DENVER ART MUSEUM

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INDIAN LINGUISTIC STOCKS OR FAMILIES

POWELL'S CLASSIFICATION AND MODERN CHANGES
TRIBES, LOCATIONS AND POPULATION

LEAFLETS 51-52

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- 1. INTRODUCTORY. When the exploration of North America had progressed far enough for contacts with several tribes to have been made, it was discovered that all Indians did not speak the same language. This later became increasingly apparent and many of the various tongues were studied and noted down in the succeeding centuries. But no survey of the whole problem was made until 1836; when Albert Gallatin published a work on the subject. On the basis of this work further investigations were carried on which culminated in Powell's report in the 7th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1891. Powell divided the field into 58 linguistic stocks or families.
- 2. NUMBER OF DIALECTS. These 58 stocks were subdivided into at least 775 dialects. The largest stocks today have from 30 to 70 dialects, while many of the smaller ones consist of but one. Many of these dialects so closely resemble others in their stock that they are mutually intelligible, others are less closely connected and can only be understood with difficulty, and the remainder are so unlike that they cannot be understood at all by their linguistic relatives. Analogies in our own tongues are: first group above mentioned, English and American; second group, American and some English county dialect; third group, English and German.
- 3. POWELL'S LIST. Paragraphs 4-64 of this leaflet list the stocks in Powell's classification, including the general location of each stock, its main subdivisions and the approximate number of persons speaking its language. Population figures are very rough, being only for comparative purposes. Paragraphs 70-77 are devoted to changes in Powell's list.
- **4. ADAIZAN.** This stock has been combined with the Caddoan. The dialect was spoken by the Adai, who lived in the Red River district of Texas. The remnant, if any, is today with the Caddo in Oklahoma.
- 5. ALGONKIN. This is a very widely extended and numerous stock. On the western Plains are the Blackfoot, Arapaho, Gros Ventre or Atsina, and Cheyenne; central United States, Ojibwa, Pottawatomi. Menomini, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Illinois, Peoria, Miami; all the New England tribes, see Leaflet 27-28; central Atlantic coast, Delaware; south Atlantic coast, Powhatan, Nanticoke and several vanished tribes; southern Canada, west to east, Cree, some Ojibwa, Ottawa, Algonkin, Montagnais, Naskopi. About 90,000 members of the stock are living today. See reference 3 for the grouping of the dialects.
- **6. ATAKAPAN.** Spoken by the Atakapa or Attacapa of the Gulf coast of Louisiana and Texas. The stock is now extinct. See paragraph 74.
- 7. ATHABASKAN, DENÉ OR TINNEH. A large stock extending from Alaska south to Arizona. Central Alaska, Khotana, Ahtena and Loucheux; northwestern Canada. Yellowknife, Dogrib, Slavey, Chipewyan, Hare, Beaver; south of the above, Nahane, Tahltan, Sekani, Babine, Takulli, Carrier, Chilcotin, Sarsi; western Oregon, Umpqua, Coquille, Chasta Costa, Tututni, Chetco; northwestern California, Tolowa, Hupa, Chilula, Whilkut, Mattole, Nongatl, Lassik, Wailaki, Sinkyone, Kato; Arizona and New Mexico, Navaho and Apache. There are at least 75,000 living members of the stock, some 40,000 being Navaho. See paragraph 77.
- **8. BEOTHUKAN**. Spoken by a now extinct tribe which lived in Newfoundland. See paragraph 77.

