

The Kiliwa Response to Hispanic Culture

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Kiliwa is an aboriginal language of Baja California, Mexico. Belonging to its own subgroup in the Yuman family, it is presently spoken by a community of less than twenty people.¹

The purpose of this paper is to examine the lexical change that has resulted from prolonged contact of Kiliwa speakers with Spanish since the latter decades of the eighteenth century.

The response of Kiliwa to the European presence has been either the adaptation of native expressions to analogous nominal and verbal concepts in the alien culture or the creation of a new vocabulary to handle the avalanche of foreign cultural patterns. The striking paucity of loanwords or even loan translations calls for an explanation. Such an explanation will be attempted in the concluding section of this discussion.

The earliest contact of any linguistic significance between Kiliwa and Spanish commenced with the establishment of the missions of the Dominican Frontier in northern Baja California. The missions of San Pedro Mártir, Santo Domingo and Santa Catalina each had its share of Kiliwas, although a good number eluded the friars in the remote deserts and mountains where they remained openly hostile to the Spanish incursion of the 1790's.

It is doubtless from this period that the handful of "intimate" loanwords to be discussed below can be traced. It is by now a truism that the earlier a loanword has entered a language, the more thoroughly it will have been integrated into the phonological and grammatical pattern of the host language, in some instances rendering the loan virtually indistinguishable from the native vocabulary.²

The Kiliwa word for 'friar' or 'priest', [pa·ʔiyliʔ] has all the appearances of a native nominal compound /ʔipa·=ʔiy=liʔ/ consisting of the morphemes: person=head=liʔ. Though the last element remains untranslatable in the modern colloquial, a possible meaning suggests itself as having something to do with the monastic tonsure. However, it behooves the linguist to note the close correspondence of the segments of the Kiliwa [pa·ʔiyliʔ] with the Spanish word for 'friar', *fraile*. Allowing for the necessary Yumanization of the Spanish initial cluster to [p] and assuming the raising of the final /e/ to [i], a common rule in many Spanish dialects, the resulting pronunciation, [paili] can easily be folk-etymologized to the current form /pa· ʔiy liʔ/.

The form /t=iʔ=ʧhat/ means both 'to work' and 'a job'. The word for 'shovel' /t=iʔ=ʧhat=uʔ/ is derived from the stem 'to work' by a relativization process to be described below. Both stems are based on a root /ʧhat/ 'to spoon out', thus 'spooning

out' becomes 'shovelling' which then extends to apply to all types of work.³

The above analysis for the synchronic role of the stem 'to work' is fine as far as it goes. However, we must recall that the European concept of 'work' is not exactly congruent with any aboriginal cultural pattern as is evidenced by the frequency with which Spanish words were borrowed in the Yuman languages viz. Diegueño tra·xa·r, Mohave traha·r, Cocopa ?ara·r (< Sp. arar 'to plow').

A missing link between the Kiliwa form /t=i?=-χhat/ and the transparently Spanish forms above, is provided by the Paipai word /trčac/ 'work'. Here we find the Spanish initial cluster prefixed to a highly distorted root. This does not necessarily argue for the fact that Kiliwa borrowed from Paipai, though this is eminently plausible.

What we find is that two neighboring languages have suspiciously unusual words for a European activity. Paipai is most like Spanish, Kiliwa is more like Paipai than Spanish. The ultimate source for the form in both languages is undoubtedly Spanish; whether borrowed independently or one from the other of the aboriginal languages cannot be determined with certainty. In any event both languages have successfully camouflaged the Spanish origins of 'work'.⁴

The word for 'duck' is /t=walu xa? k^w=pà·t/ (bird water wh=pà·t). Aboriginal faunal vocabulary is typically unanalyzable in Kiliwa, thus it is surprising to find a bird referred to by the complex nominal above. Another curious fact is that the root *pa·t is untranslatable, though implausibly derivable from /pà·/ 'to leave'. The word 'duck' would mean something like 'the bird that leaves on water'. There are two data that make this hypotheses less than acceptable. The first is the fact that ducks are a European importation in this region. More significant however is the phonetic resemblance of the root *pa·t to pato 'duck' in Spanish. It seems quite likely that this hybrid form was created in Kiliwa to more readily accommodate the loanword pato > [pa·t].⁵

The last two forms to be given, though unanalyzable, are doubtless loanwords: /?wa? tmscal/ 'sweathouse' (< temescal 'sweathouse'); /xi?wa·tu?/ 'jiguata (plant sp.)'. The latter is too similar to the Spanish gloss to be native.

