

A decorative border surrounds the central text area, featuring various indigenous symbols including a ship's wheel, a lizard, a sun, a bird, a fish, a star, a person, a deer, and a star.

# FLUTES OF FIRE



ESSAYS ON  
CALIFORNIA INDIAN  
LANGUAGES

*Leanne Hinton*

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▲ PART II

▲ Language and History

Quite a while after this a great change came over the world. It happened one night. The people were burning offerings for the dead, when suddenly everybody began to speak a different language; only each man and wife spoke the same language. Earth Initiate came to Kuksu in the night and told him about it, and instructed him what to do. When morning came Kuksu, who was able to speak all the languages, called the people together, taught them how to cook and to hunt, gave them all their laws, and set the time for all their dances and festivals. Then he sent the warriors to the north, the singers to the west, the fluteplayers to the east, and the dancers to the south. He told them that was where they were to live.

—from a Maidu creation story in  
Gifford and Block, *Californian Indian Nights*, p. 91

In Part I, we saw ways in which language displays and expresses culture. Language also expresses the *history* of its speakers. I begin this section with an overview of language families in California, and a discussion of what this might have to say about the relationships Californian peoples have to each other and to Native Americans elsewhere. The study of language relationships can give us information about the history of migrations of people, and the history of their cultures. In Chapter 7, “What Language Can Tell Us About History,” we show how linguistic detective work—looking at the origin of the names people have for the plants and animals around them—can help us understand where they might have come from before arriving at their present locations. The last two chapters of Part II bring us to modern times, showing the influence of European and Native Californian languages on each other. In Chapter 8, “Native Californian Names on the Land,” we look at present-day California place names and discover what they say about our state’s Native American heritage. This section ends with Chapter 9, “History Through the Words Brought to California by the Fort Ross Colony,” an article by Robert Oswalt on the effect that the 19th century Russian fur trade had on Kashaya Pomo nouns.

## Language Families in California

After a while each man took a girl. They set out in different directions—one pair to the East, one to the South, one to the North, one to the West; two remained in the center of the earth. Then they began to multiply and raised a great many *real people*. Each group began to talk differently from the others and later each became a separate tribe. This was the beginning of the different Indian languages and tribes of California.

—Woiche, Annikadel: *The History of the Universe as Told by the Achumawi Indians of California*, p. 160

There is a tribe in Baja California called the Paipai, whose language is very similar to three closely related languages hundreds of miles away in Arizona: Yavapai, Hualapai and Havasupai. Predictably, these are sometimes called the “Pai” languages. This similarity would not be remarkable if the tribes all lived next door to each other, but there are in fact a number of very different languages in between the Paipais’ home and the Arizona languages. Linguists visiting the Arizona communities over the years have mentioned to the Yavapais and others the existence of this very similar language. This made folks curious, and so there have been several expeditions in recent years by the Yavapais to visit the Paipais. The languages are different, but close enough so that someone speaking Yavapai can understand a fair portion of what someone speaking Paipai says. (The biggest communication problem centers around borrowed words—the Paipais borrow new words from Spanish, the Yavapais from English.) It turns out that the Yavapais have in their oral tradition a historical account saying that a Yavapai band got into a feud with their relatives and departed forever, heading south. Paipais have a similar kind of account as well in their origin tale. This migration may have taken place as recently as two to three hundred years ago.

During these few centuries, the languages have been changing, as languages always do. But the similarity is obvious enough to tell us that they come from the same source; that the ancestors of the speakers of Paipai and the Arizona Pai languages once lived together and spoke the same language.

The history of humankind consists of untold thousands of such migrations. Migration might be motivated by social divisions, such as the feud mentioned in the Yavapai and Paipai oral histories; or it might be motivated by overpopulation, dwindling resources, or just the yearning to go somewhere new. While it is probably an oversimplification to suggest that, at one time, there was only one language in the world, it must nevertheless be the case that at the dawn of human existence there

were relatively few speech varieties. As new communities split off and became isolated from each other, speech patterns diverged too. As the centuries and millennia passed, the new communities formed by the original migration would themselves split and differentiate, creating an ever-increasing number of branches on a "family tree" of languages. The six thousand or so languages that are spoken in the world today are all products of this process of language divergence, as were the many thousands of languages that have already disappeared from the face of the earth.