- **9. CADDOAN.** Spoken by 3 groups: Arikara of North Dakota; Pawnee of Oklahoma, formerly of Nebraska; Caddo, Kichai, Towakoni and Wichita of Oklahoma, formerly of Louisiana and Texas. There were also many tribes, now vanished, in the southern area which spoke dialects of this family. About 2000 members of the stock still survive. See paragraph 77.
- 10. CHIMAKUAN. A small stock of northwestern Washington, consisting of the Chemakum, now extinct, the Hoh and the Quileute. Of the latter two about 275 survive, mostly Quileute. See paragraph 75.
- 11. CHIMARIKAN. A very small stock of 1 tribe, probably now extinct, formerly living on the Trinity River in northwestern California. See paragraph 70.
- 12. CHIMMESYAN. The Tsimshian Indians on the Nass and Skeena rivers in west central British Columbia make up this stock. They are divided into several groups and today number several thousand.
- 13. CHINOOKAN. This stock formerly lived along the lower Columbia River, up and down the coast from its mouth, and on the lower Willamette River. Only a few hundred survive. There were many small bands or tribes which are listed in reference 2 under the name.
- 14. CHITIMACHAN. This tribe and stock lived on the Grand River and Grand Lake in extreme southern Louisiana. A handful still are found in the neighborhood. See paragraph 74.
- 15. CHUMASHAN. One of the groups of the Mission Indians of southwestern California. There were at least seven dialects, which were named for the missions with which the groups were connected. There are a very few survivors. See paragraph 70.
- **16. COAHUILTECAN.** This name is applied to the languages of a group of long vanished tribes which seem to have lived on the lower Rio Grande in Texas and Mexico. See paragraph 77.
- 17. COPEHAN. A stock of north central California, with two divisions, the Wintun and the Patwin. The Nomelaki are a branch of the Wintun There are perhaps 1000 members of the stock. See paragraph 71.
- 18. COSTANOAN. This Mission Indian group lived along the California coast south of San Francisco. The stock was divided into bands named for the missions with which they were connected. The stock is nearly extinct. See paragraph 71.
- 19. ESKIMOAN. A large number of dialects of this stock are spoken by groups of Eskimo extending from eastern Greenland west across northern North America to eastern Siberia. There are about 30 000 members of the stock.
- **20. ESSELENIAN.** A language, now extinct, spoken by a small group centering about the Carmelo Mission near Monterey, southern California. See paragraph 70.
- 21. IROQUOIAN. A large stock originally located largely in the neighborhood of New York state and in the southeast, but now considerably reduced and moved to other localities. In New York and the adjoining areas north and west were the 5 tribes of the Iroquois, Mohawk, Seneca. Onondaga, Oneida and Cayuga, the Huron, Erie, Neutrals and Tionontati or Tobacco nation. In Pennsylvania were the Susquehanna or Cones-

- toga. In the south were the Cherokee and the southeast the Tuscarora, Nottaway and Meherrin. Today there are about 35,000 in the stock, in 2 main groups in New York and Canada and in Oklahoma. See paragraph 77.
- 22. KALAPUYAN. A stock formerly inhabiting the valley of the Willamette River in northwestern Oregon. There were a good many divisions of the stock. The survivors, less than 100, live mostly on the Grande Ronde reservation in Oregon. See paragraph 77.
- 23. KARANKAWAN. A stock which lived on the Gulf coast of Texas. Its exact extent and the names of its divisions are but little known. The language is now extinct. See paragraph 77.
- **24. KERESAN.** A stock of the Pueblo Indians, located in northern New Mexico. Acoma and Laguna and their colonies, Cochiti, San Felipe Santa Ana, Santo Domingo and Tsia are the towns inhabited today. About 5200 Indians speak the closely related dialects of the stock. See paragraph 76.
- **25. KIOWAN.** This stock is confined to one tribe, the Kiowa, a southern Plains people now located in Oklahoma. The tribe numbers about 2000. See paragraph 76.
- **26. KITUNAHAN.** This stock is made up of the Kutenai Indians, a tribe now living in southeastern British Columbia and the adjacent parts of Idaho and Montana. There are two dialects, Upper and Lower Kutenai. Some hundreds still speak the language.
- 27. KOLUSCHAN. This stock consists of the Tlinkit tribes of extreme southeastern Alaska. Between 3000 and 4000 members of the 16 divisions of the tribe are now living. See paragraph 77.
- 28. KULANAPAN. The Pomo tribes, in western California north of San Francisco, constitute this stock. There are 7 dialects of the language, which is spoken today by perhaps 1000 persons. See paragraph 70.
- 29. KUSAN. There is but one member of this stock, the Coos tribe, which formerly lived on and near Coos Bay on the Oregon coast. A very few survivors live on the Siletz reservation in Oregon. See paragraph 77.
- **30. LUTUAMIAN.** There are two tribes in this stock, the Klamath and Modoc Indians of southwestern Oregon. The present population is about 1000. See paragraph 77.
- 31. MARIPOSAN. This stock lived in the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The stock is divided into about 40 dialects, some of which are still spoken by the few hundred survivors of today. See paragraph 71.
- **32. MOQUELUMNAN.** This stock is restricted to the Miwok tribe of California. There are three divisions of the stock, the Coast and Lake divisions situated north of San Francisco, and the Interior division in the central part of the state, of which about 500 survive. See paragraph 71.
- 33. MUSKHOGEAN OR MUSKOGIAN. The leading stock of the Southeast, the surviving members of which today live largely in Oklahoma. At an earlier time the leading tribes were the Choctaw, Seminole,

