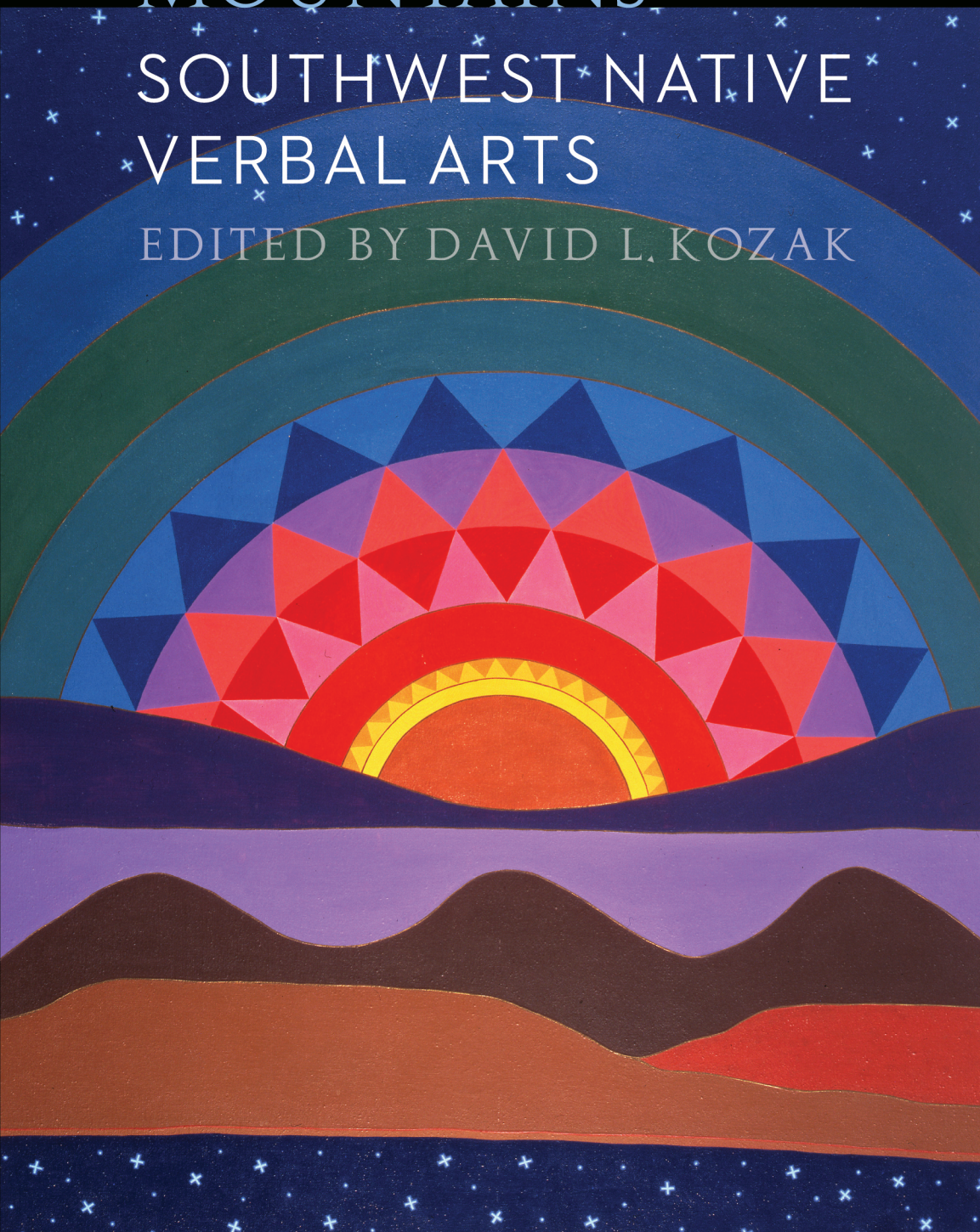


INSIDE DAZZLING  
MOUNTAINS

SOUTHWEST NATIVE  
VERBAL ARTS

EDITED BY DAVID L. KOZAK



INSIDE DAZZLING MOUNTAINS

NATIVE LITERATURES OF THE AMERICAS

# INSIDE DAZZLING MOUNTAINS



SOUTHWEST NATIVE VERBAL ARTS

Edited by David L. Kozak

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*This book is dedicated to my wife, Kris, and our daughter, Sasha*



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INSIDE DAZZLING MOUNTAINS



## Editor's Introduction

A wide variety of stories and songs—with such characters and plots as a pushy frog, a leatherback sea turtle, mice preparing for war, a weeping mountain, a talking tree, and a coyote that loses its eyes, among others—populate this book. The cultures of the Native Southwest possess a vibrant aesthetic oral tradition. In fact, the sharing of genre, plot, and motif structures across its many cultures is one of the ways scholars delineate the Southwest culture area. The ever-present trickster coyote stories and emergence myths are excellent examples of this commonality. Language is the medium of this art form, and it is a creative tradition that deserves a wider audience, with respect and reflection for what the verbal arts have to tell us both about the cultures from which they derive and about our shared humanity. Linda Goodman, in her introduction to Peter Garcia Sr.'s songs in this book, underscores this point: “When one concentrates on these texts during performances, Tewa songs remove a person from daily life and transport singers, dancers, and attentive listeners to a place far removed from the mundane world. They provide affirmation, inspiration, and renewal of life.” Perhaps the same can be achieved through an attentive reading of these texts.

I assembled this book as a celebration of and a resource for reflection on traditional Southwest verbal arts. To accomplish this, the book presents translated oral traditions from twenty-one Southwest Native American–language communities. I use the phrases *oral tradition* and *verbal arts* synonymously to refer to a spoken or sung genre that includes story, humor, prayer, song,

myth, testimonial, or speech that is verbally passed along through the generations. The goal of these arts is to both teach and entertain. Oral traditions can be either sacred or secular and come in many forms. They are just as likely to express deeply held values and moralizing messages as to poke fun at one's self or others through the telling of jokes or stories.

Along with my desire for a new resource for reflecting on and celebrating traditional Southwest verbal arts, I assembled this text to expose the art of traditional and contemporary forms of creativity in oral traditions to a variety of audiences: Native and non-Native, academic and lay. In so doing, I strived to be as inclusive as possible and to obtain a breadth in genre and language. To create an accessible resource for celebration and reflection, however, I decided three things must happen. First, I wanted to showcase the art found in Native oral traditions rather than merely privileging explanatory or interpretive academic spin. Second, I assembled this text to showcase the great diversity of approaches used by anthropologists, linguists, Native American studies scholars, ethnomusicologists, folklorists, and others in the work of translation of these uniquely American literatures. Third, this text also sets out to offer a few pointed scholarly discussions of current theories and analyses of history and myth related to Southwest Native verbal arts. Twenty-one chapters in this book are bilingual, with a Native or heritage source language and an English translation. Two of the chapters include Spanish translations.

Depending on what is included or excluded, approximately fifty Native languages spoken in the Greater Southwest, representing five language families. In fact, what makes the Southwest culture area so intriguing lies partly in its linguistic diversity and its cultural richness. This book includes selections from four of the five major language families (Uto-Aztecan, Nadene (Apachean), Kiowa-Tanoan, Yuman) and from two language isolates (Zuni, Seri) found in the Greater Southwest. Regretfully, I was unable to include any Keresan-language texts (spoken in the pueblos of Santo Domingo, Zia, and Cochiti) in this volume.

This volume brings together new translations of previously recorded and/or published Native literatures and translations of more recently recorded or produced but unpublished materials. Retranslations of previously recorded materials are desirable because earlier efforts were often, though certainly not always, marred by the collection efforts and ethos of the day. Examples of intentional or unintentional changes to oral tradition include the use of Victorian English trots (very loose glosses) and the presentation of all oral traditions in paragraph format. Even songs were often presented in a narrative form. These earlier efforts often sacrificed the art and/or technical accuracy in order to salvage the words of people whom the translators thought were soon going to disappear. Despite the aesthetic and technical limitations of these earlier efforts, I am not alone in my belief that there is much that can be learned from and enjoyed about reworking them. Moreover, a wealth of unpublished materials deserve to be reworked and placed before an admiring audience. The retranslated and unpublished archival work in this book includes, for instance, chapters that retranslate oral traditions originally collected by H. R. Voth, a Mennonite evangelical missionary who worked among the Hopi in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; John P. Harrington, who worked among the Ohkay Owingehs, the Picuris Tewas, and the Chemehuevis; Stanley Newman, who recorded Zuni material; Washington Matthews, who worked among the Navajos; and Elsie Clews Parsons, who worked with the Arizona Tewas. One contributor to this volume also mined some of the seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries' translations among the O'odhams of Arizona and Sonora, Mexico.<sup>1</sup>

The more recently recorded and produced materials included in this volume typically involved collaboration between a Native-language specialist and a non-Native linguist, ethnomusicologist, or anthropologist. These current translation efforts are more likely to be framed by reciprocal working relationships and an ethos of mutual respect and benefit, grounded in a desire to preserve and revitalize Native languages. These efforts are a vast improvement

over the Victorian-era and early twentieth-century anthropological work mentioned above because they attend to both accurate translation and aesthetic ideals. Recently recorded and produced materials are still often made at the request of a non-Native linguist or anthropologist or a Native language specialist. Native communities also continue to contract non-Native language specialists to assist them in recording, translating, and using their heritage languages for teaching the younger generations, producing grammars or dictionaries, and using in language retention and revitalization programs.<sup>2</sup> Many of this book's authors vigorously participate in this vital work. Such efforts often involve language preservation issues as well as highlighting the art itself. This book contains extensive examples of the aesthetic and genre diversity that spotlights the creativity of Southwest Native American verbal arts in a cultural region that is rich in linguistic and cultural complexity.

In addition to the verbal art selections, there are three original critical essays, which should be of keen interest to scholars in Native American studies, history, anthropology, and English, among others. One is by the English professor and anthropological historian William Clements, who discusses the one-hundred-plus-year history of translators and translation in the Southwest, thus offering a road map of translation's roots and its current state. His chapter extends my brief discussion of this history and adds to his highly regarded corpus of work. A second essay, by the anthropologist Donald Bahr, makes a new and provocative structuralist analysis of comparative mythology in the Southwest. A third essay, by the anthropologist Peter Whiteley, challenges the notion that Native people (in this case the Hopis) have been a people without a historical sense. Embedded in this work is a rejection of some structuralist explanations of myth. These are exciting essays, as they add to the expanding role of literary criticism in Native oral traditions.

Both Clements and Bahr advance what we know and think about Native verbal art because both deeply respect and admire

the historical process of doing translation and what is said in the oral traditions themselves. Clements's essay makes a case for appreciating Native verbal arts and their translation as being equal in significance to the recent retranslation of *War and Peace*. He discusses the delicacies of translating between language families and the cultural artistic performance that complicates the work of translating Native verbal arts. Bahr proposes what he calls the "rule of parody," the observation that there is a significant amount of sharing of mythical expression within a culture area. He claims that Southwest cultures express similar but slightly different myth motifs because "to maintain their identity and pride they perform endless parodies on the components of each other's mythologies." Drawing from extensive and diverse translated examples from the Southwest he also proposes what he calls the "Edenism" rule, which highlights the central role of *creation* rather than man-woman *procreation* that is embedded in myth. He further contends that *procreation* is a marker of internal changes within a myth. Bahr's focus in verbal arts is squarely in the time of myth, and he offers numerous textual examples from many Southwest cultures.

Whiteley presents a narrative from the Hopi leader Yukiwma that simultaneously highlights resistance to U.S. encroachment and anger toward the "Friendlies," or those Hopis who appeased U.S. efforts to educate Hopi youth or allot land held in common. Yukiwma's narrative critique as told to Voth (circa 1902) interweaves mythical themes with political currents to make his case for rejecting the changes taking place due to outside influences (e.g., Christian missionization, public education, U.S. political structures). Whiteley's work reveals the intersection of myth and history and how Yukiwma's telling strategically deployed the use of myth for telling historically and politically grounded lessons. In fact, Whiteley insists that "no oral tradition of creation, cosmogony, and world-ordering can ever be outside history." His work complicates how verbal arts are viewed and understood. Clearly verbal arts can be infused with the currents of political

and religious circumstance, and Yukiwma's narrative intent was not literary, it was not about the art. Rather, Yukiwma's narrative was a "technique of cultural resistance" to an imperial power trying to change his community.

This book complements the important contributions of Brian Swann's edited volumes, which focus on Native literatures and showcase English versions of Native verbal arts. These works include *Coming to Light: Contemporary Translations of the Native Literatures of North America*, *Voices from Four Directions: Contemporary Translations of the Native Literatures of North America*, and *Algonquian Spirit: Contemporary Translations of the Algonquian Literatures of North America*. They are joined by Herb Luthin's *Surviving through the Days*. This book differs from these other fine works in two ways. One is its regional focus on the singular Southwest culture area. This regional focus is warranted, as the Southwest is home to diverse, viable, and energetic Native communities. A volume of this sort is also long overdue given the vitality of contemporary oral traditions and literatures of Native communities in the Greater Southwest. Whereas the verbal arts of other cultural regions have been extensively studied and published in recent years, the Southwest has not had a major new volume for over twenty-five years. As a student I read and reread volumes such as *South Corner of Time*, edited by Larry Evers, and *Spirit Mountain*, edited by Leanne Hinton and Lucille Watahomigie and was inspired to take oral traditions and the work of translation seriously. My goal with this book is to encourage renewed celebration of and respect for indigenous voices and languages. A second difference is the extensive inclusion of original-language texts. Publishers of traditional Native verbal arts have an inconsistent record in terms of the inclusion of heritage-language texts. In my way of thinking, respect for Native languages is more fully realized when quality heritage-language texts are supplied. But their inclusion is also important from a language endangerment and preservation perspective, a topic I discuss below.

Inspiration for the oral traditions of Southwest Native American communities often emerges from the dramatic landscapes that infuse the Southwest. It is a place-based verbal aesthetic that speaks of the complex social relations between people and spirits and their direct links to the natural world. If the subjects of myth, story, and song are any indication of relative importance, mountains figure largely in Native texts. Emblematic of some Tohono O'odham song poems and speeches, for example, is the relation between mountains and clouds. One speech recorded by Ruth Underhill states how "from within the great Rainy Mountains rushed out a huge black cloud" ([1946] 1969:60), indicating a Native celebration of mountains as rain generators, the life substance of the desert. Then there is the story of Elder Brother (creator of the O'odham world), who, upon listening to his people talk of the beauty of mountains, walked around the landscape naming them. In a song translated by Frances Densmore (1929:26) Elder Brother is said to have sung,

Here we are on our way and see the distant mountain  
See, the mountain far from us that has the cloud is Raven  
Mountain

Despite the issues related to this translation in terms of line arrangement and verb placement, it nonetheless makes for a compelling poetic image of mountain and cloud.

