

∞ What's in a Name?

*Southern Paiute Place Names as
Keys to Landscape Perception*

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Through the years, ethnographers and linguists working in the Great Basin have recorded place names from several groups speaking Numic languages, including Owens Valley and Northern Paiute peoples (Kelly 1932; Fowler 1992; Steward 1933), Western, Northern, and Wind River Shoshone groups (Miller 1972; Shimkin 1947; Steward 1938), Southern Paiute (Kelly 1964; Sapir 1930–31), Chemehuevi (Laird 1976), and Ute speakers (Goss 1972; Givon 1979). However, most have gathered these data as adjuncts to general ethnographic or linguistic work, and thus the names, although they are occasionally numerous, were rarely the focus of specific data gathering efforts or analyses. Only Isabel Kelly undertook a project that was specifically ethnogeographical, lasting from 1932 to 1934 among some fifteen remnant Southern Paiute groups of Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and California. During the course of eighteen months in the field, Kelly collected various kinds of data on land use, including roughly 1,500 place names or toponyms. Unfortunately, she was unable to synthesize and publish her data before her death in 1982, and thus the names remain largely as lists scattered in her field notes or as notations on maps (Kelly 1932–34).

Kelly also did more general ethnographic work among all of these groups, and she gathered extensive collections of their material culture for museums. For the past few years, I have been compiling and editing for publication the records in the Kelly Southern Paiute archive.¹ While the publication will focus on a basic presentation of her work with some editorial comment and annotations based on my own intermittent field studies since 1961, possibilities for deeper analyses continually suggest themselves. The data that follow offer a view of some aspects of Southern Paiute landscape perceptions as seen through their toponymy, as well as through other aesthetic features such as myth and song that serve to provide context for the names and other observations. Following Tilly (1994: 23), land-



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scope is approached here as having both a natural or physical component and a human component, with culture providing the filter for interpretation. Or, as seen by Ashmore and Knapp (1999: 1), "landscape is an entity that exists by virtue of its parts being perceived, experienced and contextualized by people."

For the purposes of this analysis, the focus will be on the semantics of toponyms for the Southern Paiute people in general, but a comparison will also be drawn of those for groups in two different landscape settings, the Mojave Desert and the Colorado Plateau. Although all Southern Paiute subgroups share some common principles in naming, as well as a focus on what is named, there appear to be a few differences in the semantics of the names that may be related to their different environmental settings. These differences are also detectable in the broader data from myth and song, thus suggesting an important role for these cultural forms in helping to contextualize the names and to define a Southern Paiute sense of place. As Basso (1996) notes, through story even unaltered parts of the natural environment can be filled with deep cultural meanings, which in turn anchor memory, serving to maintain relationships and preserve cultural values.

Place Names as a Field of Study

Although there have been many important studies of toponymy through the years for North American indigenous peoples, in many ways their study as keys to environmental perception was pioneered by Edward Sapir among the Southern Paiute in an important comparative paper titled "Language and Environment" (Sapir 1912). After work in 1910 with young Carlisle Indian School student Tony Tillohash from the Kaibab subgroup of the Southern Paiute, Sapir took specific note of what seemed to be the unique specificity of environmental terminology in place names in the Southern Paiute language as follows:

In the vocabulary of this tribe we find adequate provision made for many topographical features that would in some cases seem almost too precise to be of practical value. Some of the topographical terms of this language that have been collected are: divide, ledge, sand flat, semicircular valley, circular valley or hollow, spot of level ground in mountains surrounded by ridges, plain valley surrounded by mountains, plain, desert, knoll, plateau, canyon without water, canyon with creek, wash or gutter, gulch, slope of mountain or canyon wall receiving sunlight, shaded slope of mountain or canyon wall, rolling country intersected by several small ridges, and many others. (Sapir 1912: 228)

All of this, Sapir remarked, reflects the interest of the people in such environmental features—"accurate reference to topography being a necessary thing to dwellers in an inhospitable semi-arid region; so purely practical a need as definitely locating a spring might well require reference to several features of topographic detail" (Sapir 1912: 228).

