

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

THE PHONOLOGY OF ARIZONA YAQUI WITH TEXTS

Lynne S. Crumrine



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PREFACE

This analysis is a revision of my master's thesis which was done at The University of Arizona, 1958, under the direction of John Yegerlehner and Edward H. Spicer of the Department of Anthropology. Their advice and aid has been of great value. The research upon which the work was based was made possible through a grant from the Comins Fund, The University of Arizona. I wish to express thanks for the use of tape recorders courtesy of the Department of Anthropology, The University of Arizona, and Mr. and Mrs. Roy Kennedy of Borger, Texas. Both machines are Webcors, Webster-Chicago Model 210.

I am especially grateful for the availability, through the Department of Anthropology at The University of Arizona, of unpublished materials of Jean Johnson and Edward Spicer, and for the careful reading by Muriel T. Painter of this manuscript.

To Refugio Savala I am indebted for the literary interest in the texts, for most of the texts are his spontaneous cultural creations.

Any mistakes in the phonology or the texts are my own responsibility, and not that of any person listed here.

Tucson, Arizona

October, 1961

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INTRODUCTION

0. Many limitations exist with regard to this study. Not the least of these is the lack of full exploration here of the phonemic systems of the Spanish and English of the informants and the extent of the influence of bilingualism or trilingualism on the Yaqui phonemic systems represented in their speech.

It is a hypothesis well worth investigating that all systems a Yaqui speaker controls exert influences appearing as irregularities in any one system.

One would also expect not only differences in phonemic systems of the speech of monolinguals as compared to that of bi- or trilinguals, but also differences conditioned by generational and geographical differences, none of which are very widely represented by this data. Such are some of the limitations of this paper. The incompleteness or tentativeness of phonemic solutions, such as those regarding tone, should also be emphasized. I have revised my own conclusions on them several times. Gerd Fraenkel (1959) has a very different consonant phoneme inventory in his analysis than is presented here. His paper should be consulted by anyone interested in Yaqui phonemics.

The phonology presented here is that of an Arizona dialect of Yaqui as spoken by Refugio Savala and Fernando Suarez of Pascua, Arizona. Refugio Savala was born in Magdalena, Sonora, in 1903, but came to the United States with his mother at about one year of age. He has lived in Arizona since, attending school in Tucson through the second year of high school. Yaqui was the language of his childhood home. As is not uncommon among Pascuans he speaks Spanish and English also. Fernando Suarez speaks Yaqui and Spanish. The two men are members of the same household.

Recorded sources, other than the tapes made

with Refugio Savala and Fernando Suarez, were two tapes of Yaqui words recorded by Edward Spicer in 1953 with a South Tucson informant, Ponciano Flores. I transcribed this material and reelicited the part of it which has been used here from Refugio Savala. Before I collected tapes with an informant I also listened to a recording of an Easter Sermon by Ignacio Alvarez, originally recorded on disc by John Green, Easter, 1941. To facilitate listening, parts of the recording were transferred to tape in the radio and television studio of the Speech Department, University of Arizona. I did no transcription from this recording, though on several occasions I consulted the text edited by Painter, Savala, and Alvarez (1955). For other texts and articles consulted see page 11.

Terms and symbols used in this study are taken from or adapted from the following sources: (1) Use of the symbols [] = allophonic transcription; / / = phonemic transcription; and most of the articulatory descriptive terms are from Bloch and Trager (1942: 10-27). (2) The term *macrospan* is used here for a unit analogous to Hockett's (1955: 43-5) unit which he calls *macrosegment*. (3) The term *intonation* and associated concepts, such as *terminal juncture*, are adapted from Pike (1948), Hockett (1955: 45-51), and Trager and Smith (1951: 41-9). Symbols used here are for convenience and clarity. (4) Additional symbols are > for *becomes*, and ~ for *alternates with*. These, along with the numbering system used in this phonology, are in standard use in current editions of *International Journal of American Linguistics*. (5) The principles of phonemics and morphophonemics in general have been drawn from Harris (1951), Bloch and Trager (1948), and Hockett (1958).

ELICITING PROCEDURES

1. Four eliciting techniques were employed in order to get materials to be recorded. The Indiana University Archives of the Languages of the World eliciting drawings were presented to the informant. These evoked long and complex utterances. This entire text is included below.

Next, short English utterances were presented for translation. This method was designed to obtain materials for checking hypotheses regarding tonal contour and juncture phenomena.

The third type of eliciting was directed toward obtaining directional and relational material of use for future morphological study as well as for phonological study. A three-dimensional model of a Yaqui house and yard, with ramada and other typical items, was placed before the informant. Matchstick figures of a man, dog, horse, bird, and housefly were manipulated into different positions with respect to the other elements of the model. An effort was made to cause the stick figures to represent actions that the animals they symbolized would normally perform. The pantomime was done largely without English, except to identify each matchstick figure to the informant. The man walked around the house, lay under the ramada, stood before the house, gathered firewood from the ground and piled it up, picked flowers, and so on. The bird flew in circles above the house, then in one window and out another (or through the house), lit on the ramada, and did other things that birds can do. The housefly walked up and down the wall of the house, and so on. There was some repetition in order to permit the expression of various ways of denoting the same or a similar relationship. The method was successful in stimulating fairly immediate responses of the type intended. The informant entered into the spirit of the play and contrived a cardboard automobile out of a matchcover. (See Positionals and Directionals Text, Part 48.) This entire text is included.

A 17-minute conversation tape was elicited by suggesting to the informants that they talk about their childhood, which they did with enthusiasm. About five minutes of this text is presented here.

Some 60 hours were spent in informant sessions.

Of this time, three and one-half hours were spent in recording, resulting in a little over an hour of tape in Yaqui with short English identificatory labels. This forms the bulk of the corpus from which this analysis was made. Eliciting techniques, for sessions other than the conversation, were such that the machine was not recording while the stimulus was presented and the informant contemplated his answers. Thus, the Archives of the Languages of the World text is about 24 minutes long not including the informant's contemplative time. The Positionals and Directionals Text is 15 minutes long, and other Yaqui texts, recorded, though not included here, total about ten minutes in length. None of the timing on these texts includes the informant's contemplative time.

The recorded material was translated by playing back short spans of the tape to the informant and transcribing his slow speech equivalents. Each section of speech was then translated literally according to the informant's segmentation of the text into lexical units. A free translation followed this.

After each translation session the fast speech was transcribed allophonically from the tape and files of slow and fast forms were kept together. Pitch and stress were marked on transcriptions of fast speech.

Filing was begun mainly to discover the status of stress and tone in Yaqui. Lexical items were given separate English equivalents by the informant and were filed on separate slips. Below each item was written the fast speech form. Each occurrence of the item was placed on the same slip and marked according to its position in the running text, and thus on tape. Slips were indexed to Yaqui according to the slow speech forms, and carbons were indexed to English. Files of the word lists transcribed from Spicer's tapes were kept in a separate file.

The space divisions between lexical units in the texts are primarily for ease in reading and remain provisional upon the completion of a morphology of Yaqui.

CONSONANT PHONEMES

2. The consonant phonemes are /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/, /č/, /ʔ/, /b/, /d/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /s/, /h/, /r/, /l/, /w/, /y/ (Table 1).

The phonemes /d/, /f/, and /g/ occur primarily in Spanish loanwords (Spicer 1943; Johnson 1943).

2.1. Voiceless bilabial /p/ has one allophone, an unaspirated bilabial stop [p]. Examples are [ʔápo] *third person singular actor*; [púa] *to pick*.

2.2. Stops /t/ and /k/ are voiceless and unaspirated. They are apico-alveolar and dorso-velar, respectively. /k/ has a backed variant [q] preceding back vowels, and an allophone [k] elsewhere. Examples are [ket] *yet*; [qóʔoqó] *hurt*; [buítek] *ran*; [tááβu] *cottontail rabbit*.

2.3. Voiceless labiodental /f/ occurs only rarely in this corpus, for example [ánima félihtukan] *Felix, who is now deceased, (personal name)*.

2.4. The affricate /č/ is voiceless and apico-palatal. It has a stop onset and a shibilant release. There is a variant [c] in fast speech in which the release consists of a sibilant. Phonetically the allophones are [tš] ~ [ts]. Examples are: [čúuβala] *while*; [ʔénči vóʔóβičák] ~ [ʔénči voʔó βičák] *I watched the road for you (singular)*.

2.5. Glottal stop /ʔ/ is produced by stoppage of the air stream at the glottis. Examples are: [váʔáiya] *white rat*; [ʔem mála] *your mother*.

2.6. The labial voiced /b/ has three allophones. These are [b], a bilabial unaspirated stop occurring in initial position, and two fricatives which have a higher frequency of occurrence, bilabial [β] and labiodental [v], occurring in initial and medial positions. Examples are [bóʔó] ~ [βóʔó] ~ [vóʔó] *road, path*; [híva] ~ [híβa] *just, already*.

2.7. Voiced unaspirated alveolar stop /d/ occurs only on two occasions in my corpus, though it occurs in a larger number of instances in other texts consulted. Examples are: [díos] *God*; [dragún] *Dragoon (place name in Arizona)*.

2.8. Voiced dorso-velar stop /g/ has two allophones. Examples are: [góʔi] ~ [gʷóʔi] *coyote*; [dragún] *Dragoon*.

2.9. Nasal continuants /m/ and /n/ are voiced. The allophone [n] of /n/ is apico-velar, but a dorso-velar allophone [ŋ] occurs preceding /w/, /u/, or /k/. The phoneme /m/ has one bilabial allophone. Examples of nasal continuants are: [síʔime + íŋ waam + sakáʔalam] *all those who have gone by here*; [mála mééca] *mother moon*;

TABLE 1. Approximate Values of Consonant Allophones Except /w/ and /y/

		LABIAL	APICAL	DORSAL	GLOTTAL
STOPS	Unvoiced	p	t	(k, q)	ʔ
	Voiced	b	d	(gʷ, g)	
SPIRANTS	Unvoiced	β f	s		h
	Voiced	v			
AFFRICATES	Unvoiced		(č, c)		
NASALS	Voiced	m	(n	ŋ)	
LATERALS	Voiced		l		
FLAPS	Voiced		r		

The following consonant phonemes have been analyzed as having more than one allophone:

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 /b/ = [b] \sim [\beta] \sim [v] & /c/ = [č] \sim [c] \\
 /k/ = [k] \sim [q] & /n/ = [n] \sim [ŋ] \\
 /g/ = [gʷ] \sim [g] &
 \end{array}$$

The remaining phonemes have relatively narrow allophonic variations: /p/, /t/, /ʔ/, /d/, /f/, /s/, /h/, /m/, /l/, /r/, /w/, and /y/.

[néhpo] *I (actor)*; [ʔáməŋ qóʔom] *down yonder*; [táʔata ʔáməŋ wéʔeo] *the sun is falling yonder*; [túʔúriakan] (*it*) *was good*; [itón] *usíle* *we were children*.

2.10. Voiceless spirants /s/ and /h/ are apico-alveolar and glottal respectively. Examples are [huu hámut síka + mékka] *the woman went away*. When preceding consonants /h/ is sometimes velarized, and in this position has one mora length: [kúx kúta] *rosary wood*.

2.11. Voiced liquids are apico-alveolar flap /r/ and alveolar lateral /l/. In initial position the flap has a schwa onset. The point of articulation

for the lateral, when preceding front vowels, is post-dental. In initial position it may have an aspirated onset. Examples are: [kári] *house*; [ráutya] *rinse out*; [líonóka] *pray*; [wépul] *one*; [ʔápela] *third person singular alone*.

2.12. Semiconsonants are voiced /w/ and /y/. The latter is palatal. The former has a dorso-velar variant which occurs in initial position when preceding /o/; a spirant [ɣ]. The allophone [w] occurs in all positions in which the phoneme occurs. In initial position spirantization sometimes occurs, as in [ʰwátəŋ] *wanted*. Examples of /y/ are [yóqo] *tomorrow*; [húya] *brush, bush, tree*.

VOWEL PHONEMES

~ TABLE 2. Approximate Values of Vowel Allophones

		FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK	
		Unrounded	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded
HIGH	Higher H. Lower H.				
MID	Higher M. Lower M.				
LOW	Higher L. Lower L.				

/i/ = [i] ~ [ɪ] */o/* = [o] ~ [ʌ] ~ [ə]
/e/ = [e] ~ [ɛ] */u/* = [u] ~ [ɯ] ~ [ɨ]
/a/ = [a] ~ [ə]

3. The vowel phonemes are /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/. All allophones are voiced, except when in macrosyllable final, explained below. See Table 2.

3.1. The phoneme /i/ has two variants, high front unrounded [i], and a slightly lower high front [ɪ]. Examples are [bóʔó + túʔúriakəŋ] *the road is good*; [wáh pááriáta ne bicók] *I saw the farm plain*; [húniʔi] *even (intensive)*.

3.2. The phoneme /e/ has two allophones, the higher mid front unrounded [e] and lower mid front [ɛ]. In fast speech the latter occurs before or after stops /t/ and /k/, as a variant near nasals and in clusters with back vowels. Examples are:

[vóo ɛúkti ne yéu síika] ~ [vóo ɛúkti ne yéu síika] *I went out across the road*; [ʔemeʔe] *you (plural)*; [ket] *yet*.

3.3. The phoneme /a/ has two allophones. These are low central unrounded [a] and mid central unrounded [ə]. The variant [ə] usually occurs adjacent to phonemes /t/, /k/, and nasals, but also occurs elsewhere in fast speech. Examples are [ʔamək] *with or accompanying third person singular*; [ɛáʔəkə] *after, behind*; [huka wáh pááriátə ne + ʰwátəŋ] *I remembered (longingly) the farm-field*; [népo náa viðók hukó ísítə] *I myself saw the little child*.

3.4. The phoneme /o/ has three allophones. These are higher mid back rounded [o], slightly lower mid back unrounded [ɔ], and higher mid back unrounded [ʌ]. The allophone [ɔ] varies with [o] following /w/ and /k/, and the /ʌ/ varies with [o] as a first member in clusters with /e/. Examples are: [wókim] *feet*; [kóttek] *broken*; [nótte] *return*; [yʌéme] *Yaqui (person), Yaqui (language)*; [bwíapo] *on the ground*.

3.5. The phoneme /u/ has three allophones. High back rounded [u] occurs in medial and final

positions. Lower high back unrounded [o] occurs in vowel clusters preceding /e/, and varies with [u] near /t/ and /k/. High central unrounded [ɪ] is a variant in slow speech as first member in clusters with mid front vowels and high vowels, as a second member in clusters with the same vowels, and before or after nasals. Examples are: [bʊéʔituk] *because*; [ʔúsi] *child*; [ᵐbóóta ne^hwáatan inna] *I wanted the road very much*; [bʊekáékan huɪ wátwe] *the river was wide*; [baséranta ne áa viðŮ] *I saw the lake*; [vuíβíika] *sings*; [βíekáékan] *was wide*; see also 3.3.