It is poignant that mountains are more than passive, inert physical formations or merely staging backdrops to the dramas of life and death. Instead, mountains embody living, social worlds where people and nature communicate and interact, where acts of virtue and bravery occur, and where adventuresome people find their way and their home. In my own research in the Tohono O'odham community I often heard stories about how the insides of mountains are a mirror image of the living world, inhabited by tutelary spirit humans and animals. For this community, gaining spirit power was and presumably still is linked to spirit en-

counters in these mountains. In fact, it is probably true that every Tohono O'odham village has a nearby mountain said to be inhabited by such spirits.

Mountains are also sanctuaries, teachers of life lessons, regions of refuge, and places where some people escaped apocalyptic floodwaters during the time of myth, or even where people escaped from colonial predations. Mountains are part of a moralized environment and are anthropomorphized, as Francisco Xavier Moreno Herrera suggests in one selection in this volume. Of Twin Peaks, he says, "You are a mountain, but you are more than just a mountain. We look on you as if you were a real person."

Mountains also figure prominently in the flood stories common in the Southwest, and a wonderful example of this is found in the Hualapais' Spirit Mountain (Wikahmé) flood story. In the story the people, except for an old man, were drowned in a vast flood. The old man makes his home on the top of Spirit Mountain, from where the world begins anew. The beginning of this story, reprinted below, is narrated by Paul Talieje:

Water, water; it rained and rained,  
 It rained and rained, flooding the whole earth.  
 There were people who roamed this land;  
 People were making their living;  
 On this land they had their homes  
 When water covered them all.  
 It killed all the people . . .  
 When that flood killed them all,  
 That one, that, that one; there was someone, somebody,  
     something; someone was there.  
 There was someone living there.  
 That one, the man was getting old, so it was told . . .  
 There, on that mountain, he was placed, and there he  
     lived. . . .  
 (Hinton and Watahomigie 1984:15–16)

A quick accounting reveals the omniscient presence of sacred mountains in Native worldviews. For instance, there are the four sacred mountains of the Navajos (Blanca, Hesperus, Taylor, and the San Francisco Peaks), which delineate the cardinal directions, marking the boundaries of their homelands. To the west, the San Francisco Peaks are to the Hopis the dwelling place of Katsinam and the source of summer rains. These peaks are also sacred to the Hualapais, Havasupais, Yavapais, and Southern Paiutes. To the east, for the Tewas, Sandia Crest or Oku Pin stands dramatically behind Albuquerque, New Mexico. To the south the Pima and Tohono O'odham communities look to Greasy Mountain, Broad Mountain, Superstition Mountain, and Baboquivari Peak. For many Yuman-speaking communities, Spirit Mountain is central to their stories of origin. Also to the south stands Mt. Graham, a mountain held sacred by the Western Apaches (among others), the home of the Gaan (or Mountain Spirit) Dancers, mountain spirits who dance at annual girls' puberty (Sunrise) ceremonies.

Although these relatively well-known mountains are easily named, they do not exhaust the inspiration that mountains provide. In a Navajo story published by Paul Zolbrod about Big Spruce Mountain (Ch'óol'íí, or Gobernador Knob), the story's protagonist, First Man, quests to reach its summit, cloaked as it is in a dark cloud, rain, and lightning. It is an altruistic if hazardous quest. First Man attempts it for "long life and good fortune" for himself and his people (Zolbrod 1994:622). First Man is without fear, as he is armed with song, which he uses to carry out his successful ascent:

There is danger out there . . .  
Nothing will go wrong. For I will surround myself with song.  
I will sing as I make my way to the mountain.  
I will sing while I am on the mountain.  
And I will sing as I return.  
I will surround myself with song.

You may be sure that the words of my songs will protect  
me. . . .  
(Zolbrod 1994:620–21)

Allow these brief yet wonderful examples to suffice for making my point, knowing that I could cite many others. What these prominent and other, lesser peaks have in common is that the peoples of the Southwest view these physical places and formations as arenas in which natural phenomena occur, a source for human power and inspiration. The mountainous landscape creates the sense of place and belongingness and identifies the parameters of one's origins and heritage.

In keeping with these place-based observations, this book's title derives directly from a Tohono O'odham healing song, one that relates the essential characteristics of Native oral traditions as the product of inspiration, an inspiration that I believe must guide the translation and interpretive process. David Lopez and I first translated the haiku-like song-poem in the mid-1990s, and a version of it was included in our book *Devil Sickness and Devil Songs* (1999:132).

Inside Dazzling Mountains	Si:woda dodoag m-eda c ñ-kai
Inside Dazzling Mountains	Si:woda dodoag m-eda c ñ-kai
Inside I heard	M-eda ñ-kaiham
Inside I saw	Eda n-wa:k k ñeid
The spirits singing their songs	Eda g ñeñawul a'ai mo'o wa

As the song makes clear, this person's (the "I" in the song, who is a human) spiritual learning was achieved by venturing inside mountains to learn from the spirits that dwell there.

When the scholarly community speaks of the Southwest culture area it typically includes parts of today's New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah, a slender strip of southern California along the Colorado River, and parts of northern Mexico, with an emphasis on the states of Sonora and Chihuahua. With that said,

its boundaries have been drawn and redrawn over the years. The history of dividing up culture areas and language families has always been one of debate, contentious theory, and egos. So-called *lumpers* combine different languages into fewer language families, whereas *dividers* (or splitters) separate languages into many more language families. Given that the search for definitive answers to questions of linguistic and cultural affiliation continue, I have taken the liberty of including two texts in this collection that push the boundaries of traditional anthropological definitions of the Southwest. One is a selection of the Tiipay dialect of the Kumeyaay language. This language and related culture is often classified by anthropologists as part of the California culture area. But I include this selection because Tiipay is a member of the Yuman language family. A second inclusion comes from Oklahoma. I include the Kiowa selection because that language is a member of the Kiowa-Tanoan family (related to several New Mexico Pueblo communities), even though culturally this community has more in common with the Plains culture area. Another reason, in my mind, for including texts from these communities is that they, too, focus on Native relationships with the landscape.

#### TRANSLATION

The translation of Native American oral traditions has a long and complex history. And while many Native persons, anthropologists, linguists, ethnomusicologists, missionaries, and non-Native poets have contributed to the translation of said languages into English and the comprehension of the results, no single method or theory can be ascribed to this effort. In fact, a universal approach is unlikely to be achieved, nor is one desirable in my opinion. What epitomizes translation efforts today is a continuing experimentation and a growing sense of a more balanced collaborative practice based on reciprocity and mutual respect. The long history of translation reveals what I consider to be a gradual improvement

in conceptual, methodological, and technological tools that has in turn led to improved technical accuracy and poetic insight.<sup>3</sup> There are now better ways to record, translate, and interpret Native languages. There is now a broader interest in accomplishing this work, and there is a much more democratic and collaborative process to guide and see it through. This is not to say that it is perfect in terms of accuracy or poetic or political perspective. But what I find heartening is that the effort is still going strong after over one hundred years of trying to get it right. And now with language endangerment and the threats to language viability, such efforts are more crucial than ever.

Translating Native American languages into English is controversial. As is well known, translation is rarely a politically neutral act. The study of Native American language translation often occurs in a context of unequal social power, whether based on education, social status, socioeconomic status, or race and ethnicity. Translation occurs among speakers of the dominant English language, who turn the words of a heritage language into those of the dominant one. This is not to say that translation is always done within an unequal working frame. After all, many outside specialists today do their work not just to further their own research interests but to benefit the community. To this end, it is obligatory that those of us involved in doing translation be aware of and attempt to mitigate potential social imbalances and inequities. My hope is that translation work will continue to improve on the balance and equity issue and continue to further a sense of reciprocity.

Nevertheless, for many years there has been the perception among Native communities that outsider linguists and anthropologists were exploiting Native speakers and their communities for their own personal or professional gain. Additionally, there is a sense that these outsiders are taking away or publicizing sacred or secret knowledge. There are historical examples of this being the case. Among the more well-known examples is the work of H. R.

Voth among the Hopis and Frank Cushing among the Zunis. Recently some tribal governments have become more protective of their oral traditions and heritage languages, limiting or trying to limit what is published about them. Both the historical and the contemporary situation affected the writing of this book. Two contributions, for instance, were dropped because tribal councils did not give permission to publish. In another example, some of the children of one of the narrators did not permit the publication of the heritage language because they were concerned about criticism they thought they would experience from other community members. This points to a political situation with many facets, whether internally or externally generated.

Translation is more than mechanically turning a word or words of one language into a word or words in another. And for many who read this book, seeing words on the page may be the closest thing they will experience in terms of Native oral traditions. Thus, translation of a Native language into English may appear to some as no more problematic than what is experienced in reading a translation of an Indo-European language into English. This assumption would be unfortunate, however, given that something is always lost when translating a Native American verbal art into written English. At a minimum, the syntactic and grammatical structures vary more between English and Native languages than between English and Spanish, for example. Beyond these technical issues, what is typically lost is context (Clements 1996). To understand the translations of a verbal art one must have at minimum an understanding of cultural context, of the unspoken, nuanced, and/or meanings that are both obvious and not so obvious. With this said, translation is about opportunity and optimism in that the work of translation is always about inventing new possibilities, finding new significance, and creating new insight and meaning.

Translation is underscored by the promise of finding ways to respectfully bridge the conceptual and lived worlds that perhaps

more often than not serve to divide us as people. None of this is to say that one can ignore or discard translational accuracy or take unfounded liberties with what others say or have said. New possibilities and insight, for example, can emerge only from a fidelity to what was actually said. David Lopez, the man with whom I worked most closely in the Tohono O'odham community, often said to me that "we have to get the words straight." That is, we must work toward an accurate or "literal" translation before we could say anything truthful or meaningful about them. His counsel was to work toward achieving the accuracy of the linguist and bringing out the beauty of the art. Therein lies the rub of the work of translation. To translate is to be simultaneously a scientist and an artist.

Translation is central to all communication. To be experienced translators of everyday communications, as we all are, we must know (if only intrinsically) the mechanics of language. Much of early life is built around learning the grammar and syntactic structures of one's Native tongue. But one must also learn and be able to deploy and interpret symbolic and metaphoric—that is, artistic—uses of language. This is where the play of language resides. To translate across languages, then, suggests to me that the translator must attend to both the science (technical) and art (aesthetic) of the oral tradition. To traverse this dichotomy the non-Native translator of a Native language must also have an ethnographic, contextual awareness.

In his assessment of Native American translational theory Arnold Krupat (1992) makes the case that translational approaches have typically followed one or another of two broad strategies. The history of translation has privileged either highlighting the sameness of Native linguistic productions or their exotic difference from Western aesthetic and literary ideals. Translation has privileged likeness or unlikeness, ours and theirs, science or aesthetics. Krupat argues that emphasizing one cannot help but sacrifice to some degree the other. I think that is true. Thus the linguistic or anthropological focus on the literal and fidelity to original texts

may inadvertently sacrifice the oral tradition as art. On the other hand, poetic approaches may inadvertently sacrifice the linguistic accuracy of the originally uttered words. In any case, translation can be seen as always lacking something, and improvements in translation mean attending simultaneously to context, accuracy, and art. This is not to condemn the effort as hopelessly flawed but merely to point out that improvements can always be realized.

The selections in this book inevitably continue some of these trends but also offer a new direction. This book contains examples that privilege either a technical or aesthetic approach, and yet all of the authors attempt to be sensitive to both. But not all translation falls neatly into Krupat's science/aesthetic, ours/theirs dichotomy. Recently another translational path has appeared where Native speakers are in control of selecting and/or translating texts of their choice to use as they deem appropriate. What one might call a repatriation approach to translation refers to efforts that return language to its home community of speakers. Such a perspective has arisen in response to collection and translation practices largely, though not exclusively, of the past, which some have perceived as an act of taking possession of something that does not belong to the outsider translator and his or her culture. This implies a sense that oral traditions have been alienated from the source community. The language repatriation approach is intended to reverse the alienation process and help Native persons or communities regain control of their language and how it is represented and made available for public consumption. At this approach's center is that what is translated and the translation itself is decided upon by a Native heritage language-speaking person. The approach returns control over the selection of texts and how they are translated to a knowledgeable Native speaker. It is repatriation because the verbal art is returned to its language roots by a Native speaker. Phillip Miguel, in this book, states this position bluntly when he says, "I have in a sense colonized the colonial culture. I have used what was intended as a tool of culture change for my own, Native pur-

pose. I have decolonized this text by co-opting it for an indigenous purpose." Among Southwest languages the work of Rex Lee Jim (Navajo) (Jim 2004) stands as an excellent example of this path. Yet this approach raises new questions. For instance, are some Native speakers authorized to make translations? Is one dialect "official"? Are Native speakers equally endorsed or respected? What criteria are used in text selection? These and other questions await discussion. In this volume examples of the repatriation approach are found in the selections by Phillip Miguel (as quoted above), Francisco Xavier Moreno Herrera, Lorenzo Herrera Casanova, René Montaña Herrera, and Gus Pàntháidê Palmer Jr. I trust and hope that more of this kind of work will appear and that it will be wholly applauded and encouraged.

#### LANGUAGE DIVERSITY

To say that Southwest Native languages are diverse is an understatement. As mentioned above, there are five distinct language families and two isolates found in the Greater Southwest culture area. At the time of contact with Europeans there was even more language diversity than today. For instance, the Native languages of southwestern Texas and the Mexican states of Coahuila, Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas are not well known, and the classification of the many extinct languages from this region will more than likely remain in question. Modern language research into Southwest languages extends back to the late 1800s and continues into the present. The sum of this research provides a reliable understanding of language relations; grammatical, syntactic, and phonological systems; and how language assists in the understanding of the movement of people over thousands of years. I wish to make a few comments on each of the language families.

The Uto-Aztecan family is one of the largest language families in the New World and perhaps one of the most intensively studied in the Southwest. Various classificatory hypotheses have been for-

warded and amended over the past one-hundred-plus-year period. The approximately thirty languages in the family were variously divided into three major branches by Sapir (1913–14), whereas Kroeber (1934) divided the family into nine distinct branches (Swadesh 1954–55). The chain model competed with the family tree model, which suggested that the nine branches were coequal. Wick Miller (1984:21) offered yet a third classificatory hypothesis, arguing that there were five coequal branches. Of the classification systems, only Sapir's has been discarded by contemporary linguists. Heritage-language texts from Hopi, Tohono O'odham, Yaqui, and Altar Valley Pima languages are presented in this book.