Part of Sapir's interest in this case was in the interactive role of language in a group's environmental adaptation, and thus the utility (and necessity) of its study as a reflection of a group's culture. In addition, though, he was also pointing to the role that the grammar of a language might play in setting at least some of the parameters for naming. Franz Boas (1934) would take up the latter theme in his classic study of place names among the Kwakwaka'wakwa (Kwakiutl) of the Northwest Coast, and in his comparison of cultural and linguistic features of these with Yupic (Eskimo), Tewa (after Harrington 1916) and other American Indian languages. In this work Boas illustrated the different "feel" but also "look" of place names in these different languages based on the peoples' interests in what is named, but also on differences in the grammars of their languages; e.g., the nominal vs. verbal character of names, ease of compounding and/or nominalization, development of locative devices, deixis, etc. Thus, Boas concluded, place-naming becomes a complex interactive process involving language, culture, and environmental setting.

In the years since these early works, interest in the general study of place names in North American Indian languages has at times waxed and waned. However, in recent years it has increased in importance as the languages have faced extinction and the cultures have become increasingly detached from earlier modes of environmental interaction and awareness. Significant and extensive catalogs and analyses of place names and place-naming such as those by Kari and Fall (1987, 2003) on Alaskan Dena'ina, Hunn on Sahaptin (1990, 1991) and Basso (1996) on Western Apache have carried forward the ideas of Sapir and Boas, as well as added important new insights that can be derived from these data. Basso (1996), in particular, has illustrated very eloquently what it is like to be part of an active place-naming system through which people maintain a deep attachment to place as part of maintaining their sense of self. He shows how these names, and the stories surrounding them, are still used to teach important moral and social lessons to those willing to listen and learn. Hunn (1996) also has called for deeper cross-cultural study of place-naming systems toward the identification of possible universal principals in their semantics. In all, this area of research is still viable and should have something to contribute, perhaps especially to the people whose systems are in need of reclamation as part of their processes of reattachment to the land and language and culture revitalization (Fowler 2004: 120; Hunn 1996: 4).

The Southern Paiute Data

In addition to the data originally collected by Sapir (1930-31) from Tony Tillohash, other field workers who have recorded Southern Paiute (including Chemehuevi) place names include John Wesley Powell (Fowler and Fowler 1971), J. P. Harrington (n.d.), C. C. Presnell (1936), Catherine Fowler (n.d.), Carobeth Laird (1976), and Pamula Bunte and Robert Franklin (1987; Franklin and Bunte

1991). Although these sources span more than one hundred years, and all make important contributions to the overall data base of Southern Paiute place names, even combined they are not as extensive nor as geographically widespread as the materials collected by Isabel Kelly (1932–34).

During her roughly eighteen months in the field, Kelly traveled the length of Southern Paiute territory, accumulating some twenty-one field notebooks of ethnographic material, including the place names. She also made several large and detailed maps, with names and other reference information attached. Unfortunately, she rarely indicated what base map she was using, although given that her work was conducted in the early 1930s, few choices were likely available.² Also unfortunately, the names are often without larger ethnographic contexts into which to place them. It appears from her notes that she was using the extensive place-name data to develop a feeling for subsistence and settlement strategies, as well as travel and trail networks.³ Her procedures for gathering the data are also not stated, although it appears that she traveled to at least some of the areas mapped with consultants, who even at that time were few in number for the tasks she had in mind. It is also likely that she and her more house-bound consultants looked at maps and even drew maps, in some instances, to build the data base. She occasionally noted in her field correspondence the remarkable memories of some of her consultants regarding place names, even though some were not at the time actually living in their home territories (Kelly 1934b).