It is not just migration that leads to new varieties of language: *language shift* plays a big role in the history of language divergence too. Through reasons involving such diverse social events as intermarriage and conquest, a group may, after a generation or more of bilingualism, abandon their old language and take on the language of the other group. One example of that process is the Native Californians of today, most of whom no longer speak their languages of ancestry, but have shifted to the use of English. Thus we cannot say that the *speakers* of closely related languages necessarily descended from a single population. But linguists use a metaphor of genetic relationship in their discussion of languages: languages are said to be "genetically related" if they descend from a common ancestral language; groups of related languages are called "language families." And a diagram of language relationships is called a "family tree."

The longer that two languages have been separated from each other, the more different they become. After ten thousand years or so, languages become so different from each other that the relationship

between them is no longer detectable. Language families, then, consist of languages that have not been separated from each other long enough for their similarities to disappear. We can work on the assumption, though it is an oversimplification, that for each language family, all the languages descend from a single language in a single location that was spoken long ago, before the people of the original community separated.

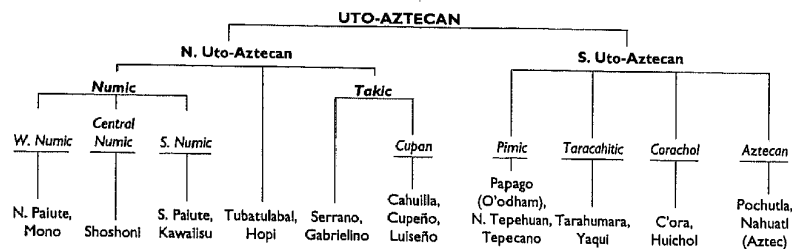
Given the linguistic diversity of California that we have already described, it is no surprise that there are more different language families here than any other state or region in our country. The Pai languages whose tale began this chapter form a branch of the Yuman family, which includes languages located in Arizona, southern California and Baja California. Some language families encompass places far outside California. For example, Yurok and Wiyot belong to the same family as the Algonquian languages of Canada and the northeastern United States.

Gifford and Block give two other important examples:

Two of the linguistic families, found in California, are also widely represented elsewhere in North America. One of these is the Athapaskan\* family, to which belong Hupa, Kato, and several other languages of California. There are also Athapaskan groups in Oregon, and a great mass of Athapaskan tribes in the Canadian Northwest, and Alaska. The Apache and Navaho of the Southwest are also Athapascans. In spite of this linguistic relationship of the California Athapascans we find that culturally they are like their non-Athapaskan neighbors and unlike their linguistic relatives in Alaska and the Southwest. This holds especially in the matter of mythology and folk-tales, although the immediate neighbors of, say, the Hupa, namely the Karok and Yurok, speak languages as different from Hupa as Chinese is from English. Hupa mythology nevertheless closely resembles that of the Yurok and Karok, and is quite different from that of the Navaho and Apache. In other words, the Californian Athapascans have become thoroughly acculturated to the civilization of California, even though still continuing to use their original Athapaskan speech.

The second great linguistic family extensively represented in California, as well as elsewhere, is the Shoshonean. In California, the Mono,

## Uto-Aztecan Family Tree



Language names are at the bottom. All other labels are family or sub-family groupings. (Not all of the Uto-Aztecan languages are listed here.)

\* Spelled "Athabaskan" in this book.

Paiute, Koso, Luiseño, Gabrielino and various other tribes belong to this family. Outside of California such peoples as the Bannock of Wyoming and Idaho, the Shoshoni of Idaho, the Ute of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, the Hopi of Arizona, and the Comanche of Texas belong to the Shoshonean family. Moreover, the Shoshonean family long ago was shown to be closely related to the Aztekan group of languages in Mexico, so that it is really more correct to speak of the Uto-Aztekan\* linguistic family than it is to speak of the Shoshonean and Aztekan families. The term Uto has been used in the compound name to take the place of Shoshonean. (Gifford and Block 1990, 16)

California also has *language isolates*, that is, languages with no known living relatives. Yuki and Wappo, for example, may be language isolates, although some people think they are related to each other. It cannot be the case that these languages were *never* related to other languages; most likely, it means that the related languages disappeared sometime in the past.

We can tell that two languages belong to the same family by finding similarities between them. By way of illustration, a set of Hupa and Navajo words are shown in the box on this page. Ignoring the accent

\* Present spelling is "Uto-Aztecan."

