

Linguistic Archaeology:
Prehistoric Population Movements and Cultural Identity
in the Southwest Great Basin and
Far Southern Sierra Nevada

By

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For my wife, Leanne, and my children, Jason, Max, and Hannah
and my friends Richard Blalock, Dr. Donna Kono, and Julia Schley.

Thank you for keeping the dream alive and
for your support throughout the completion of that vision.

Linguistic Archaeology: Population Movement and Cultural Identity in the Southwest Great Basin and Far Southern Sierra Nevada

Abstract

Scholars posit contrasting models of the ethnic identity and language / population movements of prehistoric peoples in the southwestern Great Basin and far southern Sierra Nevada. These models favor either *in situ* cultural development or population replacement and expansion. Archaeological data from these areas are used in this dissertation to examine past movements of peoples speaking Numic and Tubatulabal languages and, thereby, to evaluate the models.

Seven archaeological studies in the Kern Plateau and Scodie Mountains areas of the Sierra Nevada are reviewed including: 69 archaeological sites; analysis of excavation results from 54 sites; 475 obsidian hydration measurements; and 28 radiocarbon dates. Additional information (i.e., the dating and character of rock art, mitochondrial DNA analyses, burial patterns, obsidian hydration chronology, toolstone use, dietary patterns, and distribution of time-sensitive artifacts) was gathered from archaeological studies elsewhere in the southwestern Great Basin. All these data were evaluated with regard to whether they support models of cultural continuity or population replacement.

In the Kern Plateau interior and the Isabella Basin, archeological evidence favors the hypothesis that the Tubatulabal language and cultural tradition are of long standing. Archaeological sites show continuous, unbroken occupation from the historic era back 2500 years or more. Distributions of obsidian hydration rim measurements indicate a continuous prehistoric cultural sequence. Dietary patterns also show a consistent emphasis on large game and pine nut use during a span of more than two millenia. The

use of one geologic source of volcanic glass and the persistence of a solitary rock art tradition further testify to a single (i.e., Tubatulabal) cultural expression.

The Sierra Nevada crest and the southwestern Great Basin, in contrast, witnessed significant subsistence-settlement changes at the beginning of the Haiwee Period (ca. A.D. 600). Subsistence changes included: a decline in the hunting of large game; an initial and growing emphasis on dryland hard seeds; the beginning of intensive green-cone pinyon pine nut use; and the introduction of specialized sites focusing on the mass harvest of easily procured and abundant small game animals. These variations in hunter-gatherer adaptation may indicate culturally distinct, sequential populations pursuing varying subsistence-settlement strategies rather than an *in-situ* cultural tradition responding to environmental change. I argue that these subsistence shifts reflect distinctive Numic adaptations.

Archaeological data support the hypothesis that pre-Numic occupations exhibit cultural continuity from the Newberry Period (1500 B.C.- A.D. 600) into the early Haiwee interval (A.D. 600-1000). Later cultural discontinuities support the thesis that Numic groups entered the region early in the Haiwee era, coincident with the introduction of Rose Spring and Eastgate projectile points (ca. A.D. 600). Numic archaeological expressions show marked continuities from the Haiwee Period (A.D. 600-1300) through the Marana interval (A.D. 1300–1850) and into the historic era. The in-migrating Numic populations most likely produced simple, scratched style rock drawings and later on, during the historic era, Coso Style paintings.

In contrast, within the Coso Range, growing evidence now suggests that Coso Representational Style petroglyphs were produced only by pre-Numic groups largely

during the late Newberry (500 B.C- A.D. 600) and early Haiwee (A.D.600-1000) periods. Petroglyph manufacture appears to have ceased abruptly in the midst of peak production and elaboration during the Haiwee Period possibly because of the depletion of the local bighorn sheep herds.

Archaeological data and limited mitochondrial DNA studies are also consistent with the idea that Numic populations eventually replaced or absorbed pre-Numic groups. During the late Haiwee era (A.D. 1000-1300) Numic peoples apparently expanded out of their former heartland and began their migrations northward and to the east, ultimately dispersing throughout most of the Great Basin.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Scope and Purpose

This study integrates historical linguistic and archaeological studies to model the movements of speakers of Numic and Tubatulabal languages along the margin of the southwestern Great Basin. Data from seven archaeological studies in the far southern Sierra Nevada and Scodie Mountains of eastern Kern and Tulare counties, California are reviewed (Figures 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3). Two types of models are considered: (1) those favoring *in situ* development of the Numic pattern; and (2) those positing movement, expansion, and population replacement.

The present chapter briefly: (1) introduces the problem of recognizing archaeologically the territorial boundaries of ethnic/linguistic groups; (2) traces the history of Great Basin linguistic models and the debate concerning Numic expansion; and (3) evaluates the implications of models of population shifts versus in-place culture change and continuity.

Anthropological Background

Since the beginnings of anthropology more than a century ago, prehistoric population movements have been a focus of study. Interest has, of course, waxed and waned but researchers have often returned to the topic because of its central place in anthropological studies. Closely tied to the topic of population movements are the relationships of material culture to other aspects of human behavior and the link between language and ethnicity.

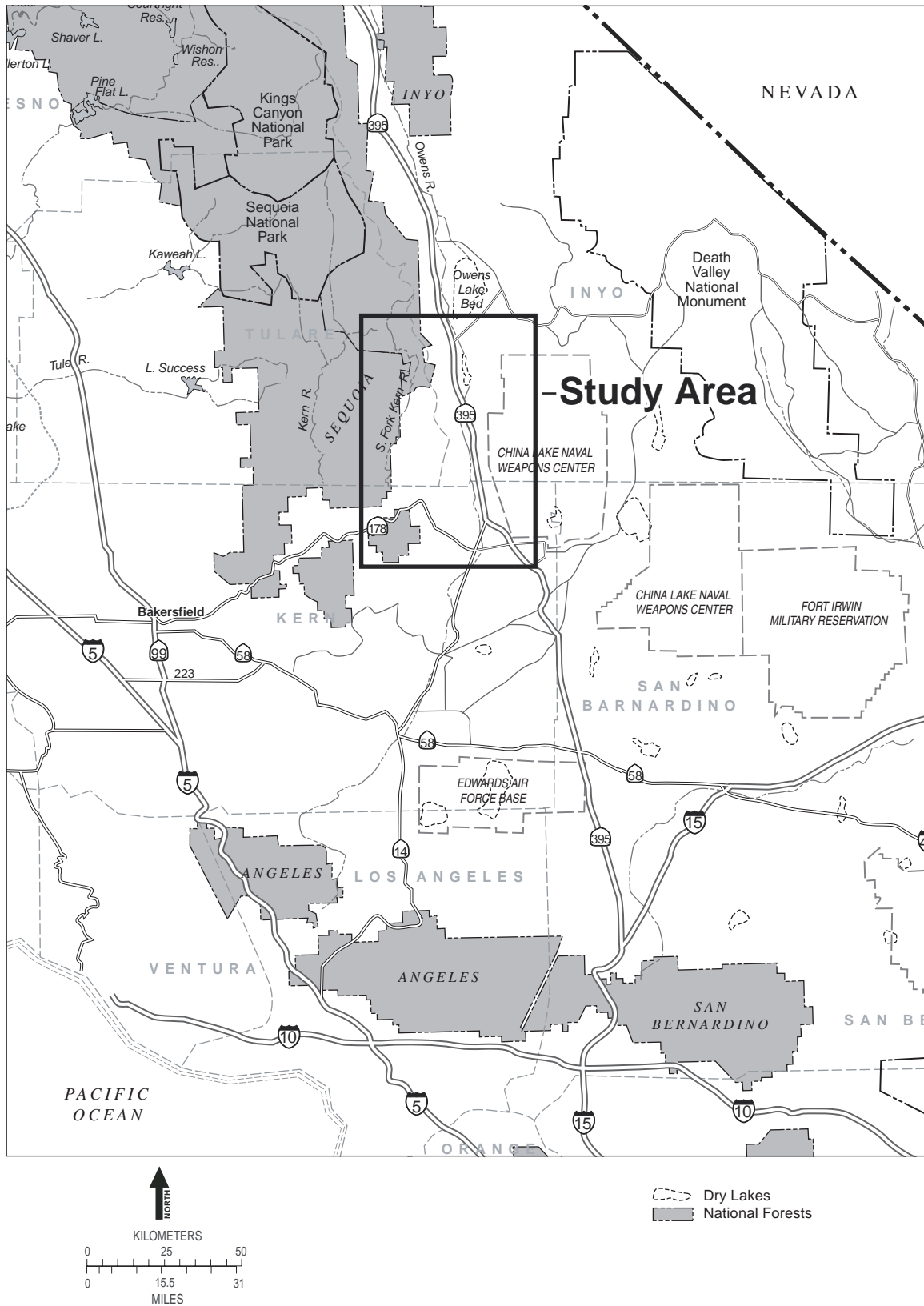
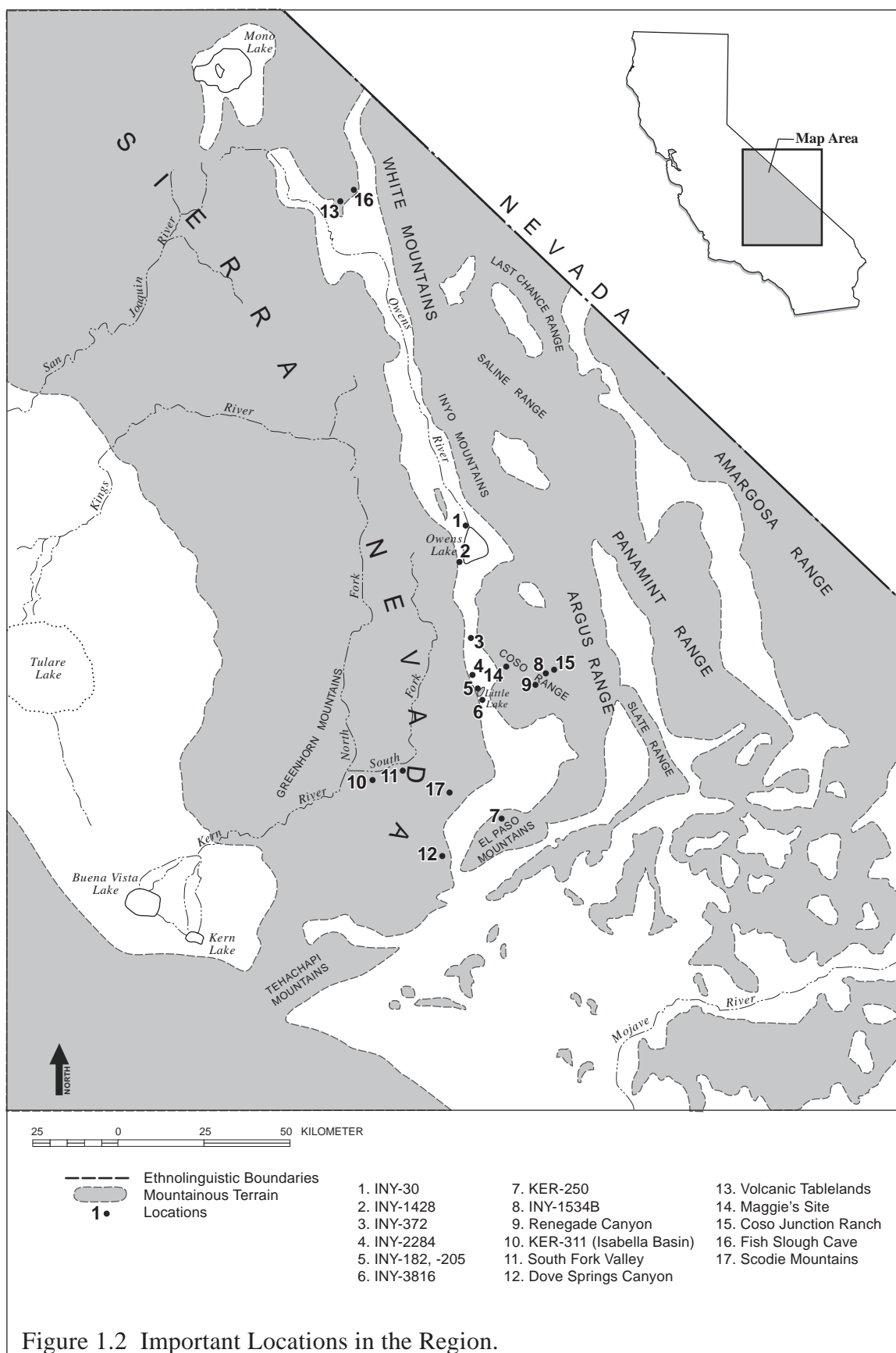


Figure 1.1 General Location of Study Area



With every theoretical and methodological innovation there have been concomitant refinements in cultural studies of sociopolitical organization, subsistence-settlement, and cosmology. All eventually turn on our ability to study the movement and spread of prehistoric populations, ethnic shifts, and language change. Yet, over the last century, debate has continued to focus on when and how native peoples came to have their historical distributions. In the 1980s and 1990s the topic again came to the fore, receiving attention worldwide (DeAtley and Findlow 1984; Ehret 1988; Foster 1996; Hughes 1992; Lindstrom 1996; Nash 1996; Renfrew 1987; Renfrew et al. 2000; Roberts et al. 1995).

Nature of the Problem

Tracing the movements of languages and people through time and space is a difficult undertaking, since there is no necessary relationship among language, ethnicity, and material culture (cf. Foster 1996; Hughes 1992; Kroeber 1955:104). People who speak closely related languages can exhibit dramatic differences in material culture, and groups can have similar material cultures, yet speak vastly different languages. But, given these well-known facts, anthropologists can still develop theoretically sophisticated proposals based on the available evidence that can be challenged, refined, and debated. Although far from definitive, linguistic archaeology can illuminate the past by serving as a source for hypothesis generation and making us aware of the possible prehistory of a given area.

Attempts to infer ethnolinguistic attributions and meaning to archaeological patterns are by their very nature problematic. Identifying prehistoric assemblages with

particular linguistic units is more often informed guesswork than systematic scientific inquiry, and is subject to a great range of interpretive challenges. Yet, when we speak of large-scale language movements among hunter-gatherers, we are normally talking about language shifts that occur because their speakers change their geographical range (cf., Bellwood 1985, 1997; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Ehret 1976; Renfrew 1987). This is language replacement writ large, based on population movements where the speakers of the autochthonous language often do not retain their former territory. Language spread often involves movements of people into already populated areas; therefore, some competitive advantage must ordinarily be assumed.

Ethnic Groups and their Archaeological Correlates

Ethnic groups are usually defined by the fact that they share a common language and are biologically self-perpetuating (Barth 1969). Notwithstanding the long-running debate on exactly which attributes should best be interpreted as having stylistic rather than purely techno-functional significance (Binford 1968, 1986; Sackett 1985, 1986), style may be defined as “the formal variation in material culture that transmits information about personal and social identity” (Weissner 1983:256). As such, artifact styles have the potential to aid in the study of ethnic boundaries, inter-group competition, and population displacements

Stylistic attributes or those cultural elements argued as not purely functional are useful in distinguishing ethnic groups archaeologically (cf. Adovasio 1986; Wiessner 1983, 1985). Material culture elements serving in a religious or ideological context can serve especially well as proxy indicators of ethnicity (e.g., rock art, burial patterns or

iconographic pottery designs). When stylistic elements co-occur in space and time, the argument for ethnic distinction becomes compelling (cf. Simpson 1988). This distinction may correspond to any of a number of sociocultural levels (including family, clan, lineage, village, tribelet, territorial band, or ethnolinguistic group).

Hunter-gatherer Territorial Boundaries

Much discussion has focused upon whether hunter-gatherers hold and defend their core territories, and whether they exhibit exclusive ownership of resources within such territories (Kroeber 1925; Steward 1938, 1970). In practice, boundary maintenance in hunter-gatherer communities varied widely. On a worldwide basis we can recognize examples where simple foraging peoples do mark their territories and have distinctive cultural elements that serve as indicators of cultural interaction, ethnic-linguistic signatures, and tribal boundaries (R. Layton 1986; Peterson 1978:24-25; Weissner 1983).

Foragers' core territories may display high densities of particular stylistic elements and there may be sharp, well-defined drop-off shoulders at their boundaries (Hodder 1982). Mapping of such stylistic "group-marker elements" would establish their relative densities across the landscape. Simple distance-decay models would not be expected when ethnic distinctions and territoriality are involved. The scale of such distributions spatially will provide clues to levels of sociocultural distinction.

Historical Linguistic Models in the Great Basin and Study Area

Scholars continue to debate the prehistoric developments leading to the historical distributions of Uto-Aztecan (and specifically Numic) languages. Historical linguist Sydney Lamb (1958) first suggested that Northern Uto-Aztecan moved into the western

United States from a homeland in northern Mexico about 5,000 years ago and subsequently diverged into four branches: Hopic; Numic; Takic; and Tubatulabal. Hopic was thought to have moved to the east while Tubatulabal remained in place. Numic and Tubatulabal were believed to have separated in the western Great Basin and far southern Sierra Nevada, with Tubatulabal enjoying some 2,000 - 3,000 years of in-place development. The division of Numic into its separate branches and individual languages was thought to have occurred within the last 1,000 - 2,000 years.

In terms of linguistic classification, Numic consists of three subdivisions: Western, Central, and Southern (Kroeber 1907, 1925). Each Numic subdivision is comprised of essentially two languages, one occupying a small area in eastern California and the other a large portion of the Great Basin (Figure 1.4). Applying the center-of-gravity principle (Sapir 1916), it is reasonable to conclude that the Numic homeland lay in the area of greatest linguistic concentration. It is also probable that the Numic languages spread outward from this linguistic hearth in the southwestern Great Basin in the not-too-distant past. Many scholars have concluded that Numic populations expanded into the Great Basin from this linguistic center $\leq 1,000$ years ago (Foster 1996; Miller 1986; Moratto 1984: Chapter 11).

History of Debate Concerning Numic Expansion

During the 1960s and 1970s the archaeological community largely agreed on the above scenario, at least in acceptance of the expansion of Numic people. But issues of timing, as well as the mechanisms and geographical direction of the spread were still contentious. In the 1980s that tenuous consensus began to disintegrate, and in the mid-

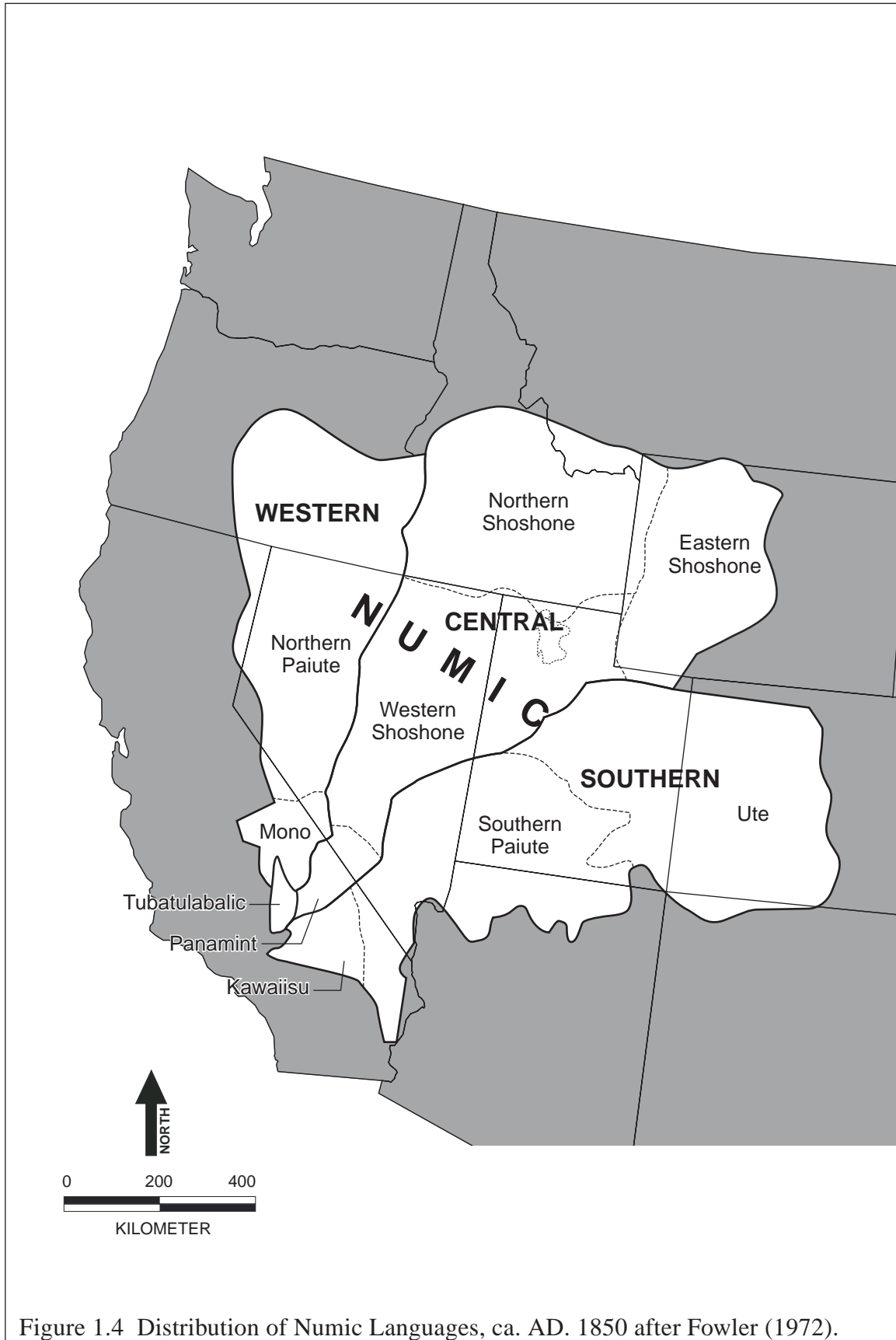


Figure 1.4 Distribution of Numic Languages, ca. AD. 1850 after Fowler (1972).

1990s an historical benchmark was set with the publication of the Madsen and Rhode monograph (1994). That work served to focus wide-ranging and lively discussions questioning the assumptions for Numic expansion and the nature of language shifts over time. As discussed in more detail below, the diverse views on Numic prehistory fall into two groups: those accepting the replacement of pre-Numic populations by Numic (Adovasio 1986; Bettinger 1994; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Madsen 1994; Sutton 1986; 1987; Young and Bettinger 1992) and those favoring a lengthy *in situ* development of Numic groups within the Great Basin, including the study region (Aikens 1994; Aikens and Witherspoon 1986; Goss 1964, 1977; Grant et al. 1968; Pearson 2002; Whitley 1998).

Current State of Affairs

Even after more than a century of debate and a multitude of publications, the only thing that all scholars can agree on is the historical linguistic distribution of Numic and other Uto-Aztecan peoples. Disagreements pervade the discussions because competing models have yet to be rigorously and critically tested (Fowler 1972; Madsen 1975; Sutton 1986). The legitimacy of the tests has been questioned since the results have been equivocal. Also, anthropologists have not developed generally accepted means for tracing prehistoric population movements. There is little agreement on the way to identify the archaeological markers of language shifts. Neither is there clear mid-range theory relating archaeological data to models of prehistoric population movements, language shifts, and ethnic spreads.

Additionally, cultural chronologies in the West are not definitive and hence they leave considerable room for argument about dating and the associations of cultural sequences with particular cultural identities. Chronologies based upon projectile points are fairly well established, yet the dating of key series and the exact definition of certain key series are still subject to considerable disagreement (e.g., the Humboldt and Pinto “problems”).

Desert West archaeology is often represented by surface materials. Dating such sites has at times been difficult. The means of doing so are still subject to issues of resolution and accuracy (e.g., the use of obsidian hydration and time-sensitive artifacts for dating). Disagreements still relate to basic questions of diet, settlement pattern, site function and the age of archaeological patterns, including such long-time standards as “the nature and antiquity of pinyon exploitation for eastern California” (cf., Bettinger 1976; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Hildebrandt and Ruby 2000; McGuire and Garfinkel 1976; Reynolds 1996).

Alternative Models of Numic Prehistory

Alternative archaeological reconstructions and varying interpretations of the linguistic data have led to various reconstructions of population movements in the Great Basin. The Numic expansion and the proposal that Numic is of late prehistoric age in the Great Basin have generated a great deal of discussion and debate.

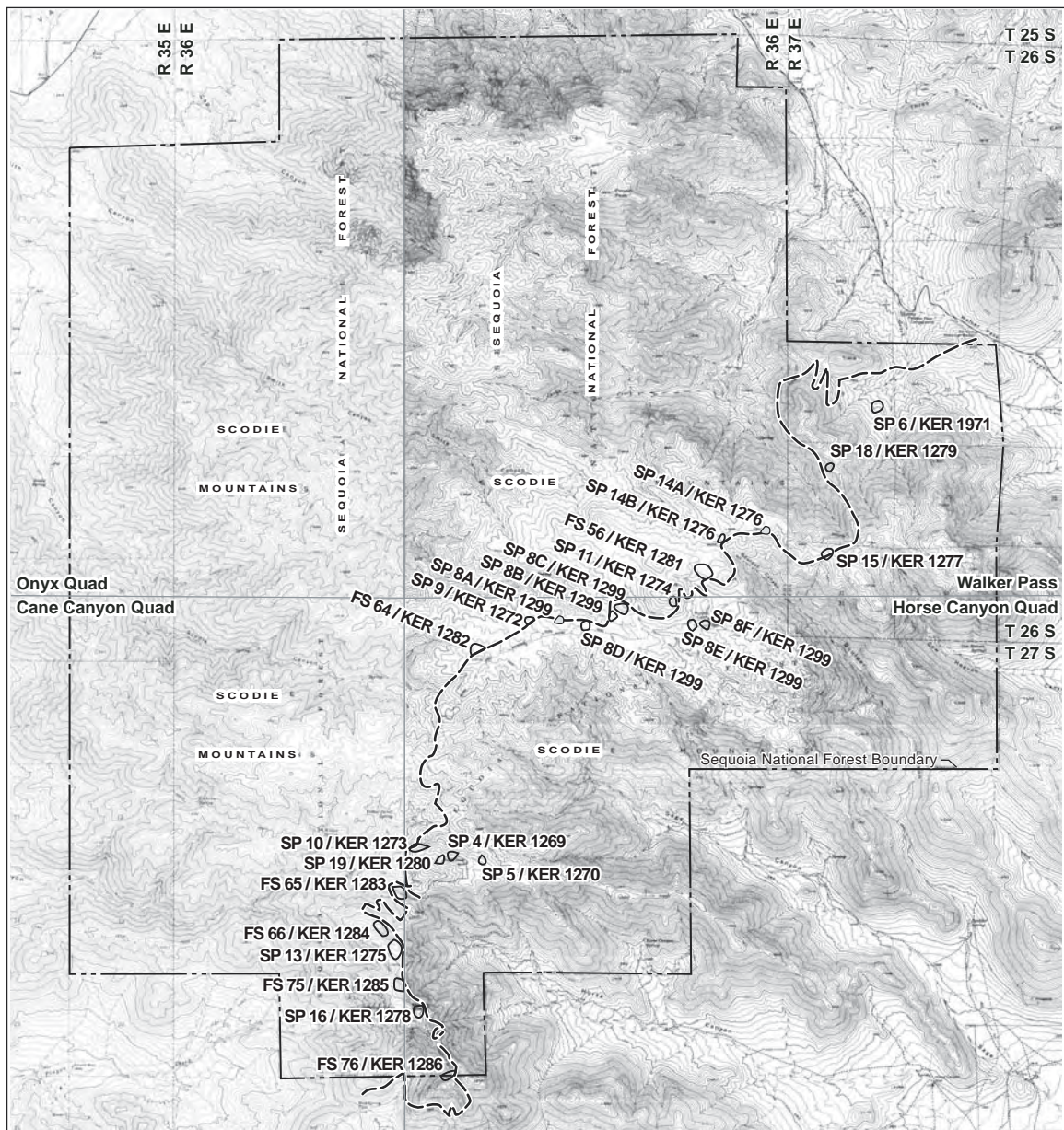
The timing and direction of Numic movements have also been the subject of considerable debate (Aikens 1994; Aikens and Witherspoon 1986; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Goss 1977; Sutton 1987, 1991). It seems that around the peripheries of

the Great Basin, archaeologists and linguists have less of a problem distinguishing and tracing the movements, timing, and archaeological features of the Numic intruders and their pre-Numic progenitors (see Grayson 1994; T. Layton 1985). It is with respect to the identification of unique elements of the different patterns of the Numic pioneer stream that the problem lies.

Although many scholars have adduced evidence to support the replacement hypothesis -- that is the replacement of pre-Numic populations by Numic (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Sutton 1987; Young and Bettinger 1992) -- others have argued for lengthy occupation by Numic peoples in various locations within the Great Basin, including the general study area (Aikens 1994; Aikens and Witherspoon 1986; Goss 1977; Grant et al. 1968; Pearson 2002; Whitley 1998).

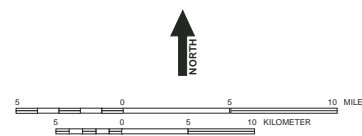
Description of Study Area and Archaeological Data

Seven extensive archaeological studies have been conducted along and near the crest of the far southern Sierra Nevada on the Kern Plateau and in the Scodie Mountains (Ambro et al. 1981; Bard et al. 1985; Garfinkel et al. 1980, 1984; McGuire 1981, 1983; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980). These investigations were prompted by the need to mitigate impacts from the construction of the Pacific Crest Trail on a series of archaeological sites (Figures 1.5-1.10). Data were obtained from: the study of 69 individual archaeological sites; excavation results from 54 cultural deposits; 475 obsidian hydration measurements; and 24 radiocarbon dates. It is rather curious that since the mid 1980's little additional research has been conducted in this area apart from limited surface surveys and site recording (Scott and Obrien 1991; W & S Consultants 1999).



Confidential – not for public distribution

U.S.G.S. 7.5 Minute
Topographic Quadrangles
**Cane Canyon, Horse Canyon,
Onyx, and Walker Pass, CA**
T 25–27 S - R 35–37 E
Cane Canyon, 1972–1985
Horse Canyon, 1972–1985
Onyx, 1972–1985 and 1994
Walker Pass, 1972–1985 and 1994



--- Pacific Crest Trail
○ Archaeological Site

Figure 1.5 Scodie Mountains Sites

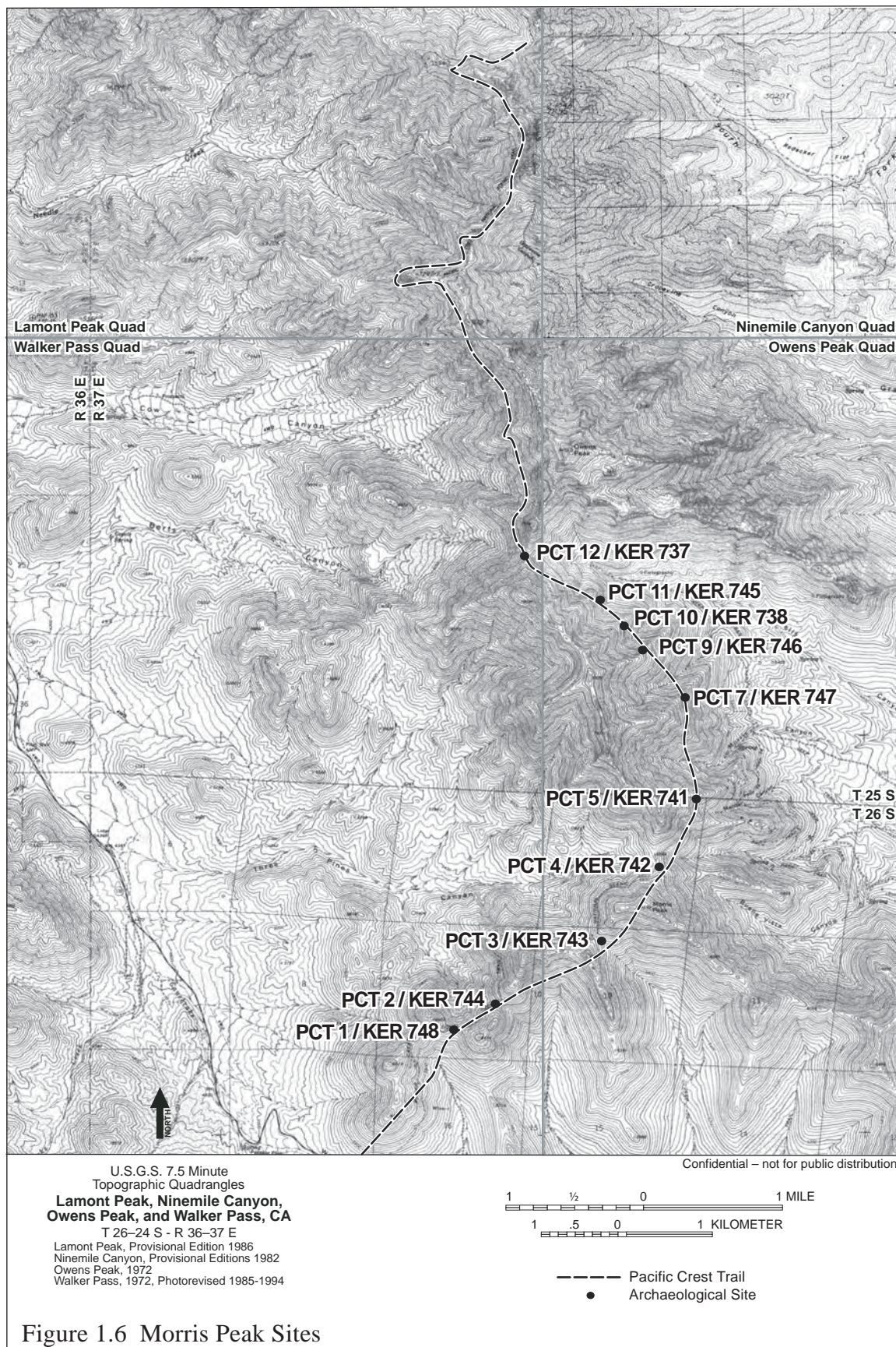
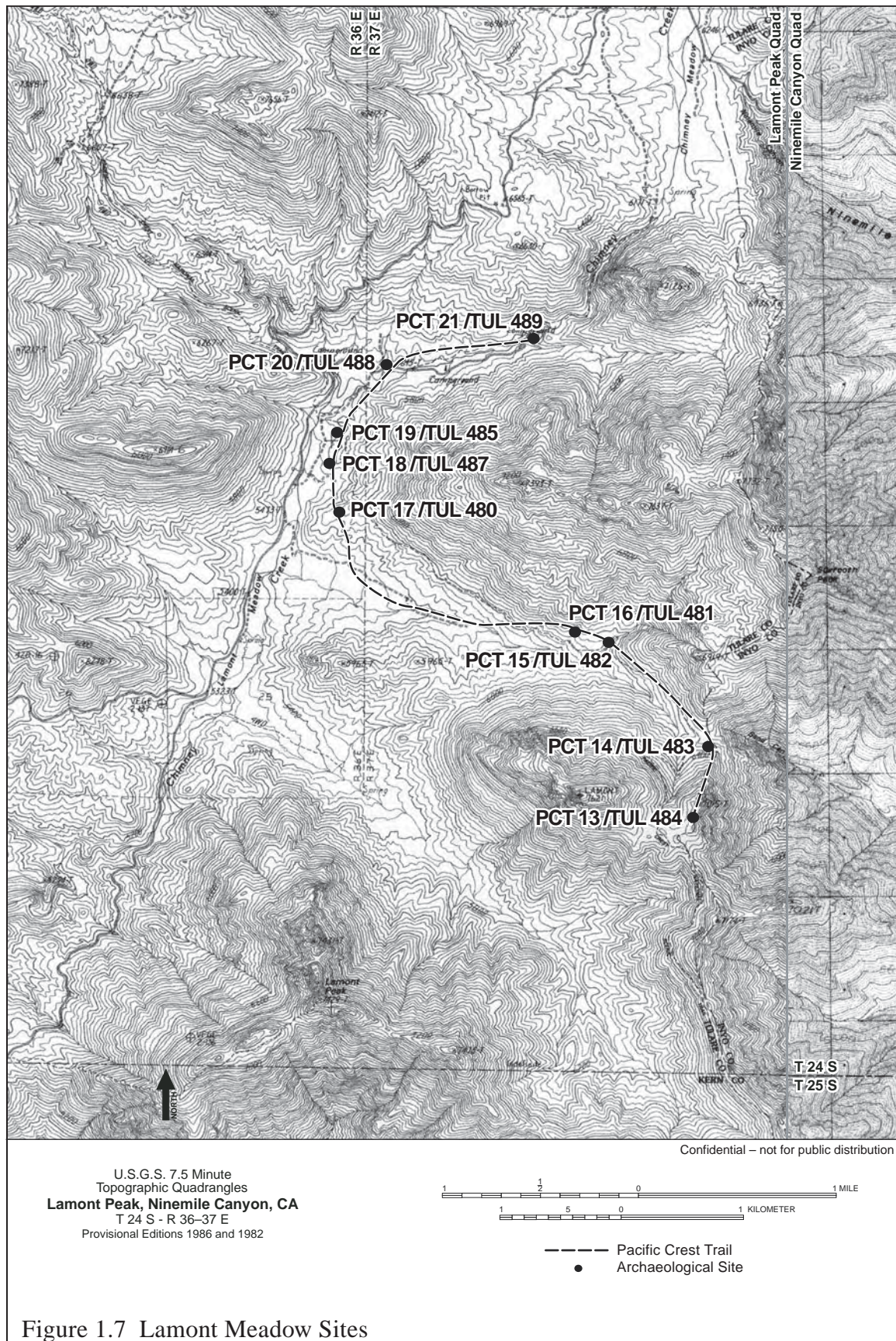
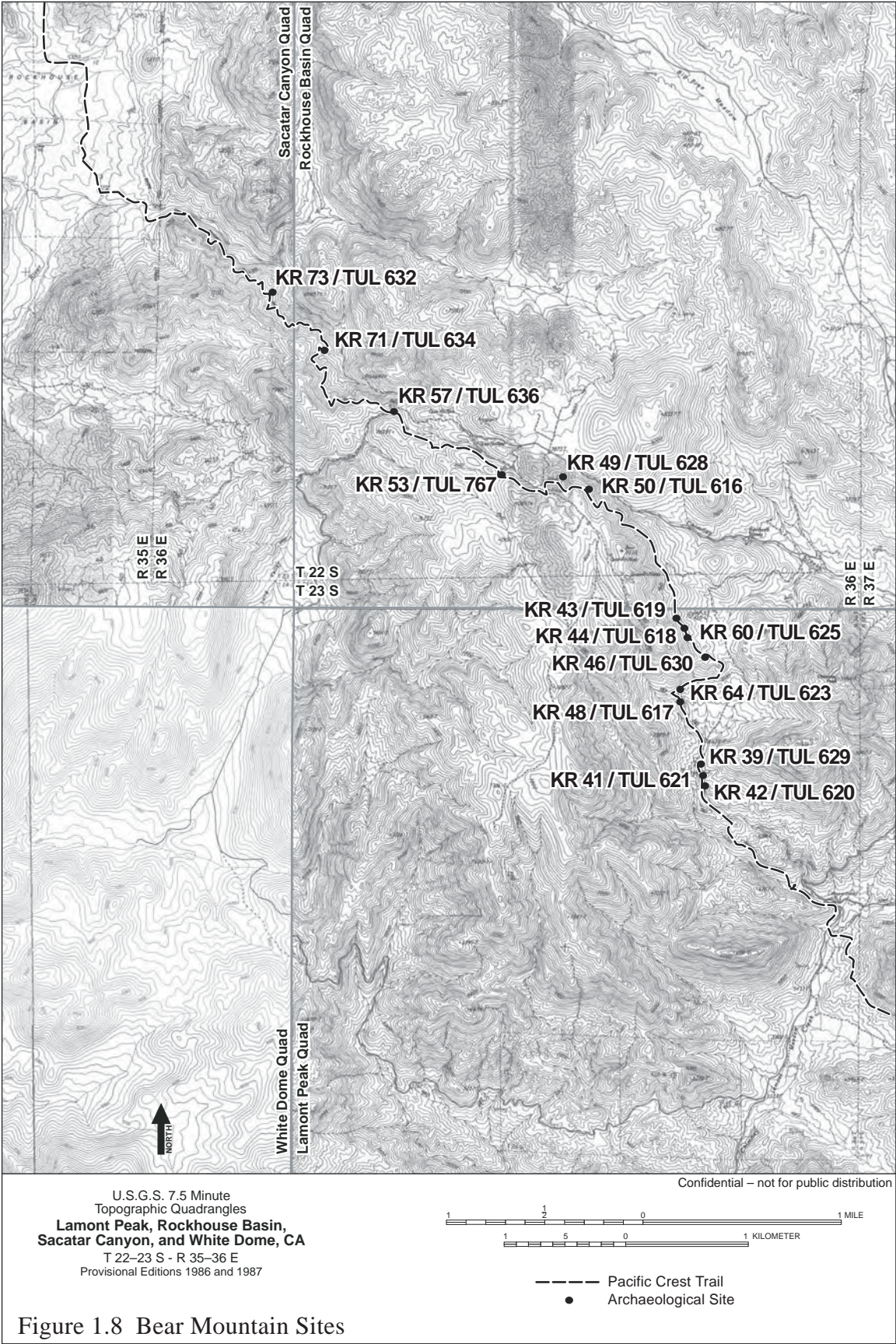
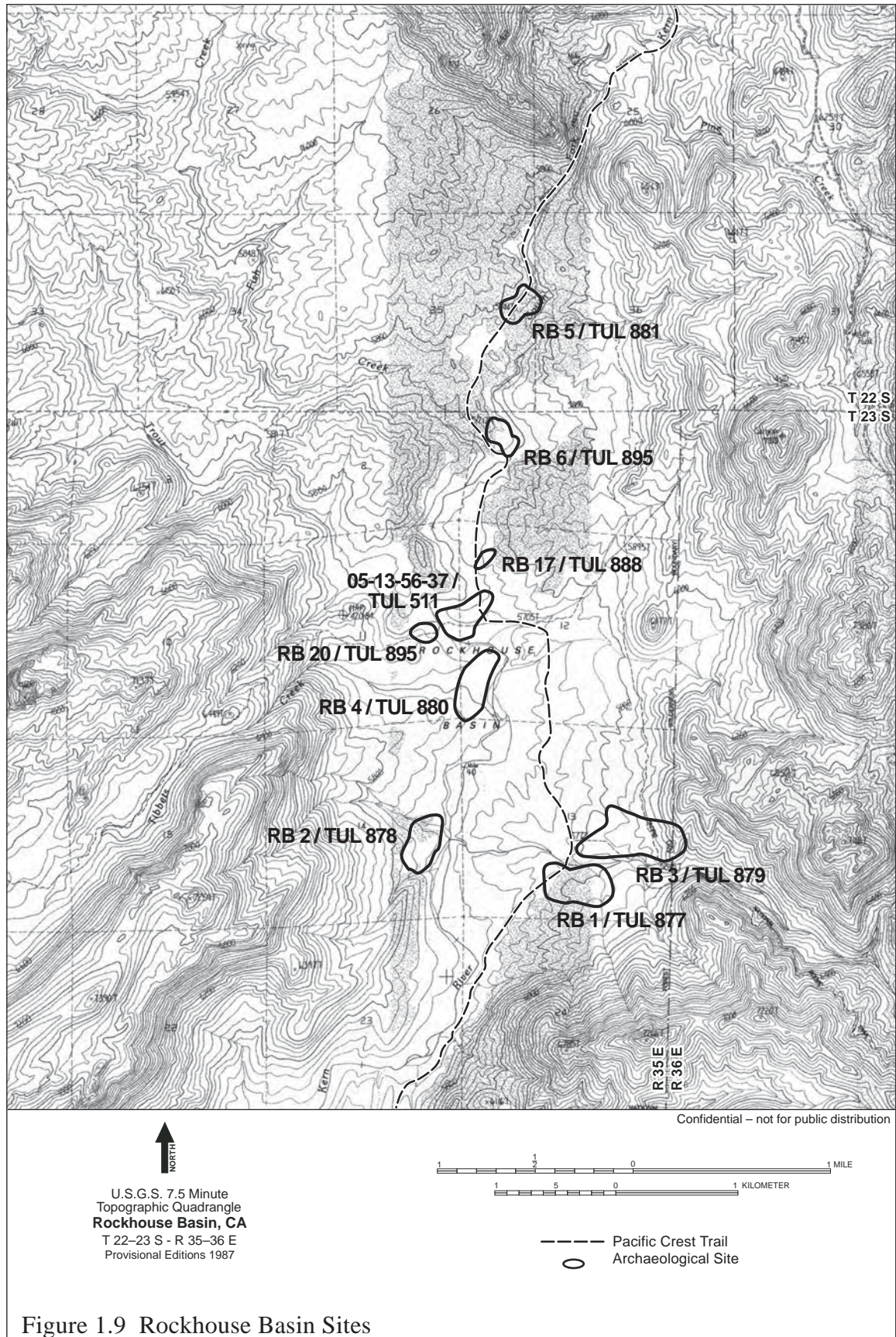
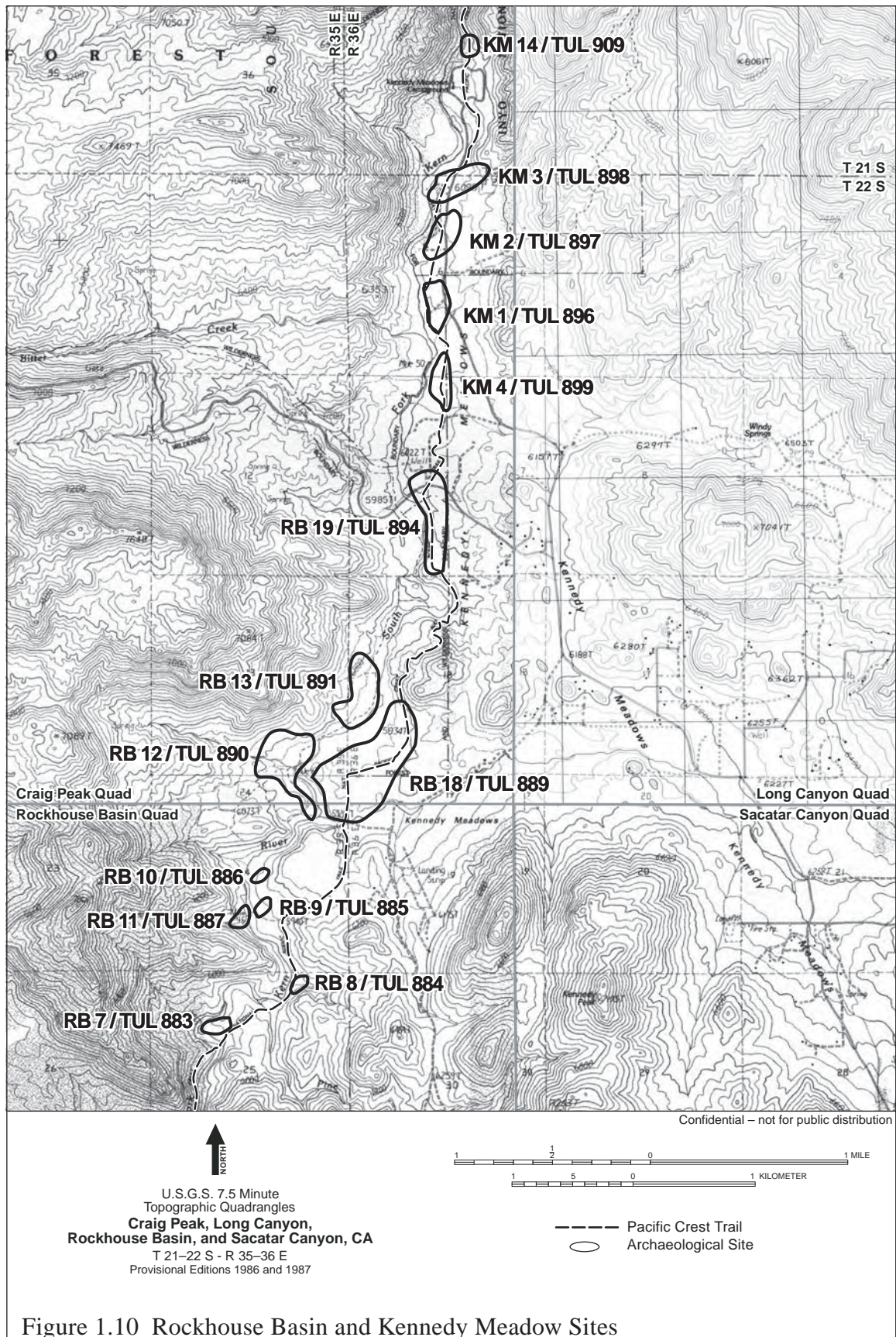


Figure 1.6 Morris Peak Sites









Synthesis, re-evaluation, and a detailed examination of these and other related data (see below) form the basis for the present study. Also relevant is the consideration of other archaeological research in the southwestern Great Basin, Lake Isabella Basin, and Tehachapi Mountains bearing on the issues of population movements, changes in land-use patterns, and subsistence-settlement organization (e.g., Basgall and McGuire 1988; Bettinger 1976, 1977; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Cuevas 2002; Delacorte 1999; Delacorte et al. 1995; Delacorte and McGuire 1993; Dillon 1988; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; Harrington 1957; Hildebrandt and Ruby 2000; Lanning 1963; McGuire et al. 1982; Reynolds 1996; Schroth 1994; Sutton et al. 1994; Yohe 1992 and others).

Uniqueness of Area for Testing Numic, Tubatulabal, and Earlier Prehistory

The study area is uniquely suited to evaluate linguistic and archaeological models related to the events and timing of Northern Uto-Aztecan prehistory. Circumstances in the study area permit testing of alternative models of Numic expansion (e.g., Aikens and Witherspoon 1986; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Sutton 1987, 1991), as compared to the in place development of the Tubatulabal linguistic pattern (see below).

Archaeological data might be expected to mirror strikingly dissimilar consequences if the two areas experienced contrasting cultural developments (e.g., in-migration and population replacement --Numic versus in place development -- Tubatulabal).

Archaeologists and linguists agree that the Tubatulabal language is long-standing and seems to have had 2,000 - 3,000 years of in-place development (Bettinger 1994, 2002; Foster 1996; Fowler 1972; Lamb 1958; Miller 1986; Moratto 1984). If that is the

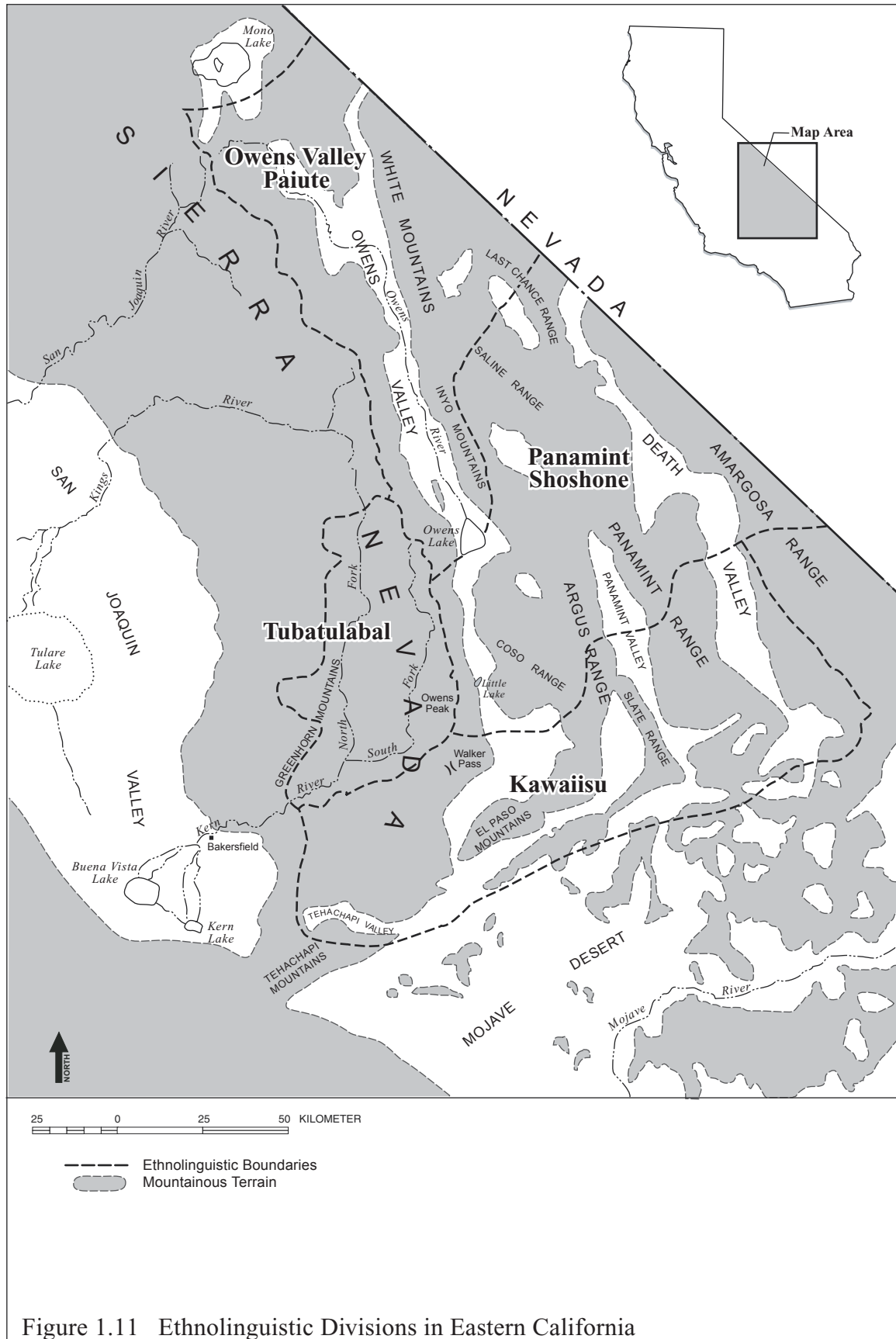
case, then archaeological evidence would be expected to verify the initial Tubatulabal colonization at that early date with a subsequent unbroken record of cultural development within their territory. There is little evidence of any earlier cultural stratum in their homeland and as such they probably migrated into an uninhabited territory or one only minimally occupied by competing populations. This different pattern (from that related to the Numic and pre-Numic region) may be detected and compared.