Franklin and Bunte (1991) have identified some of the common devices used in the Southern Paiute language for constructing place names (Table 11.1). The resulting structures are nominalizations of various types, some based originally on verb stems, others on nouns or various noun-verb complexes. Many are binomials in the sense used by Kari and Fall (2003: 37) and Hunn (1996: 12), involving some type of generic stem (such as 'to sit' [mountain], 'water comes out' [spring], or 'canyon') plus an attributive or descriptive stem ('coyote', 'cat-tail', 'end of the cliff').⁴ These are combined with various other grammatical elements in complexes that serve as the overall nominalized forms. The specificity of some of the generics and attributives is what attracted Sapir's attention, and we will return to some of these after a brief characterization of the semantics of the overall system. Etymologies for the place names provide at least some data on what Southern Paiute people chose to name in their environments as well as their principles of nomenclature—part of landscape perceptions.

A general overview of Kelly's 1,500-plus place names, and especially of those for which there are reasonably complete etymologies (roughly two-thirds), indicates that people preferred to name mountain peaks, ranges, saddles, and margins; knolls, hills, and plateaus; islands and parts of islands; streams, rivers, washes, and hot and cold water springs and tanks; salt lakes and pans; areas with rocky pediments, unique rock formations or rock types; camps where water was sufficient for planting; some valleys, especially if they have a characteristic cover plant or

Table 11.1 Common Place Name Stems (after Franklin and Bunte 1991)

Verb nominalizations	
- <i>kadi-</i> , - <i>yuk^wi-</i>	'to sit' (sg., pl.), "hill," "rock," "mesa," "mountain"
- <i>abi-</i>	'lie down' (sg.), "long or wide mesa," "ridge," "plateau"
- <i>wini-</i> , - <i>wai^wi-</i>	'to stand' (sg., pl.), "pinnacles"
Other verb stems	
- <i>aboaga-</i>	'to be semicircular,' "box canyon"
- <i>paa-tsi-</i>	'water' (dim.), "spring"
- <i>nuk^wani-</i>	'jut out,' "promontory," "headland," "point"
- <i>n-a-xa-</i>	'have/be,' "place where there is/are —"
- <i>patoni-</i>	'round,' "sugarloaf"
-(<i>paa</i>)- <i>nuk^wi-</i>	'water-flow,' "stream," "creek," "river"
- <i>k^wiok^wi-</i>	'to be hollow,' "hollow place"
Noun bases	
- <i>paa-(tst-)</i>	'water' (dim.), "small spring," "well"
- <i>kaiba-</i>	'mountain,' "mountain"
- <i>pikabo</i>	'hard-round,' "water pocket," "tank," "pothole"
- <i>wi-pi-</i> , - <i>wiy^wa</i>	'wash,' "wash," "canyon"
- <i>kani</i>	'house,' "house," "home"
- <i>poo</i>	'line,' "trail"

sg. = singular; pl. = plural; dim. = diminutive

other distinctive feature; trails and parts of trails; and a few caves. Of these, names for springs and mountains are most numerous (nearly one-third are springs and one-third mountains; the remainder are other features). Names derive from various sources: animals, plants, human body parts, spirits, and descriptive features of various kinds. Rarely if ever are personal names used in place naming, although Kelly did obtain detailed information on the ownership of springs, thus suggesting that opportunities to use owners' names did present themselves.

Kelly's etymologies do not bear out quite the level of specificity in naming noted by Sapir, but some are only partial, and additional analysis may produce better and more thorough translations. A sample of etymologies for "spring" names (built primarily on the stems *-paa*, 'water,' *-paatsi*, 'water + diminutive', or *-paatsipitsi*, 'water + diminutive + comes out,' includes the following:

From animals or animal referents: "Dog Spring," "Coyote Spring," "Coyote Nose Spring," "Badger Spring," "Rabbit Trail Spring," "Rattle Hiss Spring," "Big Horn Drinking Spring"

From plant referents: "Brown Willow Spring," "Chia Spring," "Has Willows Spring," "Apocynum Spring," "Mesquite Spring," "Cactus Drinking Place," "Underbrush Spring," "Has Indian Ricegrass Spring," "Has Serviceberry Spring," "Rabbitbrush Spring," "Brushy Spring," "Cane Spring," "Cottonwoods Surround It Spring," "Arrowweed Spring," "Cattail Spring"