Speakers of the Kiowa-Tanoan family of languages live almost exclusively along the Rio Grande in pueblos, and the language family is divided into three coequal branches. The Tiwa-speaking branch includes the people residing in Taos and Picuris Pueblos in the north and Sandia and Isleta Pueblos in the south. The Tewa branch is spoken by people living in the pueblos of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Tesuque, and Tano (the Arizona Tewa). The Towa branch is now only spoken by people of Jemez Pueblo. As mentioned earlier, an interesting linguistic feature of Kiowa-Tanoan is its relationship to the Plains Kiowa culture found today in Oklahoma. With no definitive conclusion, the time depth of the family has been estimated at between two thousand and four thousand years, with ancestors hypothesized as coming from either southern Arizona, southeastern California, or the San Juan valley of south-central Colorado. The languages of Tewa from San Juan and Hopi-Tewa and Tiwa from Picuris are presented in this book.

The closely related Yuman languages (Kendall 1983) of the Cochimi-Yuman family are well understood. The family is divided into four branches: Delta-California (Tiipay, Ipai, Kamia, Cocopa, Halykwamai), Pai (Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, Paipai), River (Mohave, Quechan, Maricopa, Kavelchadom, Halchidhoma), and Kiliwa. As Kendall (1983:5) points out, Yuman-language speakers

have been rather arbitrarily assigned into one of three separate culture areas: Southwest, Baja California, and California. This assignment reveals an underlying limitation or failing of the culture area divisions discussed above. Three of the Yuman languages are closely related, while Kiliwa diverges significantly from them (Foster 1996:86). Selections in this book include Quechan and Tiipay.

Having arrived over five hundred years ago, the Nadene (Apachean) language family is a relative newcomer to the Southwest region. This family is composed of Western Apache, Jicarilla, Mescalero, Chiricahua, Lipan (extinct), and Navajo. Speakers are distributed over a vast area of the Southwest. Selections from Navajo, Western Apache, and Mescalero are found in this book.

Zuni and Seri are linguistic isolates. While both have been variably linked to other language families, such links have proved inaccurate or inconclusive at best. For example, at various times Zuni has been alternately placed in the Uto-Aztecan, Keresan, or Penutian families. Seri, on the other hand, has been included incorrectly in the Cochimi-Yuman and Uto-Aztecan families as well as the Chumash language in California. And while Seri has been listed as a member of the Hokan stock, it is now generally assumed to be an isolate. Zuni and Seri selections are included in the book.

Unfortunately I was unable to obtain participation from those who work with the Keresan language family, and so no Keresan texts are presented in this book. Two potential contributors were unable to receive publication permission. Keresan is divided into eastern and western dialects, with villages of Santo Domingo, Zia, Cochiti, Santa Ana, and San Felipe in the east and Acoma and Laguna in the west. I hope in the future that others will bring forth more of the verbal arts of this language family with the blessing and participation of Native Keresan speakers themselves.

## ENDANGERED LANGUAGES

The United Nations declared 2008 the International Year of Languages. This timely declaration was made in response to mounting and disheartening evidence that the rate of global language endangerment and loss has accelerated in the past generation to an unprecedented degree. It is widely thought that humanity has much to lose in terms of knowledge, cultural richness, worldview, and creativity with every language that ceases to be spoken (Mithun 1998). With each language loss is the loss of a distinct way of classifying, seeing, and experiencing the world. As Kenneth Hale and others (1992:35) have stated, "linguistic diversity is important not only to human intellectual life . . . but also in relation to the class of human activities belonging to the realms of culture and art." The link between language and culture is strong because the language one speaks strongly influences how one engages the world.

For many Native persons language is synonymous with culture. It is thought that half of the estimated six thousand to seven thousand languages currently spoken in the world will be extinct by the year 2050 unless the deleterious processes currently at work are reversed. Globalization can be implicated in this language loss, as it encourages linguistic homogenization and assimilation. But there are many unique, localized pressures contributing to endangerment, including labor migration, disaster-induced migration, or even intra-community disagreements regarding the status of heritage-language use among the younger generations and whether the language should be published and translated. Whereas global warming and loss of biodiversity are hot topics on virtually everyone's tongue, language loss and endangerment and efforts at preservation and promotion are only gradually bubbling up to conscious awareness. Language loss is a poignant issue around the world; it is an issue that is clearly reflected in the U.S. Southwest; it is an issue that will demand understanding of both

localized and global forces, with interventions that are locally conceived and enacted.

In general, Native American languages and Native oral literatures of the Southwest remain vital (Goddard 1996:3). Happily, I can report that most of the languages presented in this book are full of life, spoken by high percentages of all segments of the population. This does not mean that heritage languages are entirely safe. In an informal survey of this book's authors, I asked for their assessment regarding the state of the language that they speak and/or study. A nearly unanimous sentiment emerged: Native languages of the Southwest are threatened, some more so than others. The immediate prognosis for some is not a happy one. Still more surprising is that even in those communities where the heritage language is vital and spoken by young and old alike, there was a perception among the contributors of this volume, born of experience and time, that the various forces that conspire to diminish heritage languages' vitality pose a serious and immediate threat and that diligence is imperative. Even the Native Southwest has been identified as experiencing a decline of speakers. Several Southwest Native languages are currently experiencing precipitous declines in the number of speakers (Harrison 2007). Lamentably, several Southwest languages (e.g., Kiliwa, Quechan, Maricopa, Mohave) are threatened with extinction in the very near future as the eldest speakers pass on. In the face of threats of language endangerment and loss, I am hopeful that the work of translation, collaboration, and language promotion such as that found in this book is an effective type of advocacy for language retention, cross-cultural understanding, and vitalization, an answer to the threats to language diversity and preservation.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

Several years ago Brian Swann and I agreed that a book of translations of Southwest oral traditions was needed. What we could not

agree upon was who would edit it, as neither of us was ready to tackle such a project at that time. A couple of years passed, and he asked me once again if I would assume the editor role. At the time I again deferred, suggesting that he ask others to do it. I did say that I would consider the possibility if he could not find a taker. He could not, so here I am writing this introduction. In retrospect, I am happy he did not find someone else. The experience of working with many talented, committed, and thoughtful colleagues on this book has been vastly rewarding and personally inspirational.

This book features a remarkable diversity in terms of topical coverage and expertise. To assemble it I wrote hundreds of (sometimes pestering) e-mails and made many phone calls inviting every colleague I knew, and many more whom I did not, to participate in this project. I placed announcements in the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (SSILA) newsletter and sent flyers to academic departments and regional tribal offices around the country. As a professor at a small liberal arts college in southwestern Colorado (Fort Lewis College) with a relatively large Native student body, I have had the good fortune of having many Native students in my classes. Many of them are from the very communities this book showcases. These students have taught me valuable lessons and, in a way, this book is a way to reciprocate their generosity.

In the end, this book is a collaborative effort with nearly forty coauthors. Many of the selections feature animal stories. But other selections feature insects, birds, and family relations; many of them also have an abiding sense of place. The book is divided into six sections. Each of the first five sections is devoted to a language family or one of the language isolates. The sixth section is reserved for the three essays on history, myth, and myth-history. While I tried at first to impose a rigid and uniform organization for how I wanted the contributors to structure their selections, I quickly learned the limitations of this approach. I ended up being much more flexible than I imagined I would. But that flexibility

allowed the varied approaches to the different materials presented in print to better serve their individual language and genre. Moreover, this flexibility encouraged a diversity of technical and aesthetic approaches to translating the verbal arts—thus proving that no single approach is perfect, adequate, or better than another. Generally, though not always, each chapter has an introduction followed by an English translation and then the heritage-language text. The chapters in part 6 follow a more conventional academic presentation style.

This book offers readers a diversity of genres, languages, and translational approaches. From beginning to end it is a highly collaborative endeavor. I trust that this collection will provide the foundation for a sound understanding and appreciation of South-west Native verbal arts.

## NOTES

1. Numerous previously published works are ripe for reconsideration. Among them, for example, is the work of Frank Russell (*The Pima Indians*), Francis Densmore (*Papago Music*, *Music of Santo Domingo Pueblo*, and *Music of Acoma, Isleta, Cochiti, and Zuni Pueblos*), Frank Hamilton Cushing (*Zuni Folk Tales*), Washington Matthews (*The Night Chant: A Navajo Ceremony* and *The Navajo Mountain Chant*), and Ruth Bunzel (*Zuni Origin Myths*), among others. In addition, there are archives at the University of California, Berkeley; Arizona State University; the University of Arizona; the University of New Mexico; the Whatcom Museum; the Smithsonian Institution; and the American Philosophical Foundation, to name a few.

2. The term *heritage language* identifies non-dominant languages of a nation-state. For instance, in the United States any language other than English might be considered a heritage language. For this book I designate indigenous or First Peoples' languages as heritage languages in the United States.

3. Prominent among those doing this work are Dell Hymes (1981, among others), Dennis Tedlock (1983, among others), Larry Evers and Felipe Molina (1987), and Donald Bahr (1983, among others).

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## LANGUAGE PRESERVATION RESOURCES

The following is an overview of organizations working on the front lines of Native American language-preservation efforts. It is not an exhaustive list but one that highlights the need for more public involvement at this most critical of moments. It includes the initiatives of corporations, universities, Native networks, and nonprofit groups.

The Native American Language Center at the University of California. The center encourages linguistic research on Native languages and supports the intergenerational learning of heritage languages. It fosters interdisciplinary and collaborative approaches to language documentation, preservation, and revitalization. <http://nas.ucdavis.edu/NALC/home.html>.

The University of Arizona Technology-Enhanced Language Revitalization Project. This project aims at video and audio documentation of the Mohave and Chemehuevi languages, both of which are highly endangered. In addition to early syntax work in the 1970s, some phonology and electronic documentation were initiated in 2003.

Linguistic Society of America. The Committee on Endangered Languages and Their Preservation (CELP) fosters the documentation and study of threatened languages. It provides technical support for heritage-language communities wishing to maintain the viability of their languages. It also encourages institutions to compile grammars and dictionaries, document and study languages, and assist academic institutions in this process.

Native Languages of the Americas. This is a nonprofit organization that aims to preserve, protect, and promote endangered Native languages. <http://www.native-languages.org/>.

Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). SIL is a faith-based (Christian) organization that studies, documents, and assists in the preservation of languages around the world. Over its seventy-year history SIL has worked with NGOs, academic institutions, and indigenous communities to conduct research on endangered languages. SIL researchers have developed software such as Speech Analysis Tools. [www.sil.org](http://www.sil.org).

The Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (SSILA). An international scholarly organization dedicated to the scientific study of Native American languages, SSILA was founded in 1981. [www.ssila.org](http://www.ssila.org).

Indigenous Language Institute (ILI). ILI facilitates community-based initiatives for language revitalization via culturally appropriate groups and individuals. It is also active in promoting public awareness of the endangered language crisis. [www.indigenous-language.org/](http://www.indigenous-language.org/).

Rosetta Project. This is a global effort and collaboration among Native speakers and language specialists to build a publically accessible digital library of human languages. The project is a response to the catastrophic loss of the world's languages. [rosettaproject.org](http://rosettaproject.org).

Enduring Voices Project. A National Geographic–sponsored project, its goal is to document endangered languages and prevent language extinction by understanding the geographic dimensions of language distribution, understanding the links between linguistic diversity and biodiversity, and bringing wide attention to the language-loss issue. [www.nationalgeographic.com/mission/enduringvoices/index.html](http://www.nationalgeographic.com/mission/enduringvoices/index.html).

Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages. Its mission is to document, maintain, preserve, and revitalize endangered languages worldwide via community-based and collaborative projects. With a community's permission, the project aims to assist communities in their efforts at language preservation and promotion. [www.livingtongues.org](http://www.livingtongues.org).

PART ONE

LANGUAGE ISOLATES



# SERI

## SERI ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

The Seri-language essays were written and are presented here in the practical spelling system that has been in use, with some modifications, for about fifty years (see Marlett 2006). A description of the sounds is given in Marlett, Moreno Herrera, and Herrera Astorga (2005) and Marlett (2005). A mini-guide to the correspondences (using the symbols of the International Phonetic Association) is: *a* [a], *aa* [a:], *c* [k], *cö* [kʷ], *e* [ɛ], *ee* [ɛ:], *f* [ɸ], *h* [ɸ], *i* [i], *ii* [i:], *j* [x], *jö* [xʷ], *l* [ɬ], *l* [l], *m* [m] (but [n], [ŋ], [ɳ], and [w̃] in some contexts), *n* [n], *o* [o], *oo* [o:], *p* [p], *qu* [k], *r* [r], *s* [s], *t* [t], *x* [χ], *xö* [χʷ], *y* [j], *z* [ʃ]. The punctuation and capitalization of Seri employed in these texts follow the general conventions used in the 2010 dictionary (Moser and Marlett 2010), which in turn generally follow the ones used for writing Spanish. The essays use accents in a limited fashion, following the conventions spelled out in the second edition of the Seri dictionary, although most of the accents are easily omitted without problem in everyday written material and were not included in the original drafts.

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## 1. Leatherback Sea Turtle — *Xiica Cmotómanoj*

Written by René Montaña Herrera

Translated by Stephen A. Marlett

Introduced by Stephen A. Marlett

The Seri people — or Comcaac [koŋ'ka:k], as they call themselves — live on the central coast of Sonora, Mexico, along the Gulf of California, in an area that is part of the great Sonoran Desert. This has been their homeland for many centuries and perhaps millennia. See Bowen (1976, 1983) for an overview of their history, including the range of their residence, and Bowen (2009) for the larger context of the occupation of islands in the Gulf of California.