STRESS

4. Most Yaqui words have stress accent. On this point I am in agreement with Johnson (1943)

áu +	lío	nóka	ʔó	ʔáu		kúhteʔo	ʔáu	múhte		+
	┆	┆	┆	┆		┆	┆	┆		
	┆	┆	┆	┆		┆	┆	┆		

and Dedrick (1946), that is each stem, compound, or idiom said in isolation is characterized by a relatively stable pattern of relative loudness of syllables, though there is perturbation of this stress in running discourse. For the particular form stress takes in discourse of my informants the texts may be consulted. Stress, as it occurs in the accompanying texts, is marked by an acute accent in order to demonstrate its patterning in discourse relative to other phonemic features.

4.1. It appears that stress and time are sig-

	(+)	huʔu	ʔúsi	hámut		ínto	ká	áčin	húni		
	ʔá	—	—	ána	kía	túa	áman	aʔa	bít	—	čú #

nificantly related in my informants' speech. In a great majority of the texts stressed syllables are equally timed relative to each other regardless of the number of unstressed syllables between them. That is, within any given pre-composed span it takes about the same time to get from one stressed syllable to the next regardless of whether none or several unstressed syllables intervene. The rhythmical effect is often quite striking, especially when stresses are equally intense (as they are especially so in grammatically parallel structures)

and where there is a minimum of accompanying tone variation. For example:

to pray, and to cross (oneself) and to bow (to the cross). Note that the monosyllable ʔo (probably a Spanish loanword) is stressed or not, according to the placement of stress on key contentives, or content words. (For variations in stress placement see texts.) A new time signature, so to speak, may begin with each juncture. (See 5. for definition of junctures.) This means that stresses, though evenly spaced in time relative to one another, may be absolutely slower in one span than another.

4.2. In vowel clusters each vowel may be stressed, resulting in the following timing pattern:

huʔu ʔúsi hámut ínto kááčin húni ʔááne kía túa áman aʔa bítčú # *The girl does not make any gestures but just keeps looking*.

4.3. If words of the span are largely of two or three syllables each, the result may be that every other syllable is stressed.

	népo		náa	bi-	-čák	hu-	-ká	u		sí	ta		#
--	------	--	-----	-----	------	-----	-----	---	--	----	----	--	---

népo náa (ne-aʔa) bičák huká usíta # *I saw the little child*.

INTONATION, JUNCTURES, AND PHRASING

5. In order to facilitate the description of junctures and intonation the construct of macrospan is introduced as consisting of any sequence of phonemes bounded terminally by double cross juncture /#/ or by double bar juncture //, and bounded initially by either of these junctures or silence.

5.1. The defining characteristics of # as used in this analysis are integrated primarily with phenomena of tone and pause, and secondarily with stress and time. Vocoid is defined as any tone-bearing phoneme. Falling tone, which usually starts on macrospan final low pitch level (see 5.5.), always occurs on the final vocoid. Falling tone is succeeded by partially or completely devoiced phoneme(s). This series of phenomena is usually, but need not be, followed by a pause or silence.

5.2. The phonemes /k/, /t/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /s/, /h/, /ʔ/, and all vowels occur in macrospan final in simultaneous occurrence with features which are assignable to # or //.

When preceding # the phonemes /k/ and /t/ are always released, and /m/ and /n/ have semi-voiceless or voiceless variants in this position. If vowel(s) precede final nasals, the vowel(s) may or may not be nasalized, but will be voiced.

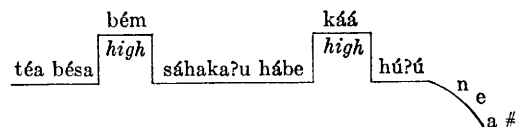
Vowel(s) occurring macrospan final, when preceding # juncture, have a marked voiceless off-glide or are completely devoiced. In general, # juncture terminates a macrospan concerned with a statement of fact or (not especially emphatic) opinion. It is used almost exclusively in description and narrative. Examples are: hunu ʔóʔóu tékipánOA # *that man works*; hunu hámut buíbwíka^A # *that woman sings*; ʔilí čúú tábútat čáʔaka buítékaN # *a little dog is running after a cottontail rabbit*; síhume inín waam + sakáalam^M # *all those have gone by here*.

5.3. Following are the defining characteristics of //. Rising tone, which is usually preceded by phonemically high tone, always occurs on the final vocoid. Final vowels are voiced. The // juncture occurs terminally, bounding macrospans having three types of general meaning: 1.) rhetorical questions, 2.) polite exclamations and emphatic

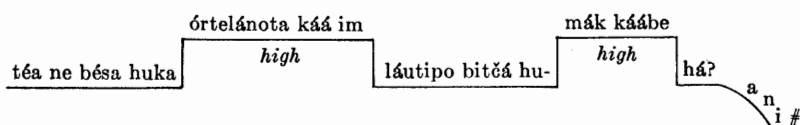
opinions, 3.) short questions requiring information. In the latter type final vowels are often post-glottalized. Examples of 1.) are: kááhunuén // *wasn't it that way?* ʔémpo ʔáu wáaten // *do you remember?* Examples of 2.) are: héewi húnen áanen // *yes, that's (just) the way he used to be!* héewi // ne ʔáu wáate katiʔin // *(ah) yes! I remember, wasn't it that way (though)!* héewi hunáʔa túa itómak wéweaman // *(oh) yes, that's the one who used to wander about so much with us!* Examples of 3.) are: kéečupéʔ // *is it (the tape recording) not yet finished?* čúʔúʔ // ʔoʔ wóʔi # *(is it) dog or coyote?*

5.4. A plus /+/ juncture has been used to mark a pause internal to the macrospan. The + juncture is preceded by a sustenance of pitch. The same segmental phonemes which occur in macrospan final position also occur preceding + juncture. There may or may not be devoicing of final vocoids. A + juncture phrases a macrospan into smaller units. Examples are: nák ne⁺ ket húni unna ilčíakan bóetuk ket húni + ne báát únná mékka kóʔomi ku ket húni + káá ʔáman kíbakeka bea ʔemé ne téhwálatune maiyóau + ne⁺ ʔino uhúʔusáekai # *then, because I was still very young (+), I into the very deep water (+) could not enter; you informed me I had to remain here at the edge (+) nursing myself (#); ne ilí + yóʔówe # I was a little (+) adult; baséran + buekáekan # the lake was wide; ʔáewa ʔinto + ʔáu ómteka + ʔitóm aʔa kónkóntaria itómak yéuʔa síiko # and his mother (+) used to be angry with him (+) and try to intercept him when he tried to sneak out with us; ʔitépo náwit + bátwemak lópola ʔáánen # both of us (+) were alongside the river.*

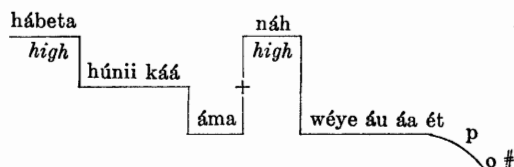
5.5. There are allophonic pitches other than terminal falling (assigned to #) and terminal rising (assigned to //). These pitches may be called highs and lows, and be represented diagrammatically as follows:



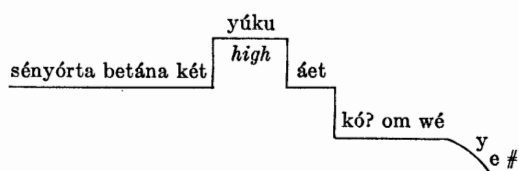
But where they are going nobody knows.



... but I don't see the orchard keeper and he might not be around here.



Just anyone doesn't walk in his plants.



And also from the Lord the rain comes down upon it.

5.6. The choice by a speaker of which segment(s) of a span receive high tones, it may be suggested

tentatively, rests upon grammatical and/or stylistic considerations. High and low tones are therefore not written in the texts. In any case, however, tone and stress in running discourse are not to be confused.

5.7. In long narratives, sermons or soliloquies each high tone, though high relative to its immediate environment, is on the same pitch or on an absolutely lower pitch than the last high tone. This goes on from span to span, throughout paragraphs of as many as three or four long macro-spans, giving the discourse a descending scale, until the speaker gets a fresh breath. This also is probably a stylistic feature, rather than a phonemic one. This pattern very strongly characterizes the first two texts below, and is quite noticeable in the Yaqui Eastern Sermon (Painter, Savala, and Alvarez, 1955).

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

6. Consonants which occur as second members of consonant clusters are /p/, /t/, /k/, /č/, /b/, /m/, /n/, /s/, /h/, /r/, /l/, /w/, /y/. Consonants occurring as first members of clusters are /l/, /m/, /n/, /k/, /t/, /s/, /h/, /p/, /r/, /b/, and /d/. Those which may occur as third member are /w/ and /y/.

Two clusters of three consonants occur, both with /w/ as a third member: /béngwa/ long time (?) and /étbwa/ steal, sneak.

Morpheme initial clusters occur in both Spanish and Yaqui words. They seem to be limited, however, to those with /w/, /y/, or /r/ as second member. Examples are: /lwíis/ Luis (name); /kwénta/ count; /hwáta/ tree, (goal); /bwána/ weep; /pwétata/ door, gate (goal); /nyé/ variant of /?ínie/ this; /dragún/ Dragoon.

Most clusters have two members, one of which is on either side of a morpheme boundary. The most common phonemes which occur finally,

/k/, /t/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /s/, /h/, and /?/, should, then, be found in combination with all consonants which occur in initial position. This does not seem to happen in a corpus of this size. Those double clusters which were collected are shown in Table 3.

Illustrations of these double clusters are as follows:

/l/ as first member: /wépul púúsím/ one eye; /éltúame/ ease; /bálko/ soft, fine, smooth; /wépul číkul/ one mouse; /wépul bó?óta/ one road (goal); /wépul mééča/ one moon; /wépul nóóki/ one word; /wépul sontáo/ one soldier, one chapaiyeka; /wépul húya/ a single tree; /?animálrata/ animals (all kinds); /lú?ullú?ute/ ending; /hinélwaači/ danger; /wépul yoéme/ a single person.

/m/ as first member: /?émpo/ you (singular); sénu yoéme ím táwa/ one man remained here; /?ínim káa yúm hó?eká?atek/ if they did not rest here; /díos ém čaniábu/ God help you all, (Hello); /?ámbiča/ thither; /báčita itóm mákne/ it will

TABLE 3. Double Consonant Clusters
First Members of Consonant Clusters

	l	m	n	k	t	s	h	p	r	b	d
S e c o n d M e m b e r s	p	lp	mp	—	kp	tp	sp	hp	pp	—	—
	t	lt	mt	nt	kt	tt	st	ht	pt	rt	—
	k	lk	mk	nk	kk	tk	sk	hk	—	—	—
	č	lč	mč	nč	kč	tč	—	—	pč	—	—
	b	lb	mb	nb	kb	tb	sb	hb	—	rb	—
	m	lm	mm	nm*	km	tm	—	hm	—	—	—
	n	ln	mn	nn	kn	tn	sn	hn	pn	—	—
	s	ls	ms	ns	ks	ts	ss	hs	ps	rs	—
	h	lh	mh	nh	kh	th	—	hh	ph	—	—
	r	lr	—	—	kr	—	—	—	—	—	dr
	l	ll	ml	nl	kl	tl	—	—	—	—	bl
	w	lw	mw*	nw	kw	tw	sw	hw	pw	—	bw
y	ly	my	ny	ky	ty	sy	hy	py	—	—	

* These forms occur in slow speech only.

give us corn; /háháme/ will reach, overtake; /símsuk/ (singular actor) has gone; /yúm hoéria/ resting place; /símla/ gone; /ʔím wáin/ hither (slow form only); /ʔiním yúm hóebáe hu ʔúsi/ the boy wants to rest here.

/n/ as first member: /ʔintok/ also, more, moreover; /ʔaʔa nánkine ʔau nóitine/ to go and see (third person singular) and return; /ʔénči/ you (singular); /kópánbáe/ wants to rest; /ʔín mámpo/ in my hand (slow speech only); /ʔúnná/ very, too, much; /ʔamánsu/ up yonder; /ʔápo hunén hiúne/ thus he will say; /ʔiʔan láutipo/ now presently, immediately; /ʔamán wameʔe/ those yonder; /ʔinye/ this (fast form).

/k/ as first member: /wókpo/ on foot; /ʔáu rúkte/ approach it; /hékká/ shelter, shade, ramada; /káá túik bíčakáʔatek čéá húni/ not good if (she) see bad trouble; /ʔinépo aʔa núk búitek/ I ran away with it; /humak mééča láuti yéu wéene/ maybe the moon will come out early; /mákne/ will give; /háksa/ where; /yúkumak huʔu báso yuʔin tobóktila/ the grass has risen with the rain; /bwíkriʔáne/ would be singing; /bóomak lópolá ne sílka/ I went along beside the road; /né humak émak wéʔetek/ maybe if I go with you (singular); /huáta betúk yúm hóʔene/ rest underneath the brush.

/t/ as first member: /ʔétpo/ among the plants;

/nóttibáe/ want to return; /yúku áet kóʔon wéye/ rain falls on it; /ʔámet čáaʔaka/ after them, behind them; /wíkit bóa/ bird's feather; /ket mééča beméla/ the moon is still new; /kátne/ will walk; /ʔátsúk/ laughed; /ket humak/ yet maybe; /bítlá/ have seen; /wíkit wókim/ bird's feet; /hámut yóʔowe/ elder woman.

/s/ as first member: /wáspo wáhiwa/ within the farmfield; /nábústia/ beyond, through; /pásko/ fiesta; /ʔósbóta/ blood; /limósna/ contribution; /téboh bás síaliku búibwíte/ the little gopher runs on the grass; /ʔám teswáne/ inform them; /ʔúsyóli/ beautiful.

/h/ as first member: /néhpo/ I; /nábúhtia/ beyond, through; /kúh kúta/ rosary wood; /ʔóhbóta/ blood; /wáhmak/ (beside the) farm-geld; /limóhna/ contribution; /téboh báh síaliku búibwíte/ the little gopher runs on the grass; /púhhubaka/ facing; /ʔám tehwáne/ inform them; /ʔúhyóli/ beautiful.

/p/ as first member: /píppim/ breasts; /kópta/ forget; /hápci/ father, sir, (woman speaking); /núnupne/ will carry; /hiápsi/ heart; /mámaphíba/ just by hand; /pwéblo/ town; /kapyeo/ sheep herder.

/r/ as first member: /nórte/ north; /súrbétana/ from or toward the south; /ʔabérsi/ if to see.

/b/ as first member: /pwéblo/ town, people in a

ceremony; /yoéme híʔbwan/ *the man was eating*.
/d/ as first member: /dragún/ *Dragoon* (place name).

The Spanish loanwords or names which occur in the corpus have been included in these statements, but they by no means exhaust all the clusters from Spanish used by Yaquis. An example is /g/ and /r/ in /milagrosom/ *miraculous*

(Painter, *et al.*, 1955: 42, line 104). Many others could be cited which do not appear in these texts. Though large numbers of these consonant clusters are quite possible in Yaqui discourse the very rarity of their appearance might be said to indicate that the Yaqui consonant cluster restrictions operate against the selection of Spanish words with difficult clusters in the speech of my informants.