### Hupa and Navajo words compared

The dash in front means that the word always has some kind of prefix. The prefixes have been left off here for ease of comparison.

HUPA	NAVAJO	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
-de'	-dèè'	horn (of animal)
-ta'	tàà'	father
taak'	táá'	three
tin	-tìin	road, path
-yang	-yā	eat
-chiiij	-chíí'	be red
-xe'	-kèè'	foot
-naa'	-náá'	eye
-sit'	-zìd	liver
-mit'	-bìd	stomach

marks of Navajo (which represent tone), one can see that the words have a striking similarity to each other. There are some differences, of course—otherwise they wouldn't be different languages. Navajo may have a long vowel (such as aa) while Hupa has a short vowel (a). Navajo regularly has a nasalized vowel (such as ã) where the Hupa word has a vowel followed by n or ng. A Hupa word with x, s, or m, will regularly match up with Navajo k, z, and b, respectively. In some cases where Hupa has a consonant at the end of a word, that consonant has disappeared in the Navajo word. But these are consistent differences that just go to show how the sounds of languages change over time in an orderly fashion. In any case, it is easy to see that Hupa and Navajo are related.

For the language families we have mentioned so far, the relationship between the member languages is very clear. But some relationships that go back to a deeper time level are not so clear. For these deep-time groups I will use the term *stocks*, and reserve the name *family* for the closer, more certain relationships.\* Two of these ancient stocks in California are Hokan and Penutian. These two names were invented based on the word for "two." Hokan languages have a word something like **hok** for two; and some Penutian languages have a word like **pen**, while others use a word like **uti**. Some linguists are convinced that these two groupings represent valid relationships, and others are not. Hokan and Penutian actually contain whole language families within them: for example, Hokan includes the Pomoan family (Kashaya, Northern Pomo, Southern Pomo, Southeastern Pomo, etc.) and Yuman (Diegueño, Mojave, Paipai, etc.), along with many other families and languages; and Penutian includes the families of Wintun, Maidun, Miwokan, Costanoan, and others. If Hokan and Penutian are valid groupings, they are many thousands of years old—close to the limit of what can be detected by the comparative method described here.

It is widely, but not universally, believed that there have been at least three major migrations to the Americas across the Bering Strait. The most

\* The terms "stock" and "family" are used all sorts of different ways in the linguistic literature: some writings use only one or the other to refer to any language grouping; and note that in the quote on the next page Kroeber reverses the usage, making "stock" the smaller grouping and "family" the larger grouping.

The Penutian family has recently been established by a union of five stocks—Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, Costanoan, and Yokuts. Two of these, Miwok and Costanoan, indeed had long been suspected to have affinity, and certain resemblances had also become apparent between Wintun and Maidu and Maidu and Yokuts. A systematic comparison revealed a unitary basis underlying all the languages. Miwok and Costanoan form a subgroup in which some form of the vocable **uti** is employed in the sense of “two.” In the three other languages this numeral is **pene**, **ponoi**, **panotl**. They may therefore be designated as the “pen” subgroup. From the combination of these two words comes the appellation of the whole family: Pen-uti-an. It is always unfortunate when names must be arbitrarily coined, but native terminology offers no assistance, there is no suitable geographical term available, and an artificial designation of some sort was inevitable.

—Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, p. 347

recent people to migrate were the Eskimo-Aleut, about 2,000 years ago; before that were the Na Dene,\* perhaps 6,000 years ago; and long previous was a major migration across the Bering Strait land bridge during the last glaciation, perhaps 12,000 to 15,000 years ago. There may also have been people in the Americas long before that, but archaeologists have not found definite proof of this.\*\*

Whether or not the migration of 12,000 to 15,000 years ago was the first, it was definitely major, and it is quite likely that only a few language families made that crossing. My reason for this claim is that in inhospitable climates, people have to use a vast amount of land to find adequate resources for survival, so that a single cultural group and hence a single language or language family is likely to dominate the entire region (Sherzer 1976). On the other hand, as people move on to more hospitable areas, new linguistic families replace them, and it is likely that over the several thousand years that the Bering Strait land bridge was

\* Na Dene is the stock that includes the Athabascan family.

\*\* The land bridge was also open for several periods between 30,000 and 32,000 years ago, and there were humans living in Siberia as long as 35,000 years ago, so the possibility of crossing the bridge at that earlier date seems reasonable.

