unusual in California, each had a distinct tribal name as well. The various dialects are on the whole closely related. Their general structure and their phonetic system are virtually identical. There is also considerable similarity in vocabulary. It is probable that Indians from Kern river and from Fresno river could have conversed,

and that they could have learned to understand each other perfeetly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Palcuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry ereek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the universal tabu of the names of the dead; but it is scarcely possible that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.