VOWEL CLUSTERS

7. All combinations of two vowels occur. (See 8.1.) Examples are: /níim/ *here* (fast form); /ʔinie/ *this*; /benásia/ *like, as if*; /hiókwe/ *pardon, forgive*; /hiúbae/ *want to say*; /húʔunéiya/ *know*; /weéya/ *go*; /ʔálaʔéa/ *well* (in good health); /wéceo/ *falling*; /teúne/ *will find*; /háisa/ *how*; /kópánbáe/ *want to rest*; /ʔaʔa máaka/ *give it*; /hiáo/ *saying*; /ʔáunóoka/ *talk to* (third person singular); /wói/ *two*; /ʔamayóe/ *escape*; /hóara/ *house, home*; /nóókim/ *words*; /ʔóʔou/ *man*; /tuísi/ *very*; /búéʔituk/ *because* (slow form); /buána/ *weep*; /sénu ʔóʔou/ *a single man*; /púúsim/ *eyes*.

7.1. Usually vowels in clusters are carefully articulated. Occasionally, however, /i/ becomes /y/ following /n/, as in /ʔinie/ > /ʔinye/ *this*. In addition /u/ > /w/ following either medial allophone of /b/, as in /búia/ > /bwia/ *ground, earth*.

7.2. A few clusters of three vowels were recorded in fast speech, but all have variants in slow speech in which the clusters are eliminated or limited to two members through insertions of glottal stop of /h/, /y/, /w/. Examples are: /hiáo/ > /hiáʔo/ *saying*; /kóokósi áuk/ > /kóʔokósi ʔáyuk/ *is hurt*; /búíapo/ > /bwíapo/ *on the ground*.

AUTOMATIC MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATIONS

8. Morphophonemic alternations which are determined only by phonological environments (in addition to those listed in 7.1.) are listed in the following subsections.

8.1. /h/ and /ʔ/, when intervocalic, may drop out while the vowels may fuse, or if identical, form geminate vowels. This is common in long macrospans. The same statement applies to /y/. Examples are: /húya/ > /húa/ *tree*; /bóʔó/ > /bóó/ *road, path*; /ʔáiyakáme/ > /ʔákame/ *rattlesnake*; /kéhé/ > /kéé/ *not yet*.

8.2. /h/ alternates with /s/ as a first member in consonant clusters, and seems to be the preferred variant. For examples see 6.

8.3. /m/ alternates with /n/ in fast speech, when preceding /w/ and /k/. Examples are: /ʔim/ *here* + /waʔam/ *by* > /ʔinwaam/; /ʔinto/

and + /ʔitóm/ *us* + /gómgómtane/ *will* (used to) *scare us* > /ʔintitón gómgómtane/.

8.4. In fast speech /n/ > /m/ preceding /m/ and /p/, as in /báséran/ *lake* + /-ta/ > /basérinta/ *lake* (goal), but /báséran/ + /-po/ > /básérámpo/ *on the lake*; /ʔín-/ *my* + /mámpo/ *in hand, on hand* > /ʔimmámpo/ *in my hand* (fast speech).

8.5. In macrospan initial, a /ʔ/ plus vowel sequence or /h/ plus vowel may drop out in fast speech. This may or may not be accompanied by compensatory lengthening of an identical vowel in the succeeding syllable. Examples are: /ʔínim/ > /níim/ *here*; /húnu/ > /nu/ *that*; /hukáʔa/ > /ka/ *that*.

8.6. In fast speech /f/ alternates with /p/, as in /ápo/ ~ /áfo/ *third person singular actor*.

NON-AUTOMATIC MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATIONS

9. There are many morphophonemic alternations determined by morphological environments. In order to be anywhere nearly thorough in listing these alternations a dictionary would be required. Some examples of different types are as follows: /káata/ apparently alternates freely with /káríta/ *house (goal)*; /buéʔituk/ > /bóetuk/ *because*, in fast speech; /téa/ > /tá/ *but, on the other hand*. In some words /g/ > /w/, as in /góʔi/ > /wóʔi/ *coyote*. A number of slow speech forms which have patterned changes in fast speech are as follows: /háksa/ *where* + /humeʔe/

those > /háksumeʔe/; /hákun/ *where* + /húniʔi/ *even* > /hákuʔniʔi/; /ʔiʔan/ *now* + /ʔinto/ *and* + /húči/ *again* > /ʔiʔantúči/; /ʔinto/ *and* + /hitása/ *what* > /ʔintása/; /ʔinto/ *and* + /ʔáu/ *to or of third person singular* > /ʔintau/; /ʔinto/ *and* + /ʔiʔan/ *now* > /ʔintiʔan/; /ʔinto/ *and* + /ʔínim/ *here* > /ʔintim/; /ʔinto/ *and* + /ʔiʔi/ *this* > /ʔintiʔi/; /ʔinto/ *and* + /húči/ *again* > /ʔintuči/; /ʔinto/ *and* + /húka/ *that (goal)* > /ʔintuka/; /ʔinto/ *and*; /húʔu/ *that* > /ʔintuu/; /káá/ *no, not* + /hábe/ *someone* > /káábe/ *no one*; /káá/ *no, not* + /híta/ *something, thing* > /kááfta/ ~ /kahíta/ *nothing*.

SUMMARY

10. This analysis has resulted in a five-vowel system and a relatively small consonant inventory which are closely similar, with minor variations, to the system of writing Yaqui which has become traditional in anthropological literature, as well as among Yaquis.

Some additional conclusions include the following: Stress in single words may be governed by a fuller context in the phrase or sentence where stress and time are significantly related. Grammatical and semantic considerations seem to constitute the governing elements in the use of tone. There are three types of junctures, whose main phonological correlates are tone and pause.

Clustering of consonants in Yaqui is quite limited, with some restriction on clusters of two consonants and a severe restriction on consonant clusters of more than two members, even in loanwords. Clusters of two vowels, however, are common and combinations are exhaustive of possibilities. A few triple clusters of vowels occur, though rarely. Vowel clusters are often created through the dropping out of certain consonants in fast speech.

The texts constitute utterances freely and entirely composed by the informants in response to visual stimuli or in the course of Yaqui conversational give-and-take.

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APPENDIX

TEXTS

The symbols used on the following texts are explained in the phonology, with the exception of the Arabic numerals, which have no significance in Yaqui. They are used only as a convenience in marking segments for the free English translation. Word and phrase divisions are to some extent arbitrary except where marked by double bar (//), double cross (#), or plus (+) junctures, which are phonological divisions natural to Yaqui.

With respect to the English meanings given in these literal and free translations I would like to add a word of caution. It is generally impossible to carry in a single English word the full implications of a Yaqui word, or *vice versa*. For example Mrs. Painter has pointed out that the translation here of *muhte* (Positionals and Directionals Text, Section 5, Number 3.) as “genuflection” is perhaps inadequate, since the word implies “the whole act of veneration,” not just genuflection; the translation of *lionooka* (Positionals and Directionals Text, Section 10, Number 1.) as “blessing” might perhaps better be translated in all its contexts as “pray,” and so on. It is hoped that a Yaqui grammar and a dictionary exploring such meaning subtleties will someday be made generally available.

ARCHIVES OF THE LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD TEXT

I

1. ním hámanak bóó bó'oka + 2. níka + huyáta báhi tátakalaim awaká'apo ne wá'ám siika
here where-some road lies of-this tree three forks points-at I by went
ne 'áu wáate # 3. hunáe bó'ówi # 4. 'íntok + ní huya hunúk + káá ínién s'aliakan ían
I to-it remember that road-on and this tree then not like-this green-was now
íntok uhúyoisi + sáwák #
and beautifully leaves-with

1. There's a road going through here somewhere. 2. This tree with the three forks, I remember when I went by it 3. on this road. 4. This tree was not so green and now it's beautiful with leaves.

2

1. katín ne éu nóókan + wa'a yoéme iním wa'am + bó'óta bó'oka + tían iníka huáta
not-did I to-you talk that man this by road lies says this tree
wéeka'apo ámani # 2. háibu ápo iniét + huám símela má'céa + 3. hú'unakiačim + a'a
stands-where by already he on-this trees went-through so-that visible him
wók suká'apo ámani #
foot where-he-has-stepped by

1. Did I not tell you that man says there lies a road through here where this tree stands? 2. He has gone through here. 3. His footprints are visible.

3

1. iníka yoémta sehtúl in wa'am síkame yoéme sí'ime + ?ían + iníka wepúl bó'óta i'an
 this man once here by went man all now this one road now
 iniét + yá'alamtákaí # 2. wówoika babáhika náu réhta waté into huyáta betúkun +
 this-way made have two three together walk some and tree under
 kopánbáekái amán rúkte #
 shelter-desiring-to-take there approach

1. As this man went by here everyone of these men have started using this road. 2. Two and three are walking together. Some approach under the tree to take shelter, desiring to take shelter under it.

4

1. tiémpota yumák + 2. imé yoéme + ket húnika huyáta haháse né intók # 3. káá yúm
 time came these men yet even-this tree follow I and not tiredness
 hóeriata? + íno háriúriaka kiá ket húni nábuhti wéye? # 4. wame yoéme inín wá'am
 resting myself looking-for already yet still beyond going those men here by
 sáhakáme # 5. ín hahámbae béé'i'ibo #
 traveled I reach-want because

1. As the time came, 2. the people are looking for shelter, but 3. I myself do not seek any shelter 4. but I will continue going ahead, 5. because I want to overtake the other men who have gone through here.

5

1. hó'o wúsim emé hiba hú'únea + 2. (yu) + yúm hó'oebáetek húni + 3. iní wepúl
 see boys you(plu) already know tiredness to-rest-want even this one
 huyá hiba (iním) + i'anía bó'óta áyúk + 4. i'an láutipo # 5. á'a únná tatáa humák húni ite
 tree just on-this road exists now presently it's very hot perhaps still we
 nábuhti sáhákateka waam séka'ana yúm hó'ériata hahámne #
 beyond travel-if there the-other tiredness rest reach-will

1. See boys, you know, 2. if you want to take a rest, 3. only this tree is on this road. 4. Now, for the time being, 5. it's very hot. Perhaps if we go beyond, we will reach the rest at the next place.

6

1. két né hunén hiáusuhú # 2. sénu yoéme i'im táawabáe húmakú'u # 3. ?ité húma wóika
 yet I thus saying and one man here remain-wants probably we may two-being
 káá báeka húni'i nábuhtia kátne # hum séká'ana itóm + yahá'apo táhtia + 4. hunáman te
 not wanting even beyond go-will there the-other we arrive-at until down-yonder we
 hú'úbwa + yúm hó'ene #
 a while tiredness rest-will

1. And now, as I was saying, 2. one man probably wants to remain here. 3. Maybe we, there being two of us, even if we don't want to, will have to travel until we arrive at the other place. 4. Then we will take a rest for a while.

7

1. níika huáta ne + háiwaka wéye 2. i'an ála né hekkáta betúk yúm hóene # 3. yoémen ín
 this-is tree I seek-ing go now then I shade under tiredness rest-will men here

wa'am sáhakámené # wók hahásé'etek 4. húmak # yóko háksa tá'ata wé'epo húmak ne
 by went-who-I tracks follow-if maybe tomorrow somewhere sun going maybe I
 ?ám hahámne #
 them overtake-will

1. This is the tree I am looking for. 2. Now I will rest under the shade. 3. If I follow the tracks of the men who went through here, 4. maybe tomorrow sometime (*lit.* the sun going somewhere) maybe I will overtake them.

8

1. iním huáta betúk yúm hó'elá # 2. humak húu ?úsi hámút amet čá'aka wéeme ket
 here tree beneath tiredness rest-have maybe the child female them after walk-who also
 humak nábusi símsuk # 3. ité íntok + káá im yúm hóeka # 4. ?ámet čá'aka kátné +
 maybe beyond gone-has we and not here tiredness rest-ing them after go-will
 5. humák ité + yúm hóeká'atek 6. ?ám saká'asuk # 7. ká'am háámne #
 maybe we tiredness rest-if them gone not-them overtake-will

1. They have rested here under the tree. 2. Maybe the girl who was following them has gone on beyond here. 3. We shouldn't rest here. 4. We should continue going after them. 5. Because perhaps if we rest, 6. they will be gone, 7. and we will not overtake them.

9

1. ?into te waam sénu yúm hóeria ám háámne + 2. bóetuk wáme + ?inim káa yúm
 and we there one resting place them overtake-will because those here not tiredness
 hóeká'atek 3. waam séká'ana yúm hó'eria (híba yu) híba yu?ín čúúba ááne #
 rested-if there the-other resting place always much while stay-will

1. We shall overtake them over there at the other resting place, 2. because if they did not rest here, 3. they will probably stay for a while at the next resting place.

10

1. ?iním yúm hóebáetek ?émpo + (?ím) + ?im tawáne 2. ?inéhpo húči nóttibáe #
 here tiredness rest-want-if you(s.) here stay-will I again return-want
 3. ?émpo into nábuhti síkáa amán waame'e bató'im + 4. ?am háhámeká'atek # húči nótteka
 you(s). further beyond going yonder those people them overtake-if again returning
 ínwáin hó'arau né téhwáne #
 hither home-to me tell-will

1. If you want to rest here you can remain. 2. I am going to return, 3. and you go on through yonder to those people. (*lit.* baptised ones) 4. If you overtake them return here to my home, and tell me.

11

1. ?iním yúm hóebáe húu ?úsi + 2. ?itépoté + nábuhti sáhaka amán wamé # 3. wame
 here tiredness rest-wants the boy we-shall beyond going yonder those those
 ínwa'am sahakáme (haháne) ?ámahúni te ham + hahámeká'atek # yókó + ?ámeu
 here-by went-who maybe we them overtake-them-if tomorrow to-them
 yáhiné #
 arrive-will

1. The boy is going to rest here. 2. We shall go on beyond to those who have (already) gone by here. 3. Perhaps if we overtake them we shall reach wherever they are tomorrow.

12

1. huka?a úsita ím + huyáta betúk + yúm hó?ebáe?o # 2. ?inépo ne hóeráu bičá húči
 this boy here tree under tiredness rest-wants-if myself I home-to toward again
 nóttine # 3. ?emé ?íntok hum + nábuhti wame bató?im + wókit saháka # 4. ?am háámeka +
 return-will you(pl.) and there beyond those people tracks going them reach
 tó?étek húnii + ámmak étehótek hunii húči nóttek íntuči íim hóarau # (ne)
 lay-down-to-sleep-if even them-with talk-if even again returning and-again here home
 néwa?a + lutúria mákne? #
 to-me truth give-will

1. If the boy wants to rest here under the tree, 2. I am going back home again. 3. And you, going beyond, follow the footprints of the people who went by. 4. If you should reach them before night, if you talk to them, then return again to my home and tell me about them.

13

1. (?inépo) népo káa yóotáka íním + nukísi hiba + hú?utéata hipúe # 2. wame bató?im sí?íme +
 myself not grown-being here as-far just strength have those people all
 nábuhti + sáhakáme # ne káa háibu ?am hahámne 3. íntok húmak + ne káa ?ám téakáatek #
 beyond went-who I not never them reach-will and maybe I not them find-if
 ?ínepo íntok íno tá?aruká?atek 4. čéa húni káa tu?íne #
 I and me lost-if worse even no good-would-be

1. Myself not being grownup, this is as far as I have strength to go. 2. As for those people who have gone through here, I will never reach them. 3. And perhaps if I don't find them, I will get lost, 4. and that would be awful. (*lit.* that would be even worse than not good.)