Territories of Historical Ethnolinguistic Groups

The research area is a mosaic of contiguous ethnic territories (Figure 1.11). An ethnographic boundary cuts across the research area, running along the crest of the Sierra Nevada, separating the Numic and Tubatulabalic homelands (Driver 1937; Grosscup 1977; Steward 1938; Voegelin 1938; Zigmond 1986). Besides this east-west division, a north-south boundary separates the Tubatulabal from the Panamint Shoshone in the north and the Kawaiisu to the south.

Numic groups, the Panamint Shoshone and Kawaiisu, were historically confined to the relatively arid parts of the Tehachapi Mountains and southwestern Great Basin. The region west of the Sierran crest and the drainage of the South Fork Kern River was home to their neighbors, the Tubatulabal, who are linguistically and culturally distinct and had more abundant resources (Driver 1937; Grosscup 1977; Steward 1938; Voegelin 1938; Zigmond 1986).

Sociopolitical and residential organizations varied between these native societies. Highly formalized social structures and a relatively centralized village system typified the more populous Tubatulabal (Kroeber 1925; Voegelin 1938), while highly mobile family



bands characterized the Kawaiisu and Panamint Shoshone (Steward 1938; Zigmond 1986). These distinctive populations could have left archaeological markers of their sociopolitical and ideological differences. Each group occupied different core territories, differed in land-use patterns, and seasonal rounds. Therefore, it may be possible to reconstruct territorial or social patterns from the archaeological record and date those signatures. Such reconstructions might serve to mark the territories of the language groups and help delineate population shifts or in-place developments over time.

Research Objectives for this Study

This dissertation evaluates competing models of prehistoric population and language movement versus *in situ* cultural change in the far southern Sierra Nevada and southwestern Great Basin. In simple language: either the Numic expansion took place or it didn't (cf. Hughes 1994:68-69). The research aims to clarify and critically examine the validity and implications of these models. It examines archaeological evidence to support the most parsimonious and compelling model.

Much of the problem with evaluating population movements is that competing hypotheses are not fully developed and tested, thus the conclusions are more or less equivocal. Population movements have often been inferred from simple changes in the archaeological record, involving only a few artifact types or a solitary change in subsistence orientation. Such inferences are inherently weak. Similar evidence could also be used to support *in-situ* cultural reorientations (e.g., cultural adjustments to environmental changes with no ethnolinguistic replacement).

What is required is an approach in which competing hypotheses are compared and data are evaluated to support or refute the alternatives. One must test the null hypothesis, which is that, population movements did not take place, not merely providing supporting evidence that movements did occur. To reduce the discussions to their most basic elements, two sets of alternatives exist – replacement models and in-place models of development.

Replacement Models

Historical linguists and some archaeologists paint a picture of changing linguistic distributions over time and space, suggesting various population movements and replacements in the study area. If the scenarios of historical linguistics are accurate, then the archaeological record of the last 5,000 years of Northern Uto-Aztecan prehistory might include evidence for: (1) the arrival of Northern Uto-Aztecan and pre-Numic groups; (2) the divergence of Northern Uto-Aztecan into its several language families; (3) the divergence of Numic from Tubatulabalic; (4) the differentiation of Numic into its several branches; and (5) a Numic expansion. Few speculations can be made regarding the arrival of Northern Uto-Aztecan, as data are scant from this early time period. However, the arrival of Tubatulabal, the initial colonization and influx by pre-Numic peoples, the divergence of Tubatulabal from Numic, the replacement of pre-Numic groups by Numic populations, and the expansion of Numic colonists into the Great Basin can be evaluated using archaeological materials from the study area.

Models of In-place Development

Alternative scenarios, based on historical linguistics and archaeology, provide varying perspectives on the direction and timing of Northern Uto-Aztecan prehistory and, more specifically, Numic and pre-Numic prehistory (e.g. Aikens and Witherspoon 1986; Garfinkel 1982; Pearson 2002; Whitley 1998). If Numic is long-standing, as several researchers have argued, then the archaeological record in the study area might provide evidence for a relatively continuous unbroken cultural record of gradual, *in-situ* changes and continuity (cf. Grant et al. 1968; Warren 1984:384; Warren and Crabtree 1986:192). Since the exact location of the proto-Numic homeland remains to be determined, and the study area lay within the larger area believed by many to have been that linguistic hearth, a lengthy in-place development is a distinct possibility.

Several lines of archaeological evidence support gradual change and continuity, rather than abrupt change and population replacement (Warren 1984:384; Warren and Crabtree 1986). Rock art data have been especially central in interpretations arguing for ethnic continuity. Historic and prehistoric connections and continuous evidence for in-place Numic cultural development would support such a view (Grant et al. 1968; Pearson 2002; Warren 1986:384; Whitley 1998:53-60).

The linguistic evidence can be seen as rather ambiguous. Some linguists, upon review of the evidence, are persuaded that cultural stability could have been the case. They argue for continuity rather than linguistic change (Goss 1977; Shaul 1986). The linguistic diversity found in the southwestern Great Basin is explained as “accretion” rather than parentage (Golla 2000; Hill 2002; Nichols 1992).

My charge here is to objectively evaluate the archaeological evidence and examine alternative models of prehistoric population development(s). I consider models that portray ethnic continuity and evaluate them with respect to whether or not in-place Numic development is most consistent with the archaeological record.

Research Plan and Alternative Test Implications: Discontinuity vs. Continuity

The Direct Historical Approach: Examining known ethnographic (historic) village sites and subsistence areas should provide archaeological records of Numic and Tubatulabalic activities. Tracing the archaeological patterns back in time from the historical period would elucidate the antiquity and development course of these patterns.

Cultural Sequence and Regional Chronology: Population movements and displacements should be recognized as abrupt changes in the archaeological record of sites or localities. It is suggested here that the arrival of a language group will be visible archaeologically as a significant shift from a prior pattern and should not be associated with the relative stability or gradual changes characterized by the persistence of a culture (Basgall 1982). Therefore, breaks in the cultural sequence often bespeak population movements.

If the Numic/pre-Numic population replacement took place in the study area, then that should be reflected by distinctive changes in the obsidian hydration curves. Wide-scale disruption in the regional patterning of site occupations would indicate population movements, immigration, expansion, displacements, and cultural discontinuities.

Widespread regional patterns, indicating a disruption or hiatus in occupation, at the same time as hypothesized population influxes or migrations, would provide credible evidence supporting cultural discontinuity.

Land-use shifts, if identified, should be coincident with the proposed timing and geographic placement of hypothesized population displacements. As well, differences in settlement-subsistence strategies might be a function of population shifts (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982).

Subsistence-settlement Regimens: Population movements often co-occur with adaptive shifts, and such shifts must be explained with reference to some advantage for the successor population. Changes in adaptive strategies and the introduction of the intensification of resource use might signal a new population and language. Adaptive change, however, could also reflect *in-situ* intensification. Distinguishing between the two is relatively difficult.

If subsistence-settlement patterns changed, then two patterns (for both Numic and pre-Numic groups) might be exhibited simultaneously in the proto-Numic homeland region (Hughes 1994; Madsen 1994). If contemporary but different adaptive strategies occur, then these expressions could still represent a, single ethnolinguistic group's seasonal round. To lend less support to this possibility, the subsistence patterns should be largely "incompatible." Some subsistence activities might be precluded due to scheduling conflicts or because of the incompatibility of the targeted resources, due to their location and distribution. Many factors could prohibit the incorporation of two disparate food procurement strategies. Several scholars (Hildebrandt and Ruby 2000;

Madsen 1986; Pippin 1977) believe that it would be difficult to conduct both upland, green-cone, pinyon harvests and lowland, communal bighorn sheep hunts. Ethnic signatures for the separate populations would support the position that two cultural groups occupied the same area contemporaneously. A compelling argument can be made if two distinctive subsistence-settlement systems, occupying similar environments but using different aspects of the resource base, could be documented.

Site counts within a defined area might increase during times of population increase or, alternatively, site size and character might change as a function of larger numbers. Such changes could result from immigration, especially with reference to conservative hunter-foragers. Alternatively, such changes could also be due to technological innovations that would allow for expanded, *in-situ* population growth.

Toolstone Access, Exchange Relations, and Territoriality: Diachronic studies of Coso obsidian use document changing production patterns and posit shifts in resource use over time (Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997:179). Further, regional settlement-subsistence models depict reduced access to the obsidian source, decreasing mobility, and an increase in territoriality over time. The time when Numic groups may have replaced pre-Numic populations in the area (ca. A.D. 600 - 1000) is also when territoriality was at its zenith and access to the Coso obsidian source appears to have been the most limited.

Ericson and Meighan (1984:150) remarked that changes at the Coso source itself might be principally responsible for the abrupt decline and cessation of trans-Sierran obsidian exchange, post A.D. 1000. Since the Coso source was purportedly once in the

territory of the Tubatulabal (Steward 1938:x), it has been suggested that a recent intrusion of Numic speakers may have altered that direct and free access (Farmer 1937).

The relative abundance and spatial patterning of different toolstone materials at various archaeological sites may relate to this pattern of decreased accessibility. Sites may exhibit variable frequencies of flaked stone materials (obsidian and cryptocrystalline stone). These differences in part may be functions of distance, but they also may indicate changing social relations and exchange patterns coincident with ethnic/linguistic boundary shifts, territoriality and population movements (cf. Bettinger 1982).

Isolation of Numic / Pre-Numic Elements - Style and Material Culture: The use of certain artifact types or series may end abruptly, rather than gradually declining as another form becomes more common, suggesting cultural discontinuity. When cultural discontinuities are evident, use of long-standing artifact forms may cease abruptly, rather than trailing off in a gradually diminishing pattern more typical of incremental, *in-situ* change.

Symbols, signs, and beliefs are methods by which groups identify and distinguish themselves (cf. Weissner 1983). Definitions of an ethnic group often incorporate an ideological element. Few elements of the archaeological record directly relate to the ideological dimension or religious realm; burial treatments and regional rock art styles might be among them. These aspects of the archaeological record would be sensitive indicators of cultural continuity (or discontinuity). The clustering of certain patterns of burial treatment or styles of rock art would be critical elements of material culture that do not easily pass through group boundaries. Rock art styles have often been used as proxy

indicators of cultural traditions (linguistic or ethnic groups) and I would argue they are the most direct linkage within an archaeological assemblage for reconstructing former ceremonial systems and cultural groups (cf. Garfinkel 1982; Lee and Hyder 1991). Rock art as stationary, iconographic monuments (not subject to the vagaries of exchange) may serve explicitly or implicitly as demarcations between groups.

In the study area, a number of researchers have argued for strong continuities in the design traditions exhibited in the Coso Style petroglyphs and pictographs (Garfinkel 1982; Grant et al 1968; Pearson 2002; Warren 1984; Warren and Crabtree 1972; Whitley 1998). These researchers see a continuous, unbroken cultural tradition from ca. 3000 B.P. or earlier through the historic era. Recently, through the use of obsidian hydration measurements and studies of archaeological contexts, more refined dating methods are now being applied to the Coso rock art traditions (Gilreath 1999, 2003). Other studies have also reviewed available evidence for the form and dating of prehistoric burial patterns in the region (Gilreath 2000). This information may be used to address the question of continuity versus discontinuity. Dating of these unique rock art styles might allow them to be identified with either Numic or pre-Numic inhabitants of the region and help assess the stability or interruption of cultural patterns.

Summary

Given certain limitations, linguistic archaeology can illuminate the past, serving as a valuable source for hypothesis generation about prehistory. Artifact styles may be especially sensitive indicators of ethnic groups and their boundaries. When several stylistic elements co-occur spatially and temporally, ethnic groups and their boundaries

may be indicated. Material cultural elements relating to the ideological and religious realms (e.g., burial patterns and rock art) may be some of the most germane elements bearing on ethnicity.

Northern Uto-Aztecan linguistic groups are recognized historically from the study area. Tubatulabal and Numic peoples have occupied the region for some time.

Tubatulabal is thought to have a long, in-place development of 2000 - 3000 years.

Numic peoples may either be relative newcomers or have a long in-place development.

Contrasting models of population movements or cultural continuity may be evaluated.

Using the direct historical approach, Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Panamint Shoshone affiliations for historical archaeological sites may be identified and the antiquity of such patterns defined. Immigration and population displacement might correlate with abrupt changes in the archaeological record: the hinge points for different chronological periods or discontinuities in regional and site-specific obsidian hydration measurement "curves."

If contemporaneous and divergent subsistence-settlement patterns are documented, then these patterns might represent distinctive elements of the seasonal round for multiple ethnolinguistic groups. Toolstone use may reflect changing access patterns, exchange relations, and territoriality. All figure prominently into the shifting land-use patterns expected when population movements take place. Spatial patterning and dating of regional rock art styles and burial treatments can help elucidate whether there exists either a continuous, unbroken cultural tradition from early prehistoric times (ca. 3000 B.P. or earlier) through the historic era, or one or more episodes of population replacement.

Chapter 2

ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND

Scope and Purpose

The relationship between prehistoric foragers and their physical environments has long been a research interest of anthropologists (Antevs 1952; Steward 1938). Many aspects of the environment profoundly influenced the behavior of aboriginal hunters and gatherers. Anthropological work in the realm of cultural ecology predisposes us to think of the influence of animal and plant distributions on foraging and mobility strategies (Steward 1933, 1938, 1941). Yet the relationship between environment and culture is a frequent and sometimes controversial topic in California and the Great Basin (Madsen 1981; Zeanah 2002). Environmental factors interacted in complex ways to effect the settlement and subsistence decisions of the Native peoples whose territories crosscut the study area. The present chapter provides an environmental context for the discussions that follow. Included are brief reviews of local geography, geology, geomorphology, soils, and climate.

Steward (1938:27-28,232) stressed the importance of pinyon as a storable staple, the abundance of which determined, to some extent, the location, size, and permanence of winter villages for aboriginal peoples throughout the Great Basin. Various scholars have applied the general principles of behavioral ecology and diet breadth models to consider the costs and benefits of pinyon use (Bettinger 1976, 1977; Simms 1985; Wells 1983). Knowledge of the expansion and contraction of pinyon resources throughout prehistory could help us to predict how and when prehistoric hunter-gatherers might have modified their subsistence-settlements strategies in response to changes in resource availability (Rhode and Madsen 1998; Zeanah 2002). Accordingly, this chapter summarizes regional

paleoclimatic changes including the abundance and distribution of local pinyon woodlands.

Pre-agricultural foragers practiced transhumance, timing their settlement decisions to the availability of key plant and animal resources. To better understand such decisions, an overview of local flora and fauna is also included in this chapter. The discussion reviews plants and animals used for food. Additionally, since toolstone types in the archaeological record can reflect territorial extent, cultural preference, trade, technological variables and even temporal variability, it is important to consider their source and location. Hence, the chapter closes with a brief treatment of the rocks used in the manufacture of flaked and ground stone tools.

Study Area and Sites: Character and Location

The 96 prehistoric site components examined are situated along the route of the Pacific Crest Trail in the far southern Sierra Nevada within the Kern Plateau and Scodie Mountains (Figure 1.3). The sites lie along a 35-mile (60 kilometer) segment of trail running from the Scodie Mountains, across Walker Pass, traversing Morris Peak, Bear Mountain, Chimney Meadow, Lamont Meadow, and Rockhouse Basin, and terminating in the north at Kennedy Meadow (Figures 1.5-1.10). This crestal zone forms a sharp environmental boundary, separating the relatively well-watered Kern River drainage from the semi-arid regions of the Great Basin and Mojave Desert.

The Kern Plateau region, composed of granitic domes and ridges, rises in elevation from 5,000 to 8,000 feet (1700-2600 m.) amsl. Two natural corridors that cut this “desert in the sky” facilitated foot travel by native peoples: Walker Pass and Dove

Springs Pass (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). The Scodie Mountains are a northern extension of the Tehachapi Mountains. The Tehachapis are a series of northeasterly-trending ridges that begin near Keene and end in the tortuous terrain of upthrust volcanics in the Cache Peak locality (Figure 1.2). Long thought to be an extension of the Sierra, the Tehachapis are now recognized as an independent, uplifted, and faulted mountain block (Hill 2005).

Adjacent Areas

Kern and South Fork Valleys

The Kern and South Fork Valleys separate the Greenhorn Range, the Kern Plateau, and the Piute Mountains (Figure 1.2). The Kern River flows southward through the Kern Valley and into Lake Isabella and drains the Kern Plateau. The river's source is in upper Kern Canyon, the main drainage for the western and central part of the range. The South Fork Valley, misnamed, is where the Kern River flows westerly. The Kern River makes an abrupt turn in the South Fork Valley changing direction from its predominantly northward flow (Figure 1.10).

Mojave and Great Basin Deserts

To the east is the interface between the Great Basin and the Mojave Desert. The Great Basin is characterized by north-south trending fault block ranges (horsts) and intervening basins (grabens). Owens Valley, just northeast of the study region is one element in this system. The Mojave Desert consists of broad plains with sinks and "buttes;" the Rand Mountains, El Paso Mountains and Indian Wells Valley are geographically part of this area (Figure 1.2). The numerous "buttes" (misnamed) are

actually the cores of ancient Tertiary volcanoes. Picturesque and severely eroded, the Rand and El Paso mountains mark the northern geological limits of the Mojave Desert (Hill 2005).

Geology, Geomorphology, and Soils

The Sierra Nevada is an enormous “batholith” –an immense, predominantly westerly-tilted fault block of granitic rock (Hill 2005). The Sierra’s western face is dissected by a series of rivers that flow into California’s Great Interior Valley. The Kern River is the southernmost of these. The extreme southern Sierra is a region dissected by erosion and characterized by roughly conical summits separated by long, level saddles and by canyons containing small, flat-bottomed meadows (Hill 2005).

The Sierra Crest escarpment is a deeply furrowed and precipitous wall of simple structure produced by erosion of a steep fault scarp. The ridgeline itself is formed by mechanical weathering leaving a notable accumulation of unstable debris and rubble. Soils are poorly developed with little organic content and mainly comprised of disintegrated granodiorite. The South Fork Valley itself has a broad floor of deep alluvial soils (Hill 2005).

Present Climate

The climate of the study area is influenced by the semi-permanent Pacific high-pressure cell located over a large portion of the Pacific Ocean (Barbour and Billings 2000; Barbour and Major 1977, 1988; Barbour et al. 2006). Clockwise airflow movement out of this zone results in prevailing westerly winds. During the winter

months this high periodically breaks down and is largely replaced by the southern extension of the Aleutian low-pressure cell causing storm conditions, snowfall and variable winds. Increases in temperature during summer months create thunder and lightning storms of mostly short duration (Barbour and Billings 2000; Barbour and Major 1977, 1988; Barbour et al. 2006).

Summer temperatures range from maxima of 80-105 ° F to minima of 15-37° F (40 to –10° C). Winter temperatures vary widely from a high of 55-70° F (22 to -29° C) to lows of 0 to –20° F (USDI 2001). As is apparent from these temperature ranges, winters can be extremely cold due to high elevation and accumulated snowfall. Precipitation comes in the form of both rain and snow, more than half falling from January to March. The higher elevations within the southern Sierra receive up to 38 inches (960 mm) of precipitation annually (USDI 2001).

Paleoclimate and Prehistoric Dynamics of Pinyon Woodland

Native American lifeways are closely linked to the location and fluctuating abundance of key subsistence resources. The appearance and disappearance of basic food resources would have been very important for aboriginal peoples. In the study area the most important resource for ethnographic groups was pinyon. The presence or absence and extent of this single resource can be tracked through time using a variety of proxy indicators including woodrat middens and pollen cores.

The following overview is based on a variety of recent syntheses, especially Halford (1998) and Wigand (2002). The primary data for this synthesis include information from vegetation histories and proxy climatic indicators provided by:

Graumlich (1993); Graybill et al. (1994); LaMarche (1973, 1974); Mehringer (1977, 1986); Stine (1990, 1995); Thompson (1990); Van Devender and Spaulding (1979); and Wigand et al. (1995).

The expansion of pinyon pine into the Great Basin is correlated with the disappearance of the treeless sagebrush steppe and the end of the extended cool conditions of the glacial period. Pinyon pine appeared in the White Mountains about 10,000 years B.P. (Jennings and Elliot-Fisk 1993) (see Table 2.1 for details of radiocarbon dates and calibrated ages). This expansion appears to have been quite rapid in response to the warm and moist conditions characterizing this period (Wigand 2002). Other data also suggest that pinyon pine was also spreading upward in elevation (Wigand et al. 1995).

The Middle Holocene (8000 to 5500 years B.P.) saw a retreat to higher elevations in response to intense regional drought and is further characterized by a disappearance of pinyon in the paleoclimatic record from lower elevations. But contrary to earlier generalized paleoclimatic reconstructions, considerable local and regional variability seems to have accompanied the middle Holocene thermal maximum, with one or more brief episodes of cooler, wetter climate occurring around 6500 to 5300 years B.P. (Wigand et al. 1995). Halford (1998) documents the reappearance of pinyon in the Bodie Hills at 5500 - 6000 B.P., and similar dates coincide with its reappearance in the Inyo and White Mountains (Reynolds 1996) (See Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Radiocarbon and Calibrated Dates for Sources of Paleoclimatic Data

Laboratory Number	Uncorrected Radiocarbon Age (yr B.P.)	Uncorrected Radiocarbon Date	Uncorrected Range of Radiocarbon Date at 2 Sigmas	Calibrated* Range of Radiocarbon Date at 2 Sigmas	Locality/ Site Name	Sample Substance	Reference
Unavailable	8790 \pm 110	6840 B.C.	6730-6950 B.C.	cal 7600-8030 B.C.	White Mts, Falls Canyon 1	Woodrat Midden Pinyon	Jennings and Elliot-Fisk (1993)
Unavailable	4980 \pm 80	3030 B.C.	2870-3190 B.C.	cal 3645-3950 B.C.	Bodie Hills DLP150896PEW1	Woodrat Midden Pinyon	Halford (1998)
WSU1464	5050 \pm 140	3100 B.C.	2820-3380 B.C.	cal 3628-4115 B.C.	Little Lake	Lake sediments	Mehringner and Sheppard (1978)
Beta 86097	4690 \pm 60	2740 B.C.	2680-2800 B.C.	cal 3361-3541 B.C.	Inyo Mts, Papoose Flat	Woodrat Midden Pinyon Seeds	Reynolds (1996)

Key: *cf. Stuiver and Reimer 1993; Stuiver et al. 1998

Following the onset of wetter conditions ca. 5500 B.P., pinyon began to reappear at lower elevations on peaks >7500 feet (2300 meters). Near the study area, peat occurred at the base of the Little Lake pollen record, ca. 5000 B.P., signaling the rejuvenation of springs in the region (Mehring and Sheppard 1978). During the neopluvial period from 4,000 to 2,000 B.P., pinyon pine again expanded into the Sierra Nevada and southwestern Great Basin in association with winter-dominated rainfall (Eerkens and King 2002). During this period, pinyon pine was found at lower elevations where it had not occurred before (Wigand 2002).

Over the last 2000 years, there have been significant expansions of pinyon pine (Wigand 1997). The largest was 1400 - 1000 years ago. This period may have been associated with more summer rainfall and slightly cooler climate that encouraged seedling establishment. Pinyon expansion was primarily a regional phenomenon during the Late Holocene, and a period of retrenchment is documented from 910 to 600 B.P., as shown by the pollen record and woodrat middens, and this dramatic climatic episode even affected higher elevations. This "Medieval Warm Epoch" [Medieval Climatic Anomaly] is attested by tree ring data and relict tree stumps below the current surfaces of Lake Tahoe and Mono Lake (Stine 1990, 1995). Stine (1990), in fact, sees several extended droughts terminating at about 900, 600 and 350 years ago followed by brief wet events.

From 350 - 300 B.P., pinyon woodland again expanded, corresponding with stronger winter precipitation and cooler temperatures. Approximately 150 B.P. the pinyon-juniper woodland increased 2.5-fold in areal distribution in response to increases in mean annual temperature (Wigand 2002).

Probably the most significant shift in climate that could have affected the aboriginal use of the study area was the shift to cool-moist climatic conditions at 4000 B.P., with the onset of the Medithermal (Antevs 1952). Moratto et al. (1978) have similarly suggested that climate-based environmental changes at this time substantially affected human populations in the southern Sierra Nevada foothills and may have been causal in initiating a rapid increase in upland occupation. Expansion of the lower margins of the pinyon areas in the southern Sierra Nevada at about this time might have ultimately led to the inception of a new subsistence regime dependent on the use of pinyon resources (McGuire and Garfinkel 1980).

The drought conditions documented during the period A.D. 900-1350 may have also led to environmental “deterioration.” Desiccation, especially in the adjacent lowland desert environments, could have fostered more intensive use of upland resources, abandonment of some lowland localities and perhaps prehistoric population movements (Bettinger 1991; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; LaMarche 1973).

Specific Vegetation Patterns

The far southern Sierra is a region of remarkable environmental diversity. There is great vertical relief with abundant water in some parts and aridity in others. Because of this environmental diversity, a useful way to classify the region is by vegetation series (now also being called alliances). The Sawyer and Keeler-Wolf (1995, 2006) classification system includes: a Montane Meadow Series found at very high elevations in riparian associations (Rockhouse Basin) and well-watered flats (Chimney Creek, Lamont Meadow, Kennedy Meadow); a Single Leaf Pinyon-Utah Juniper Series in the

mountainous areas (Morris Peak, Bear Mountain, Scodie Mountain, Tehachapi Mountains); and a Joshua Tree Series (Indian Wells Canyon, Walker Pass, and Kelso Valley down to the South Fork Valley to Lake Isabella) in upland canyons and valley systems.

Single Leaf Pinyon-Utah Juniper Series (Sawyer and Keeler-Wolf 1995)

A homogenous cover of pinyon-juniper blankets the steeply-sloped mountain faces and ridgelines of much of the study area. Pinyon pine (*Pinus monophylla*) is by far the most dominant conifer and the most abundant arboreal species (Hickman 1993:120). Density of these diminutive pine trees ranges from 2 to 15 individuals per 100 m² with generally from 5 to 40% ground cover. Two other pines occur within the study area; grey pine (*Pinus sabiniana*) at the lower elevations and Jeffrey pine (*Pinus jeffreyi*) at higher elevations, mostly in the northernmost area. Plant nomenclature follows Hickman (1993).

Utah juniper (*Juniperus occidentalis*) and canyon live oak (*Quercus chrysolepis*) are usually found in rockier areas or steep slopes below ridges. Numerous understory shrubs include sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*), rabbitbrush (*Chrysothamnus nausesous*), buck brush (*Ceanothus cuneatus*), flannel bush (*Fremontodendron californicum*), California coffeeberry (*Rhamnus californica*), antelope brush (*Purshia tridentata*), creeping snowberry (*Symphoricarpos mollis*) and Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*). Herbaceous and low growing plants also occupy this series and include Desert needlegrass (*Achnatherum speciosum*), buckwheat (*Eriogonum* spp.), beavertail cactus (*Opuntia basilaris*), and bird's beak (*Cordylanthus rigidus*).

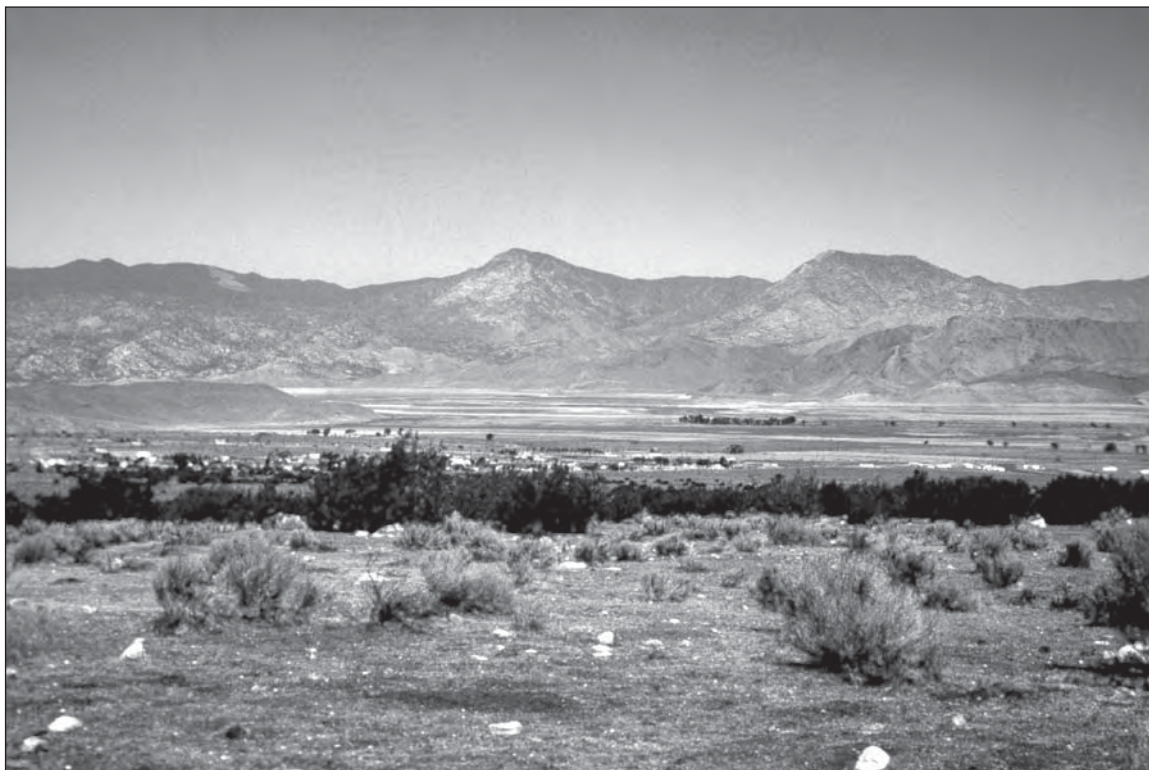


Figure 2.1 Isabella Basin and Valley of the South Fork of the Kern River.



Figure 2.2 Lamont Meadow and Pinyon Woodlands of the Kern Plateau.



Figure 2.3 Joshua Trees and Eastern Scarp of the far southern Sierra Nevada.



Figure 2.4 Indian Wells Valley and southern Sierra, looking west from the top of Black Mountain in the El Paso Mountains.

Montane Meadow Series (Sawyer and Keeler-Wolf 1995)

The Montane Meadow Series is found in small valleys and moist, well-watered flats associated with permanent water sources. This series also extends along the margins of the Kern River where it is associated with permanent streams, springs, shallow pools, and seeps. A great diversity of plants inhabits these localities. Dominant species include the ubiquitous willows (*Salix lemonii*, *S. gooddingii*), often growing in dense thickets; sedge (*Carex* spp.), rush (*Juncus* spp.), yerba mansa (*Anemopsis californica*), black oak (*Quercus kelloggii*), interior rose (*Rosa woodsii*), and various water-loving plants.

Joshua Tree Series (Sawyer and Keeler-Wolf 1995)

This plant series is found along the eastern scarp of the Sierra and in the vicinity of Walker Pass, South Fork Valley, and Kelso Valley. The most visible member of the lowland expression of this community is Joshua tree (*Yucca brevifolia*). Also present are western juniper (*Juniperus occidentalis*), our Lord's candle (*Yucca whipplei*), sage (*Salvia dorii*), wild onion (*Allium campanulatum*), snowberry (*Symphoricarpos mollisi*), desert needlegrass (*Achnatherum speciosum*), sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*), flannel bush (*Fremontodendron californicum*), antelope brush (*Purshia tridentata*), bush lupine (*Lupinus albifrons*), and thistle (*Cirsium* spp.).

Food Plants

The most abundant and important food plants were harvested during late summer and autumn, principally in the Single-Leaf Pinyon-Utah Juniper Series. Acorns from California black oak (*Quercus kelloggii*) and canyon live oak (*Q. chrysolepis*) were

avored staples. Nuts from grey pine (*Pinus sabiniana*) and pinyon pine (*P. monophylla*) were harvested during the fall. Considering the sheer bulk of the resource and the fact that pinyon nuts were an ethnographically attested major winter staple, they must have been one of, if not, the most important economic plants for native populations to the area (Barras 1973; Butterbrecht 1948; Cappannari 1950, 1960; Steward 1938; Voegelin 1938; Zigmond 1938; 1941). Few other plants are found in sufficient abundance within the vicinity of the study sites to support substantial aboriginal occupation (cf. Rhode 1980a, 1980b).

Animal Resources

Mule Deer

Voegelin (1938:11) and Smith (1978:444) record that deer were plentiful in the higher mountains of the far southern Sierra and were hunted almost year-round by the Tubatulabal. Deer were of lesser importance to the Kawaiisu and Panamint Shoshone (Steward 1938:80-83). Mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*) mostly occupies edges of forests and avoids dense climax growth, foraging on a wide variety of plants (Leopold 1951). Deer move in variously sized groups, with greatest dispersal and lowest concentrations during the summer (Longhurst et al. 1952). Many of the sites studied were probably occupied mainly during summer and fall. Individuals or small groups most likely hunted deer at that time (Driver 1937; Steward 1938). In the event of early snows, herds of deer might have migrated downslope and could have been killed in larger numbers (Driver 1937; Heizer and Baumhoff 1962; Steward 1933, 1938).

Mountain Sheep

Ethnographic data regarding sheep hunting by the Tubatulabal is notable by its absence (Smith 1978; Voegelin 1938). This suggests that bighorn sheep (*Ovis canadensis*) were uncommon within this region of the far southern Sierra (cf. Buechner 1960:11-16; Garfinkel et al. 1984:10-22). Peoples of desert areas to the east, where deer were scarce, focused instead on bighorn sheep as their most important large game animal.

Pictograph sites with images of bighorn sheep are found in the study area along the crest and eastern scarp of the Sierra, but these are believed to have been created by people residing mainly in the desert areas to the east (Andrews 1980; Garfinkel 1978; Schiffman et al. 1982). Aboriginal inhabitants of the Coso Range, just east of the study sites, had a particular reverence for the animal. It must have been their most important prey, judging by the thousands of petroglyph depictions found in the Range (Grant et al. 1968; Heizer and Baumhoff 1962; Hildebrandt and McGuire 2003; Whitley 1998).

Pronghorn

The study sites are located outside the range of the pronghorn (*Antilocapra americana*). Driver (1937) found no evidence of pronghorn drives for the Tubatulabal or the Kawaiisu within their territories. Yet Steward (1938:82) documents communal drives for the Panamint Shoshone. Considerable populations of pronghorn inhabited the high desert plains just east of the Sierra Nevada in pre-contact times (Arkush 1995; McClean 1944).

The Tubatulabal and Kawaiisu participated in communal pronghorn drives outside their respective territories within the homeland of the Yokuts near Bakersfield in

the southern San Joaquin Valley and with the Panamint Shoshone at the former community of Brown in the Indian Wells Valley (Kroeber 1925:528; Smith 1978:443; Steward 1938:13).

Rabbits

Two kinds of lagomorphs are found within the study area: hare or jackrabbit (*Lepus californicus*) and cottontail (*Sylvilagus audubonii*). Both were hunted, the former by drives and the latter with snares or bows and arrows (Driver 1937; Steward 1938:38-39, 80-82; Voegelin 1938:13). Jackrabbits are common to many biotic communities but are most abundant in the sagebrush scrub zone.

Rodents

Various rodents are found within the study area and, although not central to the aboriginal diet, were taken when possible (Driver 1937; Steward 1938; Voegelin 1938). The western gray squirrel (*Sciurus griseus*), desert woodrat (*Neotoma lepida*), Mohave ground squirrel (*Citellus mohavensis*) and Botta pocket gopher (*Thomomys bottae*) are animals recognized archaeologically within the study area. They were normally hunted using deadfall or rock traps. These animals were also run down, skewered, smoked and flooded out of their burrows, and killed with sticks and stones. They were normally only a minimal component of the Tubatulabal diet but were more central for groups living in the desert areas (Steward 1938; Voegelin 1938).

Fish

The South Fork and other tributaries of the Kern River provided excellent habitat for several native fish, including golden trout (*Salmo aguabonita*), rainbow trout (*Salmo*

gairdneri), and Sacramento sucker (*Catostomus occidentalis*) (Moyle 2002). The Tubatulabal trapped, speared, and poisoned fish, and they gathered them in larger numbers during communal corralling (Voegelin 1938:14).

Birds

Birds (including waterfowl) are found within the study area but were never of great economic importance to the aboriginal peoples. Smith (1978:444) and Voegelin (1938:13) note that certain game birds were taken by bows and arrows or rock traps. These included: goose (*Anser albifrons*), canvasback duck (*Aythya valisineria*), mountain quail (*Oreotyx pictus*), band-tailed pigeon (*Columba fasciata*), and blue-winged teal (*Anas discors*).

Toolstone

The El Paso Mountains contain outcrops of colorful cryptocrystalline silicate rocks, among them honey and blood-red jasper, rainbow agate, opalite, chalcedony, and petrified wood. These sources of beautiful, near-gem quality, stones were mined prehistorically and were the nearest source for the exotic cryptocrystalline flaked stone artifacts found along the Sierra crest at the Morris Peak and Scodie Mountain archaeological sites (Garfinkel et al. 1980; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980).

In the northeastern portion of the El Paso Range is majestic Black Mountain, a large and dramatic, brown-black, Pleistocene basalt flow. Other volcanic rocks are found in the zone of contact with the Sierra Nevada in the adjacent desert areas and within the more northerly lava flows and cinder cones of the Coso Range volcanics. Red scoria, vesicular basalt, and pumice served as raw materials for ground stone implements

including bowls, milling slabs, and manos. Artifacts manufactured from these materials were recovered from sites along or in the near vicinity of the Sierra crest. The Cosos also contain a mile-long (1.7 kilometer) seam of volcanic glass that was the principal source of obsidian, a favored material for the manufacture of flaked stone tools.

Summary

The study area is situated near the interface of the Great Basin and Mojave Desert. This is a land of extremes in relief, temperature, and moisture. Topography and climate dictate the range of flora and fauna that was exploited by the aboriginal populations.

All the archaeological deposits lie at elevations from 5000 to 8000 feet (1600 – 2500 meters) amsl. The 96 prehistoric site loci studied are located in or near a predominantly pinyon woodland island, known as the Kern Plateau and Scodie Mountains located in the far southern Sierra Nevada. The presence of large stands of pinyon provided a staple nut crop that was a principle food source and facilitated aboriginal occupation. The changing character of the pinyon woodland environment over the last 5000 years may have influenced the timing and intensity of subsistence-settlement patterns.

Chapter 3

ANTHROPOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Scope and Purpose

This chapter introduces anthropological methods for dating native languages and the societies they represent. Historical connections among languages and their geographic distributions suggest the direction and timing of the movements of their speakers in prehistory. Models accounting for these prehistoric movements, including the Numic expansion, are also presented. These models are evaluated and their implications for prehistory examined. Ethnographic overviews detail the character of aboriginal cultures. This provides a window into the past, projecting historic settlement-subsistence patterns as well as sociopolitical and religious organization of native peoples back into the pre-contact era. The chapter closes with a synopsis of the local archaeological record, outlining the prehistoric sequence. This brief culture history reveals changing patterns of land use over time and the particular circumstances leading to the “ethnographic present.” Such changes may be coincident with prehistoric population movements, including expansion, contraction, migration and replacement.

Methods of Linguistic Prehistory

Comparative and other linguistic methods are used to reveal historical connections among languages. The resultant genetic classifications and loanword analyses may point to language homelands, and can provide indications for the direction of population movements in the past. Glottochronology is a means of estimating rates of lexical change and the elapsed time since related languages diverged (Hymes 1960;

Swadesh 1954). Since the technique relies on statistical methods, it is a form of lexicostatistics.

Lexicostatistics was originally developed by Morris Swadesh and his colleagues in the 1950's (Gudschinsky 1956; Swadesh 1959). Its basic assumption is that certain common words are part of a "basic vocabulary" thought to be replaced at a slow, but fairly constant rate as language changes over time. The rate constant was originally derived from empirical determinations garnered through the study of replacement rates for written Indo-European languages (Diebold 1987).

The technique has been controversial and its basic assumptions often questioned. Yet despite these caveats, there seems little dispute that historical linguistics can demonstrate relationships among languages and provide a measure of the degrees of similarity (Foster 1996; Moratto 1984). Although glottochronology can not supply unequivocal absolute dates for divergence of languages, it can provide a means for useful relative dating and that can be of great value to archaeologists. If prehistorians can posit a language-society-culture connection, then it may be possible to further refine the actual dating of prehistoric population movements through archaeological research.

The true role of historical linguistics and glottochronology is to provide the "dendogram" which can then be evaluated and tested independently with archaeological and DNA data. Reconstructed vocabulary is also used routinely as a basis for historical reconstruction and is referred to as the Worter-und-Sachen method ('words and things') and can be used to develop a proto-vocabulary and point to a probable homeland for a language (Fowler 1972, 1983; Golla 2000).

Genetic Classification and Geographic Distribution of Northern Uto-Aztecan

The Uto-Aztecan language stock is distributed widely from Central America to southern Idaho (Fowler 1972). Most Great Basin languages belong to the northern branch of Uto-Aztecan. Northern Uto-Aztecan is composed of two family-like clusters, Numic and Takic and two single languages (linguistic isolates), Tubatulabal and Hopi (Foster 1996).

Genetic and distributional elements for Numic languages were first identified by Kroeber (1907, 1925) building upon earlier studies by Brinton (1891), Merriam (1904) and Powell (1891). Kroeber's earliest work identified Numic languages under the appellation "Plateau Shoshonean" and divided them into three "dialect groups" rather than separate languages. Those included: western Mono-Paviotso (Western Numic in current terminology, cf. Miller 1966); central Shoshoni-Comanche (Central Numic); and southern Ute-Chemehuevi (Southern Numic). The Kern River branch was recognized as having a single language group represented by Tubatulabal.

Lamb (1958), developing Kroeber's scheme further, proposed that the Numic language family contained two separate but related languages in each of its three branches. These were: Mono and Paviotso for Western Numic, Panamint and Shoshoni-Comanche for Central Numic, and Kawaiisu and Ute for southern Numic. He also identified Numic as most closely related to Tubatulabal. More recent works largely support the earlier classification schemes (Goss 1965, 1968; Kroeber 1959; Miller 1970, 1972, 1984, 1986; Miller et al. 1971; Steward 1937), and the linguistic diversity, initially provided by Lamb, has been largely upheld.

Hence, three languages, representing each of the three branches, are located in a small area of eastern California at the southwestern corner of the Great Basin. The other related languages extend in a great triangle with its apex in the southern Sierra Nevada and its base along the Rocky Mountain chain (Figure 1.4). This vast area includes the interior Great Basin, Snake River Plain and part of the Colorado Plateau. Significantly there is little dialectical differentiation noted for the northernmost languages, while in the southernmost area diversity is more marked (Miller et al. 1971; Zigmond 1938).

Time Depths

Estimates of language divergence based on lexicostatistical studies support the accuracy of the Lamb-Kroeber classifications (cf. Hale 1958; Swadesh 1954) and provide a general sequence for the degree of relatedness of its various components. The distribution of Numic languages (Figure 1.4) has long suggested their possible area of origin (Lamb 1958). Assuming that language change proceeds in a regular fashion through time, the greatest divisions in a language family likely reflect their greatest antiquity. The geographic location of these divisions would then indicate the area where the ancestral languages began to diversify (Sapir 1916, 1949; Swadesh 1954).

Applying the “center of gravity principle,” the Numic homeland might be located somewhere in the southwestern corner of the Great Basin (Lamb 1958; Miller 1966, 1986:102-103). Reconstructed plant and animal terms for proto-Numic also indicate a homeland of diverse elevation, in or near desert zones with access to substantial riparian

resources possibly at the interface of the southern Sierra Nevada and western Great Basin or in the Owens Valley (Fowler 1972, 1983).

Tubatulabal, being geographically and linguistically intermediate between the Numic and Takic languages, has most likely been developing in place since its initial divergence from its Numic neighbors (Miller 1984). Lamb (1958) and Hale (1958), using the techniques and data from Swadesh (1954) and their own estimates, calculated a Numic / Tubatulabal separation on the order of 3000 to 2500 years ago. There is considerable debate concerning the precise age when proto-Numic separated into its three divisions, but about 1000 years later Numic might have divided into its various subgroups. Linguists believe that approximately 1000 years ago or less the Numic languages spread rapidly across the Great Basin creating the historic distributions recognized by anthropologists (Fowler 1972, 1983; Miller 1986).

Models and Mechanisms: Continuity versus Replacement

Models of *in situ* Development

Contrary to many linguists and archaeologists, Aikens and Witherspoon (1986) and Aikens (1994) have suggested that Numic occupation of the Great Basin is long-standing. They argue that the Desert West has been continuously occupied by Numic peoples and their direct ancestors for the last 5000 years. They also posit that non-Numic groups occupied **only** the western and eastern Great Basin when the regional climate was relatively wet. During those periods wetlands-adapted hunter-gatherers or agriculturalists outcompeted Numic populations for favored areas. During times of increased dryness those areas were abandoned and Numic populations expanded to fill the void.

Studies in the central Great Basin, particularly those in the Reese River Valley, support this suggested continuity in cultural pattern since about 2500 B.C. (Thomas 1971, 1972). Absorption or out migration of non-Numic groups during dry cycles is suggested as characteristic of the edges of the Great Basin and with respect to the late prehistoric replacements of the Anasazi, Fremont and Lovelock cultures. Western Numic and Southern Numic are suggested as coming into existence as Central Numic expanded in both directions. Such movements were characterized as a recurring pattern of “expansions and contractions that began as people first entered the Great Basin ...” (Aikens and Witherspoon 1986:15). This model assumes that variations in hunter-gatherer adaptations are a function of environmental change rather than culturally distinct sequent populations pursuing varying subsistence-settlement strategies.

Coso Style rock art has figured rather prominently for researchers favoring a long-standing continuity of Numic languages in the southwestern Great Basin (cf. Grant et al 1968; Pearson 2002; Whitley 1998). Whitley, building on the identification of historic horse-and-rider rock art depicted in some Coso Style pictographs and petroglyphs (Garfinkel 1982; Pearson 2002:80-83; Ritter et al.1982), sees an unbroken ethnic continuum in the region. He suggests that most rock art (petroglyphs) in the Cosos date only to the last 1000 years (within the time span and association of the historic Numic languages).

The association of Coso petroglyphs with Shoshonean peoples was first taken up by Grant et al. (1968). Grant and his colleagues originally supported that position due to the close correlation of the distribution of bighorn sheep and historic Numic languages. Since Coso Range rock art is in fact located in the general area identified by many as the proto-

Numic homeland, some researchers believe that Numic peoples and their ancestors have lived there continuously for at least several thousand years (Pearson 2002; Warren 1986: 384; Whitley 1998:53-60).

Replacement Models

In contrast, Bettinger and Baumhoff (1982) draw upon optimal foraging theory to develop a model based on variations in adaptive strategies proposed for different hunter-gatherer cultural groups. “Traveler” strategies are linked with pre-Numic populations and “processor” strategies with the Numic. Travelers rely more heavily on, and select for, high-quality resources of restricted distribution, such as bighorn sheep, necessitating greater mobility. Processors, in contrast, favor resources of lower quality, wider distribution and higher processing costs such as certain seed-producing plants and small game. The Bettinger-Baumhoff model ties most Great Basin rock art, save for historic pictographs and the “scratched” style, with pre-Numic populations. Bettinger also links a series of settlement-subsistence changes recognized in the archaeological record of eastern California with Numic processors. These include a shift to greater residential stability and changes to permanent and semi-permanent village life as well as increasing resource intensification with respect to greater use of seed and nut crops and small game.

Sutton (1986, 1987, 1994) alternatively proposes that the Numic spread was based largely on the control of critical resource patches. He hypothesized that Numic groups would have invaded areas largely devoid of settlements and taken control of certain concentrations of crucial resources denying use to their non-Numic neighbors. This would imply defense of those areas either by their occupation or through

overexploitation, leaving the areas depleted and virtually useless for others. If the Numic people had larger social aggregates and more intense subsistence strategies, then they would have been forced to move their settlements more often and leave the non-Numic populations continually disrupted. Sutton further posits that a general drying trend ca. A.D. 1000 may have been the initial trigger for Numic population movements out into the Basin. He suggests that warfare was a principal means by which Numic groups moved into and controlled resource areas. Sutton sees raiding and consistent outward expansion as a characteristic feature of Numic culture and suggests that just such a pattern was at the heart of the ongoing Numic expansion.

Ethnography

Introduction

To provide a context for subsequent discussions tying the archaeology and prehistory of the study region to the historic linguistic groups in the area, I offer this ethnographic overview. The discussion is focused on cultural elements most relevant to the present study, including ethnogeography, territoriality, social and exchange relations, subsistence-settlement structure, sociopolitical organization, and religious concepts.

Ethnogeography deals with the way a culture perceives and defines its landscape. It considers what geographical areas comprised their homeland, what parts of their environment were selected for residence, which areas were used for hunting and gathering of principle foods, and what areas (if any) were defended against invaders or trespassers. Acknowledging a culture's concept and degree of territoriality provide clues to areas where boundaries may be sharp and others where they may be more diffuse.

Social and exchange relations provide us with parallel details regarding the level of interaction with neighbors and possible amity/enmity relations. Subsistence-settlement structure, as recorded ethnographically, is key to understanding the character of land-use patterns and may lead to better predictions of the archaeological consequences of such activities. Sociopolitical organization helps us understand the complexity of the native cultures, how populations were organized into various groups and how these groups might have been directed. Knowledge of religious beliefs, rituals and ceremonial organization may be helpful for understanding the character of rock art sites. Many researchers suggest that such sites are associated with shamanic rituals (Pearson 2002; Whitley 1998). Differences in the belief systems of the aboriginal peoples may be manifest in the subject matter and styles of their rock art.

Ethnogeography, Territoriality, and Tribal Relations

The study area lies at the junction of three different ethnolinguistic groups: the Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Panamint Shoshone (Figure 1.11). Ethnographic data on the territories and boundaries of the three groups are presented in the primary references pertaining to these groups (Kroeber 1925; Steward 1937, 1938; Voegelin 1938; Zigmond 1938, 1981). These various references are in general agreement with respect to the core territories for these groups but not with regard to the nuances of peripheral or boundary areas; there opinions vary.

Steward (1938:7, Figure 1, Page ix) identifies Tubatulabal territory a bit differently than Voegelin, Kroeber and others in that he includes a portion of the western Mojave Desert just south of Little Lake within their territory. His map shows that the

Tubatulabal may have routinely crossed the Sierra Nevada and entered the Mojave Desert for certain resources. Voegelin (1938) also documents such activities, including trips to the Indian Wells Valley to hunt antelope at the former community of Brown and to harvest Blazing Star (*Mentzelia* sp.) and Chia (*Salvia columbariae*) seeds as well as Mariposa Lily (*Calachortus kennedyi*) bulbs. Steward (1933) alludes to the fact (cf. Ericson 1977:235) that the Tubatulabal may have once “owned” or controlled the Coso obsidian quarry, which in Steward’s estimation would have been within their territory. Ethnohistoric sources indicate that the Tubatulabal traded and intermarried with the Panamint Shoshone, procured obsidian from them on expeditions into their territory, and collaborated in yearly communal deer hunts in the southern Sierra (Slater 2000:30).

It has been popular in anthropological circles to conceive of hunter-gatherers as peaceable and non-violent with weakly held territories that were seldom defended and with little or no ownership of resources. Yet, evidence runs counter to this view, showing that territories were recognized and sometimes defended and that resources were often exclusively held (Bettinger 1982; Irwin 1980; Kroeber 1925; Senett-Graham 1989). Ethnographic evidence hints that the Tubatulabal were not on good terms with the Panamint Shoshone and Kawaiisu and some ongoing conflicts occurred. Steward notes that the Panamint Shoshone from Little Lake called the Tubatulabal *Nawavitc* or *Wavitx*, translated as “tough” or “mean” (Steward 1938:71-72). As well, Voegelin (1938:49) indicates that the Tubatulabal were engaged in hostilities to a greater extent than their Numic neighbors (Panamint Shoshoni, Owens Valley Paiute, Kawaiisu).

One Native consultant suggested that the Tubatulabal often fought with the Kawaiisu and the Koso (Panamint Shoshone). That consultant also stated that the

Tubatulabal had waged a large battle with the Panamint Shoshone at Walker Pass and that another battle was fought with the Kawaiisu near their common border at Nichol's Peak. Several Native American consultants recounted details of another major battle at Haiwee Springs, where the Panamint Shoshoni fought to defend their territory and killed many Tubatulabal (Irwin 1980:38-40.). Steward also notes a battle with an invading group at Coso Hot Springs where all the intruders were killed (Steward 1938:83).

Smith (1978) indicates that the Tubatulabal engaged in warfare with all their neighbors and their motivation for such conflicts was always revenge for prior hostilities. The Tubatulabal would take prisoners and scalps, and kill men, women, and children during battles that lasted 1-2 days.

The Numic groups in the study area, the Kawaiisu and Panamint Shoshone, were far more amicable with one another than the Tubatulabal were with the former groups, although the Tubatulabal seemed to allow incursions onto lands that they rarely used. During the early 1860's both the Kawaiisu and Panamint Shoshone established settlements on the eastern end of the South Fork Valley at the mouth of Spanish Needle Creek, just west of Walker Pass, in an effort to escape conflicts with Euroamericans in their own territories (Voegelin 1938:51). Voegelin's hamlet map (1938: Figure 11) of ethnographic villages ca. 1860 identifies village sites 1 and 2 as Panamint Shoshone and 3 as Panamint Shoshone-Kawaiisu.