This essay by René Montaña Herrera is about the unique leatherback sea turtle, *Dermochelys coriacea*, the largest turtle in the world (figure 1). The most common name for this creature in the Seri language is *mosnipol* [mo'snipoł], which is a compound meaning 'black (-*ipol*) sea turtle (*moosni*)'. The essay gives the reader a sense of the importance of the leatherback in the traditional culture. A rare visitor to the Gulf of California, this turtle is now on the edge of extinction worldwide (Felger, Nichols, and Seminoff 2005). It has figured in Seri culture for centuries, and more than one version of the story about it has been recorded (see Felger and Moser 1985:42–45), with striking dissimilarities among them. In some versions the leatherback was a woman who lost her children. In others it was a woman who lost a sibling. In one important version the leatherback, the sailfish, and the black witch moth (*Ascalapha*

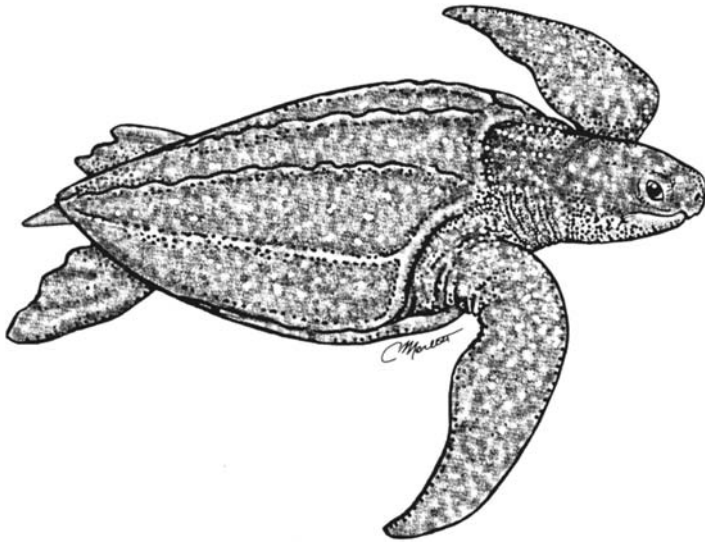


Figure 1. Leatherback sea turtle. Illustration by Cathy Marlett.

*odorata*) were siblings at the time of the first death. The following account, previously unrecorded, presents the leatherback as an eldest son who left his family in anger and magically took his siblings with him. A respectful expression to refer to a recently deceased child is *ziix cmotomn* ‘weak thing’. This term is relevant in this story since the plural form of that expression is the respectful name for the leatherback—*xiica cmotómanoj* [xiika k̄wō’tomanox] ‘weak things’—which reminds the culture that this animal really represents several individuals. Montaña’s essay uses some rhetorical questions to engage the reader; these are not typically used in oral presentations of this kind of material.

Montaña is a resident of Socoaix (the Seri village known as Punta Chueca), Sonora. He has worked primarily as a fisherman. He is a nephew of Roberto Herrera Marcos, key collaborator with Edward Moser who was responsible for much of the material in the Seri dictionary (Moser and Marlett 2010). Born in 1963, Montaña served as an important member of the committee that edited the dictionary and has been writing and editing essays

about his culture for the monolingual Seri encyclopedia (Montaño Herrera, Moreno Herrera, and Marlett 2007) and other publications. He essentially taught himself to read and write Seri using the primers and other materials that his uncle developed with Edward and Mary Moser, resident linguists working in the area since 1951 with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, now known as SIL International. During 2007 he and others worked with me on a major reference grammar of this important language (Marlett, in preparation) to complete another part of its documentation. Our work in 2007 was supported in part by a grant, gratefully acknowledged, from the National Endowment for the Humanities (FN-50007-06). I have worked as a member of SIL International and been in contact with the Seri community since 1976, when I married the Mosers' daughter Cathy.

In February 2008 Montaño taught a community workshop on reading and writing Seri—the first of its kind—and he has directed more workshops to train a cadre of writers as part of a literacy and book-production initiative that has been supported by the Christensen Fund. One of his current projects is a book on the stars and constellations, drawing only on traditional Seri knowledge and beliefs. For more information about the place of writing in the Seri community, see Marlett (2010).

Montaño wrote the essay on the leatherback turtle over a period of months in 2007 in response to the invitation to make a submission to this anthology. He structured the essay around three themes with respect to the leatherback: an explanation of the name, including the story of the brother; a discussion of the natural history of this turtle as the Seris describe it (which is not derived from Western science); and some perspective on the Seris' respect for animals in general. The translation of this essay was facilitated by a partial Spanish translation provided by Montaño and by further discussions between us to ensure that my understanding was correct. The species identifications supplied in the English translation are from Felger and Moser (1985).

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I thank Richard Felger, David Kozak, Cathy Marlett, and Carolyn O'Meara for their helpful comments on the translation and the background information.

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## Leatherback Sea Turtle — *Xiica Cmotómanoj*

<sup>1</sup>This is why the leatherback sea turtle lives in the sea.

<sup>2</sup>There once was a man who had eight sons. <sup>3</sup>The younger ones did not view the oldest son very favorably, so he just left them. <sup>4</sup>That is the way it has been in every family. The oldest child tells the others what to do. <sup>5</sup>The parents of the firstborn also obeyed him, but then the oldest son just up and left his family.

<sup>6</sup>The one who left in anger did not look for a safe or comfortable place; he just entered the ocean as soon as he arrived at it. <sup>7</sup>Then the ones that remained behind all looked for him but they did not find him.

<sup>1</sup>Hizaax oo cōtpacta ma, mos-nipol hapáh quiij xepe án com ano tiih x, toc cōquiuh iha. <sup>2</sup>Ziix quiisax ctam zo toc cōtiuh, xicaquiziil ctamcō quih czo-xolcam itoon ma, toc cōtoi, yoque. <sup>3</sup>Ox tpacta ma, caii quiij quixt coi cōihooctam hac tmiipe ma, hanso áno mota, imiix. <sup>4</sup>Tahac oo ipacta ha. Hameen quih hant quih iti tahca ma x, hapén coi caii quih hant zo cōtiij x, tiix comcaac coi ano cocoaal hax tahii hax taa x, hameen hac ano tiij x, toc cōquiij iha. <sup>5</sup>Comcaac queeej coi mos hapazi íi quiij, tiix oo mos iitom quih haa tahca ma x, iti caaizi ha yax, ox tpacta, toc cōtahca ma, xiica hapén tahac cōcoii coi, caii quiij hameen an ihiih hac imiix.

<sup>6</sup>Ziix quiisax quih hapx iiqui cojoz hapáh quiij, hant quiipe xah hant isoqueepe ha cmis z imaa ha yax, ziix tahac contica tintica, xepe com cōiifp xah cah, hanso contita, yoque. <sup>7</sup>Ox tpacta ma, ihít hac iti cahcaail

<sup>8</sup>He was not on the shore and they did not find him. <sup>9</sup>He was already living in the sea.

<sup>10</sup>Why does the person who is talking about the leatherback call it *xiica cmotómanoj* ('weak [deceased] things'), you might ask? <sup>11</sup>Many people say that phrase ('weak things') but they only know it as the animal's name and they call it that. <sup>12</sup>They do not know why it is called that. <sup>13</sup>When a person traveling on the sea comes across one, he says "There comes 'weak things.'" <sup>14</sup>Why does he not say "There come weak things"? you might ask. <sup>15</sup>The word *xiica* ('things') refers to a group of many items. <sup>16</sup>The word *ziix* ('thing') refers to just one. <sup>17</sup>But although the person sees only one leatherback, he says "weak things." <sup>18</sup>He does not say "weak thing."

<sup>19</sup>This is why they call it that. <sup>20</sup>Its name comes from the eight boys in the family. <sup>21</sup>Only one had left the others but when he was about to turn

coi, hanso tcooo ocaat iha xo itcmaht iho. <sup>8</sup>Taax oo compacta tax, hanteejök z iti piih, haquix imiiah iha yax, itcmaht iho. <sup>9</sup>Xepe com, tiix oo ano tiihtim x, haquix quihtim iha.

<sup>10</sup>¿Zó tpacta ma, mosnipol quij czaxö quih hant zo cötiih x, "xiica cmotómanoj" itáh aha?

<sup>11</sup>Xiica quiistox quih catxo, taax haquix toom x, icaaitom tahac iti cöcooza ha xo hanso ziix ccam quij itaasi hac oo itaaj iiha x, íti cöoomxoj iha.

<sup>12</sup>Ziix iti cötpacta ma, tahac iti cöiimxoj z imaaaj iha. <sup>13</sup>Xepe quih caao quih haquix intita x, cöitataait x, "iXiica cmotómanoj ihi hiz contxoa!" ox xah mee. <sup>14</sup>¿Zó tpacta ma, "iXiica cmotómanoj ihi hiz contxoaat!", ox tmee ha? <sup>15</sup>Icaaitom "xiica" hac, ziix quih catxo quih ptiiqui quimx iha. <sup>16</sup>Icaaitom "ziix" hac, taax tazo caha czaxö iha. <sup>17</sup>Mosnipol quih tazo quih quiho quih haquix tiih xox, "xiica cmotómanoj" imiiah. <sup>18</sup>"Ziix cmotomn" itcmáh iho.

<sup>19</sup>Hizaax ah oo cötpacta ma, tahac oo cöimiimxoj. <sup>20</sup>Ctamcö czooxolcam hapén coi iiqui oomx iha. <sup>21</sup>Tazo tintica oo hant iti yaii hac quiix iiha ha xo

into another animal, he caused the others that were left behind to all be on his body.

<sup>22</sup>When a leatherback is found, one can see the seven ridges on it. <sup>23</sup>Those are the rest of the family of eight children who went with the one who turned into an animal and was living in the sea. <sup>24</sup>That is why when someone sees the animal, he talks to it as if there were many of them. <sup>25</sup>He is including the seven sons who remained behind and whom he put on his back. <sup>26</sup>That is why the one who talks to the leatherback calls it that.

<sup>27</sup>When the leatherback is in the sea and the one who is going to take it out of the sea is there, then a person who is like a family member sees it and talks with it. <sup>28</sup>That is how that person treats the leatherback. <sup>29</sup>He talks to it and says,

“We are brothers of the same generation,” he says to it.

<sup>30</sup>Then the leatherback obeys everything that he says.

cmaax ziix ccam ihmaa quij isoj cöisahaa hac, ihít iicp cahcaail coi tcooo ma, itaai, hapi isoj quij coox iti imiiquim. <sup>22</sup>Mosni-pol hapáh quij popaho, popacta ta x, ipocj quij hax coozalc oo quih tomcoj cöquiih iti soofija aha. <sup>23</sup>Taax hapen ihít iicp cahcaail coi thaa ma, iiqui izooxolcam quij, tiix ah, ziix ccam quih thaa, xepe án com ano miih.

<sup>24</sup>Taax ah oo cötpacta ma, ziix ccam quij quiho quih haquix tiih x, itzaxö ma x, hax catxo oo hax tahii hax maa. <sup>25</sup>Ctamcö tomcoj cöquiih ihít iicp tahcaail ma, isoj quij it ooquim coi cötiih oo ma x, iiqui oomx iha. <sup>26</sup>Taax ah oo cötpacta ma x, tahac oo cöimiimx, czaxö quih hant zo cötiih x.

<sup>27</sup>Xiica cmotómanoj coi xepe com ano tiij ma, hapx scaaix ca quih haquix tiih x, cmiiquet quij ox iihax icmiiquet quij itaho x, iihax miitom. <sup>28</sup>Ox yapacta ha. <sup>29</sup>Itzaxö x, ox imii:

— Xiica quiicot conyayaxi quih pac haa ha. — ox imii.

<sup>30</sup>Ox tpacta ma x, cmaax hapi ziix quih iti cöizaxöt, taax oo haa tahca ma x, isoj iti cöimaai.

<sup>31</sup>This is what they do to bring it to land. <sup>32</sup>While they are still out at sea, no adult in the community goes to the shore. <sup>33</sup>The youngest of the adolescents stands at the high tide line and waits for the people in the boat to come to shore.

<sup>34</sup>When the leatherback arrives at shore, this adolescent tells it to come up on the land, and it goes there to where the young boy or girl is. <sup>35</sup>Then that person standing on the shore says to the leatherback:

<sup>36</sup>“Expose yourself!” And it turns over and lies face up.

<sup>37</sup>The ancestors also did the following for the leatherback. <sup>38</sup>As soon as they brought it to shore, they had a fiesta for it. <sup>39</sup>The fiesta they had for it was like one that they would do for a girl’s puberty fiesta. <sup>40</sup>On the fourth night they stayed up all night. <sup>41</sup>There was a singer

<sup>31</sup>Haxoj com cösiimlajc taa x, taax hizaax ah oo cöimapactoj. <sup>32</sup>Haxoj com cösiifp pi ta, ziix quuisax caii zo, tiix hant it haxoj isiifp hac iti poop, hant zo cöimáp iha. <sup>33</sup>Ziix quuisax quih mos áno cmaa ccaii quij, tiix ah, xepe quih iti cöixi quih iiqui izooxolcam com iti tap x, imaqueeejim.

<sup>34</sup>Ox tpacta ma x, haxoj com cötafp x, coleequi siin taa, itaai ma x, tatax x, toc contiiha iti x, ziix quuisax ctam xah quih ihmaa x, cmaam quih cmaa ccaii xah quih ihmaa x, ox tpacta hant zo cötap ma x, cötafp x, taax iti tiij x, toc cömiij. <sup>35</sup>Ox tpacta ma x, ziix quuisax xepe quih iteel com iti caap cop mosnipol quij itzaxö x, ox imii:

<sup>36</sup>—iAaxapoj! iAaxapoj!—ox itai ma x, cötpémetx x, tjip x, hant zo cömiij.

<sup>37</sup>Comcaac hantx mocat coi mosnipol quij hizaax mos oo cöimapactoj. <sup>38</sup>Haxoj com cöitámlajc x, taax oo iti pyeest quij cöihacooizi ha. <sup>39</sup>Pyeest quij zaxquisiil cmaam quij ziix cötama ma x, pyeest quij itaaizi x, ihapactoj, taax oo iti yapactoj iha. <sup>40</sup>Ixaap quih iiqui

and a dancer. <sup>42</sup>They made a bent ocotillo [*Fouquieria splendens*] shade shelter for the girl, covering it with small branches of desert broom [*Baccharis sarothroides*] and desert lavender [*Hyptis albida*]. <sup>43</sup>For the leatherback they used very green mangrove [*Laguncularia*, *Avicennia*, or *Rhizophora*] twigs. <sup>44</sup>They also put sand croton [*Croton californicus*] plants on the shelter.

<sup>45</sup>While it was in the shade shelter, they decorated its carapace with pretty face-painting designs. <sup>46</sup>They treated it just as if it were a young girl.

<sup>47</sup>After four days, if it had not died, they returned it to the sea. <sup>48</sup>If it had died, they treated it in the same way as a real person and they buried it.