From bird referents: "Golden Eagle Spring," "Quail Spring," "Waterbird Water"

From human or supernatural referents: "Boy Spring," "Mountain Spirit Spring," "Navel Spring" (a rock tank), "Water Baby Cries Spring," "Crying Spring," "Shit Spring"

From miscellaneous geographic or other referents: "Joining Spring," "Separating Spring," "Sand Boils Spring," "Mountain Spring," "White Mountain Base Spring," "Dampness on Grass Spring," "Lava Rock Spring," "Special Rocks Spring," "End of the Wash Spring," "Other Side Spring," "Summit Spring," "On the End of Lava Spring," "Round Hole in the Ground Spring," "Red Ochre Spring," "Water Cave Spring," "Dark Saddle Spring"

A small sample of etymologies for other place names includes: "Sandstone on the End" (a mountain base), "Spotted Lizard's Back" (a rock formation), "Black Serrated" (a mountain crest), "Frost Sits on the Ground" (a mountain valley), "Doctor's House" (a cave), "Gypsum Sitting" (a mountain), and "Willows Standing in a Line" (a stream bank).

Beyond identifications and etymological analysis, which give at least some minimal feel for landscape perceptions, there are some additional data in Kelly's notes that suggest that the people had more complicated views of their territory. These are data concerning hunting songs and ancient mythic journeys, many of which contain place names and provide a broader context. Carobeth Laird (1976), in her rich volume on the Chemehuevis based on George Laird's narratives, speaks of the importance to them of certain hereditary songs in chartering a man's (and occasionally woman's) rights to hunt certain animals in certain territories. Although George Laird could recall only small snippets of such songs, he was aware that they contained many references to specific places, and that they actually charted journeys (as well as shortcuts) to these places for those entitled to the songs. He recalled that there were at least a Deer Song, Mountain Sheep Song, Salt Song, Quail Song, and Day Owl Song. The idea for such songs as well as some of their content is something shared with the Mojave people from whom they may derive. Nonetheless, they are well integrated into the cultural patterns of the Chemehuevi and other Southern Paiute groups, especially in the Mojave Desert region (Las Vegas-Pahrump, Moapa, Shivwits people).

Although equally fragmentary in 1933 when Kelly was in the field, she was able to record the following from a Las Vegas consultant:

In the deer song, the deer travels around Charleston range looking for food. The snow is deep and it goes from place to place. It starts way up on top of Charleston peak; then it comes through the snow, finally out of the snow and down the valley. Comes down through *tsoaruuuuv* (Joshua tree valley), between Charleston Range and Tule springs. They sing all this in the song; name every place he stops, everything that he eats. (Kelly 1934c: 98)

Kelly then gives two samples of parts of the song, both of which name three places where the deer stops. Kelly reports that an abbreviated version was sung for dances and funerals, but that hunters who owned it sang the full version upon request by other hunters who were about to go out for game. Kelly adds that the Las Vegas mountain sheep⁵ song starts from Coachella Mountain near Los Angeles, travels to San Bernardino Mountain and then to two other mountains for which she gives Southern Paiute equivalents, and ends at Charleston Mountain immediately west of Las Vegas. And she adds: "They arrive here in the early mornings; are maybe 200 different verses all told; lasts all night, until sunrise" (Kelly 1934c: 100). All of this indicates that the proper singing must have been an exceedingly rich and informative experience, both in terms of places as well as foods for the mountain sheep: a virtual environmental inventory. Others have recorded similar accounts (see, for example, Hunn 1996: 70-71 for Jim Yoke's narrative).

Briefly, two other song cycles not related to hunting territories but also rich in place names and communicating a sense of cultural landscape are the Salt Song and the Talk Song, also known to other Southern Paiute subgroups. Kelly sketched out both with her Las Vegas consultants.