Grosscup's examination of C. Hart Merriam's notes (1977) indicates that the Tubatulabal's eastern border was most likely the crest of the Sierra near Canebrake Creek with Walker Pass mutually occupied by both the Panamint Shoshone and Kawaiisu. Zigmond (1938) generally agrees but suggests that the Kawaiisu alone controlled Walker

Pass. Zigmond's ethnographic data on the Kawaiisu focus on their settlements and activities restricting them mainly to a "core area" in the Tehachapi Mountains where winter settlements were located. Yet multiple sources (Driver 1937; Irwin 1980; Sennett-Graham 1989; Steward 1937, 1938:93, Figure 7) aver that the Kawaiisu groups were strongly allied with the Panamint Shoshone and had "districts" or subgroups occupying exclusively desert territories (cf. Underwood 2004).

When considering the Panamint Shoshone and the Kawaiisu, it is increasingly evident that their societies were organized into territorial units or districts. These districts were relatively exclusive, largely non-overlapping geographical areas associated with key water sources and major village settlements. District organization was loose enough to allow for residence change, and intermarriage between districts was necessitated. Yet Native American consultants verified that they did not randomly venture into other districts (Irwin 1980:xiii). Men and women seldom traveled into districts that were not within their family's home range except for special festive occasions or group hunts (Irwin 1980:xiii; Sennett-Graham 1989:25).

Districts

Steward identified seven districts among the Panamint Shoshone and Kawaiisu (Steward 1937, 1938). Those districts included: (1) the area north of Lida; (2) Beatty and the Belted Range; (3) Saline Valley; (4) Little Lake and the Coso Range; (5) Panamint Valley; (6) northern Death Valley; and (7) southern Death Valley. Driver (1937) identified five subgroups of the Panamint. Grosscup (1977), providing data from Merriam, reported six divisions for the Panamint. The Panamint Valley and southern

Death Valley districts were composed of almost equal numbers of Shoshone and Kawaiisu. The southern portion of Panamint Valley was predominantly Kawaiisu. When borderlands were occupied, it was in fact common that settlements would include people speaking related but different languages. Kawaiisu speakers were part of Steward's Koso (*Pawo'nda*) or Little Lake district that included the region of the Coso Range, Rose Valley, Little Lake, Olancho, Darwin, Walker Pass to Owens Lake, and part of the far southern Sierra Nevada (Steward 1937, 1938; see also Voegelin 1938).

Tubatulabal

Documentary Coverage, Name, Territory, Population Estimates, Village Locations

Ethnographic material on the Tubatulabal is found in Kroeber (1925), the unpublished notes of John Peabody Harrington (1934) and C. Hart Merriam (1937-1938), and the treatments by Voegelin (1938) and Smith (1978). Voegelin's monograph is the most substantive and exemplary, providing great detail in most matters. An important ethnohistoric source for the Tubatulabal is B. Powers (1971, 1974, 1981). His books provide significant detail regarding the character of protohistoric and early historic Euroamerican-Indian social and economic interaction, chiefly in the South Fork valley of the Kern River. The Tubatulabal referred to themselves using this same name and it translates as "pinyon pine nut eaters" (Merriam 1904).

Traditional Tubatulabal territory is centered in the far southern Sierra. Their territory includes the region naturally drained by the Kern River. That territory begins at the North and South forks of the Kern River, near Mount Whitney, and terminates below the confluence of the two forks in the Kern River Canyon, at a place just above the rapids

at the end of the Lower Kern River Canyon northeast of Bakersfield (Smith 1978:437). Estimates place their precontact population between 500 and 1,000 (Kroeber 1925:608). The Tubatulabal were composed of three distinct bands: Tolowim, Pahkanapil, and Palegewan (Voegelin 1938). Each occupied geographically demarcated areas during the winter. The Tolowim, called Bankalachi by the Yokuts, were associated with the Hot Springs Valley and were closely allied with the Yokuts. The Palegewan were in the Kern River Valley and the Pahkanapil inhabited the South Fork Valley of the Kern where most of the population was aggregated (Kroeber 1925; Smith 1978; Voegelin 1938).

Subsistence and Seasonal Round

The Tubatulabal had a relatively lush environment with both central Californian and Great Basin resources (Voegelin 1938). They lived in an area encompassing riverine, pinyon-juniper and high Sierran environments and as such their homeland was rich in resources. Importantly, they had access to two major dietary staples, pinyon nuts and acorns. Fish were next in economic importance.

From February to May, most food was obtained within the South Fork Valley. Stalks of our Lord's candle (*Yucca whipplei*), immature Joshua tree fruit (*Yucca brevifolia*) and various bulbs were gathered. Large and small game was taken, including geese that were available usually in March. The Tubatulabal fished near the confluence of the Kern and South Fork. Pinyon nuts and acorns, stored from the previous season's harvest, added to the diet (Voegelin 1938).

During May, seeds were gathered on the lower foothills and valley floor. Grey pine (*Pinus sabiniana*) nuts and juniper (*Juniperus occidentalis*) berries were harvested.

Large and small game animals, especially rabbit, continued to be hunted in the valley and foothills. Some fishing took place in the augmented Kern. Occasionally families would venture across the Sierra into Indian Wells Valley for seeds, bulbs and small game (Voegelin 1938).

By June, stored foods were normally exhausted but, if the season was late, seeds might still be gathered in the valley. At this time of year tule roots were gathered around springs, and rabbit drives were conducted. Large game and small birds were hunted. From July to mid-August rush roots were dug near streams, and manzanita berries were gathered in the mountains. Fish were netted in the Kern. Mussels were gathered near Kernville, and rabbits were hunted on the valley floor (Smith 1978; Voegelin 1938).

In mid-August to September, the pinyon season began at the lower elevations and families would begin to harvest nuts for several days at a time (Butterbrecht 1948; Voegelin 1938). Near the pinyon grounds small game was trapped and deer were hunted. Juniper berries were also gathered, and fish were poisoned as streams became lower. From September to mid-October pinyon nuts were gathered at higher elevations. Again, hunting of small game and deer took place. From mid-October to mid-November families moved back to their villages carrying burden baskets laden with pinyon nuts to be stored for winter. If a local crop was especially good and the winter not too severe, it seems likely that families might have relocated their villages and stayed in the area of the nut harvest. In the late fall in the Greenhorn Mountains, acorns were harvested, and deer and rabbits were taken (Voegelin 1938).

From mid-November to February, subsistence was based largely on stored foodstuffs. Supplementing the dried foods were fish speared from balsa canoes on the river and game that was hunted or trapped (Voegelin 1938).

Of major importance to the present study was the gathering of pinyon nuts and hunting of small and large game at the pinyon grounds. The pinyon harvest at higher elevations began in fall. Nuts were gathered and cached at this time. Two types of pinyon settlements are indicated ethnographically: a large camp with a corral-like brush enclosure housing a number of extended families, and a more temporary camp having a shelter of poles and brush used by a single family during brief stays.

Pinyon nuts may be harvested at the green- or brown-cone stage, and much has been made of this distinction (Bettinger 1976; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; McGuire and Garfinkel 1976). Suffice it to say that the ethnographic details seem to point to an exclusive green-cone harvesting method for the Tubatulabal. Pinyon nuts seem to be most productively harvested when green, when the cones were full-grown but their scales unopened (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982). Men and boys would knock the cones from the trees with long poles. When enough cones had been gathered, they were taken to camp, dumped onto a bed of sage (*Artemisia tridentata*), and set on fire (Voegelin 1938). Heat from the fire caused the cones to dry out and their scales to open. The cones were then allowed to cool and the nuts shaken out, picked out by hand, or winnowed from the dirt. Nuts not taken back to the village were cached in circular pits covered by rocks, grass, and small stones. These caches were returned to in the winter as needed (Voegelin 1938).

Social and Political Organization

The Tubatulabal were organized into three semi-independent, politically differentiated bands, each with its own chief. Associated with each band were several “hamlets” or permanent winter villages and each village included from two to six extended families. The Tubatulabal were territorially based and claimed property rights as a community recognizing certain geographical boundaries marking their territory. Each band’s chief acted as a counselor, arbitrator and representative of his band. His responsibilities included leadership in war and peace, negotiation of internal disputes and the admonishment or punishment of shamans suspected of malicious or injurious behavior (Voegelin 1938).

The band chief held an appointed office and, upon his death, an assembly was called and a new man was chosen. The next most important position in Tubatulabal society was the “clown / dance manager,” a man who inherited this office from his father (Voegelin 1938). The position served to create levity at ceremonies and when appropriate was also instrumental in calling for a change in band leadership.

Religion, Cosmology, and Group Ceremonies

A religious concept of the Tubatulabal centered around the concept of a dying benefactor and was related to their use of jimsonweed (*Datura* spp.). The Tubatulabal believed the world was inhabited by various supernatural spirits in both human and animal forms (Voegelin 1938). Such beings sometimes figured as shaman’s helpers and were always treated with reverence and a bit of trepidation. Tubatulabal shamans included both men and women and served as doctors in curing ceremonies or, when

malevolent, as witches. Other Tubatulabal shamans included weather shamans or rain doctors who were able to produce rain when needed. Bear shamans were uncommon but occasionally shamans obtained bears as guardian animals. Rattlesnakes were sometimes taken as guardians by vision seekers and shamans and those who had such associations could cure rattlesnake bites (Voegelin 1938).

Group ceremonies among the Tubatulabal included an annual mourning ceremony for the dead. When the ritual took place images and possessions of the deceased were burned. A ceremony, identified as the “little fiesta” or face-washing ceremony, was conducted for the survivors of a deceased person, before they were able to resume eating meat (Voegelin 1938). Young men and women, using *Datura* sp. to obtain visions and spiritual guardians, performed a jimsonweed ritual.

Panamint Shoshone

Documentary Coverage

Ethnographic accounts of specialized aspects of the Panamint Shoshone include the early works by Nelson (1891), Coville (1892) and Dutcher (1893). More recent overviews and refinements have been published by Grosscup (1977), Kelly and Fowler (1986), and Thomas et al. (1986). Steward (1937, 1938) provides the most comprehensive picture of aboriginal life for these groups. Kroeber (1925) includes a brief summary treatment. Important works by Irwin (1980), Sennet-Graham (1989) as well as Slater (2000) provide significant additional information, including ethnohistoric and historic accounts of acculturation and change in material culture.

Name, Territory, Population Estimate, Village Locations

The appellation Coso (alternatively Koso) and Panamint Shoshone have been used to refer to the aboriginal people living in the Coso Range and the surrounding areas. The Little Lake or *Kuhwiji* district was located nearest the Kern Plateau and the crest of the Sierra. That district was large and encompassed an area of almost 1,000 square miles consisting of four loosely interrelated villages. The village at Little Lake was called *Pagunda* and had 50 or 60 residents in 1870. Coso Hot Springs or *Mua[^]ta* had a population of over 100. Cold Spring was located about five miles (8 kilometers) south of Darwin. The Olancho village was situated along the northern boundary of the district and included Northern Paiute speakers. Voegelin (1938) mentions that three Panamint Shoshone villages were located near Walker Pass not far from Canebrake Creek but that those may have been recent historic intrusions. Grosscup, using the notes of C. Hart Merriam, suggests that the Panamint Shoshone and the Kawaiisu mutually occupied the Walker Pass area west of the crest of the Sierra near Canebrake Creek. Estimates of population density were between 0.06 to 0.03 persons per square mile (0.002 – 0.001 person per km²), or 16 to 30 square miles per person (500 – 1000 km² per person) (Steward 1938).

Seasonal Round

The Panamint Shoshone environment was much less productive than that of their neighbors, the Tubatulabal, especially with reference to the availability of water. The Coso area is just one valley system away from Death Valley - one of the driest places on earth. Hence, the Shoshone were much more residentially mobile than the Tubatulabal.

Their seasonal round varied depending on the relative abundance and location of key food sources.

The Panamint subsisted by generalized foraging. During the winter people moved to the valley floor villages next to streams, probably along the eastern scarp of the Sierra (Steward 1938). There they occupied pit houses and lived mainly on stored seeds and nuts and hunted rabbits. In spring some families moved to Haiwee Spring to gather greens. In late spring/early summer some people moved to Cold Spring to hunt rabbits. At the same time other families would travel and convene for communal antelope drives. Such drives were held at Brown (near the modern town of Inyokern), at the southern end of Owens Lake or the north end of Saline Valley (Steward 1938).

The drives near Brown might have involved cooperative efforts with neighboring groups including the Tubatulabal or the Saline Valley Shoshone. During the middle of summer families would travel to Saline Valley or sometimes Death Valley to gather mesquite beans. In late summer people moved throughout the Coso Range to gather plant foods. In the fall most all families traveled to the productive pinyon grounds in the Cosos (likely also the nearby pinyon grounds of the southern Sierra). Alternatively, if the crops failed they would move to the Panamints (Steward 1938). Some families would travel to Owens Lake to hunt waterfowl. Fall was also the time for the large communal rabbit drives. Important supplements to the largely vegetal diet were the hunting of bighorn in the Cosos, deer and bighorn in the Sierra, and fishing in the Owens River and Little Lake (Steward 1938).

Social Organization

As Steward often declared the Great Basin Shoshoneans possessed one of the simplest cultures in North American and in some respects the entire world. A corollary to this simplicity was that they were characterized by the most basic level of sociopolitical organization, a band-level society. These localized bands were composed of groups of related and cooperating extended families that lived within a recognized territory (district), shared a sense of common membership and identification and were directed by a local leader. These “chiefs” and headmen organized the annual rabbit drives and occasional communal pinyon harvests, influenced settlement decisions, officiated and organized the annual Round Dance, resolved interpersonal conflicts, punished thieves, and helped lead in decisions regarding intergroup conflicts (i.e., warfare).

Religion, Cosmology, and Group Ceremonies

The Panamint had little in the way of embellishment in their material culture, no elaborate ceremonialism, and only slight ritual or religious activities (Steward 1968:ix). Guardian-spirit beliefs, crisis rites, mythology and shamanism formed the core of religious concepts (Hultkrantz 1986). Shamans acted as religious functionaries and healers. They served as doctors to cure sickness, which was thought in some cases to come from malevolent individuals (shamans and non-shamans) or the transgression of certain taboos. Communal religious activities were few but occasionally, when group rituals were practiced, they included the Fall Round Dance, also known as the Circle Dance. The Round Dance included a kind of first fruit rites following the annual pinyon

harvests and communal rabbit drives. This Fall festival may have had a world renewal or cataclysmic component as well. Paired with these features there seems to have been an association with the promotion of the growth of seeds and plants (Hultkrantz 1986: 634; Steward 1941:267).

Kawaiisu

Documentary Coverage

Information on the Kawaiisu is scattered in many fragmented accounts (cf. Underwood 2004). The earliest facts appear in the scant details provided by S. Powers (1877). Local historians have added important ethnohistoric and ethnographic details (Barras 1976, 1984; B. Powers 1981; Walker 1971). Professional historians have documented the troubled period of missionization, forced relocation, and intense conflict with the government and settlers (Boyd 1972; Chalfant 1933). Precontact lifeways are also treated in Cappannari (1950, 1960), Kroeber (1925), and Steward (1938). Yet the most detailed and thorough studies are the various works by Zigmond (1938, 1941, 1971, 1972, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1986; Zigmond et al. 1991). Unfortunately, Zigmond's work lacks some important details critical for the archaeological reconstruction of precontact life, including the location and character of principal villages and a thorough discussion of Kawaiisu subsistence-settlement patterns. Consequently, we are forced to patch together a coherent picture as best we can.

Territory and Village Location

Zigmond (1986) identified the Kawaiisu as centered in the far southern Sierra Nevada, principally in the Piute and Tehachapi Mountains. Yet Steward (1938) assigns a number of Kawaiisu groups also to the southern portions of Panamint Valley and Death Valley. Steward notes that south of Ballarat, Panamint Valley was largely inhabited by Kawaiisu speakers and that their principal village, called *Ha:uta* (Village 42 in Steward's Figure 7), was at Warm Springs. One of Zigmond's native consultants confirmed that their people would travel across Indian Wells Valley and into the Argus Range. Grosscup (1977), using the notes of C. Hart Merriam, attests that the Kawaiisu claimed the territory near Walker Pass, and Voegelin further attributes a village in that area (at least during early historic times, ca. 1860) to the Kawaiisu. That village was situated at an unnamed spring near the mouth of Spanish Needle Creek.

Subsistence and Seasonal Round

Zigmond (1986) mentions that Kawaiisu territory was not richly endowed with subsistence resources. He also states that at times the Kawaiisu verged on starvation or suffered from lack of provisions. Steward (1938:84) recounts that the Kawaiisu from Panamint Valley would harvest mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora*) at their Warm Springs winter village. They would also venture to higher elevations to gather seeds and pinyon nuts and hunt mountain sheep. Families would also venture to the Argus Range and Coso Mountains for chia and bunch grass.

Groups living in the Tehachapi Mountains had both acorns and pinyon nuts to gather during the fall. In the spring various seed-producing plants were gathered.

Among the most important were rice grass (*Achnatherum hymenoides*), tick seed (*Coreopsis* spp.); blazing star (*Mentzelia* spp.); and chia (*Salvia* spp.). Some fishing was done but few good fishing streams were available. Rabbits were hunted communally.

Social Organization

Social organization centered on the family group with little supra-familial political organization. Chiefs were known but no single individual united the Kawaiisu as a whole. Leaders were simply individuals who possessed sufficient personal wealth but no real coercive authority. Yet they supervised feasts and bore much of the expense for such group ceremonies (Zigmond 1986).

Religion, Cosmology, and Group Ceremonies

Group ceremonies among the Kawaiisu included an annual mourning ceremony where images and possessions of the deceased were burned, and a ritual when boys and girls a few years after puberty used jimsonweed to obtain visions and spiritual guardians. The religious world of the Kawaiisu was similar to that of their neighbors, the Panamint Shoshone, in having guardian-spirit beliefs, elaborate mythology and shamanism. Three kinds of shamans were known: the curing shaman diagnosed and healed illness; evil shamans might attack their victims through supernatural agents and cause them to become ill or die; and weather shamans were a specialty of the Kawaiisu and could produce rain or snow (Voegelin 1938; Zigmond 1977, 1980, 1986).

Archaeological Background

Archaeological investigations in the far southern Sierra Nevada have been rather sporadic. Most of the research was done in the 1980s when the Pacific Crest Trail was developed. Prior research has been synthesized by McGuire and Garfinkel (1980), Schiffman and Garfinkel (1981a), and Moratto (1984). Prehistoric use of the region may have begun as early as 13,000 – 13,500 years ago, based on the identification of a few isolated finds of fluted “Clovis” points (Figure 3.1a) (Dillon 2002; Glennan 1971; Zimmerman et al. 1989). Nevertheless, little in the way of archaeological material dates earlier than 3000 B.C. and most material falls within later prehistoric periods. Using prior studies as a basis, an outline of the area’s cultural history can be developed following the chronological periods specified in the local sequence.

Kennedy Phase (6500 - 11500 B.C.): The first known use of the Kern Plateau is represented by the Kennedy Phase. Large lanceolate concave base points are characteristic of this period (Figure 3.1b). These projectile points compare favorably with Great Basin Concave Base series found in the desert areas to the east. Those points have been found in contexts associated with radiocarbon dates and obsidian hydration measurements placing them in the late Pleistocene and early Holocene eras. With the exception of these early style points (n = 2) and a small number (n = 7) of large hydration measurements on Coso obsidian (>10.1 microns), little in the way of archaeological materials have been recovered with which to reconstruct the prehistoric lifeways dating to this time.

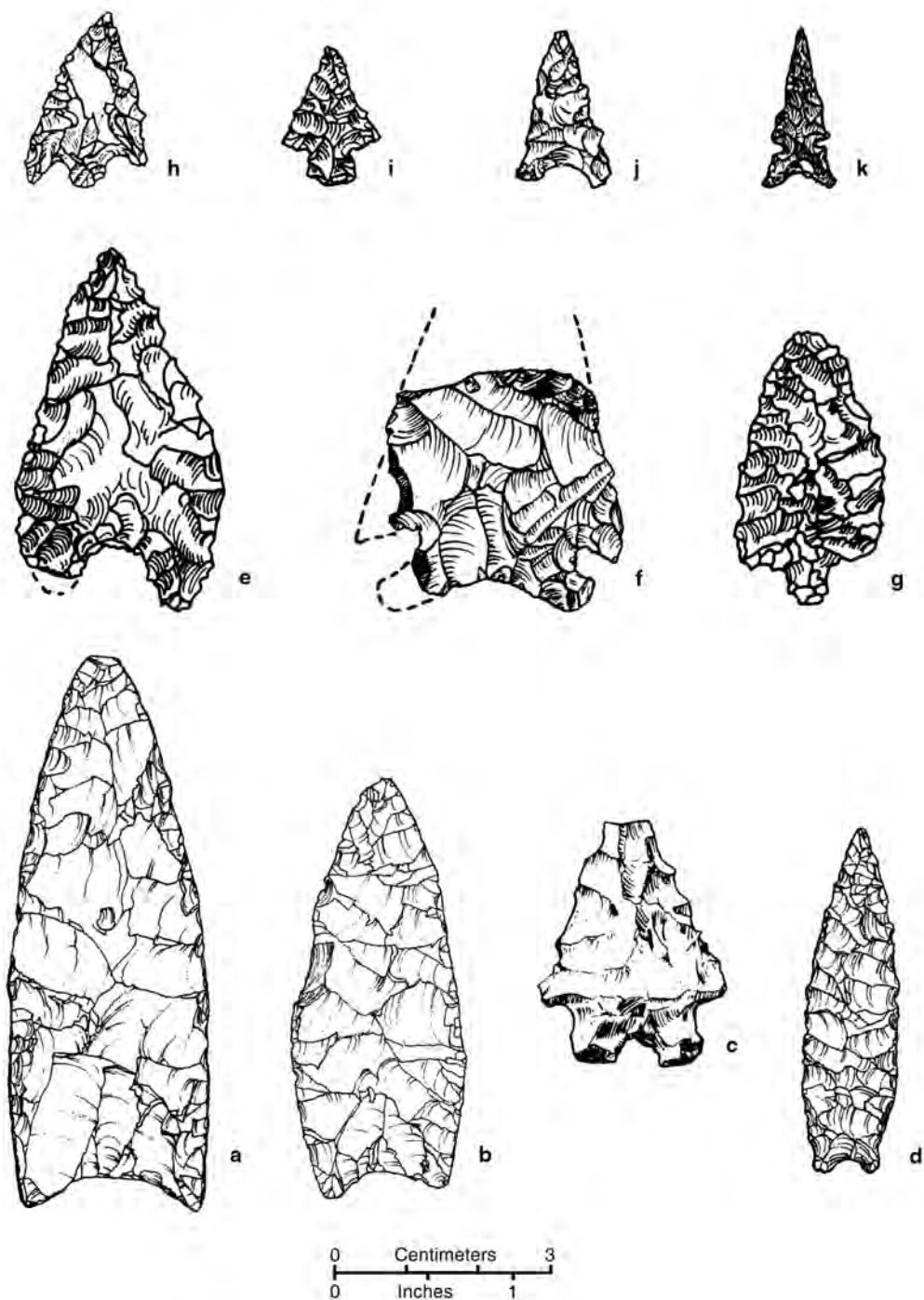


Figure 3.1 Time-sensitive Projectile Points. a, Clovis; b, Great Basin Concave Base; c, Pinto / Little Lake; d, Humboldt Concave Base; e, Humboldt Basal-notched; f, Elko Corner-notched; g, Gypsum; h, Eastgate; i, Rose Spring; j, Cottonwood; k, Desert Side-notched. All actual size.

a, b, and d from Justice (2002) Figures 10, 11, and 16. c, f, i, j, and k from McGuire and Garfinkel (1980) Figures 2-5. h, e, and g from Garfinkel et al. (1980) Figures 3 and 4.

Lamont Phase (6500 - 1200 B.C.): Various split-stem points of the Pinto/Little Lake series characterize this period (Figure 3.1c). These dart points, which are relatively rare ($n = 9$) in the study area, are thought to represent brief occupations and occasional use of the upland areas by big-game hunting parties, probably originating from base camps on the western fringe of the Great Basin desert. Occasional exploitation of various plant resources probably took place during this period as well (McGuire and Garfinkel 1980).

Canebrake Phase (1200 B.C. - A.D. 600): The hallmarks of this period are Humboldt, Elko, and Gypsum series projectile points (Figure 3.1e, f, and g). Hunting continued as well as new activities associated with substantial trans-Sierran trade. Locations of obsidian-reduction sites or “lithic workshops” indicate the production of obsidian bifaces intended for exchange with groups to the west (McGuire and Garfinkel 1980; Schiffman and Garfinkel 1981). Continuing sporadic use of economic plant resources also characterizes this period. Pinyon nut exploitation may have begun by 500 B.C. to A.D. 1, perhaps as a result of the ameliorating climatic conditions of the Medithermal and the emergence of larger, more productive stands of pinyon (McGuire and Garfinkel 1980).

Sawtooth Phase (A.D. 600 - 1300): During this period a transition is recognized from the use of the atlatl and dart to the bow and arrow as evinced by Eastgate and Rose Spring points (Figure 3.1h and i). Aboriginal use of the area dramatically increased both in the size and number of archaeological sites as well as the presumed intensity of occupation. Exploitation of pinyon intensified as demonstrated by many small rock-ring features that served either as the bases for temporary brush structures at pinyon camps or, more often,

as rock-lined storage facilities for “pinyon caches.” Individual hunting camps declined in use and lithic workshops were no longer visited (McGuire and Garfinkel 1980).

Chimney Phase (A.D. 1300 - Historic): This final cultural period represents ethnographic occupation by the Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Panamint Shoshone. The greatest numbers of sites and artifacts found on the Kern Plateau date to this period. Desert Side-notched and Cottonwood arrow points are characteristic (Figure 3.1j and k). Brownware ceramics, imported soapstone beads, and pictographs date to this time frame, as do many sites associated with systematic and intensive pinyon exploitation (McGuire and Garfinkel 1980).

Summary

Northern Uto-Aztecan languages include Tubatulabal, a linguistic isolate, and two Numic languages: Kawaiisu (Southern Numic) and Panamint Shoshone (Central Numic). Based on their distribution, the Numic homeland is thought by some to be in the vicinity of the far southern Sierra and western Mojave Desert or in the Owens Valley. Time depth estimates for these languages vary. Based on lexicostatistical measures, Tubatulabal is the oldest at 20 to 30 “minimum centuries” of antiquity, and their Numic neighbors may have differentiated about a millennium later. The expansion of Numic into the Great Basin may have occurred ca. A.D. 1000.

Theorists have advanced contrasting models regarding the ethnic identification and population movements of the prehistoric occupants of the study area. Aikens and Witherspoon suggested that Numic use of the Great Basin is of long standing, that Numic

groups occupied the area for the last 5000 years, and that they displaced pre-Numic groups when climatic conditions became more arid. Bettinger and Baumhoff differ and believe that population replacement was driven by competing adaptive strategies. Sutton favors population replacement but sees warfare as a principal factor in the process. Others, considering the archaeological record (including the dating and styles of Great Basin rock art) posit long-term Numic continuity.

It can be argued that the Tubatulabal can best be seen as typically “Californian” in cultural orientation. These people had substantial population numbers and formalized social structure, occupied semi-permanent villages, and inhabited a richly endowed natural environment with abundant foodstuffs. Their subsistence-settlement activities were concentrated in the valleys and highlands of the far southern Sierra. In contrast, the Kawaiisu and Panamint Shoshone are more typical of certain “Great Basin” peoples having highly mobile family bands. Although the Kawaiisu held tenaciously to the mesic slopes of the Tehachapi Mountains, the region they inhabited had few streams, and a large portion of their territory incorporated areas of desert. The Panamint Shoshone territory lay almost entirely within the drier regions of the Great Basin, east of the Sierra. The Panamint and Kawaiisu had little in the way of artistic embellishments in their material culture and only slight religious ritual. The Tubatulabal had somewhat more complex religious systems with a variety of shamans and several forms of group ceremonies.

The sequence of prehistoric occupation as presently known begins about 6000 B.C. and continues through the historic era. Earlier human activity occurring prior to this is poorly visible. The archaeological record suggests that aboriginal activities in the area

were generally focused on hunting forays, seasonal pinyon exploitation, trans-Sierran travel, trade of obsidian, and, in good pinyon years, perhaps more lengthy residential occupations. Significant changes occurred over the course of the 8000 years of documented prehistory. Prehistorians have identified varied occupations of the region, including changes in technology, the patterns of large game hunting, trade in obsidian and the development of systematic and intensive pinyon exploitation.

Chapter 4

CHRONOMETRICS

Scope and Purpose

A prerequisite for testing hypotheses about prehistoric population movements or the ethnic attribution of archaeological assemblages is the accurate dating of prehistoric components. Knowing when sites were occupied provides a structure for inquiry regarding cultural variability or changes in land use over time. Knowing “when” events occurred can easily change our understanding of the nature of the events and their interpretation. Chronology is thus the foundation upon which explanations of prehistory must be built.

Archaeological investigations on and near the Kern Plateau allow for temporal ordering of many occupational components (Table 4.1). Dating is based on radiocarbon assays, source-specific obsidian hydration measurements, and time-diagnostic artifacts. This chapter presents a chronological overview, provides new perspectives on the dating of prehistoric sites in the study area, presents the rationale for these interpretations, and addresses local occupational trends over time.

Introduction

Obsidian hydration dating is the primary means for placing the archaeological components within a time sequence. To orient the reader, a summary of the technique is provided later in this chapter. The current sample includes 475 hydration rim readings on projectile points and debitage from the 69 investigated sites (Table 4.1). All of these obsidian specimens were further analyzed to determine their geological source.

Table 4.1 Distribution of Temporal Indicators by Site.

Site	Hydration Measure- ments	Classifiable Points	Radiocarbon Assays	Potsherds	Glass Beads	Shell Beads	Stone Beads	Other
KER-1269/SP4	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1270/SP5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1971/SP6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1296/SP8A	18	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1297/SP8B	6	3	0	75	1	0	0	0
KER-1298/SP8C	29	12	2	29	234	0	0	0
KER-1299/SP8D	7	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
KER-1299/SP8E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1299/SP8F	8	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
KER1272/SP9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER1273/SP10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER1274/SP11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1275/SP13	1	1	0	62	0	0	0	0
KER-1276/SP14A	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1276/SP14B	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1277/SP15	8	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1278/SP16	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1279/SP18	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1280/SP19	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1281/FS56	11	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1282/FS64	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1283/FS65	9	5	2	2	1	0	0	0
KER-1284/FS66	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1285/FS75	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-1286/FS76	12	2	3	41	3	1	0	1*
KER-748/PCT1	2	3	0	0	0	1	0	0
KER-744/PCT2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
KER-743/PCT3	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0
KER-742/PCT4	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
KER-741/PCT5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
KER-747/PCT7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-746/PCT9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-738/PCT10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-745/PCT11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KER-737/PCT12	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-484/PCT13	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-483/PCT14	0	7	0	0	5	0	1	0
TUL-482/PCT15	3	4	0	0	3	3	0	0
TUL-481/PCT16	3	9	0	0	13	10	0	0
TUL-480/PCT17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

*Phoenix button

Table 4.1 Distribution of Temporal Indicators by Site (continued).

Site	Hydration Measure- ments	Classifiable Points	Radiocarbon Assays	Potsherds	Glass Beads	Shell Beads	Stone Beads	Other
TUL-487/PCT18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-485/PCT 19	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
TUL-488/PCT20N	23	26	0	3	0	7	13	0
TUL-488/PCT20S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-489/PCT21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-629/KR39	23	5	0	1	18	10	6	0
TUL-621/KR41	33	13	0	4	6	0	7	0
TUL-620/KR42	0	4	0	0	0	0	7	0
TUL-619/KR43	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-618/KR44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-630/KR46	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-617/KR48	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
TUL-628/KR49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-616/KR50	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-767/KR53	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-636/KR57	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL625/KR60	3	1	0	0	3	0	0	0
TUL-623/KR64	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-634/KR71	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-632/KR73	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
TUL-877/RB1	13	4	3	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-878/RB2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-879/RB3	27	32	8	19	0	2	4	0
TUL-880/RB4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-881/RB5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-882/RB6	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-883/RB7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-884/RB8	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-885/RB9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-886/RB10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-887/RB11	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-890/RB12A	5	1	1	60	0	0	0	0
TUL-890/RB12B	7	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
TUL-890/RB12C	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-891/RB13	17	0	1	11	0	0	0	0
TUL-888/RB17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-889/RB18A	10	7	0	0	0	0	1	0
TUL-889/RB18B	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-889/RB18C	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-889/RB18D	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-894/RB19	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4.1 Distribution of Temporal Indicators by Site (continued).

Site	Hydration Measure- ments	Classifiable Points	Radiocarbon Assays	Potsherds	Glass Beads	Shell Beads	Stone Beads	Other
TUL-895/RB20	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-511/05-13-36	2	3	0	70	0	0	2	0
TUL-896/KM1	14	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-897/KM2	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-898/KM3	46	2	1	1	0	0	3	0
TUL-899/KM4	37	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUL-909/KM14	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Totals	475	222	28	396	282	24	46	1

In almost every instance, X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis identified them as volcanic glass from the Coso Volcanic Field. To date, only five obsidian artifacts from the study area have been determined to come from other known or unknown volcanic glass sources. Over 99 percent of all the obsidian identified originated at the Coso sources. All of the source determinations were made in the 1980s, and at that time the Coso Volcanic Field was recognized as a single discrete chemical source.

Since that time, studies have identified four main subsources: Sugarloaf Mountain, West Sugarloaf Mountain, Joshua Ridge and West Cactus Peak (Ericson 1977; Ericson and Glascock 2004; Hughes 1988). Other subsources may also be present. The subsources represent different chemically-distinct flows. Recently both Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997) and Eerkens and Rosenthal (2004) have suggested that all four subsources produce hydration rims at a similar rate and, further, they found no statistically significant differences when comparing hydration measurements from various subsources. This allows us to date artifacts of Coso obsidian regardless of the particular Coso subsource represented.

Chronology

A chronological scheme for the Kern Plateau was originally developed by Garfinkel et al. (1981). That scheme has generally been retained, with some modifications, in the present work. The local cultural sequence was derived from the generally accepted temporal divisions for Great Basin projectile point types and the time periods developed by Bettinger and Taylor (1974) and Warren (1984). Period names are consistent with prior treatments (cf. Garfinkel et al. 1980; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980) with the exception of the new Kennedy Period expression (Table 4.2). The “hinge” points for these periods have been adjusted based on current age estimates of the point forms. The period divisions are: Kennedy (13,500-8500 B.P.); Lamont (8500-3500 B.P.); Canebrake (3500-1350 B.P.); Sawtooth (1350-650 B.P.); and Chimney (650 B.P.–historic).

Table 4.2 Chronological Periods for the Kern Plateau.

Bettinger and Taylor 1974		Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997		Present Study		Upland Coso Glass Hydration
Designation	Interval	Designation	Interval	Designation	Interval	
Marana	650 BP-contact	Marana	650-200 BP	Chimney	650 BP-contact	<2.4 μ
Haiwee	1350-650 BP	Haiwee	1275-650 BP	Sawtooth	1350-650 BP	2.4-3.7 μ
Newberry	3150-1350 BP	Newberry	3500-1275 BP	Canebrake	3500-1350 BP	3.7-6.6 μ
Little Lake	6000-3150 BP	Little Lake	5500-3500 BP	Lamont	8500-3500 BP	6.6-10.1 μ
Mojave	pre-6000 BP	Early	pre-5500 BP	Kennedy	13500-8500 BP	10.1-13.9 μ

The chronological evaluation of the archaeological material takes into account depositional contexts, vertical and horizontal location of artifacts, the relative homogeneity of cultural assemblages from a particular area, and other relevant information. Discrete features and spatially concentrated scatters of surface artifacts within a site were evaluated for the possibility that they represented a single period occupation. Obsidian hydration measurements and radiocarbon assays help determine whether a given deposit represents a discrete, single period of cultural activity.

Hydration rim measurements are presented in this chapter by site and component. Outlying hydration values were identified and omitted from cluster sample statistics. Such outlying values were always greater than one standard deviation from the mean and in most cases were, at least, two standard deviations from the modal hydration value. The metrical data for each suite of readings includes mean, standard deviation, number of rim readings, and the coefficient of variation (CV). The latter measure is calculated by dividing the standard deviation by the mean and has been found useful in comparing multiple samples with varying means (Blalock 1979:84). The CV also provides a useful statistic to evaluate a sample's relative homogeneity. Single-period deposits have been defined as having a CV of 0.25 or less and having other chronological information (when available) consistent with that specific temporal period placement. When presenting the obsidian hydration values, readings were rounded to the nearest 0.1 μ . Rim readings in excess of 14.0 μ were dismissed from further consideration and are presumed in most cases to represent old, natural surfaces. The possibility exists that these very old hydration measurements might represent very early stoneworking and this alternative should not be completely ruled out.

Discussions with Rob Jackson and other specialists in obsidian hydration data interpretation have suggested that the early (ca. 1980-1985) hydration rim measurements produced by the laboratory of Joseph Michels are at odds with the findings of other researchers responsible for the bulk of the present hydration analysis. Michels' hydration rim measurement readings are consistently smaller than comparable readings on the same artifacts measured by all other laboratories. Since this is the case, Michels' rim readings are deemed to be inconsistent with the remaining hydration measurement data and therefore are excluded from this study.

Double readings for flakes and points were uncommon ($N = 11$ or 2.3 %). When they were present, the smaller of the two readings was used for statistical analysis and chronological placement. The smaller reading represents the most recent event and it is probable that the larger rim is out of primary context. Dual rims are usually the result of scavenging of an older piece of obsidian from an earlier deposit and hence exhibit a larger rim along with a smaller one.

For many site loci, chronological data strongly suggested a single-period expression, especially where hydration value clusters are associated with time-sensitive artifacts and radiocarbon assays support a particular age estimate. Often this was the case for a single feature (e.g., a rock ring) or a site locus (e.g., a midden area), where the distribution of cultural remains was spatially segregated. Site features or areas appearing to have been used during two distinct and consecutive periods were so indicated by a bimodal distribution of hydration measurements. In those instances, cultural materials were assigned to both periods simultaneously and were so designated. For the remainder of the site loci, a diverse range of hydration measures indicated

multiple periods of activity. Such areas are considered temporally mixed. Other areas produced no chronological information and thus were classified as indeterminate. The chronological assessment of each component of the study sites is summarized in Table 4.3.

Obsidian Hydration Dating

Obsidian hydration studies rest on the principle that moisture penetrates volcanic glass at a predictable and quantifiable rate and hence the elapsed time since the glass was broken or artificially flaked can be calculated. Research has shown conclusively that hydration rims on younger artifacts are smaller than those on older objects.

Within the confines of the China Lake Naval Air Weapons Center, in the vicinity of Sugarloaf Mountain in the Coso Range of eastern California, lie a number of seams and outcrops of high-quality obsidian. Coso volcanic glass has been the focus of intensive studies and may be one of the “most thoroughly investigated obsidians in North America” (Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997:10). These studies have spawned a plethora of alternative views on the proper hydration rate for dating Coso obsidian artifacts (Basgall 1990; Basgall and Hall 2000; Drews and Elston 1983; Ericson 1977, 1978a, 1978b; Garfinkel et al. 1980, 1984; Hildebrandt and Ruby 2003; King 2000; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980; McGuire et al. 1982; Meighan 1978; 1981; Pearson 1995; Rosenthal et al. 2001; Schiffman and Garfinkel 1981b).

Table 4.3
Kern Plateau Site Components.

Period & Site Designation	N	Hydration values (in microns)	<u>Hydration Data*</u>			Classified Projectile Points**	¹⁴ C Assays	Other Temporal Data***
			Mean	sd	cv			
<u>Chimney</u>								
KER1273	1	2.0	2.0	0	NA			
KER-1276A	1	2.4	2.4	0	NA			
KER-1276B	1	2.2	2.2	0	NA 1 E		Modern	
KER-748	2	1.7, 1.9	1.8	0.14	0.07	1 DSN 1 CT 1 G		1 H2 shell bead
KER-743	1	1.6	1.6	0	NA 2 CT 1 HBN		Modern	1 stone bead
KER-742	No data							1 potsherd, 1 E2b shell bead
TUL-484A	No data					2 CT		
TUL-482	3	1.4, 1.8, 1.9	1.7	0.24	0.14	4 CT		3 potsherds, 3 glass beads
TUL-485	No data							1 stone bead
TUL-625 Midden Area	No data					1 CT		2 glass beads
TUL-623	3	1.8, 2.1, 2.3	2.1	0.25	0.11			
TUL-632	No data					1 CT		1 glass bead
TUL-879B								8 potsherds
TUL-894	3	2.0, 2.2, 2.8	2.3	0.42	0.18	1 DSN 1 CT		
TUL-909	No data					1 DSN		1 stone bead
TUL-891 Surface							225±80	11 potsherds
<u>Chimney/Sawtooth</u>								
KER 1298	7	2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.6, 2.9, 3.3, (5.1)	2.6	0.31	0.11	1 RS	190±70	1 potsherd, 1 glass bead
KER-1278	2	3.2/3.5, 3.4	3.3	0.10	0.04	1 CT		
KER-1286	8	(1.1), (1.6), 2.5, 2.5, 2.6, 2.6, 3.0, 3.1, 3.2, 3.7, 4.1, (15.9)	3.0	0.56	0.19	2 CT	150±50 210±50 Modern	41 potsherds, 3 glass beads 1 K1 shell bead, 1 Phoenix button
KER-737	No data					1 CT 1 RS		
TUL-483	No data					1 DSN 4 CT 1 RS 1 HCB		5 potsherds, 1 H2 shell bead
TUL-481	2	(.5), 2.3, 2.8	2.5	0.37	0.12	4 DSN 2 CT 2 RS 1 HBN		13 potsherds, 10 glass beads

Table 4.3.
Kern Plateau Site Components (continued).

Period & Site Designation	N	Hydration values (in microns)	Hydration Data*			Classified Projectile Points**	14C Assays	Other Temporal Data***
			Mean	sd	cv			
<u>Chimney/Sawtooth</u>								
TUL-620	No data					3 RS 1 CT		7 stone beads
TUL-890	5	2.4, 2.4, 2.8, 3.4, 3.9	3.0	0.66	0.22	1 RS		60 potsherds
TUL-889	2	2.6 (3.9)	2.6	NA	NA	2 CT		
KER-1275	1	3.4/17.4	3.4	0	NA	1 HBN		62 potsherds
TUL-634	2	3.0, 3.7	3.3	0.5	0.15	1 CT		
<u>Sawtooth</u>								
KER-1296	18	1.5, 2.0, 2.2, 2.2, 2.7, 2.7, 3.0, 3.0, 3.0, 3.2, 3.3, 3.3, 3.4, 3.4, 3.4, 3.4, 3.5, 4.0	3	0.63	0.21	1 DSN		
KER-1299	7	2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.5, 3.2, 3.2, 4.0	2.9	0.62	0.21	2 RS		1 shell bead
KER-1284	3	2.8, 3.0, 3.5	3.1	0.36	0.11	1 RS		
KER-1285	4	3.4, 3.6, 3.6, 4.3	3.7	0.39	0.1			
TUL-484B	No data					1 RS		
TUL-484C	No data					1 RS		
TUL-619	5	(.7),(1.8), 2.2, 2.5, 3.4, 3.5, 4	3.1	0.75	0.24	1 DSN 1 HBN		
TUL-890B	6	2.4, 2.7, 2.7, 2.9, 3.2, 3.6, (5.5)	2.9	0.43	0.15	2 RS	1280±90	1 potsherd
TUL-890C	3	2.1, 3.2, 3.2	2.8	0.63	0.22			
TUL-717	No data					1 EG		
TUL-891E. Midden	4	2.7, 3.2, 3.3, 4.6	3.4	0.81	0.24			
TUL-891 W. Midden	7	2.5, 2.6, 2.9, 2.9, 3.0, 3.1, 3.1, (4.5)	2.9	0.24	0.08			
TUL-891 Depression	5	2.0, 2.0, 2.4/3, 2.9, 3.0	2.4	0.45	0.18			
TUL-625 Rock Rings	2	2.4, 3.3, (5.0)	2.8	0.63	0.22			
<u>Sawtooth/Canebrake</u>								
KER-1269	4	(1.3), (1.4), (1.9), 3.6, 3.7, 4.1, 4.1	3.9	0.24	0.06	2 RS		
<u>Canebrake</u>								
TUL-630	7	3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.6, 4, 4.1, 4.5	3.8	0.43	0.11			

Table 4.3.
Kern Plateau Site Components (continued).

Period & Site Designation	N	Hydration Data*			Classified Projectile Points**	14C Assays	Other Temporal Data***
		Hydration values (in microns)	Mean	sd			
<u>Canebrake</u>							
KER-1270	2	3.2, 4.5	3.8	0.9	0.23		
KER-1971	2	4.2, 5.0	4.6	0.57	0.12		
KER 1298E	2	5.5, 6.0	5.7	0.35	0.06		
KER-1279	9	3.2, 3.4, 3.5, 3.7, 3.7, 3.9, 4.5, 4.6, 5.5,(20.2)	4.0	0.73	0.18		
KER-1280	1	4.0	4.0	0	NA		
KER-1282	2	3.4, 8.6	6.2	1.4	0.22		
TUL-889B	1	4.5	4.5	0	NA		
TUL-895	1	4.6	4.6	0	NA 1 E		
TUL-887	2	(2.2), 4.3, 4.5,(8.2)	4.4	.14	0.03 1 RS 1 E		
TUL-630	7	3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.6, 4, 4.1, 4.5	3.8	0.43	0.11		
<u>Canebrake/Lamont</u>							
TUL-889A	9	(2.6), 4.4, 4.7, 5.6, 5.9, 6.2, 6.3, 6.5, 7.4, 8.9	6.2	1.3	0.21 3 HCB 4 HBN		1 stone bead
TUL-889C	5	5.7, 6.3, 6.4, 7.4, 8.1/9.1	6.2	1.1	0.17 2 PT 1 RS		
<u>Lamont</u>							
TUL-616	1	2.0	2.0	0	NA 1 PT		
<u>Lamont/Kennedy</u>							
TUL-897	5	(4.7), (5.5), (5.6), 6, 6.2, 8.5, 9/10.3, 11.4	8.3	2.2	0.25 1 PT 1 CB		
<u>Multiple</u>							
KER-1297	6	3.6, 4.1, 4.6, 6, 6.1, 6.4	5.1	1.2	0.23 2 RS 1 HBN		75 potsherds, 1 glass bead
KER-1298	29	1.2, 1.4, 1.4, 1.8, 1.9, 2.0, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.5, 2.6, 2.6, 2.8, 3.0, 3.0, 3.1, 3.4, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.7, 4.2, 4.3, 4.6, 4.7, 4.7, 4.9, 5.2	3.1	1.1	0.35 8 CT 2 E 1 G 1 HCB	295±80 Modern	29 potsherds, 234 glass beads
KER-1277	7	(1.9), 2.6, 2.6, 3.6, 4.1,4.4, 4.6, 4.9	3.8	0.93	0.24 1 E	Modern 325±100	
KER-1281	11	1.8, 2, 2.1, 2.1, 2.9, 2.9, 3.0, 3.3, 3.6, 3.7, 4.0	2.8	0.76	0.27 1 DSN 2 CT 2 E		

Table 4.3
Kern Plateau Site Components (continued).

Period & Site Designation	N	<u>Hydration Data*</u>			Classified Projectile Points**	14C Assays	Other Temporal Data***
		Hydration values (in microns)	Mean	sd	cv		
Multiple							
TUL488N	23	1.0, 1.1, 1.2, 1.8, 2.0, 2.0, 2.0, 2.0, 2.1, 2.1, 2.3, 2.5, 2.7, 3.0, 3.0, 3.7, 3.7, 3.9, 4.0, 4.4, 5.2, 6.6, 10.7	2.9	1	0.34	5 DSN 9 CT 8 RS 1 EG 2 HBN 1 PT	3 potsherds, 13 stone beads, 3 A1a, 3 E2b and 1 K1 shell beads
TUL-629	21	.8, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.4, 2.6, 3.0, 3.0, 3.0, 3.0, 3.1, 3.4, 3.6, 3.8, 4.4, 4.6, 4.8, 5.0, 5.1, 5.2, 6.1, 6.2	3.3	1.35	0.41	2 CT 2 RS 1 HCB	1 potsherd, 18 glass beads, 6 stone beads, 9 G1 and 1K1 shell beads
TUL-621	33	1.0, 1.0, 1.1, 1.2, 1.4, 1.4, 1.6, 1.6, 1.7, 2.0, 2.0, 2.0, 2.2, 2.3, 2.3, 2.3, 2.4, 2.4, 2.7, 2.7, 2.8, 3.0, 3.0, 3.0, 3.3, 3.5, 3.7, 4, 4, 4, 4.5, 4.7, 4.7	2.6	1.1	0.42	5 CT 4 DSN 4 RS	4 potsherds, 6 glass beads, 7 stone beads
TUL-617	No data				1 HBN		1 glass bead
KER-1283	7	1.1, 1.6, 2.9, 3.3, 3.6, 3.8, 4.0, (4.2), (4.4)	2.9	1.2	0.41	4 CT 1 RS	
TUL-636	7	2.3, 2.7, 3, 3.1, 3.2, 3.6, 3.7	3	0.52	0.17	2 CT 1 HBN 1 E	
TUL-877	10	(1.6), (1.6), 2.4, 3.2, 3.3, 3.5, 4.6, 4.6, 5.7, 5.7, 5.8, 6.6, (7.5)	4.4	1.4	0.31	3 RS 1 HBN	495±165 590±150 765±170
TUL-879	27	1.1, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.7, 1.7, 1.7, 1.7, 1.8, 2.1, 2.1, 2.5, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 3, 3, 3, 3.2, 3.5, 3.6, 4.1, 4.9, 5.2, 5.2, 6.9, 7.7	2.8	1.7	0.61	12 DSN 16 CT 2 RS 1 E 1 HCB	Modern 245±75 250±75 320±65 395±75 570±75 635±85 1110±160
TUL-882	No data				1 CT 1 DSN 1 E		
TUL-884	5	3.7/7.4, 3.9, 4.3, 4.7, 7.4	3.1	1.8	0.58	1 DSN	

Table 4.3
Kern Plateau Site Components (continued).

Period & Site Designation	N	Hydration values (in microns)	Hydration Data*	Mean	sd	cv	Classified Projectile Points**	¹⁴ C Assays	Other Temporal Data***
Multiple									
TUL-511	2	1.2, 8.0		4.6	5	1	2 DSN 1 E		70 potsherds, 2 stone beads
TUL-896	14	1.5, 1.9, 2.2, 3, 3.5, 3.9, 4, 4.2, 4.6, 5.2, 5.5, 5.6, 6.5, 8.9					1 DSN 4 E 2 HBN		
TUL-898	46	1.7, 1.9, 2.4, 2.6, 2.7, 2.9, 2.9, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.2/3.8, 3.3, 3.3, 3.4/21.1, 3.4, 3.5, 3.5, 3.5, 3.5, 3.5, 3.6, 4.1, 4.3, 4.3, 4.4, 4.4, 4.4, 4.4, 4.9, 5.0, 5.2, 5.4, 5.6, 5.7, 5.9, 5.9/12.8, 6.1, 6.6, 7.2, 7.4, 7.7, 7.7, 7.8, 10.1, 10.6/12.1		4.6	2	0.4	1 DSN 1 HBN	820±80	1 potsherd, 3 stone beads
TUL-899	37	1.6, 2.1, 2.6/6.6, 2.6/4.9, 2.9, 3.3, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.4, 3.9, 4.1, 4.1, 4.4, 4.5, 4.9, 5, 5.1, 5.4, 5.5, 5.5, 5.6, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 6.4, 6.6, 7.1, 7.1, 7.6, 7.7, 7.7, 7.8, 9.1, 9.6, 12.5, 13.9		5.6	3	0.5	1 E 2 HBN 4 PT 1 CB		

The following sites contained no data with which to determine their age:

KER1272	KER1274	TUL-487	TUL-488S	TUL-489
KER-744	KER-741	TUL-618	TUL-628	TUL-885
KER-747	KER-746	TUL-632	TUL-881	TUL-886
KER-738	KER-745	TUL-878	TUL-883	TUL-888
TUL-484D	TUL-480	TUL-880	KER-1299E	Rock Rings

KEY:

*** Bead types per Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987

A1 Small spire-lopped *Olivella* beads K1 *Olivella* callus cup beads

E2b Thick-lipped *Olivella* beads Stone beads are serpentinite/talc disks

G1 Tiny saucer *Olivella* beads

H2 *Olivella* disks drilled w/ metal needles

KEY:

**CB = Concave Base, CT = Cottonwood, DSN = Desert Side-notched, E = Elko, EG = Eastgate

G = Gypsum, HBN = Humboldt Basal-notched, HCB = Humboldt Concave Base,

RS = Rose Spring, PT = Pinto/Little Lake,

* () Outlier values excluded from statistical calculations

cv = Coefficient of Variation, sd = Standard Deviation,

N = Number of Hydration Samples

Basgall's Coso Obsidian Hydration Rate

Mark Basgall (1990) introduced effective hydration temperature (EHT) into the Coso hydration equation and paired rims with associated radiocarbon dates to develop the most widely accepted curvilinear rate. This rate is derived from the extensive suite of radiocarbon dates and Coso obsidian hydration rim values from the Lubkin Creek site, INY-30 (Basgall and McGuire 1988). Basgall and Hall (2000) and King (2000) have proposed some minor refinements to that rate. Basgall's 1990 hydration rate continues to be the most widely accepted formula, as it factors in mean annual temperature in the area from which the archaeological remains were recovered, and does explain much of the variability in the Coso hydration measurements.