In addition to the highly distorted loans just presented above, there is a small number of quite transparently Yumanized Spanish words all having to do with games which would seem to be of aboriginal origin such as: kaŋwe·l < cañuela (a type of dice game), pyo·n < peon 'handgame', ta·b < tabla 'board' (the winning call in the game of cañuela played with flat sticks), te·x < teja 'tile, potsherd' (a game played by pitching potsherds at a hole). The clarity of these loans can be attributed to either recent borrowing or to the context of borrowing. The latter explanation is a more promising direction as there is no evidence for the former.

The game words above were doubtlessly used during visits to non-Kiliwa groups at a time when Spanish had become a lingua franca for inter-tribal contact. Though Kiliwa speakers were frequently bilingual in Paipai, there is no evidence that they ever spoke Diegueño, Cocopa, Yuma or any of the other neighboring languages.

Over the course of time, the use of Spanish in gambling has remained common, even in the United States where few if any Yumans speak Spanish with any degree of fluency. The joyful atmosphere of aboriginal gambling would seem to have eased the naturalization of this segment of Spanish to such a degree that it has become part and parcel of this highly dramatic aboriginal tradition. These Spanish words seem to have lost their feeling of 'foreignness', quite early on, being accepted as a native technical gambling jargon. This would account for the contrast between the gambling terms and the other loanwords discussed earlier in Kiliwa.

It was doubtless during the earliest period of mission contact that it became necessary to extend the semantic range of Kiliwa words to include analogous European nominal and verbal concepts. In these cases the aboriginal referent coexisted with the hispanic referent. Thus the Kiliwa word /ʔpaʔ/ 'arrow' came to be applied to 'bullets' as well. Likewise the semantically more complex /ʔmpu·l/ 'hat, hat basket' came to be applied not only to European hats but also to grain sacks, recalling the aboriginal function of a 'hat basket' as a seed container. Similar pairs follow: t=waʔ h=piʔ 'winter storage, groceries'; htim 'bow, gun'; htim nay 'club, pistol', cf. htim haʔ=čas xwaq 'shotgun' (bow mouth=point two), huʔčat 'ground mat', 'saddle blanket'; tʔil 'maggots, rice'; kʔlʔsu· 'water jar, bottle'; ʔmuw ŋmiʔ 'sheepskin, blanket'; xna·n 'hunting enclosure, corral, fence'; ʔwŋaʔ 'path, road', cf. ʔwŋaʔ=xʔali 'paved highway' (road=smooth); ʔŋa·y 'sun, day, clock'; xaʔlaʔ 'moon, month, calendar month'; ʔmat 'earth, season', 'calendar year'; mwar 'meal, flour'; sʔwiy 'acorn gruel, corn gruel'; smi·l 'plant, herbal, modern medicine'; xuʔwaʔ msqha·n 'willow berry, grapes', (cf. xuʔwaʔ msqha·n čhaʔ 'wine' lit. 'grape juice'); q=t=kʔ=paʔ=q=tay 'healing shaman, doctor'; tkhʔi·yp 'spirit, devil, goat' (from the horns).

In a few cases the ambiguity created by the adaptation of an aboriginal term to both a European and a native referent was resolved by the displacement of the original meaning by the European significance. This process was concomitant with the creation of a new hybrid term for the aboriginal, non-domesticated analogue. Thus /ʔxaq/ 'deer' having become 'cow' was replaced by /ʔxaq piy t=kʔ=yaq/ (cow wilds thing=wh=lies) which then meant 'wild cattle'; similarly /ʔxaq sʔa·w/ once meaning 'fawn' came to mean 'calf', with the original meaning expressed by /ʔxaq piy t=kʔ=yaq sʔa·w/. Other examples are: mxʔa· 'pig', mxʔa· piy t=kʔ=yaq 'badger'; nmiʔ 'cat', nmiʔ piy t=kʔ=yaq 'bob cat'; ʔmuw 'sheep', ʔmuw piy t=kʔ=yaq 'mtn. sheep'; xpi·p 'frijoles', xpi·p piy t=kʔ=yaq 'mormon tea'; xmaʔ 'chicken', xmaʔ piy t=kʔ=yaq 'quail'.

Shifts similar to those described above for nominals have also taken place in verbs. Many activities having analogues in both aboriginal and hispanicized cultures have been so thoroughly europeanized technologically, that the European sense of the verb has become primary while the aboriginal meaning can only be recovered from textual discourse concerned specifically with aboriginal cultural patterns. A typical example is the verb $m=x=u?na\cdot y$ 'to lasso', 'rope' an activity which is clearly post-hispanic. The original meaning however was more closely related to 'hooking', as in the pitahaya harvest in which long poles with hooks at the end were used to dislodge the ripe fruit from the tall cactus. A related modern verb is $/ma\cdot t\ sal\ q=p=u?na\cdot y/$ 'to marry' ('to link hands').