<sup>49</sup>They also did this with respect to the leatherback. <sup>50</sup>If someone found a piece of leatherback bone, even though it may have died a long time earlier, they took the bone and had a big fiesta for it. <sup>51</sup>They

izooxöc cop thaa ma x, hant imafeacol. <sup>41</sup>Coos quij toc cötij x, cooit cop mos toc cömiip. <sup>42</sup>Zaxquisiil cmaam quij, tiix haaco haheemza quih an ihij cop, tiix caasol iyat xah xeescI iyat xah, taax ah oo cöimiii. <sup>43</sup>Ox tpaacta ma, mosnipol quij, tiix pnaacoj quih iyat quih mos áno cooil coi ah iti imiicmolca. <sup>44</sup>Moosni iti hateepx coi mos haaco haheemza cop iti imiicmolca.

<sup>45</sup>Mosnipol quij haaco haheemza cop ano tij ma x, ipocj quij hayeen ipaii quih caziim quih, taax ipocj quij cötpaspoj ma x, hant quih iti miiij. <sup>46</sup>Zaxquisiil cmaam quij iha-pactoj, taax oo iti yaaizi ha.

<sup>47</sup>Ixaap czooxöc coi iti toofin ma, hacx tommiih ma x, xepe com cöimqueelajc. <sup>48</sup>Hacx tmiih ma x, taax itaazi x, cmiiique áa com imiipla taa ma x, ox itaazi x, miizj hax imiii, ox imapactoj.

<sup>49</sup>Hizaax mos oo cöimapactoj. <sup>50</sup>Mosnipol quij hacx tmiih ma x, itac quih toox cayaxi quih haquix toom ma, quiho quih xox itaazi x, heme hac cöitamjc ma x, pyeest quih caacoj, taax itaazi ma x, comcaac coi

treated it as if it were an intact leatherback.

<sup>52</sup>Our ancestors seldom ate the leatherback. <sup>53</sup>In the case when they were going to eat it, they would close their eyes as they chewed the meat. <sup>54</sup>In the old days the leatherback had been a person. <sup>55</sup>That is why they seldom ate that species of animal. <sup>56</sup>There are many different kinds of sea turtles, <sup>57</sup>and they ate almost all of them. <sup>58</sup>But the leatherback was a person at the very beginning of the creation of the world, <sup>59</sup>and they did not forget it. They were respectful of it and they seldom ate it.

<sup>60</sup>The leatherback may eat other food but it really prefers to eat white jellyfish [“copsiij cooxp”]. <sup>61</sup>Moreover, the leatherback is not commonly seen. <sup>62</sup>One is seen and then many years pass before another one is seen. <sup>63</sup>This is why. <sup>64</sup>The person that left

áno toii x, iistox hant tpaailx x, hant quih iti moii. <sup>51</sup>Mosnipol quij tmeesom oo toc cöihij, taax oo cöimamiistaj.

<sup>52</sup>Comcaac hantx mocat iyat cöhayacp coi mosnipol hapáh quij intipa ta imaaitoj iha. <sup>53</sup>Hax cöititai hax taa ma x, isiiitoj taa x, tiima oo x, ziix ipxasi oiitoj coi imcánalcoj. <sup>54</sup>Hantx cömiiha hac, mosnipol quij ziix quuisax áa quih thaa x, toc cöquiihtim iha. <sup>55</sup>Taax ah oo cötpacta ma, intipa ta ziix ccam tiquij cmis quih itcmaaitoj iho. <sup>56</sup>Moosni quih ptiiqui imitaasit quih tatxo x, haquix coom iha. <sup>57</sup>Taax hax tcooo hax taa ma x, iitoj cöaa ha. <sup>58</sup>Xiica cmotómanoj tiquij oo hant quij cmaa cöipaxi hac ano cöihitaa hac, cmiique quih thaa x, toc cöquii iha. <sup>59</sup>Taax ah iicp itcmatoonlam x, itanzaaitj x, intipa ta itcmaaitoj iho.

<sup>60</sup>Mosnipol quij ziix oohit ihmaa xah zo haquix piih iho xo copsiij cooxp quij, tiix ah imiihit isoj. <sup>61</sup>Taax oo cötpácta, mosnipol hapáh quij ziix intita ma hapaho z imhaa ha. <sup>62</sup>Hant quih catxo, taax iti toofin ma x, mos zo haquix tiih ma x, hapaho ha. <sup>63</sup>Hizaax ah oo cöt-

angry is not a person who lets himself be seen easily. <sup>65</sup>He looks for a way to avoid being seen — that is why.

<sup>66</sup>The leatherback does not live in the place where it is born. <sup>67</sup>When the eggs hatch and the little ones go to the sea, they leave the place where they have been born. <sup>68</sup>The young leatherback goes somewhere very far from where it is born, <sup>69</sup>and it never returns to its place of origin. <sup>70</sup>When it goes to lay eggs, it lays them in a place where it has recently arrived. <sup>71</sup>Then those that are born of those eggs go to the place where their mother came from and they lay their eggs there also. <sup>72</sup>The leatherback does not live in the place where it is born.

<sup>73</sup>It has not repented of the anger that it had, and that is the way it is. <sup>74</sup>It does not know where it is going to live. It travels, it crosses the ocean, it goes in the depths of the sea, and it goes in the strong cur-

pacta aama. <sup>64</sup>Ziix quiiisax quih hapx iiqui cojox hapáh quij, hax íiqui pajox ta, cmiique z ihaaho imá ha. <sup>65</sup>Ziix quih iti cöpo-pacta ta, ziix quiiisax zo cöisc-maho ha, taax oo aa isoj cöquih iha, taax ah aa itáh aama.

<sup>66</sup>Mosnipol quij hant quih iti ipatjc quih intipa ta iti imiih iha. <sup>67</sup>Iipx coi hant quih iti yaii iti x, tpatjc x, xepe com cötitooj x, taax oo iti x, hant quih iti ipatjc com cöeaaxoj iha. <sup>68</sup>Hant quih mos áno toox caahca quih, hapi hant quih iti ipatjc tintica cöimihiiicx, tiix ah inyaai. <sup>69</sup>Itacl ipi panaaaaj x, hant quih iicp miha hac cös-miin caha. <sup>70</sup>Itacl cösiipx taa x, hant quih cmaa it iifp hac ah, iti miipx. <sup>71</sup>Ox tpecta ma x, iipx coi tpatjc x, taax aha, ihít cötitooj x, caii quij hant quih iicp miha hac, ano tazcam x, taax ano miipx. <sup>72</sup>Mosnipol hapáh quij, hapi hant quih iti ipatjc hac iti imiih iha.

<sup>73</sup>Taax oo compacta tax, hapx iiqui cöiyajox hac ah, itcmanaaij ma, tahac oo compacta. <sup>74</sup>Iiqui siih ha z itcmá x, tatax x, xepe quih caacoj com, tiix oo itictim x, xepe quih cyaail xah iixöt quih caaixaj

rents. It lives like that. <sup>75</sup>The black of its skin is from the stains left by the tears of the person who has been crying.

<sup>76</sup>This is how the leather-back travels. <sup>77</sup>It is not harmed when it happens to pass through a very deep part of the ocean. <sup>78</sup>When it is going to travel in the deep ocean, its body flattens and then it travels through the ocean depths.

<sup>79</sup>When it is going to travel to a distant place, it seldom eats anything other than white jellyfish. <sup>80</sup>It temporarily gives up all the variety of food that it can eat and eats only white jellyfish for a long time, and then it crosses the ocean.

<sup>81</sup>It can travel deep in the sea, and it can travel on the surface of the sea. <sup>82</sup>During that time, its flesh and

com, tiix oo ano tatax x, hant quih iti miih. <sup>75</sup>Inaail quih itacl com, cöiyapol hac taax, cmiique hizquih tooha ma x, itox quih it hant ihimej quih, hant zo contima, tiix chaa quih haa ha xo toox tayaxi ma, cmaax inaail quih itacl com, ittopl, taax oo cötpacta, iti toom, toc comom.

<sup>76</sup>Mosnipol quij hant quih, cöiyectim hac, taax ox hapacta ha. <sup>77</sup>Xepe quih caacoj tintica cöihaao hac, hant quih mos áno cyaaail quih cöitataait, an itaao xox, ihaai zo haa imahca ha. <sup>78</sup>Xepe quih cyaaail tintica an isaao taa ma x, taax oo iti isojo com pte tiin x, hax txatcaj oo x, xepe quih ipot com ano meectim.

<sup>79</sup>Hant quih toox caahca quih cöseectim taa x, ziix ihmaa zo ntipa ta imahit iha. <sup>80</sup>Xiica quih oohit quih ocoa coi tcooo ma x, isojo cöitaacatx x, copsiiij cooxp coi, tihiiha ma x, iihit caha x, toox tayaxi ma x, cmaax xepe quih caacoj tintica imaa.

<sup>81</sup>Xepe quih cyaaail quih an ihaao itá, xepe quih itacl tintica mos ihaao quiya ha. <sup>82</sup>Taax oo compacta tax, ipxasi com iij

its fat are in an altered condition. <sup>83</sup>That is how it can travel long distances. <sup>84</sup>Although it travels through the very cold sea, its fat does not freeze.

<sup>85</sup>It has this habit when it travels through the depths of the ocean. <sup>86</sup>A person who suffers a tragedy sobs and sobs. <sup>87</sup>The leatherback is also sobbing as it travels. <sup>88</sup>It does this because it is sad that it has never returned to its place of origin.

<sup>89</sup>Animals have customs that are similar to those of people. <sup>90</sup>They feel exactly what a person feels. <sup>91</sup>They experience hunger and thirst, they sleep, they feel pain, they experience happiness, they have desires to do something, and they do not like being forced against their will. <sup>92</sup>For that reason, whenever one sees an animal and is not going to eat it, one should not kill it.

tpacta, ipxom com mos iij hacta ha. <sup>83</sup>Taax ah aa itáh ma, toox hant cöiqueectim imiya. <sup>84</sup>Xepe quih iisax quihiih cah cöcaapl quih, an itao xox, ipxom com imxapz iha.

<sup>85</sup>Xepe quih caacoj com ipot com ano cöieectim hac, hizaax aa isoj cöquih iha. <sup>86</sup>Ziix quiiisax quih hant zo cötiiij x, ziix quih imiipla cota x, ihipon quih hapx itácatx x, hant zo cömiiij; <sup>87</sup>taax aa isoj cöitáh x, toc contica ha. <sup>88</sup>Taax oo compacta tax, itacl ipi panaaaaj x, hant quih it ihiih xah hant quih iti toom, ipatjc hac panaaaaj, iti cöiscmafj hac oo cötpacta ma x, imoz tmeet x, tahac aa isoj cöquih iha.

<sup>89</sup>Ziix ccam quih hant zo cömiiij tax, cmiiique quij ox isoj ihaai quih iti miihca, taax oo cmis iha. <sup>90</sup>Cmiiique quij ziix quih oii, quih ziix tazo itmís ma x, cquii ha. <sup>91</sup>Psaac tooxi, hamatj tooxi, tiim, inaail com itajíz, iisax hant tooit, ihimoz quih ihaai itamzo, imimoz iti popaii ta x, iscomqueepe aha. <sup>92</sup>Taax oo cöpopacta ta x, ziix ccam zo popaho x, sompahit pi x, smiic aha.



## 2. Those Who Had Hast Quita as Their Birthplace

Written by Lorenzo Herrera Casanova

Translated by Stephen A. Marlett

Introduced by Stephen A. Marlett

In historic times the Seri people of mainland Sonora, Mexico (see chapter 1), have also lived on the small island called San Esteban Island (Bowen 2000) as well as on the larger and more well-known Tiburón Island in the Gulf of California.

Herrera's essay presents for the first time to a non-Seri audience, so far as we know, information about a group of Seris who lived on the Baja California peninsula. Oral tradition among the Seris gives them two names: Hant Ihiini Comcaac, 'Baja California Seris' (Baja California is Hant Ihiin) and Hast Quita Quihiizitam 'those who had Hast Quita as their birthplace'. Hast Quita [ɬast 'kita] can be seen from Desemboque, on the mainland, when framed by the setting sun; it appears as a pyramid-shaped hill on the western horizon. As of the time of this writing its identification is still uncertain, surprisingly enough, although we hope to determine the place with certainty in the near future.

The people described in this essay have disappeared; they are not mentioned, so far as we know, in Mexican historical records. According to Seri oral history, recounted here, the great majority of them died because of the sickness *hajizo*, which is described as a severe flulike sickness that was almost always fatal. Some sur-

vivors went to the southern tip of the Baja peninsula. Other survivors went to the area of Cailipol (also known as Cailipolaacoj), which is a large, dry lake bed north of the Gulf of California. (It is said that rainwater would remain in this playa for several weeks after it fell.) Nothing more is known about either group. The disappearance of the Hant Ihiini Comcaac happened when the Seris were still using reed balsas. Balsas were used until the end of the nineteenth century, but it is likely that the events related in this story took place long before that date. One person said that Manuel Encinas's father's paternal grandfather went to Baja California to visit them. Since Manuel Encinas, great-grandfather of Herrera, died at an advanced age around 1931, that would probably put these events sometime in the early nineteenth century.

The Baja California Seris had customs that were different from the Tiburón Island Seris, although they were also considered Comcaac—Seris—unlike other groups in Sonora such as the O'odhams and the Yaquis. The oral history indicates that their preferences in food were different from those of the Tiburón Island Seris and that they generally feared doing activities in the night. Moreover, they were very timid people, a characteristic that also sharply distinguished them from the Tiburón Island Comcaac.

The song at the end of the essay was provided by Elder Efraín Estrella, a descendant of Chico Romero, one of the famous Seri leaders from the twentieth century. The song includes syllables that do not have referential meaning (vocables). These syllables are italicized in the presentation of the song.

Herrera is a resident of Haxöl Iihom (the village known as El Desemboque) and has worked as a fisherman and an ironwood artisan. He has always had an interest in history as well as the natural world. He is the oldest son of Roberto Herrera Marcos (see chapter 1) and grandson of Antonio Herrera (deceased 1965), from whom as a young man he heard much of the information related in this essay. Herrera (born in 1947) served on the edito-

rial committee for the Seri dictionary and has been writing essays about his culture for the monolingual Seri encyclopedia (see chapter 1). He essentially taught himself to read and write Seri using the primers and other materials that his father developed with Edward and Mary Moser in the 1950s and 1960s. During 2007 he worked with me on a reference grammar (Marlett in preparation).

Herrera wrote this essay over a period of months, discussing the content with other Seris who have retained knowledge of this part of their history. He chose the topic because it had come up in conversations with me as we explored what might be of interest for this anthology. I helped with the arrangement of topics in the essay. The translation of the essay included here was made after detailed discussions in Spanish and Seri with Herrera to ensure that my understanding was correct. Clarifying comments based on these conversations or on implicit information are enclosed in square brackets. The species identifications supplied in the English translation are from Felger and Moser (1985).

