# THE VILLAGE SITES IN TOLOWA AND NEIGHBORING AREAS IN NORTHWESTERN CALIFORNIA

#### By T. T. WATERMAN

**T**N THE year 1909 Dr. Kroeber dispatched me to Northern California to look into the native life existing among the Yurok. The fruits of my brief labors there have appeared in part in print, though one paper, "Yurok Culture," is still in storage in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York. It contains the only detailed account of the northwestern California house. In the intervals of my business with the Yurok I used to look across the bay to distant Point St. George, dim, romantic and far away, and my soul took fire to wander thither and work with the Tolowa. Mr. Heye, to whose institution I committed my fortunes in 1921, actually sent me to the Tolowa territory to collect specimens for him, and accordingly during a month of that summer I lived in Crescent City, carrying out, at my own expense, some investigations on local ethnology. So little has been said about the Tolowa, that an essay on their habitat may interest the readers of the Anthropologist. They are an unusually interesting group, to me, very different in some respects from the Yurok.

Everyone, I think, is familiar with the fact that a somewhat peculiar way of living characterizes the northwest California tribes. Native life changes quite rapidly as one goes northward into Oregon. The Yurok, the Hupa, and the Karok have a somewhat highly specialized "house complex." For example, among the Yurok every house has a name. The Tolowa to the north of them have apparently no names for houses. In fact, when we leave the Yurok we have to pass almost to Alaska before we again find the custom of naming dwellings. There is, in fact, quite a sharp line both in this and in other matters between the Yurok and the Tolowa, although they live together on one stretch of coast. The Tolowa maintained close contact by trail over the mountains with the Karok, more so than they did with the Yurok who lived within view of them on the beach. "Money" made of *dentalium*  shell which is an important feature of native life in Northwestern California, came to the Tolowa from Vancouver Island, was traded by them to the Karok, and then passed by the Karok to the Yurok. We may, however, pass by the whole matter of



Map illustrating the territory of the Tolowa Indians in northwestern California. Adapted from the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Chart 5702.

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cultural relations, with the remark that when we go from the Yurok northward to the Tolowa we pass rapidly out of a highly developed California culture into the much more primitive culture of Oregon. Why the Tolowa and the Oregon tribes are more

simple in their way of living I confess I do not know. The life of the Yurok exhibits many analogues with that of the distant Kwakiutl and Haida far to the north (and other North Pacific tribes). The "high" culture level is encountered in California but seems to vault over the Oregon coast tribes, reappearing and reaching a very high pinnacle in distant British Columbia and Alaska. This seems to imply some sort of a degeneration of culture among the Oregon tribes, for the high culture of California and Alaska must at one time have been continuous. A curious thing this is, and needs some sort of explanation.

Some years ago I became infected with a geographical bacillus and so when I arrived among the Tolowa in 1921 the matter which first claimed my attention was local geography. Several investigators had worked more or less with the region before I got there; Sapir, Goddard, Gifford, and especially J. O. Dorsey, who left some valuable geographical notes. The best account of Tolowa life is that of Stephen Powers. In fact, his is the only account accessible.<sup>1</sup>

The point of most interest for readers of the Anthropologist is perhaps the location of the Tolowa villages. I give herewith a list compiled with the help of native informants, adding for comparison the terms supplied in Dorsey's work and the names applied to these villages by the Yurok.

Comment. The "receptacle" mentioned in table I, under B, is a cooking-basket, made in a water-tight weave. The English term "Bucket ranch" is an approximate translation of the Indian name. Yontucket (D) the name of a village appearing on the local maps is a somewhat Anglicized pronunciation of the native name. Lake Earl of our maps is either a transliteration of the Yurok ErL, or Yurok ErL is the Yurok pronunciation of English Earl. The former seems to be the case. Tolowa Tayia'te, "pointing sea-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. Sapir, Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, American Anthropologist, n. s, vol. 9, 1907; Takelma Texts, *in* University of Pennsylvania Anthropological Publications, vol. 2, 1909; J. O. Dorsey, The Gentile System of the Siletz Tribes, Journal of American Folklore, vol. 1, 1888; Stephen Powers, Tribes of California, U. S. Interior Department, Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3.