The rate he developed is: $\text{Years B.P.} = 31.622 X^{2.32}$, where years B.P. is radiocarbon years before present (A.D. 1950) and X is the hydration measurement in microns (Basgall 1990:7).

This rate was used to advantage by Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997) for their study of lowland sites within the Coso Volcanic fields in the southwest Great Basin. In reviewing Coso data from the Kern Plateau, those authors applied the Basgall rate with an effective hydration temperature (EHT) correction factor based on climatic data from the Grant Grove area. A number of researchers have cautioned (Delacorte 1999; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; Rosenthal et al. 2001), and the rate developer himself even agrees (Basgall 1993:85), that Basgall's Coso hydration equation overestimates the age of some materials. The rate particularly misrepresents the age of Early Holocene artifacts with hydration rims thicker than 10.0 or so microns (Table 4.4). One of the reasons for this problem is that hydration/radiocarbon age pairings of this age are rare and so secure dates

Table 4.4 Coso Obsidian Hydration Rate Chronology Comparison.Lowland Coso Rates

Sequence	Hydration Values (in microns)	Time Span* (Years B.P.)	Basgall Rate	Pearson Rate
Marana	<3.7	< 650	658	805
Haiwee	3.7-4.9	650-1,350	658-1,262	805-1,212
Newberry	4.9-7.6	1,350-3,500	1,262-3,495	1,212-2,394
Little Lake	7.6-16.0**	3,500-8,500**	3,495-19,658	2,394-8,400
Early	16.0-21.1	8,500-13,500	19,658-22,627	8,400-13,768

Upland Coso: Proposed Kern Plateau Rate

Sequence		Time Span (Years B.P.)	Basgall Rate***	Proposed Rate
Chimney	<2.4	< 650	490	706
Sawtooth	2.4-3.7	650-1,350	490-1,341	706-1,376
Canebrake	3.7-6.6	1,350-3,500	1,341-4,963	1,376-3,603
Lamont	6.6-10.1	3,500-8,500**	4,963-13,784	3,603-8,474
Kennedy	10.1-13.9	8,500-13,500	13,784-28,932	8,474-13,678

Key:

*After Gilreath (1999:12), with revisions by Rosenthal et al. (2001) and as discussed here.

**Ending date for Little Lake Period and terminus for Pinto Points revised per discussion herein.

***Basgall rate with Grant Grove EHT as presented in Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997).

for such ancient specimens are difficult to establish. Additionally, these associated radiocarbon dates are not routinely calibrated and as such most rates underestimate the true age of the older obsidian hydration rims by as much as 1,000 to 2,000 years (cf., Fiedel 1999).

Further complicating the issue, the EHT correction factor used with the Basgall Coso hydration rate may itself be problematic (Hildebrandt and Ruby 2000; Jones and Waugh 1995). Hildebrandt and Ruby (2000) recently reported that the Basgall formula, incorporating the characteristic EHT correction factor, consistently underestimated the age of many time-sensitive point types, especially those more ancient than several thousand years, from the high-elevation pinyon forests in the Coso Range.

Other factors effect the EHT and cause it to fluctuate through time. Among these are paleoclimatic change, pedoturbation (buried versus surface contexts), site aspect, vegetation cover, latitude, and elevation. Consequently, EHTs are simply estimates influenced by a wide variety of environmental factors. The preferred strategy is to develop obsidian hydration and radiocarbon pairs for each locality and period since a single formula rarely provides reasonable age estimates for all times and places. For the present study such data are absent and, consequently, alternative methods were used to develop an empirical hydration rate equation that might better approximate the age of prehistoric cultural materials in the high-elevation pinyon forests of the Kern Plateau and vicinity.

Pearson's Coso Obsidian Hydration Rate

The inability to date early Holocene materials is not a limitation of the Pearson Rate. Pearson's alternative obsidian hydration dating approach provides a set of reasonable and relatively accurate dates for the full span of human occupation in the southern Owens Valley (Pearson 1995). Analyzing time sensitive point types and the distribution of Coso obsidian hydration readings, Pearson identified key benchmarks or transition points between the types. Using data from INY-30 (the Lubkin Creek Site), INY-372 (Rose Spring) and several sites at Little Lake (Stahl Site, Stahl Site Cave, and the Pagunda Village at the edge of Little Lake), he evaluated 401 Coso obsidian hydration rim measurements on projectile points and flakes with 44 associated radiocarbon dates to determine a local chronology for the Little Lake area.

Pearson correlated hydration measurements with beginning and ending dates for time-sensitive projectile point types. He then posited that certain measurements represented particular calendar dates. To independently evaluate these attributions, he compared those benchmarks with associated radiocarbon dates and hydration measurements for these point types in the Little Lake vicinity. The rate Pearson developed is also a curvilinear equation converting hydration measurements into age in years:

$$y = \text{number of microns} (125 + [\text{number of microns} \times 25]),$$

where y equals radiocarbon years before present (Table 4.4). That rate is intended to apply only to sites in the vicinity of Little Lake in the southern Owens Valley where EHT would be roughly equivalent.

Proposed Kern Plateau Coso Hydration Rate

In order to develop an appropriate rate that factors in the different sized rims and presumably slower hydration rate and differing EHT for the higher elevations (from 5000 to 7000 feet amsl) on the adjacent Kern Plateau, a method comparable to that applied by Pearson was used. Based on an examination of the rim readings and correlating hydration measurements with the beginning, midpoint and ending dates of the time sensitive projectile point types, a rate was developed and is presented here. That rate is also a curvilinear equation again transforming hydration rims into an age in years:

$$y = \text{number of microns } (150 + [\text{number of microns} \times 60]),$$

where y equals radiocarbon years before present (A.D. 1950).

The resulting temporal brackets are based on that equation and accommodate the means, standard deviations and ranges of rim readings for the various point forms and predict the age ranges of the points reasonably well. The rate produces dates close to generally accepted radiometric ages (Table 4.4). This proposed rate also predicts the appropriate chronological period for time-sensitive projectile point forms with greater accuracy than the Basgall Coso rate even with an appropriate EHT factor incorporated into that formula (Tables 4.4 and 4.9).

From inspection of the Kern Plateau obsidian hydration data (Table 4.7 and 4.8), it appears that, during the hydration process, each micron of hydration takes approximately 60 years longer to form than the preceding micron and that the first micron of Coso hydration represents approximately 200 years. The smallest rim reading for a Desert Series point is 0.5 μ and that rim would equate, using the proposed formula, to an age of 90 years, very close to the historic date of 100 B.P. (ca. A.D. 1850) when

protracted Euro-American contact is first recognized in the area. The largest hydration rim, that is presumed to be cultural in origin, is 13.9μ and would convert to an age of 13,678 years - not an unreasonable age estimate for the very early use of the area.

Using the above formula, 2.4μ represents the transition point between the Chimney and Sawtooth periods and denotes an age of 706 years - close to the generally accepted date of 650 B.P. that most researchers agree separates the floruit of Rose Spring from Desert Series points. Temporal bracketing of the Rose Spring and Eastgate points between 2.4 and 3.7μ encompasses the majority (78%) of all Coso hydration readings for these forms.

The largest readings on Rose Spring and Eastgate points are in the 3.7μ range. That hydration measurement equates to a date of 1376 B.P. or A.D. 574, very near the generally accepted initiation date for the "Rosegate" series at A.D. 600.

Elko and Humboldt series points largely date from the Canebrake Period (3500 to 1350 B.P.) and the bulk of our Kern Plateau sample has hydration rims ranging from 3.7 to 6.6μ . These would be associated with that time span. A rim reading of 6.6μ was chosen to mark the beginning of the Canebrake Period at 3500 B.P. equating with a rate-derived age of 3603 B.P. That date marks the generally accepted time of the initial appearance of Elko series points (Bettinger and Taylor 1974; Heizer and Hester 1978; Justice 2002; Thomas 1981).

Bifurcate stemmed points (Pinto/Little Lake types) have a maximum hydration rim reading in our study sample of 10.7μ . Basgall and Hall (2000:266) suggest those point types date no earlier than ca. 7500 B.P. However, this claim discounts a wide array of earlier radiocarbon dates. Such dates have been obtained from Floodpond,

Table 4.5 Kern Plateau Radiocarbon Dates.

Laboratory Number	Uncorrected ^{14}C Age (yr B.P.)	Uncorrected ^{14}C Date	Uncorrected Range Of ^{14}C Date at 2 Sigmas	Calibrated Range of ^{14}C Date at 2 Sigmas	Locality	Site Name	Unit	Depth (cm d.b.s.)	Sample Substance	Reference
UCR 1258	295 \pm 80	A.D. 1655	A.D. 1575-1735	A.D. 1436-1693	Scodie Mts	KER-1298	Unit 4, Fea. 2	10 to 20	Charcoal	Ambro et al. 1981
UCR 1259	Modern	Modern	Modern	Not Applicable	Scodie Mts	KER-1298	Unit 4, Fea. 2	30 to 40	Charcoal	Ambro et al. 1981
UCR 1260	190 \pm 70	A.D. 1760	A.D. 1690-1830	A.D. 1629-1952	Scodie Mts	KER-1299	Unit 1	10 to 20	Charcoal	Ambro et al. 1981
UCR 1261	430 \pm 80	A.D. 1520	A.D. 1440-1600	A.D. 1394-1646	Scodie Mts	KER-1299	Unit 1	20 to 30	Charcoal	Ambro et al. 1981
UCR 1262	Modern	Modern	Modern	Not Applicable	Scodie Mts	KER-1276	Unit 1, Fea. 1	10 to 20	Pinyon hulls	Ambro et al. 1981
UCR 1263	Modern	Modern	Modern	Not Applicable	Scodie Mts	KER-1277	Unit 1	20 to 30	Charcoal	Ambro et al. 1981
UCR 1264	325 \pm 100	A.D. 1625	A.D. 1525-1725	A.D. 1411-1654	Scodie Mts	KER-1277	Unit 1	40 to 50	Charcoal	Ambro et al. 1981
UCR 1265	300 \pm 70	A.D. 1650	A.D. 1580-1720	A.D. 1442-1679	Scodie Mts	KER-1283	Unit 1	30 to 40	Charcoal	Ambro et al. 1981
UCR 1266	340 \pm 80	A.D. 1610	A.D. 1530-1690	A.D. 1420-1676	Scodie Mts	KER-1283	Unit 1	40 to 50	Charcoal	Ambro et al. 1981
IVC 17	Modern	Modern	Modern	Not Applicable	Morris Peak	KER-743	Rock Ring Hearth	10 to 20?	Charcoal	Garfinkel et al. 1980
I-13, 185	495 \pm 165	A.D. 1455	A.D. 1290-1620	A.D. 1187-1693	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-877	N2E	20 to 30	Charcoal	Garfinkel et al. 1984
I-13, 186	590 \pm 150	A.D. 1360	A.D. 1210-1510	A.D. 1156-1648	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-877	S38W19	30 to 40	Charcoal	Garfinkel et al. 1984
I-13, 187	765 \pm 170	A.D. 1185	A.D. 1015-1355	A.D. 938-1475	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-877	S38W19	40 to 50	Charcoal	Garfinkel et al. 1984
I-13, 188	245 \pm 75	A.D. 1705	A.D. 1630-1780	A.D. 1477-1707	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-879	N6W4	20 to 30	Charcoal	Garfinkel et al. 1984
I-13, 189	1110 \pm 160	A.D. 840	A.D. 680-1000	A.D. 646-1223	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-879	N6W4	100 to 110	Charcoal	Garfinkel et al. 1984
I-13, 190	250 \pm 75	A.D. 1700	A.D. 1625-1775	A.D. 1471-1705	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-879	N1W3	30 to 40	Charcoal	Garfinkel et al. 1984
I-13, 191	395 \pm 75	A.D. 1555	A.D. 1480-1630	A.D. 1413-1647	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-879	N1W3	130 to 140	Charcoal	Garfinkel et al. 1984
I-13, 192	570 \pm 75	A.D. 1380	A.D. 1305-1455	A.D. 1283-1450	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-879	N1W3	140 to 150	Charcoal	Garfinkel et al. 1984
UGa-3839	Modern	Modern	Modern	Not Applicable	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-879	N2W2	10 to 20	Charcoal	McGuire 1981
UGa-3840	320 \pm 65	A.D. 1630	A.D. 1565-1695	A.D. 1442-1669	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-879	N2W2	60 to 70	Charcoal	McGuire 1981
UGa-3841	635 \pm 85	A.D. 1315	A.D. 1230-1400	A.D. 1241-1438	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-879	N2W2	100 to 110	Charcoal	McGuire 1981
UGa-3842	580 \pm 135	A.D. 1370	A.D. 1235-1505	A.D. 1187-1640	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-890A	N1E1	10 to 20	Charcoal	McGuire 1981
UGa-3843	1280 \pm 90	A.D. 670	A.D. 580-760	A.D. 915-965	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-890B	N4W4	40 to 50	Charcoal	McGuire 1981
UGa-3841	225 \pm 80	A.D. 1725	A.D. 1645-1805	A.D. 1609-1890	Rockhouse Bsn	TUL-891	Hearth Feat.	10 to 20	Charcoal	McGuire 1981
I-13, 665	820 \pm 80	A.D. 1130	A.D. 1050-1210	A.D. 1031-1297	Kennedy Mdws	TUL-898	N49/E7-8	30 to 40	Charcoal	Bard et al. 1985
Beta-4547	150 \pm 50	A.D. 1800	A.D. 1750-1850	A.D. 1664-1893	Scodie Mts	KER-1286	TU 2	10 to 20	Charcoal	McGuire 1983

Table 4.6 Summary of Metric Data for Projectile Points.

<u>Desert Side-notched (n = 41)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	18	17	30	30	34	37	37	16
Mean	19.8	19.2	11.9	11.9	3.0	207.8	171.3	0.5
s.d.	4.0	3.9	3.2	3.2	0.6	20.3	17.6	0.3
max.	27.6	27.3	24.5	24.5	4.0	200.0	200.0	1.0
min.	13.5	13	7.8	7.8	2.1	125.0	125.0	0.2
<u>Cottonwood (n = 78)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	48	48	71	71	78	NA	NA	39
Mean	22.1	20.7	11.6	11.5	3.1	NA	NA	0.6
s.d.	5.1	5.3	2.4	2.4	0.8	NA	NA	0.5
max.	37.6	37.6	16.8	16.8	6.0	NA	NA	2.3
min.	12.0	11.2	6.0	6.0	2.0	NA	NA	0.1
<u>Rose Spring (n = 43)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	23	24	37	41	43	42	43	17
Mean	23.0	24.0	37.0	41.0	43.0	42.0	43.0	17.0
s.d.	26.4	25.9	13.3	8.1	3.4	19.3	23.5	1.1
max.	38.7	38.7	17.5	13.1	4.4	185	106	1.8
min.	4.9	5.2	2.1	2.2	0.8	220	170	0.4
<u>Eastgate (n = 2)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
Mean	31.1	31.1	18.7	10.8	3.9	110.0	125.0	1.6
s.d.	9.3	9.3	0.3	6.7	0.0	14.1	49.5	0.4
max.	37.7	37.7	18.9	18.5	3.9	120.0	160.0	1.9
min.	24.5	24.5	18.5	6.9	3.9	100.0	90.0	1.3
<u>Elko (n = 15)</u>								
<u>(Elko Corner-notched & Elko Eared)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	5	5	12	12	14	13	10	1
Mean	27.9	25.8	25.2	23.2	6.1	183.7	149.1	7.0
s.d.	14.8	13.6	5.8	6.4	2.0	22.9	25.8	0.0
max.	45.3	43.3	33.7	32.0	12.2	220.0	220.0	7.0
min.	11.4	11.4	12.0	12.0	4.0	140.0	115.0	7.0
<u>Elko (n = 4)</u>								
<u>(Elko Side-notched)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	1
Mean	29.3	28.0	22.5	19.8	6.5	202.5	151.2	6.8
s.d.	5.5	4.6	3.3	5.3	0.7	17.1	16.5	0.0
max.	32.0	32.0	25.5	25.5	7.0	220.0	170.0	6.8
min.	23.0	23.0	19.0	15.0	5.5	180.0	130.0	6.8

Table 4.6 Summary of Metric Data for Projectile Points (continued).

<u>Gypsum (n = 2)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
Mean	0.0	0.0	27.0	16.0	6.0	180.0	85.0	0.0
s.d.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
max.	0.0	0.0	27.0	16.0	6.0	180.0	85.0	0.0
min.	0.0	0.0	27.0	16.0	6.0	180.0	85.0	0.0
<u>Humboldt Basal-notched (n = 19)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	6	7	14	13	19	NA	NA	0
Mean	37.1	28.1	21.6	19.6	6.8	NA	NA	0.0
s.d.	9.8	8.3	4.3	4.6	1.3	NA	NA	0.0
max.	52.5	41.2	29.7	29.7	9.2	NA	NA	0.0
min.	28.0	20.0	16.4	14	4.1	NA	NA	0.0
<u>Humboldt Concave Base (n = 8)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	1	2	7	7	8	NA	NA	0
Mean	31.4	29.7	21.8	16.7	6.9	NA	NA	0.0
s.d.	0.0	0.4	6.1	4.4	2.6	NA	NA	0.0
max.	31.4	30.0	29.0	20.0	10.7	NA	NA	0.0
min.	31.4	29.4	15.8	11.4	4.5	NA	NA	0.0
<u>Little Lake (Pinto) (n = 9)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	8	8	9	8	8	5	5	3
Mean	26.6	25.1	23.1	20.3	7.6	196	114	4.9
s.d.	5.8	5.3	4.4	4.0	1.3	11.4	28.8	1.0
max.	30.5	28.9	31.2	26.5	9.0	210.0	150.0	5.5
min.	12.6	12.6	18.0	13.5	5.5	180.0	90.0	3.8
<u>Concave Base (n = 2)</u>	ML	AL	MW	BW	TH	DSA	PSA	WT
N	2	2	2	2	2	NA	NA	0
Mean	35.3	29.7	30.4	27.6	9.2	NA	NA	0.0
s.d.	10.9	4.6	9.3	5.4	1.1	NA	NA	0.0
max.	43.0	33.0	37.0	31.5	10.0	NA	NA	0.0
min.	27.5	26.5	23.8	23.8	8.5	NA	NA	0.0

KEY: AL- axial length; BW- basal width; DSA- distal shoulder angle; NA- not applicable; ML- maximum length; MW- maximum width; PSA- proximal shoulder angle; TH- thickness; WT- weight; all measurements in millimeters.

Table 4.7 Hydration Data Summary of Coso Obsidian Projectile Points from the Kern Pateau.

	N	mean	s.d.	Rim Values
Desert Side-notched	13	1.8	0.4	1.2, 1.4, 1.7, 1.8, 1.9, 2.0, 2.0, 2.0 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.3, 2.8, (4.7)
Cottonwood	25	1.9	0.6	0.5, 1.0, 1.1, 1.4, 1.4, 1.6, 1.6, 1.6, 1.6 1.6, 1.7, 1.8, 1.8, 1.8, 1.9, 1.9, 2.0, 2.0 2.1, 2.4, 2.4, 2.6, 2.7, 3.0, 3.1, (3.6), (3.7)
Rose Spring / Eastgate	21	3.0	0.5	(1.0), (1.8), 2.2, 2.4, 2.4, 2.4, 2.4, 2.5 2.5, 2.8, 2.8, 2.9, 2.9, 3.0, 3.0, 3.0 3.1, 3.3, 3.6, 3.7, 3.7, 3.9, 4.0
Humboldt Basal-notched	13	5.7	1.4	3.7, 3.8, 4.6, 4.6, 5.2, 5.5, 5.7, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, 8.9
Humboldt Concave Base	2	5.1	0.7	4.6, 5.6
Elko (Corner-notched and Eared)	6	6.3	2.4	(2.2), 3.7, 4.6, 4.9, 6.0, 8.9, 9.6, (12.5)
Elko Side-notched	2	5.4	0.8	4.9, 6.0
Pinto or Little Lake	4	8.6	1.7	(1.6), (3.9), 6.6, 8.1/9.1, 9.0, 10.7
Concave Base	2	11.9	.8	11.4, 12.5
Totals	88			

NOTE: () – Value not included in calculations; / double band-smaller reading used.

Table 4.8 Frequency of Coso Obsidian Projectile Points by Type and Period.

<u>Period</u>	<u>Hyd. Range</u>	<u>Point Types</u>							<u>Total</u>
		<u>Desert</u>	<u>Rose Spring</u>	<u>HBN</u>	<u>HCB</u>	<u>Elko</u>	<u>Pinto</u>	<u>Concave</u>	
Chimney	<2.4	35	3	-	-	1	1	-	40
Sawtooth	2.4-3.7	5	18	-	-	1	1	-	25
Canebrake	3.7-6.6	1	2	12	2	5	-	-	22
Lamont	6.6-10.7	-	-	1	-	2	4	-	7
Kennedy	>10.7	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	3
Total		41	23	13	2	10	6	2	97

Table 4.9 Percentage of Chronologically Diagnostic Coso Obsidian Points Attributed to Correct Chronological Period.

<u>Rate</u>	<u>Period</u>					<u>Average</u>
	<u>Chimney</u>	<u>Sawtooth</u>	<u>Canebrake</u>	<u>Lamont</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	
A	80	78	40	17	0.0	43.0
B	77	78	76	66	100	79.4

A = Basgall formula with EHT conversion for Grant Grove as used by Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997)

B = Hydration conversion formula as proposed in this study

Chimney Period (650-100 B.P.) Desert series includes Desert Side-notched and Cottonwood Triangular or Leaf-shaped [38 specimens].

Sawtooth Period (1350-650 B.P.) Rosegate series includes Rose Spring and Eastgate [21 specimens].

Canebrake Period (3500-1350 B.P.) Elko series includes all Elko Eared, Elko Corner-notched and Elko Side-notched [10 specimens]; Humboldt series includes Humboldt Basal-notched [13 specimens] and Humboldt Concave Base [2 specimens].

Lamont Period (8500-3500 B.P.) Little Lake/Pinto series [6 specimens]

Kennedy Period (13500-8500 B.P.) Concave Base type [2 specimens]

Rogers Ridge, and Awl sites – all firmly associated with Pinto-aged materials. The dates from the sites strongly indicate an antiquity greater than previously allowed by Basgall and Hall (2000) with an initial date of ca. 9000 B.P. (calibrated radiocarbon age). An even more ancient early Holocene age is possible but not confirmed.

Discussions with other researchers indicate that many prehistorians are now more inclined to accept these ancient middle Holocene dates for Pinto material and the early radiocarbon dates from the Stahl site (William Hildebrandt personal communication; Schroth 1994). Hydration rims of 7.6 to 16.0 μ on Pinto points at the Stahl site further support such a position. Those rims convert to dates from ca. 2400 to 8400 B.P. using the Pearson formula.

Using the Kern Plateau hydration rate would provide an approximation for the earliest of the Pinto/Little Lake points recovered from the study sites at ca. 8500 (calibrated) years B.P. Pinto or Little Lake points fall within the Lamont Period and exhibit a range of hydration rims on Coso obsidian running from 6.6 to 10.7 μ . The oldest and largest rim for a Pinto/Little Lake point converts to an age of 8474 calendar years ago. Such a date for the inception of Pinto/Little Lake points is reasonably consistent with our current understanding of the age of these points in the southwestern Great Basin.

Two concave base points assigned to the Kennedy Period have rims of 11.4 and 12.5 μ , equivalent to calendar dates of 9507 and 11,250 B.P. These two dates are ancient but not outside the bounds of the generally accepted age for aboriginal activity. The Kern Plateau data are consistent with independent estimates for the antiquity of these very

early point forms and are supported by appropriately calibrated radiocarbon assays (cf. Fiedel 1999; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; Justice 2002).

The reliability of Coso obsidian hydration data as a chronological index has been repeatedly shown by correlation of time-sensitive projectile point forms and hydration readings, and by radiocarbon dates and associated hydration cluster values (Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997). Nevertheless, hydration measurements are not amenable to great precision and yield only a general indication of age and not an absolute date. In the interest of accuracy, hydration rims are therefore not normally reported with calendar-specific dates. Given our reticence to portray the hydration rim suites with a greater accuracy level than is generally accepted, average rim readings associated with particular time periods were used for dating site components (Table 4.3).

Radiocarbon Determinations

Twenty-eight radiocarbon dates were obtained from 13 archaeological site components (Table 4.5). All dates were based on carbonized plant materials. The data in Table 4.5 suggest that several deposits maintain stratigraphic integrity. Age determinations fall within an expected mode from the oldest to youngest assay arrayed as a function of depth within their respective deposits. Yet obsidian tools or debitage confidently associated with the radiocarbon assays were uncommon. Rim readings within the deposits showed that a great deal of “churning” of deposits had taken place. This is quite common in many archaeological sites, even those considered to have a fair degree of stratigraphic integrity. Most likely, cultural and natural agents including erosion, rodent activity, and aboriginal disturbances worked together to cause the movement of lightweight obsidian artifacts up and down in the deposit. These factors

generally preclude the development of a reasonable range of radiocarbon age-hydration rim pairings for the study sites. As well, the radiocarbon samples, in almost every case, were aggregate collections of charcoal fragments from a single excavation level. As such, the assays are more of an average than a precise date. Many of the most recent radiocarbon dates come from sites in the Scodie Mountains. The two earliest dates derive from Rockhouse Basin and a slightly younger, but still rather old, date came from a Kennedy Meadows site (Table 4.5).

Projectile Points

In total, 222 projectile points complete enough to allow classification as to type were identified from surface collections and excavations (Table 4.1). Classification of these forms, in most cases, follows previous designations. Using the metric attributes defined by Thomas (1981), points were classified into standard Great Basin types (Table 4.6). In some instances, prior classifications were determined to be in error, or more recent research has led to differing conclusions regarding the typological ascription for certain forms (Basgall and Hall 2000; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; Garfinkel and Yohe 2004). Points were retrieved from 51 site loci. The projectile point inventory provides examples of most types commonly found throughout the Desert West. These projectile points suggest that the study area was occupied from the terminal Pleistocene through the Chimney Period. These materials consist of 38 Desert Side-notched, 78 Cottonwood, 45 Rose Spring and two Eastgate, 19 Humboldt Basal-notched, eight Humboldt Concave Base, 19 Elko, two Gypsum, nine Little Lake or Pinto, and two Paleoindian Concave-based points. Looking only at their typological affiliation, 116 can

be assigned to the Chimney Period, 45 to the Sawtooth time span, 46 to the Canebrake interval, and nine to the Lamont Period. Two points are from the Kennedy Period.

Hydration rims on a sample of these points show that their mean values increase in size from the Desert series, to “Rosegate,” to Humboldt Basal-notched, Humboldt Concave Base, and Elko, with the Little Lake/Pinto and Concave-based (Paleoindian) points exhibiting significantly larger readings (Table 4.7).

As shown in Tables 4.7 and 4.8, the hydration rims on the majority of the Desert series, Rosegate, and Humboldt Basal-notched point forms fall within the expected range for the various time periods identified.

Desert Side-notched Series

Desert Side-notched points are small, triangular forms usually weighing less than 1.5 g with side notches placed high on their margins, (Baumhoff 1957; Baumhoff and Byrne 1959). Most such points, recovered from the study sites, also have indentations on their bases and would conform to the Sierra subtype. Two points, formerly misidentified, do not have true side-notches but instead have rather incurvate lateral margins and lack basal indentations (Garfinkel et al.1980:57, Figure 1 a and d). Both were retrieved from TUL-488N and represent a type of point not previously identified as a temporal diagnostic. Hydration rims for both specimens (4.4 and 5.2 μ) indicate their age as commensurate with the Canebrake Period and synchronous with Elko series points.

Otherwise, for the most part, classification of the Desert Side-notched specimens was a straightforward and simple task, with 38 Desert Side-notched points recovered from 16 sites. With the exception of two outliers, most likely reworked points made from an older piece (2.8 and 4.7 μ), hydration readings on 14 of these points conform closely to expectations of 2.4 μ or less for the Chimney Period. The age of Desert Series points is well established based on radiometric and other evidence. Most archaeologists agree that they date to the interval after 650 B.P. (Bettinger and Taylor 1974; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; Thomas 1981) and as such are a hallmark of the Chimney Period. Yet, these same points appear to be increasingly later in age as one moves north and east out of the southern Owens Valley. Delacorte (1995) first recognized this trend and argues that these points may in fact be distinctive marker artifacts of Numic groups indicating their spread and population movement from a homeland in the Owens Valley less than a thousand years ago.

Cottonwood Series

Cottonwood Triangular points are small (usually <1.5 g) triangular points lacking notches (Riddell 1951), with margins typically straight to slightly concave and bases that are straight to deeply concave or notched. Examples having markedly convex bases and blades are referred to as Cottonwood Leaf-shaped points (Heizer and Baumhoff 1961; Lanning 1963; Thomas 1981). Both forms are recognized in the present collection. Most evidence, including radiocarbon assays and other indicators, suggest that in eastern California they are contemporaneous with Desert Side-notched points (650 B.P.-post contact), making them a second time marker of the Chimney Period. A total of 78

Cottonwood points was identified from 18 sites. Almost one-third of that sample was retrieved from two site components with deep midden deposits (TUL-879 and TUL-488N) which contained almost as many Desert Side-notched points.

Hydration readings from 25 Cottonwood points mostly (75%) conformed to our expectations and fall within the suggested hydration range of the Chimney Period. Yet, six outliers are larger than expected ($>2.4 \mu$) and are readings most likely derived from older, scavenged, and reworked points.

Rose Spring Series

Forty-three Rose Spring series points were collected from 16 sites. Rose Spring points were originally recognized from the type-site of that same name, located in southern Owens Valley, at the edge of the Coso Range (Lanning 1963). The Rose Spring type is a small, narrow, triangular arrow point with a variety of stem forms. Rose Spring points are time markers for the interval from ca. 1350-650 B.P. (the Sawtooth Period) in the far southern Sierra and southwestern Great Basin (Basgall and McGuire 1988; Bettinger and Taylor 1974; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; Thomas 1981; Yohe 1992). Hydration readings from 20 Rose Spring points, largely (78%) conform to our predictions and all but five specimens fall within the suggested hydration range of the Sawtooth Period ($2.4\text{-}3.7 \mu$).

Eastgate Series

First recognized at Wagon Jack Shelter (NV-Ch-119) in central Nevada (Heizer and Baumhoff 1961), Eastgate points have often been joined with the Rose Spring type into a group known as the “Rosegate” series, as defined by Thomas (1981). This name

highlights the synchronicity of Eastgate and Rose Spring points from ca. 1350-650 B.P. (Bettinger and Taylor 1974; Hester 1973; Thomas 1981). However, regional distributions of the two forms differ. Rose Spring points are far more common in the study area and generally within the southwestern Great Basin.

Eastgate points are morphologically distinct from Rose Spring points in that they have a wide triangular blade element with deep notching of the base, leaving squared or rounded shoulder barbs and sometimes an expanding stem. The Eastgate forms are distinctive in that they have prominently barbed shoulders. These points also have blade forms that in some instances are actually slightly concave in outline. Many are quite large and broad having an outline similar to an equilateral triangle. The notches are narrow and completed in a fashion such that the point outline is uninterrupted. Hence, the barbs might be described as “hanging” or extending to the level of the base or even farther (Delacorte 1990:118). Eastgate points generally differ from Rose Spring forms in that they are more finely finished. Only two specimens were recovered at the study sites. A single hydration reading of 3.9 μ is available for an Eastgate point from TUL-488 and this measure conforms to the expected range of rim values at the early end of the Sawtooth interval.

Humboldt Series

Heizer and Clewlow (1968) originally proposed the Humboldt types based on archaeological materials from the surface of the Humboldt Lakebed Site (NV-Ch-15) in western Nevada. These points are unshouldered, lanceolate forms with slight basal

concavities to deep basal notches. Three variants of Humboldt series points were described initially: Concave Base A, Concave Base B, and Basal-notched. Most researchers subsequently merged the first two types as simply Concave Base (Heizer and Hester 1978). In the southwestern Great Basin, stratigraphic contexts and obsidian hydration readings argue for chronological placement of Humboldt Concave Base points roughly synchronous with the Elko series and the most recent span of Pinto points, placing them in a time span from ca. 4000 to 1350 B.P. (Basgall and McGuire 1988; Delacorte 1999; Delacorte and McGuire 1993; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; Hall 1983; Hall and Jackson 1989; Jackson 1985).

A total of eight Humboldt Concave Base points was recovered from four sites. Two hydration readings (4.6 and 5.6 μ) confirm placement in the Canebrake Period (3500-1350 B.P), contemporaneous with the Elko series and the majority of Humboldt Basal-notched points recovered from sites in the study area.

Morphological confusion occurs between the Humboldt Basal-notched form and the look-alike types of the Pinto “Shoulderless” (Harrington 1957) and Sierra Concave Base (Moratto 1972) forms. The former type is part of the Little Lake series and dates to the Lamont Period in the local sequence. It is very difficult to differentiate small proximal basal fragments of Pinto Shoulderless points from the Humboldt Basal-notched type. Also, researchers differ in their views as to whether the Pinto Shoulderless form should be collapsed with the Humboldt Basal-notched type (Delacorte et al. 1995: 68; Pearson 1995; and Schroth 1994 are lumpers and Basgall and Giambastiani 1995, among others, favor a split).

Based on the hydration readings from (13) Humboldt Basal-notched bifaces, all but one conforms to the hydration range characteristic of the Canebrake Period (3500-1350 B.P.). With respect to the Sierra Concave Base and Humboldt Basal-notched confusion, it is rather difficult to make that distinction based on the small size of the present sample (13) and the similarity in the morphologies of these two forms (cf. Stevens 2001). Nevertheless, the lanceolate, basal-notched, unshouldered points in this part of the far southern Sierra appear to have an initial date some 500 years or so earlier than that usually given for the Sierra Concave Base points farther north in the Sierra Nevada (Justice 2002; Moratto 1972). Additionally, obsidian hydration data for Sierra Concave Base forms from the southern Sierra foothills indicates that this type may have a lengthier duration than Humboldt Basal-notched forms (Stevens 2001). The Humboldt Basal-notched form appears to abruptly terminate when in full fluorescence (ca. A.D. 800) while the Sierra Concave Base type continues until the later prehistoric era perhaps as recently as ca. A.D. 1300 (Garfinkel and Yohe 2004; Stevens 2001).

A recent comprehensive review of the typological and chronological parameters of the Humboldt Basal-notched form, in the southwestern Great Basin, led researchers to identify wide- and narrow-based sub-types (Garfinkel and Yohe 2004). It was suggested that the former was more recent in time, dating from 1150-2450 B.P., while the latter was most popular during an earlier interval, from 2450-5950 B.P. The break point for the two variants would equate with a rim value of 5.3 μ , based on the proposed hydration rate formula for the Kern Plateau. Examination of the small sample of bifaces from the study sites does not allow us to confidently differentiate between subtypes (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10 Hydration Measurements for Kern Plateau Lanceolate Basal-notched Bifaces of Coso Obsidian.

Basal Width/Maximum Width Minimums**			
Measures in Millimeters			
	24 +	<24	Totals
Hydration			
Rim Readings			
>5.3	0	6	6
3.7 to 5.3	2	2	4
Totals	2	8	10

** Only complete measurements tallied from the smaller of the two measures; either basal width or maximum width measurement metrics (whichever complete measure is available) are included; measures are all in millimeters. The measures included are only for the Coso obsidian specimens chemically characterized to source.

A total of 13 Humboldt Basal-notched bifaces was recovered from eight sites. Excluding one outlying value (8.9 μ), their 12 obsidian hydration measurements range from 3.7 to 6.6 μ , indicating that most of these specimens are of an age equivalent to Elko and Gypsum points (Canebrake Period markers) with perhaps some limited persistence into the earliest portion of the Sawtooth interval. Many eastern California prehistorians corroborate this pattern and agree with the dating of these forms (Basgall and McGuire 1988; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; Hall and Jackson 1989).

Elko Series

Heizer and Baumhoff (1961) were the first to define Elko points. This series is composed of large, heavy, notched points with variable stem characteristics (Heizer et al. 1968; O'Connell 1967). The present sample includes eared, corner- and side- notched specimens. Contracting stem forms are assigned to the Gypsum type (see below). Elko series points are time markers for the Canebrake Period in the far southern high Sierra. In the western Great Basin, Elko points consistently occur in contexts dating from 3500-

1350 B.P. (Basgall and McGuire 1988; Bettinger and Taylor 1974; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; Heizer and Hester 1978; Justice 2002; Thomas 1981). Such a chronological position is demonstrated by a plethora of radiocarbon, stratigraphic and hydration data, although it is becoming increasingly apparent that large corner-notched and side-notched forms also occur in earlier contexts. Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997) discerned that more robust Elko points, especially those thicker than 6.5 mm, regularly produced hydration rinds that are more ancient than those of Canebrake Period artifacts. One explanation for this problem is the difficulty in identifying between the earlier Pinto and the more recent look-alike Elko forms (Basgall and Hall 2000; Vaughan and Warren 1987).

Nineteen Elko series points were recovered from 12 sites in the study area. Hydration measurements of eight specimens indicate that Elko forms in the far southern Sierra date largely to the Canebrake Period. Earlier examples of large corner-notched forms dating from the Lamont (two readings at 8.9 and 9.6 μ) and Kennedy (one reading at 12.5 μ) periods support the notion that this form has greater longevity than previously recognized. Thickness measures on the Kern Plateau points do not seem to support the temporal/morphological distinctions identified by Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997), having no evident correlation by age and thickness; but our sample is too small to make a confident determination on this matter.

Gypsum Series

Large contracting-stem points were originally identified by Mark Raymond Harrington (1933) at Gypsum Cave in southern Nevada. Morphologically similar forms have been identified as Elko contracting-stem types (Heizer and Baumhoff 1961; Heizer

et al. 1968; O'Connell 1967). Thomas (1981) calls similar points from Central Nevada Gatecliff Contracting-stem. Apart from their designations, these different terminologies also reflect apparent differences in chronology. The Gatecliff series attribution is meant to characterize a group of earlier, pre-Elko points, with dates ranging from 4950 to 3150 B.P. (Thomas 1981).

Nevertheless, evidence from the southwestern Great Basin consistently shows that forms are fully synchronous with Elko series points dating from 3500-1350 B.P. (Basgall and Giambastini 1995; Bettinger and Taylor 1974; Hall 1983; Hall and Jackson 1989). Two specimens were identified at two study area sites but neither specimen was measured for hydration analysis.

Little Lake/Pinto Series

Large, bifurcate-stemmed points have often been termed the Little Lake series (cf. Bettinger and Taylor 1974; Lanning 1963). Researchers have conjectured that the Pinto-like points from the Stahl site near Little Lake (Harrington 1957) were morphologically distinct from Pinto points named after the type locality in the Pinto Basin of the Mojave Desert (Amsden 1937; Campbell and Amsden 1934; Campbell and Campbell 1935; Schroth 1994).

Recent research (Basgall and Hall 2000) is counter-intuitive in suggesting that the points from the Stahl site are largely indistinguishable from Mojave Desert examples. The research of Basgall and Hall further indicates that these robust forms have an age from 7500-4000 B.P., while gracile forms, more characteristics of the northern Great Basin, are equivalent with the Gatecliff Split-stem type previously identified by Thomas

(1981). Those latter artifacts date to a more recent time, consistent with a range of 5000-3200 B.P. It has also become apparent that in the general region of eastern California there is considerable spatial overlap between the robust and gracile variants.

Nine Little Lake/Pinto series points were recognized at five sites. Hydration data are available for six specimens. Two anomalous obsidian hydration measures (1.6 and 3.9 μ) are probably due to scavenging and reworking of these points during later periods. The four remaining measures indicate ages commensurate with the Lamont Period (6.6, 8.1/9.1, 9.0, and 10.7 μ) and would yield dates ranging from 3604 to 8474 B.P. based on the Kern Plateau Coso obsidian hydration rate formula.

Concave Base

Finally, over time it has become evident that there exists a class of projectiles that are large, lanceolate specimens with concave bases that date to the late Pleistocene / early Holocene. These bifaces are very similar to the Humboldt series, yet they are often basally ground and sometimes exhibit grinding along their lateral margins. Concave base forms have been suggested to date ca. 11,000-13,500 B.P. (Fiedel 1999; Pendleton 1979). Similar forms are recognized at El Portal on the Merced River (Hull and Moratto 1999), in Long Valley (Basgall 1988), in the Coso Range (Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997), at the Sherwin Summit (Eerkens and King 2002), in Bridgeport Valley (Halford 2001), in the Black Rock desert (Clewlow 1968), at Tulare Lake (Riddell and Olson 1969), and in the Tonopah area (Tuohy 1984).

Two points from two sites in Kennedy Meadows (TUL-897 and TUL-899) are assigned to this category. Obsidian hydration rims on these two points (11.4 and 12.5 μ)

would equate with 9507 and 11,250 calendar years B.P., roughly commensurate with prior estimates for the age of these forms (Fiedel 1999; Justice 2002).

Ceramics

Some 396 sherds of a plain brownware ceramics (Riddell 1951; Riddell and Riddell 1956; Steward 1928) were recovered from 20 sites. Previous reviews of these materials have confirmed that this pottery is properly classified as a type of Owens Valley Brownware (Griset 1981; May 1980, 1981). Griset (1981) synthesized chronometric information supporting the late prehistoric development of pottery in the far southern Sierra sometime after 450 B.P. (A.D. 1500). Similar chronological positioning is indicated for Owens Valley Brownware recovered from east of the Sierra. A variety of research indicates that pottery came into widespread use there only during the last five centuries (Basgall and Giambastini 1995; Basgall and McGuire 1988; Delacorte 1999). This would place Owens Valley Brownware as a consistent hallmark of Chimney Period components in the study area.

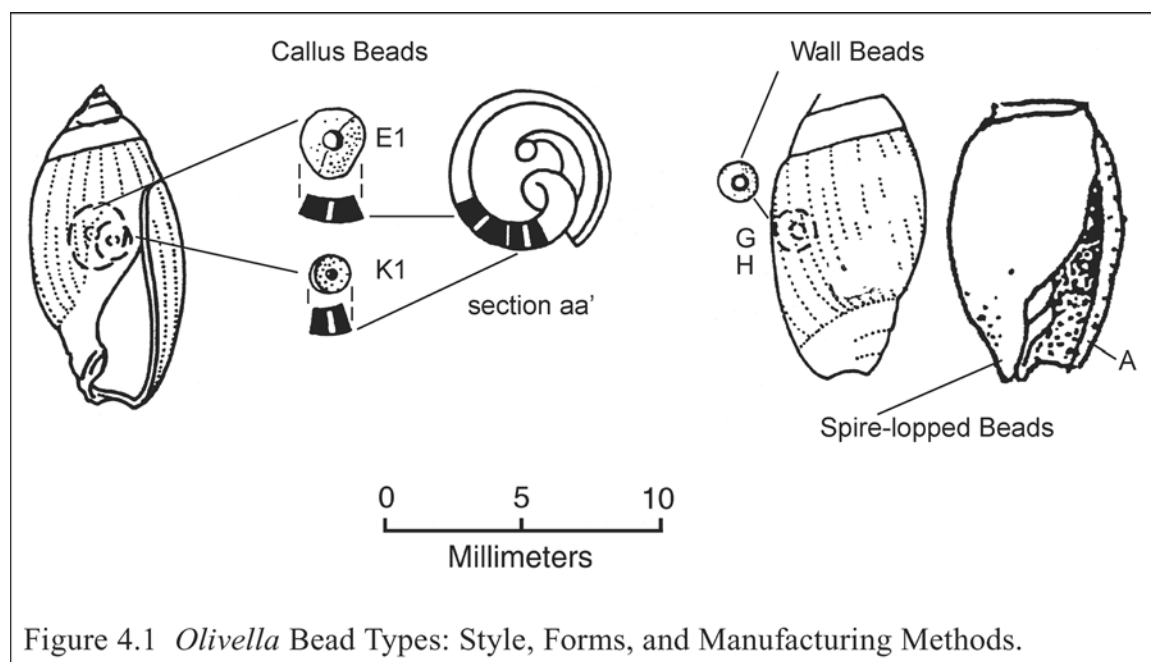
***Olivella* Shell Beads**

Twenty-four *Olivella* shell beads were recovered from seven study sites. Prior research provided sufficient information to place all but one into types provided by Bennyhoff and Hughes (1987) (Table 4.11, Figure 4.1). *Olivella* disks drilled with metal needles (H series) are Mission Period (A.D. 1770-1834) forms, according to Bennyhoff and Hughes (1987:135) and King (1990:179-182). Callus cup beads (K series) were manufactured anytime from about A.D. 1150 to 1770 based on dates and

Table 4.11 *Olivella* Shell Beads from Kern Plateau Sites

	A1a	E2b	G1	H2	K1	Totals
KER-1286	-	-	-	-	1	1
KER-748	-	-	-	1	-	1
KER-742	-	1	-	-	-	1
TUL-483	-	-	-	1	-	1
TUL488N	3	3	-	-	1	7
TUL-629	-	-	9	-	1	10
TUL-879	-	2	-	-	-	-
Totals		3	6	9	2	23

Key: Bead types per Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987; A1a Small spire-lopped, E2b Thick-lipped, G1 Tiny saucer, H2 Disks drilled w/ metal needles, and K1 Callus cup beads.

Figure 4.1 *Olivella* Bead Types: Style, Forms, and Manufacturing Methods.

cultural sequences from southern California (King 1990:166). Finally, Thick-lipped forms (E2 category) are common during Phase 2b of the Late Period in central California or the period from A.D. 1700 to 1800 (Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987:127-129).

Other forms are less diagnostic. Nine G1 (Tiny Saucer) beads occur in a wide range of temporal contexts (Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987). Three A1a (Small Spire-lopped) beads are also poor time markers (Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987). They are most common during the Early Period in central California (3000-500 B.C.); but are popular again during Phase 1 of the Late Period (A.D. 900-1500) (Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987). The latter bead form also occurs in varying quantities during the Middle Period from 200 B.C. to A.D. 700.

Stone Disk Beads

Forty-six stone “disk” beads were recovered from 11 study sites. They are manufactured from a variety of rocks and minerals identified variously as talc/serpentine (steatite) and perhaps dolomite. The latter are presumed to be the light, off-white or cream-colored beads and the former materials exhibit a wide variety of colors ranging from black through subtle shades of blue, green, and gray. These beads are mostly small (4-7 mm in diameter), monoconically-drilled, disks of good quality stone of uniform texture.

All but two of the stone beads derive from study sites located west of the Sierra crest. Crestal sites are virtually devoid of these beads. A review of information, synthesizing eastern California bead distribution (Milliken 1999), indicates an almost complete absence of stone beads from the far, southernmost portions of the Owens Valley. For Rose Valley and the Coso Volcanic Field areas only five such beads have

been discovered and these were recovered from the Rose Spring site (INY-372) (Lanning 1963). Radiocarbon dates from TUL-879 on the Kern Plateau provide an estimate for the initial date of these beads at ca. A.D. 1600 (Garfinkel et al. 1984). This is largely consistent with independent estimates indicating that these beads did not come into common use until the Late Period, Phase 2 in central California (Bennyhoff 1994:68; Moratto 1972:348, 1984:317). Furthermore, according to Gibson (1975), manufacture of these stone disc beads terminates about A.D. 1810. In the Hidden Reservoir area of Madera County, stone disks were rapidly replaced by glass trade beads (Fenenga 1977).

Researchers believe stone disk beads came into the study area through trade with groups residing in the southern Sierra Nevada foothills (cf. Moratto 1988:202-217). Bead manufacture and use appears to have largely coincided with Foothill Yokuts territories where outcrops of good quality, steatite were located. Ethnographic data indicates that the Yokuts manufactured steatite disc beads, used them as money, and as grave offerings (Driver 1937:125; Gayton 1948:191; T. King 1968). Steatite disc beads are distributed mainly in the southern and central Sierra Nevada and in adjacent areas of the San Joaquin Valley (Moratto 1988).

Glass Trade Beads

A total of 282 glass beads was found at 11 sites in the study area (Tables 4.1 and 4.3). Glass beads occur in many shapes, sizes and colors throughout California and the Great Basin. Historic glass trade beads are hallmarks of the terminal Chimney Period. Many complex typological systems have been offered for the classification of glass beads (Bass and Andrews 1977; Gibson 1975; Kidd and Kidd 1970; Meighan 1955; Ross 1990; Titchenal 1994). Perhaps the most relevant study is that conducted by Titchenal (1994).

Titchenal seriated 157 glass beads collected from 21 sites in the nearby Owens Valley. Milliken (1999), expanding on that research, incorporated additional data derived from the Alabama Gates study (Delacorte 1999). Titchenal's studies suggested six successive, time-sensitive, 19th-century, bead assemblages comprised of various forms.

Most of the glass beads from the study area were recovered from sites on or near the Sierra Nevada crest (Scodie Mountain and Lamont Meadow sites). One component of KER-1298, located near McIvers Spring in the Scodie Mountains, yielded the largest glass bead collection (234 beads). At least 50 of those beads were highly fragmented examples, so small and fire-burned that they could not be confidently classified into particular types. It was customary for California and Great Basin peoples to make offerings for the dead and those fragmentary beads could represent a mourning ritual or cremation (Steward 1938; Zigmond 1968). The remaining beads, from that site, appear most consistent with Titchenal's Complex C dating from A.D. 1849 to 1856. Most of those beads (124) are small, light blue, hot-tumbled forms.

The second most common bead form is the medium-sized, translucent, cobalt blue, faceted and non-faceted hexagonal form, Titchenal's CMS7b1 and CMG7b1 types, comprising some 48 items. These beads date most commonly from A.D. 1856 until 1864, but also occur with less frequency from A.D. 1849 until 1856.

Phoenix Button

A single button of brass with the words "JE RENAISS DE MES CENDRES" ("I rise from my ashes") was recovered from site KER-1286 in the Scodie Mountains. A mythological Phoenix is depicted along with "Nº 9". Phoenix buttons have been described by E. Strong (1960, 1975) and Carrico (1982).

These buttons were originally made in London, England and were manufactured for King Christophe of Haiti, the ruler of this Caribbean island from 1811 until 1820 (Carrico 1982; Dietz 1976; E. Strong 1975). The buttons were for military uniforms, the number 9 representing a specific military regiment, the Port de Paix. King Christophe died prematurely by self-inflicted wounds in 1820. The buttons sat in warehouses some years after and then were sold to American traders (E. Strong 1960, 1975). Subsequently, the buttons were used by merchants, trading with the Indians, throughout the Northwest from 1832-1835. These buttons were also important trade objects during the Mexican period in California history (E. Strong 1975; Carrico 1982). Phoenix buttons serve as valuable time markers, being used for only a brief period, and most likely date between 1830 and 1835.

Chronological Implications of Component Attributions

Based on the various suites of hydration readings, their associated Coefficient of Variation values, and data from other temporal indicators, 41 sites have single components, 14 have dual components, 20 are multi-period sites, and 24 are indeterminate. Further, the ages of the various loci indicate that during the Kennedy Period, there are no single component and only one dual component site. That single two period locus is located in Kennedy Meadows. In the subsequent Lamont Period the number of single or dual period loci increases to three. All are located in Kennedy Meadows or the Rockhouse Basin. In the following Canebrake Period, ten single- or dual-component loci were found in a wide variety of settings in the areas of Bear Mountain, the Rockhouse Basin, and the Scodie Mountains.

The Sawtooth Period witnessed a significant spike in the number of single- and dual-period loci. A total of 26 loci were situated throughout the study area. The Chimney Period is represented by 25 loci most of which (15) are located along the Sierra Crest in the Scodie Mountains and Morris Peak areas. Multiple-period, mixed assemblages are largely restricted to areas outside of the Sierra crest and several such sites display occupations spanning the entire time span of prehistoric occupation of the Kern Plateau from the Terminal Pleistocene in the Kennedy Period throughout the Holocene to the most recent Chimney interval (e.g., TUL-488N, TUL-629 and TUL-621).

The most striking observation emerging from review of the study site chronological data is the plethora of Chimney Period artifacts. The magnitude of this intensification may appear amplified since older components were probably obscured by younger ones. Additionally scavenging/reworking of artifacts and differential preservation tends to skew the relative changes toward increased representation of younger artifacts and settlements. Nevertheless, more than half (119) of the entire projectile point inventory (222) dates to this interval.

Considering that the Chimney period represents only a small portion (550 years) of the time range manifested within the study area (13,500 years), this is all the more striking. In many pinyon zones in the western Great Basin similar findings have been reported where increased frequencies of post-650 B.P. projectile points reflect a pattern of continuing intensification in the use of upland resources - particularly pinyon nut exploitation (Bettinger 1975; Delacorte 1990). This trend is suggested as having culminated in the pattern observed ethnographically, with pinyon representing a major

staple food and critical component in the subsistence-settlement pattern (Steward 1933, 1938). Such a pattern strongly suggests increasing pressures from growing Native populations to exploit more marginal and labor intensive resources.

Radiocarbon data provide further support for this pattern, with most dates (24 of the 28) falling within the latest period of occupation. Glass and stone beads (279 and 46, respectively) also fall into this interval and, as expected, vastly outnumber the tally for shell beads (24). Obsidian hydration readings largely conform to this pattern as well with 22 readings per 100-year interval characterizing the Chimney period and a nearly equivalent rate of 23.4 rims per century associated with the prior Sawtooth expression. Earlier periods have far fewer hydration measures represented, with only 6.6 values per hundred years in the Canebrake era and less than one reading per century for the Lamont and Kennedy time spans.

Summary

A variety of chronological data provide sufficient information to date most of the sites in the study area. Obsidian hydration plays an important role. A total of 475 obsidian hydration readings greatly aid in site age determination. Development of a source-specific, upland, Coso obsidian hydration rate provides an approximate chronological placement for the majority of the cultural deposits. That rate was found to work reasonably well in placing the sites in time and in correctly attributing diagnostic projectile points to the their most widely-accepted temporal intervals.