Adjectives which in Kiliwa are indistinguishable from verbs as predicates have been affected by the same general process, witness the shift in meaning of $/t=i=pa\cdot y/$ from 'alive' to 'smart, clever' under the influence of Spanish vivo 'alive, clever', other examples follow: $?lpa\cdot$ 'cost, costly', $?lpa\cdot mat$ 'inexpensive', $?lpa\cdot h=u\cdot y$ 'to pay',⁶ $phit\ mat$ 'no problem, don't worry' (lit. flatus not < Mex. Slang no hay pedo), $\check{c}pa\cdot$ 'to straddle', 'reach summit' > 'to mount a horse', $x?pan$ 'flabby' > 'lazy' (< Mex. Slang flojo 'loose, lazy'), $t=h=pa?$ 'place rnd. obj', > 'to plant', $?mph\acute{u}$ 'be cavity' > 'container' as in $k^w\acute{a}l\ ?mph\acute{u}$ 'saddle bag' (lit. leather container), $t=\check{c}aw$ 'kill plurally' > 'to butcher'; $\check{c}\grave{a}\cdot w$ 'to stray, move away' > 'to stray from herd', $x=\check{c}\grave{a}\cdot w$ 'to cause to move away', 'to set apart' > 'to cut out of herd', $p=\check{c}hin$ 'to cover body' > 'to get dressed', $x=k^w\acute{a}q$ 'to drive pegs' > 'to hammer nails', $h=qha\cdot$ 'shoot a bow' > 'fire a gun', $p=\check{c}ma\cdot yu$ 'migrate' > 'to move away', $h=\check{n}\acute{i}\cdot$ 'to guide' > 'to lead an animal', $h=\check{n}\acute{a}\cdot y$ 'to drive game' > 'to herd cattle', $?mat\ h=nuq$ 'to dig' > 'to drill wells', $x?a\cdot y$ 'to scratch designs', 'to tattoo' > 'to write, paint', cf. $\check{n}=x?a\cdot y$ 'to photograph', $?msha\cdot y$ 'to reach, fill an area' > 'to fit', of clothes, also $?mat\ ?msha\cdot y$ 'to have a birthday' ($?mat$ 'year'), $s=wil\ s=wil\ h=u\cdot y$ 'to swirl hand' > 'to sign', $h\check{c}?\acute{w}ir$ 'be in a series, follow' > 'be frequent' (< Mex. seguido 'frequently, followed'), $x=lax$ 'cause to adhere, to patch' > 'to repair'.

In a related, though separate, category are the syntactic constructions involving $/=w\check{n}\acute{i}\cdot y=q=h=wa=t=m/$ (want=allat=3=sit=nom.=m) which are glossed with indefinite expressions such as cuandoquiera 'whenever', comoquiera 'however', dondequiera 'wherever', quienquiera 'whoever' etc. The source of the verb 'want' in the Kiliwa expressions is clearly influenced by the -quiera 'want' element of Spanish. An unrelated native indefinite construction is still used involving predicates like $/?i\cdot/$ 'say', $/yu\cdot/$ 'be', $/\check{n}\acute{i}\cdot/$ 'do' with the suffixes $/=m=t=m/$ which have a complex semantic function not yet fully understood. The native pattern is frequently heard as an interjection much like English 'anyway, anyhow'.

The following vocabulary, listed under semantic domains, was collected both by direct elicitation and through observation of colloquial usage, verifying the naturalness with which the innovated lexicon is brought into play:

Household: h=pa·u? 'bed' (3=recline=Rel), ?ma?i
 t=h=?pa·y=p 'ladder' (heaven thing=3=nom.=recline=attr.=pass.),
 t=h=pi?u? 'barrel' (thing=3=pack=Rel), xa?k^w=xa·h=pi?u?
 'liquor barrel', 'keg', ?hip p=čiw=u? pipe (tobacco m.p.=smoke=Rel),
 t=h=?čha?y=u? 'soap' (thing=3=nom.=juice=attr.=Rel), t=?čhi·u?
 'cup' (thing=nom=drink=Rel), ?wa? h=kap=u? 'key' (house=3=open=Rel),
 ??a·w kh^w an 'matches' (fire strike), q=t=x=kh^wap=tay
 'drawer' (allat=thing=caus=enter=freq), s=k^wi·l=tay=u? 'sifter,
 strainer' (hand=twist=freq=Rel), s=k^wi·r=u? 'hand spindle' (hand=
 twist=Rel), t=x=qhaw=u? 'scissors' (thing=caus=sever=Rel), nay=
 čru·w ya·w č?a·u? 'whetstone' (knife teeth stand=Rel), č?il
 'candle' (<'worm'?), t=sa? h=?il=u? 'candle' (thing lard 3=worm=
 Rel), t=h=ma·u? 'table' (thing=3=eat soft=Rel), t=h=ma·u?
 'spoon' (thing=3=eat soft=Rel), x=?nax=u? 'cover, top' (caus=
 nom=shut=Rel), ñ=?ya·w p=s=t=ni·l=u? 'toothpick' (poss=teeth
 m.p.=hand=pl=touch=Rel), xa? t=uña·y=tay=u? 'bucket' (water thing=
 haul=freq), xa? ñ=?yuw=l t=p=saw=u? 'mirror' (water poss=eye=
 illat thing=m p=see=Rel), t=sa?=tay=u? thing=stab=freq=Rel),
 ?wa? sma·u? 'bedroom, hotel room' (house sleep=Rel), sal p=s=
 x?il=u? 'washbasin' (hand m.p.=hand=wash=Rel), t=h=ma·h=?hu·u?
 'kitchen' (food 3=nom=make=Rel), ??a·w yaw h=?hu·u? 'lamp'
 (fire=flame 3=nom=make=Rel), wa=u? 'box (sit=Rel), ?uha=?xptaw
 p=iwil 'windowpane' (stone=mica m.p.=fabricate(d)).