14

1. sí?íme + inín wa?am saká?ala + hó?oben hume + bató?im tá ne + 2. népo káa amán
 all here by went it's-true those people but I myself not yonder
 yumáka 3. íním tá?áwak # 4. ?áhta ne énci yepsá?u tahtia im énci bó?obitčák 5. ?i?án
 reaching here remained until I you(s.) arrive until here you(s.) road-watched now
 su íntok + ?émpo # káa ?im yúm hó?ebáetek húni?i + 6. né humak émak wé?etek húmak
 and more you not here tiredness rest-want-if even I maybe you-with go-if maybe
 túi?isi wéene 7. tá inépoláne káa ?áman íno páppéya #
 right go-will but I-alone not yonder myself feel-like

1. It's true that all the people have gone by here, 2. but I could not make it there, 3. so I remained here. 4. I waited for you until you returned. 5. And now if you don't want to rest here even, 6. I may go with you. Maybe I will be all right going with you, 7. but I don't feel strong enough to go alone.

15

1. sí?íme hume + (im) ?ín waam saká?álam + hábe húni (kéé) + kée biná bičá nottíla
 all those here by gone-have none even not-yet hither toward returned
 2. bóetuk hu?u + wóki káa (am) + ámbiča sí?íme bó?o hóalá?me # 3. hume?e bató?im sáhakáme +
 because the track not thither all road made-who those people went-who
 kée hábe nóttek + 4. í?an íntok éme?e # ámbičá katéme ket + hunáman séká?ana huyáta
 not none return now and you(pl.) thither to-who yet even-there the-other tree
 wé?eká?u# ?ámeu yaháka?atek + ?ámeu yáhine 5. bóetuk náalemóot kopának wáate (nat) +

stands them-to reach-if them-to reach-will because separately shelter want
 nátepolá katéme # 6. ?émo tó?o saháka nábuhti bó?ota bwísaka huntuan hume yáhisakame amá
 they go-who they leave going yonder road taking that's-why those arrive-who there
 kopánaka bea # 7. ?áma + háhámeke?atek hume meúúkula katéme háhámne #
 resting already there reached-if those last go-who reach-will

1. Of all those who have gone by here none have returned yet. 2. because their tracks show they have only traveled the other way. 3. Those people who have gone through here, none of them have returned; 4. and now you who are going the same way, if you reach them, you will reach them where the other tree stands; 5. because they are resting separately, they are traveling in separate groups. 6. They go and leave, taking the road beyond. So those who arrive rest there, 7. and if you reach them you will reach those who were last.

16

1. ?íní ilí ?úsi túa né áet + ?e?áosu + ?ím + táwaka kopánbáe humák ne 2. káá
 this little child truly me upon depending here remaining rest-wants maybe I not
 báeka húní # watém bó?ó bitčáka # 3. ?amémak nábuhti siká?atek húní wéyéne 4. into né káá
 wanting even others road watching with-them yonder go-if even go-will and I not
 habem néu yahák húnii # 5. húči ho?árau bičá nóttibáe ?ín áe beu bíča #
 someone to-me come even again home-to toward return-want my mother to toward

1. Truly this child was depending on me. It wanted to remain here and rest, I think. 2. Willing or not, I will have to wait for others, 3. to go on beyond here. 4. And even if someone comes by, 5. I am going to return again back home to my mother.

17

1. túi ?ápoik húní # ?ápoik ím táwak húnii # 2. ?émpo túsi ím yépsák # 3. népo + ?ín
 all right he just he here remain just you right here arrived myself my
 hó?arau bíča húči nóttibae # 4. tá né hunén éu híune 5. wame bató?im nábuhti
 home-to toward again return-want but I thus to-you say-will those people beyond
 katéme híba hunáman + séká?ana + hú?úpa waam # hahámne ?ám téune #
 travel-who always up-yonder other-side mesquite-tree there reach-will them find

1. It's alright if he remains here. 2. You have arrived here alright. 3. I am going to return back to my home. 4. But I want to tell you, 5. those people who have gone beyond, you will reach them over at the other mesquite.

18

1. ?éme náwit huka + ilí usíta + kopának + ?ámak kopánaka + nábusi a?a núk sahakáne
 you(pl.) both that little child rest her-with rest beyond her take will
 huká ilí usíta # 2. ?ápela siká?átek hunu bó?óta au tá?áruk 3. into káá tú?ik bitčaká?atek
 that little child she-alone to-if that road her get-lost-will and not right see-if
 čéa húnii + 4. ?á?a yó?ówem béčfiibo (káá) káá tuíne into béttene 5. into émo béči?iibo ket
 worst even her parents for not not good-will and heavy-will and you for also
 nókiam áma áune #
 words there be-will

1. If the little child takes a rest, you both together also take a rest and take her along beyond. 2. If she goes alone she will get lost. 3. And if she sees trouble, or something worse 4. it will not be right for her parents and it will be heavy on them. 5. And people will be talking (bad) about you also.

19

1. ?i?ánsu iníka té + mesáta betúk kátekamta háisa te túa téu wááne # 2. čú?ú ?o wó?i? //
 now-and this we table under one-who-sits how we truly name will dog or coyote

3. ?ini humak čú?ú bwé?ituk + 4. káá wó?ita benák bwásiak #
 this maybe dog because not coyote like tail (possess)

1. Now what shall we call this one that is sitting under the table? 2. Dog or coyote? 3. Maybe this is a dog because 4. it doesn't have a tail like the coyote.

20

1. ?ilí čú?ú (a?) + ?aa? + tekówa hum hóarápo wáíwa iné?aka hum + béntanápo # 2. ?áu
 little dog its master in house-in inside feeling in window-at to-it
 kíkteka + ?into čéa kia yé?u wéye? e?ámta benásiá # 3. ?á?a tekówa into wáíwa
 stands and more just out go one-who-desiring like its master and inside
 kíbaklataka híba káá yéu wéyebáeka bea huka ilí čú?úta (híba) hiókot ?e?étua #
 entered-having always not out come-wants already that little dog always suffer feel

1. The little dog, feeling that its master is inside, is standing up at the window, 2. acting as though he wants him to come out. 3. And its master, being inside, doesn't want to come out, so is making the little dog suffer.

21

1. yán into ilí čúú + mesáta betúk káteka?ú # bépa há?amuka ilí pánim ?o hítasa puátota
 now and little dog table under sitting-was above climbing little bread or whatever plate-on
 haháni # 2. wó?ókeka + ?áma hí?íbu + 3. ?inyé humák tebáure #
 maybe scratching there eats this maybe hungry

1. And now the little dog that was under the table climbed above. There is perhaps a little bread, or something, on the plate, 2. and scratching in it, he is eating. 3. Maybe he is hungry.

22

1. ?ámali né híáu 2. ilí čú?ú tebabáe?ure má hú?u a?a atéakame # ?aa míkbáeka 3. huka
 right I say little dog hunger so that its one-who-owns-it it feed-wants that
 puátota nú?úsek + 4. ?i?an intuu ilí čú?ú (buásiá) buásiata yóaka áu wéyeka tuísi?
 plate to-get now and-that little dog tail tail wagging to-it walking very
 álea #
 happy-is

1. I was right. 2. The little dog was hungry. So that the owner wants to feed it. 3. He is going to get the plate. 4. And now the little dog is very happy and is wagging its tail.

23

1. ?ilí (ilí) čú?úta mak násuabáeka (?áu) + ?áu + mása bá?ite hú?u (ilí p...) ilí palóma
 little dog with fight-wanting to-itself wing fluttering the little dove
 ilí čú?ú íntok + 2. ?únná ?áa tú?ú híápsika bečí?ibo kiála?a tú?úlemčia ?a?a bitčú into
 little dog and much it kind heart-being for as-if enjoying it look and
 ?áu + (?áu) ?álea) #
 with-it happy

1. Wanting to fight with the little dog, the little dove is fluttering its wings to him. And the little dog,
2. being of a very kind heart, is happily looking at her as though he was enjoying it.

24

1. ?ilí čúú bóe pááku tábútat čá?áka bú?iteka káá ?aa haháme 2. bóetuk hu?u # tábú
 little dog great plain-in cottontail after running not to-it reach because that cottontail
 čéa huni áe bépa ú?úte búite ápo into háibu yumíla into sé?é bétte áe béčíibo + 3. tabúta
 more even him over fast run he and already tired and sand heavy him for rabbit
 béčíibo into kia sé?é into kia káá sé?é híba hunáen ú?úte búite #
 for and just sand and just not sand always same fast run

1. A little dog is running in a great open plain after a rabbit, and cannot reach it, 2. because the sand
 is heavy for the dog. And he is already tired. And the sand is very heavy for him. 3. But the rabbit,
 sand or no sand, always runs fast.

25

1. ?ilí čúú tábútat čá?aka búiteka // káá a hahámeka + 2. lotí yumúka # yeú níneka kátek
 little dog cottontail after running not it reach tired worn-out out tongue sit
 íntok # 3. káá íntok + a?a haháseka íntok a?a ta?áru háksa humák a?a kíbakekapo káá a
 and not and it following and it lost where maybe he entered-where not it
 hú?unéya #
 know

1. A little dog, running after a rabbit, could not reach it, 2. and is worn-out tired and panting. 3. So he
 is not following it any more. He has lost it. He does not know which way it went.

26

1. ?i?án ála tiémpo tú?í + animálim bečíibo bóetuk yu?ín yúkuk sí?ime # sí?ime
 now right weather good animals for because plenty rained all all
 ániáči + káwim húni? í?an + sía lólobóla hó?oka 2. into pá?árium into báso
 world-on mountains even now green round sitting-down and plains and grass
 húébena wakásim # ?áe ?áwine ?íntok áe híbuane 3. into hipí?ikim húébenáne íme?e
 much cattle with-it fatten-will and with-it eat-will and milk plenty-will-be these
 bató?im bečí?ibo #
 people for

1. Now the weather is very good for the animals, because it rained a good deal all over the world, and
 the mountains are all covered with green. 2. In the plains there is plenty of grass. The cattle will eat and
 grow fat. 3. And there will be plenty of milk for these people.

27

1. wame bató?im temporálim hipuéme ket hunáensu ále?a # animálrata
 those people temporal-farms have-who also same-way happy animals (all kinds)
 wéla?apo 2. búe?ituk wa?a bém ečáka?u bufapo bém gó?otaka?u + sí?ime túúlisi sía # sía
 besides because that they planted ground-in they thrown-have all right green green
 kičíkteka hikáu wéyé 3. into kia papá?árium hikát čóčópo?oku into betúktána húni?i
 coloring up coming and just plains above hills and from-below even

hunáen # into húya huni hunáen # ?áu híabíttetúa hučía + tá?amak into bá?amak #
 same and brush even same itself revive again sun-with and rain-with

1. The people who do farming by temporal, besides the animals, are very happy, 2. because what they have put under the ground is coming up in a green carpet. 3. And the plains, and the hills above and below, and the trees are reviving with the sun and water.

28

1. yán ne kéhe tua yúk táiteo ika ín kába?i wa?am hákun sabáanabáe báhta huébenaku
 now I not-yet truly rain start this my horse yonder where grazing-want grass where-much
 yúkumak hu?u báso yu?ín tobóktila íntok # 2. ?ín kábá?i čé?awasu + ?áwi lóbolái # ?íntok +
 rain-with the grass plenty risen and my horse much-more fat round and
 páppéya 3. íntok ínepo huni + ?áleáka + ?áet náhwe into áet éa into áet tékipánoa #
 active and I even happy-being on-it move-about and on-it use and on-it work

1. Now before it starts raining, I want to take my horse out grazing, for there is plenty of grass. The grass, with the rain, has come up high. 2. My horse is much fatter and round (like a ball), and is very active. 3. And I also ride on it happily. And I use it and work on it.

29

1. yán né béan hákun nóitebáetek húni? ín kába?i bet há?amuk kia čúbalapo su áman
 now I want somewhere go-want-if even my horse on climb just some-(on) and yonder
 ááne + 2. kía hu?u bóot + ?ilí a?a poláktitúa íntok + ?ilí + láauti a?a wé?etúa
 be-there-will just the road little it trot-cause-to and little slow him go-cause-to
 húni?i + čúbalápo + ?áman 3. nóitine puéblou čé?a ?ó # ?ínto počó?ókun húni?i + 4. si?ime kut
 even soon-(at) there be-will town-to more or and hills even everywhere
 + báso áuk káhíta háksa a?a hinúriaka húni?i + 5. ?a?a hí?ibuatúane #
 grass exists nothing where it buying even it feed-cause-will

1. Now when I want to go somewhere, I'll just get up on my horse and in a little while I'll be there. 2. Just trotting along a little on the road, and even letting him go slow, I'll be there in a little while, 3. to town or into the hills. 4. There's plenty of grass everywhere. Even if I don't buy anything for him. 5. I will see to it that he is fed.

30

1. hume ná?asom ne čéa yu?ín + čéa tutú?im áma yéu pú?aka # 2. ?ám nénkibae + ?abérsine
 those oranges I more better more good on out picking them sell-want to-see-if-will
 ilí méliota áma náu tóhine # 3. ?í?í ?éhkaleá káá túa + káá ne túa ?a tu?úre 4. senúk
 little money on together gather-will this ladder not very not I very it like another
 ne bémelak hínuháe hume ná?asom nénkakái #

I new buy-want those oranges selling

1. I am going to pick up the best oranges 2. and sell them to see if I can get a little money together out of it (them). 3. I don't like this ladder very well. 4. I am going to buy a new one after I sell these oranges.

31

1. ?íi bakót humák wáíwa + wáitána + ?áu metéktaita káteka itóm + ?aa béobéoktáma
 this snake maybe inside other-side itself figure-eight-coil sitting us it flutters-its-tongue

humák + 2. ?áiyakáme há?ani ?o tá?abwi bakót 3. káa té áet hú?únea 4. únna
 maybe one-who-has-rattles can-be or other snake not we no-it know very
 mékka + ?ím intóm há?ábueka?u into mékka kó?ómi ?amán + sáhaka á?á + bíft béčí?ibo #
 far here we standing-where and far down yonder going it see for-purpose-of
 1. This snake which is on the other side has coiled up and repeatedly sticks out its tongue at us. 2. It is probably a rattlesnake or some other kind of snake. 3. We do not know what it is. 4. It is too far from here to go over and look at it.

32

1. (ket itóm) + két itóm nóká?asu sénu into áu yépsák + 2. híba túa áiyakáme 3. bóetuk
 yet we yet we talk one more to-it arrived always truly rattlesnakes because
 hu?u áiyakáme híba + híba hámúčiata núnúpne # 4. yán itépo amán + ?ím + hákíapo
 the rattlesnakes always always female bring-will now we yonder here canyon-in
 ?áwe? kóom káteka wáitána # saháká?atek amán (am) + ?ám nú?úka + ?ám yéam tóhi?éan
 could down going other-side go-if yonder them take them out carry-could
 amán hakúnsa bém híhínu wáawi ?ó itépo + ?ám atéa?éan #
 yonder where they buy where or we they own-could
 1. Just as we were talking, there arrived another one. 2. I think it is a rattlesnake, 3. because a rattlesnake always has a female with him. 4. Now if we could climb down these cliffs, we could go to the other side to get them and take them where we could sell them, or we could keep them (ourselves).