## Etymology of the name “Penutian”

The word for “two” in Wintun, Maidun, and Yokuts languages generally begins with **p** followed by some vowel followed by **n** (or sometimes **l** or **m**); the word for “two” in Miwok and Costanoan languages begins with **oti** or **uti** or some similar form. The name for the language stock that all these languages belong to is “Penutian,” based on these two different words for “two.”\*\*

### Wintun

Wintu	pale-t
Nomlaki	pale-t
Patwin	pampa-ta

### Maidun

Konkow	pene
Maidu	pene
Nisenan	pen

### Yokuts

Main Valley	ponoi
Palewyami	pungi
Northern Valley	punoi
Kings River	punoi
Tule-Kaweah	pongoi
Buena Vista	pongoi

### Miwok

Sierra	oti-ko
Plains	oyo-ke
Lake	otta
Coast	ossa

### Costanoan/ Ohlone

Tamyen	utsi-n, uti-n
Awaswas	uthin
Mutsun	utxi-n
Rumsen	uti-s

\* Words based on Dixon and Kroeber, 1919.

intermittently open, several different groups came to the region and passed into the Americas. This would suggest that, at that exceedingly deep time level, most of the languages of the Americas are related to each other and they could be classified into a very few language stocks if our linguistic tools were adequate.

Indeed, Joseph Greenberg (1987) claims to be able to detect relationships among the Native American languages by comparing them to the extent that he can collapse all but Na Dene and Eskimo-Aleut into a single stock which he calls *Amerindian*, but his work has been roundly criticized for problems in methodology. On the other end of the continuum, Campbell and Mithun (1979) argue that languages should not be classified together until very careful scholarship proves them to be related. This led Campbell and Mithun to posit no fewer than 55 families and isolates in North America, pending further research. A completely different approach has been taken recently by Johanna Nichols (1992), who studies comparative grammar rather than vocabulary; by her new methods she has suggested that Native American languages are so different from each other that they must have been diverging for much longer than 15,000 years. This supports the theory that the Americas were populated before then.

It is not possible to assert who is "right" in this debate, and it may never be. No matter what method we use in our attempts to determine relationships, we are limited by the fact that by definition, language change is the slow erasure of the record of those relationships, so that eventually all possible traces will disappear, except for constant basic similarities that are present in *all* languages. This should remind us that we are all, in fact, part of one human family.

### Classification of the languages of California

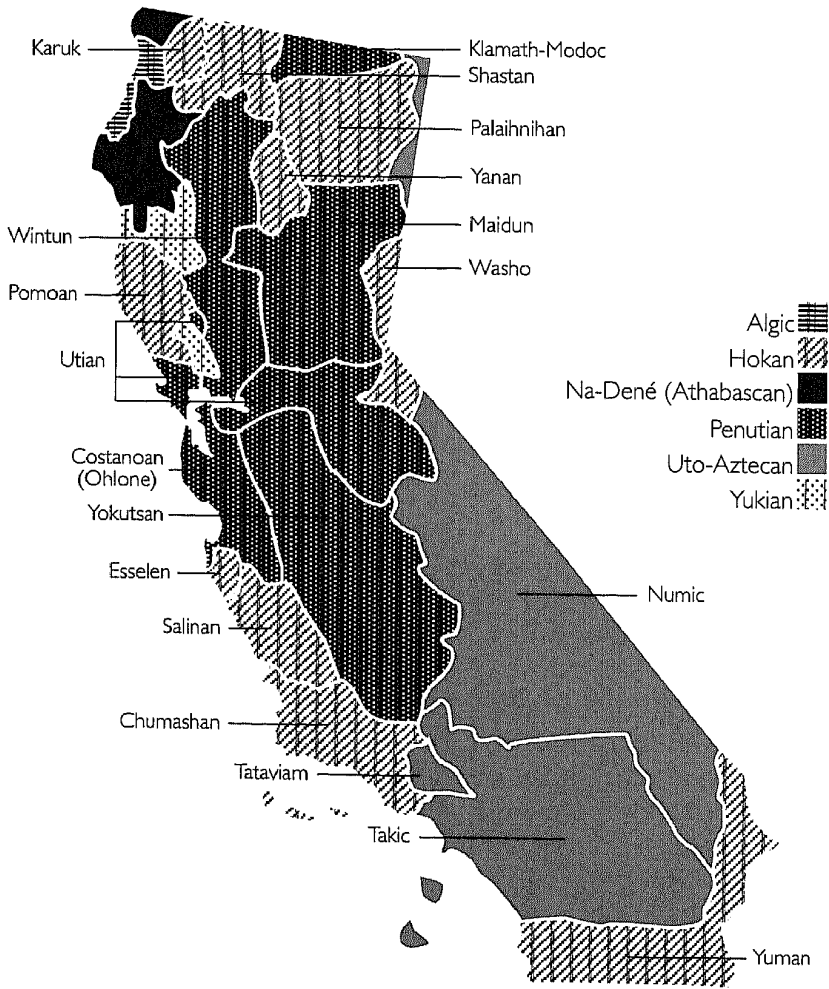
Membership of some languages in some families is uncertain, so every source will show minor differences in classification. Here is one way of classifying the languages of California. A question mark means membership in a stock or family is questionable.