Analysis of the chronological data from 77 sites revealed 56 single or dual components, as well as 19 mixed deposits and 23 sites that were not dateable. These data

allow 56 loci to be placed into one or two of the five chronological periods identified for the study area. These data also confirm that the study area was occupied from the end of the Pleistocene until the historic era. The bulk of the occupations occurred during the two most recent chronological intervals: the Sawtooth (A.D. 600-1300) and Chimney (A.D. 1300-post contact) periods. The greatest number of time-sensitive artifacts and radiocarbon dates also occur in the Chimney Period.

Of 28 radiocarbon dates, 24 were of the Chimney Period age and four date to the Sawtooth era. Nearly 400 sherds of Owens Valley Brownware were retrieved and they also mark the Chimney Period and date from ca. A.D. 1500 to the historic era. Of the 351 glass, stone, and shell beads, most date to the closing centuries of the Chimney interval.

Projectile point types run the gamut and represent most of the time-marker forms typically found in the Desert West. Classifiable points from the 51 sites numbered 222. Of these, 116 are members of the Desert series; 45 are of Rose Spring or Eastgate types; 27 fit the Humboldt series; 19 are specimens of the Elko series; two are Gypsum forms; nine are Little Lake or Pinto points and two have been classified as Paleoindian Concave-based points.

A similar pattern of late prehistoric land use is recognized in the pinyon zones of a number of western Great Basin areas. This widespread trend culminated in the pattern of ethnographic pinyon use where these nuts were regarded as one of the most important foodstuffs and a dietary staple for Great Basin native peoples.

Chapter 5

PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT TYPES, TERRITORIALITY, AND BOUNDARIES

Scope and Purpose

In this chapter systematic analysis of the archaeological deposits and cultural materials allows us to posit descriptive classes of settlement. The structure of the material remains aids in the definition and elucidation of prehistoric activities represented at the sites. A brief review of previous settlement taxonomies opens the discussion. Following that, a comprehensive classification, using qualitative characteristics, is presented. Next, quantitative measures are employed to refine these initial groupings. Discussion then turns to issues of general land-use patterns and prehistoric territoriality. Finally, the ethnic/linguistic attribution of particular groups of sites is considered. The spatial distribution and dating of archaeological components provide evidence of the timing and character of prehistoric population movements and *in-situ* developments in the study area. The information presented in this chapter lays the groundwork for evaluation of linguistic prehistory to be taken up in Chapter 6.

Classification of Site Loci

All seven of the prior studies in the research area have classified archaeological deposits. The more comprehensive of these studies have categorized most of the loci examined in this dissertation. Six of the studies have used qualitative surface characteristics. One study also used a computer to process “objective” data (McGuire and Garfinkel 1980). Rigorous quantitative and statistical analyses are inappropriate for the

subject components because their surface artifacts were only partially collected and in many cases were not completely identified.

Sampling strategies differed among researchers with some sites having their surface cultural remains completely documented (Garfinkel et al. 1980; McGuire 1983) while others were only partially sampled (Ambro et al. 1981; Bard et al. 1985; Garfinkel et al. 1984; McGuire 1981; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980). Therefore, the frequencies of artifacts are not directly comparable. An exception to this was the documentation of rock rings, bedrock milling features and portable milling equipment. Those items and features were fully tallied and described by all of the previous investigators.

Care was taken to segregate sites into distinct components of relatively uniform character and assumed function and dating to a single interval of time. Prehistorians working in eastern California recognize that significant overprinting of different settlement types commonly occurs at many prehistoric sites and may compromise reconstructions of settlement-subsistence change (cf. Basgall and Giambastiani 1995; Hildebrandt and Ruby 1999). This problem was partially sidestepped through cautious attribution of loci and features to single temporal intervals.

A descriptive typology of components was selected as the most useful classification system. Additionally, excavation data further refined the descriptive typology. As with prior treatments, the present analysis divides loci into four mutually exclusive classes (Bard et al. 1985; Garfinkel et al. 1984). The categories used in this analysis are similar to those usually employed to classify aboriginal settlements in the upland pinyon forests of eastern California (Bettinger 1975, 1979, 1982; Delacorte 1990; Hildebrandt and Ruby 1999). Site classifications are typically based on both their

archaeological assemblages and natural settings. Resultant taxonomies are similar to settlement forms described ethnographically (Steward 1938; Voegelin 1938).

Variables selected for the first-order groupings appear to have important functional implications and could be used as relevant sorting criteria. Three characteristics met those criteria. They are presence/absence of (1) rock rings, (2) bedrock milling features or portable milling equipment, and (3) midden. These attributes differentiate loci into classes that mimic intuitive and computer-generated site types.

Rock Rings

Rock rings are highly correlated with pinyon procurement and in many instances are the remains of pinyon caches located within upland pinyon-juniper forests. The consensus view is that such caches are the remains of facilities used for the storage of green pinyon pine cones containing nuts (Bettinger 1989; Hildebrandt and Ruby 1999; Zeanah 2002). Ruhstaller (1980), summarizing existing information on study area features of this type, recognized that the interior diameters of most rock rings averaged two meters or less and had little in the way of associated cultural materials. These circular configurations of stone rest upon rocky, granitic substrate (most likely to discourage disturbance from below by rodents) and often have large concentrations of unmodified quartz cobbles in association. These rock ring features most likely are the remains of pinyon caches that, after being opened, leave the circular rings of stones with their interior contents removed.

Larger stone rings, averaging > 2 m in diameter, sometimes with gaps or “doorways,” are found less frequently. Recovered within these more sizeable rings are

artifacts associated with domestic activity (e.g., spent stone tools, projectile points, beads, pottery sherds, etc.). These rings probably served as the bases or structural supports of temporary houses or other shelters of brush.

Milling Implements

Milling tools, including handstones, milling slabs, portable or bedrock mortars/metates and pestles, are commonly associated with the milling of various nuts and hard seeds. The presence of such artifacts and features is presumed to indicate reliance on vegetal foods and their processing.

Millingstones and handstones are common at the Kern Plateau pinyon zone study sites. They are also ubiquitous in the upland pinyon forests of the Owens Valley, Deep Springs Valley and Coso Range of eastern California (Bettinger 1975; Delacorte 1990; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997). In many other areas of the Great Basin, that is not the case (McGuire and Garfinkel 1976; Thomas 1971; Zeanah 2002). One explanation for the difference is that in those other areas pinyon nuts were normally transported, unshelled in their cones, when packed back to base camps. That strategy dismissed the need for milling equipment to hull the nuts from the cones at the locations of pinyon nut procurement (Zeanah 2002).

Such logistical rather than residential use of the upland pinyon forests may have been a function of the relative productivity of pinyon zones in those areas. Pinyon stands in the southern, central and western Great Basin appear to be denser and more prolific than in other areas of the Desert west (Zeanah 2002). Richness of pinyon has

been shown to correlate with the relative density of ground stone tools across the Great Basin and in the far southern Sierra Nevada (Zeanah 2002).

Midden

The presence and depth of anthropic soils (midden deposits) are usually good indicators of the character and intensity of a particular site's occupation. Repetitive use of particular locations, especially when organic refuse is left to decompose, results in midden accumulation. A midden deposit can be one indicator of a lengthy occupation. Midden sites containing milling equipment likely would have been places reoccupied during years when pinyon crops were especially fruitful. Such occupation sites were often developed to allow groups to over-winter in sheltered locations near a permanent source of water, relatively free from snow, during exceptionally rich pinyon years. Such a strategy is inherently more efficient than attempting to move surplus nuts to more distant villages (Garfinkel et al.1984:13-20).

These three characteristics serve as differentiating criteria for the four classes of archaeological loci. Initially deposits may be divided into those with rock rings and those without. Deposits lacking such facilities are then classified as to whether or not they evince milling activity. Lastly a division is made between loci with and without midden. Using such divisions, site loci can be segregated into four groups:

- Class 1: Rock ring loci
- Class 2: Midden deposits with milling implements
- Class 3: Loci with milling implements but lacking midden

- Class 4: Loci with cultural material, principally debitage and flaked stone implements (projectile points, formalized tools and utilized flakes), but lacking midden and milling implements.

Class 1 Loci

Class 1 loci contain rock rings as their principal distinguishing criteria. Twenty-one (22%) of the 96 loci contain such features (Table 5.1). Most sites contain no more than a single rock ring, yet one (KER-748) has five such features. Altogether, 29 circular rock features were found. The majority, 25 (86%), are in the Morris Peak/Lamont Meadow and Scodie Mountains segments of the Pacific Crest Trail on the crest of the Sierra Nevada (Ambro et al. 1981; Garfinkel et al. 1980; McGuire 1983).

Class 2 Loci

Twenty-seven loci (28%) exhibit milling implements and associated midden deposits (Table 5.1). Midden depths varied from 0.2 to 1.35 meters. Twenty-two loci (81%) have bedrock milling features. Ten (37%) also produced sherds of Owens Valley Brownware.

Class 3 Loci

Twenty-two loci (23%) contain milling features and artifacts, yet lack midden deposits characteristic of the more intensive occupations of Class 2 loci (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Surface Characteristics of Kern Plateau Loc: Scodie Mountains

SIZE	ELEV.	SQ. M.	M. AMSL	SITE NO.	RK				MILL.				DEPTH					
					RNGS	BED.	POR.	CER.	PTS	UNL	BIF.	DEB.	BDS	CRNS	MIDD	(CM.)	TYPE	PERIOD
2500	1980			KER-1269	0	17	2	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	-	0	3	Saw.
650	1995			KER-1270	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	71	0	0	-	0	4	Saw.
3200	1625			KER-1971	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	-	0	4	Cnbrk
8000	2075			KER-1296	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	128	0	0	-	50	4	Saw.
5600	2075			KER-1297	0	8	0	75	3	1	7	230	1	0	-	25	3	Multiple
5600	2075			KER-1298	0	12	3	29	7	1	2	998	2	0	+	40	2	Multiple
2700	2075			KER-1299D	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	104	1	0	+	40	2	Saw.
3200	2075			KER-1299E	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	76	0	0	+	20	4	Cnbrk
3000	2075			KER-1299F	0	14	2	1	1	0	2	106	0	0	+	30	2	Ch./Saw.
15	2075			KER-1299G	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	-	30	1	Insuff.
1000	2040			KER-1272	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	39	0	0	-	10	3	Insuff.
600	1975			KER-1273	0	12	5	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	-	40	3	Chimney
600	2090			KER-1274	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	-	0	1	Insuff.
7200	2095			KER-1275	0	0	2	62	1	0	0	26	0	1	-	45	3	Multiple
2000	2065			KER1276A	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	34	0	0	-	20	3	Chimney
100	2065			KER1276B	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	-	30	1	Chimney
3400	2120			KER-1277	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	276	0	0	-	75	4	Multiple
100	2100			KER-1278	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	-	0	4	Ch./Saw.
1400	1940			KER-1279	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	+	70	2	Cnbrk
1100	1950			KER-1280	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	-	20	3	Cnbrk
28000	2135			KER-1281	1	32	0	0	7	2	1	633	0	0	+	25	1	Multiple
5400	2060			KER-1282	0	0	6	0	0	0	1	60	0	0	-	30	3	Cnbrk
1600	1920			KER-1283	0	5	11	2	9	0	0	98	1	0	+	40	2	Multiple
2100	2100			KER-1284	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	22	0	0	-	30	3	Saw.
1200	2100			KER-1285	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	22	0	0	-	30	1	Saw.
8000	1975			KER-1286	3	0	2	12	0	0	0	3	1	0	-	30	1	Ch./Saw.

Table 5.1 Surface Characteristics of Kern Plateau Loci (continued): Morris Peak and Lamont Meadow

SIZE	ELEV.	SQ. M.	M. AMSL	SITE NO.	RK	MIL. MILL.		PTS	UNI.	BIF.	DEB.	BDS	CRNS	MIDD	DEPTH		LOCUS
						RNGS	BED								PORT	CER.	
50	1890	KER-748	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	28	0	0	+	10	1	Chimney	
	800		2010	KER-744	1	0	3	0	2	0	65	0	0	+	20	1	Insuff.
1500	2035	KER-743	2	0	5	0	1	0	4	79	0	0	+	30	1	Chimney	
10000	1985	KER-742	1	0	0	1	1	0	10	502	0	0	+	30	1	Chimney	
13	1980	KER-741	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	-	0	4	Insuff.	
25	2210	KER-747	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	1	Insuff.	
13	2165	KER-746	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	-	0	1	Insuff.	
13	2165	KER-738	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	1	Insuff.	
15	2075	KER-745	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	0	1	Insuff.	
300	2165	KER-737	1	0	1	0	3	0	7	364	0	0	-	0	1	Ch./Saw.	
6500	2100	KER-748A	5	0	1	0	2	0	10	60	0	0	-	0	1	Chimney	
12000	2100	KER-748B	1	0	1	0	4	0	2	422	0	0	+	20	1	Saw.	
21500	2100	KER-748C	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	224	0	0	+	20	4	Saw.	
100	2100	KER-748D	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	152	0	0	-	?	4	Insuff.	
8000	1930	TUL-483	0	0	7	3	14	4	0	804	0	0	-	20	2	Ch./Saw.	
1200	1770	TUL-482	0	0	1	5	2	2	4	301	0	0	-	30	3	Chimney	
2700	1770	TUL-481	0	0	8	9	6	0	3	58	2	0	+	30	2	Ch./Saw.	
100	1650	TUL-480	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	0	0	-	0	4	Insuff.	
10500	1650	TUL-487	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	88	0	0	+	40	4	Insuff.	
9100	1650	TUL-485	0	19	3	0	1	0	1	438	0	0	-	40	3	Chimney	
25000	1740	TUL-488	0	4	2	0	7	1	10	938	0	0	+	135	2	Multiple	
100	1760	TUL-489	0	5	1	0	0	0	1	18	0	0	+	30	2	Insuff.	

Table 5.1 Surface Characteristics of Kern Plateau Loci (continued) : Bear Mountain

SIZE	ELEV.	RK	MIL.	MILL.	PTS	UNL	BIF.	DEB.	BDS	CRNS	MIDD.	DEPTH	LOCUS	PERIOD
SQ. M.	M. AMSL	RNGS	BED.	PORT.	CER.	UNL	BIF.	DEB.	BDS	CRNS	MIDD.	(CM.)	TYPE	
6000	1980	0	2	10	0	8	1	7	3694	7	0	-	0	3
1400	2000	0	51	0	4	5	0	3	2072	7	0	+	50	2
2500	2000	0	1	10	0	3	1	9	787	4	0	+	60	2
3600	2100	0	0	0	0	4	0	7	596	1	0	-	0	4
2000	2100	0	0	3	0	4	0	2	553	0	0	+	50	2
7800	2200	0	5	0	0	1	0	8	697	0	0	+	80	2
200	2230	0	5	2	0	3	0	1	72	3	0	+	20	3
50	2230	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	0	0	-	30	1
2000	2235	1	2	1	0	1	0	7	1322	2	0	-	50	1
500	2415	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	72	0	0	+	20	4
2000	2430	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1322	0	0	-	0	4
3000	2375	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	584	0	0	-	0	4
13,000	2200	0	23	1	0	5	0	11	5269	0	0	+	20	2
800	2100	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	87	0	0	+	30	4
100	1980	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	4	1	0	-	0	1
3600	2250	1	0	0	0	3	0	4	270	0	0	+	80	1

Table 5.1 Surface Characteristics of Kern Plateau Loci (continued): Rockhouse Basin/Kennedy Meadows

SIZE SQ. M.	ELEV. M. AMSL	SITE NO.	RK		MIL.		MILL. PORT.	CER.	PTS	UNL.	BIF.	DEB.	BDS	CRNS	MIDD.	DEPTH		LOCUS
			RNGS	BED.	PORT.	CER.	PTS	UNL.	BIF.	DEB.	BDS	CRNS	MIDD.			(CM.)	TYPE	PERIOD
17,000	1780	TUL-877	0	16	0		0	3	0	0	4	256	0	0	+	60	2	Multiple
50,000	1730	TUL-878	0	17	0		0	0	0	0		P	0	0	-	0	3	Insuff.
10,000	1830	TUL-879A	0	5	0		1	4	1	5		168	0	0	+	110	2	Multiple
100	1830	TUL-879B	0	0	1		8	0	0	3		36	0	0	+	?	2	Chimney
230,000	1730	TUL-880	0	0	0		0	0	0	0		P	0	0	-	0	4	Insuff.
200	1730	TUL-895	0	13	0		0	1	1	1		P	0	0	+	?	2	Cnbrk
190,000	1710	TUL-511	0	66	1		70	3	1	1		P	2	0	+	?	2	Multiple
10,000	1730	TUL-888	0	0	0		0	0	1	1		P	0	0	-	0	4	Insuff.
80,000	1920	TUL-882	0	10	5		0	3	1	1		P	0	0	-	0	3	Multiple
10,000	1900	TUL-881	0	0	0		0	0	1	1		P	0	0	-	0	4	Insuff.
2500	1800	TUL-883	0	0	0		0	0	1	1		P	0	0	-	0	4	Insuff.
3000	1775	TUL-884	0	2	0		0	1	1	1		P	0	0	-	85	3	Multiple
8000	1805	TUL-887	0	4	0		0	1	0	0		17	0	0	+	40	2	Sawtooth
4500	1775	TUL-885	0	1	0		0	0	0	1		P	0	0	-	0	3	Insuff.
1300	1800	TUL-886	0	0	0		0	0	0	0		P	0	0	-	0	4	Insuff.
800	1830	TUL-890A	0	0	0		33	0	0	0		235	0	0	+	50	4	Ch/Swth
3700	1830	TUL-890B	0	7	0		1	2	1	6		1745	0	0	+	80	2	Sawtooth
1000	1830	TUL-890C	0	0	0		0	0	0	1		167	0	0	+	30	2	Sawtooth
3150	1830	TUL-889A	0	6	0		0	1	0	19		3687	0	0	-	70	3	Cnbrk/Lmnt

Table 5.1 Surface Characteristics of Kern Plateau Loci (continued): Rockhouse Basin/Kennedy Meadows

SIZE	ELEV.	RK		MILL.		MILL.		PTS		UNI.	BIF.	DEB.	BDS	CRNS	MIDD	DEPTH LOCUS	
SQ. M.	M. AMSL	SITE NO.	RNGS	BED.	PORT.	CER.	RNGS	PTS	UNI.	BIF.	DEB.	BDS	CRNS	MIDD	(CM.)	TYPE	PERIOD
2225	1830	TUL-889B	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3319	0	0	-	30	4	Cnbrk
5000	1830	TUL-889C	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	1466	0	0	-	50	4	Cnbrk/Lmnt
20	1830	TUL-889D	0	6	5	0	0	0	0		1	0	0	-	30	3	Multiple
4000	1830	TUL-891	0	0	3	11	0	0	0	2	1162	0	0	-	0	3	Chimney
		Surface															
850	1830	TUL-891	0	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	65	2	Sawtooth
		Middens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	65	2	Sawtooth
20	1830	TUL-891	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P	0	0	+	40	3	Sawtooth
		Depression															
160,000	1830	TUL-894	0	4	2	0	1	1	1	1	P	0	0	+	35	2	Chimney
200	1828	TUL-895	0	13	0	1	0	0	0	0	P	0	0	+	?	2	Cnbrk
36,625	1800	TUL-896	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	7200	0	0	-	90	4	Multiple
49,225	1800	TUL-897	0	3	2	0	2	0	0	0	574	0	0	-	40	3	Lmnt/Kndy
52,000	1800	TUL-898	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	3144	0	0	+	70	2	Multiple
65,400	1800	TUL-899	0	0	1	0	11	3	6	23,678+	0	0	0	-	55	3	Multiple
7370	1800	TUL-909	0	9	0	0	1	3	1	180	0	0	0	+	40	2	Chimney

Key: Size in square meters, elevation in meters (above Mean Sea Level), rock rings, bedrock milling, portable milling, ceramics,

points, uniface, biface, debitage, beads, cairns, midden, middens.

Loci type: 1= rock rings, 2=midden, 3= milling and no midden, 4= lithic scatter

Periods: Chimney, Sawtooth, Canebrake, Lamont, Kennedy, insufficient data

P= present, A= absent

Interesting is the fact that deposits still, in some cases, contained buried cultural materials to a depth as great as 0.85 meters. Ceramic sherds are much less plentiful, with only five of the 22 deposits (23%) having yielded associated pottery.

Class 4 Loci

Twenty-four (25%) deposits are classified as Class 4 loci (Table 5.1). None of these loci have yielded ceramics or beads. Class 4 deposits are often only a collection of flaked stone debris. They range from quite small (20 m^2), diffuse ($0.3 \text{ artifacts/m}^2$) “flake scatters” to large ($230,000 \text{ m}^2$) and more dense arrays (up to 1000 flakes/m^2 in some areas) of toolstone debitage that are sometimes described as “flaked stone workshops.”

Temporal Distributions of Loci

Forty single-period and 11 dual-period loci are represented. Twenty-one loci have multi-period deposits and the balance (24) are of indeterminate in age. Several diachronic trends regarding the age of these loci can be noted. In general, loci are predominantly Chimney and Sawtooth in age, consistent with the obsidian hydration data reported in Chapter 4. Yet, proportions of the types of sites found in these consecutive periods differ (Table 5.2).

All Class 1, rock ring loci, date to either the Chimney or Sawtooth intervals. No rock rings date to earlier periods. Also, cultural materials recovered from these deposits nearly always point to a single time period. Such loci appear to have been used only for

Table 5.2 Site Loci by Period and Type (Total Inventory)

<u>Age</u> (years BP)		<u>Classification</u>				Subtotal
		1 RR	2 MM	3 MNM	4 LS	
<u>Component Loci</u>						
Chimney	<650	7	7	7	2	23
Sawtooth	650-1350	7	9	3	5	24
Canebrake	1350-3500	0	3	4	5	12
Lamont	3500-8500	0	0	2	1	3
Kennedy	>8500	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Subtotal</i>		<i>14</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>63</i>
<u>Multiple Period</u>		1	10	6	4	21
<u>Insufficient Data</u>		9	1	3	11	24
<i>Total</i>		<i>24</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>108</i>
<u>Single Period</u>						
<u>Loci Percentages</u>						
Chimney	<650	30	30	30	9	100%
Sawtooth	650-1350	29	37	12	21	100%
Canebrake	1350-3500	0	25	33	42	100%
Lamont	3500-8500	0	0	75	25	100%
Kennedy	>8500	0	0	100	0	100%

Notes: Class 1-RR – Loci containing rock rings; Class 2-MM - Loci with milling (bedrock or portable) and midden; Class 3-MNM – Components with milling lacking midden; Class 4-LS – Flaked stone scatters.

brief, single episodes in time and apparently were rarely revisited or reused. In contrast, flaked stone scatters and lithic workshops (Class 4) dominate the earlier Sawtooth and Canebrake periods. Such loci are largely absent in the following Chimney era.

Residential components, Class 2 loci, are the most likely types of deposits to represent multiple-period expressions. Local environmental factors (a permanent source of water and naturally sheltered area) appear to have determined the highly favored localities that were occupied repeatedly throughout prehistory.

Subsurface Constituents

Many sites (54 of the 96 loci identified) yielded further information from subsurface study. Excavation data in most cases served to support the preliminary classification. Quantification of excavation data permits comparison within and between the various loci classes. The data also allow us to refine observations regarding their character and permit subdivision of these broad loci classes. Excavation data allow direct comparison between loci based on the frequency of particular types of cultural material as expressed by the number of items retrieved per cubic meter of excavated deposit (Tables 5.3-5.6).

It has been recognized that toolstone manufacturing technology within eastern California and the southwestern Great Basin can be characterized by a distinct set of changes. An initial emphasis (ca. 8000-1000 B.P.) on biface preform or flake blank technology eventually gave way to flake-based reduction techniques during late prehistoric time periods. The hallmarks of earlier period flaked stone assemblages are

large bifaces that decrease in abundance, size and formality and are ultimately replaced by more numerous flake-based tools.

The early toolstone reduction technology is readily evidenced in the voluminous debitage and ubiquitous biface thinning debris that characterize older settlements. After the introduction of the bow and arrow (ca. A.D. 600) and especially with the advent of smaller arrow points of the Desert Series (beginning at A.D. 1300), a dramatic drop in the quantity and size of flaked stone debris is recognized (Delacorte 1999; Delacorte et al. 1995; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; E. Skinner 1986). Hence the lack of flaked stone debris is predictable given the age and character of Class 1 rock ring loci. This shift in lithic reduction strategies is thought to relate to more than just simple technological considerations and appears to be a function of several factors including settlement centralization, minimization in foraging range, and reductions in residential mobility (Delacorte 1999; Garfinkel et al. 2004; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997).

Class 2 Loci

Class 2 loci provide the greatest amounts of cultural materials both with respect to the various artifact categories and with reference to vertebrate faunal remains. Yet these loci are also quite varied, suggesting that they differed in several ways. Prior studies have in fact suggested a separation, labeling deposits either as “base camps” or “temporary camps” (Garfinkel et al. 1980; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980).

Base camps themselves appear to vary. Some deposits contain only high densities of flake waste and others contain both large quantities of debitage and faunal material.

Table 5.3
Excavation Data: Class 1 (Rock Ring Loci)
(Total Items and items per cubic meter of deposit)

Loci*	Total Volume of Excavated Deposit	Debitage		Stone Tools		Milling Tools		Faunal Remains		Beads		Pottery	
		n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3
K-1276	0.4	7	17.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1281	1	423	423	21	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1286	1.5	69	46	8	5.3	1	0.7	14	9.3	3	2	7	4.6
K-748	0.4	12	30	4	10	0	0	3	7.5	1	2.5	0	0
K-744	0.5	68	136	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-743	2.4	326	135	10	4.2	7	2.9	18	7.5	0	0	0	0
K-742	1.1	487	443	53	48.2	1	0.9	6	7	0	0	1	0.9
K-737	0.1	9	90	19	190	1	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-619	0.8	173	216	2	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-618	1	300	300	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-625	1.1	135	123	0.9	0.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Range			17.5- 443		0-190		0-2.9		0-9.3		0-2.5		0-4.6
Mean			178.1		31.4		1.15		7.8		0.3		2.7

Note: n = total items, n/m3 = totals per cubic meter of deposit: This measure indicates the mean number of artifacts or animal bones retrieved per cubic meter of sampled deposit.

The measure is calculated on the available information for a specific locality.

Range and mean apply only to the volumetric figures. *K = Kern and T = Tulare.

Table 5.4

Excavation Data: Class 2 (Milling Equipment with Midden)

(Total Items and items per cubic meter of deposit)

Loci*	Total Volume of Excavated Deposit	Debitage		Stone Tools		Milling Tools		Faunal Remains		Beads		Pottery	
		n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3
T-481	0.6	257	428	30	50	0	0	22	13	8	13.5	6	10
T-488N	12.2	19517	1616	314	26	24	2	1742	159	20	1.6	3	0.2
T-489	2.5	300	120	11	4.4	4	1.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-629	2.1	24261	11553	291	139	13	6.2	86	41	30	14.3	1	0.5
T-621	3.7	23865	6450	424	115	4	1.6	422	114	61	1.6	0	0
T-630	0.8	769	961	2	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-636	0.6	135	123	21	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-623	0.5	300	600	19	55	110	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
K-1299C	1.6	592	370	17	11	3	1.8	546	341	41	25.6	0	0
K-1299D	1.1	213	194	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1299F	0.6	80	133	1	1.6	0	0	9	15	1	1.6	0	0
K-1279	0.7	114	163	2	2.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1283	0.8	15	18.7	3	3.8	0	0	34	42.5	0	0	0	0
T-877	4.5	1350	300	11	2.4	5	1.1	2	0.4	0	0	0	0
T-879A	15.9	4193	264	119	7.5	3	0.2	2652	167	26	1.6	20	1.3
T-894	1.7	778	458	4	2.4	1	0.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-898	3.1	1550	500	11	3.5	10	3.2	90	39	2	0.6	1	0.3
T-909	1.3	625	481	1	0.8	0	0	0	0	1	0.76	0	0
Range			18.7- 11553		.8- 139		0-6.2		0-341		0-25.6		0-10
Mean			1355		31		0.5		92.2		6.8		2.5

Note: n = total items, n/m3 = totals per cubic meter of deposit: This measure indicates the mean number of artifacts or animal bones retrieved per cubic meter of sampled deposit. The measure is calculated on the available information for a specific locality. Range and mean apply only to the volumetric figures. *K = Kern and T = Tulare.

Table 5.5
Excavation Data: Class 3 (Milling Equipment without Midden)
(Total Items and items per cubic meter of deposit)

Locality***	Total Volume of Excavated Deposit	Debitage		Stone Tools		Milling Tools		Faunal Remains		Beads		Pottery	
		n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3	N	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3
T-481	0.2	6	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-482	0.9	201	223	13	14	0	0	33	37	1	1.1	3	3.3
T-485	0.9	421	468	4	4.4	3	3.3	3	3.3	1	1.1	0	0
K-1269	0.3	9	30	3	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1299B	0.5	150	300	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1273	0.4	50	125	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1275	0.3	25	83.3	1	3.3	0	0	1	3.3	0	0	0	0
K-1276A	1.0	5	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1280	0.3	22	73.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1282	0.6	51	85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1284	0.6	5	8.3	1	1.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-884	3.3	533	162	3	0.9	0	0	40	12.1	0	0	0	0
T-889A	2.8	27494	9819	22	7.9	0	0	11	3.9	1	0.4	0	0
T-897*	1.8	?	234	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-899*	3.6	?	3193	1	0.3	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Range		5-300**		0-14.4		0-3.3		0-37		0-1.1		0-3.3	
Mean		141		4.9		1.8		11.9		0.9		3.3	

Note: n = total items, n/m3 = totals per cubic meter of deposit: This measure indicates the mean number of artifacts or animal bones retrieved per cubic meter of sampled deposit. The measure is calculated on the available information for a specific locality. Range and mean apply only to the volumetric figures.

*Actual debitage volumes could not be precisely quantified because information was not available from the original study.

Excludes TUL-889A and TUL-899 (see discussion) *K = Kern and T = Tulare.

Table 5.6

Excavation Data: Class 4 (Flaked Stone Scatters)
(Total Items and items per cubic meter of deposit)

Loci**	Total Volume of Excavated Deposit	Debitage		Stone Tools		Milling Tools		Faunal Remains		Beads		Pottery	
		n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3	n	N/m3	n	n/m3	n	n/m3
T-487	1.2	263	219	4	3.3	0	0	6	5	0	0	0	0
T-634	0.3	30	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-616	0.2	30	150	1	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1270	0.3	18	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1971	0.2	1	5	2	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1296A	0.6	756	1260	5	8.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K-1277	1.1	434	394	3	2.7	1	0.9	3	2.7	0	0	0	0
T-889B	0.9	21	23.3	0	0	1	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-889C	1.4	429	306.4	1	0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-889D	1	77	81	1	1	1	1	25	25	0	0	0	0
T-896*	2.9	?	?	0	0	0	0	1	<.1	0	0	0	0
Range		5-1260		0-10		0-1.1		0-25		NA		NA	
Mean		254		4.4		1		10.9		NA		NA	

Note: n = total items n/m3 = totals per cubic meter of deposit. This measure indicates the mean number of artifacts or animal bones per cubic meter of sampled deposit.

The measure is a simple average based on the available information. Range and mean apply only to volumetric figures. *Actual debitage volumes could not be precisely quantified because data was absent in the original monograph. **K=Kern and T=Tulare

Yet others have only high densities of economic animal bone. Sites in the first subgroup include TUL-636 and TUL-623. The second group includes TUL-488, TUL-629 and TUL-621. The third group encompasses KER-1298, KER-1283 and TUL-879A. All of these base camp-like Class 2 deposits contain either an excess of 900 items of debitage per cubic meter of deposit or 40 or more animal bones per cubic meter of excavated midden.

In comparison, temporary camps lack the abundance of either debitage or faunal materials yet still exhibit a wide range of cultural remains and a midden suggesting some level of residential use. The following localities would fit the latter description and would better fall into a temporary camp designations: TUL-481, TUL-489, KER-1299D, KER-1299F, KER-1279, TUL-877, TUL-898 and TUL-909.

Class 3 Loci

Save for two exceptional loci (TUL-889A and TUL-899), Class 3 deposits are uniform in their low frequency of cultural remains. Debitage is the only category of cultural material to be represented in any abundance at such localities. Counterintuitive was the fact that these loci, while exhibiting surface milling features or portable milling equipment, lack subsurface ground stone tools. This would support the supposition that Class 3 loci were infrequently used milling localities.

TUL-889A and TUL-899 are exceptions to these characterizations. Their yield of subsurface flaked stone materials is extraordinary. This is especially the case given the fact that both localities bear no evidence for a wider range of cultural activities, nor do they possess a developed midden. TUL-899 may contain such an abundance of flaked

stone partly as a function of its occupational history. TUL-899 appears to have been consistently reoccupied over a lengthy interval and has temporally sensitive projectile points and obsidian hydration rims representing recurrent use over 10,000 years.

Alternatively, both localities (situated on the east banks of the South Fork of the Kern River at an elevation of 6000' amsl) could have served as favorable upland game (mainly deer) intercept/hunting localities. TUL-899 yielded one of the highest frequencies ($n = 11$) of surface projectile points for any site recorded in the study area and contained a rather large quantity ($n = 9$) of bifaces. TUL-889A, while not exhibiting such a large number of surface points, did yield seven subsurface dart points and a large number ($n = 20$) of fragmentary bifaces.

TUL-889A may have been misclassified since it owes its designation as a Class 3 locus due to its association with bedrock milling features. Such stationary milling implements are thought by many to date much later in time than most of the remains produced from TUL-889A (Stevens 2003). Lacking those features, it would have been identified as a Class 4 locus. Yet even when compared to other Class 4 loci, TUL-889A produced a surprising number of flaked stone items (averaging nearly 10,000 pieces of debitage per cubic meter of excavated deposit) - the highest yield of any Class 3 or Class 4 deposit yet recognized in the study area.

This leads to the conclusion that TUL-889A might have been a "major flaked stone workshop." Previously it had been suggested that this site might have served as a "staging area" for the production of obsidian bifaces intended for long- distance, trans-Sierran exchange (Bard et al. 1985:13-20). It seems reasonable that TUL-889A could be associated with hunter/trader/travelers who favored certain locations on treks across the

Sierra. Coso obsidian bifaces were common items of trade and TUL-889A functioned (at least in part) as a lithic processing center where bifaces were produced for immediate use and for export.

TUL-889A dates solely to the Canebrake and Lamont periods, and TUL-899 has 73% (27 of 37) of its hydration rims and all its projectile points dating from the Canebrake Period or earlier. Such large quantities of debitage would be a predictable consequence of the intensive reduction activities typical of the Canebrake Period. It was then that great numbers of large Coso obsidian bifaces were being produced for exchange at the nearby Coso obsidian quarries (Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997). Coso obsidian working during the Canebrake Period was ten times more intensive than during earlier or later periods (Hildebrandt and McGuire 2003: Figure 6).

Class 4 Loci

Class 4 loci are composed almost exclusively of flaked stone materials. Milling equipment, beads and pottery are largely absent from these loci. Subsurface returns have varied, with debitage counts ranging from 5 to 1260 pieces per cubic meter. Formal tool counts from subsurface contexts are very low in comparison to other classes of loci.

These loci vary in area from small ($\sim 20 \text{ m}^2$) lithic scatters (e.g., TUL-889B) to extensive ($36,625 \text{ m}^2$) flaked stone workshops (e.g., TUL-896) and seem to represent production, finishing and repair of stone tools. Such activities often took place in association with small task groups principally focused on hunting upland game.

Territoriality, Boundaries, and Cultural Evolution

Until now the discussion has largely focused on evaluating the form and age of various archaeological loci in the study area. I have addressed general changes in land-use patterns over time. However, thus far, the loci have been examined as a unified body of data. Yet prior research has suggested that it may be possible to differentiate study area loci, separating them into groups thought to represent Tubatulabal (n = 53) and Numic (n = 43) (pre-Numic?) affiliated populations (Garfinkel et al. 1980: 80-96; Garfinkel 1982; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980:61-69; McGuire et al. 1982; Moratto 1984; TCR 1984:175).

To be explicit, my research first developed categories of site loci independently using certain archaeological data (as discussed above). These constituent site elements (stone tool material, artifact form, rock art style) are recognized as non-randomly distributed in space and correlate with defined environmental zones. These archaeological patterns also coincide spatially with territories ascribed to different ethnolinguistic groups and since that is the case we might conclude that these ethnic groups and their ancestors are associated with the respective archaeological patterns.

Previous Kern Plateau studies supported just such a division of sites into those located on the Sierra Crest, that were argued to represent Numic (and perhaps pre-Numic) groups, and those in the interior suggested to be of Tubatulabal origin. Several researchers have generally accepted these conclusions (TCR 1984; Moratto 1984), yet others have disagreed (Bard et al. 1985:15-4). Bard and his colleagues suggest that the archaeological patterning may reflect differing adaptive strategies corresponding to varying environmental conditions rather than ethnic/linguistic groups. Bard suggests

that the ethnic affiliation view ignored more significant issues relating to prehistoric changes in adaptive strategies responding to environmental shifts, population movements, and technological innovations.

Reflecting on work conducted almost two decades ago, it seems that Bard and his colleagues have a point and their critique merits further consideration. A more integrated and balanced perspective allows us to use the prehistoric record to posit population associations, yet still pay due attention to changes in the archaeological record that would merit explanation. Such a reconstruction would then focus on the evolution of hypothesized Tubatulabal, Numic and pre-Numic adaptations. Changing adaptations, environmental shifts, and population movements would also be research foci. The present discussion updates prior treatments of the archaeological remains in the study area in light of this more integrated and balanced perspective.

Crestal versus Interior Site Loci: Settlement Types, Distributions, and Dating

Prior research supports a differentiation of sites in the study area into two groups: those found on and near the Sierra Crest and those located to the west in the interior areas of the Kern Plateau. This distinction is based on several factors: ethnographic data pertaining to the territories of the historic groups occupying these areas; the constituents of the prehistoric sites (including toolstone material composition, milling tool form and composition); style and distribution of rock art sites; and settlement patterns. Prior analysis in the study area did not provide a detailed evaluation of the relative ages and types of loci found within the inventory of sites. As well, these data sets have not been examined in light of a more expanded site inventory to see if the previous patterns would

be supported. Therefore, we shall examine the types of localities represented with respect to their relative ages and in reference to the differing archaeological patterns previously documented.

Sierra Crest and Interior Kern Plateau Loci: Diachronic Comparison

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 show the frequencies and ages of loci types in the Sierra Crest area and Interior. Forty-six loci in the Sierra Crest zone and 60 in the Interior are considered.

Environments

Before examining the archaeological patterns in these two distinctive areas, mention must be made of the different environments where these settlements are situated. Crestal settlements mainly are found on ridges and saddles with dense stands of pinyon-juniper woodland and sagebrush scrub. These localities are mostly semi-arid, generally devoid of standing surface water, and in some cases have limited areas of level land. Interior localities are much more expansive, occupying open flats, meadows and river terraces, yet still covered by or associated with nearby dense pinyon-juniper forests and situated adjacent to or within easy reach of permanent water sources. Despite these differences, both areas contain abundant stands of pinyon and have suitably level terrain to allow for temporary settlements during the seasonal harvest of pinyon nuts. Chapter 2 contains more detailed discussions of the study area environments.

Table 5.7 Site Loci by Period and Type (Crestal Loci)

Age		Classification				Subtotal	Percent
		1	2	3	4		
(years BP)		RR	MM	MNM	LS		
<u>Single Period</u>							
Chimney	<650	7	2	2	1	12	40
Sawtooth	650-1350	4	3	2	3	12	40
Canebrake	1350-3500	0	1	2	3	6	20
Lamont	3500-8500	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kennedy	8500-13500	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Subtotal</i>		<i>11</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>100</i>
<u>Multiple Period</u>		1	2	2	1	6	
<u>Insufficient Data</u>		7	0	1	2	10	
<i>Total</i>		<i>19</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>46</i>	
<u>Percentages</u>		41	17	20	22		
<u>Single Period</u>							
<u>Loci Percentages</u>							
Chimney	<650	58	17	17	8	100%	
Sawtooth	650-1350	33	25	17	25	100%	
Canebrake	1350-3500	0	17	33	50	100%	
Lamont	3500-8500	0	0	0	0		
Kennedy	8500-13500	0	0	0	0		

Notes: Class 1-RR – loci containing rock rings; Class 2-MM - loci with milling (bedrock or portable) implements and midden; Class 3-MNM – components with milling and no midden; Class 4-LS – flaked stone scatters.

Table 5.8 Site Loci by Period and Type (Interior Kern Plateau Sites)

Age		Classification				Subtotal	Percent
(years BP)		1	2	3	4		
		RR	MM	MNM	LS		
<u>Single Period</u>							
Chimney	<650	0	5	5	1	11	35
Sawtooth	650-1350	2	6	1	2	11	35
Canebrake	1350-3500	0	2	1	2	5	16
Lamont	3500-8500	0	0	2	1	3	10
Kennedy	8500-13500	0	0	1	0	1	3
<i>Subtotal</i>		2	13	10	6	31	100
<u>Percentages</u>		6	42	32	19		
<u>Multiple Period</u>		0	8	4	3	15	
<u>Insufficient Data</u>		2	1	2	9	14	
<i>Total</i>		4	22	16	18	60	
<u>Percentages</u>		7	37	27	30		
<u>Single Period</u>							
<u>Loci Percentages</u>							
Chimney	<650	0	45	45	9	100%	
Sawtooth	650-1350	18	54	9	18	100%	
Canebrake	1350-3500	0	40	20	40	100%	
Lamont	3500-8500	0	0	75	25	100%	
Kennedy	8500-13500	0	0	100	0	100%	

Notes: Class 1-RR – loci containing rock rings; Class 2-MM - loci with milling (bedrock or portable) implements and midden; Class 3-MNM – components with milling and no midden; Class 4-LS – flaked stone scatters.

Crestal Settlements

Crestal sites have been suggested to be mostly Numic in affiliation (Garfinkel et al. 1980; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980; Moratto 1984). The consensus view, held by many eastern California prehistorians, is that an initial Numic presence occurs in the study area no earlier than ca. A.D. 600 (Bettinger 1976, 1989; Delacorte 1994; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997). Yet others believe, since this area is either in or near the hypothesized Numic homeland, a Numic presence might be of greater antiquity (earlier than A.D. 600) than in other areas (Grant et al. 1968; Whitley 1994, 1998). Of course the area could still be the homeland for the Numic – having them migrate to the area ca. A.D. 600. That date still would allow enough time so that three to four centuries later the major radiation of the Numic could have occurred, when they spread out into the Great Basin ca. A.D. 1000.

Crestal sites, might bear evidence for a population replacement or in-migration, with Numic groups initially colonizing and replacing the pre-Numic populations that had used the area prior to A.D. 600. Alternatively, we may find evidence for a continuum of Numic occupation. Investigation of the prehistoric crestal localities documents the use of more ephemeral occupations and those that are more recent in age than in the Interior. Sierra Crest loci exhibit fewer middens of shallower depth than do Interior deposits. Class 1 rock ring sites are almost exclusively crestal phenomena. A total of 29 such features was identified and all but four were located along the Sierra crest. Rock ring use began during the Sawtooth Period and increased over time both in number of loci represented per period and in the total number of such features exhibited during each period.

This observation supports the majority view that in eastern California, intensive green cone, pinyon pine-nut procurement began ca. A.D. 600 (Bettinger 1976, 1994; Hildebrandt and Ruby 2000). The shift in settlement-subsistence practices was accompanied by resource intensification that includes the development of storage facilities (rock rings) used to cache nuts and signals the characteristic “processor” strategy and most likely a Numic presence in the region (Bettinger 1994; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982).

Earlier Canebrake settlements (dating ca. 1550 B.C.- A.D. 600) have sometimes been assumed to be pre-Numic and may differ in character from later settlements (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Delacorte 1994; Garfinkel et al. 2004). Sierran loci appear to display just such a distinction. Class 4 loci (flaked stone scatters) are proportionally at their highest in the Canebrake and Sawtooth periods, and a dramatic decrease is noted in later Chimney Period. These loci, routinely identified by eastern California prehistorians as “logistical hunting camps,” follow a pattern of use that appears to be mirrored in our distribution. That is, a decrease in upland hunting camps has generally been recognized as occurring after ca. A.D. 1000 (Bettinger 1989; Gilreath 1999). No obsidian hydration rims larger than 5.2 microns are represented at crestal loci, nor do settlements contain temporally diagnostic projectile points or beads dating earlier than the Canebrake Period. Thus, only extremely limited use of the Sierran Crest can be discerned prior to ca. 500 B.C., and cultural manifestations dating to the Lamont or Kennedy periods are largely absent.

Interior Settlements

Based on historical linguistic studies most Interior sites are thought to represent the Tubatulabal. According to linguistic reconstructions, the Tubatulabal had in-place longevity on the order of two to three thousand years (Fowler 1972; Hale 1958; Lamb 1958; Miller et al.1971). If confirmed archaeologically, this longevity represents a longer record of autochthonous development, with considerably greater antiquity, than the hypothesized recent Numic influx. We would expect a pattern of greater occupational stability and more continuous use than that characterizing Sierra Crest settlements.

Occupation of the Interior Kern Plateau area is in fact represented earlier in time by components dating to both the Lamont and Kennedy periods. Early loci are entirely lacking for the Sierran Crest area. Residential (Class 2) sites predominate in the Interior, representing 42% of the entire inventory. Interior sites also display a continuous emphasis on residential settlements with a long-term preponderance of Class 2 loci. Habitation loci consistently represent between 40 – 50 % of the entire settlement inventory for the duration of several time periods covering 2500 years of prehistory. As well, several Class 2 multiple-period residential sites (e.g., TUL-488N, TUL-629, TUL-621, TUL-879A) have chronological markers (obsidian hydration rims, time diagnostic point types) indicating continuous occupation from the Canebrake through Chimney periods

An increased emphasis on more temporary settlements including Class 4 (flake scatters) or “hunting camps” is recognized during the earliest periods of prehistory dating from the Kennedy and Lamont intervals through the Sawtooth Period. This may represent an earlier unrelated population (other than the Tubatulabal and their direct ancestors), but

this is purely speculation given the meager data available for those early periods. Rock ring sites, never significantly represented in the Interior, exist only briefly and are few in number, with only two loci identified in the Sawtooth Period.

Territoriality

The archaeological identification of prehistoric territorial boundaries has been a subject of considerable debate (Bettinger 1982; Simpson 1988). Yet it seems evident that with the right circumstances and data sets the boundaries between hunter-gatherer groups might be defined.

A territorial boundary has been defined that bisects the study area and runs east-west along the northern edge of the Piute and Scodie Mountains then quickly turns north along the crest of the Sierra (Figure 5.1). This line runs along the crest of the Sierra and purportedly separates the largely Desert-dwelling Numic (Scodie Mountains-Indian Wells Valley territory) from the interior population of Tubatulabal (Kern River territory) (Garfinkel et al. 1980; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980:61-69). If the Sierra Crest acted as a sociopolitical boundary between Numic and Tubatulabal populations, then that division represents in part the traditional habits and patterning of these populations as represented by their archaeological remains in the study area. This demarcation would most likely represent what has been termed a territorial band or hunter-gatherer “district” (Steward 1938).

In Chapter 3 it was observed that a number of different territorial districts did exist for the Tubatulabal and the Panamint Shoshone/Kawaiisu. As well, it was evident

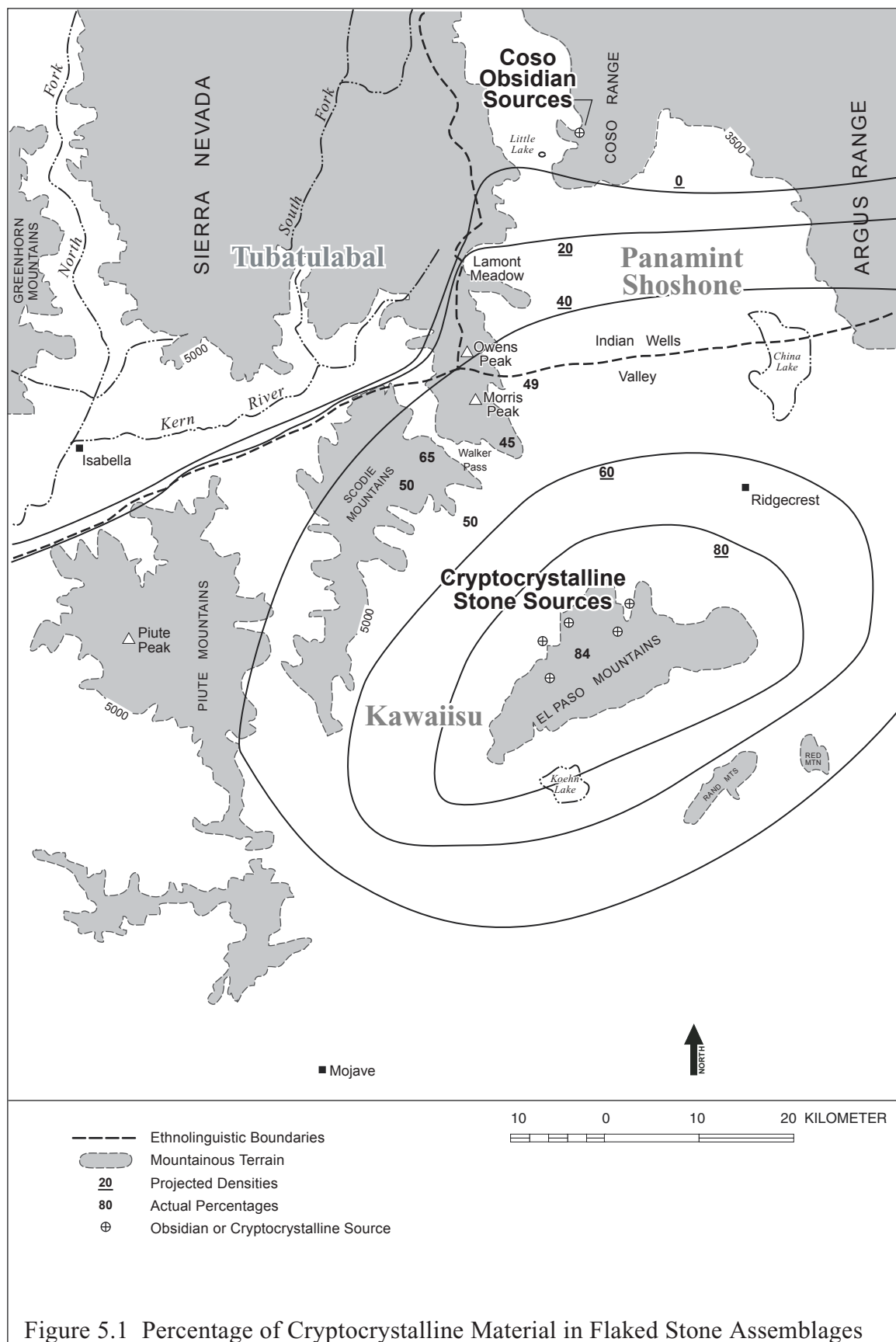


Figure 5.1 Percentage of Cryptocrystalline Material in Flaked Stone Assemblages

that varying degrees of amity- enmity relations characterized these historic groups. Most importantly, there appeared to be an affinity between the Numic populations of Kawaiisu and Panamint Shoshone speakers and a distinct adversarial stance between Tubatulabal and Numic groups (Irwin 1980; Steward 1938; Voegelin 1938).

Members of these hunter-gatherer band districts repetitively used a traditional territory that was largely dictated by the locations of reliable sources of water and a particular set of notable geographic features. The material traces of such territories might be detected archaeologically through the restricted distribution of exotic rock sources. A persuasive argument for territorial distinctions can be made when stylistic marker elements coincide spatially with exotic rock sources on the same landscape. It is fortunate that in the study area we can identify just such an overlapping distribution. Artifacts manufactured of several exotic rock sources spatially coincide with stylistic marker rock art elements providing strong support for an “ethnic signature.” This pattern allows us to posit a boundary based on the spatial patterns of these rock sources and distinctive rock art styles across the landscape.

If we can recognize a boundary archaeologically we would expect a high frequency of a particular type of tool stone when that material was obtained freely by direct access or through preferential trading relationships. If access were to some degree restricted, as a function of indirect access or by some measure of territorial control, then we would anticipate a sharp decline for that tool stone. At the edge of a territory (i.e., at the boundary) we would expect to see a sharp drop in the frequency of materials. Mapping of marker artifact materials would show high-density plateaus with sharp well-

defined double shoulders and not display a simple, density distance-decay pattern.

Ethnographic information and research with contemporary hunter-gatherers indicates that population increases from in-migration provide circumstances where territorial boundaries are firmed up and may be more marked (Bettinger 1982; Simpson 1988).

“Catchments”

Previous discussions (Garfinkel et al. 1980; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980:63) have recognized that Sierra Crest settlements would have been most effectively used by peoples who occupied winter villages in the desert canyons along the eastern face of the far southern Sierra. Numic peoples in eastern scarp villages would have been able to closely monitor the available subsistence resources in the immediately adjacent Sierra upland pinyon environment. Such residential tethering allowed for a shortened foraging radius rather than more lengthy and extended forays into the distant upland pinyon zones of the Coso Range farther to the west. Interior Kern Plateau encampments, in contrast, would have served as pinyon and hunting camp outposts within the seasonal round of the semi-permanent Tubatulabal groups who occupied hamlets situated in the South Fork Valley along the Kern River (McGuire and Garfinkel 1980:63, Map 4).

Toolstone Materials – Sources and Distribution

Several types of exotic stone are represented in the archaeological assemblages within the study area. All emanate from the desert to the east, are represented in varying quantities, and have distinctive distributions. Lithic source analysis provides us with a

means of mapping the prehistoric behavior patterns of the aboriginal occupants of the Kern Plateau study area (Figure 5.1).