	I. NAMES OF THE TOLOWA VILLAGE	S
English Names for the villages	Names in the Tolowa language	Names in the Yurok language
A Siesta Peak ranch <sup>2</sup> at the mout of Smith River.	h xawInwet	Hi´nei
B Bucket ranch, in the cañon of Smith River	of xatsa' <sup>3</sup> —xotô'ttne, "receptacle be- low"	Mī´stīks
C Site up-stream from the las named on Smith River	st Minitce'nten, "close to the hill"	Lo´genoL, "where a fish-dam is customarily."
D Yontucket ranch	Yδ <sup>n</sup> -t´akit, "east, high in the"	Tola'k <sup>w</sup>
E A suburb of the above name town	d	
F Lake Earl Ranch	E'tculet, "land great upon"	Erl
G Point St. George ranch	Taγi'a'te, "pointing seaward"	Knä'äwi, "extended"
H Saddle Rock ranch	Sa <sup>3</sup> staso <sup>n</sup> , "spoon-holder"	
I	Tatj <sup>n</sup> ti <sup>n</sup> ,	A'tägen'
I Pebble Beach ranch	Meslteln,	Cäícoi
K Crescent City ranch	Seʻ: niñ hat, "rock flat"	Kδhpe
L Another village just inside th		-
promontory at Crescent Cit		(
M Nickel Creek ranch	Cinya'tLtci	$N\epsilon k\epsilon' L$ , "end of beach"
N South Fork ranch	Nemso ten, "houses there"	• • • •

<sup>2</sup> Meaning "Indian village"; from the Spanish rancheria, meaning ranch buildings, offices and employees' quarters, the abode, literally, of the ranchero, or owner. The vaqueros and other minor functionaries were mostly Indians in the old days, and I presume rancheria thus came to signify an Indian settlement.

Yurok names		Tolowa names	
aiqo''o,	"basket"		
otsepo'r	"where it is steep"		
lo'ole´go	"where fish-weir they build"		
oslego'its	"where it descends"		
Osmemo'rl	"where it slides"		
weitspūs	"confluence"	Ltcoill´ntEn	"confluence place"
pek <sup>wu</sup> tul	"pile of rocks"	kwe´setesa´wit	"middle ridge"
rLrgr		t'oñcen-mo <sup>i</sup> tun,	"myrtles, at end of something"
wa´hsek	• • • •	xaitutucitEn	"naming-is-forbidden place"
qe´nek	• • • •	to´nLtEn, rock"	"tearing place"; or ce-LCIN, "black
tse´tskwi			
qe'nek-pul,	"down-stream from qe'nek"		
aukweya			
me´rip	• • • •		
wa´ase	"poor"	nocusne'LtEn	"throwing in hearts"
ke´pel	"house-pit"	Esta'kit,	"fish weir"
sa'a	• • • •		
murek	"cooking basket"(?)	nonia ten	"end of a ridge"
himer		• • • •	
we´iqem		• • • •	<i>"</i> , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
no′xtskum		cq-tc'awisten,	" foaming place"
ke´peror		• • • •	

II. LIST OF YUROK TOWNS, WITH NAMES APPLIED TO THEM BY THE TOLOWA

meta´ ke´ikem srego´n yo´xtr pe kwan qo´otep	
wo'xtek woxke'ro otsä'i tekta srpr ä'yol nagil r'nr ho'wego rli'i ken-pets sto'wen	"laurel" (pepperwood) "where it is sandy"
tu´rip sä´äL trwr wo'ke'l ho´'pa <sup>w</sup> re´kwoi tmr´i weLkwä <sup>w</sup>	"invisible people" "pepperwood" "mouth of a stream"

me:ko´nten,	"a certain species of vine"
xage-xana´1tli,	"new settlement"
γicete´ten saxo´ten	"hopper basket" "stream place" (the town straddles a brook)
xaieneni´ñcut,	"small creek half way"
• • • •	
t'uas€´tEn	"big prairie on top"
 s€-€kw£t, 	"rock, village upon"
nucu-kwe´tc'esxu xak™ti′ten tciu³tLiten,	"hiding a misdeed" "blue berries" "invisible people"
t'ocenten tasni´lten tatciten k´esme, hwe´ngenme	"pepperwood place" "stirring acorn mush place" "steaming place" "alders inside" "door, inside of"