33

1. i?án intúči humee bakóčim á?abo itóm háriú # 2. ?itó ?am bítbáeo íntok + bémposu bimá
 now and-again those snakes here us search we them see-want and they-and this
 botána tóm ané?e béas itóm + ?ááneka itóm góómtaka číbela itóm náikim hahásuk
 side íwe are on-the-path our is-staying us frightening scattered-have us apart chased
 3. ité into ám + ?únna ?ám huu?éna tíaka káa ámeu rúktibáeka ?ám tó?tó ténnek #
 we and them much them dangerous saying not to-them approaching them left ran
 1. And now the snakes came on this side to search for us. 2. Since we wanted to see them, they came over to this side and were on our path. They frightened all of us and we ran and scattered all over the place. They chased us all over, 3. and we said they were very dangerous. We didn't approach them, but ran away from them.

34

1. tá?ata yéu wéyeo ne? + bááwanámak lópola wéyeamáka (ili) + ?ilí kanóata + wóim
 sun out going I sea-shore alongside going-beside little canoe two
 bélakámta # 2. ?áa bitčáka into # bató?im ne + káá habém ?a bitča 3. humak áápela weáma hú?u
 sails-with it saw and people I not some it see perhaps alone travel the
 ilí + bóte ?ó + únna + káá mamáčisi emo hóala humee hábe?esám a?a núnú?ubwáme #
 little boat or much not visible they sitting those whoever it drive-who
 (humee) + 4. ?into káá + ?ú?úte bó?o húa íntok + káá hekámak bó?o hóamta benásia má čéa +
 and not fast road make and not wind-with road making like so more
 wásala hum bá?ápo wéye #
 crossways on water-on travel
 1. At sunrise (*lit.* sun-coming-out) I was walking along side the seashore and I saw a little boat with two sails. 2. And I did not see anybody inside the boat. 3. Perhaps the little boat is traveling alone or perhaps

the people who are driving it are hiding themselves from sight. 4. It does not travel with the wind but is going crossways.

35

1. túa tá?ata áman wé?eo into + báawenámak + lópola # 2. ?úsi hámút wáki bwíapo wé?eka
truly sun yonder falling and sea-shore beside child female dry earth-on standing
húka + remó bótepo + ó?óuta yésiménta # ?a?a bitéú hú?u 3. into + ?ó?óu into + húka +
that oar boat-on man sitting it looking the and man and that
remóta tobóktaka áu hikáu + ?áu á?a so?isó?ita 4. háisa húmak áu híubáeka hu?u ?úsi
oar raising to-her up to-her it raise-raise what may to-her say-want the child
hámuttáwi # 5. hu?u ?úsi hámút into káá?in húni? ááne kía túa áman a?a bíéú # 6. hu?u tá?a
female the child female and not-any even doing just truly yonder it look the sun
béa túa áman wé?i?ise + ?iním + oráapo #
already truly yonder falling this hour-at

1. Actually, at sunset [*lit.* sun-yonder-falling] beside the seashore, 2. a girl stands on dry ground and looks at the man sitting in the rowboat. 3. The man on the boat is raising the oar and waving it to her. 4. Whatever he wants to say, I don't know. 5. The girl does not make any gestures, but just keeps looking. 6. The sun, by this hour, is just going down.

36

1. yoéme úsi hámúttamak + wéyéka tá?ata áman wé?eo # (báawemak lópola katéka + ?im) +
man child female-with walking falling sea-with alongside walking here
báawemak lópola katéka + ?im + 2. nórteu bí?á náu bó?o húa tá + hu?u ó?óu kía
sea-with alongside walking here north-to toward together road doing but the man just
áu ?ómtemta benási 3. ?amáu a?a tó?o símlataka káá áu bitéú into kía # 4. káá amak
to-her angry like back her leave went not to-her look and just not with-her
etého húni?i # 5. téa bésa bém sáhaka?u hábe hú?únea #
speak even but already they going no-one know

1. A man is walking with a girl at sundown alongside the sea. 2. They are traveling toward the north but the man looks as though he is angry with her, 3. so he is leaving her behind and does not even look at her, 4. nor talk to her. 5. But where they are going nobody knows.

37

1. ?iním ne ná?aso soyó?oku yépsák humak órtelánotau + ?ime ná?ásom netáneka 2. ?ám
here I orange grove arrive maybe orchard-keeper-to these oranges beg-for them
púaka ?ám núk saká?atek ?ám púataka ?ám núk síká hóarata ?ám nonó?atek 3. két né huma
picking them take go-if them loading them take going home them peddle-if yet I might
ám nénkaka ilí méliota áma bítne # 4. téa ne bésa huká órtelánota káá im láutipó
them selling little money there see-will but I already that orchard-keeper not here presently
bitéá humák káábe há?ani #
see maybe no-one be-here-would

1. If I come to this orchard, this grove, if I ask the orchard keeper for these oranges, 2. if I can pick them up, and if I take them upon my shoulder and take them away and peddle them around the houses, 3. maybe I can make a little money out of it. 4. But I don't see the orchard keeper now, and he might not be around here.

38

- (sun) 1. sún̄ta ne siálik + kaméyon yá'apo há'ábukám̄ta kée + kée + bakám̄ta # bitčú
 corn I green furrows made-in stands-which not not green-corn-on see
 2. téa bésa huma čé'a waam héela háisa máisi + báčita itóm máknekái # 3. hu'u á'a atéakame
 but already might more yonder a-little some how corn us give-will the it owns-who
 tuisi a'a súaé into nákeka á'a bitčá + káábeta áma kíkímútúa íntok kía # hábeta húnii káa
 well it care and loves it see no-one there go-in-allows and just no-one even not
 ?áma + náhwéye áu ?áa' étpo # 4. ?ápo ?a'a tú'ute into bičá á'a bá'atúa íntok #
 there about-walks to-it his plant-in he it clean and toward it waters and
 5. sényórta betána két yúkú áet kó'om wéye #
 the-Lord from also rain on-it down fall

1. I am looking at some green plants of corn planted in furrows, but it has not borne any fruit yet. 2. A little later it might give us some corn. 3. The owner does not let anybody go inside, and just doesn't let anybody walk over his plants. 4. He cleans it up and he waters it and he takes care of it. 5. And also from the Lord the rain comes down upon it.

39

1. ?iním humák óri + hume báto'im wa'am saháka'apo iní humák hunuén óri + dragún
 here maybe I-think those people by went this might thus I-think Dragoon
 téa 2. bóetuk inépo ket wókim méa iniét wa'am símla + 3. ?inime kábuim ne am tá'áya
 named because myself also foot on here by went these mountains I them know
 bóetuk ne + húébenasi ?ám bítla íntok 4. humák + tá'abui húmakú'u téa bésa # hunále benási
 because I many-times them seen and maybe other might but alright them like
 kía mamáči hu'u ánia 5. hu'u páária into hu'u popóčui íntok hu'u + béntéme #
 just seems the world the plain and the hills and the foothills

1. I think this is the place where the people went by, and I think the name of the place is Dragoon, 2. because I went by here on foot. 3. The mountains I know well because I have been through here so many times, and I have seen those mountains. 4. It might be another place, but it looks very much like the area, 5. the plains, the hills, and the mountains and foothills.

40

1. ?iní yoéme íntok + náwit a'a + mámbetá'im itóm bíbíttúame kía hunén itóm tetééhoám̄ta
 this man and both his hand-palms us shows-who just thus us tells
 2. benáh kómo yó'ówem itóu híhúsuka'apo benásia ín mámpo e'e ?áma yóek + ?i'áni tía #
 like as elders us-to told-have where like my hand-in you out escape now says
 3. ?a'a yópna into hunén áu hía + (káá) káá áma yóeká'atek húnii?i kía mámpo ?áma
 him answering and thus to-it say not not there escape-it even just hand-in there
 yó'ekti kía áu híúne í'an 4. íntok # ?iní ó'óu ket a'a mámbetá'im itóm bíbíttúaka hunen itóm
 escaped-so just to-it saying now and this man also his hand-palms us showing thus us
 a'a hú'unéyatúa #
 it known-make

1. This man is showing us the palm of his hands, (this man) who seems to be telling us, 2. as our elders used to tell us, "You have just escaped out of my hands." 3. And in answer to him the other said, "If I escape at all I will only barely escape out of your hands." 4. And now this man is showing us the palms of his hands.

41

1. ?íán into hume? + ?áu úúbaka (ma) máman káá wačá?ika kó?om bičá ?am bufsaka 2. kía
 now and those himself wash hands not drying down toward them holding just
 kála (kála) číháčihakti kó?om hu?u bá?a čákteka # 3. kóom mámam čá?ári mám pusiámpo kóom
 clean splashing down the water dropping down hands hanging hand fingers-on down
 bičá kia tatábúhtiata benási áet kó?om wéye hu?u + bá?á #
 toward just heat-sweat like on-it down go the water

1. And now after he has washed himself without drying off his hands he is hanging them down 2. and the water is coming down in clear drops. 3. As his hands hang down the water comes down through his fingers like sweat.

42

1. hámut yó?ówe + mesáta bépa húmak + huká?a + hí?ík wáata tó?ó síká 2. íntok # ?ime?e
 woman old table-on upon maybe the needle basket left went and these
 hí?íkiam into omót hó?árika 3. into + ?ínwain mesápo huka hí?ík wáata mánekámta háiwa
 needles and elsewhere placed and hither table-on the needle basket stands searching
 tá ?íntok hú?u áma wáatewame into kahíta ?áma áuk # 4. humak + hú?ú + tá?abwi a?a
 but and the there wanted-what-is and nothing there exist maybe the other it
 úsiwa hábesa humak yéu + ?ómotta bičá núk síká huné?elaka áma mánek hú?u hí?ík
 child-her someone maybe out elsewhere toward took went empty there stand the needle
 wá?ari #
 basket

1. The old lady probably left her needle basket on top of the table. 2. And as for the needles, she must have also placed them somewhere else. 3. She came up here to the table to search for the needle basket, but what she wants in the basket is not there. 4. Probably a child or somebody has taken it out and left the basket empty.

43

1. tá huléntak húní?i + huka?a hí?ík wá?ata huné?elaka hume mesápo nú?uk a?a núk síka #
 but anybody even that needle basket empty table-on grasped it took went
 2. ?amán a?a + kátékau bičá húní?i humák amáni hákun humák hí?íkiam a?a kóptalapo
 yonder she sitting toward even maybe yonder somewhere maybe needles it forgotten-where
 hunáman téune há?ani te?éwapo benásia 3. tá bésa káá hú?unéiya túa lutúla wé?epo #
 yonder find-will might as-thought like but already not know truly straight going
 (háksáhi) + 4. háksume?e hí?íkiam into hume?e táho?ota aa tóó síkápo #
 where-those needles and those clothes it left went-where

1. But anyway, she took the empty needle basket and carried it away 2. toward where she had been sitting before. Perhaps out yonder where she had been sitting she had forgotten the needles, and (it is) as though she were hoping perhaps to find the needles there. 3. But already she does not know exactly where she left those needles. 4. Nor does she know where she left those clothes (patches).

44

1. ?íí? into ó?óu im + mesáta bépa húka + kúh kutáta + tóó síká 2. inti?án into humee
 this and man here table-on upon this cross wood left went and-now and those

nabá'ásom hume kúsim áe a'a kutúktane'u (káá) + káá téktéaka 3. kia húka kúh kutáta híba
 blades that rosary with-it it carve-will not finding just that cross wood just
 ama bepa tékika # 4. ?a?a bítčuka áet amán weámak into hume'e nabá'ásom into háiwa #
 there upon laid it looking on-it yonder walk and those blades and searching
 1. This man has laid the rosary wood on top of the table, 2. and now he cannot find the knife with which
 he carves the beads, 3. but he has just laid the wood there (on top of the table), 4. and he is moving
 around looking at it. He is also searching for the knife.

45

1. hume'e kúči'im + (kúči'im) káá hú'unéiyaka húni'i híba hum mesáta bépa kúh kutáta
 this knife not knowing even always there table upon cross wood
 bóokamta nú'uka # ?a?a núk síka hume # 2. ?ian into hume nabá'asom besa háriútáitek 3. beha ?ó
 lays-which took it took went this now and this knife just search-began just or
 ?am téúne + ?ó káá ?am téúne 4. tá beha ?ápo ala huka kútáta wéyia # ?áe kúúsim
 them find-will or not them find-will but already he then that wood carrying with-it crosses
 hóawámta #
 made-up
 1. Not even knowing the whereabouts of the knife he took with him the rosary wood which was laying
 on top of the table. 2. And now he has started searching again for the knife. 3. He may find it or he may
 not find it. 4. The fact is that he carried away the wood from which the rosaries are made.

46

1. wói batóim émo famíliaka # wóim úseka sénu ilí ó'óu sénu ínt ili hámut #
 two people each-other family-having two children-having one little boy one and little girl
 2. ?ám pásealóatúabáekai yéuámnúksáhak háisa bem ?ám nakí'éya béčí'ibo # 3. ?im
 them walk-to-cause-desiring out-them-take-going how they them love-feel for here
 mámpo ?am bwísaka ?am sú'aé hitasa káá + ?ámeu čá?atune'e 4. béčí'ibo into bémpo
 hand-by them holding them care something not to-them happen for and themselves
 káá omón háksa yéu ténnéka hitása ámet bwítine bečí'ibo mámpo ?am buísaka ?ám
 not one-side where out running something to-them run-will for hand-by them holding them
 wéyiea # 5. ?ápo ó'óu íntok hú'ú # hu'u hámut (hu'u ilí ó'ot) + hu'u ilí ó'óuta nasúk a'a
 taking he man and the the woman the little boy between him
 wéyeaka ilí hamúttá into # bátatána mámpo hámuta á'a + buísime mámpo # ?á'a sú'aé béčí'ibo #
 taking little girl and right-side hand-at woman it holding hand-by her care for
 1. Two people have each other as family and have two children, one a little boy and the other a little
 girl. 2. Desiring to take them out for a walk because they love them so much, 3. they are leading them
 and holding them by the hand in order to watch them and to avoid anything happening to them, 4. for
 they might run to one side or something might run over them. 5. He, the man, and the woman are lead-
 ing them holding them by the hand. The little boy is being led between them and the little girl is being led
 by the woman.

47

1. ínim ála béha (hántiaček) + hántiaček hákiáta sibáta mékka kó'ómikú # (há) 2. náu
 here now really frightful frightful canyon cliff far down where together
 há?abweka mékka náu + ?étehóka íntok + káá túa émo híkkáha kía hukaa kukúpapámta
 standing far together talking and not truly each-other hearing just that echo

híba híkká'aka # há'abuek 3. íntok kááéin náu ánmačí kia káá náu rúkte ínto kia káá
 just hearing standing and not-how together getting just not together approach and just not
 ?émo + tuísi húni nók híkkáha # 4. ?ínto hu?u síba áma béa bútti hántiaček mékka kó?omi
 each-other well even talk approach and the cliff there over much frightfully far down
 áman kó?om saháka náu yáhi béčí?ibo #
 yonder down going together arrive far

1. It is really frightful, the cliffs and the canyon, way down deep. 2. The men are standing on either side and they are talking to each other and they don't hear each other. They are just standing and they can only hear the echo of the words. 3. And they cannot get together and they cannot approach each other and don't hear each other very well. 4. The canyon is so deep it is impossible to go down and meet.