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I thank Thomas Bowen, Richard Felger, David Kozak, Cathy Marlett, and Carolyn O'Meara for their helpful comments on the translations and the background information.

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## Those Who Had Hast Quita as Their Birthplace

<sup>1</sup>The Baja California Seris were those people who were born on the east side of the mountain named Hast Quita. <sup>2</sup>They occasionally visited Tiburón Island. <sup>3-4</sup>They used sea lion skins as well as the skins of other animals. <sup>5</sup>When the Baja California Seris visited Tiburón Island, they traveled in reed balsas and took from there the mule deer skins and strips of mule deer hide that they had acquired.

<sup>6</sup>Those born at Hast Quita were Seris but their customs were different from the Tiburón Island Seris. <sup>7</sup>Their food was also different. <sup>8</sup>When the Hast Quita people visited Tiburón Island, they didn't converse much with the people

<sup>1</sup>Hant Ihiini comcaac coi, taax Hast Quita cop zaah quih iicp mota hapx ihiip quih iicp hac, taax ah iti toii, yoque. <sup>2</sup>Hast Quita quihiizitam coi Tahejöc quij intipa ta cöimazcam iha, Hant Ihiini comcaac coi. <sup>3</sup>Hast Quita quihiizitam coi xapoo inaail quih ziix quih cöimasiyalam. <sup>4</sup>Ziix quih ccam quih ihmaa, taax mos inaail quih ziix quih cöimasíyalam, xiica quiistox tacoí. <sup>5</sup>Tahejöc quij iti siizcam ta x, hascam quih iti tahca x, Tahejöc quij cötazcam x, hap inaail quih imexaj, hap inaail quih hapísilc coi mos toc cötoii ma x, mos imexaj, xiica quiistox Hant Ihiini comcaac tacoí.

<sup>6</sup>Hast Quita quihiizitam coi comcaac iha xo Tahejöc comcaac coi isoj ihaaizi hac immís iha. <sup>7</sup>Ziix quih oiitoj, taax ipi immís iha, xiica quiistox tacoí. <sup>8</sup>Hast Quita quihiizitam coi Tahejöc quij iti tazcam x, hipi ziix quiisax ocoht z iihax

that they visited. <sup>9</sup>It was as if they were ashamed.

<sup>10-11</sup>When those people visited Tiburón Island, they brought with them freshly cut reeds [probably *Phragmites australis*] and giant reed [*Arundo donax*]. <sup>12-13</sup>Then once they were on the island, they traded the reeds for prepared mule deer skins and strips of deer skin. <sup>14</sup>The Tiburón Island Seris made stone arrow points in abundance, and the people from Baja California traded for them, it is said.

<sup>15</sup>Their food was unlike the food of the Tiburón Island Seris. <sup>16-21</sup>The Tiburón Island Seris ate mule deer meat, sea turtle meat, cactus fruit, agave [*Agave subsimplex*], chuck-wallas, and all kinds of mollusks.

<sup>22</sup>The Baja California Seris' food was different [from that of the Tiburón Island people]. <sup>23-26</sup>Those people didn't eat sagueso cactus [*Pachycereus*

imooza ha, xiica quiistox tacoi. <sup>9</sup>Ziix haahs hamaaco xahxaii isolca coi iti tahca ma, tahac haa ísolca coii, yoque, xiica quiistox tacoi.

<sup>10</sup>Xiica quiistox tacoi Tahejöc quij cömosat taa x, xapij cooil coi imoonec. <sup>11</sup>Xapijaa-cöil coi mos imoonec. <sup>12</sup>Ox tpacta ma x, cmaax taax iti toii x, xápilc oeenec coi hap inaail quih hapexöp coi cöimexaj. <sup>13</sup>Hap inaail quih hapísilc coi mos toc cömoii. <sup>14</sup>Ox tpacta ma x, Tahejöc comcaac coi hast hax coi anxö itáx ma x, hant zo cötoii ma x, xiica quiistox tacoi cöitexaj, yoque.

<sup>15</sup>Tahejöc comcaac coi ziix quih oiitoj quih immís iha. <sup>16</sup>Tahejöc comcaac coi hap ipxasi quih imiitoj. <sup>17</sup>Moosni ipxasi quih imiitoj. <sup>18</sup>Imám quih imiitoj. <sup>19</sup>Haamjö quih imiitoj. <sup>20</sup>Ziix hast iizx ano coom quih imiitoj. <sup>21</sup>Haxölinailc quih pti immís, taax mos imiitoj, Tahejöc comcaac coi.

<sup>22</sup>Hant Ihiini comcaac coi ziix quih oiitoj coi iij hapacta ha. <sup>23</sup>Xiica quiistox tacoi xaasj imám quih imaaitoj iha. <sup>24</sup>Ziix is ccapxl imám quih

*pringeli*] fruit, nor *pitaya agria* [*Stenocereus gummosus*] fruit, nor cholla [*Cylindropuntia fulgida*] fruit, nor any of the desert fruits that have lots of seeds. <sup>27-32</sup>The food of the Baja California Seris was sea lion, rattlesnake, antelope jackrabbit, fish, and honey.

<sup>33</sup>Those born at Hast Quita went to Ángel de la Guarda Island and killed lots of rattlesnakes for their meat, fat, and rattles. <sup>34</sup>Their dancers wore the rattles on their bodies and legs. <sup>35</sup>Those people really enjoyed rattlesnake as food. <sup>36</sup>They would skin them, dry them, and then put them on the hot coals, and when the meat was cooked, they took it off the coals and ate it with rattlesnake fat.

<sup>37</sup>When those born at Hast Quita visited Tiburón Island, they took their own food to eat. <sup>38</sup>When the food was about

mos imaattoj iha. <sup>25</sup>Tootjoc coi mos imaattoj iha. <sup>26</sup>Ziix quih imám quih hehe án com ano quiih quih ihic quih caacöl coi, taax imaattoj iha. <sup>27</sup>Hant Ihiini comcaac coi, ziix quih oiitoj coi hizaax haa, yoque. <sup>28</sup>Xapoo quih imiitoj. <sup>29</sup>Cocazni quih imiitoj. <sup>30</sup>Ziix ina cooxp quih imiitoj. <sup>31</sup>Zixcám quih imiitoj. <sup>32</sup>Panaal quih mos imiitoj, xiica quiistox tacoi.

<sup>33</sup>Hast Quita quihiiizitam coi Xazl limt cötazcam x, cocazni coi anxö itacötoj, ipxasi coi itexaj, ipxom coi itexaj, yeesc coi mos itexaj, yoque. <sup>34</sup>Cocazni yeesc coi cöihexaj hac, taax ziix quih quiiisax quih hant zo cötap, pyeest quij ano sooit taa ma x, pac itj cöitaxquim, pac ípilh itcaaitax, taax iti tap x, mooit. <sup>35</sup>Xiica quiistox tacoi cocazni com miizj taa ma x, oiitoj iha. <sup>36</sup>Ano tpemoz, cötahhootij x, hant imac cmatj coi, taax ano tpaxquim ma x, tmam ma x, hapx tpaxquim x, tpátalim ma x, mos cocazni iháx tacop oo mos iiqui hapahit iha.

<sup>37</sup>Hast Quita quihiiizitam coi Tahejoc quij cömosat taa x, ziix quih hapahit quih hipi oiitoj coi, taax itoonec x, imiiti-

to run out, they would return home. <sup>39</sup>Then, after three or four years, the Baja California people would come back again to Tiburón Island. <sup>40</sup>The [Tiburón Island] people at the camps named Heeme and Xpaahjö Xatalca would watch for them.

<sup>41</sup>There was a fish that the Baja California Seris called “illuminated by the sun,” it is said. <sup>42-43</sup>Today we don’t know what that fish was or whether it is now extinct or not.

<sup>44-45</sup>They called another fish “the one that goes first.” <sup>46</sup>We also don’t know whether that fish is extinct or not.

<sup>47-48</sup>One time when the Baja California Seris were on Tiburón Island, there was an earthquake. <sup>49</sup>The older people among them sat down, hit the

toj. <sup>38</sup>Ox tpecta ma x, ziix quih hapahit quih oenec coi siime taa ma x, mos maanipxat, xiica quiistox tacoi. <sup>39</sup>Ox tpecta ma x, hant tapxa ma x, hant quih iiqui izooxöc cop mos itaait x, Tahejöc quij cömiizcam, Hant Ihiini comcaac coi. <sup>40</sup>Heeme xah Xpaahjö Xátalca xah hant tiix ano toiitim x, imaquee-elcam, Hant Ihiini comcaac tamocat isiht taa x.

<sup>41</sup>Hant Ihiini comcaac coi zixcám zo haquix tiih ma, “zaah cöcahjöj” itaii, yoque.

<sup>42</sup>Zixcám, tiix zixcám chaa z impá ha. <sup>43</sup>Hant com cöquinej ya x, haquix oo coom ya x, taax ziix iti cöiha zo tompá ho, ox cöiha hizac.

<sup>44</sup>Xiica quiistox Hant Ihiini comcaac, taax mos iimxoj, yoque. <sup>45</sup>Zixcám zo haquix tiih ma, “yeen oo caap” itaii, yoque. <sup>46</sup>Zixcám yeen oo caap hapáh, tiix cmaax ox cöiha hizac hant com cöquinej ya x, haquix oo coom ya x, ziix iti cöiha z impá ha, ox cöiha hizac.

<sup>47</sup>Hant Ihiini comcaac coi pac toc cötoi, Tahejöc tiquij iti toi, toc cötoi, yoque. <sup>48</sup>Taax ano cöititai ma, hant tsiijim, yoque. <sup>49</sup>Ox tpecta ma, xiica

ground with their fists, and said:

<sup>50</sup>“Great Earth Noise, settle down! <sup>51</sup>Settle down! <sup>52</sup>Settle down!”

<sup>53-54</sup>Those born at Hast Quita had the custom of not laughing at night. <sup>55</sup>They said that the bad thing [a spirit] lived in the darkness of the night. <sup>56</sup>Those people said that one should not have nighttime activities. <sup>57</sup>If one walked at night, the next morning the bad thing living in the darkness would put [invisible, harmful] things on that person. <sup>58</sup>Daylight was the good thing, those people said.

<sup>59</sup>The Baja California women would marry when the moon was full. <sup>60</sup>The thinking of the Baja California Seris was

quiistox Hant Ihiini comcaac tacoi comcaac quih queeej quih quiinim tacoi, hant com it hant tahca, taax iti toii, hant com itnooptolca, ox tooza, yoque.

—<sup>50</sup>Hant Iinojaacoj, jhaa haquix hoom! <sup>51</sup>iHaa haquix hoom! <sup>52</sup>iHaa haquix hoom!—teeyo, yoque.

<sup>53</sup>Hast Quita quihiizitam coi ihamoc quih iiqui taanim ma x, tmásint, yoque, xiica quiistox tacoi. <sup>54</sup>Hipi isoj ihaaizi ha. <sup>55</sup>Ihamoc cop, tiix ziix quih imiipe, taax an ihiih, teeyo ha, xiica quiistox tacoi. <sup>56</sup>Ihamoc cop ano poquiih, ziix zo sma-hactim taa, ox cooza ha, xiica quiistox tacoi. <sup>57</sup>Ihamoc cop ano pocaatax ta, hant pofii ta x, ihamoc cop ziix quih imiipe quih ihamoc cop ano quiih, taax quisoj quij iiqui pacp ta x, toc cösquiihtim taa, ox cooza ha, xiica quiistox tacoi. <sup>58</sup>Hant cöquiyoca quij cmiique cöihca hac, taax ziix quih quiipe quih thaa, ox cooza ha, xiica quiistox tacoi.

<sup>59</sup>Hant Ihiini cmajiic coi zo sihiimet taa ma x, iizax ihamoc iyat cötiiij ma x, taax ano cöititai ma x, tihiiimet, yoque.

that the darkness of the night was a bad thing. <sup>61</sup>That's why they had that custom.

[They were honorable people.] <sup>62</sup>When a Baja California Seri man [somewhere outside of camp] saw a woman, he would accompany her [to protect her], it is said. <sup>63</sup>Such was the custom of those people.

<sup>64</sup>The Baja California Seris weren't people who would say nasty things. <sup>65</sup>When they saw someone, they didn't think ill of that person.

<sup>66</sup>They would pile lots of green desert plants on a corpse [before burial]. <sup>67</sup>They placed branches of elephant tree [*Bursera microphylla*] and desert lavender [*Hyptis albida*] on it.

<sup>68</sup>If *hap itapxeen* [*Solanum hindsonianum*] flowers were available, they would put them on it also. <sup>69-70</sup>It wasn't a small quantity that they put on the corpse—it was an abundant amount. <sup>71</sup>It wasn't a small quantity.

<sup>60</sup>Hant Ihiini comcaac coi iha-moc quih quicopol cop, tiix ziix quih imiipe, taax thaa, xah oimjök iha. <sup>61</sup>Taax ah aa itáh ma, tahac aa isoj oo cöimiii, xiica quiistox tacoi.

<sup>62</sup>Hant Ihiini comcaac coi cmiique quih ctam quih tazo quih hant quih cao quih xox cmiique cmaam quij ital x, hant quih itaao, yoque. <sup>63</sup>Hipi isoj ihaaizi ha, xiica quiistox tacoi.

<sup>64</sup>Hant Ihiini comcaac coi xiica quiistox ziix cmiipla z iti cöcooza z imhaa, yoque. <sup>65</sup>Ziix quiiisax ihmaa z ipooh, ziix cmiipla z iiqui insícöljac iha, xiica quiistox tacoi.

<sup>66</sup>Ziix quiiisax quih imiipla haa quih itaht x, hehe quih cooil quih hehe án com ano coom com, anxö itámlajc x, ziix quih imiipla haa quih toc cotom ma x, itacl iti itácmolca, yoque. <sup>67</sup>Xoop iyat coi toc cö-moii; xeescl iyat coi mos toc cömoii. <sup>68</sup>Ox tpacta ma x, hehe yapxöt haquix tiih ma x, hap itapxeen xah yopáh, taax mos toc cötöii, yoque. <sup>69</sup>Hehe iyat tacoi ziix quipxa zo toc cöimiih iha. <sup>70</sup>Iisax quihiih quih cötatxo x, toc cöcoii ha. <sup>71</sup>Ziix quipxa zo toc cöimiih, yoque.