Stock or Family	Family/Branch*	Languages in California
Hokan	—	Washo
	—	Esselen
	—	Karuk
	—	Salinan
	Shastan	Shasta
	Palaihnihan	Achumawi, Atsugewi
	Yanan	Northern Yana, Central Yana, Yahi
	Pomoan	Northern, Northeastern, Eastern, Central, Southeastern, Southern, and Kashaya Pomo
	Yuman	Quechan, Mojave, Diegueño, Cocopa
	Chumashan(?)**	Obispeño, Barbareño, Ventureño, etc.
Penutian	Wintun	Wintu, Nomlaki, Patwin
	Maidun	Northeastern Maidu, Konkow, Nisenan
Utian	Miwokan	Lake Miwok, Coast Miwok, Bay Miwok, Plains Miwok, Northern Sierra Miwok, East Central Sierra Miwok, West Central Sierra Miwok, Southern Sierra Miwok.

\* A smaller grouping of languages within a family would be called a "branch." A dash in this column means that the language is not part of any subgroup of the stock or family in the first column.

\*\* The uncertainty is not whether Obispeño et al. are Chumashan, but rather whether Chumashan is Hokan.

Language Families  
in Native California



Stock or Family	Family/Branch	Languages in California
Utian (continued)	Costanoan (Ohlone)	Karkin, Chochenyo, Tamien, Ramaytush, Awaswas, Rumsen, Mutsun, and Chalon.
	Yokutsan	Choynumni, Chukchansi, Dumna, Tachi, Wukchumne, Yowlumni, Gashowu.
	Klamath-Modoc	Modoc
Algic	—	Yurok
	—	Wiyot
Na Dené	Algonquian	(none in California)
	Athabascan	Tolowa, Hupa, Chilula, Whilkut, Mattole, Nongatl, Sinkyone, Lassik, Wailaki, Cahto.
Uto-Aztecan	Numic	Mono, Owens Valley Paiute, Northern Paiute, Shoshoni, Kawaiisu, Chemehuevi
	Takic	Serrano, Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño, Gabrielino, Juaneño, Fernandeño, Kitanemuk.
	Tataviam	
Yukian*	—	Yuki, Wappo.

\* The family relationship between Yuki and Wappo is not firmly established.



## What Language Can Tell Us About History

Now the older stood on the east, the younger on the west, both facing the south. It had been night but now it was becoming morning. Then the older said, "The darkness comes from the east and goes west and I will follow it. Now I have another name. My name is Agāga-hatšyara [crow]. I will go to the Kamia. I will never return. I will be crow and will not come to this country." Then he followed the darkness to the southwest.

—Kroeber, *Seven Mohave Myths*, p. 40

Long ago, there was a village of people living in the interior region of northwest California. Encoded in their language was their way of life: they hunted deer and fished for salmon in the rivers, and named these important animals. They named the acorn mush that they made from the black oak, and named the willow and sedge that they used to make their baskets. They named the wild tobacco that they smoked ceremonially. Outside the village, people might see mountain lions and grizzlies, foxes, wild geese, vultures, gopher snakes, and common kingsnakes; at night there were owls, nighthawks and striped skunks. Whatever they knew, they named, in their language that was ancestral to the modern Wintun languages. Their descendants still use names that descend from those long-ago words.