48

1. ?í'an ínto wa?a + sénu óri + wáitána betána wé?ekámta # hu?u hámút + ?áu yépsáka #
 now and that one then other-side from standing-who the woman to-him came
 2. hu?u sénu ínto ámeú nóoka tá káá ámeú kúsiata nóoka 3. má éeam kía há'abweka á?a
 the one and to-them talk but not to-them heard talk so that just standing him
 bitéú í?i nás a?a mám áo # ?a?a + nóokiwa kía huni + nás a?a mámap híba ilí áet
 looking this about him hand moving his words just even about him hand-in just little to-it
 hú?u nakiáči # 4. ?í'an íntúči húka sibáta maháika káá ámeu rúkteka háčin húni káá
 that obvious now and-again this cliff fearing not to-them approach how even not
 émo + tú?ute máči nókpo #
 each-other arrange clearly word-by

1. Now a woman came to the one who is standing on the other side and 2. the one on this side is talking to them, but they don't hear each other. 3. It appears that the others are just standing on the other side and don't hear what he is saying, the way he is gesticulating with his hands. They understand only a little by the way he is moving his hands. 4. And now again, since they are afraid of these frightful cliffs and since they cannot approach each other, they cannot make any arrangement by speaking.

49

1. huka senúk huka hámúttá á?a tó?ó sik # (ket) + két hunén hiúwá # su i?í botána + biná
 that one that woman him left went yet thus saying then this side from
 botána wéyekame ápela batnáta áma ?anéú yán hu?u sénu hámút áu yepsáka # 2. ?ínto
 this-side stands-who alone at-first there were now the one woman to-him arriving and
 á?a + temá 3. hitása émpo ámeu nóoka hume wáitána há'abwekameu 4. néhpo béha #
 him questioning what you(sg.) them-to say those other-side stand-who-to I already
 humák bémpoim aman nókau káá ám híkkáha # 5. ?émpo ínto híba hunún wéyéka ámet
 perhaps them yonder talking on them hear you(s.) and always there stand them-to
 éae + 6. kía mékka kukúpapa hu?u e?ém éae?ú #
 yelling just far echo that you yelling-to

1. As we were saying, the woman left the man on the other side and another woman came to the other man who was at first standing alone on this side, 2. and she has started questioning him, 3. "What are you saying to those people who are standing on the other side? 4. I myself cannot hear a word that they are saying. 5. And you are standing there just hollering to them. 6. Just the echo is heard a long way."

50

1. bát á?á nú?úkame á?á atéane tiámta benási 2. ika + tómita + buíapo + téaka # ?áu
 first it pick-who it own-will saying-who like this money earth-on finding to-it
 kó?om pó?oktek 3. hu?u sénu ínto kía kúrik kóbaka a?a bítčuk 4. íntok # humák káá ?álea 5. káá
 down stooped the one and just wrinkle head it look and might not feel-well not
 apó bát á?a tobóktakai huka tómita buíapo wéceata #
 he first it pick-up-have that money earth-on fallen
 1. As the saying goes, "The one who picks it up first is the owner" (e.g. "finders keepers"). 2. Finding this
 money, the man stooped down to pick it up. 3. The other man looks on with a wrinkled forehead. 4. He
 might be feeling bad because 5. he did not first pick up the money which was on the ground.

POSITIONALS AND DIRECTIONALS TEXT

1

1. ?i?íbwán sénu yoéme (?íli) + ?íli puétata étapóka hum + káriwi + kíbakekai puétata étapoik tá
 this one man little door opening there house entered door opened but
 bitčáka íntok # ket káá áman kíbakeka 2. ínto hum béntanaú kíkteka áman # túísi
 seeing and yet not there enter and there window-at standing yonder much
 bitčúsuka íntučí # 3. húči nótteka huka puétata + étapóka áman ínto puétapo wéeka
 looked-in-having and-again again return that door opening yonder and door-at standing
 áman wáíwa bíčá bitčú íáni #
 yonder inside toward looking now
 1. This one man went through the gate, went to the front of the house, opened the door, but he didn't go
 inside. 2. (He went) around to the window and looked through the window into the house. 3. He turned
 back around, went to the front of the house, opened the door, and is standing in front of it looking inside.

2

1. puétata étapoka áman wáíwa bitčúk ínto húči káata kóntaka + (?ín) + ?íntučí áman
 door opening there inside looking and again house circled and-again yonder
 nótteka huká? hum # puétapo wéyeka 2. káá nóoka ínto kía hábe húni?i hum kári wáíwa
 returning that there door-at standing not talking and yet anybody even there house inside
 betána káábe a?a yóayópna 3. ?intááp íntok + káá hú?únéa hitási humák a?a wáatá?u ?ó ?a?a
 from no-one him answer and-he and not know what maybe he want or it
 hú?unéayéa + 4. ?í?án + te béha ápoik temáetek híba hú?unéne #
 know now we already him question-if always know-will
 1. He opened the door and looked inside and then again he went (all the way) around the house and stood
 in front of the door. 2. (He) doesn't say anything, nor does anybody from inside the house talk to him
 or answer him. 3. And now perhaps he doesn't know what he wants. Maybe he does or not. 4. And now,
 we'll have to question him if we are going to know what he wants.

3

1. pá?ákun yéu nóitéka + kúhtaú séhtul nóitéka # íntučí + 2. húči nótteka íntučí + bemélasi
 outside out went cross-to once went and-again again return and-again anew

húči nótteka hum puétau íʔan kíktek intúči # 3. náh bitéú tá káábe hum ket tebátpo into kía
 again return now door now stands again around look but no-one there yet yard-in and just
 wáíwa huni káábeta bitčú #
 inside even no-one see

1. He went outside and stood before the cross. 2. He returned and again he returned. And now he stands in front of the door. 3. He does not see anybody in the patio (or the yard), and he does not see anybody inside.

4

1. ʔíʔán into káá símbáeka hum + kááta + buíkola hiba náh wéwélta íntok # 2. ramáau
 now and not go-wanting there house-to around just about circling and ramada-to
 séhtul nóitek intúči (húči) hum puéta betána kíkteka # 3. kía kúhta bičá puséka wéyeka
 once went and-again again there door from standing just cross-at toward eyes-with stands
 + káá nóoka intúči + 4. íntása humák # amá hóasísime # 5. ʔáʔa bitčáme hiba húʔunéne #
 not talking and-again and-what maybe there doing him see-who only know-will

1. And now he does not want to go away. He's just going around the house, circling it. 2. And he went to the ramada once, then came back to the side where the door is. 3. He's standing there looking at the cross, and he doesn't say anything. 4. Again we don't know what he's doing there. 5. Except by looking at him you can almost guess what he's doing.

5

1. bóetuk hum nóókpo + káábe áet húʔunéne ápo híta húni kía téuwa 2. into kía éúʔú húni
 because there word-in no-one on-it know-will he thing even yet said and just dog even
 káábe hum hóʔarápo 3. into húʔu # kúhtaú húni káa múhte 4. íntok + ramáata betek húni
 no-one there house-at and the cross-to even not genuflection and ramada-at under even
 kée kíbakek íán # 5. kía húka kááta hiba túa súámta benási + ʔáma ʔááne #
 not-yet go-in now just that house always truly guard same-as there doing

1. Except by his words no one can know what he wants, and he hasn't said anything. 2. There is not even a dog at the household. 3. He has not done a genuflection to the cross, 4. and he has not been under the ramada yet. 5. He's really acting as though he were just guarding the house.

6

1. ʔíán béha húka + kárita túa napéčikóla ʔaʔa wéltasúla ʔóʔóben tá ne káá húʔunéa ket huniʔi
 now already that house truly clear-around it circled it's-true but I not know yet even
 hítsa humák nókobáe káá nóoka hiba hunéni # 2. ʔíán intúči nóttek huʔu káata amáu betána
 what might talk-want not talk always how now and-again return that house back-to side
 siká + hikáu + ʔáet háʔamuka + íʔan kía óri kúsísia áet bépa hikát weáma hum káriči
 went up upon-it climb now then ah noisy upon-it over up walk there house-on
 áma húniʔi # 3. né híkkáʔatek hotéʔine + hotéka yéu sakáʔane hume batóʔim wáíwa aneme
 there even me hearing rise if-rise out come-will those people inside exist-who
 tíámta bénásia #
 as-one-would-say like

1. Now he has gone clear around the house, but I do not know yet what he might want to say. He does not say anything yet. 2. And now he returned again toward the back of the house and climbed on top of it. 3. And he is walking above the house making a noise. "Maybe if they hear me they will get up and come out, the people who are inside."

7

1. ?i'an (into) into tatáriata áu húiwatúaka? + hum + ramáata betúkun kíbakek kía into
 now and and heat to-himself feels that ramada under entered just and
 túa ama bó'oka # 2. kía áman áu ho'ále ían čé'a #
 truly there lying just there to-himself home now worst

1. Now after he had stopped walking around the house he felt hot and went into the ramada, and is now lying down 2. as if he considered the place his own home.

8

1. into ramáapo bó'o(lo)téka pá'akun bičá yéu siká túa ilí kóra éskinápo # kía wéyeka #
 and ramada-in lying outside toward out went truly little fence corner-on just standing

2. ?áman + hikáu a'a bitčúka + kórata únna mékka hikáči kóra čépta béčičibo tiámta bénásia #
 yonder up it looking fence-the very far up fence jump for saying like

1. After he was tired of lying down under the ramada, he got up and went to the corner of the fence. And just standing 2. he stared at it as if he were saying, "The corral is too high to jump over."

9

1. kórata káá ?áa čéptaka i'an into beha túa + túa hú'únakteka hum # 2. káriwi wáíwa kía
 fence not it jumping now and already truly truly intention there house-to inside just

káá lisénsiaka áman kíbakek ían íntok # 3. ?áma + humak ápo wáíwa bó'oka humák ramáapo +
 not permission there went now and there there he inside lying maybe ramada-at

káá into bó'obáekai #

not more lie-wanting

1. After he tried to jump over the fence and couldn't make it, (and after lying under the ramada), 2. he went inside the house. 3. Perhaps he is inside lying down, not wanting to lie down in the ramada anymore.

10

1. ?áhta ían hú'úbwa húmaku batóe ?éak máčéa ían kúhtaú kíkteka áman + ?áu +
 until now just maybe baptism feeling seems now cross-at standing there to-himself

líonóoka ?ó ?áu kúhte ?o ?áu múhte # 2. nuuká ne káá hú'unéya bóetuk mékka hum
 blessing or to-it (sign of cross) or to-it bowing-head that I not know because far there

in wé'eka ?aa bíčúpo # 3. híba túa áu líonóok bóetuk ?ían + wáéhma au buanía
 I stand him look-where just truly to-himself pray because now Lent himself blessing

hiókoči húmakú'u #

with-great-effort maybe

1. At this moment he has perhaps remembered his baptism so he has stood before the cross to pray and bow to the cross. He has thought about the love of God. 2. The way I look at him, not knowing exactly what he is doing, 3. he's probably praying for himself because the time is now Lent.

11

1. hu'u kúseu líonóoksuka íntok + kíkteka # 2. hum kári éskináu + wé'eka húči + náh
 the cross-to prayed-having and stood-up here house corner standing again about

bitčú # 3. hakún bičása humák kuáktiné káá í'ani + nábúhti bičá #

looking where toward-to might turn-about-will not now beyond toward

1. After having prayed to the cross, 2. now he stands up there at the corner of the house, and looks around.
3. Which way he will turn from here I don't know.

12

1. ?i'an intim ramáata púntapo wéeka yén táitek 2. i'an íntok kia (kiuka) huka ramáata
now and-here ramada end-at standing smoke started now and just this ramada
huni táiyá?ana kia éwači 3. bóetuk hu?u ramáa kia sánkoa áusú?uli # 4. kia híta ilí táhi
even burn-will just believed because the ramada just dry-brush pure just any little fire
áet wéček húni a?a táiyá?ane #
on-it fall even it burn-will

1. And now, standing at the end of the ramada, he has started smoking. 2. There is a risk he will burn the ramada 3. since a ramada is only dry brush. 4. Just any spark falling on it will start a fire.

13

1. hunuén + ?i'i ramáat + hikáu há'amuka káá ilí sánkoa áusú?uli kia húči ?ian 2. ínto
so-thus this ramada-on up-to climbing not little dry-brush pure just again now and
hikát káteka # yéna háisa humaku ?o ?aa táiyá?ane ?o + (?o) hú?únakteku táiyá?abáeka 3. hunen
on-tip sitting smoke how perhaps or it burn-will or intentionally burn-wants thus
áane ápola hikát káteka yéna #
doing he on-top sitting smoke

1. And so climbing above this ramada which is purely dry brush, 2. he is sitting on top smoking. I don't know, but he might be doing this intentionally, in order to burn it. 3. So he is sitting on top of the ramada smoking.

14

1. ?i'an íntuči hum ramáapo kó?óm čépteka # betúk í'an náh wéyekasu # 2. tuá tebát
now and-again there ramada-on down jump under now about walks truly yard-in
násuk wé?eka # ?íntuči + hitása + huma yá'abae 3. tá káá mónte húči hita káita nóókta
middle standing and-again what might do-want but not saying again thing nothing word
kée ?áet híkkáha #
not-yet on-it hear

1. And now jumping from the ramada, he walks below. 2. Actually he is standing in the middle of the yard, and again I don't know what he wants to do. 3. He's not said a word yet, not a word which I have heard from him.

15

1. ?i'an ínto čé?a ama áu hó?atek 2. má čéa huká + puétata páttáika 3. áma kia wáíwa +
now and worse there himself home-if so worse that door-at closed there just inside
yántelá # pá?ákum bičá bitčúuk wéyek #
at-ease outside toward looking standing

1. He may even think that he lives there now, 2. so he closed the door. 3. He stands there inside and looks out.

16

1. ?ían íntok hum ramáata betúkun + kia áman nóiteka húči nótteka # 2. hum + kóra puétau
 now and there ramada under just there going again returning there fence gate-to
 wéeka # 3. pá?ariau bíča náh bitěú kúhta bičápo #
 standing plain-to toward about looking cross-at facing-there

1. And now he is just coming and going back and forth to the ramada, and returning again to the fence gate. 2. He is standing there in front of the cross 3. looking outside toward the plains.

17

1. ?í?an ála béa híta ama étwabáe hum káripo má čea hum béntanápo ?amáni
 now then already what there steal-wanting there house-in so much there window-in through
 kíbakeka # 2. ?ían káá ?amán + mamáči hitása humak # nasónte ?o ?étbwa ?o ?aa tú?úte ?ó háísa
 entered now not there visible what might destroying or stealing or it fixing or what
 hó?a #
 doing

1. Now, I think he wants to steal something in the house, so he is climbing in through the window. 2. There inside what he might be doing is invisible (to us), whether he may be destroying, or stealing or fixing, or whatever doing.

18

1. káá hítsa huma ama nú?úka má čea hum séka?ana béntanau im tá?ata yéu wée? (tá?ata yéu
 not anything maybe there take so there next window here sun out going
 wée) betána # kátekámta?a # 2. ?amá yeú sikaá ?ínto + húči pá?aka wé?eka náh bitěú #
 from sits-the-one-who there out went and again outside standing about looking
 3. tá kahíta híta mačú?ute ínto kia bósapo kimá?ika wéyeamta bena máče?a + huné?ela #
 but nothing thing holding and just pocket-in inside walks like so bare

1. He did not take anything maybe. And he went to the window which is toward the sunrise. 2. He came outside again and he is standing there looking around. 3. He is not holding anything in his hands, and I think he doesn't have anything in his pockets.