Apparel: ñ=?sal h=pa?u? 'ring' poss=hand 3=place rnd. obj=
 Rel), t=x=pa?u? 'needle' (thing=caus.=place rnd obj=pl=pl=
 Rel), t=x=pa?u? si? 'thread' (needle flesh) ñ=?ma·t l=t=i?=
 kh^wa·p=u? 'shirt' (poss=body illat=thing=caus=enter=Rel), ñ=?miy
 l=t=i?kh^wa·p=u? 'pants' (poss=foot cause to enter), p=č=k^wa?u?
 'towel, handkerchief' (m.p.=wipe=u?), p=naq 'neckwear' (m.p.=place
 around neck), h=ñi·y=p 'belt' (3=gird=pass), x=u?xlay=u? 'strap,
 suspenders' (caus=caus=strap=Rel), ?iy p=u?n=xlay 'hair ribbon'
 (head m.p.=caus=dim=strap=Rel), ?iy=q t=ha? 'barrette' (head=allat
 thing=place long obj) s=?lam=u? 'button, buckle' (hand=nom=
 clasp=Rel), ?mpu·l, k^w=phu·y 'Stetson hat' (hat wh=grey).

Ranch Life: k^w?al x=ča·p=u? 'lariat (leather caus=split=
 Rel), ?xaq k^w=ku· 'cow', (cattle female), ?xaq k^w=mi·y 'bull',
 (cattle male), ?xaq k^w=mi·y t?čawp 'yearling' (cattle male
 adolescent), ?ipa? k^w=s=qhal=p 'saddle' (sticks wh=long=fork=
 pass), t=č=ma· 'stomach contents of cattle', yat l=k^w=mi·y=p
 'stallion, stud' (testes illat=wh=male, generate= pass), t=k^w=
 ñay=tay 'herder' (thing=wh=herd=freq), ?xaq=m k^w=sk^wa·y
 'cowboy' (cattle=obj wh=watch), ?xa? ha?u? 'cattle trough'
 (water place long obj=Rel), naitha? nat k^w=wa 'horseman, cowboy'
 (horse on wh=sit).

Agriculture: t=h=pa?u? 'cultivated field, crop' (thing=3=place rnd. obj=Rel), ?mat k^w=x=ča·p=tay 'plowman' (earth wh=caus=split=freq), t=k^w=i?=čhat=tay 'farm worker' (thing=wh=work=freq), ?mat mra·yu h=hu·=u? 'bulldozer' (earth good 3=caus.=Rel), xa? wña? 'furrow' (water road), ?xa? l=k^w=t=yi· 'irrigation hand' (water illat=wh=pl=come).

Animals: t=k^w=ipa·=y smaql k^wku·s 'donkey' (animal ear wh=long), ?ipa? ?iy=l k^w=ha? 'goat' (sticks head=illat. wh=place long obj), ?muw ha?=ñmi? k^w=yuw 'goat' (sheep beard wh=stand), naitha? 'horse' (<nat t=ha? on thing=place long obj.(?)).⁷

Health: ñ=?=yuw=l t=pa?=p=u=u? 'eyeglasses' (poss=eye=illat thing=place rnd. obj=pl=Rel), k^w=rap=m k^w=sk^wa·y 'nurse' (wh=sick=obj wh=watch), ñ=?=ya·w k^w=č?i·=t=u=tay 'dentist' (poss=teeth wh=stand=pl.=pl=freq.), k^w=rap ?wa? 'hospital, clinic' (wh=sick house).