- Chickasaw, Muskogi, Hitchiti, Kaosati, Alibamu, Apalachee, Apalachicola, Mobile, Pensacola, Tuskegee, Cusabo, Yamasee, Natchez, Taensa and a large group of small tribes in Louisiana. The Creeks were the members of a confederacy of the Muskogi and allied tribes. The Seminole of Florida and Oklahoma are an offshoot of this organization. The first four groups listed survive today in considerable numbers, while the others have nearly disappeared. There are about 30,000 living members of the stock.
- 34. NATCHESAN. This stock on Powell's original list has long been included in the Muskhogean stock—see above. The language was spoken by the Natchez tribe which lived on the Mississippi River somewhat north of the Gulf. One or two persons still speak the language.
- 35. PALAIHNIHAN. This stock, made up of the Pit River tribes of northeastern California, has been combined with the Sastean or Shastan stock. About 1000 people speak the dialects of the stock.
- **39. PIMAN.** The home of this stock is southern Arizona and northern Mexico. The American branches are the Pima, Papago and the now extinct Sobaipuri. There are about 11,000 living members of the stock in the United States. See paragraph 73.
- **40. PUJUNAN.** The Maidu tribe of the eastern Sacramento valley in California is the only member of this stock. The 3 dialects are spoken by about 1000 Indians. See paragraph 71.
- 41. QUORATEAN. The Karok tribe of northwestern California makes up this stock. About 700 survive. See paragraph 70.
- **42. SALINAN.** A practically extinct stock of the Mission Indians of southern California. There were at least 2 dialects. A very few are living today. See paragraph 70.
- 43. SALISHAN. A large stock with many tribes and dialects, grouped as follows: Interior Salish in southwestern Canada; Shuswap, Lilloet, Thompson River and Okanagan; in northern Idaho and Montana; Flathead, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokan and Methow; Coast Salish from north to south; Bella Coola, Comox, Cowichan, Nanaimo, a large group of small tribes in the neighborhood of Puget Sound, Quinault and Chehalis on the coast and Tillamook in northwestern Oregon. This is not a complete list. About 18,000 people speak dialects of the stock. See paragraph 75.
- 44. SASTEAN OR SHASTAN. A stock of northeastern California with 5 divisions, the Pit River group, the Shasta, the Konomihu, the Okwanuchu and the New River. All of these are practically extinct except the Pit River group of whom some 1000 remain. See paragraph 70.
- **45. SHAHAPTIAN OR SAHAPTIN.** A stock centering in the middle Columbia River basin. The principal tribes are Nez Percé, Klikitat, Paloos, Tenino, Umatilla, Wallawalla and Yakima. There are other smaller subdivisions. There are at least 5000 people speaking the various dialects of the stock. See paragraph 77.
- 46. SHOSHONEAN. A very large and greatly subdivided stock of the western United States. Southern Idaho and adjacent areas, Shoshone and Bannock; western Utah, Gosiute; southern Utah, southern Paiute; southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah, Ute; northern Arizona, Hopi; western Nevada, northern Paiute or Paviotso; southwestern Cali-