tsekweL o´men o´men-hipur o´segen äspä´ <sup>w</sup> otmekwo´R	"drinking place"	tagetLtsa´atEn ts'ide-tcit xδstci´t tce´tcEntEn,	"the land opens inward" "elbow in" (i.e., "in an elbow") "breakers"
si gwets ore q <sup>w</sup> tsa pek <sup>w</sup>	<i>"</i> 1 <b>4</b>	sus-nase'ten menγettcu'ten	"wood drifting" "gravel"
hrgwr tso´tskwi	"large"		
oke´to	"lagoon"	tcesle'xtem	"still water"
ke'ikun	• • • •	• • • •	
oslo´q*			
pä´'är		• • • •	
pi npa			
mä´'äts tsu´rai	"mountain"	ne´nısten	"smooth ocean"

ward," for Point St. George ranch, and the corresponding Yurok name knä'äwi, "extended," are both fairly descriptive of the site, which lay on the side of the promontory. Saddle Rock ranch (H) gets its Tolowa name "spoon-holder," as it got its English name Saddle Rock, from the shape of a bold headland, visible for miles, and almost entirely surrounded by the sea. An artificial excavation in its summit serves as protection from the wind. Girls used to go and sit there when they wanted to obtain supernatural help, meanwhile working at basketry. The English expression "Nickel Creek" (M) is a transliteration of the Yurok  $n\epsilon k\epsilon' L$ , "end of the beach." None of the Tolowa towns were of any great size, even as compared with the Yurok settlements. The promontory, on which the Tolowa mainly lived, is a wind-blown and, to me, romantic spot, but did not offer a great deal in the way of subsistence.

Elsewhere I have published<sup>3</sup> a list of Yurok towns. The Tolowa terms for these Yurok settlements offer some points of interest.

The Tolowa name for Stowen in table II of Comment. towns refers to a mythical incident. Someone had a lot of human hearts. He piled them up and weighted them down with rocks. He could not hold them down. Then he put them in the river. They would not stay down. The fact that these hearts would not "stay put" is the reason why people today all think differently. Of the other town-names many are self-explanatory. A few are direct paraphrases of the Yurok names. For example, Weitchpec (or Weitspus) means "confluence" in Yurok, just as Ltcoili'nten does in Tolowa, and the place known as Big Lagoon, in Yurok Okéto, "where the water is calm," is called by the Tolowa "smooth water." In most cases, the Tolowa names are directly descriptive. The place now known as Trinidad is called by the Yurok "mountain," because the cape there is an isolated conical knoll of rock connected by a low isthmus to the mainland. From a distance the knoll seems to stand by itself. The place is called by the Tolowa "calm ocean," referring to the still water of the harbor behind the cape.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Yurok Geography, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 16, 1920.

#### NAMES OF PLACES OTHER THAN TOWNS

Footsteps Rocks, north of Wilson Creek,  $ta\gamma en\epsilon$ -ni'iten, "goinginto-water place." Women were compelled to disembark, on approaching these rocks and to pass them on the inland side, over the trail.

False Klamath Rock (Yurok rlrgr), wEtc' atagasni, "digging something." People used to go here to dig up edible roots, called locally "Indian potatoes." Berries were gathered here, too.

A place called by the Yurok tahto' sits, on the Lockwood place, where the trail to Requa from Wilson Creek climbs on top of a high hill, tca'yatLiL, "wind taking off one's clothes." Legend says that the wind blew so hard here once, that it blew a woman's dress off.

A ceremonial rock at Requa (called in Yurok Orego's, "where they customarily land") yaasti'kwEt, "do not touch with a pole." A supernatural being lived in this rock.

The landing-place at Requa village (called in Yurok otse'gep, "where they customarily disembark") sixatxE'stEn, "disembarking place."

The principal mountain peaks in Tolowa territory follow:

1. The northern peak of what are called "Copper Mountains" on our maps, E'tLkwaket, "resin on top."

2. An elevation entered on our maps as "Bald Hill," now known as Murphy's ranch, MEn-t' u'tem, "bare mountain." The Tolowa went thither every spring to pick acorns.

3. A row of peaks called on our maps "Four Brothers," in Tolowa Nee xotinite, "four sisters."

4. An elevation called by the whites "Bear Mountain" (otherwise known as French Hill), A'n-towai, "hill big." This is a famous spot in Tolowa mythology.