[The Salt Song] concerned the travels of 2 sisters *Yarik*, (wild goose) and *Avinan-kawatsi* (a small unidentified water bird). Lived at the mountain called *Agai* [Newberry Mountain], between Searchlight and Ft. Mohave. They sang en route as traveling along, naming everything they saw—mountains, water, everything. Traveled to Ft. Mohave on the other side of the river. Crossed to the other shore at Ft. Mohave and came up the river on the east side, at a place called *Mowavit*. Crossed the Colorado at the junction of the Virgin; went up to the salt cave there and named it; from there came to Charleston Peak, then to Ash Meadows; then to the salt lake below the town of Shoshone called *Panigi*; went to Blythe, crossing the river once more. Came up the east side, arriving just before daylight at *Kwinawa*. Went into these mountains in the morning; there is a large cave there, 2 in fact. They entered one of the caves, thereupon the tale ends. (Kelly 1934c:102)

And a small piece of the Talk Song:

This comes from the ocean, this song. In the mornings the ocean is covered with mist or steam rising. In the beginning white birds, large ones called *parosabi* are in the fog. The man stands in his dream and watches the birds. They come out on dry ground,

flapping their wings. As the birds fly out they name a mountain (*Ikanavanti*) in Ca-huilla country. As they fly over the mountain, the longest feather swept the top of the mountain. As the bird passed over the mountain he said, 'I am passing through a land of jimson weed.' But this is not so; there was only one plant there. The bird passed over *Osapigamanti* and right on the plain where there are no rocks he sees a *pita*, eagle feathers tied together to make warriors headgear. He sees this and picks it up. The bird is traveling east. He flies over a wash west of *Nantapiagant*; he looks at his shadow below and sees that the shadow of his wings just reaches from one end of the wash to the other. (Kelly 1934c: 104)

Unfortunately, Kelly did not have a tape recorder and was only able to transcribe fragments of this long tale and song. But what she did get goes on to take the bird many more places, ultimately ending in Hopi country and naming all the while. This song is at least some indication of the wider traveling habits of the Las Vegas people and their knowledge of areas well outside their traditional territories, as well as their landscape perceptions. All of the songs serve to illustrate at least some of the contexts in which place names were used in this region.

Although hunting territory and salt songs appear strongest among the groups in and near the Mojave Desert, other types of songs, including round dance songs, which are interspersed in myths and referred to as "recitatives" by Sapir (1910), and songs that are apparently composed and sung on a variety of other occasions also help to provide context for place names and additional data on landscape perceptions. Like the hunting songs, in translation they provide poetic images of the landscape and observations of it that are culturally sensitive. Powell (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 121-128) recorded several examples of these in the 1870s, as did Sapir in 1910 (Bunte and Franklin 1994). Some examples include:

- (1) The crest of the mountain, forever remains, forever remains; though the rocks continually fall (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 123) [erosional forces];
- (2) The edge of the sky; is the home of the river (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 122);
- (3) The reeds grow in the mountain glades; and the poplars stand on the borders; they [deer] eat the reeds and get shade in the aspens (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 123);
- (4) The cherry limestone yonder; on the Colorado [River] is very steep (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 123);
- (5) Approaching the *Pausagunt* [plateau], I met a fierce wind [downdraft] (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 124);
- (6) It rains on the mountains; it rains on the mountains; a white crown encircles the mountain [referring to the clouds] (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 125);
- (7) On Elk Mountain, on Elk Mountain, moving through the red pines, the wind passes quickly, the wind passes quickly, carrying snow on its head,

carrying snow on its head [a medicine song] (Bunte and Franklin 1994: 638);

- (8) Moving through the Mountain Plateau, moving through the Mountain Plateau, the crowned one, he peeps out now and then as he goes [Ghost Dance Song] (Bunte and Franklin 1994: 655).