- fornia, Serrano, Gabrielino, Luiseño, Cachuilla, Juaneño, and Cupeño: southeastern California, Panamint, Mono, Kern River, Kawaiisu and Chemehuevi; and on the southern Plains, the Comanche. There are about 18,000 members of the stock. See paragraphs 73 and 76.
- **48. SKITTAGETAN.** The Haida Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands, off the coast of British Columbia, and the adjoining mainland, are the only members of this stock. There are about 800 living today. See paragraph 77.
- 47. SIOUAN. A very large and important stock, once located in 3 areas. In the southeast were a number of tribes which have now vanished with a few exceptions; Monacan, Manahoac, Tutelo, Saponi, Occaneechi, Woccon, Catawba, the only surviving tribe, Santee, Cheraw, Wateree, Congaree, Pedee and perhaps several other extinct groups. In Louisiana were the Ofo and Biloxi, of whom perhaps a handful survive. In the west are the 7 tribes of the Dakota, the Assiniboin, Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan, Winnebago, the Chiwere dialectic group of the Iowa, Oto and Missouri, and the Dhegiha dialectic group of the Omaha, Ponca, Kansa, Osage and Quapaw. About 40,000 persons speak dialects of the stock.
- **49. TAKILMAN.** This stock contains only the Takelma tribe once located on the Rogue River in southwestern Oregon. There may be a survivor or two on the Siletz reservation. See paragraph 77.
- 50. TANOAN. A stock of Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. There are 3 divisions: Tewa, spoken at the pueblos of Nambé, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara and Tesuque; Tigua or Tiwa, spoken at Isleta, Picuris, Sandia and Taos; Jemez spoken at the pueblo of that name and formerly at Pecos, now abandoned. There were once 2 other groups, the Tano and Piro, but these dialects are now extinct, though some people remain. See paragraph 76.
- 51. TIMUCUAN. This stock is now extinct. It consisted of the tribes of Florida, excluding the Seminole who entered the state long after all the Timucuans had perished.
- **52. TONIKAN.** A stock represented today only by the Tunica, a tribe of the lower Mississippi. A few speakers of the language may still survive near Marksville, Louisiana. Formerly there were 4 other tribes speaking dialects of this stock, Yazoo, Koroa, Tiou and Grigra. See paragraph 74.
- **53. TONKAWAN.** The Tonkawa Indians, once of central Texas but now in Oklahoma, make up this stock. A few dozen survive. See paragraph 77.
- **54. UCHEAN.** The Yuchi tribe, which lived on the Savannah River in Georgia, until removal to Oklahoma, is the only representative of this stock. A small number still live among the Creeks and Shawnees in Oklahoma.
- **55. WAIILATPUAN.** There are two members of this stock, the Cayuse and the Molala of the Cascades section of the Columbia River. The survivors of the two tribes, who number less than 100, live on the Umatilla reservation. See paragraph 77.
- 56. WAKASHAN. There are 3 main divisions of this stock, the Makah of Cape Flattery, Washington, the Nootka of southern Vancouver Island, and the Kwakiutl of northern Vancouver Island and the adjoining main-

- land. There are many subdivisions of these groups. There are perhaps 4000 members of the stock today. See paragraph 75.
- **57. WASHOAN.** A stock represented by but one tribe, the Washo of west central Nevada and the adjoining part of California. There are about 600 members of the tribe. See paragraph 70.
 - **58. WEITSPEKAN.** A single tribe, the Yurok, makes up this stock. It is located in northwestern California. About 700 survive. There are 4 dialects. See paragraph 72.
 - 59. WISHOSKAN. The Wiyot tribe of northwestern California is the only member of this stock. About 100 survive. See paragraph 72.
 - **60. YAKONAN.** This stock lived on the Oregon coast between the Umpqua and Yaquina Rivers. The very few survivors are on the Siletz reservation. There were 4 tribes, Yaquina, Alsea, Suislaw and Kuitsh. See paragraph 77.
 - **61. YANAN.** A stock of central California with 4 dialects, Gari'i, Gata'i, southern Yana and Yahi. A few dozen survive. See paragraph 70.
 - **62. YUKIAN.** A small stock in 3 areas in northern California. There are 4 divisions, Yuki, Coast Yuki, Wappo and Huchnom. About 150 speakers of these dialects survive.
 - 63. YUMAN. A considerable stock located principally along the course of the lower Colorado River. In Southern California are offshoots, the Diegueño, and Kamia. Along the Colorado or nearby are the Cocopa, Havasupai, Maricopa, Mohave, Walapai, Yavapai, Yuma and Yuma-Apache. There are about 4000 members of the stock. See paragraph 70.
 - **64. ZUÑIAN.** This stock is found only at the pueblo of Zuñi in west central New Mexico. The population is 1950. See paragraph 76.