Transportation: mti?pa·pha? 'chain' (god intestines)⁸, ?wa? t=k^w=lk^wi·y=p 'train' (house things=wh=bear on back), ?wa? t=k^w=lk^wi·y=p ?wña? 'traintrack' (train road), s=x=qha·y=u? 'bridge' (long=caus=cross=Rel), ?xa? č?a·=u? 'radiator' (water be stood=Rel), k^w=maqn'motor', 'engine'⁹, ?wa? k^w=s?hin 'automobile' (house wh=runs), ?wa? k^ws?hin čha? 'gasoline' (auto juice), ?wa? k^w=s?hin č?a·=u? 'brakes' (auto be stood, stopped=Rel), ?wa? k^w=s?hin čha? x=wi·=t 'gas station' (gasoline sell-nom) ?wa? k^w=s?hin miy 'tire' (car foot), ?wa? k^w=s?hin s=n=?a·w=u 'bicycle, motorcycle' (automobile offspring (dim)), ?wa? k^w=s?hin sa? 'grease' (car lard), ?wa? k^ws?hin h=wilu 'oil' (auto lubricant), ?wa? ?ipa·k^w=p=iha· 'bus' (house people wh=m.p=bring), ?wa? k^w=i=?=hiw 'airplane' (house wh=flies),

Money: ?ipa·č=ru·w=p 'wealthy person, town dweller' (person clothe=pass), ?qhay=sma· 'money' (cliff=root), ?qhay=sma·k^w=m?sap 'silver', 'peso', (money wh=white), ?qhay=sma·k^w=?si·y 'gold, dollar' (money wh=yellow), ?qhay=sma·?wa? 'bank' (money house), ?qhay=sma·k^w=x=wi·=tay 'banker' (money wh=sell=freq), t=ñ=?a·=u? 'purchase, possession' (thing=belong=Rel), t=ñ=?a·=u? k^w=yiw=tay 'buyer, agent' (purchase wh=take=freq).

Law: k^w=čpi·y=p 'legal right' (wh=straight < derecho), s=x=n=k^wal s=u?=nay 'flag' (cloth long=hook up), pa·m k^w=sh^wa·y 'police' (people=obj wh=watch), miy k^w=x?ali h=hu·=y 'soldier' (Mexican 3=do=attr.), t=sk?wil=p 'law, government' (thing=command=pass), ?ipa·k^w=t=hiy 'chief' (person wh=powerful), yi·k^w=mat 'government' (come wh=not).

Education: t=x=pha? 'paper, book' (<parchment ?, cf. pha? 'stomach, paunch, intestines'), t=x=pha? ?ipa·t=h=u?=saw=u? 'school' (paper people thing=3=caus=see=Rel), t=x?a·y=u? 'pencil, pen' (thing=write=Rel),

Time: l=taw ?i=m 'tomorrow' (illat=flash Be=subord), ti·y 'night, dark, late' ti·y wa xay 'morning' (dark sits still), t=i?čhat msir=u? 'Monday', ti?čhat xwaq=u? 'Tuesday' etc. (work=one, work=two etc.), ?wa?=l p=wa=u? 'Sunday, week' (house=illat m p=sit=Rel), ?mat k^w=p=kh^wap=m 'next year' (year wh=enter=sub <

año entrante), ?mat k^w=p=yi·=m 'next year' (year wh=come=sub < año que viene), ?ña·y 'sun, day, time, clock', ?ña·y k^w=ti·y 'afternoon' (sun wh=late < tarde), xa?la? t=t=si·p=u? 'calendar' (month thing=pl=count=Rel).

Religion: ?ma?i ña·=m t?çha·y=p 'God, Creator' (sky distant=dir carve=pass), ?ipa? s=x=qha·y=u? 'crucifix' (sticks long=caus=cross=Rel), s=x?il k^w=mat 'gentile, pagan' (hand=wash wh=not), t=k^w=p=ima·y=tay 'devil, evildoer, (thing=wh=m·p=harm=freq), ?wa? h=u?=sa·y 'church, mission' (house sacred)¹⁰, ?mat s=x?il 'cemetery' (earth hand=wash), t=hiy 'spirit, soul, power', t=k^w=hi·y=p devil (thing=wh=power=pass), ?ma?i k^w=yaq 'God' (heaven wh=lie), ?ma?i k^w=yaq k^w=x=lax=p 'Virgin Mary' (God wh=companion, second), s=x?il p=ya·w 'godparent' (baptize m.p.= be taken).

Social Terms: ?xa?=l k^w=ñmat=p 'American' < 'sailor' (water=illat wh=land=pass), ?xa?=l k^w=ñ=mat=p ha? 'English lg'. (American voice), miy k^w=x?ali 'Mexican' (foot wh=smooth), miy k^w=x?ali ha? 'Spanish lg.', (Mexican voice).