19

1. níí yoéme káá námukíataka íntok hunuén hum hóarapo wáíwa kórapo ?ánsísime 2. tá # káá
 this man not drunk-being and that-way there home-at inside fence-in doing but not
 hábee humák hum hóarapo hó?óka 3. máčea káá áu + yéu réhtek ?áu nóóka ?ó mékka a?a
 person maybe there home-at exist seems not to-him out come to-him talk or away him
 béba húní?i #
 send even

1. This man, though not being drunk, is acting that way in this house inside the fence. 2. Maybe there's no one at the place 3. and that's why no one comes out and talks to him, or even sends him away.

20

1. ?í?an ala íntuči hum káriu kíbakeka # túsi hum písopo kúsisi náh wéye 2. humák
 now then and-again there house-to went very there floor-on loud about walk might
 káítasan káapo wáíwa áuk 3. má čea kía? + ?áman náh wéwéltamta benási kúsisi wéye áman

nothing house-in inside exist so just there about circling as-though loud go there
 + wóko písopo #
 lumber floor-on

1. Now then he goes inside the house and walks on the floor making a loud noise. 2. And there might be nothing in the house. 3. So it seems he is going around in circles on the wooden floor making a loud noise.

21

1. ?ían íntok + huma ama náh wéyesuka hum ká?apo wáíwa ínto huka?a kárita pátták ?ó +
 now and maybe there about walked-having there house-in inside and that house closed or
 hú?únakteka ?áu pátták ?ó háisa # 2. ?áp a?a? + ?éapo ?a?a páttáika áma káá yéu wéye ?ían
 intentionally himself closed or whatever he his will-in it closed there not out walk now
 íntokó #
 and

1. Now after having walked inside of the house he closed the door, and he may have closed himself inside intentionally. 2. He determined to close it, and now he doesn't want to come out.

22

1. puétata ála étapóka ó?oben tá bea into káá yéu weáma háisa humák + húme
 door is opening nevertheless but already and not out walk what might
 áulátakái # 2. kia + puéta étapóittu ó?oben kóra puétau bičá bitčúka ?ama wéyek hum
 having-been just door opened nevertheless fence gate-to toward looking there stand there
 wáíwa #
 inside

1. He opened the door but he nevertheless doesn't want to walk out. Whatever might have happened
 2. the door is open and he is standing inside looking toward the gate.

23

1. ?i?an ála pá?akun yéu sikáa ?íntok húči hum # 2. kóra puétau bičá + wééka + náh
 now then outside out went and again there fence gate-to toward standing about
 bitčú #
 looking

1. And now, coming outside there, 2. he goes toward the fence gate and stands there looking about.

24

1. yán ínto hun + wáata sánta kúhta čá?apao + ?ilí sewátau kíkteka áman # ket á?a
 now and there willow holy cross below-where little flower-to stands yonder also it
 bitčúk káá humak + ?a?a babá? atúawa tíaka ilen nóoka # 3. sánta kús into bépa sálíka +
 looking not maybe it water give says thus talks holy cross and above green
 wéyek #
 standing

1. And now, standing where the holy cross hangs, he stands and stares at a little flower. 2. He thought,
 "Maybe they do not water it." Thus he talks. 3. And a holy willow cross stood above.

25

1. ?inépo čé?a kía a?a náwi ?éyan + 2. kia ?i?án če?a kía ilí úsita + benási + čó?aktekai
 I more just it sissy thought just now more just little child like frolicking

huka kórata + mékka hikáči káá ilí aa? tubúktaka # 3. ?i?an into + hum + séka?ana wáitan
 that fence far up not little it jumping now and there other otherside
 wéyeka + hum + hóarau bitěu # 4. káábeta áma téakai #
 standing there house-to looking nobody there found

1. I myself thought him just to be a sissy and 2. now, more as though he were a little child frolicking, he jumped over the fence which is very high. 3. Now he stands on the other side looking toward the house, 4. but finds no one there.

26

1. ?ian čé?a huma + čé?awásu ?ama ?áu ho?ále 2. má čea kia + hume kútam + náu
 and more maybe worse there his-own home so more just those sticks together
 tóhaka # tú?úlisia móola nát ?am mónico # 3. náiya?abáemta benásia tá + into + humak hume +
 carry nicely pile top-on them piling burn-wants like but and might those
 báhi ibáktim + káá hwébona + 4. má čea? ama wéyeka ?amán bitěú + húči 5. humak + ?am
 three armfuls not enough so more there standing yonder looking again might them
 púabae hume?e kútam #
 pickup-want those sticks

1. And even worse, he now believes that he lives there, 2. so he is carrying the wood and piling it in a nice pile 3. as though he might want to build a fire, but maybe the three armfuls are not enough. 4. So he is standing there looking yonder again. 5. Maybe he wants to pick up some more wood.

27

1. kútam náu tóhisúka íntok + ?ámeu bičá # kórau amáka yéhték + 2. ?i?an íntok hitása
 wood together carried and to-them toward fence back-with sit now and what
 humak káá ?ám + náiyaabae 3. íntok kia káa ?am + wéiyaabae 4. íntok kia káá into húni +
 might not them fire-want and just not them carry-want and just not and even
 náu ?am tóhibae hume watém + kía čibela wó?otflam #
 together them carry-want those others just scattered fallen

1. After having gathered the wood, he sat with his back against the fence, in front of the wood. 2. And now it might be that he doesn't want to build a fire, 3. nor does he want to carry it (the wood) away, 4. nor does he want to gather any more of the dry wood which is scattered on the ground.

28

1. ?ian íntuka puétata + ?ápo míhmo + ?a?a páttáika into káa?a tetéaka # 2. hu?u kóramak
 now and-this gate he himself it closed and not-it find the fence-with
 lópola weáma rébe kía hume ilí kúta pupú'imét + ?áu bwí?ibwí símeká + 3. ?i?an into
 alongside walking partly just those little wood sharp-on himself holding goes now and
 hum(e) kútam a?a móntóipo # hum ama éskinapo lúula wé?ek + 4. tá # ket húni + kée
 there wood it piled-where there there corner-at straight stands but yet even not-yet
 huka puétata téa #
 that gate find

1. And now, though having shut the gate himself, he cannot find it, 2. and is walking along the fence, partly holding himself up on the little sharp points of the fence boards. 3. And now he's standing straight at the corner where he piled the wood, 4. but still he hasn't found the gate yet.

29

1. ?ika yoémta háibu símsuk íntok hu?u koní óri + ?im káata bépa + ?ín wáam + né?eka #
 this man already gone and the raven the there house over here by flew

2. ?i?i yoém íntok + humak + hunuka káa tu?úreka # ?ómot bičá yéu sífka #
 this man and might that not liking else-where toward out went

1. After the man had gone a raven flew over the house. 2. It might be this man, not liking this, went out elsewhere.

30

1. ramáa čéa? + koní tosáta + béna + 2. hitá?ekun + hu?u koní + humak áman + bemélasí
 ramada more raven nest like that's-why the raven maybe there new

tosátebáeka # 3. ?áe bépa hikát i?an kátek #
 nest-wants on-it on-top up now sitting

1. The ramada looks much like a raven's nest. 2. That's why the raven wants to make a new nest 3. and is sitting up on top of it.

31

1. hu?u ramáa wóikatána káá sáptitáka + hu?u koní bépa kátekasú + né?eka # ?áetuk + yéu
 the ramada other-side not walled the raven over sitting-after flew under out

sífka 2. bóetuk hu?u sápti kafta hum bináa botana ínto wánaa botana huni?i + huné?ela #
 went because the wall nothing there this side and other side even bare

1. The ramada, not being walled, the raven who was sitting on top flew under it and went out, 2. since there is no wall on this side and it is bare on the other side.

32

1. kia hunúen (am) ama náh nénné?ek íntum + kári behú?ukú + káteka + 2. huká?a sámíta
 just thus there about flying and-there house eaves-at sitting that adobe

+ tosá yá?abáemta benási ?am ?ááne tá káama ?áwe # húmakú?u #
 nest make-wanting like it doing but not-there able might

1. Just flying around thus, he sits under the eaves 2. acting as though he wants to make a nest on the adobe. But he might not be able to do it.

33

1. twísi báisi hu?u + kárita bépa # náh kóósuka íntok + ?ían ínto hu?u kárita bépa + káteka hum
 good thrice the house over about lying and now and the house on sitting there

ramáu bičá púhhúbaka # 2. káteka ?amán + ?a?a bíťcú + humák + ket húmak áman +
 ramada toward facing sitting yonder it looking maybe yet maybe yonder

tosátebáe #
 nest-wants

1. After having flown thrice over the house he is now sitting facing the ramada. 2. He (is) looking yonder. He might even want to build a nest there.

34

1. čé?awasu kía huka yoémta ama ?ánsuka benásia + ?íní wíkit kia bemélas humak kía +
 and-even-worse yet that man there done-have like this bird just anew maybe just

2. nóolia náh wéltatáitek + 3. kóram met yéhték + ?into ramáa met yéhték into hu?u
 repeatedly about circling-started fences on sitting and ramada on sitting and the
 kári bépa + yéhsúka i?an 3. into húči korát bépa kátek áman + tebáčiu kóom bítčú #
 house over having-sat now and again fence on sits yonder yard-to down looking

1. And now the worst is that this bird is acting like the man has been doing. 2. He has started circling about the house all over anew. And he is sitting on top of the fences, and on top of the ramada, and after sitting on top of the house 3. again (he is) sitting on the fence and looking down toward the yard.

35

1. hu?u kóra betána (hikáu) + hikáu né?eka hú?u + kári bépa + séhtuli yéhtéka + 2. ?intuči #
 the fence from up flew the house over once sitting and-again
 hikáu béenó?oteka + ?intuči ramáata bépa + (húnen) húnen + sáikulfmakasú #
 up flew-to-and-from and-again ramada over thus circling-having-been

3. béa í?antúči káata bépa káteka + 4. húči hum ramáu bičá bitčú + hu?u wíkit #
 already now-and-again house over sitting again there ramada toward looking the bird

1. Flying from the fence he sat down once on top of the house 2. and again he flew back and forth over the ramada, thus having been circling. 3. Now again he is sitting on top of the house. 4. The bird is looking toward the ramada.

36

1. béntanapo áman hum káriu kíbakeka íntok humá # ?áma wáíwa áu páttáika áu
 window-on through there house-to entered and maybe there inside himself closed himself
 téaka humá ?o?ómteka 2. káain ?ánmáčika wosábáisi + ?ama wéltaka # húči hóm # 3. séká?ana
 found maybe angry not-how do-could twice-thrice there circling again there other
 béntanapo tá?ata yéu wée betána húči kúkti áma yéu né?éka + 4. ?ían ínto háu bičá
 window-on sun out went from again sound-of-wings there out flying now and where toward
 humá símla káábe ?im mačísia #
 maybe gone nobody here visible

1. Going on through the window he entered the house. Maybe there inside he found himself closed in and maybe got angry. 2. Not knowing what to do he circled twice or thrice and again. 3. Then going through the window that is toward the sunrise, he is coming out with a loud sound of wings. 4. And now perhaps he is gone for no one can be seen around here.

37

1. níí wíkit huma tečóe há?ani + 2. má čéa + hu?u kúhta bépa + kátek # 3. ?ii ?into
 this bird might do-bad-omen somehow so more the cross upon sitting this and
 yoéme háksuma yéu síka háibu húči áman ?áanéka hum kúhta bépa a?a kátek # ?áu yépsáka
 man there-from out came already again yonder being there cross on it sitting to-it arrived
 mékka á?a bébak #
 away it chased (whipped)

1. This bird might be of bad omen somehow. 2. The worst is that it is now sitting on top of the cross 3. and this man, coming out from somewhere again, is again there by the cross. He arrived and whipped away the bird.

38

1. katí?ín ne sépnóoka + (?a?a) ?aa tečóe tía iká?a koníta bóetuk huka yoémta hunuén +
 not-did I at-once-say it of-bad-omen say this raven because this man that-way

mékka á?a bébak # húči hum + pá?aka ?a wé?ek # 2. ?áe bépa + háreki wewéltakasu +
 far it chase again there outside it standing him over repeatedly circled-having
 ?íntuči # ?á?a tóó síka 3. ?ían íntuči káabe húmak + hakún bičá síka #
 and-again it left went now and-again no-one maybe where toward gone

1. Didn't I say at once that it is of bad omen, this raven, because the man chased it away when he was standing outside. 2. Having repeatedly circled over him now again it left him and now again it is not there. 3. I don't know where it is gone.

39

1. ?íntuči huka yoémta símsuk íntuči hakú?ubo sumá yeú síká # ?íntuči + kó?om +
 and-again that man gone-being and-again somewhere maybe out came and-again down
 yepsáka hum ramáata bétúk # 2. híta + tečí?ikemta benási ?áma ?áne + hum + túa
 arrived the ramada under what scratches-on-ground-who like there doing there truly
 kútata wé?eka náápo #
 wood stand near

1. And when the man was gone again, it (the bird) again came from somewhere, and came down under the ramada. 2. It was doing as though it was scratching on the ground near the post.

40

1. ?ían hú?u wíkit híbu túa amá tosátebáe # 2. má čé?a húka + ?a?a tosátené + ?a?a
 now the bird perhaps truly there nest-wants so more that it nest-will it
 totóhitáitek 3. tá káá im ramáata bépa tosátebáe # 4. má čéa ?omót bičá huka huyáta
 carry-started but not here ramada upon nest-want so more elsewhere toward the brush
 wéiya #
 carrying

1. Now the bird perhaps truly wants to make a nest there, 2. so that it started to carry the brush it wants to make the nest with. 3. It seems that it doesn't want to build the nest upon the ramada, 4. so is carrying the brush elsewhere.

41

1. hu?ubwan sé?eboim káábem áané?epo huni + wepúlaika hu?u sé?ebóí ?im yépsáka túa
 that-being houseflies not-one existing-where even a-single the fly here came truly
 hum + sámí kárit hikáu + weámaka # ?íntuči kóom bičá + ?áet weáma #
 there adobe house-on up walking and-again down toward on-it walk

1. There being no flies here, one fly came and is actually walking up and down the adobe house.

42

1. ?ían ínti?i sámít hikáu + táhtáhti wéámsuka 2. huka yoémta hum pá?aku
 now and-this adobe-on up through walked-having that man there outside
 weámamta téaka + 3. ?áman béewata áu áaneka + 4. hu?u yoém into + ?a?a čóontaitek háisa
 is-walking-who finding yonder teasing him doing the man and it slapping how
 a?a símtuaka 5. háusa bíča huma síka #
 it gone-made where toward might go

1. And now after having walked up and down on the adobe 2. it finds the man who is walking outside.

3. It goes yonder and acts as though it is teasing him. 4. The man started slapping at it and made it go away 5. (and now I don't know) where he might have gone.