The bulk of the toolstone from most loci was acquired from the Coso obsidian quarries 25-40 km to the northeast. Yet crestal loci display much less obsidian and far greater amounts of cryptocrystalline materials than interior localities (McGuire and Garfinkel 1980:66). The crestal deposits display toolstone assemblages composed of from 5 to 100 per cent cryptocrystalline materials. Visual examination and knowledge of the spatial distribution of toolstone material sources provides strong confirmation that this stone originates in the El Paso Mountains. In this area there are beds of agate, opalite, chalcedony, jasper and petrified wood associated with aboriginal quarries (Davis 1978; Strong 1971:16-21). These cryptocrystalline toolstone source localities are of equal distance from study loci as the Coso obsidian sources, lying only 25 to 40 km to the southeast.

Yet Coso obsidian is the near exclusive source (95 per cent or greater) of all flaked stone materials for sites situated within the former territory of the Tubatulabal from as small a distance as 0.5 km west of the Sierra Crest. Such a pattern characterized all interior loci but is also found far inland at two “hamlet” sites of the Tubatulabal. One of those sites is near the south fork of the Kern River at *ho-lit* and the other is in Long Canyon in the Isabella Basin (KER-311). Both these village sites are situated more than 50 km west of the Coso obsidian sources (Cuevas 2002; Salzman 1977; Schiffman 1980).

The pattern of increased usage of cryptocrystalline stone is also characteristic of the lowland desert areas to the east. A 50/50 split of obsidian and cryptocrystalline debitage is seen at the Freeman Springs site, just south of Walker Pass in the Indian

Wells Valley (Williams 2004). An 80/20 division (cryptocrystalline/obsidian) at the Bickel site (KER-250), located in Last Chance Canyon in the El Paso Mountains, also fits the expected pattern (Figure 5.1). Such a distribution is not surprising given the latter site's proximity to the beds of high quality chalcedony and agate (McGuire et al. 1982). Yet the fact that all projectile points discovered at the Bickel site and a small, yet significant, portion of the debitage is still composed of Coso obsidian reinforces the position that volcanic glass was the stone preferred by some aboriginal groups for their hunting equipment.

An increased reliance on cryptocrystalline materials for toolstone would seem reasonable given the embedded procurement of this material during seasonal use of the El Paso Mountains by Numic populations. The hypothesized Numic group(s) occupying the southern Indian Wells and Freeman Valleys appear to have had only limited and indirect access to Coso obsidian (probably via trade). If the situation were otherwise, then one would expect a greater quantity of obsidian flaked stone to be represented at these aboriginal encampments as is the case in the territory of the Tubatulabal. The habitual occupation by a territorial band of the Panamint/Kawaiisu would be the most likely purveyors of this pattern.

In contrast, I would suggest that the Tubatulabal either had direct access to the Coso obsidian quarries or preferential trading arrangements with the aboriginal group(s) controlling these sources. The former alternative is more likely and may be suggested by Steward's (1938) early determination of a territorial boundary for the Tubatulabal that included the Coso quarry within their homeland.

Ground Stone – Material, Sources, Distribution, and Age

Nine localities along the Sierra Crest yielded 16 milling tools, or fragments thereof, manufactured from stone exotic to the Kern Plateau and found only in the desert areas to the east (Table 5.9). None of the 60 interior loci contained any milling artifacts manufactured from exotic volcanic or sedimentary materials. At the latter sites milling equipment is always manufactured from locally available granite. The crestal sites, containing exotic milling equipment, date principally to the Chimney and Sawtooth periods. This pattern of ground stone use is most likely an expression of the habitual use of upland pinyon areas by desert-dwellers beginning ca. A.D. 600. This distribution correlates closely with the postulated influx of Numic populations into the area and supports research favoring a late period intensification of pinyon exploitation beginning at the inception of the Sawtooth Period (ca. A.D. 600).

Rock Art Styles

Stylistic and locational differences in the rock paintings of the far southern Sierra and eastern California provide further evidence for ethnic distinctions. Rock art sites may have served in part as “stylistically encoded messages of group affiliation and territory” (McGuire 1989; Weissner 1983; Wobst 1974). This representation of stylistic behavior has been suggested to be a low cost strategy for groups to maintain social integration, group solidarity and territorial boundaries (McGuire 1989).

Morwood (1992:4) also supports the notion that rock art boundaries reflect both geography and the nature of group relations. Thus “the distinctive Wandjina (rock art) style of the Western Kimberleys (in Australia) coincided with the extent of the *wunan*

Table 5.9 Exotic Ground Stone Materials from Sierra Crest Loci

Site Loci	Description	Dating/Temporal Components
KER-1269	1 Greenish-grey fire-affected metate of volcanic rock	Sawtooth/Chimney
KER-1297	2 Pumice fragments	Multiple
KER-1273	4 Scoria fragments	Chimney
KER-1276A	1 Scoria fragment	Chimney
KER-1276B	1 Sedimentary rock fragment	Chimney
KER-748A	1 Bowl fragment of black vesicular basalt	Chimney
TUL-483	3 Mano fragments of black scoria; 1 fragment of sandstone	Sawtooth/Chimney
TUL-482	1 Bowl fragment of sandstone	Chimney
Isolate collected between TUL-482 and TUL-481	1 Mano of black scoria	Sawtooth/Chimney

exchange system between linguistically related and culturally similar groups,” while abrupt changes in rock art reflected boundaries between hostile interactions spheres. Weissner’s work (1983) with the Kalahari San echoes such patterning. Her study with bone arrowheads allowed her to identify division boundaries between the language groups of the !Kung and G/wi populations (Weissner 1983). Contrasting iconography hints at fundamentally different worldviews and belief systems. Therefore the coincidence of rock art styles with exotic stone source patterns supports the view that these data fit with ethnolinguistic areas (cf. Quinlan and Woody 2003; Simpson 1988; Wiessner 1983).

Tubatulabal Style

Rock art in the far southern Sierra Nevada differs radically from the pecked designs found on the basaltic boulders and canyon faces of the Coso Range just a few miles to the east (Grant et al. 1968:108; Heizer and Clewlow 1973; Schaafsma 1986). All recorded rock art sites, save one, are painted rather than pecked (Schiffman and Andrews 1979). Little influence is shown from the Great Basin east of the Sierra (Grant et al. 1968). The common element motifs include spoked wheels, pelt-like figures, semicircles, rayed circles and stick figures (sometimes phallic) painted with single or less commonly polychrome outlines (Table 5.10) (Andrews 1977; Grant et al. 1968; Whitley 1982:158).

Whitley (1982) has statistically correlated element types identified at sites of this style including those identified as concentric circles, chains, sunbursts, rayed simple circles, rayed concentric circles and spoked circles. Whitley considers such a correlation, as equivalent to a “Tubatulabal Painted Style.” This particular variant would fall under

Table 5.10
Artistic Conventions, Pigments, Subject Matter, and Dating for Ethnic Groups

Style Name	Coso Painted	Southern Sierra Painted
Linguistic Tag	(Numic) Kawaiisu/Panamint Shoshone	Tubatulabal
Pictographs	X	X
Red	X	X
Black	X	
White	X	X
Yellow	X	
Green	X	
Methods and Settings:	Use of cavities, isolated shelters, granitic and non- basaltic boulders. Dot or dash tech- nique for color out- lining.	Color outlining, open settings and concealed areas. Bilateral symmetry; large scale.
Geometric Forms:	Circles, sunbursts, concentric circles, zigzags, vertical dashes, double triangle, linked circles.	Circles, sunbursts, dashes, paired half- circles.
Zoomorphic Forms:	Snake, bear paw (?), bighorn, coyote, cattle, mt. lion, deer, horse.	Snake, bear paw (?), ring-tailed cat (?)
Anthropomorphic Forms:	Stick figures, split heads, lunate-pector- al-like designs, bow and arrow hunters.	Round-headed figures, split-head stick figures, lunate-pec- toral-like design.
Other Forms:	Bug-like, pelt figures.	Pelt figures.
Unique forms:	Painted bighorn sheep, horses, cattle, wide-brimmed hatted anthropomorphs.	Ring-tailed cat(?).
Dating	Historic, 100-80 BP (A. D. 1850-post contact).	Late prehistoric, 150-2000 BP (AD 1-contact).

Note: Table has been adapted from Lee and Hyder (1991).

the Southern Sierra Painted Style originally identified by Heizer and Clewlow (1973). Whitley demonstrated the validity of this style through his analysis of 1,523 rock art elements coming from 89 sites in the far southern Sierra Nevada. Lee and Hyder (1991) further documented the Tubatulabal variant of the Southern Sierra Painted Style and differentiated it from other neighboring pictograph styles including patterns evidently associated with the Yokuts, Chumash, and Kawaiisu.

Rock art sites conforming to the Tubatulabal style are found within the study area and were recognized within 0.5 km west of the Sierra Nevada crest. No other rock art style is known within the territory of the Tubatulabal. As to the age for these images one can only hazard a guess, as no means to directly date them has been developed. Based on contextual associations and the dates suggested by other researchers (Heizer and Clewlow 1973), I would think they may be no older than 2000 years.

The Numic Style: Coso Style Pictographs

Garfinkel (1978) first described pictographs of the Coso Painted Style. Two sites at the head of Indian Wells Canyon in the far southern high Sierra were first identified and similarities noted in style and subject matter with the Coso Range Representational Style petroglyphs (Grant et al. 1968; Schaafsma 1986). Further work expanded the number of sites manifesting this style (Andrews 1977; Brook et al. 1977; Marcom 2002). Independent evaluation established the style's validity through statistical correlation of element types (Whitley 1982:108-109), supporting an historic age due to the strong correlation of horse and rider elements with bighorn sheep. Researchers collaborated in

an anthology focusing on the style and synthesized what was then known concerning these images (Schiffman et al. 1982).

Style and Subject Matter

The hallmarks of this style are rather elaborate (often polychrome) paintings that nearly always contain images of bighorn sheep and often depict historic Euroamerican subjects (Tables 5.10 and 5.11). Other elements include: concentric circles, hand prints, shield-like patterns, stylized anthropomorphs, deer, hunters with bow and arrows, coyotes, mountain lions or dogs, sunburst symbols, atlatl and dart- or arrow- impaled animals, horses, horse and riders, people with broad-brimmed hats, and longhorn cattle. The paintings contain elements reminiscent of Coso Representational Petroglyphs (Schaafsma 1986). The bighorn sheep images often have boat-shaped bodies and full front-facing, bifurcated horns (a unique feature of the Late and Transitional Period, Coso Range Representational petroglyph style). It has been argued that the use of white pigment, representation of concentric circles, and the presence of handprints are closely associated with Numic Ghost Dance iconography (Caroll et al. 2003; Stoffle et al. 2000).

Geographic Distribution

Coso Painted Style sites are concentrated in several areas: along the eastern scarp and crest of the far southern Sierra Nevada, in the southern Panamint Range and in Greenwater Canyon (Marcom 2002:21). Paintings containing such characteristic imagery have now been identified at 20 distinct locations (Figure 5.2; Table 5.11). Coso Style pictographs are found just west of the crest of the Sierra along the westernmost boundary

Table 5.11 Characteristics of Sites with Coso Style Pictographs

Site Number	Name and Location	Element #	Colors	Element Forms
Ker-735	Indian Wells Canyon	41	Red, white and black	Bighorn, horse & rider, cattle, concentric circles, disks, flower-form
Ker-736	Indian Wells Canyon	20	Red, orange, pink, white	Bighorn, anthropomorphs, shields, circles, horse and rider, chain
Tul-478	Lamont Meadow/ S. Crest	16	Black, pink, white, red and orange	Bighorn, geometric, horse and rider
Tul-479	Lamont Meadow/ S. Crest	1	Red	Bighorn
Wasp Nest Cave	Sand Canyon, Inyo Co.	19	Red, white, orange, gray and black	Bighorn, shields, anthropomorphs, geometric
Little Pet Canyon	Lower Renegade Cn, Cosos	10+	Red and black	Bighorn, anthropomorph
Day of Freedom	Wilson Canyon, Coso Range	2+	Red and white	Rakes, circles and bighorn
Bierman Caves	Robbers Mts., Coso Range	15+	Red, black and white	Bighorn, anthropomorph, geometric
Ayers Rock	6 miles NW of Coso Hot Springs	28+	Red, orange, blue, black and white	Deer, zoomorphs, bighorn, anthropomorphs, handprints
Iny-3250	Trail Canyon, Death Valley	1	Red	Bighorn and anthropomorph

Note: CA-Ker-735 and –736 are discussed in Andrews (1980), Garfinkel (1978, 1982), Whitley and Dorn (1984), and T. Whitley (1982a, 1982b). CA-Tul-478 and –479 are treated in Andrews (1980) and Garfinkel (1978). Wasp Nest Cave is described in Whitley et al. (1982). Descriptions of Little Petroglyph Canyon and Day of Freedom sites can be found in Schiffman et al. (1982). The Bierman Caves have been noted only in a personal communication from Russ Kaldenberg, China Lake Naval Weapons Center archaeologist in 2004. Ayers Rock is illustrated and described in Grant et al. (1968) and Whitley et al. (1982, 2005).

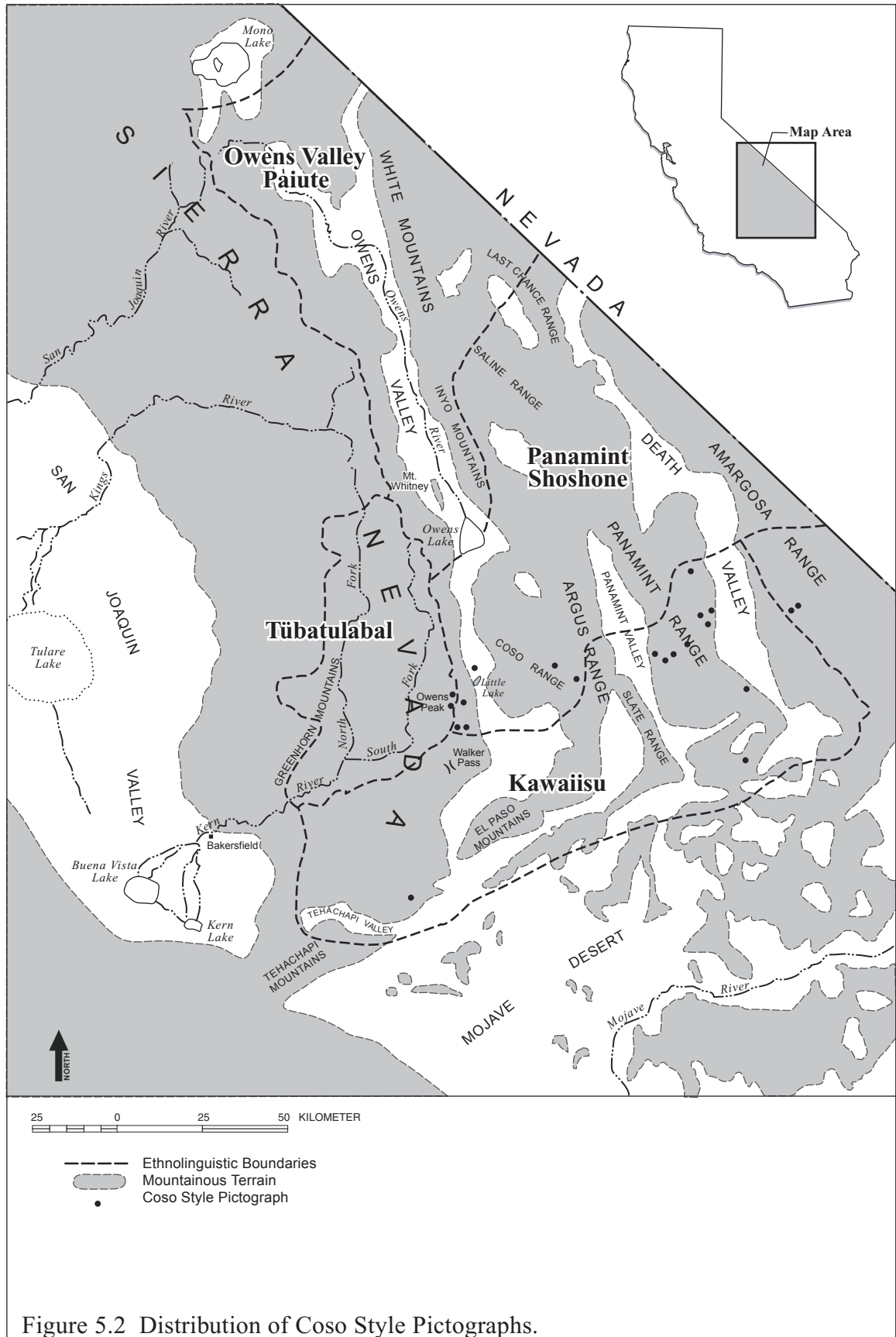


Table 5.11 Characteristics of Sites with Coso Style Pictographs (continued)

Site Number	Name and Location	Element #	Colors	Element Forms
DEVA 87E-105	Old Crump Flat, Death Valley	4+	Red	Bighorn, circle and oval
INY-1378	Panamint City Shelter, Panamint Valley	153+	White, red, yellow, black, gray	Bighorn, horse and rider, deer, bird, anthropomorph, geometric, bovine
INY-1379	Ten Gallon Hat, Panamint V.	30+	White, black, red	Bighorn, horse and rider, tally line, anthropomorph
DEVA 87E-124	Greenwater Canyon #4, Main and Upper Shelters, Death Valley	65+	Black, white, red	Bighorn, anthropomorph, tally line, concentric circle, long horn cattle, starburst, horse and rider, arrow-impaled zoomorph, bird, deer
SBR-089	Unnamed Shelter, Death Valley	7	Black	Bighorn and anthropomorph
INY-3280	Johnson Canyon, Death Valley	7	Red and black	Bighorn, horses?, geometric, anthropomorph
INY-1988	Hanaupah Canyon #1, Death Valley	5+	Red and white	Anthropomorph, bighorn, rabbit?, bird
INY-1989	Hanaupah Canyon #2, Death Valley	6	Red	Anthropomorph, circle, horse, bighorn, horse and rider
INY-4836	The Gallery, Death Valley	25+	Red, black, white and yellow	Anthropomorph, lines of connected anthropomorphs, rabbits?, woman with a dress, bighorn, zoomorph, geometric
KER-508	Tomo Kahni, Tehachapis	50+	Red, black, white, yellow	Anthropomorph, snake, bighorn, geometric

Note: DEVA 87E-105, -124, INY-3280, -1988, -1989 and SBR-089 are described and discussed in some detail in Marcom 2002. INY-1378 and -1379 are treated in Brook et al. 1977 and Ritter et al. 1982. INY-4836 is illustrated and discussed in Grant et al. 1986 and Marcom 2002. KER-508 is the subject of discussion in Lee 1991, and Sutton 1981, 2001.

of Tulare County. They are also noted immediately east of the Sierra crest at the head of Indian Wells Canyon and at other locations along the eastern scarp. They are located in the Coso Range, at the head of Surprise Canyon above Panamint Valley, in the Tehachapis at Sand Canyon, and, as their easternmost expression, in Greenwater Canyon, above Greenwater Valley, in the Greenwater Range. Significantly, the nearby Owens Valley apparently contains no painted quadrupeds (zoomorphs or bighorn) and only a few anthropomorphs, and the paintings there are rendered only in monochromatic, red pigment (Smith and Lee 2001).

The distribution of the Coso Style paintings is coterminous with portions of the ethnographic territories of the Kawaiisu and Panamint Shoshone. Coso Style paintings fall mostly at the interface or borders of the territories traditionally inhabited by these groups. The Coso Painted Style sites have a distinctive, non-overlapping, discontinuous distribution with the style area for the Tubatulabal variant of the Southern Sierra Painted Style.

The largest and most elaborate Coso Style pictograph known (INY-1378) is located in Panamint City. The central panel depicts bighorn sheep and other animals impaled by what seem to be atlatl darts. The images are, in two instances, quite deliberate and bear close similarity to renderings identified in the Coso Range petroglyphs confidently attributed as atlatls (Grant et al. 1968). These painted elements contain the conventionalized images of atlatls with finger grips rendered in a fashion quite similar to those represented in the Coso petroglyph tradition (Brook et al. 1977:19, Figure 18). Yet the paintings also contain a number of horse and riders and individuals wearing Western-style, wide-brimmed hats (Brook et al 1977; Ritter et al. 1982). A

revitalization and re-emphasis on traditional imagery would be inferred since atlatls are not known to have been a part of the cultural repertoire at this historic date.

The elements at the largest Panamint City site all appear quite fresh with the pigment seemingly “smeared” on the rock face. This phenomenon is also characteristic of the paintings at the head of Indian Wells Canyon just below the Sierra Crest sites. The paint at both sites can still be flaked off rather easily, even today (Backes 2003). The preponderance of evidence points to an historic attempt at copying the earlier iconography found in the nearby Coso Range petroglyphs (cf. Schiffman and Andrews 1982; Sutton 1981).

Ethnographic evidence indicates that Native Americans did indeed copy ancient designs and incorporate them into their artistic traditions with little knowledge of the meaning of such designs (Gifford 1936; Haury 1945:70). In fact it was pointed out to me that Native Americans in Riverside County are still “refreshing” faded pictographs with manufactured (commercial), oil-based paints (Michael Moratto personal communication 2005). Such an interpretation for Coso Style pictographs (e.g., “Numic Ghost Dance paintings”) is supported by the fact that the Ghost Dance ideology was emphatically nativistic or focused on the past (Carroll et al. 2002).

It is also documented that after the forced relocation of eastern California Indians by American troops in 1863, there was a cautious and gradual return of Native peoples to their former homelands between 1864 and 1865 (McCarthy and Johnson 2002). When the Natives returned they found their traditional villages destroyed and homelands occupied by ranchers. Hence, instead of their usual lowland occupation sites, Native peoples occupied more secluded areas, rocky “refuge” camps at the fringes of and high

above the alluvial fans of the white settlements (Walton 1992). Such encampments may have been the sites for the production of Coso Style paintings and such secluded locations were requisite for proper conduct of Ghost Dance ceremonies (Carroll et al. 2002).

During the 1860's, historical accounts mention Ghost Dance-like activities in eastern California initially influenced by Wodziwob, a tribal Shaman of the Mono Paiute (McGrath 1987). Wodziwob began to preach his messianic vision at pinenut festivals and rabbit hunts. In 1869 Wodziwob dreamed that a train was coming from the east and if Native peoples performed the Ghost Dance they could bring back the dead and restore balance to the world (DuBois 1939; Hittman 1973, 1997).

The Ghost Dance had great similarities to the traditional Round Dance that made it relatively easy to graft the religious movement onto the Native indigenous cultures (Hittman 1973). Several researchers indicate that the Panamint Shoshone were willing participants in the Ghost Dance movements (Kroeber 1925:872; Mooney 1973:802; Schiffman and Andrews 1982; Steward 1938). It was during the 1860s and early 1870s that Euro-American depredations against the Owens Valley Paiute, Panamint Shoshone and Kawaiisu took their most dramatic turn and cultural destruction of their traditional lifeways reached its zenith.

If there is a correlation between these two phenomena, then rock art sites containing historic elements (horses, horse and riders, anthropomorphs with wide-brimmed hats, bovine elements) and painted sheep might then date from no earlier than 1850. The historic depictions of horses and riders and longhorn cattle found within the Coso paintings may be visual records of the unusual and dangerous phenomena observed and recorded by the native inhabitants of eastern California. Such shattering experiences

of colonialism may have fueled a revival in a tradition of rock art as exhibited in the Coso Style Paintings (Garfinkel et al. 2006; Quinlan and Woody 2000).

Ethnic Affiliation

The physical location (Figure 5.2), likely historic and protohistoric dating, subject matter (horses, mounted riders, hatted anthropomorphs, and longhorn cattle) and associated archaeological materials would strongly suggest that the Coso paintings were rendered by the historic Native inhabitants of the areas in which these rock art sites are found. It would seem reasonable to posit that the manufacturers of the Coso Style paintings were people who spoke a Numic language. The most likely candidates were Native Americans speaking Kawaiisu and/or Panamint Shoshone.

A number of subgroups or territorial bands of the Panamint Shoshone evidenced a mix of speakers of Kawaiisu and Panamint. Two Panamint Shoshone Districts, the Koso and Panamint Valley, contain most of the known and many of the largest Coso Style paintings. Those Districts have been described by a number of anthropologists as having a mixture of Native peoples. Steward (1938: Figure 7), Driver (1937), and Sennett-Graham (1989: 25) reconstruct the precontact Koso District (*Pawo'nda*) as containing members who spoke Panamint Shoshone but also speakers of Owens Valley Paiute and Kawaiisu. Similarly the Panamint Valley (*Haita*) and southern Death Valley Districts (*Tumbica*) in precontact times are thought to have had an almost equal balance of Shoshone and Kawaiisu with their southernmost portions being predominantly Kawaiisu (Driver 1937; Sennett-Graham 1989:25; Steward 1938: Figure 7).

Cultural Sequence

Since we recognized a sharp definition of a supply and fall-off zone for exotic stone (obsidian, cryptocrystalline, volcanics, and sandstone) and distinctive differences in rock art, it seems that it might be possible to date the division between the Indian Wells/Scodie Mountain and Kern River territories. Most evidence for those territories, including the time depth for sites having exotic ground stone and pinyon storage caches situated on the Sierra crest (Table 5.9), suggests an age after 1350 B.P. when occupation is the most intense and the archaeological record most complete. To explore this issue further a review of crestal sites shows no correlation by age and percent of cryptocrystalline stone (either for increasing or decreasing composition) or an association by loci class (settlement type). Hence the boundary seems to have been one of some prominence for nearly 1500 years (ca. A.D. 600 – contact).

Summary

Four classes of archeological components are recognized in the study area. These include, first, rock ring loci interpreted as temporary pinyon camps where green cones were cached and pinyon nut harvests occurred. Second, residential settlements (larger base camps) are recognized where aboriginal groups over-wintered during exceptionally abundant pinyon years. The remaining classes of loci are milling stations with bedrock features, and flaked stone scatters. The latter are thought to have served as logistical hunting camps or, in exceptional cases, flaked stone workshops associated for the production of Coso obsidian bifaces intended for export.

Changes in land-use patterns over time indicate that most occupation in the region occurred during the last 3500 years, with episodes of especially intensive use occurring

over the last 1350 years. Crestal sites tend to be more recent than sites from the Interior. The former localities most likely represent the influx of Numic groups ca. A.D. 600 and indicate subsistence intensification related to pinyon (green cone) procurement. Interior sites manifest a more continuous occupation from earlier times and consistently display more permanent residential occupations likely affiliated with Tubatulabal populations.

A boundary between the Kern River and Scodie Mountain-Indian Wells territories is indicated based on disparities in the percentages of exotic stone materials, presence of nonlocal materials for milling tools, distances to winter villages and semi-permanent hamlets, and styles of rock paintings. This territorial division appears to have been established by 1350 B.P.

Chapter 6

LINGUISTIC ARCHAEOLOGY

Scope and Purpose

In this chapter the timing and character of prehistoric population movements and *in-situ* developments within the study area are considered. The discussion follows closely our earlier treatment (Chapter 1) of test implications for static versus dynamic models of cultural development. In turn, data supporting or refuting continuous cultural traditions or discontinuities in the historic territories of the Tubatulabal and Numic peoples are examined. Lastly alternative models for Numic linguistic prehistory are evaluated with reference to archaeological data from the Kern Plateau and eastern California.

Evaluation of In-place versus Replacement Models

Archaeologists and linguists agree that the Tubatulabal language is of long-standing and may result from an unbroken record of local development. Historical linguistic data are not incompatible with an in-place development of Tubatulabal for a minimum of two to three thousand years (Bettinger 2002; Foster 1996; Fowler 1972; Lamb 1958; Miller 1986; Moratto 1984). No evidence of population movements, expansions, contractions or replacements is suggested by language distribution or linguistic criteria. Hence, a good candidate for comparative evaluation is the “Tubatulabal case.”

Assuming that linguists have accurately characterized the time depth and territorial stability for the Tubatulabal, then this pattern would be distinctively different than that in the southwestern Great Basin. In the latter area linguists largely agree that

population movements did occur, and a recent expansion of Numic populations apparently took place (Foster 1996; Miller et al. 1971). Since the Numic speakers never replaced the Tubatulabal, one might reasonably expect to see few, if any, archaeological manifestations that would characterize the replacement of pre-Numic groups by the entry and expansion of Numic groups (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Elston 1994).

Logically one can review the archaeological record to see what stability might look like (the Tubatulabal case). If the prehistoric remains were consistent with such a pattern, as expected, then this would support the hypothesis of continuous *in situ* development. Examination of the upland Tubatulabal homeland should provide a basis for comparison when evaluating the adjacent region of Numic and possibly pre-Numic occupation. Tubatulabal continuity might be seen in a pattern of prehistoric site use that displays relatively continuous, long-term, sustained occupation from the historic era back two to three thousand years ago with no discernible breaks.

Although sometimes difficult to detect archaeologically, certain geographic locations provide unique sets of environmental factors that attract continuing, long-term occupations. *In situ* occupations showing such long-term use, with no lengthy gaps (periods of abandonment), would support an interpretation of continuous, autochthonous development. Gradual transitions between artifactual assemblages and uniformity in stylistic attributes over time would also denote such continuity. A limited range of rock art style(s) would be representative of a single cultural tradition. A gradually increasing or rather stable and relatively unchanging obsidian hydration curve, with little to no evidence for changes in access (territoriality?) over time, might also support a relatively stable pattern. Minimal shifts in obsidian source use over time might also be expected.

Artifact types would be predicted to have standard bell curve distributions, beginning slowly with their early introduction, peaking in popularity, and trailing off as their popularity diminished. In some cases, artifact distributions overlap with the subsequent introduction of alternate artifact types that were replacing the waning forms. Of course a type might also disappear abruptly as a result of a technological change (e.g., the advent of the bow and arrow) even when a population remains in its territory.

Resolution and Interpretation of Coso Obsidian Hydration Chronologies

Obsidian hydration measurements have been routinely used as an indicator of aboriginal activity throughout California (e.g., Basgall and McGuire 1977; Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997). Yet it has often been noted that the chronological divisions of the local cultural sequences are commonly of varying lengths, potentially confounding our ability to measure occupational intensity and site use in a simple manner. In order to produce more valid measures of site and regional use over time, some researchers have recommended that these indices be “time-adjusted.” In other words, the absolute frequency or relative percentage measures might need to be slightly revised to make the periods directly comparable.

Yet, another influential factor is that flaked stone reduction, in late prehistoric periods (of brief duration), generally produced less debitage than during the earlier (and longer) cultural periods. This is due in large measure to the change in technology from heavier dart points to smaller arrow points. However, many more arrow points were produced than dart points since they were lost more easily and the technology of arrow production and use require a larger supply of arrow points than dart points. Additionally,

the flaked stone debris produced during more recent intervals was usually smaller in size, adding another potential sampling bias. Yet reworking/scavenging activities also tends to deplete older assemblages and amplify younger ones.

Nevertheless, the number of hydration readings exhibited per time period is always weighted toward those eras of highest obsidian import, discard and production. For purposes of the present evaluation we assume that obsidian hydration readings are a generally valid method, albeit imperfect, to measure prehistoric activity. In this discussion we use such measures as one means of monitoring the character and intensity of cultural activity in the study area.

The Tubatulabal Pattern – Evidence for Autochthonous Developments

The Direct Historical Approach

When no evidence for historical discontinuity can be demonstrated, it is often plausible to suggest that the ethnographic cultural groups also operated in the past. Occupation of the Interior Kern Plateau area, hypothesized to be Tubatulabal, is represented by a number of upland residential settlements (e.g., TUL-488N, TUL-629, TUL-621, TUL-879A). These sites manifest relatively continuous occupation over the last 3000 years with no evident breaks in their cultural sequences. Additionally, PCT 20 is located at the edge of Chimney Creek Meadow in an area that is consistently identified in ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources as having been one of the main, traditional, pine-nut grounds for the Tubatulabal (Butterbrett 1948; Powers 1971, 1981; Voegelin 1938).

A number of multiple-period residential settlements (TUL-488N, TUL-629, TUL-621, TUL-879A) exhibit obsidian hydration rim frequencies attributable to several time periods from Canebrake through Sawtooth and continuing through the late prehistoric era into the Chimney Period (Table 4.3). Two of these sites (TUL-629 and TUL-621) produced evidence of continuous occupation from prehistoric times directly transitioning to the historic era. Historic Mission-period European glass trade beads were recovered from excavations at TUL-629 (n = 18) and TUL-621 (n = 6) and a continuous suite of hydration rims ranging from about 1.0 to 5.2 microns is exhibited at both sites (Table 4.3). These deposits appear to have been regularly occupied from about 2400 years ago to the historic era.

Cultural Sequences: Site and Regional Chronologies

The Lake Isabella Basin is the geographical setting for the lowland hamlets of the ethnographic Tubatulabal. Dillon (1987) reports hydration values on 50 obsidian specimens from seven archaeological sites in this area. Sutton et al. (1994) present 22 additional readings from seven sites, also in the Isabella Basin.

Gehr (1981, 1988) developed a mean temperature gradient used in refining the Coso obsidian hydration rate and correlated 13.59 degrees Centigrade with an elevation of 835 m (3040 feet amsl). Lake Isabella is located at an elevation of approximately 800 m (2600 feet amsl), nearly the same as Gehr's estimate. Therefore, we can reasonably apply the same correction factor to the Isabella hydration rims (cf. Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997).

The composite hydration curve resulting from the combined Isabella data sets is broadly similar to that of the upland interior Kern Plateau (Table 6.1). Both show a

Table 6.1 Summary of Coso Obsidian Hydration Readings from Lake Isabella and Interior Kern Plateau Sites

Lake Isabella Basin Sites

Sequence	OH Rims in microns	Time Span (years B.P.)	N	%
Chimney	<3.7	< 650	12	16.9
Sawtooth	3.7-4.9	650-1,350	19	26.7
Canebrake	4.9-7.6	1,350-3,500	29	40.8
Lamont	7.6-16.0	3,500-8,500	11	15.5
Kennedy	16.0-21.1	8,500-13,500	0	0
Total			71	

Interior Kern Plateau Sites

Sequence	OH Rims in microns	Time Span (years B.P.)	N	%
Chimney	<2.4	< 650	72	23.2
Sawtooth	2.4-3.7	650-1,350	105	33.9
Canebrake	3.7-6.5	1,350-3,500	99	31.9
Lamont	6.5-10.1	3,500-8,500	30	9.6
Kennedy	10.1-13.9	8,500-13,500	4	1.3
Total			310	

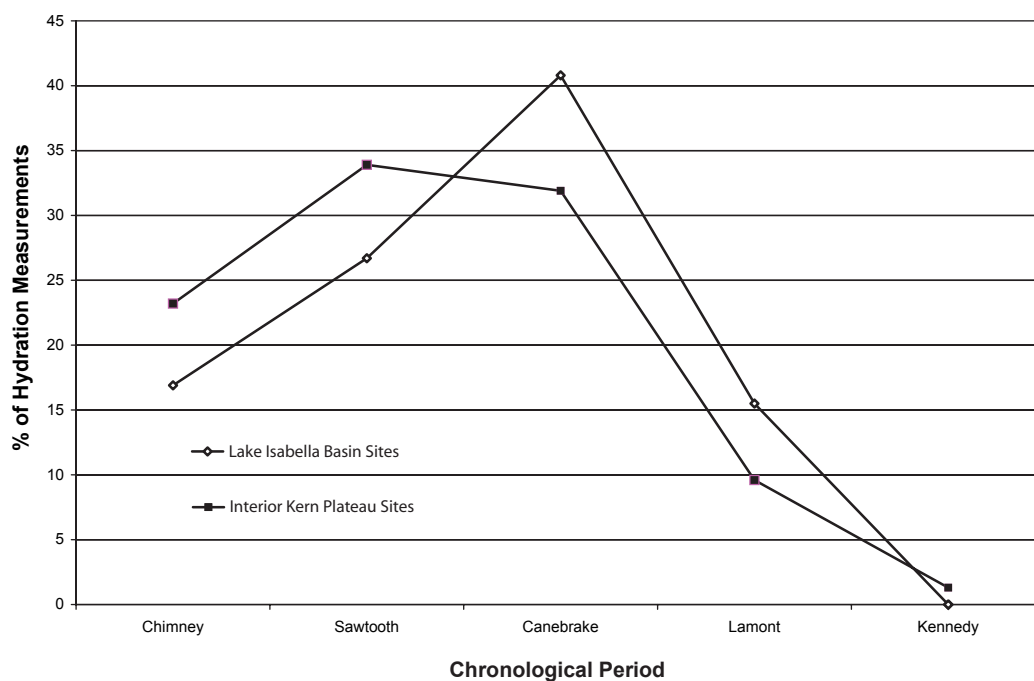


Table 6.2. Distribution of Coso Obsidian Hydration Rims for Haiwee/Marana and Chimney/Sawtooth Assemblages in Eastern California

Lowland Coso Obsidian Hydration Rims*	<3.7	%	3.8-4.5	%	4.6-5.2	%	5.3-7.6	%	7.7-16.0	%	Totals
	Marana		Late Haiwee		Early Haiwee		Newberry		Little Lake		
Ash Creek (Iny 3812)	1	1.75%	32	<u>56.14%</u>	22	<u>38.60%</u>	2	3.51%	0	0.00%	23
Bickel (Ker 250)	3	8.82%	22	<u>64.71%</u>	3	<u>8.82%</u>	6	17.65%	0	0.00%	57
Maggie's Site	5	21.70%	13	<u>56.52%</u>	2	8.70%	3	11.50%	0	0.00%	23
Junction Ranch (Iny 1534B)	32	<u>50.00%</u>	17	<u>26.56%</u>	5	7.81%	5	7.81%	5	7.81%	64
Upland Coso Obsidian Hydration Rims	<2.4		2.5-3.0	%	3.1-3.7	%	3.7-6.6	%	6.7- 10.7		
	Chimney		Late Sawtooth		Early Sawtooth		Canebrake		Lamont	%	
Sierra Nevada Crest	34	<u>24.11%</u>	27	<u>19.15%</u>	41	<u>29.08%</u>	38	<u>26.95%</u>	1	0.71%	141
	Marana		Late Haiwee		Early Haiwee		Newberry		Little Lake		
Coso Pinyon Forest	<2.1		2.2-2.7		2.8-3.2		3.3-5.3		5.4-7.0		
	44	<u>24.31%</u>	15	8.29%	15	8.29%	74	<u>40.88%</u>	17	9.39%	181

Key: Readings for the Ash Creek site are from Gilreath and Holanda (2000). Bickel site readings are from McGuire et al. (1982).

Junction Ranch hydration rims are excerpted from Hillebrand (1972). Kern Plateau Crest sites are a summation of data presented here in this dissertation (see Chapter 4 for more detail). Coso Pinyon Forest site data are from Hildebrandt and Ruby (2003). Maggie's Site data are from Garfinkel et al. (2004), outliers excluded. Percentage distributions for chronological periods of about 20.00% are underlined in bold to emphasize substantial activity.

*Hydration readings included are for sites with hydration rim measurements on Coso obsidian situated at elevations from 3000 to 5000 feet amsl and using the lowland Coso obsidian hydration rate parameters suggested in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

unimodal peak with the highest number of readings centering on the Sawtooth and Canebrake intervals. Yet substantial percentages of the measurements also fall within the Chimney Period. These distributions suggest maximal exploitation of Coso obsidian and perhaps increased levels of aboriginal activity during these intervals.

The Isabella Basin and Interior Kern Plateau rim distribution suggest a simple normal distribution or “bell” curve, with continuous activity over time manifesting little in the way of disruption or upheaval. An uninterrupted sequence is represented with a significant proportion (20% or greater) of the hydration rims represented in three consecutive temporal periods on the Kern Plateau and a largely similar sequence represented for the Isabella Basin (Table 6.1).

The obsidian hydration curves for the Isabella Basin and Interior Kern Plateau (Table 6.1) are closely concordant and show intensive use consistent with linguistic estimates for an *in-situ* Tubatulabal development on the order of two to three thousand years (Hale 1958; Lamb 1958). Such a relatively homogeneous distribution is entirely consistent with an in-place, continuous development of the Tubatulabal within their hypothesized homeland. A review of the obsidian hydration rim tabulations from the Sierra Crest and the desert region reveals significant differences (Table 6.2). These readings display a more punctuated distribution with abrupt discontinuities, implying periodic site abandonment and episodes of site disuse.

Subsistence-settlement Regimens

Site TUL-488N (Chimney Creek) yielded faunal remains (Basgall and Hildebrandt 1980; Garfinkel et al. 1980: Table 38) which support a consistent and

predominant reliance on large mammal exploitation throughout the entire occupation span. Large mammal bone counts predominate in almost every level of every excavation unit at the site, and artiodactyl exploitation was emphasized throughout the entire occupation (Basgall and Hildebrandt 1980:308). This is remarkable considering that site use spans at least 2500 years from the Canebrake through Chimney periods. One sees little in the way of subsistence change and a remarkable degree of continuity with respect to hunting patterns represented in the deposit.

Similarly, pinyon pine nuts shells, pinyon pine cone scales, and grey pine nut fragments were recovered throughout the deposits from the uppermost to the lowest excavation levels at the four principal upland residential settlements in the interior Kern Plateau (TUL-448N, TUL-629, TUL-621, TUL-879A). Although these charred plant materials were not directly radiocarbon dated, they still suggest a degree of continuity in subsistence pursuits throughout the prehistoric era. These “pine nut base camps” with their complement of charred pine nut remains support the interpretation that these settlements witnessed regular exploitation of the local pine nut tracts over a very lengthy span of time (cf. Rhode 1980c, 1980d).

Toolstone Access, Exchange Relations, and Territoriality

Source determination of the artifactual obsidian from the interior Kern Plateau indicates a nearly exclusive use of Coso glass throughout prehistory. Researchers in eastern California have often noted changing frequencies in obsidian source use as a characteristic pattern associated with changes over time in residential mobility and territoriality (Basgall and McGuire 1988). Yet archaeological sites located in the ethnographic territory of the Tubatulabal fail to evince any such changes. Regional

trends in overall obsidian source variability for eastern California indicate marked decreases over time in toolstone diversity. Eastern California pre-Newberry and Newberry contexts produce obsidian source profiles and non-obsidian flaked stone commonly interpreted as evidence of an extremely wide-ranging settlement pattern characterized by extensive residential mobility (Basgall 1989; Bettinger 1999; Delacorte 1999). In contrast, mobility patterns for the Tubatulabal must have been fairly stable since no significant representation of non-obsidian flaked stone or diverse obsidian source profiles has been observed. Yet the adjacent settlements along the Sierra Nevada crest do manifest just such a regular complement of non-obsidian toolstone (see Chapter 5), a pattern more akin to that of the Numic and possibly pre-Numic groups in the desert region to the east.

Style and Cultural Traditions

Only rock art sites conforming to the “Tubatulabal Style” are found within the territory of the Tubatulabal (see Chapter 5). This regional variant of the Southern Sierra Painted Style is recognized within the ethnographic territory ascribed to the Tubatulabal and is found within the Kern River drainage and interior Kern Plateau. This style of rock art is absent along and within the Sierra crest area. No distinct differences in location, function or subject matter have been recognized. Based on contextual associations and the dates suggested by other researchers (Heizer and Clewlow 1973), these paintings apparently date as early as 2000 B.P. and were produced continuously until the historic era.

Summary

A variety of archeological evidence supports the conclusion that the Tubatulabal language and cultural tradition is of long-standing in the area of the South Fork of the Kern River (Isabella Basin) and the interior of the Kern Plateau. Using the direct historical approach, several archaeological sites show continuous, unbroken occupation from the historic era back 2500 or more years. Distributions of obsidian hydration rim values from the Isabella Basin and interior Kern Plateau bolster the contention that a relatively uninterrupted prehistoric cultural sequence exists in the area. Subsistence data also support this conviction, with a surprising degree of stability in the profile for vertebrate fauna and plant exploitation patterns perhaps over the past 2500 years. Trends in obsidian source use and acquisition and the representation of a single rock art tradition of the Southern Sierra Painted Style (the Tubatulabal Variant) further testify to a single cultural expression of long duration (throughout the last several millennia).

Numic and pre-Numic Patterns

Population displacement and immigration are often recognized by abrupt changes in the archaeological record. In some instances such patterns have been verified independently using population genetics (cf. Hayes et al. 2002). The introduction of an exotic population may be visible archaeologically and represented by significant and dramatic shifts from a prior pattern and should not be associated with the relative stability or gradual change characterized by the duration of a cultural tradition. Hence, breaks in the cultural sequence may reflect cultural succession and population movements.

If substantial and dramatic population movements took place, on the order of a Numic/pre-Numic replacement (cultural succession), then this would most likely be reflected by distinctive breaks (disconformities) in the regional and site-specific cultural chronologies and obsidian hydration curves. Such pattern changes can be evaluated using regional and site-specific obsidian hydration and artifact chronologies. Wide-scale disruption in the regional patterning of site occupations could denote population movements, in-migration, expansion, displacements, and/or cultural succession.

The Numic Pattern - Evidence for Late In-migration and Population Displacements

Direct Historical Approach

Considerable evidence exists to posit a direct historical connection between the ethnographic Numic populations in eastern California and late prehistoric archaeological manifestations in this region.

Chapman Cave (INY-1534A)

Some of the most persuasive archaeological evidence linking the historic Panamint Shoshone to their late prehistoric archaeological signature is discerned from studies at Chapman Cave (Chapman 1). The rockshelter was named after the father and son who discovered this small shelter in 1965 while hunting on Wild Horse Mesa in the Coso Range. The site lies at the base of a basalt cliff near the uppermost part of Renegade Canyon. Hillebrand's dissertation (1972) provides the only description of the shelter and the prehistoric materials recovered from it. Gilreath (2000: 9-49) presents a recent re-appraisal of the materials.

Hillebrand excavated at Chapman four cache pits, five burials, four hearths and a collection of sun-baked clay bowls and figurines. The number of individuals interred at the shelter argues for the use of the cave as a cemetery. The cache pits contained historic materials including machine-made cloth, wool trousers, and a dynamite percussion cap as well as typical pre-contact objects such as twined basketry, flaked stone artifacts (projectile points and debitage), and pigment. The five burials included seven individuals, with two having indications of cremation. The accompanying mortuary offerings included twined basketry, projectile points, other bifaces, a rabbit-skin cloak and other cultural materials (Hillebrand 1972; Gilreath 2000).

Three radiocarbon dates indicate site use from at least 775 to 285 B.P. (Gilreath 2000). Nine Desert Series, ten Rose Spring, and two Humboldt points suggest primarily Haiwee and Marana occupations. Cremation was the common burial practice of the historic Death Valley Shoshone (Wallace and Wallace 1978, 1979); yet when fuel was scarce an individual would be buried in a flexed position below a rock cairn. Grosscup (1977:127), working with C. Hart Merriam's notes, documented historic cremations in Death Valley. Yet the Owens Valley Paiute (Steward 1933:296-299) normally shrouded the body and buried their dead in a flexed position. Cremation was accorded those who died outside of their home territory as a practical means to return their remains home (Steward 1933).

The archaeological record of Death Valley documents cremation only during the Marana Period. This differs from the Haiwee era when flexed, primary inhumations, often covered by a rock cairn, are reported (Wallace et al. 1959). Two of the seven burials from Chapman 1 are cremations and evidently have close affinities to the

historically documented, traditional practices for the treatment of the dead by Numic groups in the area.

The basketry from Chapman 1, reviewed by Polanich (2000), include both twined and coiled fragments conforming closely in style, construction, materials and technique to known ethnographic Panamint examples. The sun-baked clay miniature vessels and figurines are nearly identical to those recovered by Wallace (1965) at a site near Stovepipe Wells in Death Valley, and are assumed to be ritual objects dating to the late prehistoric and historic eras.

Polanich (2000) and Gilreath (2000) posit that Chapman 1 was first occupied ca. A.D. 450 and used to a considerable extent through A.D. 1850. Nevertheless, they argue that only certain burial patterns (cremations), basketry types, sun-baked clay figurines and miniature clay vessels are significant ethnic markers (Gilreath 2000:30), attesting to the Numic-affiliation of the remains from about A.D. 1300 to historic contact. However since Chapman 1 exhibits a *repetitive pattern of traditional use as a burial chamber*, it seems most likely that all the burials (cremations and inhumations) placed there and the other materials are part of the same cultural tradition. Hence, the chronological indicators would seem to argue for an unbroken continuum of Numic use of the site, and indirectly the Coso area, from ca. A.D. 450 to contact.

Mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) and Numic Antiquity

No automatic correlation exists between biology and language. Yet biological evidence has been found to be the most direct source of information concerning prehistoric population distributions and movements. Examining ancient DNA extracted from prehistoric human remains for evidence of genetic continuity can be used to

evaluate models of population replacements and expansions (cf. Eschleman 2002). A landmark series of recent studies by Kaestle and two of her colleagues provides some limited evidence supporting the Numic expansion/replacement hypothesis (Kaestle 1998; Kaestle and Horsburgh 2002; Kaestle and Smith 2001). Kaestle and Smith (2001) argue that mtDNA from prehistoric burials in the western Great Basin is inconsistent with an early occupation of that region by Numic groups.

The mtDNA of modern Native Americans has been shown to fall into one of at least five haplogroups (A, B, C, D, or X) whose frequencies differ among various ethnolinguistic/tribal groupings. However, modern Numic populations (e.g., Northern Paiute and Shoshone) typically have C (17% on average), a high frequency of D, but no A haplogroups. The frequency distribution of mtDNA haplogroups of the ancient inhabitants of the western Great Basin (burials dated from 6000 to 300 B.P. radiocarbon years uncalibrated and presumably excluding late prehistoric Numic remains) were recently examined via the study of a sample of 39 individuals. These skeletal materials were recovered from Stillwater Marsh and Pyramid Lake in western Nevada and provide some intriguing results that might suggest a recent population replacement by contemporary Numic residents within the last 500 years (Kaestle and Smith 2001).

The mtDNA of ancient pre-Numic groups does not appear to resemble that of modern inhabitants of the western Great Basin. These prehistoric archaeological skeletal remains, as a group, contained low frequencies of A (8% on average) and no C haplogroups. Percentages of B and D varied but were rather similar between ancient pre-Numic groups and historic Numic populations. Neither group has been shown to contain X (Kaestle and Smith 2001). A sample size of 39 is quite small for population studies

over a time span of more than six millennia. However, the results to date are intriguing and do appear to at least be compatible with models favoring a recent expansion and population replacement by Numic groups in the Great Basin.

Additionally, eight (8) human coprolite samples from Fish Slough Cave in the northern Owens Valley provided well-preserved mitochondrial DNA (Kemp et al. 2004). One sample was attributed to Haplogroup B, five are members of C, and two are members of D. The B and D samples are not informative as to their genetic population. However, based on stratigraphic and chronological information (Nelson 1999), the coprolites assigned to Haplogroup C might exclude pre-Numic associations since ancient skeletal remains have been posited as having no such mtDNA. In contrast historic Numic populations apparently exhibit some (17%) C Haplogroup associations; therefore, the genetic attribution of those samples, which appear to be contemporaneous with strata dated from about A.D. 840 to 1180 (midpoints of calibrated radiocarbon dates), would likely be Numic.

Chronological indicators at Fish Slough Cave included Cottonwood points, Truman and Queen obsidian hydration measurements, and Owens Valley Brownware. These traits are consistent with an expanded range of occupation for the cave that includes the Marana Period (A.D. 1300-Historic) and runs from ca. A.D. 840 to the historic period. The Haplogroup C samples provide a sequence motif identical to the Haplotypes found in contemporary Numic populations (e.g., Northern Paiute or Shoshone). Hence, Nelson's data would suggest an initial presence of Numic groups in the northern Owens Valley by no later than A.D. 800 with a continuing presence into historic times. Such an interpretation is not inconsistent with our suggestion of a Numic

presence based on the Chapman Cave data (above) from A.D. 600 through the historic era. Unfortunately, no data are currently available from Fish Slough Cave to make a determination of the genetic population characteristic of the critical period antecedent to the Haiwee interval (before A.D. 600).

These recent analyses of mtDNA are consistent with the position that there was a population replacement within the western Nevada area of the Great Basin (Stillwater Marsh and Pyramid Lake area). A genetically distinct group, different from the historic Numic inhabitants of that area, can possibly be recognized within the earlier prehistoric burial population. The efforts by Kemp et al. provide some further evidence (limited as it may be) for Numic antiquity in the northern Owens Valley - again not inconsistent with the suggestion that this may have been one area from which the Numic expansion occurred. Since "Numic DNA" is found in this context far earlier than recognized in the Stillwater Marsh / Pyramid Lake samples, it is logical to conclude that the northern Owens Valley may have been one of the homeland areas from which the Numic people dispersed. Alternatively, it could be an area occupied early in the dispersal sequence.

Numic Haplogroups in the Kemp study dated as early as A.D. 800, and older diagnostic materials were not found. Remains (older than A.D. 600) could represent a pre-Numic occupation - as might be expected if a population replacement (cultural succession) included the Owens Valley as well as other areas of eastern California. Alternatively, the northern Owens Valley groups could have been continuously Numic and yet that would still leave considerable latitude open to a population replacement and pre-Numic occupation of the far southern Sierra Nevada, Rose Valley, and the Coso Volcanic regions.

Chronology, Cultural Sequence, and Subsistence-settlement Strategy

The far southern Sierra Nevada crest and eastern California witnessed a significant series of adaptation shifts beginning ca. A.D. 600. It is during the onset of the Haiwee Period (A.D. 600-1300) that a dramatic set of subsistence-settlement changes have been documented. These changes include: less large game hunting, increasing reliance on dryland hard seeds, the beginning of intensive green-cone pinyon pine nut exploitation, and the development of sites emphasizing the acquisition of easily procured and abundant small game animals (especially with respect to large numbers of lagomorphs and grebes). These cultural changes may reflect a Numic in-migration.