<sup>72</sup>When the sickness *hajizo* struck those born at Hast Quita, they suffered terribly [many dying], and [some of] the survivors went to the southern tip of Baja California to live. <sup>73</sup>Other survivors went farther north to live. <sup>74</sup>Then those people became the ones who lived at the dry lake bed called Cailipol [north of the Gulf of California]. <sup>75</sup>Many Indian people live on Baja California. <sup>76</sup>Maybe they are the descendants of the Seri people who went there.

[Elder Efraín Estrella and others learned from Manuel Encinas a song that was performed as the last song of a Baja California Seri girl's second puberty fiesta. The song refers to an unidentified yellow bird (*ziic cmasolaacoj*), perhaps an oriole, and to the fact that the days until the end of the fiesta are being counted. This song continues to be remembered as belonging to the Hast Quita people.]

<sup>72</sup>Hast Quita quihiizitam  
 coi hajizo quih quino tafp ma,  
 iisax quihiih cah anxö imii-  
 pla cotj ma, cahcaail coi Hant  
 Ihiin com iyat cop iiqui titooij,  
 yoque. <sup>73</sup>Ox tpecta ma, ihmaa  
 coi, taax Hant Ihiin tintica  
 itaait, haapa iicp hac iiqui  
 titooij, yoque. <sup>74</sup>Ox tpecta ma,  
 cmaax comcaac, taax conti-  
 cat, taax cmaax Cailipol qui-  
 hiizitam coi thaa, toc cömoii.  
<sup>75</sup>Xiica quiistox quih comcaac  
 xah ziix cmistaj quih tatxo,  
 Hant Ihiin com iti moii. <sup>76</sup>Taax  
 comcaac tahac conticat coi iyat  
 cöcoocapoj poho.

Ziic cmasolaacoj *iya*  
 Zaah itasix, iti miicoj *iya*  
 Zaah itasix, iti miicoj *i*  
 Hapi toc cöhiicoj *iya*  
 Áz *mas* ma hsamaaat *iya*  
 Hamat cohseeme, xoee.



### 3. Twin Peaks — Hast Cacöla

Written by Francisco Xavier Moreno Herrera

Translated by Stephen A. Marlett

Introduced by Stephen A. Marlett

The largest of Mexico's islands is located in the Gulf of California and is known to the outside world as Isla Tiburón (or Isla del Tiburón, Tiburón Island). Its name in the Seri language is Tahejöc [ta'ʔex<sup>w</sup>k], and that is the name used in the English translation of Francisco Xavier Moreno Herrera's essay. The island, which has been of central importance to the Seri people (see chapter 2) for centuries, long before the presence of Spanish speakers in the western hemisphere, was declared an ecological preserve in 1963 and put under Seri control by the Mexican federal government in 1975 (Comisión de Desarrollo de la Tribu Seri 1976).

The island is quite mountainous. The southeastern range of mountains on the island, visible from the mainland coast, was labeled Sierra Kunkaak on a map prepared by W. J. McGee for his report to the Smithsonian (1898), and that name has been used by non-Seris since that time. The Seris themselves do not use the name Sierra Kunkaak for it, of course; in fact, they do not give a name to the range as such. This range has several prominent adjacent peaks that are visible from the mainland. Two of these are jointly called Hast Cacöla [ɨ<sup>h</sup>ast 'kak<sup>w</sup>ɬa] in Seri, and they dominate the view across the Infiernillo Channel from the village of Socaaix (Punta Chueca). (The outermost peak is the “true” Hast Cacöla and the inner one is named Capxölim.) The name Hast Cacöla is

composed of *hast*, the singular noun for ‘mountain, stone’, and *ca-cöla*, the plural form of the predicate *cacösxaj*, meaning ‘tall, long’. The relevant sense here is ‘tall’, and the plural form is used to reflect the fact that reference is being made to two peaks. For that reason, the non-literal English translation ‘Twin Peaks’ seems appropriate. While Moreno’s essay claims that they are the highest peaks on the island, it is known that they are not the highest in terms of absolute elevation. But they are thought of as the highest, perhaps because of the differential elevation from the base, as they rise up almost from sea level. Moreno’s essay gives the reader a sense of the emotion that the Seris feel for this island and these peaks that have sheltered them in the past both from the natural elements and from incursions by enemies. (For more of the history, see Bowen [2000], which weaves together the best of archaeological research, historical records, and Seri oral tradition.) The peaks of Hast Cacöla stand as a reminder to the Seris of their struggle to survive and of the protection that their homeland has given them.

Moreno is a resident of Soccaix, Sonora, and has worked primarily as a fisherman. He is a grandson of Roberto Herrera Marcos (see chapter 1). Moreno, born in 1964, essentially taught himself to read and write Seri using the primers and other materials that his grandfather developed with Edward and Mary Moser. He served as a member of the committee that edited the dictionary, and he has been writing and editing essays about his culture for a monolingual Seri encyclopedia. During 2007 he and others worked with me on a reference grammar (Marlett, in preparation).

Moreno wrote this essay in 2007 in response to the invitation to make a contribution to this anthology. The translation of this essay was facilitated by a partial Spanish translation provided by Moreno and by further discussions between us to ensure that my understanding was correct.

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I thank Richard Felger, René Montaña, Jim Meyer, David Kozak, Cathy Marlett, and Carolyn O'Meara for their helpful comments on the translation and the background information.

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## Twin Peaks — Hast Cacöla

<sup>1</sup>Hast Cacöla is the tallest mountain on Tahejöc. <sup>2</sup>It isn't a person but it is as if it were a person standing there who sees and is aware of everything that happens on Tahejöc, whether good or bad. <sup>3</sup>During the time that the Comcaac have lived on it, outsiders have sometimes arrived there and done terrible things. <sup>4</sup>They have killed; they have massacred children as well as adults. <sup>5</sup>The mountain witnessed all this, wept, and was sad.

<sup>1</sup>Hast Cacöla cop, tiix hast quih thaa, quipac cötacösxaj, Tahejöc quij iti caap iha. <sup>2</sup>Tiix ziix quiiisax z ihmaa ha xo ziix quih Tahejöc quij iti caahca quih quiipe xah imiipe xah, coox oo ipacta quih iquiya, iquiho, hax tahii hax taa ma x, hant quih iti tahca x, toc cöcahca ha. <sup>3</sup>Comcaac quih Tahejöc quij iti cöiyaii hac, taax ano cöititai ma x, xiica quih quiistox quih hísolca quih imhaa, taax áno tazcam x, ziix quih mos áno imiipe, taax iti cöitapactoj ma x, hant

<sup>6</sup>If a child dies, never to be seen again, there is inconsolable grief; the mountain grieves like that. <sup>7</sup>The rain comes, falls, and waters the land. <sup>8</sup>The rain falling and flowing is like the tears of a person who is crying and whose tears are overflowing. <sup>9</sup>The strong wind comes and falls on you, it roars, and it is as if the mountain were crying.

<sup>10</sup>However, in spring all of the different kinds of plants blossom, and you are surrounded with blooming plants like a person who has put on beautiful clothing, and everyone who sees it enjoys it. <sup>11</sup>It is like that. <sup>12</sup>Then you, mountain, are happy as well.

quih iti moii. <sup>4</sup>Hacx imamiih-taj x, xicaquiziil xaha, com-caac queeej xaha cōtiih oo ma x, hant com cōiyahinelca ha. <sup>5</sup>Ox tpacta ma x, hast cap itaho x, tooha x, iisax com iij hant toom x, hant quih iti caap iha.

<sup>6</sup>Ox quitleen oo hapáh zo hant z iti poom, cmiique ipahinej ta, itacl ipi cōsompaho pi ta, hant z iti poohca ta x, ox iquiiisax com hant iiqui sompasnan i; ox tpacta x, hant quih iti caap iha. <sup>7</sup>Ipca quih haquix mota x, it hant tooit x, itqueejc ma x, hant quih iti miip. <sup>8</sup>Ipca quih it hant cooit quih cōimej tanticat, taax cmiique quih tooha x, hant quih iti tij ma x, itox quih hant quimej quih taa ntimat; taax haa, hax tahii hax haa ha. <sup>9</sup>Hai quih caaixaj quih me tooit x, me tap ma x, hax miinoj oo tax, taax hast cap cooha xahxaii, yoque.

<sup>10</sup>Ox oo mpacta xo, zaah quih iti hehe com cōiyapxöt quih thaa x, hant quih iti tahca ma x, hehe quih ptiiqui imitaasit com tcooo x, topxöt ma x, hehe quih catxo quih me canaafin com tcooo x, topxöt ma x, ox cmiique quih hant quih iti tij x, ox ziix quih it

<sup>13</sup>In summer many different kinds of animals visit you. <sup>14-15</sup>Birds, butterflies, and all of the different kinds of animals come to you. <sup>16</sup>Water and green plants for animals to eat are abundant and they surround you. <sup>17</sup>That's why the animals come to you.

<sup>18-19</sup>When summer has come to an end, and it begins to turn cold, all of the plants lose their leaves. No greenness is to be seen. There are no green shoots, and the plants look like they have died. <sup>20</sup>But although it's like that, you

oaah quih hant zo cötiih x, taziim x, toospoj ma x, isoj quij iiqui tpacta ma x, taziim x, hant quih iti tiih ma x, cmiiique coox cah itaho x, itziim ma x, hant quih iti miih. <sup>11</sup>Taax oo immis. <sup>12</sup>Ox tpacta ma x, me mos hast, miisax hant mooit, ox tpacta, hant quih iti tahca ma x.

<sup>13</sup>Ox tpacta, mos icozim quih thaa x, hant quih iti tahca ma x, xiica ccamotam quih ptiiqui imitaasit quih pti immís quih mos tatxo x, me miizcam. <sup>14</sup>Ziicalc xah quih imhaa x; seenel xah quih imhaa x. <sup>15</sup>Xiica ccamotam quih pti immís quih catxo quih hehe án com ano coom com tcooo x, me miizcam. <sup>16</sup>Hax xaha, hehe yaail xaha, hehe quih ziix ccam quih oohit quih chaa, taax tatxo x, me canaafin iha. <sup>17</sup>Taax ah aa itáh ma x, aama.

<sup>18</sup>Ox tpacta ma x, toc cöiihca iti x, icozim cap ihít tactim ma x, ihaapl cap iiqui iscaaij taa ma x, taax ano cöititai ma x, hehet com tcooo x, istj com hant tooit ma x, hehe yaail zo tompaho, hehe hant ihiti cooil zo hant z iti tmiih iho. <sup>19</sup>Cöi-

don't speak or make a sound; you are just there quietly waiting for spring, and when you see that the plants are turning green and beginning to blossom, you are happy.

<sup>21</sup>Then when it turns cold, many people visit you. <sup>22-23</sup>Children and adults—the people who visit you are like children who are returning to a parent whom they have left and have now remembered because they are in need. <sup>24</sup>That's what they are like as they return and visit you. <sup>25</sup>Since they want to be comfortable in you, they live in the caves when it rains. <sup>26</sup>They are comfortable in them. <sup>27</sup>They drink the water that has collected. <sup>28</sup>When the cold wind comes, the people find refuge. <sup>29</sup>They make camp near you.

pacta hac hehet com tcooo x, cooxi hax tahii hax taa ma x, hant quih iti miihca. <sup>20</sup>Ox tpacta, hant quih iti tahca xox intcmaaitom x, intcmipon x, hant quih iti ntap x, miha-queeejim iti x, mos zaah quih hehet com iti cöiyaaail xaha, iti cöiyapxöt quih chaa, taax haa tahca x, cötafp ma x, mos hehet com tooil x, topxöt ma x, intaho x, miisax hant mooit.

<sup>21</sup>Ox tpacta ma x, cmaax ihaapl cap iiqui itcaaij ma x, comcaac quih tatxo x, me miizcam. <sup>22</sup>Xicaquiziil xaha, comcaac queeej quih cötiil x, ox hapacta ha. <sup>23</sup>Xiica quih quii-stox quih me caazcam tamocat ox ziix quiiisax quih hant zo cötij x, iti miha quij hant quih iti tij ma x, itaaix x, haquix ihiih iti x, ziix quih iic cötahcaail, ittii x, iti miha quij imoz cötooit x, tonaaaij x, cöyiin. <sup>24</sup>Taax oo itmistaj x, tonaaailc x, me caazcam iha. <sup>25</sup>Me icoqueept itámcajc x, tapca ma x, zaalca com, taax ano moiitim. <sup>26</sup>Taax ah cömoqueept. <sup>27</sup>Hax quih hant caap cah, taax ah imiisyoj. <sup>28</sup>Hai cap taapl, intooit ma x, ihiiiza com

<sup>30</sup>You are a mountain,  
but you are more than just a  
mountain. <sup>31</sup>We look on you as  
if you were a real person.

ano moiitim. <sup>29</sup>Mihiin com iti  
mhémtolca.

<sup>30</sup>Me hast iha xo me hast z  
imhaa xahxaii ha. <sup>31</sup>Cmiique  
áa quih ipacta, taax oo he me  
cooctam iha.

ZUNI





## 4. Two Zuni Coyote Tales

Narrator(s) Unknown

Collected by Stanley Newman

Introduced by Lynn Nichols

### NEWMAN'S ZUNI GRAMMAR

For several decades, Stanley Newman's concise description of Zuni grammar (Newman 1965) has served as the keystone upon which much recent work on the grammar of Zuni depends.<sup>1</sup> The description was the product of Newman's work primarily with Zuni speakers in Albuquerque; tensions in Pueblo politics at the time apparently made substantial work at Zuni Pueblo itself impractical (Newman 1965:11). Though only a brief sketch based on limited contact with speakers, the reliability of its grammatical description is noteworthy. Ruth Bunzel's more extensive grammatical treatment of Zuni (Bunzel 1934) is based on a reportedly more thorough knowledge of the language and contains a wealth of morphological and morphosyntactic information. In contrast with Newman's description, however, Bunzel's work is replete with phonological and morphological inaccuracies (e.g., consonant gemination, glottalization, and vowel length frequently mistranscribed, incorrect segmentations of morphemes), to a degree that it can successfully be used only by someone already familiar with the language; similarly for the texts in Bunzel's *Zuni Texts* (1933).

Newman's (1965) description is based in large part, tantalizingly, on snippets from two texts, the adventures of Coyote and Crow and Coyote and Woodpecker. Sentences from these texts

are used as examples to illustrate various grammatical points, for example, contemporaneous subordinate-(V): (40) *'iyute'chinasha: pow 'ulhlh'ap suski 'okwikya* 'when he (Crow) was sitting near (the tree) resting, Coyote woke up' and indirective *'an-* (44) *ta:chish tam tununu suski 'an-k'ohak'yanan s les kwakkya* 'meanwhile, after perceiving Coyote, Woodpecker said this'. The texts themselves do not appear in complete form in the grammar, nor are they published elsewhere.