Combining the data from place name etymologies with the data from hunting songs and other songs and myths gives a broader picture of landscape perception for the Southern Paiute groups than do the etymologies alone. The songs and stories likely were a primary means by which people learned to connect themselves to these territories, and also learned what was available in terms of water and other resources. Through the use of the names, especially in songs and stories, they were learning practical lessons in how to survive in these difficult environments, but also the spiritual lessons that helped them identify with the land and with themselves in the land.

Mojave Desert/Colorado Plateau Comparisons

The fifteen Southern Paiute subgroups that Isabel Kelly visited and worked among live in an expanse of country that is characterized by different topography, elevation, climate, and to some degree, resources (Figure 11.1). Groups in the far West, in what is now California and southern Nevada, are within the Mojave Desert, one of the driest areas in North America, while those in the middle territories (parts of Nevada, southwestern Utah) live within the Great Basin Desert, often characterized more as desert steppe or cold desert. Both of these locations are within the Basin and Range physiographic region, and are characterized by fault block mountains separated by long and broad interior draining basins. The remaining groups to the east, in south central Utah and northern Arizona, are in country that is part of the Colorado Plateau physiographic region, characterized by horizontal sedimentary strata cut by many steep-walled canyons.

Thus, the Southern Paiute groups were seemingly ideal for Kelly's studies in ethnogeography, as she could compare the cultural adaptations of the different subgroups within varied environmental situations (Fowler and Kemper 2008). These aspects should also lend themselves to comparisons of place-name terminology and other aspects of cultural aesthetics for potential differences in landscape perceptions. However, we should note at the outset that in spite of the relative richness of the data base for the groups, the materials are not quite comparable,⁶ and what can be said must be qualified. On the whole, probably because of shared language, culture, and principles and concepts of naming, more similarities than differences are seen when data are compared for Mojave Desert dwellers (Las Vegas-Pahrump, Chemehuevi) and Colorado Plateau dwellers (Shivwits, Kaibab).

the process of locating as many of these springs and other formations continues, it will be interesting to see if these species still remain in these locations, or if they have been extirpated by grazing or other environmental changes.

Fewer differences are found in names with animal referents, although for the most part they seem to name the most common animals (coyote, rattlesnake, jackrabbit, quail, owl, mosquito, ant, etc.). A few names from the Kaibab and Shivwits areas contain references to beaver, elk, antelope, and bear, which would not generally be found in the Mojave Desert except in select locations.

Based on preliminary assessments, a few physiographic references seem to differ in these two regions as well. Although both use 'mountain' (*kaiibé*) in place names, there are far more of these terms in the Las Vegas-Pahrump and Chemehuevi areas, where mountains are a more obvious feature. On the Colorado Plateau (Shivwits, Kaibab), where peaks are rarer, such names are fewer. Groups in the Mojave Desert also use an alternative term for 'mountain' based on the verb 'to sit' (usually sg.), *-katsi*, to yield 'hill' or 'knoll'. In the Colorado Plateau it is more common to find names based on the verb *-avi-*, 'to lie down' (sg.). In this region, large plateaus and mesas literally "lie" rather than "sit" on the surrounding landscape. In addition, although the term is used in both regions, names based on the verb *-wini-*, 'to stand' (sg.) are more common here, applied to the several different upright rock pinnacles characteristic of the region. Likewise, there are many more terms for 'canyons' (*-wi-p(i)*) and streams or washes (*-nukwi-nú*) among the Colorado Plateau groups than among those in the Mojave Desert.

One rather unique form that they both share is a separate noun stem meaning 'water pocket, pothole, or tank' (*-pikabo*). This term, more in keeping with the uniqueness ideas put forward by Sapir, serves to label critically important water resources in both of these desert regions—i.e., catchment basins in rock formations. The Chemehuevi, in particular, name a number of these in their habitat.