5. A hill shown on our maps as Preston Peak, called in Tolowa GEtLgi'st-hu, "kelp . . . ." There is said to be a lake at the summit with kelp in it, showing a connection between the lake and the ocean. I should like to have a dollar for every such lake that has been pointed out to me by Pacific Coast Indians.

## GEOGRAPHICAL IDEAS

The description elsewhere given (in the author's paper already cited) concerning the geographical ideas of the Yurok applies rather closely to the Tolowa. They have a similar notion concerning the nearness of the sky, which is thought to be a solid

	III. NAMES FOR NATIVE GROUPS	
English	Yurok	Tolowa
Hupa Takelma ("Waldo Indians") Karok	Hupa-lä  Ko´omets	Kw'a´ista, "behind sitting" Kost⊥ôt'€´nī Tc'o´n€ (applied also to the Shasta)
Chilula	Tsulula'i (Tsulu. "Bald Hills")	K'ontsi'ne, "tattooed all over the face"; also called Kw'aiE xaiti "staying on top of the hills"
Wiyot (or Wishosk)	We'yet	Weya'teni
Yurok		Té <sup>t</sup> tlmis; also Tatcita'ni, "Klamath people"
"White people" (Americans) Eel River Athabascans	W $\delta\gamma e$ , "immortals"	Natımı´nti Tcwata´γınli, "big river people"
Rogue River Athabascans (north of the Oregon line)		Taxo'-xeci, "north people"
Illinois River people		TLocle'be

vault. Their land of the dead which they call Tą<sup>n</sup>nį<sup>n</sup>ta<sup>hon</sup>, lies, however, across the ocean to the westward, while for the Yurok the land of the dead is underground. In order to get to the village inhabited by the dead souls, according to the notion of the Tolowa, one crosses a river in a boat which has only one side. If the dead people are not willing for the newcomer to join them, they refuse to ferry him over. In that case, the newcomer is obliged to come back to this world; that is, he "comes to life." It is noticeable that the Tolowa, like the Yurok, have few if any names for streams. They describe a watercourse by calling it the stream which flows by such and such a spot. As was found to be the case with the Yurok, the geographical names group themselves very conspicuously along the shores. Very few names are found inland.

My Tolowa informants who lived at Crescent City, in the present town, spoke of themselves as Tata'tEn-xEcli, "in-a-cornerplace people" from the old village site Tata'tEn, inside of Battery Point there. The native names for the various groups in the nearby region are given in table III:

The exact location of the frontier between the groups, particularly the Takelma and Chasta Costa, is a matter that has been somewhat violently mooted. The two principal authorities are J. O. Dorsey and Sapir. The matter is rehearsed rather carefully by the latter author, in the papers already cited.

The problem over which these authorities labor rises from the fact that J. O. Dorsey succeeded in recording Athapascan names for the Takelma villages. Dorsey explains this by devising a theory that certain Athapascan groups invaded the territory of the Takelma, and imposed a series of names in an Athapascan tongue on the enemy settlements. Sapir feels sure that Dorsey is wrong; that the latter's Athapascan informants merely clothed the names in an Athapascan garment in place of giving them properly. Meanwhile, it is a positive fact that every group in this region has a series of names in its own tongue, for all the towns and other important places, in the territory of each of the neighboring tribes. Thus the Yurok have their own Yurok names for the Hupa towns, and vice versa; and the matter is also illustrated in the list above. For that matter, this custom is perfectly well known in other regions: the Zuñi, for example, having their own names for each of the Hopi villages. It can be expected *a priori* that any Athapascan group in California will give Athapascan names for any series of towns which they are acquainted with.

The boundaries or frontiers between the Oregon groups were worked out by me, with more or less accuracy, on a map, which represents a judicious compromise between the positive but contradictory statements of Dorsey and Sapir, and my own data collected on the spot.

The location of the Tolowa frontiers is a somewhat simpler Their northern boundary was practically the Oregonmatter. California line. They extended down the coast as far as Cushion Creek, where they met the Yurok. Two small towns on or near the boundary had a population of about half Tolowa and half Yurok. Inland, the Tolowa were separated by ranges of mountains from the Takelma, with whom they had little contact, excepting occasional raids back and forth. Well-travelled trails led over the ridges to the upper portion of the Klamath River, inhabited by the Karok, with whom the Tolowa had constant dealings. North of the Tolowa are the Chetco, speaking a slightly divergent dialect north of them the Pistol River people, with a dialect still more divergent, and north of these the people of Rogue River. The culture of the latter is vastly different from that of northern California. On the Rogue River the women wore a skirt of shredded bark in place of the buckskin dress, fringed, tasselled, and ornamented with shells, worn by Yurok women.