43

1. ?iníisan sé?ebói inímika yoémta káá ?ama ?éltúame? # tábanót titéuwáwáu #. 2. bóetu iní
 this-is fly this man not there ease horsefly is-called because these
 kabá?im + ?áané?epo híba ket # tábano áma weámne # 3. ?iní má ó?óu ?ian + kábáita áma
 horses exist-where always truly horsefly there walk-will this so man now horse there
 yéu tóhak hum kórapo + ?íntok # áet hahá?amu + 4. tá íntok + ket huni únna wákíla má
 out brought there fence-in and on-it mounting but and yet even very skinny so
 čé?a + (káá) + káá ?a túa yúumaka yoémeta humak áuwi há?ani hu?u yoéme #
 more not him truly unable-to-carry man maybe fat-is perhaps the man
 1. This fly that is keeping the man from being at ease is called the horsefly, 2. because where there are
 horses the horsefly is always seen around. 2. This man now brought the horse inside the fence and is at-
 tempting to mount it, 4. but it (the horse) is very skinny and the man is perhaps very fat so the horse is
 unable to carry him.

44

1. ?i?i yoéme hum kórapo huka kábáita yéu tóhaka # ?ápeláik + ?áma? + tóó síká # kía húka?a
 this man there fence-at that horse out brought alone there left went just that
 báhta áma á?a montóriak 2. hu?u kábá?i into kía seséstul + ?áu nóinóiteka
 grass there it piled the horse and just once-in-a-while to-it goes-back-and-forth
 ilí amá á?a bwá?e #
 little there it eating
 1. This man, having brought the horse inside the fence, made a pile of hay and left it (the horse) alone.
 2. The horse every once in a while goes to the grass eating a little of it.

45

1. ?ian into húka kábá?ita + hákun omót tóhaka + ?íntok čú?ú ínti?an áu
 now and that horse somewhere elsewhere taking and dog and-now to-him
 yépsák # ?áma yéusisime # ?ian 2. íntok áma + kúh náapo ?a bó?otek # íntáu
 came there playing now and there cross near-where it laying and-to-him
 bó?oka + ?á?a bítčú + ?ilí čú?ú #
 laid him looking little dog
 1. Now the man took the horse somewhere else and the dog came to him and now it is playing with
 him. 2. Now when he laid down near the cross the little dog laid down beside him and is looking at him.

46

1. hu?u wíkit hum + (kóra -) kórapo weáma?akasú # 2. ?ian húka + káró hekkáta bitčáka into
 the bird there fence-on walked-having now that car shade seeing and
 túa karóta betúk + yéhték ama káá yéu síka #
 truly car under car under not out came
 1. The bird, having walked on the fence, 2. saw the shade of the car and went under the car and didn't
 come out.

47

1. ?ian íntok huma húka hékkáta káá tú?úreka + huka?a # tomóbilta (káabeta áma + ?áanemta bi-)
 now and maybe that shade not liking that automobile
 káabeta áma áanémta bitčáka # ?áe bépa hikat há?amuka # ?áe bepa hikát kátek #
 nobody there being seeing on-it top up climbed on-it top up sitting
 1. And now maybe he doesn't like that shade. 2. Seeing no one around the automobile he climbed up,
 sitting on top of it.

48

1. kía hábetaka hunumak + makínata bitčá?atek ?aa tú?úlene # 2. ?yan má hú?u wíkit + mékka
 just anybody even-might motor seeing-if it like-would now so the bird far
 bičá né?ekasu íntuči nóttek + kía áetuk yéu hú?ubúteka # 3. húči hikáu čátka #
 away flew and-again returned yet under out flying again up hovering
 1. Anyone would probably just love the motor if they saw it. 2. So now the bird, after flying far away,
 returned again and is just getting under it, 3. and then again hovering in the air.

CONVERSATION TEXT

Note: an asterisk indicates the person who is not carrying the conversational ball at the moment has just said ?mmMm, meaning about the same thing as *heewi* in Yaqui, or *un-huh* in English. These vocal nods usually occur near the end of a span, but sometimes anticipate the end and begin in the middle of a span final word. Dots indicate intentional omission of phrases or names. The following is only a part of the recorded conversation.

R-1

1. nák katí?in itón usímsuk + ná ?ánia + ?itóm + ?áet rehtíusuka + ket húni túfí hiápsan
 then isn't-it-so we children-were that world we on-it wandered yet even very lively
 bóetuk bá?á hú?ebenáekan íntok ité íntok # 2. ?áet kia híba pásealó restémča
 because water much-was and we moreover on-it just always joy-wandering traveling-as
 réthem # 3. káá húnen //
 traveled not that way?

1. When we were children the world was still very lively, isn't it so? And the places we used to wander because much water was there! 2. and we traveled about it just as though always joy-wandering ("spreading about the country like a flood"). 3. Is it not that way?

F-1

1. ?éew katíin te # béa ória # sílba lékipó im + ?óri + ... sílba léki bó?ót sáhák
 yes didn't we already ah! silver lake-at there ah silver lake road-on went
 béa + áhta hum représom meu yaháka # * kattíin te béa * ?áma ?ú?bane # * 2. ?áma
 already up-to there dam to arriving didn't we already there swam-would there
 ?ú?básuk * bea té # * amák te húči nóttine # * ?ámak + ?íntim + káwi
 swam-after already we sometimes we again return-will sometime and-here mountain
 áákamtta + bétukún bičá + * matánsaú bičá saká?ane # *
 that-has-pitaya under toward slaughter-house-to toward go-would

1. Yes, didn't we? There at Silver Lake, on Silver Lake Road, we went up to the dam, and isn't it so, we used to swim there. 2. And after swimming we used to come back here sometimes and sometimes we would go toward the mountain which has pitaya on it to the slaughter house.

R-2

1. né ket áu wáasuk bóetuk té + hunáét náu ré?erehtísuk # ?íbo tana óri + misyón
 I yet it remember because we that-part together wandered-have this side ah! mission
 bóót túa tána íntok + ...ta matánsapo
 road-on truly from more (name 1 of owner of the slaughter house) slaughter-house-at
 húči # 2. ?ínto + sáuwom bwáseo ínto sáuwom méu bíča sáhaka ínto hunámen into
 again and saguaro-apples ripening and saguaros to toward going and yonder and
 híapne #
 spearing-down

1. I still remember it because we wandered that part together, from this side, on the mission road, to _____'s slaughter house again. 2. And when the saguaro fruit was ripening we used to go toward the saguaro forest. And there we would spear down the fruit with a long stick (híapne).

F-2

1. ?eéwi // ?óوسي te katín áet rehtisuk hunáeči hunáek into te béa híapsuk +
 yes manly we didn't on-it wandered then-again then and we already speared-down
 béha # 2. húči am núk nóttine hunak béa te # ?íntuči hím représompo ú?úbak
 already again them carrying returned then already we and-again there dam-at swam
 béa katín te béha # * 3. ?áhta + ?ú?ubásuk bea húči saká?áne sáuwom * béha *
 already isn't-it-so we already up-to swam-have already again go-would saguaro already
 wé?yeak # * ?áhta * itóm hóawi + * ?ám tóhine #
 carry up-to our home-to them deliver-would

1. Yes. We used to wander manfully about, and after having picked the saguaro fruit 2. then we would carry them, and again swim there at the dam, isn't it so? 3. After having swam then we went away carrying the saguaro fruit to our home, and delivered them.

R-3

1. nák né + ket húni unna ilfíiakan bóetuk ketúni + ne báát únná mékka kó?omi ku
 then I yet even very little-was because yet-even I water very far down where
 ketúni + 2. káá ?áman kíbakeka bea emé ne téhwálatune maiyóau + né + ?íno
 yet-even not yonder entering already you(pl.) me informed edge-of-lake-to I myself
 uhú?u sáekai # 3. ?ínto + ánima ...tukau huná into sákweéka bea né aman
 nursing told and the-deceased (name 2) who-was he and sometimes already me yonder
 núk kíbakebae ?eme náwit + komímipo ne tobó?o namáka ne hum mékka kó?omi kú
 with enter-want you (pl). both arms-by me lift carrying-along me there far deep where
 ne bahúmtúa # ?émpo ?áu wáate //
 me swim-cause-to you(sg.) of-it remember?

1. In those days I was still very young because I could not go into the deep water. 2. Not being able to go into the deep water, you had informed me to stay at the edge of the lake. 3. And (name 2) ,who is now deceased, sometimes decided to take me yonder, so you both carry me by the arms, pick me up and carry me along into the deep water and force me to swim. You remember it?

F-3

1. ?éewi // né au wáate katí?ín // * 2. hunáksan té énci + báhúm mahtá?ama?a #
 yes I of-it remember isn't-it-so by-that-time we you(sg.) swim teaching
 (F laughs)

1. Yes, I remember, isn't it so? By that time we were teaching you to swim.

R-4

1. héeu +
 yes
 1. Yes.

F-4

1. héewi #
 yes
 1. Yes.

R-5

... 1. animá?uri ... tukau ilí pappáu * katí?ín hiba intómak wéwé?aman # 2.
 the-deceased (name 3) who-was little Papago isn't-it-so always us-with wander
 hunáemak té béha ínim + máiyóat hiba ú?ubátuan 3. áhta ké béa + té +
 that-one-with we already here edge-of-lake always swimming-made up-to not already we
 ?into báhúm máhtáka beha hum mékka ko?omi kún kíkímu háptek # 4. káá into hinélwači
 and swim learning already there far down where entered started not more no-danger
 teúpo #
 saying

1. Wasn't it so that the deceased (name 3) the little Papago boy, always used to wander with us all the time? 2. With him I used to be swimming always at the edge of the lake, 3. until we learned to swim, and then we started going into the deep water, 4. like saying, there's no more danger now.

F-5

1. ?éeu síme ku # hunée ne wáate * ... háibu # * 2. ne ilí + * yó?ówe # * 3. hun tuan
 yes all that those I remember already I little grown-up so then
 té itépo béha + * ?énčim uhú?úsasákan #
 we ourselves already you(pl.) nursing

1. Yes, I remember all that. 2. I was already a little grownup. 3. So that's why we were still nursing you.

R-6

1. héewi +
 yes
 1. Yes.

F-6

1. ?énčim ilččiaku # * ?íntok wá?ák sénu katífn óri # ?óri ...
 you(pl.) little-were and that one isn't-it-so ah ah (name 4)
 1. You were still very young. And the other one, isn't it so, (name 4) ---

R-7

1. héewi
yes
1. Yes.

F-7

1. ...
(name 4)
1. (name 4) ---

R-8

1. hunáa túa itómak wéweaman #
that-one truly us-with wandered
1. That one wandered about with us very much

F-8

1. héewi huná'a itómak weáma # hákuuní'í háibu itómak áu kwéntane katí'íne #
yes that-one us-with wander where-even already us-with himself accounted isn't-it-so
1. Yes, that one wandered with us. Wherever he was, he was always ready to count himself with us, isn't it, so?

R-9

1. ?éewa into + ?áu ómteka + ?itóm aa kónkóntaria itómak yéu ?a síiko # 2. hulén su
mother-his and to-him angry us him intercepted us-with out him went thus then
béha amak káá itómak símne ítok #
already sometimes not us-with go-would and
1. And his mother used to intercept him as he tried to sneak off and go away with us. 2. Thus sometimes he wasn't able to go with us.

F-9

1. ?itómak étbwa bwítine #
us-with steal run-would
1. And sometimes he used to sneak out with us.

R-10

1. héewi húnen áanen //
yes thus do-would
1. Yes, that's what he used to do.

F-10

1. ?áanen #
do-would
1. He'd do (that).

R-11

1. ?inén into hiúsimne te áman yahákatek čúbatuk te kía kamóten benásia hum
 thus and saying-would we yonder arrived-if after-a-little-while we just sweet-potatoes like there
 bá?ápo čá?ásasakane #
 water-on floating-will

(Both laugh, then several seconds of silence follow.)

1. And when he was coming with us he used to say thus, "If you get there, in a little while you will be floating like sweet potatoes!"

F-11

1. ?i?ánsu béa hakún bičá? // kée čupé? //
 now-then already where toward not-yet finished?

1. Now then where to? Isn't it finished yet?

R-12

1. híba wéye // híba wéye //
 always goes always goes

1. It's still going! It's still going!

F-12

1. héeu pós hunuéni bwan usímtaka ?aa úhyóilíne huka bá?áta* 2. katí?ine béha + kía
 yes well thus so children-being it enjoy that water isn't-it-so? already just
 híba +
 always

1. Yes, when we were children we used to love the water very much, 2. isn't it so? Always _____

R-13

1. ?úsira huné?ela #
 childhood carefree

1. Childhood is carefree.

F-13

1. ?úsira + béha + huné?ela # ?úhyóilímta * benási + ú'úbakái + * hiápsi hoté?enemta *
 childhood already carefree enjoying like swimming heart settle-down
 benási túa tataék huni katí?in te kía háisa ú'úbane # *
 like truly warm even isn't-it-so we just how swim-would

1. Thus is childhood. We seem to have been enjoying everything and we felt the heart would settle down, even when it was hot, by going into the water and swimming, isn't it so?

R-14

1. kía hiókot ?éwame kía káá bétte túa bečí?ibo íntok hu?u póté?ot
 just suffering feeling just not heavy truly for and that fenced-property-used-for-cattle
 pásealó # 2. híba bá?á púsipo íntok hu?u ?óri + ... ta matánsa betána # 3. hunáman
 joy-wandering always water spring and the ah (name 5) slaughter from up-yonder

into bákeom into bákeom íntitón gómgómtane itóm čóčó'ilabáekai # 4. ?énči su (*laughs*) túa
 and cowboys and cowboys and-us scaring us lassoing-wanting you(sg.) next truly
 buési wéiyéáne hu?u + ... katííne # *
 largely carrying that (name 5) isn't-it-so?

1. Even if we were striving so much we did not have a heavy feeling, and the places on the cattle field,
 2. and over on the water spring, and over on this side toward (name 5)'s slaughter house! 3. And the
 cowboys up yonder used to frighten us and try to lasso us. 4. That (name 5) used to carry you most of
 the time isn't it so?

F-14

1. bué itón usíle ínto káá áma itón + hítása + bénak itón * hó'i?a + 2. hum háksa * kútam
 well us children and not there us whatever like us do there what wood
 káá itóm áma yéu wikiáane * katííne # 3. hunén béha + * húka potéota súáka ama
 not us there out take-would isn't-it-so? thus already that cattle-field watching there
 weámne # * káá bá?ekai #
 wandered not wanting

1. Seeing that we were children he hated to see us do anything on his property. 2. He didn't want us to
 take any wood off the property, 3. thus he used to guard the cattle field.

R-15

1. séstul wa?a ... bákeo katí?ín áma hiba yóo bákeo hum matánsapo huná
 once that (name 6) cowboy isn't-it-so there always elder cowboy there slaughter-house-at that-one
 óri + ket + itóm hum + sámí kári kónila háhásekasu # kabái into áet wéček into máča
 ah yet us there adobe house around chasing-then horse and on-it fell and leg
 síotak háisa ?a yáak + 2. kasóke bégwa lóitukan # 3. hunuén émo ?i?abáekái
 sprained how him made case-is long-time limping thus themselves being-grouchy-desiring
 bea hunúka ama bítčák # kia úsim + kábáimak #
 already that there saw just children horse-with

1. And once the cowboy, (name 6), isn't it so?, a longtime cowboy at the slaughterhouse, used to chase
 us around the house on horseback, and doing so the horse fell on him and sprained a leg. 2. The case is
 he was limping. 3. Just because they wanted to be cross with the children this is what happened to them.