If we reexamine some of the songs given above for some unique environmental perspectives, a few likewise become possible. For example, in (1) "The crest of the mountain forever remains, forever remains, although the rocks continually fall," there is possibly a very beautiful and accurate characterization of geological processes on the Colorado Plateau. Rather than eroding to form hills or slopes, the edges of the parent sandstone break off in vertical slabs that fall to the talus, leaving steep cliff faces in their wake. Other poetic allusions occur in songs and stories that bear out the deep knowledge and attachment to the land in both regions. And names like "Adobe Hanging Like Tears," "Closed Itself with Mesquite," "Fire Valley," "Night Hawk's Throat," "Where They Clubbed Each Other," "High-on-the-Side Tank," "Deer Carrying Net Spring," etc., are poetic allusions that carry the sense of landscape perception and attachment even further. Some of these may once have had story or song connections; others may be purely aesthetic responses to the beauty of the landscape.

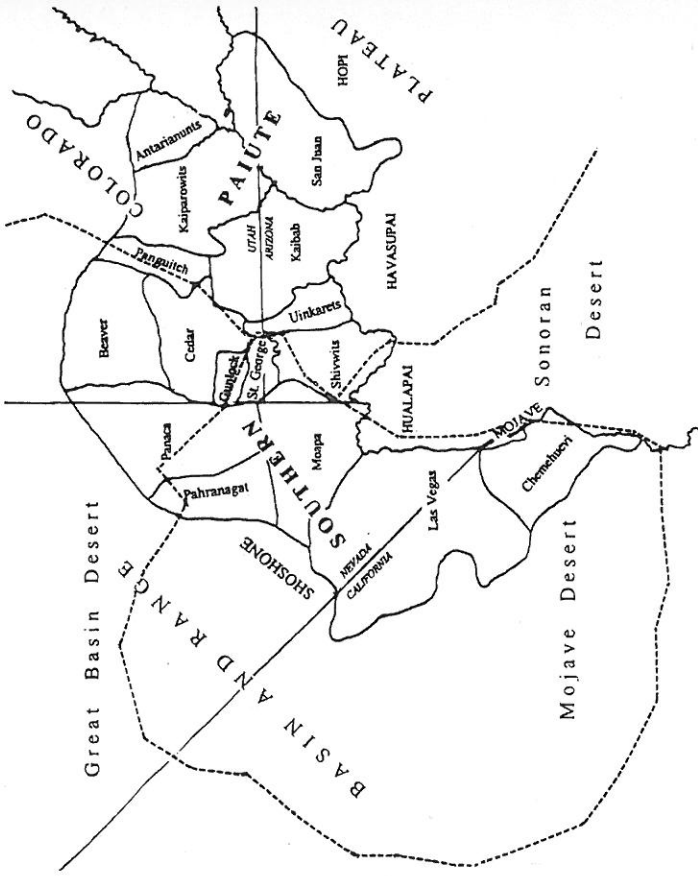


Figure 11.1 Southern Paiute Territory (after Kelly 1934a) with approximate locations of the Mojave, Great Basin, and Sonoran deserts and the Basin and Range and Colorado Plateau physiographic regions.

Given that place names often refer to plant and animal resources present in the environment, one obvious difference might be in the plant and animal resources named. Although there are plants that are common in the territories of these groups and that show up in the names—willow (*Salix* spp), cottonwood (*Populus* spp.), rabbit brush (*Chrysothamnus nauseosus*), cane, Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), cattail (*Typha* spp.), agave (*Agave* spp.), etc.—there are also a number that are distinctly different in their geographic ranges. For example, in the Mojave Desert, names for plants such as chia (*Salvia columbariae*), mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*), screwbean (*Prosopis pubescens*), arrowweed (*Pluchea sericea*), paloverde (*Cercidium floridum*), ironwood (*Oleaya tesota*), cholla (*Opuntia* spp.), etc. are found as attributes of spring names and names of formations, while in Colorado Plateau areas there are names commonly incorporating plants like Engelmann spruce (*Picea engelmannii*), ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), cliffrose (*Covania stansburiana*), oak (*Quercus gambellii*), lemonade berry (*Rhus trilobata*), serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), wild rose (*Rosa woodsii*), etc. As