Foods: ?xaq t=kh^w at h=pi? 'sausage' (beef blood 3=pack), npay k^w=?n=ta·t=y 'grain' (wheat wh=nom.=dim=thorn=attr), npay k^w=?n=ta·t=y çha? 'beer' (wheat juice), t=k^w=smaqn 'candy, sugar' (thing=wh=sweet), ?xa? k^w=smaqn 'soda pop' (water wh=sweet), xaq sa? 'lard' (cattle lard), ?xaq=sa? x=?=sal=u? 'cracklings, chicharrones' (lard caus=nom=fry=Rel), ?xaq sa? p=iwil 'ham' (cattle lard m.p.=made), ?xaq=ñmayu 'milk' (beef=breast), ?xaq=ñmayu sa? 'butter' (milk lard), ?xaq ñmayu myal 'cheese' (milk tortilla), myal h=hu·=u? 'yeast' (bread 3=make=Rel), ?xa? k^w=xa· 'liquor' (water wh=bitter), t=k^w=xa· 'chile pepper, poison' (thing=wh=bitter), t=h=ma·=l i?=wap=k 'black pepper' (food=illat dump=dir), ?mi? yaw=y 'honey' (larva flame=attr.).

Building: t=x=k^waq=u? 'nail' (thing=caus=stake=Rel), t=h=ña?=u? 'hammer' (thing=3=hammer=Rel), ?wa? k^w=say=tay 'carpenter, housebuilder' (house wh=thatch=freq), ?wa? k^w=p=iwil=tay 'carpenter' (house wh=make=freq). Compare/iwil/ 'to fabricate, manufacture' with the root /wil/ 'to exert force'.

As might be expected the process of relativization underlies the major portion of the innovated nominal vocabulary in Kiliwa. The prefix /k^w=/, glossed above as wh= is the 'agentive' relativizer proper only when the head noun, animate or inanimate, is the subject of the relative clause. The suffix /=u?/ is used when the head noun is in an oblique case in the dependent clause.

The /=u?/ oblique relativizer, unlike the /k^w=/ which can be reconstructed for Proto-Yuman, has no cognate in any other Yuman language with the suspicious exception of Paipai.¹¹ It would seem that the marking of oblique relativization is a syntactic innovation in Kiliwa. The uses of this suffix extend beyond the simply nominal to include more complex clausal structures: e.g. nsku·=m txpha?=m ?=wi·=u?=t... 'The girl I gave the paper to...' (girl=obj paper=obj I=give=Rel=nom...) etc.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to assess the syntactic impact of the acculturative lexical innovation derived by the /-u?/ suffix. However there is some indication that the suffix has undergone semantic and perhaps syntactic change in post-hispanic times. In the derived nominals with strictly aboriginal reference, the /-u?/ suffix has exclusively locative function, as in placenames e.g. $m\text{lti? } p=\check{c}nk^w i \cdot lu=p=u?$, 'where coyote rolled over' (coyote m.p.=roll over=Rel=pass). In some cases there is a potential ambiguity between a locative and an instrumental meaning as in $?pa? p=?sil=u?$ 'quiver' (arrow m.p.=nom=insert=u?); here the /-u?/ could be glossed 'where the arrows are inserted' or 'what is used to insert arrows'. Turning to the post-hispanic vocabulary we find /-u?/ with a clearly instrumental meaning as in $/t=i?=\check{c}hat=u?$ 'shovel', $?mat x=\check{c}a \cdot p=u?$ 'plow', etc. It is possible that the innovated vocabulary having to do with tools and utensils, as it frequently does, weighted the potential ambiguity into real ambiguity and finally moved away from the original constriction of a purely locative meaning to a more general 'oblique' case.

Another morpheme frequently involved in innovated nominals is $?tay/$ normally meaning 'large'. At first glance one might suspect interference from the augmentative suffix /-ón/ of Spanish which has a usitative or frequentative meaning similar to Kiliwa $?tay/$. This coincidence should be regarded as inconclusive of hispanic interference however, given the frequent association of largeness and habitual action in other languages e.g. English 'a big moocher', 'a great gambler', etc.

In this regard it is well to recall that Kiliwa has an archaic nominalizer /-t/ found in only a few stems viz. $?muw t=k^w =\check{n}u \cdot t$ 'mtn. sheep', $?xa? k^w =p=lk^w i \cdot t$ 'water carrier', $t=k^w =muw=t$ 'stalker, hunter'. There is good reason to believe that this /-t/ and $?tay/$ are both related etymologically to a *t that has developed a myriad of functions in modern Yuman including the 'frequentative' as well as the adjectival meanings. ¹²

Though Kiliwa has had little or no perceptible influence on the regional Spanish of Baja California, there is one startling exception to this rule that is worth mentioning. The word pachuco in the Spanish of Mexico and the United States normally refers to a 'hoodlum'.¹³ This is not the meaning current among older residents of the interior of Baja; Mexican and Indian alike give pachuco the meaning of 'hatless person'. The only reasonable explanation for such a semantic development is to be sought in the Kiliwa $?ipa \cdot \check{c}ru \cdot w/$ 'wealthy person', pronounced $[pa \cdot \check{c}uyo \cdot w]$, virtually identical to the Spanish pachuco.