## NAMES OF THE ATHAPASCAN VILLAGES IN OREGON

During the jaunt into Athapascan ethnography just described, I made a survey of geographical names, as best I could, northward past Chetko River, Pistol River, and Rogue River, to Port Orford, Oregon. Work of this sort is difficult in this region. There was a Rogue River "war" and all these Indians were cleaned out by troops and taken to Grande Ronde and Siletz reservations in northern Oregon. Information can therefore be gotten only piecemeal. Two investigators preceded me in this

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field, J. O. Dorsey and Paul Schumacher. Dorsey mentions having made for the Bureau of Ethnology a map showing several hundred villages in this region, his information being based largely on inquiry made at Siletz. During a brief appointment with the Bureau in 1922, and afterward, I tried to get a view of this map, but Dr. Fewkes reported that the Bureau knew nothing of it. However, it is to be hoped that this exceedingly important available document may yet be brought to light. In the meantime, Dorsey's paper in the *Folk Lore Journal* remains the most important source of information concerning the Oregon tribes.

Some of his geographical names correspond with those recorded by myself at a much later time, and the two lists confirm each other in many ways. I obtained translations of some names which he leaves untranslated. After going over the country, it seems to my mind that a large number of the names he supplies are not after all the names of villages. At any rate, the number of villages located by me is very much smaller than the number listed in Dorsey's article. His list is certainly inordinately long. In regard to some particular cases, I know that he is mistaken, for he describes places as villages which were not places of settlement at all. On the other hand, it must be admitted that he worked forty years before I did, and inquiries were much easier to make in his day.

#### NAMES OF THE OREGON ATHAPASCAN VILLAGES

Old village-site at the mouth of Sixes River seven miles north of the location of the town of Port Orford, Kusúm $\epsilon$ .

A village-site north of Euchre Creek, GwEsa' L-hEntEn, "mussels good there."

An old village-site north of the mouth of Rogue River,  $Tc\epsilon'm\epsilon$ , "ocean in"; marked by a fairly extensive shell-mound on the tip of the promontory at the northern side of the river, at its mouth (fig. 4). (Dorsey, p. 233, No. 10, Tce-me, "people of the ocean coast.")

An old and important village near the mouth of the Rogue River, on the north bank, Tu'tu-ten, "lagoon place." (Dorsey, p. 233, No. 13 Lu'-tu, "people close to the water").

A village-site close to the preceding, Na'get-xe'ten, not translated. WATERMAN]

A very important old village-site, about 12 miles up Rogue River, Mikwano'tEn, "white clover place." This site was known after the coming of the whites as *McGuire's*. The element ml- is said to mean "on one's back" (Dorsey, p. 233, No. 16, Mi'-ko-no';unně "people among the *white clover roots*.")

A village-site opposite that just mentioned, gwese'ten, "yew place." This native term has been corrupted into *Quosatana Creek*, which appears on the modern maps. (Dorsey, p. 233, No. 18, Kwus-setun.)

A village-site on the north side of the river, near a big rock, on a point of land, in a bend of the river, Se-Lxa't:En, "rock slippery." This rock was once, in the Indian belief, a person. On the face of this rock, near the river, are some petroglyphs, covered with patches of moss. This is the site of the present town of *Agness*, spelled with a double s. (Dorsey, p. 233, end of paragraph Çĕcl-qût <code>lun'nĕ' "people</code> at the smooth rcck.")

A village-site in the point of land between two streams, where the Illinois River joins Rogue River, TLe'gEt-tLinten, "confluence flows." (Dorsey, p. 233, bottom, Kçe-lût li'‡ûnne, "people at the forks")

A village-site on the south bank of Rogue River above the mouth of Chasta Costa Creek, YEtci''wet or Tatci'kwet, "tail-feathers upon." There is a flat and fanshaped point of land, inclosed between the creek and the river which suggests the tail of a bird. (Dorsey, p. 234, No. 1, Ta-tci'-qwût, "*Plateau people*") His translation is a hasty approximation of the one I obtained.)