Life was rich and food was plentiful. But, as is always true of human beings, things never were perfect. There may have been a time when people in the village quarrelled over something; or perhaps some people just began to find that they had to go too far away to set up their fishing traps. For whatever reason, some of the people decided to split off and build another village, south a ways. This sort of process could have gone on for centuries, with new villages developing further and further south, until Wintuns were all up and down the Sacramento River and in the western part of the Sacramento Valley. By then the language had begun to differentiate, so that instead of one language, there were several—now known to some as Wintu, Nomlaki, and furthest south, Patwin. As the villages spread southward, the people came into contact with new neighbors and new plants and animals that they had no names for. The southern regions of the valley had different kinds of pine, California juniper, manzanita, buckeye, interior live oak, and blue oak. There were probably even condors there, although it was still far to the north of the final stronghold of the condors of our own lives. Having no names for these species, they had to find words for them somehow. The ancestors

of the Patwin had new neighbors in their new location, the Miwoks—and one source of new words was to borrow them from those who already had them.

Villages were often abandoned, or taken over by another group; sometimes intermarriage with people who spoke another language would cause the language of a village to shift. It is possible, then, that the original Wintun community from which all these other communities descended might itself have disappeared.

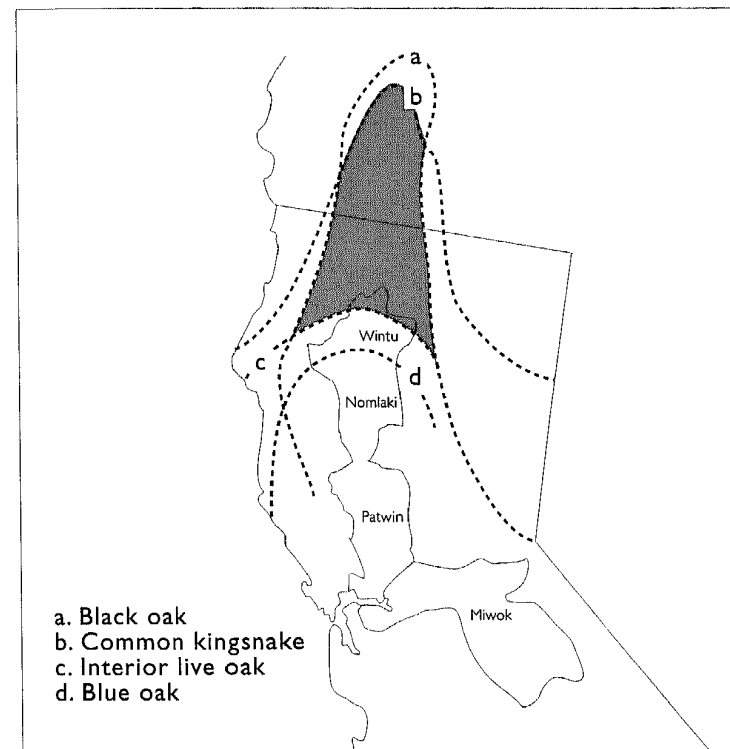
If all this happened, it happened very long ago. The question is, how can we possibly find out anything about it now? The examination of the mystery of how and where people lived long ago is a kind of detective work, and language is full of clues for interested detectives to use.

The first important clues from the Wintun languages are all the words that they have in common. There are so many words that are similar between Wintu, Nomlaki and Patwin that we can be sure they are closely related. And if these languages are related, it means that the linguistic ancestors of the Wintu, Nomlaki and Patwin peoples long ago

### Some Patwin words adopted from Miwok

	PROTO-EASTERN MIWOK	PATWIN
Pine nut	sanak	sanak
Gray pine	sak:y	chusak
Live oak	sa:sa	sa:sa
	PROTO MIWOK	
Manzanita	'e:je	'e:ye, 'e:ya
Buckeye	'u:nu	'u:no, 'u:nu
Blue (oak)	mul (blue, black)	mu:le (blue oak)
Chief's wife	ma:jVn	mayin
	PROTO-WESTERN MIWOK	
Redwood	lúme	lúmani
	PROTO-SIERRA MIWOK	
Condor	mol:ok	mo:lok

The Miwok words are all reconstructed—that is, a word the way we think it sounded in an ancestral (proto-) language. "V" in a reconstructed word means there was a vowel there, but we don't know what vowel it was.