As given earlier, the original meaning of $?ipa \cdot \check{c}ru \cdot w/$ was 'clothed person' hence 'wealthy person'. These meanings later extended to contrast ladino town dwellers or settlers, who were inevitably seen as wealthier than Indians, hence the extended meaning 'town dweller'. In the decades after the demise of the missions the main occupation in the Baja hinterland was the

cattle industry; thus the average male was a cowboy. As is well known cowboys observe a strict etiquette in their wardrobe; whatever else they may lack, they must have a good pair of boots and a fine Stetson hat. This is not true of town dwellers who often neglect to wear hats. As Kiliwas say pejoratively 'andan pachucos' i.e. 'they go about hatless'. This then, is the final stage of the word /ʔipa·čru·w/ a Kiliwa word borrowed into Spanish coincidentally homonymous with the slang word heard elsewhere.

As is to be expected in Latin America, some of the local Spanish placenames in Kiliwa country are translations of the original Kiliwa toponyms: ʔpal ʔipa·h=ñu·=uʔ 'where fever killed people' > Cañón de las Calenturas, ʔhâ·yit ñmar=uʔ 'where the mesquite seed shows' > El Mesquital, ʔqh^wap ʔ=wi·y 'oak mtn' > Cerro de los Encinos, ʔxaʔ k^w=pal 'hot spring' > Agua Caliente, ʔmuw ʔwi·y 'sheep mtn.' > Cerro Borrego, čwilu h=ñupu=uʔ 'arroyo where they fought' > Arroyo del Pleito, ʔwi·y t=k^w=n=sa·w 'little rib mtn' > Cerro Costilla, ʔwi·y ʔhiʔ 'Onion mtn.' > Cerro Cebolla, x=xpiʔ 'dam' > Los Pozos, k^w=ʔnya·w 'hidden' > Escondido, ʔwi·y ʔiy k^w=kuʔya·y 'greyhead mtn' > Cerro Canoso. The final example učaw ʔwi·y for which there is no modern Kiliwa gloss has been falsely translated as Cerro Cabrilla 'Pleides Mtn.'. The Pleides are known as Las Cabrillas in popular Spanish, but as /xča/ in Kiliwa.

In view of the resistance of Kiliwa to borrowing from Spanish, one might expect the same to be true of the other members of the Yuman family.¹⁴ It is surprising to find that, to a greater or lesser degree, almost all Yuman languages have borrowed freely from Spanish (and later English). From Diegueño and Paipai with approximately a hundred loanwords, to Cocopa and Mohave with some fifty, to the handful of words in the Pai languages (far from the missions of California) no Yuman language has shown the reluctance of Kiliwa to europeanization. This is particularly significant in view of the rather intimate contact one might expect over the course of two centuries between natives and settlers.

Since Kiliwa is in no relevant way structurally unique vis à vis its sister languages, the reason for the small number of loanwords cannot be sought in structural resistance. The answer must be sought outside of language in the nature of the Kiliwa psychological response to an alien presence in their country.¹⁵

Ethnographic sources relate that the Kiliwa remained openly hostile to early missionization.¹⁶ In subsequent years they were partially responsible for the abandonment of San Pedro Mártir mission and are blamed for the burning of Santa Catalina in the early nineteenth century. This tradition of belligerence earned the Kiliwa a "war-like reputation" which they carried into the twentieth century.¹⁷

During the upheavals of the Mexican revolution, Baja California was invaded by an army of American filibusters intent

on conquering the territory for themselves thereby hoping to sever all ties with Mexico. The Kiliwa joined the invaders in significant numbers revealing a festering hostility to Mexican authority.¹⁸

Most recently it was reported in a Mexicali newspaper¹⁹ that the Kiliwa, frustrated by generations of broken promises, resorted to threats of violence if agents of the Mexican government continued to evade an equitable decision with regard to tribal land rights placed in continuing jeopardy by private ranchers and government sponsored ejidos alike.²⁰

The brief overview of Kiliwa history given above reveals less than harmonious relations between the Kiliwa and their Spanish-speaking neighbors. It can also be seen that in spite of their beleaguered position and dwindling numbers the remaining half dozen or so adult Kiliwa are still capable of an almost suicidal resolve to resist those they perceive as their oppressors.