Conclusion

Thus the task: can these data be used as at least partial keys to landscape perception for the Southern Paiute people? And further, can a deeper sense of place be reconstructed from these data? I think that with a lot of work (and ground time) both can be achieved, at least in part. At a minimum, these data give a view of a past time that is available to fewer and fewer Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi people today due to profound language loss and trends away from intimate landscape experiences. It is sometimes said in anthropological circles that "there is nothing as dead as old field notes," because once divorced from the context in which they were gathered, they become meaningless. But in some instances at least part of that context can be retrieved and perhaps even revitalized. The work involves partnering with Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi people in using modern maps to locate as many as possible of the places Kelly cataloged, and then visiting them to see what may be retrieved and what may have stimulated the names. A second is to find any remnants of the songs and stories preserved in living memory, as it obviously is the songs and related tales that are rich sources for tying the place names to real activities and a fuller sense of geography (Basso 1996). One example is the Salt Song (Salt Song Project 2005), which is presently being documented and revitalized.

Perhaps these approaches, plus additional work on etymologies, will replace something of the soul of these materials, giving all of us, but particularly the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the original place-makers, an enhanced view of their country. A number of young Southern Paiute people today are trying very hard to develop their own sense of place, reclaim their history, and continue their journeys in place-making. These data from the distant past could help in part to serve that purpose.

Notes

1. The Isabel T. Kelly Archive is held in the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX, under the control of Dr. Robert Van Kemper, Department of Anthropology, SMU. Permission by Van Kemper to cite is gratefully acknowledged, as is support from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
2. The maps available to Kelly in 1932 included some of the USGS quad sheets, along with miscellaneous highway and spring maps, depending on location. Some are preserved in the Kelly Archive. Other maps seem to be based on Kelly's sketch maps made in the field.
3. Kelly was a student of Carl Orwin Sauer and A. L. Kroeber at the University of California, Berkeley, having completed her dissertation in 1932. Although she does not define what she means by "ethnogeography," she was taking her approach and methods from those suggested in joint seminars held by these men at UC-Berkeley (Fowler and Kemper 2008).
4. Throughout the use of single quotes denotes etymology and double quotes denotes translation.

5. Mountain sheep are desert bighorn sheep.
6. For a number of groups, Kelly was able to find only a single person to interview for these types of data; for others, she had three to four people. The amount of field time and travel also differed for each group.

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Chapter 12



Managing Maya Landscapes

Quintana Roo, Mexico

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Introduction

Landscape has been a key concept in geography for decades, and recently has become important in anthropology as well. The theory of landscape in geography was developed by Carl Sauer (1925, 1963). His students, notably Yi-fu Tuan (e.g., 1977, 1979, 1990), have built on his foundations. Landscape, in the Sauerian sense, comprised the landforms, waters, living things of the land, and the people, including their manipulated environments and their understandings of the land. Sauer saw landscape as a result of human management of nature—planned use and unplanned consequences. Nature was a player; human managers had to consider climate, landforms, soils, waters, and vegetation.

Sauer recognized that people and the nonhuman environment interact to produce a particular landscape, and that people's cultural ideas lie behind the strategies they use to deal with the environment. He was probably the first major scholar to realize how much the environment was modified by small-scale indigenous societies; among other things, he was among the first to understand the enormous importance of carefully timed and managed burning in shaping North America's forests and prairies (Sauer 1971; also see Doolittle 2000). Sauer was consciously uniting biology, geology, and agricultural science with German idealist philosophy deriving from the work of Immanuel Kant (Kant 1970, 1978 [1798]; cf. Merleau-Ponty 2003). Daniel Janzen (1998) memorably called the world a "garden"; Sauer, earlier, saw a planet of "landscapes."

In *Loving Nature* (2002), Kay Milton took a phenomenological position (following Kant and Merleau-Ponty; see also Abram 1996). She built on the perception that people relate emotionally as well as cognitively to landscapes, just as they do to other things; in other words, thought requires integration of emotion