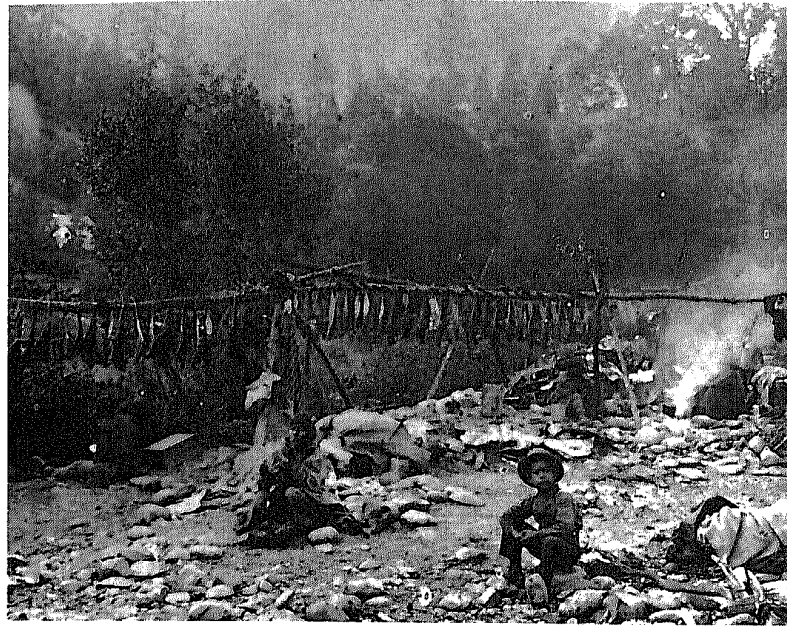


The lines on the map show the northern boundaries of several plant and animal species. Lines a and b are for species with names reconstructed from Proto-Wintun, and so the ancestral homeland of the Wintun must have been south of those lines. Lines c and d are for species that the Patwin had to borrow words for, suggesting that the original Wintun homeland was north of these lines. The shaded area shows the area most likely to contain the Proto-Wintun homeland.

lived together somewhere and spoke the same language. So the next mystery is, where might it be that they lived?

We can get some clues by looking at the words borrowed by the Patwins from the Miwoks.\* We can reason that if the ancestors of the Patwins lived where there were buckeyes, or blue oaks, or condors, then they would already have words for these, and wouldn't need to adopt new words for them from the Miwoks. So if the Patwins do have

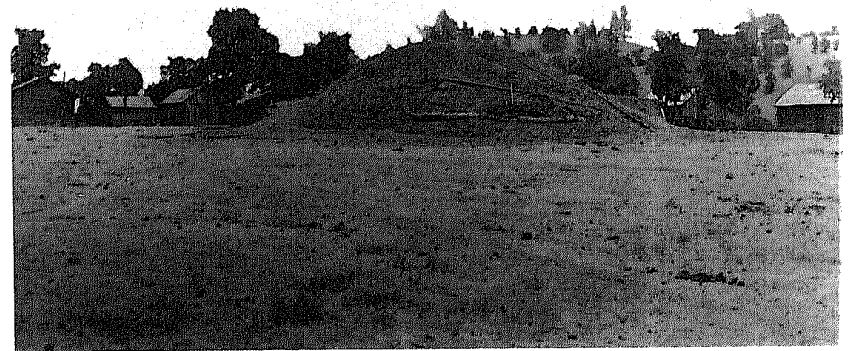
\* This presentation is based on Whistler 1977.



*The Wintu scene along the McCloud River (above) is a markedly different environment than the oak woodlands of the Patwin (right), though both are Wintun groups. Photo above courtesy of California State Parks.*

borrowed Miwok words for these plants and animals, it may well mean that the ancestors of the Patwins came from a place where these did not exist. Some of the Patwin words that look like they might be Miwok borrowings are **sa:sa** (interior live oak), **'u:no** (buckeye), **mo:lok** (condor), **mon** (California juniper), **mu:le** (blue oak), **'e:ye** (manzanita), and **chusak** (gray pine). These are thought to be borrowed words for two reasons: (1) they sound very much like words for the same plants and animals in Miwok, and (2) they are not found in other Wintun languages, only Patwin.

So deductive logic leads us to believe that the original Wintun people lived where there were no interior live oak, buckeye, condors, etc. This suggests that the original community might have been out of the range of California's foothill woodland and chaparral communities. They also borrowed a word for redwood, suggesting that they did not live near the coast, where the redwood grows.