A village-site at a place in Rogue River now known as Big Bend, Se- $\epsilon'$ Ltanitcu or Se- $\epsilon'$ LtEn, "Rock among large" also translated "rocks where one lands a boat." The river here comes tumbling through enormous boulders. Boats could not pass above this point. Beyond this lay the territory of the Takelma (Dorsey, p. 233, bottom, Se-ecl unne, "*People using salmon weirs*").

An ancient village-site on the promontory west of the present settlement at Gold Beach, Na'gEt-xe'tEn, not translated. Dorsey locates a village here which he calls skû-mê-me. This latter is the name for Hunter's Creek in my notes.

Village-site under a promontory on the north side of the mouth of Pistol River, Tcetle's-tcenten, "crag under." There is a large shell-heap here, examined by Schumacher in 1899 and mapped by him. The crag is sometimes called Eagle Rock.

A village-site at the first bend as one ascends Pistol River,  $A \Rightarrow ene'ten$ .

Old village-site at Crook Point, E:nasEt, "Land in front."

An old village-site at the mouth of Thomas Creek, Xustene'ten, "gravel place." This word appears in the books in the anglicized forms *Hustenate*, *Wishtanatan*, and *Whistle-latin*.

A village-site inward from a great sea-crag, at the mouth of Whalehead Creek, XainEñgi'nte'ten "people all departed." This settlement had another name originally, but I do not know what it was.

An important village-site south of Cape Ferrelo, Naltene'ten. The element *tene* means "trail-place."

An old village-site lying in the first cove north of Chetco River, K'alu'-kwet, "baby basket upon." This was the most important village in the Chetco area.

An old village-site at the mouth of Chetco River, Na'gEt-xe'tEn, not translated.

A village-site on the east bank of Chetco River, T'acu-tancutle'tEn, "pepperwood nuts drifting in under something."

Another village, directly across (west) from the preceding, Çlç-kas-li'ten, "clay goes-up where." The village was on a little plateau, bounded by a clay bank.

A third village close by the other two, between the forks of the main stream,  $Tun\epsilon$ 'sten, not translated.

A village-site at the mouth of Chetco River, on the south side, Tci'txo. This term is said to be connected with the word for the tail of a bird. A village on Rogue River has a similar name. This native term has given rise to the modern name of the river, *Chetco*.

An old site, said to have been inhabited at one time, on a rock on the mouth of Winchuck River, k'osą' tąn-icut-s'a, "right at ocean there."

The old village at the mouth of Winchuck River, KosatEn, "evening" This is a "bad" name, for mentioning the word "evening" is likely to shorten the day. For this reason, this village was often spoken of as Tusxo'tsitu, "do not mention it." It lay on the promontory south of the mouth of Winchuck River.

The following additional names appearing on the modern maps of this region are of Indian origin, and may have some interest.

Quostana Creek, (gwEse'tEn, "yew place"; Dorsey: Kwus-se'tûn, not translated).

Sixes River, native term SEkwe'tce, not translated.

Euchre Creek, native term Yu'kwi, "mouth of a stream."

Joshua Indians, a borrowing of the native term Yocutci'-te $\gamma$ on $\epsilon'$ , "River-mouth north," the old name of the point at the north side of the mouth of Rogue River.

Emah Creek, in the Chetco language, Eme'xu-tcet, Mt. "Emily stream."

Mt. Emily. The native term is An-mai, "earth undulating." I think that "Emily" is the native word in Anglicized form. It is the scene of an important flood myth.

Tones are very plainly heard in Tolowa words. I am sorry I cannot give an account of them. They are particularly conspicuous on account of the contrast with Yurok. It is curious to observe that these adjacent languages show the two contrasting phonetic types, Yurok with vowel-harmony, Tolowa with tones. I think it more than likely that all the tone languages of America are related. A man possessing accurate knowledge like J. P. Harrington, of numerous dialects, could easily settle the matter if someone would put him at it. The languages showing vowel harmony I would also suspect to be related among themselves. In view of the well-known migration of cultures and myths from Asia, I see no reason why a little independent study should not show the vowelharmony languages to be related to Mongol-Turkish and the tone languages to Chinese. The evidence connecting Yurok with Mongol seems about as good as that on which Powell established his famous and sacred classification of fifty-five stocks. The recording of American languages has been phonetically inadequate; otherwise I think the broad relationships would have been observed long ago.

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