RECENT CHANGES IN POWELL'S LIST

- 65. REGROUPING OF STOCKS. Ever since the publication of Powell's list linguists have been making more or less detailed studies of the languages included in it. These studies have resulted in a very considerable reduction in the number of stocks. Some of these reductions are accepted by all students, while others are disputed by some.
- 66. CHANGES IN STOCK NAMES. Powell was inclined to give manufactured names to many of the stocks, especially the smaller ones. Many of these were cumbersome and unintelligible to all but close students. The modern tendency is to call these small stocks by the name of the tribe speaking the language. Thus the Quoratean stock is now usually called the Karok stock.
- **67. NEW STOCK NAMES.** For some of the recent stocks made up of many old ones it has been necessary to invent names, such as Hokan and Mosan, but whereever possible the name of the dominant tribe with the suffix-an has been used.
- **68. NUMBER OF STOCKS TODAY.** Owing to the disagreement about some of the modern combinations it is impossible to give the exact number, but 30 is somewhere near.
- 69. NUMBER OF DIALECTS TODAY. The lack of complete data make it impossible to more than guess at this figure. An estimate often given is 600.
- 70. HOKAN. This group of California stocks formerly considered to be independent contains the Quoratean (Karok). Chimarikan/ Shastan, Yanan, Kulanapan, (Pomo), Washoan, Esselenian, Yuman, Salinan and Chumashan tribes.
- 71. PENUTIAN. A group of California stocks once considered to be independent. It contains the Moquelumnan (Miwok), Costanoan, Mariposan (Yokuts), Copehan (Wintun) and Pujunan (Maidu).

- 72. WEITSPEKAN (YUROK) AND WISHOSKAN (WIYOT). These two stocks are considered by some linguists to belong to the Algonkin stock. This conclusion is the subject of much debate.
- 73. UTO-AZTECAN. The Piman and Shoshonean stocks, together with the Nahuatl stock of Mexico, are now grouped together under this name. See paragraph 76 for additional discussion.
- 74. TUNICAN. The Tonikan, Atakapan and Chitimachan stocks have recently been found to be sufficiently closely related to warrant grouping them under one name.
- 75. MOSAN is the name applied to a new stock formed by grouping Salishan, Chimakuan and Wakashan.
- 76. KIOWAN AND TANOAN have been found to belong to the same stock. Still more recent investigation seems to show that all the Pueblo languages are related, thus throwing Kiowan, Tanoan, Keresan, Zuñian and Shoshonean into one group. As Shoshonean is now in the Uto-Aztecan stock, the others presumably follow it. Available information does not indicate the name for this new grouping.
- 77. ADDITIONAL GROUPINGS suggested are: Iroquoian and Caddoan; Athabaskan, Koluschan (Tlinkit) and Skittagetan (Haida); Coahuiltecan, Tonkawan and Karankawan; Takilman (Takelma), Kalapuyan, Kusan (Coos) and Yakonan; Sahaptin, Waiilatpuan and Lutuamian. Beothukan may be Algonkin.
- 78. SAPIR'S CLASSIFICATION Edward Sapir has proposed an arrangement of all stocks into 6 groups. This plan is outlined on page 139 of reference 6.
- 79. LANGUAGE AND CULTURE The fact that two tribes in separate areas speak closely related languages does not mean that their social organization, arts, clothing, food, etc. are alike. The culture of a tribe depends on its environment and not on its linguistic relationships. Thus both Hopi and Comanche are Shoshonean, but the former is a town-dwelling tribe with elaborate social and religious organization, while the latter is a nomadic hunting tribe of the plains, with a simple type of culture.
- **80. CHARACTER OF LANGUAGES** For discussions of the various types of Indian languages, their grammatical structure, etc., see reference 6 and the article "Languages" in reference 2.
- 81. MAP Powell's original map appeared in reference 1. A revision to 1912 appears in the 1st volume of the second edition of Bulletin 30. The revision to 1915 was published separately.

Compiled by F. H. Douglas from the following sources:

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- 1. Indian linguistic families of America north of Mexico—Powell, 7th Annual Report 1885-86, Published 1891.
- 2. Handbook of American Indians. Bulletin 30, 1907-10.
- 3. Preliminary report on the linguistic classification of Algonquian tribes —Michelson. 28th Annual Report 1906-7. Published 1912.
- 4. Handbook of the Indians of California—Kroeber. Bulletin 78, 1925 UNITED STATES BUREAU OF THE CENSUS.
 - 5. Census of 1910: Indian population in the United States and Canada. 1915.

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- 6. Central and North American languages—Sapir. 14th edition, volume 5, pages 138-141.
- 7. Articles on many of the leading stocks. See index of the work.
- A bibliography of Indian linguistics would be immense. Consult the publications of the Bureau of Ethnology, the American Anthropological Association, the American Ethnological Society and the University of California for many works on the subject.