Undoubtedly the fact of their inevitable demise as a people with a distinct language and culture is a factor in the psychology of resistance found in the Kiliwa. This sad fact, implicit in conversations as well as ethnographic texts, could of itself explain the Kiliwas' indomitable assertion of uniqueness. Lacking any other obvious linguistic or cultural explanation, it is not inappropriate to link the documented evidence of a strong political personality to an equally impressive linguistic hermeticism on the part of Kiliwa speakers.²¹

Notes

1. The data upon which the paper is based were collected during summer field trips in the years 1966-1970 under the auspices of the Survey of California and other Indian languages of the University of California. I hereby render my grateful acknowledgement to this source and to its guiding spirit Prof. Mary R. Haas whose teaching and scholarly example has inspired not only this writer but generations of linguistic graduate students at Berkeley and elsewhere.

The Yuman Family Subgroups: 1) Pai: Yavapai, Walapai, Havasupai, Paipai; 2) River: Mohave, Yuma, Maricopa; 3) Delta-California: Diegueno, Cocopa; 4) Kiliwa: Kiliwa.

2. See George Herzog. "Culture change and language: Shifts in Pima Vocabulary". in Language, Culture, and Personality ed. by Leslie Spier, A. Irving Hallowell, and Stanley S. Newman (Menasha, Wisconsin, Banta) p. 66-77.

3. Abbreviations used in this paper: allat=allative case, attr.=attributive predicate, caus.=causative, dim.=diminutive, dir.=directional, freq.=frequentative, illat.=illative, m.p.=medio-passive, nom.=nominalizer, obj.=objective case, pass.=passive, pl.=plural, poss.=possessive, Rel.=oblique relativizer, Sub.=subordinator, wh=agentive relativizer. The pronominal concordance prefixes are marked by numbers.

4. The Kiliwa and Paipai have had close kinship and cultural ties since before contact times. A few older people are still bilingual in these languages.
5. Yuman languages typically drop unstressed vowels from European loans: María > Mari: troca > tro:k, Evaristo > vari:st, etc.
6. The first three forms are included though an aboriginal meaning cannot be stated.
7. The word for 'horse' is unanalyzable. It is given as nadetha in W. Gabb's 1857 list published in Albert S. Gatschet. Der Yuma-Sprachstamm nach den neuesten handschriftlichen Quellen Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. 18 pp. 97-122, 1886 and v. 24 pp. 1-18, 1892. The phonetic form [naðltha?] has also been recorded by this writer. The etymology of this word is unknown.
8. mti?pa· < *?mat ?ipa· 'earth-person', is the divine hero of a myth in which he is disembowelled. His remains were strewn over the Kiliwa landscape and are still memorialized in a few place-names as well as in the word for 'chain'.
9. The form /k^w=maqñ/ 'the sweet one' is the word for 'bear'. Perhaps under the influence of Spanish máquina 'engine', and the image of power and noise shared by machines and bears the euphemism for 'bear' came to mean 'engine'.
10. The meaning 'sacred house' for /?wa? h=u?=say/ may be a sarcastic euphemism. The verb is more readily analyzed as 3= caus.=thatch i.e. 'forced to thatch'.
11. Given the association of Paipai and Kiliwa mentioned in note 4. The /u=:/ causative, benefactive in Diegueño, Mohave etc. may be a cognate.
12. See Donald Crook "Yuman *t" in The Proceedings of the First Yuman Language Workshop. University of Southern Illinois Museum Studies. 7 p. 35-44. 1975.
13. The pachuco subculture is supposed to have originated in the border region. Some claim pachuco derives from pacho the slang name for El Paso, Texas.
14. See Edward Sapir on the pan-Athabaskan resistance to borrowing p. 433 of "Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method" in The Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality ed. David G. Mandelbaum. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles. 1963. pp. 387-462.
15. See Edward P. Dozier. "Linguistic Acculturation Studies in the Southwest" in D. Hymes and W. Bittle. Studies in Southwestern Ethnolinguistics. Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1967.
16. See p. 121 of Peveril Meigs III. The Dominican Frontier of Lower California. University of California Publications in Geography. Vol. 7 1935.
17. P. Meigs, op cit., p. 123.

18. See Lowell L. Blaisdell. The Desert Revolution: Baja California, 1911. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison. 1962.
19. in La Voz de la Frontera, Mexicali, Baja California, Mexico September 1, 1973.
20. An Associated Press release datelined Mexicali reads "Mexican Government returning Indian land...as soon as documents can be processed communal ownership will be conveyed to the... Kiliwa...all lands are to be granted by the end of 1976".
21. A similar explanation is given for the resistance of Tewa to borrowing in Edward P. Dozier "Two Examples of Linguistic Acculturation: The Yaqui of Sonora and Arizona and the Tewa of New Mexico". Language 32. 146-157. 1956.