These technological innovations and labor-intensive adaptive strategies are also broadly consistent with those of Numic groups (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Delacorte 1994, 1995). Such an adaptation, it has been argued, would have provided Numic peoples with a competitive advantage over existing pre-Numic populations since it would have enabled them to exploit a wider range of resources that were more costly to collect and process. Hence resources with high extractive and processing costs would have been exploited only after the arrival of Numic groups in the area (cf. Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Delacorte and McGuire 1993).

The Haiwee Period was also a time when Numic and pre-Numic adaptations may have coexisted in eastern California (see Contemporaneity of Numic and Pre-Numic Patterns, below). Numic pioneers, during their initial presence in eastern California, may have occupied the secondary, and from the pre-Numic perspective, inferior settlement locations. These sites are different from and are perhaps located in more “marginal” resource areas compared to sites previously established and “reserved” by long-time

resident pre-Numic occupants of the area (cf. Delacorte 1994; Garfinkel et al. 2004; Gilreath and Holanda 2000).

From a careful study of the archaeological record a pattern of lowland, intensive small-game hunting camps appears to have co-occurred with the development of large-scale, intensive, upland green-cone pinyon pine nut exploitation. This pattern also is contemporaneous with an initial focus on the acquisition, mass processing, and storage of dryland seeds (Basgall and Delacorte 2003; Basgall and Giambastiani 1995). These seed camps routinely include rock rings thought to be the foundations of brush structures. Many of these rock structures contain doorways facing toward the rising sun and are associated with numerous handstones, milling slabs and bedrock grinding features.

Single-component, Haiwee age hunting camps are frequently located in “geographically isolated areas” (*sensu* Delacorte 1994). Such localities provided access to a limited range of biotic communities and imply a rather specialized focus on a narrow array of subsistence resources. Therefore, these settlements are a distinctly different group of sites than earlier or later occupations that tend to overlap at the same settlements and hence evince a lack of continuity from earlier settlements.

Dryland Seed Camps

The Coso Junction Ranch Site (INY-1534B) is a multi-component site that includes hunting blinds, petroglyphs and house rings. The house rings are physically differentiated from the other materials, being located on terraces below the other remains at the site. The rock rings are situated in two groups on a basalt flow that slopes to the floor of Etcherson Valley within the Coso Range. The site is about five kilometers

northwest of Chapman Cave (discussed above) and lies at an elevation of 4500 feet amsl. Timothy Hillebrand's dissertation (1972) is the only source of information regarding this site.

The main site expression is a notable grouping of eight house rings. Identified in association with these rings was an extensive scatter of stone flakes and tools, projectile points, sherds of Owens Valley Brownware, 12 handstones, 75 basalt metates (some deeply worn into trough shapes), and five bedrock mortars. Projectile points were exclusively of Marana and Haiwee age and include nine Desert Series (Cottonwood and Desert Side-notched) and 51 Rose Spring forms. Sixty-four obsidian hydration readings were reported in the original study, and all but five fall into a unimodal distribution ranging from 5.6 to 1.6 microns (Table 6.2). Disregarding a small group of outliers (perhaps anomalous early readings), the largest grouping of rims (85%) is consistent with the inferred ages of the points and indicates Marana and Haiwee occupations dating from ca. A.D. 600 to just before Euroamerican intrusions.

There is a striking display of site-use continuity at INY-1534B with 50% of the hydration readings falling within the Marana interval and most of the remaining hydration rim values assignable to the previous Haiwee Period (Table 6.2). Notably, over 25% of the hydration measurements fall within the most recent half of the Haiwee era with only a few readings dating to earlier periods. The rock rings and intensive milling / seed processing activities exhibited at the Coso Junction Ranch site appear early in the Haiwee era but their most intensive use dates mainly to late Haiwee times. The site shows strong continuity with and transition to the following Marana interval as exhibited

by both the hydration rim profile and the frequency distribution of time-sensitive projectile point forms.

Similar settlements with rock rings are found throughout the Coso Range but have been documented most frequently in the areas of Little Lake (Garfinkel 1976; Gilreath 1992), the Volcanic Tablelands in the northern Owens Valley (Basgall and Giambastiani 1995) and the western El Paso Mountains (Rogers 2004). In the latter area, hundreds of rock ring houses pepper the basalt benches of Black Mountain (Rogers 2004; Schiffman and Garfinkel 1981a: 3-28). Intensive study of these types of settlements has suggested that they served in some cases as threshing floors where seeds were processed using flash-burning methods (Basgall and Giambastiani 1995; Delacorte 1995). Direct flotation evidence indicates mass harvesting and threshing of rice grass (*Achnatherum hymenoides*), cattail (*Typha* spp.), goosefoot (*Chenopodium* spp.) and blazing star (*Mentzelia* spp.) seeds.

Basgall and Delacorte (2003) have recently attempted to clarify trends in late prehistoric plant use in eastern California. They suggest that a region-wide expansion of diet breadth and intensification of small seed resources involved a change in the technology used in the collection and processing of these resources. They argue that cutting and mass collecting of green, dryland, hard seeds provided a considerably higher return than was possible using the former method of seed beating. They believe this pattern began in Haiwee times and substantially increased through the Marana era and into the Protohistoric period (Basgall and Delacorte 2003: 232-235).

Intensive Pinyon Procurement

Theoretical discussions generally argue that adaptive shifts in technology facilitated intrusion into new environmental zones (Basgall 1993; Bettinger 1976, 1977, 1994). Sites located along the Sierra crest and in the upland pinyon forests of the Coso Range (Hildebrandt and Ruby 2000, 2003) are correlated with a new storage technology associated with intensive green-cone pinyon pine nut procurement. They appear to represent an initial Numic presence indicated by the introduction of these pinyon storage features and Rose Spring and Desert Series points (Bettinger 1976; Garfinkel et al. 1980; Hildebrandt and Ruby 1999:30). These rock ring caches (pinyon storage features) date to the onset of the Sawtooth/Haiwee era with a continued emphasis and intensification culminating in a preponderance of such facilities during the Chimney/Marana Period (see discussion in Chapter 5).

Single-component sites testify to the fact that an emphasis on intensive green-cone pinyon procurement activities only occurred in the far southern Sierra, beginning ca. A.D. 600 (see Chapter 5). A compendium of all Coso obsidian hydration measurements for the Sierra Crest generally supports that notion and exhibits continuity in rim frequencies with substantial representation of hydration rims associated with the Sawtooth (48%) and Chimney (24%) intervals (Table 6.2). As well, significant numbers of readings date to the earlier Canebrake Period. These earlier rims are associated with other classes of loci interpreted as probable pre-Numic expressions emphasizing upland logistical hunting and apparently less intensive (brown-cone) pinyon exploitation (see Chapter 5 and discussion below under Numic and Pre-Numic Contemporaneity).

Haiwee Period Intensive Small Game Procurement

Jackrabbit Drives

The Bickel site (KER-250) is located just above Last Chance Canyon on the western slopes of the El Paso Mountains, only about 15 miles from the Sierra crest sites, at an elevation of 3100 feet amsl. The site is typical of a number of single-component, “pure,” Rose Spring (Haiwee Period) expressions found in eastern California (cf. Delacorte 1994). The site was the subject of an extended study where 15 one-by-two-meter units were excavated to a depth as great as 1.7 meters (McGuire et al. 1982). Most (11 of 14) projectile points were Rose Spring forms. Three radiocarbon dates fell within the Haiwee Period (A.D. 600 to 1300). The site was apparently a seasonally-occupied Fall encampment whose occupants sought to procure large numbers of jackrabbits through communal hunts. Fully 73% of all identifiable faunal material (737 of 1011) and most (97%) of the less identifiable and more fragmentary material (4987 of 5161) were apparently of jackrabbits. Coso obsidian hydration rim distributions testify to a Haiwee occupation with a particularly intense expression during the most recent half of this era (Table 6.2).

“Harvesting” Grebes on Owens Lake

The Ash Creek site (INY-3812) lies at the eastern foot of the Sierra just above the western rim of Owens Lake at the southern end of Owens Valley and just north of Ash Creek at an elevation of 4000 feet amsl (Gilreath and Holanda 2000). The site contained a 40 to 50-cm thick midden, rich in fire-cracked rock and dietary faunal remains. Chronological data largely support an occupation restricted to the Haiwee interval. Of

the 104 time-sensitive points recovered, 99 were of the Rose Spring series. The remaining classifiable points included three Cottonwood and two “ears” from Humboldt Basal-notched bifaces. *Olivella*, *Mytilus* (mussel) and *Haliotis* (abalone) shell beads, when diagnostic, also supported temporal placement from ca. A.D. 600-1300.

Radiocarbon dates provided a maximum age range from 1300 to 725 B.P. (midpoints of calibrated radiocarbon ages). Hydration rims on Coso obsidian correlate well with other indicators suggesting that the most intense occupation occurred in late Haiwee times with a less intensive episode dating to the early Haiwee era (Table 6.2).

The faunal profile indicates a diet in which artiodactyls were an important component. Unusually large numbers of grebes and lagomorphs were also a significant element of the archaeofaunal collection. Grebes were most numerous in the area during the Fall when they congregate in enormous numbers during their migration to feed on brine shrimp in saline lakes with brackish waters. A seasonal occupation associated with a “water-impooverished” environment is suggested for the Ash Creek site (Gilreath and Holanda 2000).

Summary of Numic Occupation Patterns

Similarities between Marana/Chimney Period and late Haiwee/Sawtooth expressions support a close linkage for the Coso Junction and Chapman sites. The use of open-air seed camps with house rings, is also a trait common to the Haiwee and Marana eras (Basgall and Delacorte 2003; Byrd and Reddy 2004; Hillebrand 1972), thus suggesting a smooth transition and cultural continuity from one into the next.

Notably, at the onset of the Haiwee Period upland green-cone pinyon camps are first established – an integral element of the following Marana-interval subsistence-settlement system in eastern California (Gilreath 2000; Hildebrandt and Ruby 2003). Archaeological sites along the Sierra crest and in the small island of Coso Range pinyon forest attest to the timing and character of this pattern. Throughout eastern California, including the central Owens Valley, intensive pinyon exploitation marks the beginning of the Haiwee Period.

Zeanah (2002:251), in an overview of prehistoric pinyon use throughout the Desert West, recognizes this pattern as atypical of other areas of the Great Basin. In explaining this unusual situation he argues that “better (pinyon) base camps locations were already occupied and ... (pinyon) collection opportunities constrained” due to increased population pressure. Such “demographic packing” would appear to have been a function of either *in situ* population growth or in-migration. The latter condition appears to have been the most likely, given location and timing, and was probably a function of Numic population movements.

Evidence from the Bickel and Ash Creek sites, as well as from a number of similarly postured Haiwee Period sites (Delacorte 1994; Delacorte and McGuire 1993; Gilreath and Holanda 2000; Williams 2004), attests to the mass harvest of easily procured small game animals (particularly lagomorphs and grebes). Both prey animals could be hunted cooperatively with large nets and procured in substantial numbers. Since they are naturally abundant and reproduce rapidly they would be especially susceptible to mass capture and sustained harvests (Delacorte and McGuire 1993:286). Specialized hunting camps indicate a rather distinctive adaptive pose only represented during this time span

and notably different than earlier or later settlements. These hypothesized Numic “immigrant” base camps (*sensu* Delacorte 1994) appear in locations that were previously unoccupied. Bettinger (1994:48), in fact, suggests that the “Numic spread” was accomplished by just such small groups that pioneered unused (sparsely or thinly used, marginal areas) in relatively out-of-the-way corners of pre-Numic territory.

Apparently these Numic sites were located in settings not inhabited earlier or later in time (e.g., they are “clean” Haiwee era sites). Delacorte (1994) notes that such sites are situated in such a way as to provide access to a fairly limited range of targeted resources (e.g., grebes and lagomorphs). He further argues that there existed an initial period of focused small game hunting that largely preceded the intensive plant exploitation patterns of the in-migrating Numic peoples. Madsen (1986) largely agrees with this model of initial Numic subsistence patterns and in fact offers a scenario where Numic intrusion was fostered by their introduction of the bow and arrow (*cf.* Delacorte 1995). He argues that the Numic migration and the introduction of the bow and arrow could have quickly led to a depletion of large game. Such would be the case due to increased predation from greater numbers of hunters (pre-Numic plus Numic populations) and from the hunters’ increased effectiveness - using the bow and arrow over the former dart and atlatl technology. With reduction in large game populations, a corollary increase in the exploitation of small game would be expected. Madsen specifically suggests that a spike in rabbit hunting would occur, since these animals were normally hunted with drive techniques and their numbers would not be significantly affected by the introduction of the bow and arrow. Just such a pattern appears to be characteristic of sites in eastern California (*cf.* McGuire et al. 1982; Williams 2004).

That short-lived Numic pattern is thought to date to a time from 1400 to 1000 B.P., just before the expansion of Numic groups northward and eastward (cf. Delacorte 1994; Garfinkel et al. 2005). It appears then that Numic occupation may have begun early in the Haiwee era but became most intensive in late Haiwee times.

Toolstone Access, Exchange Relations, and Territoriality

A labor-intensive Numic adaptation (“processor strategy”) is also consistent with the “adaptive pose” for Coso obsidian exploitation patterns (cf. Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982, 1983; Ericson and Glascock 2004). Obsidian quarry sites, known as pit or bench mines, are found on the lower and middle benches of West Sugarloaf Mountain in the Coso Range (Elston and Zeier 1984: 59, Figure 9; Garfinkel et al. 2004). These quarries date to an apparently transitional period, falling mainly within the late Haiwee era but also continuing through the Marana interval. High quality, easier-accessed, lag sources of surface Coso obsidian were, by this time, perhaps either exhausted or at this same interval being monopolized by competing, pre-Numic populations (cf. Eerkens and Rosenthal 2004). The exploitation of Coso obsidian, during this brief period, may have necessitated more labor-intensive methods than previously employed. Therefore, obsidian quarrying operations during the late Haiwee and Marana intervals resulted in the bench- and pit-mining operations initially identified by Elston and Zeier (1984). Recent research confirms that such an intensive episode of obsidian stone quarrying dates precisely to this brief time period (cf. Garfinkel et al. 2004). Hydration readings from Maggie’s Site represent these pit mining activities (Table 6.2).

Style and Cultural Tradition

Rock art appears to have been of little interest to Numic populations as attested by a notable absence in the ethnographic literature. Copious details are found covering many other, often more esoteric, subjects characteristic of the Great Basin Shoshoneans (Driver 1937; Steward 1938), with no real discussion of this subject (cf. Quinlan and Woody 2003). The in-migration by Numic peoples may be displayed in the Coso Range by the surprising abundance of simple scratched style rock art designs found most prominently in the upland pinyon forests of the Cosos (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Gilreath 2003; Hildebrandt and Ruby 2003).

This style of rock art, known as “Great Basin Scratched,” is generally presumed to be associated with Numic peoples and has a suggested age ranging from 1000 to 500 B.P. (Heizer and Baumhoff 1962; Quinlan and Woody 2003; Nissen 1974, 1982; von Werlhof 1965). Scratched rock art in the Cosos, and in many other locations in the Great Basin, is often superimposed on or spatially associated with earlier pre-Numic art (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Quinlan and Woody 2003). The defacement or embellishment of presumably pre-Numic rock art images is suggested to have been a means of “socializing” the landscape (Quinlan and Woody 2003). Scratched rock art was possibly employed to negate the perceived malevolent magic associated with the older Coso glyphs, to disrupt the hunting activities of the precursor or competing pre-Numic populations, and to “secure” the area for Numic use (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Quinlan and Woody 2003; Steward 1933). As such, these simple engraved images may represent incoming Numic populations marking the “monuments” of the preceding population. Corollary with the predominance of scratched style rock art in the upland

pinyon forests of the Coso Range is a dearth of typical Coso Representational rock art in the same area (see below).

It also appears that some 500 years after the end of the Coso Representational petroglyph tradition, a dramatic upsurge occurred in the production and design of elaborate painted art (the Coso Painted Style) correlating with a period of cataclysmic cultural stress (see Chapter 5). During the historic era, Euroamerican disruptions of the aboriginal economy, epidemic disease, famine, and genocide all contributed to the inauguration of and resurgence in the most recent and late dating manifestations of rock art. Coso Style Paintings copied some of the earlier design elements of the Coso Representational petroglyphs (cf. Chapter 5), yet also incorporated new and novel concepts likely influenced by Euroamerican activities and also related to the Ghost Dance (Schiffman et al. 1982; Stoffle et al. 2000).

Pre-Numic Pattern – *in situ* Cultural Development and Disruption?

Antecedent to the Numic occupation are settlements characteristic of what seems to be a different cultural tradition. A variety of archaeological sites (see discussion below) apparently exhibit cultural materials thought to represent such occupations.

Little Lake Area

Little Lake is a spring-fed body of fresh water located within a small area known as Rose Valley at the southernmost end of the Owens Valley. It lies between the eastern scarp of the Sierra Nevada on the west and the Coso Range on the east. Little Lake is approximately five kilometers from the abundant sources of Coso obsidian associated

with Sugarloaf Mountain in the Coso Range within the confines of the China Lake Naval Weapons Station. The antiquity of this natural oasis has been examined by Mehringer and Sheppard (1978) and determined to be no less than 5,000 years in age. The Little Lake area is about 20 kilometers east of the Rockhouse Basin and Kennedy Meadows sites.

Stahl Site (INY-182)

Studies at the Stahl site, less than a kilometer north of Little Lake (Harrington 1957; Meighan 1981; Pearson 1995; Schroth 1994), document intensive settlement during the Little Lake Period. Projectile point forms, hydration rim readings and radiocarbon dates all testify to sustained occupation spanning the period from ca. 6500 to 1500 B.C. Hundreds of Pinto points as well as a small number of Silver Lake and Lake Mojave types, were recovered during Harrington's early investigations. The overwhelming abundance of Pinto points testifies to that point type's use. More recent obsidian studies, initially conducted by Meighan (1981) and reevaluated by Pearson (1995), bolster our confidence in this interpretation of the Stahl site chronology.

As represented in Table 6.3, Stahl Site hydration rims are associated nearly exclusively with the Little Lake Period (7.6-16.0 microns), with only a few readings during the following Newberry Period. Twenty-nine Elko series points were recovered from the Stahl site indicating some, albeit more limited, Newberry period occupation. No hydration rims were identified for the following Haiwee or Marana periods. Only four points were recovered dating to the latter periods – one for the Haiwee era and three of Marana age. Hence, the Stahl site itself seems to have been largely unoccupied during the late prehistoric eras (after A.D. 600).

Table 6.3 Distribution of Coso Obsidian Hydration Rims for Little Lake/Newberry and Early Haiwee Assemblages in Eastern California

Lowland Coso Obsidian Hydration Rims* Period Designations	<3.7 Marana	%	3.8-4.5 Late Haiwee	%	4.6-5.2 Early Haiwee	%	5.3-7.6 Newberry	%	7.7-16.0 Little Lake	%	Totals
Stahl Site (Iny 182)	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	6.90%	108	93.10%	116
Stahl Site Cave (Iny 205)	2	8.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	16.00%	19	76.00%	25
Little Lake/ <i>Pagunda</i> (Iny 3826)	8	19.05%	1	2.38%	1	2.38%	28	66.67%	4	9.52%	42
Rose Spring (Iny 372, Locus 1)	8	4.57%	14	8.00%	16	9.14%	71	40.57%	66	37.71%	175
Portuguese Bench (Iny 2284)	21	4.34%	33	6.82%	109	22.52%	298	61.57%	23	4.75%	484
Coso Volcanic Field	80	2.04%	118	3.01%	617	15.75%	1392	35.53%	1711	43.67%	3918
Single Component Coso Petroglyphs	6	6.82%	12	13.64%	21	23.86%	19	21.59%	30	34.09%	88
Lubkin Creek (Structures 11, 12, 14)	4	8.70%	6	13.04%	13	28.26%	15	32.61%	7	15.22%	46
Wide Humboldt Basal-notched Bifaces	1	2.94%	1	2.94%	7	20.59%	24	70.59%	1	2.94%	34

NOTE: Readings for the Little Lake area are taken from Meighan (1981) and Pearson (1995). Rose Spring, Locus 1 readings are from Yohe (1992) and include 20 new readings on Rose Spring points analyzed for this study. Coso Petroglyph data are from Gilreath (1999) and Garfinkel (2003). Additional data are from personal communication with Sandy Rogers (2004). Lubkin Creek data are from Basgall and McGuire (1988). Portuguese Bench site hydration readings include smallest of multiple hydration readings on single specimens, readings identified as outliers included. Data sources are Allen (1986) and Whitley (1988). Coso Volcanic Field data are from Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997). Rims greater than 16.0 microns are not included in this summary. Humboldt Basal-notched biface data are from Garfinkel and Yohe (2004). Percentage distributions for particular chronological periods in excess of 20.00% are underlined in bold to emphasize substantial activity as represented by hydration rim frequencies.

*Readings included are for sites with hydration rim measurements on Coso obsidian situated at elevations from 3000 to 5000 feet amsl and using the lowland Coso obsidian hydration rate parameters suggested in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

Stahl Site Rockshelter (INY-205)

The Stahl Rockshelter is a small cave in a lava outcrop adjacent to the northwest corner of the Stahl Site. Its obsidian hydration rims also fall mostly within the Little Lake Period (Table 6.3). Yet a larger percentage of hydration rims than at the neighboring Stahl Site also reflect occupation during the following Newberry Period. The Stahl Rockshelter was largely abandoned throughout the Haiwee era, but limited occupation returned with the Marana interval. Occupation during Marana times is represented by two hydration rims, two Desert Side-notched and four Cottonwood Triangular points, Owens Valley Brownware ceramic sherds, European blue and red glass beads, and simple scratched and pecked drawings of bighorn sheep and native hunters (Grant et al 1968:94; Harrington 1957; Pearson 1995). The latter glyphs are thought to be more akin to Coso Style Paintings both in style and dating than to the older Coso Representational petroglyphs (Austin 2005; Garfinkel et al. 2005).

***Pagunda* (INY-3826)**

On the edge of Little Lake, Pearson (1995) identified an archaeological site believed to represent the Panamint Shoshone village site identified as *Pagunda* by Julian Steward (1938). The site manifests a paucity of Little Lake Period remains. Most of the occupation at *Pagunda* falls within the Newberry and early Haiwee intervals evidenced by a large number of Elko-age hydration rims, some early Haiwee-age readings, and 26 Rose Spring series points (Table 6.3). Eight Desert series points indicate occupation in the Marana era. Again, curiously few hydration rims of late Haiwee age were identified at *Pagunda* (Pearson 1995: Figure 7; Byrd and Reddy 2004: Table 11).

Recent excavations at *Pagunda* corroborate these chronological interpretations (Byrd and Reddy 2004). Of 17 additional hydration rim readings on flakes, most (10) fall within the Newberry Period and five of the remaining rims are tightly restricted to the early Haiwee interval. Further bolstering these chronological interpretations are seven radiocarbon dates (Byrd and Reddy 2004:Table 14.3). All of these dates, when calibrated, fall within the early Haiwee era (A.D. 600-950).

Summary

The Little Lake area, in general, shows its most intensive and substantial cultural expressions during the Little Lake Period when Pinto points were most popular. Some Newberry era occupation is evident, especially at the *Pagunda* and Stahl Cave sites. The area appears to have been largely abandoned during the late Haiwee interval as attested by a marked decline in Coso obsidian hydration rim readings, radiocarbon dates, and time-marker artifacts. This hiatus comes to an end with a late prehistoric re-occupation of the area reflected by a number of hydration rims, pottery, Desert series points, historic glass trade beads and late dating rock drawings. Such a pattern is consistent with two distinct cultural traditions and an occupation punctuated by a period of diminished cultural activity or abandonment followed by an apparent population replacement.

Rose Valley Area

Just north of Little Lake, in the Rose Valley area, lie the Rose Spring (INY-372) and Portuguese Bench (INY-2284) sites. Rose Spring is located at the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada at the northernmost end of Rose Valley, just south of Haiwee Reservoir.

On the other side of Rose valley, 12 kilometers south of Rose Spring and 13 kilometers east of the Rockhouse Basin and Kennedy Meadows sites, is Portuguese Bench (Figures 1.2 and 1.10).

Rose Spring (INY-372, Locus 1)

Rose Spring is one of most significant archaeological sites in eastern California (Yohe 1992). The site has played an important role in the development of western Great Basin culture history, because it was one of those rare instances where prehistorians found a deep (3.7 m), open-air, site with an artifact-rich deposit that was both physically and culturally stratified. Seventeen radiocarbon dates are available for Locus 1 of the Rose Spring site: five based on samples collected by Riddell in 1956 and analyzed by Clewlow et al. (1970); and 12 obtained by Yohe (1992). Ten dates fall within the Little Lake and Newberry periods and seven within the Marana interval. Excavation levels dating to the Haiwee interval (60-120 cm.) are bracketed by radiocarbon dates closely synchronous with the generally accepted end dates of this period. Yet radiocarbon assays, falling *within* the entire span of the Haiwee age, are curiously lacking (cf. Byrd and Reddy 2004: 308-310; Yohe 1992:140).

Significantly, it appears that cultural activity at Locus 1 takes a dramatic turn during the Haiwee era. Seventy-eight percent of all obsidian hydration measurements (Table 6.3) are outside of the Haiwee interval and lie within either the Newberry or Little Lake periods (cf. Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997:165-166, Figure 24). Those hydration readings suggest occupation dating between 5500 and 1500 B.P. Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997:166) aver that Locus 1 of Rose Spring was “foremost a late Newberry

obsidian reduction workshop.” Their analysis led them to conclude that, “most of the debitage in the site was generated during the Newberry Period occupations.”

Eighty-three (83) Rose Spring points were recovered from Locus 1. This is the most common point form recognized at the site. These points confirm that the site was occupied during the Haiwee interval. Yet the archaeological record of the Haiwee era at Locus 1 also reveals a decline in hunting and other cultural activity. Counterintuitive is the fact that faunal data from Rose Spring demonstrate a sharp decline in hunting when the bow and arrow were introduced. The highest frequency of dietary faunal remains is from excavation levels *preceding* this dramatic decline. Specifically, bones of large ungulates predominate by number and weight in the levels dating to the late Newberry Period (Yohe 1992:140, Table 5; Yohe and Sutton 1999, 2000) and large mammal exploitation only resumes in the Marana Period when it almost reached the intensity attained previously.

Occupation during the Haiwee Period apparently shifted away from faunal exploitation and, although the site was certainly far from abandoned, activities represented at the Rose Spring site must have had a very different cast than at any other time throughout prehistory (Yohe and Sutton 1999, 2000). Reduced site activity is also reflected in lowered amounts of flaked stone debris in excavated levels dating to the Haiwee interval (Yohe 1992:230, Figure 45). Those levels see a significant decline in the number of obsidian flakes, decreasing as much as a third to a half of that retrieved from earlier Newberry Period occupations.

Excavation unit G-1 drops from a peak of nearly 4,000 flakes per level during the Newberry age to 1,000 flakes per level at the end of the Haiwee era. Unit X-3, although

not containing recognized strata of Newberry age, produced debitage dating to the Haiwee Period and exhibited a steep decline in unit/level debitage volumes within that 600-year period. The unit produced a peak density of flakes per level (about 2500 per level) at the beginning of the Haiwee era and then quickly declined to a low of 1000 flakes per level at its end. Again, after decreased levels of activity during the Haiwee interval, flaked stone densities in some excavation units almost return to the quantities characteristic of the pre-Haiwee era, with 2500 to 3500 flakes per level (Yohe 1992: Figure 45).

Using time-adjusted flaked stone quantities for the Marana, Haiwee and Newberry intervals would only serve to magnify the differences reported. Less debitage is normally expected in Marana age occupations, since during this era smaller arrow points were being produced that required far less stone than did Newberry age dart point production. Considering those factors, the amount of debitage recognized in Marana levels and the discrepancy with the preceding Haiwee deposit may be all the more significant. Site stratigraphy also corroborates the pattern of reduced cultural activity dating to the Haiwee interval with lighter colored soil, less fire-affected rock and fewer features (Yohe 1992).

Portuguese Bench (INY-2284)

Portuguese Bench, situated at the foot of the eastern scarp of the Sierra Nevada, is an extensive village site with numerous structural remains and a large volume of flaked obsidian (Allen 1986; Whitley 1988). Excavation results have not been fully documented in a comprehensive site report. The nearly 500 obsidian hydration readings reported

(Allen 1986; Whitley 1988) are similar to those of Locus 1 of the Rose Spring site; most hydration measurements again fall within the Newberry Period, with substantial, yet declining, activity represented during the early Haiwee era (Table 6.3). This suggests that aboriginal activity continued to diminish during the latter portion of the Haiwee Period and the site was all but abandoned during Marana times.

Summary

Two large residential sites, located in Rose Valley, have their greatest occupation during the Newberry Period. Both Rose Spring and Portuguese Bench produced similar hydration rim distributions. Although Rose Spring contains significantly more occupational indicators from the Little Lake Period, the archaeological records at both sites suggest a major decline and occupational shift in the Haiwee interval. Occupation declined in the second half of the Haiwee interval at both localities. During the most recent Marana interval, Portuguese Bench saw minimal aboriginal activity. After this period of diminished activity at Rose Spring, considerable occupational debris and an expanded faunal inventory marks the onset of the Marana interval.

Coso Range Area

Coso Volcanic Field

Excavation results from 34 sites, coupled with hydration rim measurements from about 4000 obsidian artifacts, help clarify land-use patterns associated with obsidian quarrying and stone tool production within the Coso Volcanic Field. These data reveal an extensive use of the area through the last 10,000 years (Gilreath and Hildebrandt

1997). Yet peak use is restricted and dates only to the Little Lake and Newberry era, with a significant drop and concomitant land-use change documented to the Haiwee and Marana intervals.

Occupation and site use in the Newberry, Little Lake, and earlier periods were focused chiefly on obsidian quarrying, artiodactyl hunting, and rock art production. The Little Lake Period saw short term use of lag quarry deposits. Newberry Period activities shifted focus to off-quarry biface production and also expanded production work at primary outcrops of the highest quality obsidian. Such activities were apparently associated with a network of trans-Sierran obsidian exchange. Quarrying of obsidian dropped precipitously during the Haiwee era in the Coso Volcanic Field itself (Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997). Yet secondary reduction is amply documented for the early half of the Haiwee interval at the Portuguese Bench site (see discussion above and Table 6.3). By the Marana Period evidence for local flaked stone reduction is negligible and direct quarrying at the Coso obsidian sources was almost completely absent. During the Marana age the area became a nearly exclusive locus for intensive seed processing and plant collecting activities (Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997).

Coso Range Petroglyphs

Hydration rim readings associated with single-component Coso Petroglyph sites have been obtained for 11 archaeological sites (Garfinkel 2003; Gilreath 1999). The total sample of 88 hydration rim readings documents a production chronology similar to other archaeological expressions dating principally to the Little Lake, Newberry and early Haiwee eras (Table 6.3). As best as can be reconstructed, initial production of Coso rock

art occurred in the Little Lake Period and continued unabated through the Newberry interval. Activity in the Haiwee era increased dramatically but abruptly declined during the latter half of that time span and was virtually absent in the following Marana age.

Summary

Intensive aboriginal activities, as documented in the Coso Range, clearly emphasized obsidian acquisition, ungulate hunting, and rock art production. Those activities were predominantly of early Haiwee, Newberry, and Little Lake age based on hydration rim frequencies. A land-use shift occurred in the late Haiwee and Marana eras with a noticeable emphasis on the procurement of hard seeds and other key economic plant foods instead of artiodactyl hunting, the manufacture of associated weaponry, and the production of rock art (Table 6.3).

Southern Owens Valley Area

Lubkin Creek (INY-30)

One of the best-documented Newberry-age residential settlements is Lubkin Creek in the southern Owens Valley (Basgall and McGuire 1988), where several well-built houses and their associated remains provide a clear picture of occupation during the Newberry interval. As has often been remarked, these remains include an emphasis on cached and curated articles (including bifaces, bone tools and milling equipment), lending credence to the premise that sites of this period were seasonally re-occupied. Obsidian tool/debitage sources represented at Lubkin Creek and other sites of similar age indicate a wide-ranging and extremely expansive annual settlement round. From food remains (faunal material and plant macrofossils) one may infer that logistical forays were

made to long-distance upland settings to procure resources (pinyon, large game) that were brought back to the base camp. Animal remains show an emphasis on ungulates, and well-made milling equipment documents the increasing importance of plant foods. Coso hydration rims from three structures of Newberry age at INY-30 show continued site use dating to the Newberry and early Haiwee intervals (Table 6.3).

Style and Cultural Traditions

“Wide” Humboldt Basal-notched Bifaces

It has been recognized that most time-sensitive Great Basin projectile point types have popularity curves displaying a bell-shape, which shows that most forms are usually replaced gradually by temporally overlapping forms. Such a gradual decrease, as evidenced by diminishing obsidian hydration frequencies and overlapping hydration reading distributions, has been noted as characteristic of most time-diagnostic southwestern Great Basin point series with the notable exception of the “Wide” Humboldt Basal-notched type (cf. Garfinkel and Yohe 2004; Jackson 1984).

The “Wide” Humboldt Basal-notched form appears to have discontinued rather abruptly at ca. A.D. 800-1000 with lowland Coso hydration rim readings no smaller than 4.7 microns (Garfinkel and Yohe 2004: Figure 2, Table 1), placing that termination date within the span of the early half of the Haiwee Period. The “Wide” Humboldt Basal-notched type has a notable floruit from ca. 500 B.C. to about A.D. 1000 and has lowland hydration rims (on Coso obsidian) no larger than 7.7 microns (Tables 6.4 -6.6).

Such a brief, discrete, and marked chronological distribution of the form can be recognized by its tightly restricted distribution of hydration rims clustered about the mean (Tables 6.4 and 6.5). As a measure of such distribution, “Wide” Humboldt Basal-

Table 6.4. Lowland Coso Obsidian Hydration Readings on Wide Humboldt Basal-notched Bifaces.

Provenience	Obsidian Source	Number	Readings * (in microns)	Mean	Range
Rose Spring Site	**Coso	12	4.8, 4.8, 5.7, 5.7, 5.9, 6.0, 6.0 6.2, 6.5, 6.6, 6.7, 7.0, 7.6	6.1	4.8 – 7.6
Coso Volcanic Field	#Coso	9	(2.3), 4.8, 5.7, 5.7, 5.9, 6.0, 6.8, 7.5, 7.7	6.3	4.8 – 7.7
Lubkin Creek Site	+Coso	12	4.7, 4.7, 4.9, 4.9, 5.3, 5.5, 5.8, 5.9, 6.0, 6.1, 6.9, (8.2)	5.6	4.7 – 6.9

Note: *Readings in parentheses have not been included in the statistics for mean and range, # not chemically sourced; inferred from location, and +sources determined using x-ray fluorescence, ** not chemically sourced; inferred from location.

Table 6.5. Statistical Summary of Obsidian Hydration Data on Wide Humboldt Basal-notched Bifaces.

	Lubkin	CVF	RS
Statistical Summary			
Number of cases	12	8	13
Mean (in microns)	5.7	6.3	6.1
Standard deviation	1.0	1.0	0.8
Coefficient of variation	0.17	0.13	0.13

Note: Lubkin = Iny 30, CVF = Coso Volcanic Field, RS = Iny 372, Rose Spring, Locus 1. Outliers excluded.

Table 6.6

Comparative Obsidian Hydration Ranges (in microns) for Projectile Points from the Coso Region

Projectile Point Type	Number	Range (microns)	Spread	Mean	SD	CV
Desert Series	12	1.2-4.7	3.5	3	1.2	0.40
Rosegate	20	3.6-6.9	3.3	5.2	0.8	0.15
“Wide” Humboldt Basal-notched Bifaces	33	4.7-7.7	3.0	6.3	1.0	0.13
Thin Elko	12	6.0-9.3	3.3	7.4	1.0	0.13
Thick Elko	8	8.7-18.9	10.2	12.3	3.3	0.27
Pinto	12	9.1-21.5	12.4	14.2	4.3	0.30
Great Basin Stemmed	21	8.7-17.8	9.1	12.9	2.7	0.21
Concave Base	2	13.4-21.1	7.7	17.3	5.4	0.31

Note: Humboldt Basal-notched Biface measurements abstracted from Garfinkel and Yohe (2005). Other point type data from Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997).

notched bifaces have the narrowest range (only a spread of three [3.0] microns) of hydration readings of any chronologically diagnostic Great Basin “point” form (Table 6.6). The form also has one of the smallest coefficients of variation (0.13) (Gilreath and Hildebrandt 1997; Garfinkel and Yohe 2004). These bifaces are found in large numbers in caches (Basgall and McGuire 1988), as burial accoutrements (see below), and associated with game intercept drive sites (Garfinkel and Yohe 2004 and references therein).

Such unique associations support the notion that the form may have had special emblematic cultural, ritual, and/or religious significance. Since this form spans the Newberry and early Haiwee periods, it is precisely synchronous with the time when many prehistorians believe that pre-Numic populations were most active in the southwestern Great Basin (Delacorte 1994; Garfinkel 2003; Gilreath 1999). This form is also contemporaneous with an abundance of Coso Representational Style petroglyphs, the hunting of large artiodactyls using communal drive techniques, and extensive, logistical mobility patterns (Basgall and McGuire 1988; Gilreath 1999; Gilreath and Holanda 2000). The distinctive and rather abrupt termination for Humboldt bifaces may relate to cultural, technological or sociopolitical factors affecting eastern California during this period. The seemingly abrupt discontinuation of the Wide Humboldt Basal-notched form while in full fluorescence may also reflect a population replacement in the study area (see Table 6.4). Given these considerations, the Wide Humboldt Basal-notched bifaces might be hypothesized as an “ethnic signature” for the pre-Numic people in eastern California.

Burial Patterns

Two recent compilations of prehistoric burial patterns in eastern California include the areas of the Owens Valley, Rose Valley, Death Valley and Coso Range (Gilreath 2000; Gilreath and Holanda 2000:122-126, Appendix I). A total of 43 separate burials representing 48 individuals are recorded at 22 sites. The majority of these burials are primary interments. Four are cremations. All the inhumations were semi- or loosely-flexed.

In Owens Valley and Death Valley burials tend to be placed on their right side and in the Coso Range they are interred on their left. Cairns overlaid 15 burials, and multiple beads occurred in three. Only in the late Newberry and early Haiwee periods is there a tendency for a rich array of grave goods (Table 6.7). Multiple projectile points, assorted artifacts, and, in one spectacular instance, an extraordinary collection of 1000 *Haliotis* wide ring beads (placed in a shingled arrangement on the chest of the deceased child), are noted as grave offerings. Therefore, burials dating to the late Newberry/early Haiwee eras are different from those of other chronological intervals, yet they are similar as a class unto themselves (cf. Gilreath and Holanda 2000). As such, it is tempting to suggest that this indicates a distinctive cultural expression. However, most burial descriptions are rather brief and incomplete weakening the validity of such a premise.

Nevertheless, researchers have identified a ritual association for projectile points dating to the Late Newberry and Early Haiwee intervals as represented in the petroglyphs in the Coso Range (Garfinkel and Pringle 2004; Hildebrandt and McGuire 2004). Burial associations with multiple “Wide” Humboldt Basal-notched bifaces (Garfinkel and Yohe 2004), and frequent Elko and Rose Spring (Garfinkel and Pringle 2004) points may

Table 6.7. Late Newberry/Early Haiwee Age Burials from Eastern California

SITE	Age	Sex	POSITION	ASSOC. POINTS	OTHER ASSOCIATIONS	PERIOD
<i>Tibbi Opo</i> (Iny 4646)	Adult	?	Semi-flexed	2 or 3 HBNs	Decorated Bone Awl	E. Haiwee
Lubkin Creek (Iny 30)	Adult	M	Cremation	8 HBNs cache???	Structure 14	L. Newberry
Manzanar (Iny 4864/H)	Y. Adult	M	Tightly flexed	2 E and 1 RS	Chert biface, basalt pipe, steatite pipe	L. Newberry/E. Haiwee
<i>Pa Doya</i> (Iny 1991)	Y. Adult	F	Not reported	4 HBNs	Large mano or hammerstone	L. Newberry/E. Haiwee
Rose Spring (Iny 372) Burial 2	Adult	?	Semi-flexed	2 E, 4 RS, 2 HBN	3 notched scrapers, 2 cores, 1 flake tool, 3 slate tablets, a steatite pin, a mano, 2 <i>Haliotis</i> ornaments and an Olivella bead	L. Newberry/E. Haiwee
Burial 4	Child	?	Tightly flexed	1 E	1000 <i>Haliotis</i> wide ring beads	L. Newberry
"Grants Tomb" (Iny 2847)	2 Adults	M & F	Flexed	2 E		Newberry
Barnett (Nye County, Nevada) 3 Burials	?	?	Loosely Flexed Flexed	5 HBNs	Slab metate, two manos, a bone tool (flaker?), all pre-interment pit burning	L. Newberry

NOTE: *Tibbi Opo* (Iny 4646) is the subject of a monograph by Burke et al. (1995). Lubkin Creek is reported by Basgall and McGuire (1988). Burton (1996) discusses the results of prehistoric investigations at Manzanar. *Pa Doya* is covered in the study by Markos et al. (1995). The Rose Spring site is most thoroughly discussed in Lanning (1963) and Yohe (1992). Clewlow et al. (1995) tested "Grant's Tomb" (Iny-2847). The Barnett site is reported by Muto et al. (1976).
HBN = Humboldt Basal-notched, E = Elko, RS = Rose Spring.

represent a preoccupation with hunting weaponry dating to this time span. Notably, a technological analysis of five Humboldt Basal-notched bifaces recovered from a burial at the Barnett Site, Nye County, Nevada, in the Amargosa Desert, led researchers to conclude that these implements were manufactured specifically for inclusion with the burial (Muto et al. 1976:275). Additionally, Garfinkel and Pringle (2004) have documented the depiction of Rose Spring and Eastgate points within panels of Coso Representational drawings thought to be contemporaneous with their peak production interval during the Haiwee Period (A.D. 600-1300).

Pre-Numic Pattern- Summary

Time-sensitive projectile points, obsidian hydration rims, and radiocarbon dates document substantial, long-term occupations in the areas of Little Lake (Stahl, Stahl Cave, and *Pagunda*), Rose Valley [Rose Spring (INY-372), Portuguese Bench (INY-2284)], the Coso Range, and at Lubkin Creek (INY-30) (Allen 1986; Basgall and McGuire 1988; Byrd and Reddy 2004; Hildebrandt and Gilreath 1997; Lanning 1963; Pearson 1995; Schroth 1994; Yohe 1992). What is striking about the dating of these sites is that there is a common pattern indicating an evident disjunction in the midst of the Haiwee interval (cf. Byrd and Reddy 2004:309; Pearson 1995:110, Figure 7). Largely paraphrasing the insights of Gilreath and Holanda (2000) and relying on some of the suggestions of Delacorte (1994, 1995), it has become evident to eastern California prehistorians that the Haiwee Period is characterized by substantial cultural changes, yet also provides significant evidence of continuity and stability.

Such patterns could equate with a population turnover in the midst of the Haiwee era. Earlier pre-Numic occupations appear to evidence continuity from the Newberry Period into the early Haiwee, and intruding Numic groups may have first manifest a presence ca. A.D. 600 with the inception of the Haiwee era and Rose Spring points (cf. Delacorte 1995). In the early portion of the Haiwee interval, many settlements show an extension from the preceding late Newberry Period practices. Substantial Haiwee-interval habitation sites, located atop Newberry age deposits (e.g., Rose Spring, Portuguese Bench, *Pagunda*), indicate site-use continuity. Chronological associations of burials found in the bases of these Haiwee middens are also “curiously ambiguous” as to whether they best relate to late Newberry or early Haiwee affiliations (e.g., *Tibbi Opo* [Burke et al. 1995], Manzanar [Burton 1996], and *Pa Doya* [Markos et al. 1995]) (Gilreath and Holanda 2000:77). Wide Humboldt Basal-notched bifaces are frequently found with both Elko and Rose Spring series forms (cf. Burton 1996). At the Lubkin Creek site, recognized as one of the most thoroughly investigated “late Newberry” occupation sites, Elko series points were recovered in numbers equivalent to either Humboldt Basal-notched or Rose Spring forms (Basgall and McGuire 1988:130). Hence, late Newberry and early Haiwee age sites are often largely indistinguishable.

It can be postulated that pre-Numic sites were largely Newberry and earlier in age and show site use continuity through the early Haiwee interval. Pre-Numic sites apparently have late Haiwee manifestations that evince declining levels of activity, decreasing use, and, in many cases, an abrupt termination of cultural activities (cf. Delacorte 1994).

Numic Continuity or Population Replacement?

A number of prehistorians argue that the Numic people were long time occupants of eastern California and the southwest Great Basin, in part since linguists point to this general area as their original homeland. Yet if such a reconstruction were accurate, then the archaeological record should reveal substantial evidence for a relatively continuous and unbroken cultural record with gradual, in place, changes, and marked continuity. The latter would be similar to the patterns identified for the archaeological assemblages noted in the former homeland of the Tubatulabal. As mentioned in Chapter 1, rock art data have been especially central in arguments positing a continuous ethnic thread.

Warren (1984:384) states this perspective rather clearly in suggesting that,

...the Coso petroglyphs represent a cultural tradition that persists through several archaeological phases, suggesting that there is considerably more cultural continuity than recognized in the archaeological assemblages. The artistic tradition and presumed ceremonial tradition represented by the Coso petroglyphs suggest that the historic Shoshonean peoples of the Coso Mountain area have cultural origins that extend far back into the local prehistoric sequences.

Such an interpretation, if accurate, would support in-place Numic development and cultural continuum (cf. Garfinkel 1982; Grant et al. 1968; Pearson 2003; Whitley 1994; 1998:53-60). Hence, a review of the rock art record in the Coso region is central to our discussion.

Coso Representational Petroglyphs and the Numic Intrusion

Rock art is potentially one of the most sensitive indicators of ethnic affiliation and cultural identity. Subtle changes in religious rituals are frequently referenced as manifestations of dramatically disparate ethnic identifications (Barth 1969). Many prehistorians have argued that it may be more difficult to recognize prehistoric population

movements in the southwestern Great Basin than elsewhere, since hunter-gather economies in this area continued in place. In other areas of the Great Basin agriculturists replaced foragers and exhibited more striking differences in material culture (cf. Madsen 1994).

Southwestern Great Basin rock art sites vary in subject matter, style, spatial distribution and archaeological context and, therefore, may be some of the most informative and persuasive forms of archaeological evidence. Because rock art captures and reflects human interactions with their natural and cultural environments, it enlightens us as to aboriginal population movements and cultural identities. The rock art tradition of the Coso Range is distinctive, if for nothing else, due to its sheer abundance and surprising degree of realism.

Conservative projections, based on selective, sample surveys, indicate an excess of 100,000 individual elements concentrated in an area of less than 90-square-miles (Gilreath 1999; Hildebrandt and McGuire 2002). The Coso Range, therefore, contains one of the greatest concentrations of petroglyphs in all of North America (Grant et al. 1968). Between 60 and 90 percent of these representations are realistic portrayals of the quarry, technology, and ritual paraphernalia associated with hunting bighorn sheep. Bighorn depictions are commonly found throughout the Desert West, yet the number of images within the Cosos is thought to surpass the total number of sheep drawings for all other regions combined (Grant et al. 1968:34). Grant et al. (1968:115) comment that,

What is so astonishing about the Coso Range rock art complex is that it apparently developed in almost complete isolation, an island of specialized art tradition.

Coso Petroglyphs: Function, Authorship, and Dating

The functional interpretation of rock art in the Great Basin has been an especially contentious issue (Hildebrandt and McGuire 2002; Rector 1985; Whitley 1998). Still, consistent correlation of Great Basin rock art sites with game trails, ambush locations, dummy hunters, hunting blinds, game corrals, and the depiction of artiodactyls (overwhelmingly mountain sheep) and hunting weapons argues strongly for its use as sympathetic magic to help ensure successful hunting of big game (Heizer and Baumhoff 1962; Hildebrandt and McGuire 2002; Grant et al. 1968; Nissen 1975, 1982, 1995; T. Thomas 1976; von Werlhof 1965). Additionally, although functional interpretation of Great Basin rock art has been contentious, it is important to note that functional ascription may be largely irrelevant to the present purpose since age, style, motif, association and other traits should suffice to define ethnic associations.

Despite the ubiquity of rock art in many areas of the Great Basin and even more so in the Coso Range, historic Native Americans denied authorship and any knowledge of their meaning (Heizer and Baumhoff 1962; Steward 1929, 1968). Great Basin ethnography contains little information concerning rock art, suggesting that much of it is probably pre-Numic. Julian Steward (1968:viii-x) went so far as to assert that the Coso petroglyphs are one of the more striking examples of either cultural loss or the replacement of one cultural group by another in the general study area. He states,

...the Shoshonean Indians...knew nothing of the authorship or meaning of the petroglyphs, and their culture seemed unlikely to manifest itself in this medium. ...none of the various Shoshonean activities or categories of culture, except basketry, were expressed in any art form. ... Shoshonean subsistence activities have no apparent relationship to this art. ...this rock art signifies cultural loss in the area, owing either to deculturation of the present inhabitants or to *the earlier presence of a different people* [italics added].

Grant et al. (1968) were the first researchers to attempt to date the Coso petroglyphs (Figures 6.4-6.6). Based on superposition of images, degree of patination, and the seriation of hunting weaponry and other subject matter, they developed a temporal ordering indicating that most of this rock art was produced during the period from 3000 to 1000 B.P. (ca. 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1000). They posit that during their Early Period, imagery was chiefly abstract with simple renderings of sheep and highly stylized atlatls. Their Transitional Period included many depictions of bighorn and also shield designs, “medicine bags” (most likely bighorn sheep hunters in disguises; see Heizer and Hester 1974; Nissen 1982), dogs attacking sheep, simple anthropomorphs and a combination of dart and atlatl and bow and arrow images. Late Period renderings were the most realistic and indeed the largest and most complex designs with bighorn sheep drawn in large scale with great care.

Late Period petroglyphs of mountain sheep contained the uniquely characteristic navicular bodies, flat backs, and full front-facing, head-on horns, often with hooves and ears added. Grant et al. hypothesized that the elaborate anthropomorphs and depictions of weaponry (bows and arrows) continued until ca. A.D. 1000. The last period of petroglyph production is represented by a simple form of rock scratching that defaced or embellished the earlier drawings (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Coombs and Greenwood 1982; Quinlan and Woody 2003). That style has been termed Great Basin Scratched (Heizer and Baumhoff 1962; Nissen 1974; von Werlhof 1965).

Gilreath (1999) recently used obsidian hydration readings associated with 43 Coso Range sites to evaluate the various dating schemes for the Coso petroglyphs (cf. Garfinkel 2003). Her research points to the Haiwee Period (A.D. 600 – 1300) in the local

chronological sequence as the time span when the greatest number of rock art sites were produced. These Haiwee Period sites contain chiefly representational motifs (65%). Earlier sites are dominated by abstract designs. Gilreath's study identified a rather abrupt decline and termination for the petroglyph drawings dating to no later than A.D. 1300 (with 94% of the 505 obsidian hydration rim readings in her study falling into earlier time spans). Her work also indicates that Coso rock art is almost exclusively a pre-Marana Period (A.D. 1300-1850) expression (greater than 3.7 microns of hydration on Coso obsidian), with a distinctive Haiwee Period emphasis (A.D. 600-1300, or 3.7-4.9 microns). Single-component Coso petroglyph sites appeared in the Little Lake Period dating ca. 4000 B.C. (based on mean hydration rims).

Further Evidence for Dating Coso Style Petroglyphs

Recent independent testing of Gilreath's dating scheme supported its general validity (Garfinkel 2003). Evaluation of the archaeological associations of stylistically similar drawings just outside the Coso Range provided temporally equivalent Coso obsidian hydration readings. Further validation of the dating scheme comes from an analysis of the projectile point drawings depicted in Coso petroglyphs. The drawings of realistically rendered points were interpreted as analogs of either Rose Spring Corner-notched or Eastgate Expanding Stem forms (Garfinkel and Pringle 2004). Garfinkel and Pringle (2004) argue that such depictions date the period of greatest rock art production to the Haiwee interval (A.D. 600-1300).

Independent assessment of the temporal span for Coso rock art also comes from their archaeological context. Excavation of an aboriginal settlement (Site 14-5488),

physically associated with the largest concentration of Coso Representational Style glyphs, in Renegade Canyon (Gilreath 2000:51-61), produced temporally diagnostic projectile points overwhelmingly indicative of *only* the Newberry and Haiwee periods (3500-650 B.P.) with 16 Elko and 27 Rose Spring/Eastgate point forms. Manifestations of more recent occupation were especially meager - Marana Period materials were limited to only two Desert Side-notched points, a dozen sherds of pottery and four beads. Therefore, the weight of evidence strongly indicates that the period of greatest abundance and production of representational Coso rock art dates exclusively to the Newberry and Haiwee periods and abruptly terminates during the waning years of the latter interval.