*A Patwin roundhouse near Colusa. Photo courtesy of Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology.*

We can also tell something about where the Wintun ancestors lived by looking at words that were not borrowed, but are instead in all the Wintun languages, suggesting that they were present in the original Wintun community. There are Proto-Wintun\* words for poison oak, which only grows in the west, for black oak acorns and acorn mush, suggesting that they lived somewhere with access to oaks (but not to some of the species found in the Sacramento Valley), and for salmon, indicating that they lived in northern California or north of California, perhaps Oregon. There is also a Proto-Wintun word for the common kingsnake, whose range extends only a little north of the California border. The Wintun ancestors, we can conclude, lived somewhere where all these species overlap. This suggests an area in interior northern California or southern Oregon. The original Wintun

\* A "proto-language" is the language ancestral to a group of modern languages. Through extrapolation from the modern words, we can make an educated guess about what some of the words in this proto-language were and what they sounded like.

### Some words reconstructed from Proto-Wintun

chil bear (probably grizzly)  
 handVp common kingsnake  
 hi:n owl (short-eared or great horned)  
 ha:w fox  
 hus turkey vulture  
 kuhum basketroot (sedge?)  
 lol wild tobacco  
 lup to eat acorn mush with fingers  
 mo: large willow sp.  
 no:p deer  
 nur, hur salmon  
 pate mountain lion  
 penel California black oak acorn  
 qho: striped skunk  
 qo:l-tep nighthawk (lit. "mouth-open")

community, then, was somewhere north of the present northernmost Wintun communities.

And so it is that our languages carry clues to our own histories. We might also wonder how this slow progression of villages was achieved; did the Wintun ancestors fight other people for the land, or was it accomplished peacefully? Archaeological studies suggest some initial conflict.\* But while we can never know all the details of history just from a few linguistic clues, there is one word that suggests that the conflict might have been resolved in the long run by people's great efforts and ingenuity. The Patwin word for "chief's wife" is *mayin*, also borrowed from Miwok. This borrowing suggests that there might have been intermarriage between the Patwin and the Miwok at high social levels, a frequent custom throughout California, and indeed the world, that can ensure the peaceful coexistence of communities.

Native American tradition views people as the product, the offspring, of their land. As Matt Vera (Yowhumni Yokuts) writes,

Our bodies were made from the sacred earth, our beautifully colored skin

\* This is based on burials in the Patwin-Miwok area with arrowheads embedded in them. (David Fredrickson, personal communication.)

given to us by the sacred fire. The breath of life came to us from the sacred sky. In our bodies flowed the unending sacred rivers. By all the sacredness blending together—earth, fire, air and water—our bodies and blood were created. Through these sacred elements, the people lived and were connected to everything. (Vera 1993, 19)

From this point of view, it is senseless to try to find out when people arrived at a certain location long ago; people were created where their land is. Matt's mother, Agnes Vera, once pointed out to me their sacred mountain where the creation took place, and said her family always tries to live within sight of it.

This religious view, of being so deeply connected to a particular place that a people simply sprang up from it, is almost inconceivable to Europeans, whose history is so rife with migrations that many of us feel that moving somewhere else is the way we carry on our family traditions. Thus European and European-American traditions mythologize "the Journey." Whole genres of novels about the history of the peopling of America focus on the migration itself—for European-American migration, the symbols are the *Mayflower* and the wagon train. For Native Americans, Western culture has now created a new myth, popularized in many novels, of migration over the Bering Strait. We are enthralled by the vision of small Siberian communities living at the threshold of the New World, struggling to stay alive during the long harsh winters, poised for the journey that will ultimately lead them to an earthly paradise never before touched by human feet.

This chapter focused on the Journey, using language as the data to allow speculation about answers to the questions that arise from European-American romanticization of human migrations. Many Native American groups have legends about their own migrations. But for others, the moment of arrival has no interest. As Karuk Indian doctor Jeanerette Jacups-Johnny said to me recently, it doesn't matter whether the Karuk arrived at the Klamath River one thousand or two thousand or ten thousand years ago (the last number is the most likely). From the Karuk point of view, they are tied so closely to their land that the land is in them and part of them, and essential to their self-definition. The same is certainly true of the Patwin.