Implications of Discontinuity

There exists a long tradition of rock art production within the Coso Range and this appears to have begun more than 5500 years ago based on the associated Coso obsidian hydration rims (Gilreath 1999). However, glyphs older than about 5500 years ago appear to be dominated by abstract images (Figure 6.1). The majority of the later drawings date to a relatively brief florescence in the late Newberry and early Haiwee periods. During those eras rock art may have played a much more dominant role in the lives of the Coso hunters than perhaps elsewhere in the western Great Basin (Garfinkel 2003; Garfinkel and Pringle 2004; Gilreath 1999:15). The distinctive style of bighorn depictions and the degree of realistic representation are unique characteristics of Coso rock art and an unusual feature of the images in the region. No other area of the Great Basin displays such emphatically realistic imagery, nor are bighorn sheep depictions rendered in this unusual style (Grant et al. 1968; Schaafsma 1986). Grant et al. (1968:16-17) emphasize

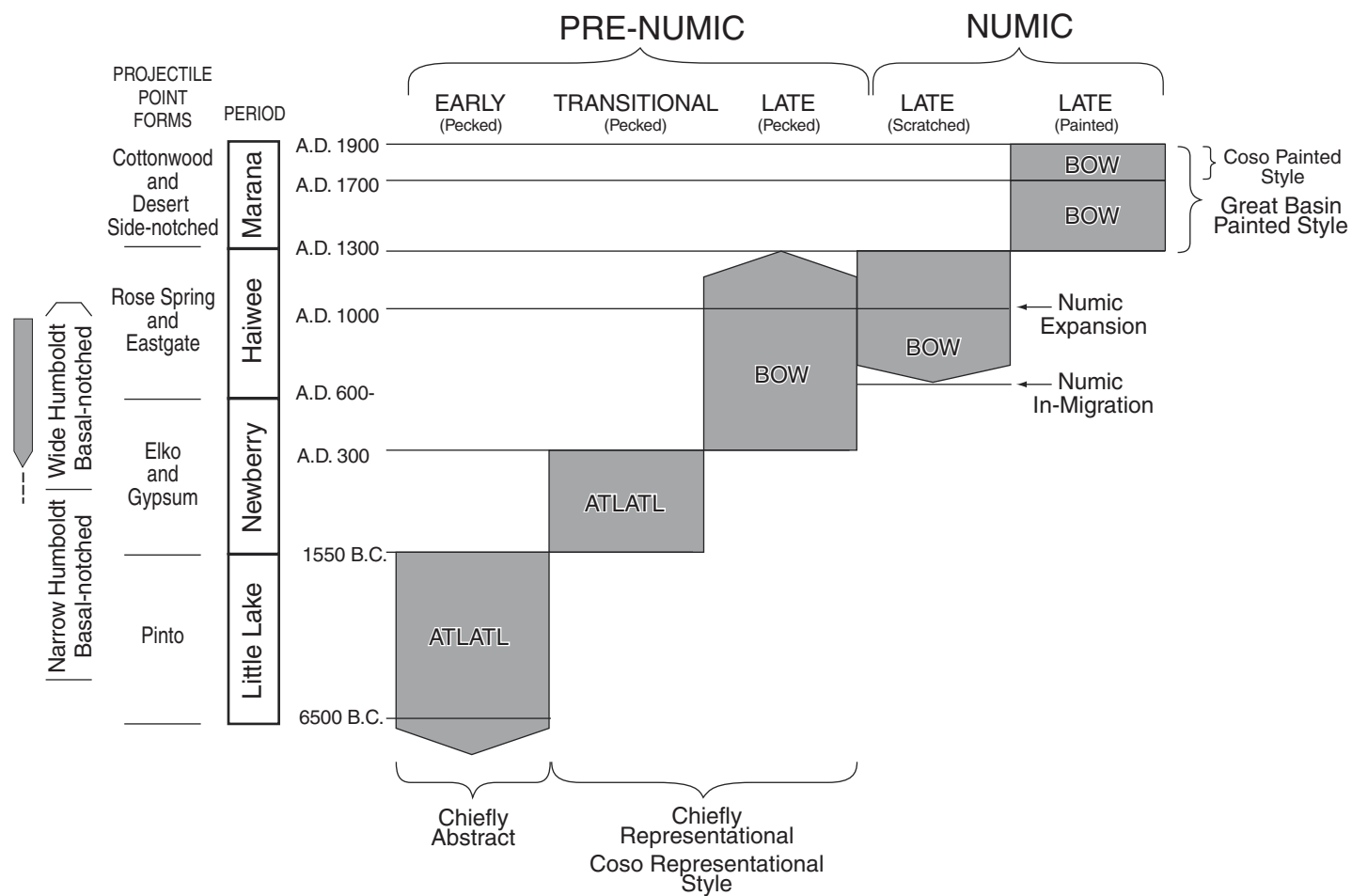


Figure 6.1 Dating of Weaponry, Rock Art Styles, and Population Movements.
(Adapted from Grant et al. 1968: 58)

that, “The drawings in this country cover a very long time span and for the whole period the art tradition remained remarkably stable. We are certain that they are the work of the same people.” This “self-contained tradition of unique style and location has such an extreme degree of thematic consistency, it must have represented a unified belief system with a standardized iconographic vocabulary” (*sensu* Turpin 1990). Therefore, this complex and rather sophisticated art style can best be seen as an autochthonous development.

Abandonment of rock art signals significant changes in ritual practice and cultural loss (cf. Steward 1968). The abrupt discontinuation of the Coso petroglyph tradition while in full fluorescence, and its replacement by a simple scratched rock art style could signal disruption by an exotic population (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Heizer and Baumhoff 1962; Quinlan and Woody 2003; Nissen 1995). The impetus for the rise, fluorescence, and abandonment of this ornate rock art cannot be explained within the framework of a static model. A dramatic disjunction in the southwestern Great Basin archaeological record is marked by the demise of the Coso Representational style and could represent the advent of an intrusive population. The latter would most likely be the in-migration of Numic populations replacing pre-Numic groups. Such a massive stylistic turnover in material culture is in fact synonymous with the changes one would predict were a Numic expansion and population replacement to have taken place (cf. Grayson 1994:23).

Catastrophic cultural conditions have been shown to correlate with revitalistic movements and an upsurge in ceremonialism (e.g., Coso petroglyph fluorescence). During the closing period of the Coso petroglyph tradition such circumstances may have

prevailed. An intruding and competitive population influx (Numic in-migration) and the dramatic depletion of the bighorn could have factored into the demise of both the people and their artistic tradition (Garfinkel et al. 2005; Grant et al. 1967). These factors appear to be contemporaneous with the production spike and elaboration of Coso petroglyphs.

Numic and Pre-Numic Contemporaneity

Several Great Basin researchers posit a temporal overlap between Numic and pre-Numic occupations lasting a number of centuries (Bettinger 1994:53; Fowler and Madsen 1986; Garfinkel et al. 2004:94; Madsen 1986; Marwitt 1986; Young and Bettinger 1992; Zeanah 2002: 251). Logically, during the period of initial Numic migration and intrusion into eastern California, both groups (Numic and pre-Numic) must have occupied the region for some time simultaneously (cf. Hughes 1994; Madsen 1994).

Many eastern California prehistorians have also come to identify the beginning of the Haiwee Period or ca. A.D. 600 as the most likely date for the initial population incursion by the Numic, and prior discussions (presented herein) support such a suggestion (Bettinger 1994; Delacorte 1994, 1995; Young and Bettinger 1992). Delacorte (1994) has in fact argued that there are differences in subsistence-settlement practices that allow prehistorians to differentiate Elko age pre-Numic settlements and nearly contemporaneous, early Rose Spring, Numic hunting camps.

If it were possible to discern the precise contemporaneity of particular settlements, then such inferences could establish the synchronicity of two distinct cultural traditions (see discussions Chapters 1 and 3). Unfortunately, such conditions are uncommon. Archaeologists have difficulty demonstrating the precise season and

duration of settlement. As well, the precision of our chronological indicators rarely allows us to confirm that two sets of sites are “exactly” contemporaneous. There is considerable latitude with our “absolute” dating techniques, such as radiocarbon assays, and even more so with obsidian dating. So many confounding factors all impinging simultaneously makes the effort perhaps nearly hopeless. Yet in the present instance it still seems worthwhile entertaining the hypothesis that such a pattern occurred within the study area. A discussion is in order.

Two methods of pinyon exploitation have been recognized (Dutcher 1893; Essene 1935). Brown-cone pinyon nut procurement implies the harvest of ripe nuts after the cones have opened in the fall (September through November). Under favorable conditions, the harvests using this collection technique were considerable (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1983; Simms 1985). However, competition from other animals often restricted the length of the brown-cone harvest period. Given the well-documented, irregular productivity of pinyon, these two factors combined to produce an exploitation pattern that was rather unreliable and ill suited to the procurement and storage of large nut crops.

Alternatively, a green-cone pinyon harvest method involved the exploitation of immature cones, procuring pinyon cones before the cone scales had opened and the seeds dropped. This strategy involved collecting green cones from the trees by the use of a long, hooked stick and then roasting them to open the cone scales or, alternatively, caching the green cones in storage pits for future use. The green-cone method lengthened the period during which pinyon pine nuts were harvested (August-November) and dramatically increased the yield of a seasonal pinyon harvest. Green-cone pinyon

harvesting resulted in different archaeological residues than did brown-cone harvesting. The latter required little special processing or technology. However, intensive green-cone pinyon pine procurement necessitated special technology and multiple stages of processing. Roasting pits, milling stones and rock-ring pinyon storage cache facilities were required for the harvest, preparation, and caching of unopened cones and loose nuts.

Most eastern California researchers recognize that green-cone pinyon procurement is a rather recent technological introduction within the region. The majority of southwestern Great Basin prehistorians also believe that pinyon was exploited only occasionally, during the Newberry Period and earlier, using the non-intensive brown-cone method (Zeanah 2002). Such an interpretation is based on an absence of pinyon cone roasting features or the charred remains of pinyon scales and nut parts dating earlier than ca. A.D. 800 (Eerkens and King 2002; Garfinkel and Cook 1979,1981). Charred pinyon nut remains have been recognized in archaeological deposits dating to the Newberry era, but they are uncommon. In the following Haiwee Period, a dramatic and noticeable increase in pinyon archaeobotanical remains occurs. Rock ring, pinyon cache features are amply documented beginning in the Haiwee era. These archaeological manifestations clearly indicate the introduction of intensive green-cone pinyon procurement (cf. Bettinger 1975; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Hildebrandt and Ruby 1999).

Many Coso petroglyph sites are located in lowland settings at an average elevation of 5,000 feet amsl. They are often found near ideal hunting localities at entrances to gorges, on isolated rocks near springs or along canyon walls above natural tanks. The latter collect and store water for long periods of time — even into the hot, dry,

summer months (Gilreath 1999; Grant et al. 1968). Evidence that Coso petroglyph sites also functioned as ambush locations for bighorn hunts comes from the associated archaeological features including large numbers of hunting blinds and “dummy hunters” produced as stacked rock features (Gilreath 1997, 2000:52; Grant et al. 1968; Muir 1901).

The survival of desert mountain sheep bands was critically dependant on access to predictable water sources, especially in the summer and early fall when sheep “watered” most frequently (Turner and Weaver 1981; Welles and Welles 1961). Bighorn traveled to natural tanks (*tinajas*) and springs during the late summer and early fall (August-September) for regular watering (Delacorte 1985, 1999; Madsen 1986). Studies of desert bighorn identify that limited home ranges (5 to 8 kilometers) are maintained and seasonal movements are regimented and predictable (Davis 1938; Geist 1971; Welles and Welles 1961). Geist (1971:79-81) notes that 75 to 90 per cent of the rams and ewes return to the same home range following seasonal shifts. Bighorn behavior would therefore tend to favor communal hunts (Pippin 1977).

In the summer, especially in dry regions where water sources are rare (such as the Coso region), bighorn hunters could hide near springs and natural tanks in order to bag these especially difficult-to-kill animals (Delacorte 1985; Steward 1933). Early historical accounts mention the practice of Natives laying in wait as bands of sheep came to traditional watering holes (Bailey 1940; Nelson 1922; Muir 1901). Brook (1980) summarizes evidence for such bighorn hunting patterns and includes half a dozen locations in the Coso Range where hunting blinds have been documented. All of these locations also feature Coso Representational petroglyphs.

Therefore, evidence for the inception of *intensive green cone pinyon exploitation* is recognized contemporaneously in the upland pinyon forests of the Kern Plateau (6000 to 7500 feet amsl) and the Coso Range (above 7000 feet amsl). Simultaneously occupation and use of lowland (5000 feet amsl on average) bighorn hunting sites are associated with some of the largest collections of Coso petroglyphs (Figure 6.7). Pinyon camps, with numerous rock ring caches, date to the beginning of the Haiwee/Sawtooth era as do many of the Coso petroglyphs and hunting sites. That both green-cone pinyon procurement and mountain sheep hunting were coeval is also indicated by the substantial quantities of Rose Spring and Eastgate projectile points recovered at pinyon camp sites in the upland pinyon forests of the Cosos and the Kern Plateau Sierra crest (Hildebrandt and Ruby 1999; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980). As well, obsidian hydration rims, Rose Spring and Eastgate projectile points, and rock art subject matter (realistically rendered arrow point images and hunters using bow and arrow) suggest that lowland Coso Petroglyph sites also date to this same time span (Garfinkel 2003; Garfinkel and Pringle 2004; Garfinkel et al. 2004; Gilreath 1999).

Pre-Numic folks may have had difficulties simultaneously hunting mountain sheep and intensively harvesting green-cone pinyon. To procure green-cone pinyon requires a large number of individuals working together. Usually, multiple family groups and often whole villages would move together up to the pinyon groves to share in the hard labor and elaborate efforts necessary (Steward 1938). There, in the groves, Natives would set up temporary camps and harvest green cones. They would open the pinyon cones on a sagebrush fire, free the nuts from their cone-scale homes, cache sufficient

numbers to make the trip worthwhile, and pack back a sizeable nut crop large enough to cover subsistence needs for the participating families over the coming winter.

Madsen (1986) and Hildebrandt and Ruby (2000) argue strongly that, during the late summer and fall, scheduling difficulties might have occurred (cf. Pippin 1977: Figure 4). A decision between which of the two strategies merited pursuit would have been a difficult one, owing to the costs and benefits of the two activities. It is difficult to reckon how such alternatives played out. Yet it is known that ultimately the balance shifted to green-cone pinyon exploitation, in part perhaps, due to over-exploitation of ungulate populations (Garfinkel et al. 2005; Madsen 1986). That conclusion is supported by the late prehistoric (after A.D. 600) reduction in artiodactyl exploitation recognized in regional archaeofaunal assemblages (Basgall and Giambastiani 1995; Delacorte 1999).

The Coso region is exceedingly small. Yet, it contains striking evidence of a highly standardized rock art tradition restricted to a small area (Figures 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6). The bighorn hunting sites are less than 24 kilometers away from the upland Coso pinyon forests. Both classes of sites are geographically coterminous with the territory exhibiting many of the unique hallmarks of Coso Representational Style petroglyphs (Figure 6.7). As mentioned above, this core territory covers an area of less than 230 square kilometers! Yet, there are distinctive differences in the two sets of sites. These sites appear to have been occupied at the same time. They could also represent different ethnic groups exploiting different aspects of the biotic environment (upland green-cone pinyon and lowland communal bighorn hunts).

It is difficult to imagine how a small group of hunter-gatherers (50 - 100 people) could have been responsible for both sets of archaeological sites. This is all the more

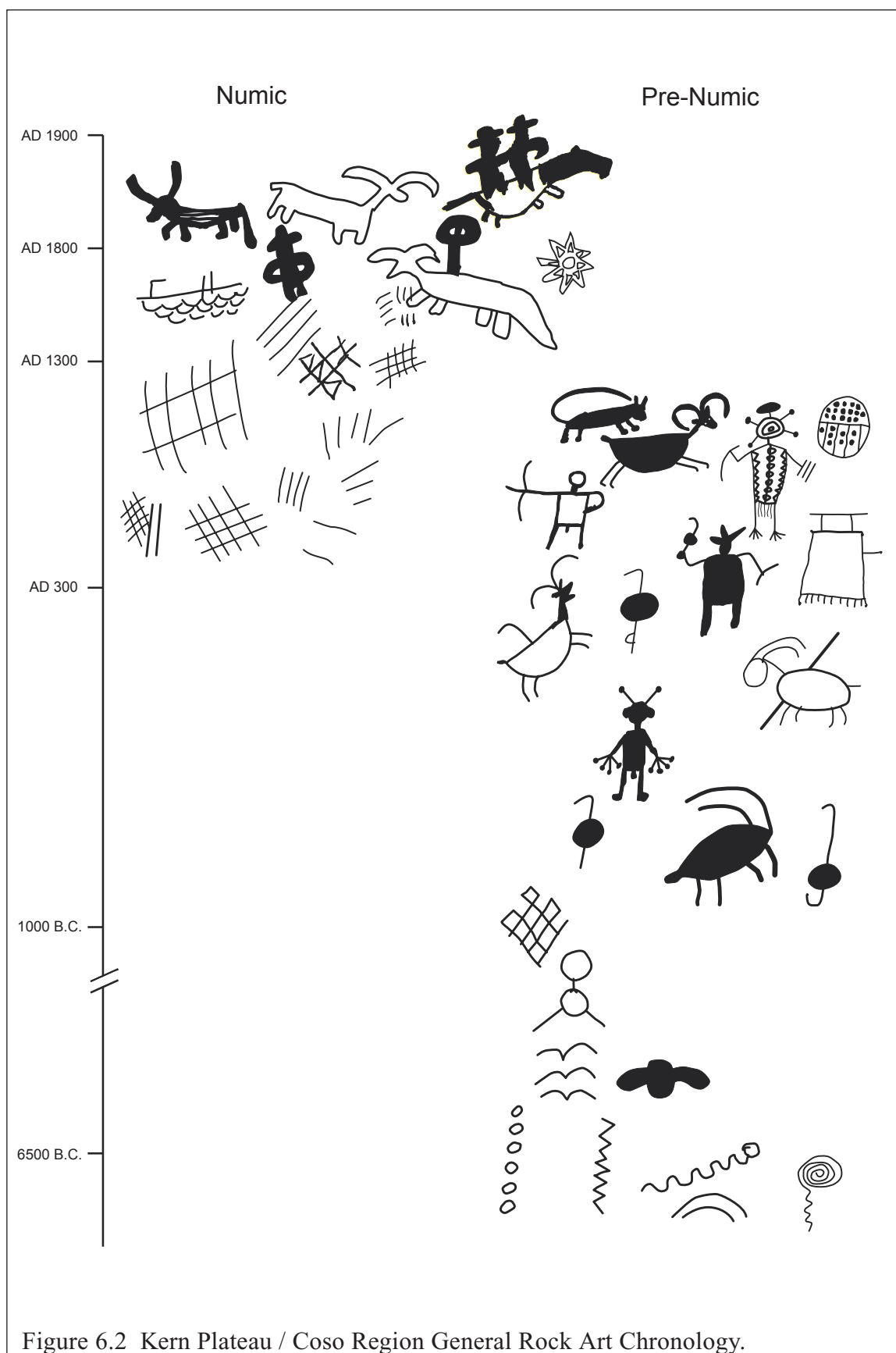


Figure 6.2 Kern Plateau / Coso Region General Rock Art Chronology.

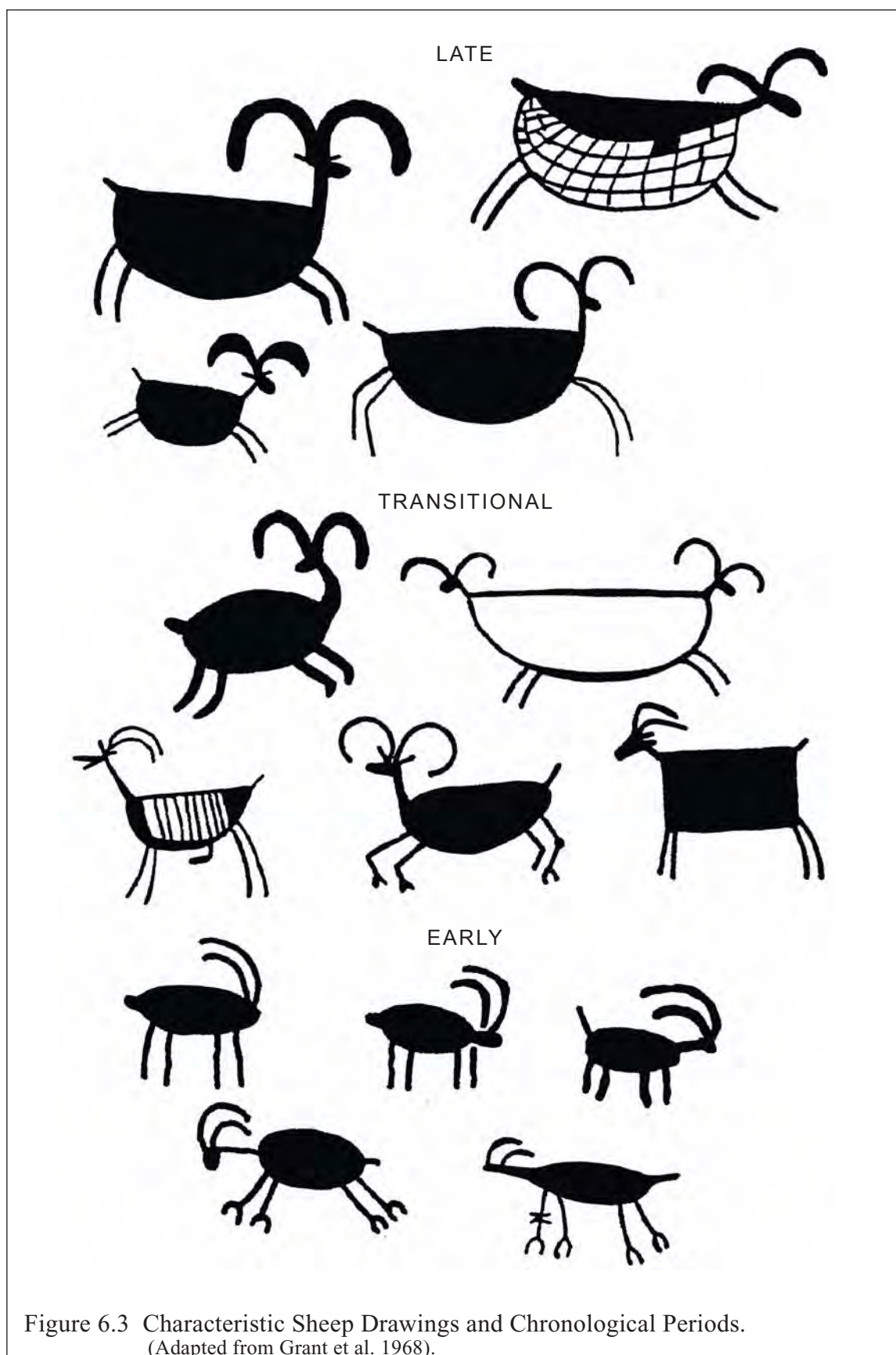


Figure 6.3 Characteristic Sheep Drawings and Chronological Periods.
(Adapted from Grant et al. 1968).

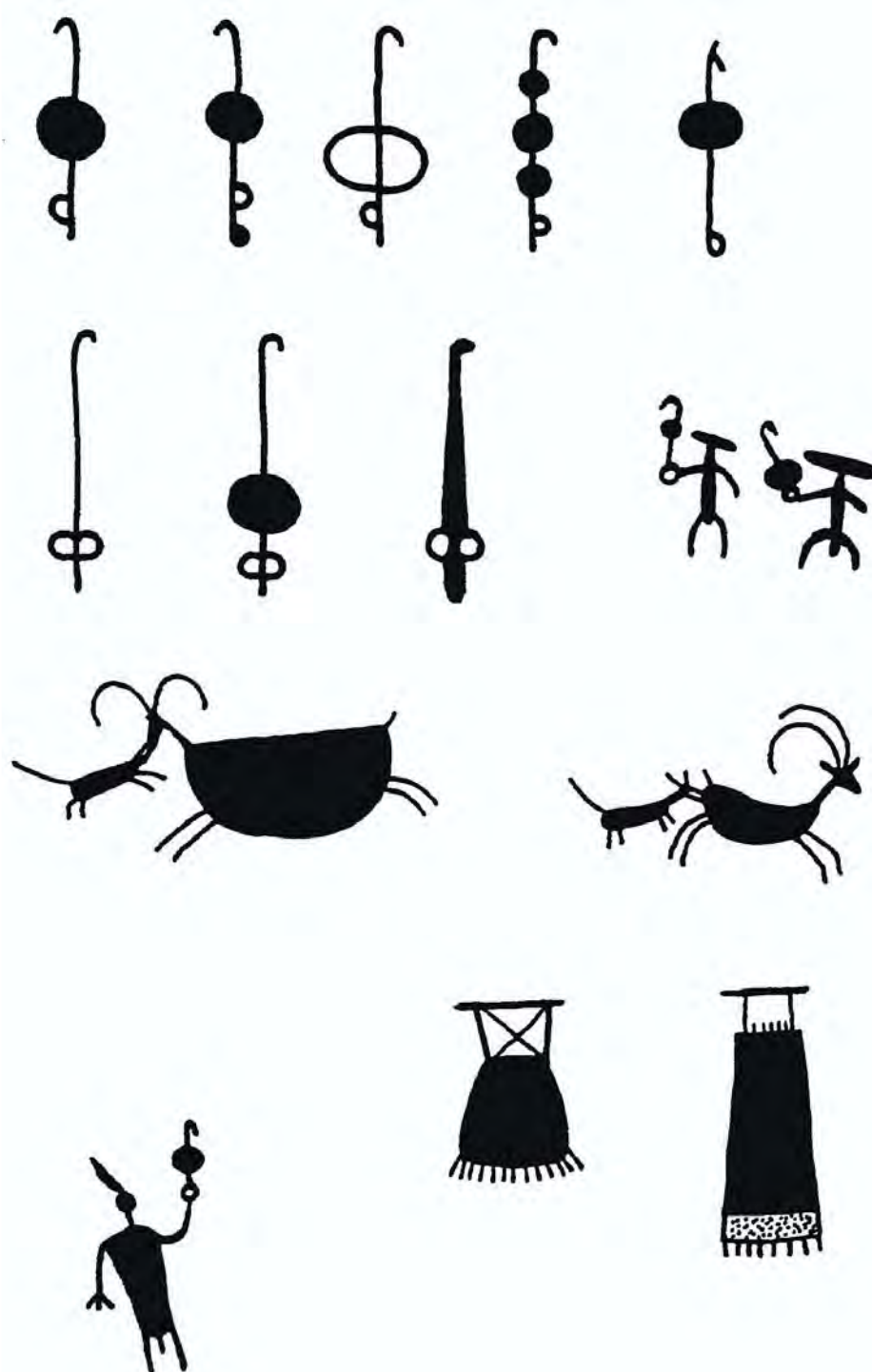


Figure 6.5 Transitional Period Coso Petroglyph Elements.

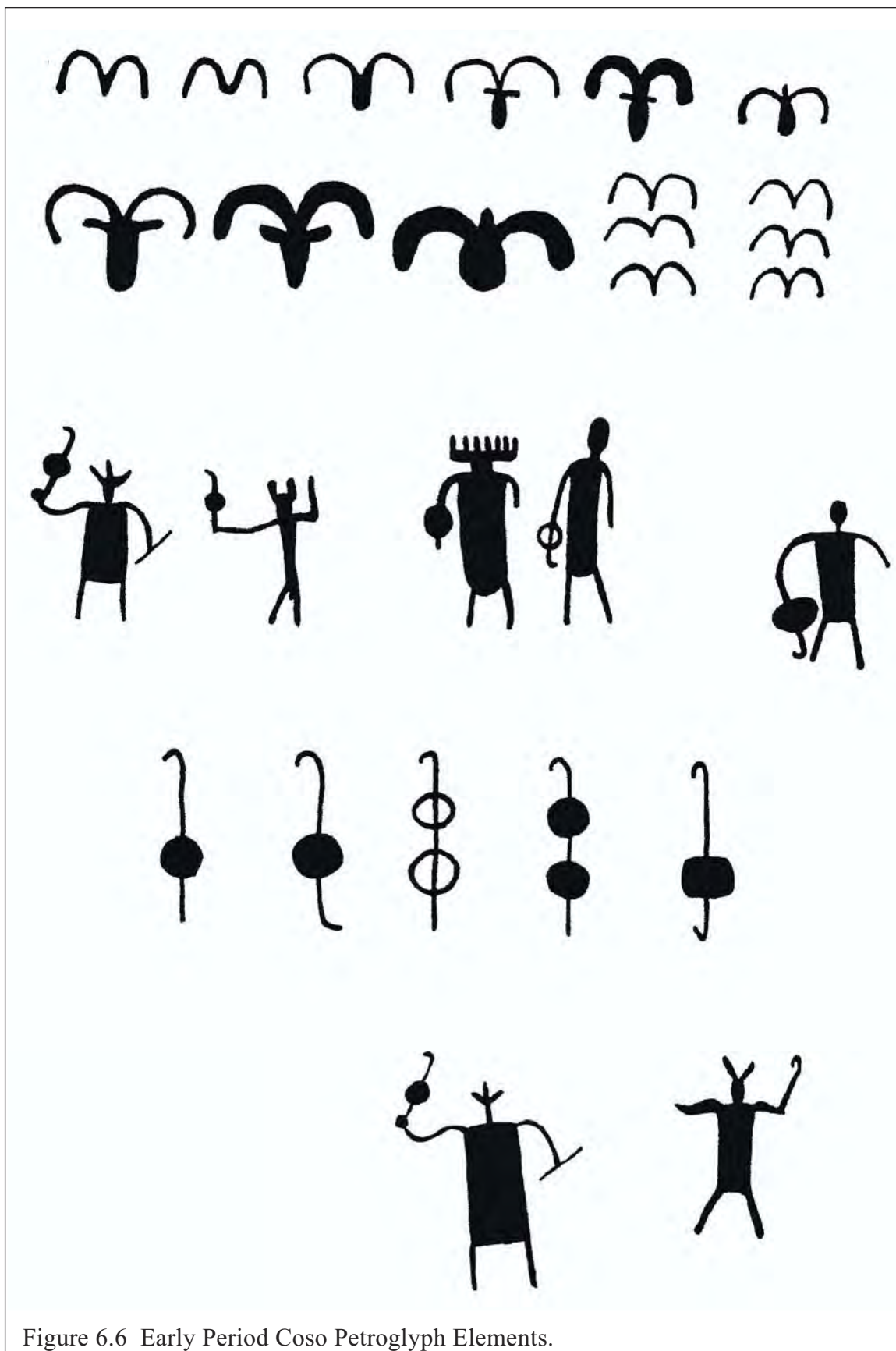
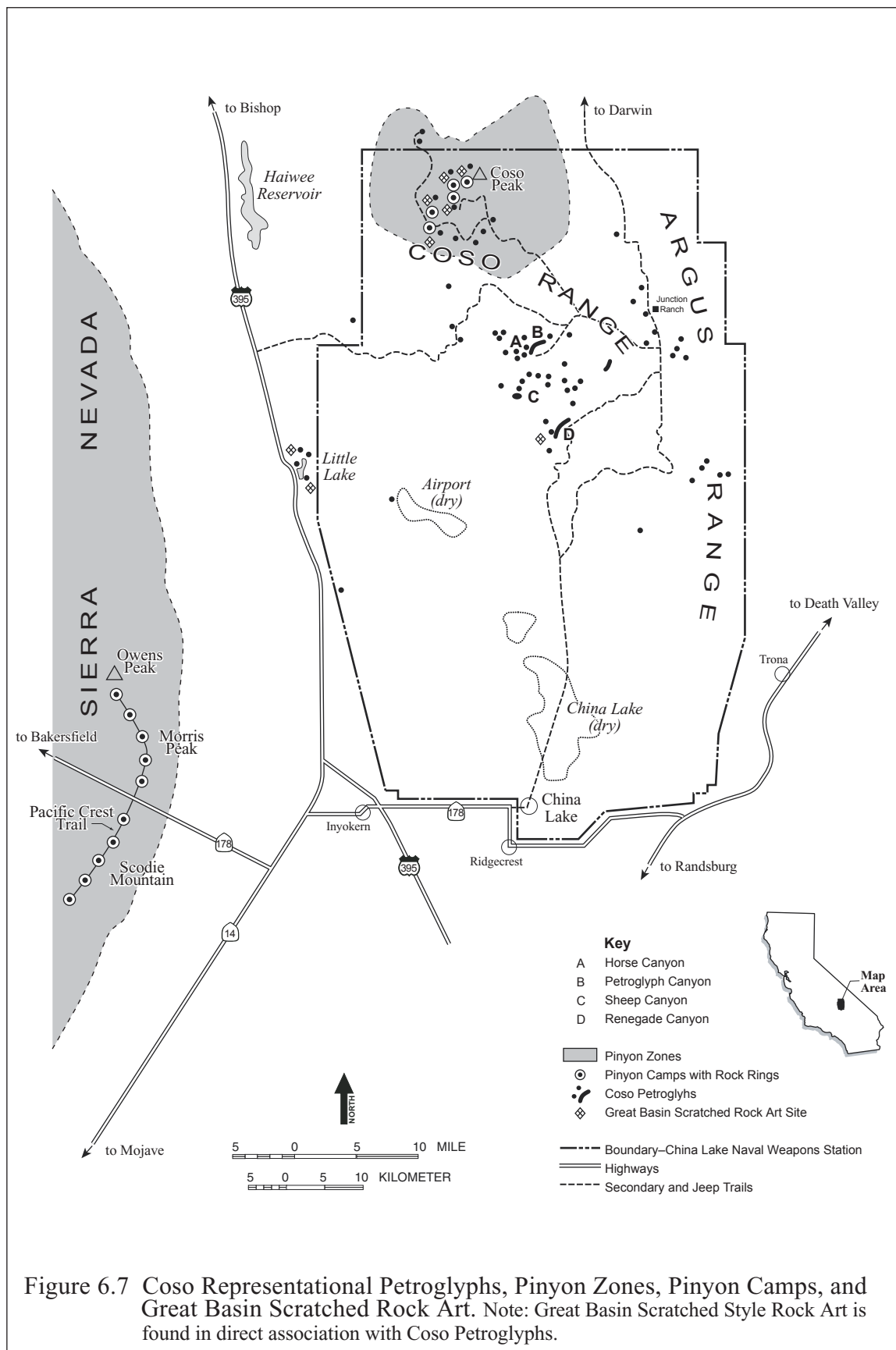


Figure 6.6 Early Period Coso Petroglyph Elements.



compelling given that both types of settlements are situated within such close range - within a few miles of one another (Figure 6.7). It is of course possible that different segments of the same cultural group were procuring upland green-cone pinyon while others hunted lowland bighorn sheep. However, it would seem that the labor requirements for pinyon and the probable communal nature of Coso sheep hunters might lessen such a possibility.

It seems possible that the Numic were intensively using the upland pinyon forests of the Cosos and the Kern Plateau during the Haiwee era. Not to mislead the reader, it is important to note that these same Numic groups were also using lowland localities hunting small game and collecting hard seeds; see above. Only a “small island” of pinyon exists in the Coso area. A sea of arid lands surrounds that small area. Hence subsistence decisions were highly restricted.

Recent studies in the Coso pinyon zone (Gilreath 2003) documented significant numbers of Great Basin Abstract rock art sites. Significantly, these early rock art sites date predominantly to either the Newberry or Little Lake ages with only minor expressions of Haiwee-age Coso Style Representational petroglyphs (Gilreath 2003:213, Table 91). If a distinctly different cultural tradition (the Numic) were using the upland pinyon forests for intensive, green-cone pinyon harvests in contrast to groups occupying the lowland region for bighorn hunting during the Haiwee interval, we might predict a corollary manifestation of differing rock art iconography.

Based on the exclusive superposition of scratched elements over pecked designs at the Coso Range upland pinyon camps, Gilreath (2003) argues that these designs (Great Basin Scratched Style) are one of the more recent petroglyph styles in the western Great

Basin. Other rock art researchers largely agree. They place the Great Basin Scratched Style intermediate in time (Figures 6.1 and 6.2), after the termination of Great Basin Abstract but perhaps partially contemporaneous with Great Basin Representational Petroglyph Styles (e.g., Coso Representational Style) but before the Great Basin Painted Style (Heizer and Baumhoff 1962; Nissen 1982; Ritter 1994).

An extraordinary number of such scratched drawings were documented at the Coso pinyon forest sites. Nearly 300 individual scratched petroglyph elements were recorded at seven sites, with half of all documented rock art panels containing scratched elements (Figure 6.7). These scratched elements were in every instance either solitary designs or superimposed over earlier Coso petroglyphs. Not a single scratched design was found beneath a Coso petroglyph design.

These rock drawings may be one of the largest concentrations of Great Basin Scratched Style rock art yet identified in the entire Great Basin. Many of these sites apparently date to the Haiwee era based on their association with large numbers of Rose Spring points. Such a specific spatial distribution and chronological placement would seem to support the conclusion that the Numic used the Coso highlands for pinyon procurement during the Haiwee era. Another culturally distinct group (the pre-Numic) intermittently hunted bighorn sheep in the nearby lowland environs (cf. Ritter 1994).

Quinlan and Woody (2003) support just such a conclusion in asserting that Numic pioneer groups used scratched rock art to “socialize the landscape.” These in-migrating Numic colonizers, when securing access to new resources, responded to pre-Numic rock art through modification of that art. They often placed their scratched designs in direct

association with Coso petroglyphs perhaps to obliterate, deface or embellish them (cf. Quinlan and Woody 2003:372; Ritter 2004)

Cultural Succession and Eastern California Rock Art Chronology

Figures 6.1 and 6.2 graphically display the rock art styles, associated weaponry, and cultural succession posited for the Coso Range and vicinity (also see Figures 6.3-6.6). On the right hand side of Figure 6.2 are the hypothesized pre-Numic rock art expressions. It appears that, beginning ca. 8500 years ago, rock art production in the Coso Range began with imagery principally conforming to the Great Basin Abstract style. Those early panels included curvilinear meanders, circles, zigzags, chevrons, etc. Few realistic or naturalistic representations were rendered during this early period, but there were probably a few simple bighorn sheep (horns to-the-side), atlatl designs, solid body anthropomorphs, and simple front-facing horn images.

Later, perhaps three or four thousand years ago, a tradition began of far more naturalistic and realistic designs, including more complex bighorn sheep, elaborate ceremonial figures known as “patterned- bodied anthropomorphs,” and more embellished representations of atlatls. This tradition flourished and shows extensive continuity, development and elaboration in subject matter and style from the earlier pattern.

The Coso drawings continued to develop with increasing complexity. Over time petroglyphs were executed with more detail and greater size culminating with a pattern of larger than life-size (some greater than 7 feet in height) sheep done with great care. These drawings were rendered in unique Coso style with front-facing, bifurcated-horns,

boat-shaped bodies, flat backs with ears and hooves often added (see Figure 6.3 for a depiction of the changes in sheep renderings throughout the Coso tradition). The greatest number of these, associated with the Coso Representational Petroglyph tradition, apparently date to the Haiwee interval (ca. A.D. 600-1300). That expression appears to have ended abruptly, while in full fluorescence, during the Haiwee interval.

On the left side of Figure 6.2 are hypothesized Numic rock art styles. Numic rock art may have begun with very simple designs known as the Great Basin Scratched Style. This is found throughout the Coso Range, in both the uplands (Coso Peak) and the lowlands (Little Lake, Upper and Lower Renegade Canyon, and Sheep Canyon), many times superimposed over pre-Numic glyphs (Figure 6.7). These rock art designs apparently initiated with the Numic in-migration, beginning as early as A.D. 600. They appear to have continued during the period when both Numic and pre-Numic occupations may have co-occurred in eastern California (ca. A.D. 600-1000).

The last and most recent manifestation of Numic rock art includes the infrequent occurrence of monochrome (red) abstract paintings known as an expression of the Great Basin Painted Style (Heizer and Clewlow 1973). A unique set of polychrome paintings labeled as Coso Style paintings (see Chapter 5) also occurs at the end of the Marana Period (A.D. 1300 – Historic). The Coso Style paintings evidently date exclusively to the historic era and copy some of the imagery, style and subject matter of the earlier Coso Representational Petroglyphs. The element inventory of Coso Style paintings incorporates traditional subject matter including bighorn sheep, atlatl- and spear- impaled animals and bow and arrow hunters (Garfinkel et al. 2005). Also appearing within the

paintings are subjects of Euroamerican origin including hatted anthropomorphs, horse and riders, and cattle.

Evaluation of Models of Numic Population Movements

In this final section several models for Numic Expansion (Chapter 3) are evaluated. Three main explanatory models have been proposed to account for the historic distribution of Numic groups within the Great Basin: *in situ* cultural development, conquest through conflict and warfare, and economic displacement (cf. Delacorte 1995). The latter two models are not entirely mutually exclusive but emphasize different aspects of the prehistoric adaptations in order to understand how the Numic spread may have taken place. These alternatives are considered here in light of the previous archaeological data and are presented with an eye toward critically reviewing their merits in the general study area.

Aikens-Witherspoon (*in situ* development)

The Aikens and Witherspoon (1986:15; Aikens 1994) model proposes that Numic peoples have occupied the heart of the Great Basin since about 3500 years ago. Population-genetic studies in western Nevada seem to contradict that proposal, indicating a different pattern of mitochondrial DNA than the one characteristic of modern Numic groups. Rather than being a heartland for Numic ancestors, that area appears to have been an area of long term pre-Numic occupation. Aikens also argues that the better-watered, wetland refugia on the peripheries of the Great Basin were actually the homes for pre-Numic rather than Numic groups. This prediction also is at odds with recent

evidence for Numic populations in the northern Owens Valley based on population-genetic studies from Fish Slough Cave (Kemp et al. 2004). It is important to note that the model proposed by Aikens might be valid with reference to the ethnic groups on the fringes of the Great Basin including the Washo, Fremont, and Anasazi.

Sutton (conflict and warfare)

Sutton (1986, 1987, 1991) proposes that Numic expansion was mired in conflict over the control of critical resource patches. He suggests that Numic invaders migrated into underutilized areas taking control of crucial resource patches and denying use to their non-Numic neighbors. Little evidence to support such scenarios is provided by the analyses reported herein. Rather than denying use, it seems that pre-Numic groups only sparsely occupied certain areas and specific resources were less intensively used. Research has identified that, “the Numic were inhabiting very different ... sites than (were) their predecessors, a pattern, ...that helps explain how they could eventually displace existing groups (Delacorte 1995:10).”

It also seems that more intense procurement methods and labor-intensive adaptive poses are the hallmark of Numic subsistence-settlement strategies. Besides, pre-Numic folks appear to have been characterized by low population densities and that would seem to have precluded the type of intense competition or conflict proposed by Sutton (cf. Young and Bettinger 1991). Early in the Haiwee interval new settlements were directed toward areas of *lesser resource productivity*, not those areas previously favored. Many would consider these new areas more marginal than the former, more central settlements (cf. Delacorte 1994). In turn, based on optimal-foraging models, the resources exploited

by Numic people would ordinarily be ranked below first-order selections of certain high-caloric, lacustrine plants or large game animals. Resource exploitation by the Numic intruders was labor intensive in terms of their heavy processing costs and lower return rates (e.g., grebes, lagomorphs, green-cone pinyon, and hard seeds).

Bettinger-Baumhoff (economic displacement)

Since the Bettinger-Baumhoff model of Numic expansion was largely derived from studies in eastern California, it is not surprising that the data presented here are largely consistent with its predictions. We now have prehistoric population- genetic studies that begin to support the position that Numic groups occupied the northern Owens Valley significantly earlier than in other parts of the Great Basin (e.g., western Nevada). As well, other genetic evidence supports the contention that a population replacement occurred, at least in the western Nevada area of the Great Basin.

Yet if the Numic were “always” in the Owens Valley, it seems they went through several *in situ* transformations. Bettinger (2002) has asserted that Owens Valley is clearly the source of the Numic spread. He further maintains that changes within Owens Valley were all *in situ* transformational ones and that “*adaptive change everywhere else in the Great Basin is the result of migrations and population replacements from Owens Valley*” (Bettinger 2002). In other words he believes that the Owens Valley is the proto-Numic homeland, and that the ancestral Numic were more ancient in this area than elsewhere in the Great Basin.

However, Bettinger seems to have concluded, at least during an earlier phase of his Owens Valley research, that *pre-A.D. 600 expressions within the Owens Valley were*

most likely pre-Numic (Bettinger 1976:91-92, Table 4; Bettinger et al. 1984:125-129).

He posits that a local population increase, through immigration of Numic groups into the Owens Valley, was partly responsible for the introduction of intensive green-cone pinyon exploitation in the Inyo-White Mountains ca. A.D. 600, replacing the pre-Numic groups (Bettinger 1976). Bettinger et al. (1984) also identifies a Newberry age settlement (CA-Iny-2146, Partridge Ranch Site), located just south of Bishop in the central Owens Valley, as a “Pre-Numic site.” He identified that site as having the archaeological materials characteristic of a “traveler strategy.” In other words, a variety of elements expected at pre-Numic sites were represented there. These included a reliance on hunting and plant procurement emphasizing a “low cost” strategy, a restricted range of plant exploitation and expansive land use evidenced by extensive tool curation and caching (Bettinger et al. 1984:126; cf. Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982).

It is also interesting to note that the series of subsistence and settlement changes, perhaps marking adaptive shifts related to cultural succession, are in some cases precisely the same in the Owens Valley as outside this region (Delacorte 1990; Hildebrandt and Ruby 1999, 2003; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980). This pattern may suggest that a population replacement may also have occurred within the Owens Valley, as well as outside this region. This population in-migration, if it occurred, appears to have taken place at an earlier date. Specifically, shifts to small game procurement, intensive plant exploitation and changes in rock art style are all characteristic of the Owens Valley as well as some other areas of the Great Basin. These shifts may have taken place hundreds of years earlier in the Owens Valley than elsewhere in the Great Basin.

One class of data, widely accepted as evidence of Numic replacement is Great Basin Scratched rock art (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982:494; Quinlan and Woody 2003). Yet these simple images might not be expected within the Owens Valley, if it had been occupied continuously by Numic peoples. However, both Bettinger and Baumhoff (1982:494) and von Werlhof (1965: Figures 26d, i, j, 27d, f, g, and others) identify at least 18 panels exhibiting just such scratched rock art superimposed over earlier Great Basin Abstract motifs located *within* the Owens Valley. Such manifestations are puzzling and in need of further clarification.

As summarized previously, mitochondrial DNA evidence from Fish Slough Cave supports Numic occupation in the Owens Valley from at least A.D. 800. However, Nelson (1999:189) emphasizes that there are data from her studies at Fish Slough Cave that provide evidence for occupation by “different populations.” That evidence includes the presence of both Numic and *non-Numic* types of basketry and the occurrence of raw material in cordage that was not of Numic affiliation. These data are far from compelling but provide tantalizing indications of pre-A.D. 600 occupation in the Owens Valley by pre-Numic groups.

Summary

In the Kern Plateau interior, archeological evidence confirms the conclusion that the Tubatulabal language and cultural tradition is long-standing. Several sites show continuous, unbroken occupation from the historic era back ≥ 2500 years. Distributions of obsidian hydration rim measurements indicate a relatively uninterrupted prehistoric sequence. Dietary patterns also show a consistent emphasis on large game hunting and

pine nut use over two millennia. The use of a single geographic source of volcanic glass and the rendition of a solitary rock art tradition further testify to a single cultural expression.

In the desert region to the east, burial patterns at Chapman Cave suggest a direct historical link between ethnographic Numic populations and their earlier archaeological manifestations from ca. A.D. 600. Mitochondrial DNA evidence from the northern Owens Valley supports Numic occupation from ca. A.D. 800. Yet skeletal materials from western Nevada imply a recent population expansion by Numic groups and a replacement of pre-Numic groups within the last 500 years (ca. A.D. 1300).

The Sierra Nevada crest and the eastern desert areas witnessed significant subsistence shifts beginning ca. A.D. 600 and an evident disjunction in the midst of the Haiwee Period. These changes include: a decline in hunting of large game, an initial and growing emphasis on dryland hard seeds, the beginning of intensive green-cone pinyon pine nut use, and the mass harvest of easily procured and abundant small game animals. Obsidian hydration distributions indicate the timing and intensity of these shifting occupation patterns. It is argued that these changes reflect Numic in-migration and the expression of their distinctively different adaptations.

Earlier pre-Numic settlements appear to have emphasized obsidian acquisition, ungulate hunting, and rock art production. An abrupt cessation of the Coso Representational rock art tradition and its replacement by a simple scratched style is believed to have signaled disruption of autochthonous groups by an exotic population. Alternative models of Numic population movements were compared and the Bettinger-Baumhoff model of economic displacement appears to best fit these data. Nonetheless,

several puzzling data sets still support the idea that an early, pre-A.D. 600, pre-Numic occupation may have existed in the Owens Valley.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSIONS

This brief chapter sets forth major conclusions of the present study. Archeological data support the hypothesis that the Tubatulabal cultural tradition is long standing in the South Fork Valley of the Kern River area (Isabella Basin) and the interior Kern Plateau. A variety of archaeological evidence supports a continuous, unbroken occupation from the historic era back 2500 years or more. Distributions of obsidian hydration rim values, subsistence data, trends in obsidian source use and acquisition, and the representation of a single rock art tradition uniformly indicate that a single cultural expression lasted several millennia.

Archaeological evidence also suggests that initial pre-Numic colonizers settled in the well-watered lowland areas of the adjacent desert areas to the east leaving large expanses of land relatively open. This pre-Numic subsistence-settlement pattern apparently focused on highly-ranked (high caloric) foods with low processing costs (e.g., large artiodactyls, brown-cone pinyon, and riparian resources). During the Little Lake and Newberry periods, such residential occupation sites can be found at Little Lake (the Stahl Site and Stahl Site Cave), Rose Spring, Portuguese Bench, and Lubkin Creek.

During the subsequent Haiwee Period, dual use of the landscape may have taken place. Pre-Numic residential occupations appear to have continued, but Numic people also may have begun to target a different series of resources at ca. A.D. 600. Numic sites were positioned so that people could exploit resource-rich patches, while minimizing travel time. Such sites can be recognized in the upland pinyon camps of the Sierra Crest and Coso Range, the seed camps in the lowland Coso Volcanic Fields, a grebe hunting

camp at Ash Creek near Owens Lake, and a jackrabbit hunting settlement in the El Paso Mountains (among many other similar sites). Initial Numic in-migration may be attested by rock art of the Great Basin Scratched Style.

Haiwee Period Numic hunting camps could owe their brief existence to a number of unusual factors that took place only during the Haiwee Period (A.D. 600-1300). One factor would be that non-Numic and Numic groups possibly co-existed for several hundred years and exhibited different subsistence patterns. Additionally, at least two periods of intense drought (1058-838 B.P. and 741-600 B.P.), termed the Medieval Climatic Anomaly (MCA) (Stine 1994; see also Jones et al. 2004), appear to have influenced resource decisions during the late Haiwee interval.

Occupations at pre-Numic residential sites appear to have continued into the early Haiwee Period. Apparently, such sites declined in use, and in some areas seem to have been abandoned altogether toward the end of that period. This discontinuity is evidenced by an abrupt decline in Coso lowland hydration readings from the Rose Spring, Portuguese Bench, and Coso Volcanic Field sites. At about this same time, other cultural changes take place. The manufacture of Coso Representational petroglyphs abruptly ceases at the height of their elaboration. Similarly, the production of Wide Humboldt Basal-notched bifaces discontinues at the peak of their popularity.

During the following Marana Period, it appears that either the pre-Numic people became extinct (cf. Young and Bettinger 1992) or were absorbed into the more successful Numic populations. Limited genetic evidence suggests that a population replacement may have occurred in western Nevada (Kaestle and Smith 2001). That pattern may also be characteristic of the study area but if it did occur it would have taken place

considerably earlier. Genetic evidence from the northern Owens Valley is consistent with archaeological studies suggesting continuous Numic occupation from about A.D. 600.

In the Marana Period, the Numic people may have occupied favored lowland village sites that the pre-Numic people colonized earlier. Numic groups, at the same time, seem to have abandoned their short-lived and specialized Haiwee Period hunting camps. The Stahl Site Cave and the Rose Spring site exhibit an early occupation during the Newberry Period, a hiatus or greatly diminished cultural activities during much of the Haiwee Period, and then an apparent reoccupation and intensification during the Marana interval.

The weight of evidence suggests that a Numic population incursion was in part responsible for the archaeological record in portions of eastern California and the far southern Sierra Nevada crest. Some researchers see continuity between the historic Numic occupants and some of the more ancient archaeological manifestations in the region. This is especially the case with respect to the realistic petroglyphs recorded on the lava cliffs and canyons of the Coso Range. Yet, the body of evidence, when reviewed in detail and considered contextually, strongly indicates otherwise.

Contrary to the nay sayers, a static archaeological record or one with an especially strong sense of continuity is not to be found in much of eastern California. Settlements are punctuated with abrupt changes. Brief and even lengthy periods of site abandonment are common, and there are clear disjunctions in the archaeological record.

An *in situ* population increase would hardly have been predicted for this area given its environmental correlates. The Coso Range, Rose Valley, Indian Wells Valley

and the far southern Sierra were used only selectively prior to the Haiwee Period. These areas are resource deficient, arid, and present little in the way of natural resources to support elevated population densities. Hence, *in situ* population growth hardly seems sufficient to account for the abrupt shift in subsistence-settlement and technological changes within the span of a few hundred years.

A Numic population influx into eastern California would have resulted in territorial shifts exacerbating increased population pressure and reducing territory size. The Numic immigration appears to have immediately preceded the MCA. MCA droughts could have reduced biotic productivity and required new subsistence activities. The periods of aridity also could have spurred subsistence intensification in eastern California and led to the Numic replacement of pre-Numic groups and the ultimate expansion of Numic people out into the rest of the Great Basin.

Archaeological evidence has been advanced to evaluate alternative scenarios for aboriginal population movements in the southwest Great Basin. Population genetic studies are as yet silent on the issue with respect to the premise that Numic groups were extant during the pre-Haiwee era in eastern California. This does not mean this conclusion is necessarily false; it merely means there is no compelling reason to believe it is true. Given current evidence, the most plausible scenario is that a Numic migration and replacement of older population(s) occurred in the Desert portion of the study area.

Prehistoric research in the Kern Plateau and Isabella Basin supports the view that the Tubatulabal cultural tradition is long standing, with relatively continuous occupation dating from historic times back 2500 years or more. Detailed examination of the archaeological record, along the crest of the far southern Sierra and in eastern California,

supports the position that an influx of Numic groups took place ca. A.D. 600.

Synchronous with the introduction of the bow and arrow, the Numic pioneers established themselves in the southwestern Great Basin. Numic populations apparently pursued a more successful adaptive strategy, either replacing or absorbing pre-Numic groups. Numic peoples subsequently expanded out of this heartland and migrated throughout much of the Great Basin.

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