In 1992 I made the first of several trips to Zuni Pueblo to work with speakers of the language. Before arriving at the Pueblo I spent some time examining various archives at the University of New Mexico for materials on Zuni. In the archives of the Department of Anthropology I found Newman's original slip files on Zuni, as well as a body of transcribed texts in Newman's hand that included "Why Coyote Has Yellow Eyes" and "Coyote Story (Coyote and Woodpecker)," the two coyote texts collected in the 1950s upon which the subsequent grammar had been based. Because of their significance in the history of Zuni studies, as well as their importance to the present study of Zuni, these texts are presented here in their entirety. Newman does not indicate on the manuscripts, nor in his description of Zuni grammar (Newman 1965) or in a later discussion of Zuni *telapna:we* (stories) (Newman 1973), the narrator of these stories. The narrator(s) are almost certainly men, as the collection also includes a prayer that, my consultants at the pueblo indicate, a woman would not have known. Newman worked most frequently with Edmund Ladd at the University of New Mexico; however, the stories may have been narrated by older speakers at the pueblo.

In editing these stories for presentation here, three issues arose. First, Newman's original transcription is in most respects phonetically more precise. The texts are presented here in a broader transcription that does not indicate predictable characteristics such as consonant aspiration or final vowel deaspiration; these are fully described in *Zuni Grammar* (Newman 1965). The transcription here does indicate, however, the (predictable) palatalization

of *k* preceding *a* (see Newman 1967; Tedlock 1969; and Walker 1966, 1972) as *kya*, following a similar practice by Curtis Cook (1974). In addition, the texts make use of a practical orthography, in part based on that Newman used in *Zuni Dictionary* (1958; see also Newman 1954). The voiceless lateral fricative (*lh*), alveopalatal fricative (*sh*), and alveopalatal affricate (*ch*) are written with digraphs, while the labiovelar (*kw*) and alveolar affricate (*c*) are each written as a single symbol. Vowels are written *i*, *e*, *o*, *u*, and *a*, though for *i*, *e*, and *u* the tensed vowel alternates non-contrastively with a lax version depending on position with respect to primary word stress.

Second, Newman's original manuscript glosses the Zuni using a (sometimes awkward) loose English translation. In editing the analyzed texts these loose translations were replaced with more precise lexical and grammatical characterizations of individual morphemes: for example, compare the difference between *'a:la'hip* 'they flying up' (Newman) and *PL-fly-SUBORD.D*. The final English translation follows Newman's version fairly closely, with some rephrasing where the new glossing provided here makes the intended sense of the Zuni more clear.

Finally, Tedlock (1972) describes Zuni oral narrative as a performative art best presented orthographically in a poetic style that captures more accurately the prosodic rhythm of the original narration. Tedlock (1972) presents the Zuni original of the story "Coyote and Junco" in this manner. Newman's transcription of the two texts presented here unfortunately does not preserve the prosodic structure of the original narration.<sup>2</sup> Hence the texts are necessarily presented according to a "flattened," or more linear, narrative style.

#### EVIDENTIALITY WITHOUT GRAMMATICAL SUBORDINATION IN ZUNI NARRATIVE

Several aspects of Zuni grammar, particularly regarding syntax and morphosyntax, are absent from Newman's (1965) description,

likely because their significance was not realized at the time. Some of these, such as the fronting of first- and second-person weak pronouns (discussed in Nichols 1997, 1998) or the passive (Cook and Frantz 1978; Nichols 2008), can be observed in the following texts. One of these phenomena exemplified in the texts, the use of evidential particles in the absence of finite evidential subordination, is arguably one of the most characteristic aspects of Zuni grammar (Nichols 2000); further detail regarding this phenomenon is therefore provided here so that their importance to Zuni narrative structure can be better understood.

Zuni grammar lacks the finite subordinate clause structures that are commonly used cross-linguistically with attitude/evaluative verbs and indirect speech to indicate how the truth of a proposition is to be evaluated. In cases like *Nemme thought that Pablo had left for Ojo Caliente*, for example, the truth of the proposition *Pablo had left for Ojo Caliente* is not presupposed; rather, it is evaluated with respect to Nemme's belief worlds. The proposition to be evaluated in this manner is presented syntactically in a subordinate clause introduced by the complementizer *that*. Zuni lacks complementizers equivalent to English *that* and moreover has no equivalent to a subordinate finite clause. Instead, Zuni represents attitude toward or evaluation of a proposition by means of a number of evidential particles inserted into the proposition presented as a main clause. The texts below contain two of these, *'imat*, roughly 'it seems', and *hinik* 'I think', and the texts in Bunzel (1933) contain many more, for instance *'epash* 'verily', *'elleya* 'it is certain', *holhi* 'probably', *honkw'at* 'maybe', and *holoni* 'perhaps', representing different degrees of certainty and responsibility for the propositional content with respect to the speaker. As an illustrative example from story 2, "Coyote and Woodpecker," note the use of *'imat* in *suski sish 'imat tenan 'an'elumanan 'akkyā* 'because Coyote [*'imat* [it seems] liked the song very much'.

The particle *'imat* appears the most frequently in the Newman texts below (*hinik* appears once, toward the end of the second

story) and is used there in four types of contexts where the narrator indicates that he does not take responsibility for the truth of the associated proposition: (a) when the speech of the characters in the story is reported,<sup>3</sup> (b) when feelings of characters in the story are reported, (c) when the story describes unusual happenings that depart from what is possible in the real world, and (d) when the narrator is setting the scene at the beginning of a story. In the manuscript, Newman usually translates *'imat* as 'maybe' (two times as 'seems'). In the analyzed texts below, *'imat* has consistently been glossed as 'seems' in order to indicate the narrator's use of this word to signal non-presuppositionality and, specifically, the degree to which the narrator is responsible for the content of the proposition. 'Maybe', on the other hand, merely implies doubt that does not fit with the intended meaning of the text. Zuni particles like *'imat* are therefore not simply adverbials; they play an important grammatical role in indicating the relationship of the narrator to the truth value of propositions in his or her text.

The stories are presented first in English, then in Zuni, then with morpheme-by-morpheme segmentation and accompanying glosses. The first Zuni versions make these stories most accessible to native speakers, while the English translations capture the narrative sweep of the stories for non-Zuni speakers; the analyzed texts make the complexity of the Zuni grammatical forms accessible to all.

#### NOTES

I wish to thank the University of New Mexico for sharing its archive of Stanley Newman's papers.

1. A condensed version of his sketch appears as Newman (1996).
2. See Newman (1973) for discussion of the difficulty of representing the original narrative event.
3. Lacking finite subordination, Zuni presents reported speech as direct

quotation, usually bracketed by two particles, *les* ‘this (the following)’ and *le’* ‘thus (the preceding)’, that link the reported speech to the surrounding grammatical context.

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## Two Zuni Coyote Tales

### WHY COYOTE HAS YELLOW EYES

One upon a time Coyote lived at Coyote Spring. Every day, where the sagebrush grows he went around hunting cottontail rabbits and jackrabbits. Just as he tired out the one that he was running after, another one came out and he would run after that one. All day he went around like that. He just tired himself out, and he stopped at a juniper tree and went to sleep. In the meantime Crow was going around hunting. He was hunting and hunting a long time. He tired himself out and sat himself by a juniper tree. He sat near the juniper tree resting, and Coyote woke up. When Coyote woke up, he noticed Crow. He got up and going to where Crow was sitting, he spoke to him. “Am I tired!” said Coyote. “Yes,” said Crow. The two sat under the tree talking to each other in this way. Crow got up and sat down some distance from where he sat before. He sat down and said “k’okw’alak’om,” something like that, and his eyes ran away. It seems his eyes ran around a piñon tree. The two eyes went around and went back to where Crow was standing. When they (the eyes) arrived at the place where Crow was lying,

they went back in with a squishy sound. “Golly! You did that very nicely! Do it again!” Coyote said to Crow. Crow was making his eyes run around like this again and again, and Old Man Coyote was very much amazed at it. So Coyote said, “Go ahead, make my eyes run for me.” “All right, then sit down here, and when you say ‘k’okw’alak’om’ your eyes will run off.” So Coyote sitting there said “k’okw’alak’om” and then his eyes ran away. They went around the piñon tree and came back to where Coyote was sitting. When they arrived, they went back in with a squishy sound. “Golly, you are really knowledgeable. Go ahead! Do it again!” said Crow. So again Coyote made his eyes run. They sat there and kept making their eyes run around like this. “This time when you make your eyes run around, I will eat your eyes,” said Crow. So again Coyote made his eyes run, and Crow ate Coyote’s eyes and said to Coyote, “Go about your business [now that you have no eyes]” and then flew off. Coyote then, with no eyes, went about feeling around with his hands. That’s the way he moved around. He took two coyote-weed berries and put them in the place where his eyes had been. Then he could see. Just as soon as he opened his eyes, his eyes were yellow. Because of his having coyote-weed berries where his eyes were, today coyotes have yellow eyes. This is all. The story was short.

ma’ sonti: ‘ino:te ma’ ‘imat sum’a’shokt’an suski ky’akwe’kya. te-wana: hak’ohanna’kowa ‘okshik’ ta:p pok’ya lhat ‘allukkya. chim holh yam ‘allashe:n’ona yute’chiky’ap topa kwayip ta:s ‘uhs’ona ‘allashanna. yaton ill holh lesnen ‘allukkya. tom s’iyute’chik’yanan homat’an ‘ichunan s ‘alhkya. ta:chish kw’alashi lhat ‘allukkya. lhat ‘allukkyaaaaa. s’iyute’chiky’anan homat’an ‘imiyulhlha:kya. ‘iyute’chinasha: pow ‘ulh’ap suski ‘okwikya. suski ‘okwinan kw’alash’an k’ohak’yakya. pilaknan kw’alashi pow ‘ulhlhakwin ‘a:kya. kw’alashi pow ‘ulhlhakwin te’chinan ‘ashshu’wa’kya. hahwa le’holh ‘imat suski ‘ikwakya. ‘e’e le’holh ‘imat kw’alash ‘ikwakya. lesn holh ‘a:ch ‘i:yashshu’we: pow ‘ulhlha’kya. kw’alash ‘elemaknan lesholh tey’an ‘i:mukya. ‘i:munan s leskwakya. k’okw’-

alak'om. le'holh 'imat 'ikwap 'an tuna: le'holh 'imat 'ilhuwahkya tuna: 'a:ch 'imat he'shotatt'an 'a:ch 'itullapkya. 'a:ch 'itullapnan 'ikw'alht kw'alashi powakwin 'a:kya. 'a:chi kw'alashi powakwin te'chinan ch'u:k'i 'a:ch 'ikw'alh kwatokya. he: kwish to' 'ali' lesne'a. 'a:ma ta: lesnu le'holh 'imat suski kw'alah 'anikwakkya. lesnholh 'imat kw'alashi yam tuna: 'ilhuwashk'yap summuwen sish 'ayyu-chi'atikya. suskis leskwakka 'a:ma hom'an tuna: 'ilhuwahk'ya. ma' ko'ma li:lh 'i:munan to' k'okw'alak'om le'kwap tom tuna: 'ilhuwahanna. 'akya s'imat suski lesnholh 'i:munan sleskwakka k'okw'alak'om le'holh 'imat 'ikwaps 'an tuna: 'a:chi le'holh ye:lahkya. 'a:ch he'shotatt'an 'itullapnan 'ikw'alht suski powakwin 'a:ch' 'ikya. 'a:ch 'inan ch'u:k'i 'a:ch 'ikw'alht kwatokya. he:'e kwish to' 'anikwa. 'a:ma ta: lesnu le'holh kw'alah 'ikwakkya. 'akya ta:s 'imat suski yam tuna: 'ilhuwahky'akka. lesnholh 'imat 'a:chi yam tuna: 'ilhuwashk'ya: 'imo'kya. la:k' to' yam tuna: 'ilhuwahk'yap tom'an ho' tuna: 'itonna. le'holh 'imat kw'alah 'ikwakkya. 'akya ta:s 'imat suski yam tuna: 'ilhuwahky'ap kw'alashi susky'an tuna: 'itonan yamante ko'lewu le'holh susky 'anikwanans la'hikya. suskis kwa' tuna:wamme' tekkwant 'as 'a:wallu 'allukka. lesnholh 'allukkaaaa. hasuski mo'l 'a:chi 'ahnan yam tunapkya teya'kowa' 'a:chiya' 'ulukya. chims tunatikya. tunatinantes tuna: lhupc'inna'kya. yam hasuski mowe' 'itunekkow 'akya la:k' suski 'a:tuna:lhupc'inna. le:' semkoni'kya.

#### COYOTE AND WOODPECKER

Once upon a time when there was a village at Kyaki:ma, it seems that Coyote lived at Coyote Spring. Every day he moved around hunting. Because of his being very stupid, because he never ate well, he was very skinny. It seems that at a certain time at the place called Tanaya Palhto [The Place Where the Trees End], he was going about hunting. He just tired himself out, and he lay down in the shade where the juniper tree was standing and slept. He slept over a period of time. When he woke up the day was ready to

go down. Woodpecker was on top of where a burnt tree was standing, croaking [literally, removing a straw across the throat]. He was still on top this way when Old Man Coyote woke up. "Hey, who is singing this very pretty song?" said Coyote and he got up. Just about the time he got up, again Woodpecker was making noises like this: "*'asheky'ana kyana: kyana: lhakwiyawis.*" When Woodpecker said this, because Coyote liked the song so much he went to where Woodpecker was perched and said to him, "You are singing very prettily. Sing for me so I learn it, and when I reach home I will make my children dance." So said Coyote. "All right I'll sing for you," Woodpecker said, and so he sang for him: "*'asheky'ana kyama: kyama: lhakwiyawis.*" "Oh gosh, and I learned it. Well then I am going," he said and then turning toward home, he went. Going just a little ways, *lhapaaaaa* mourning doves flew up with a flapping noise and he lost his song. Since he just couldn't remember it, he said, "Let's see, I'll go back and ask my older or perhaps younger brother to sing it again." Saying this and turning himself around, he arrived back where Woodpecker was perched and said to him, "Sing for me again." So again he sang for him: "*'asheky'ana kyama: kyama: lhakwiyawis.*" "Good for you, now I will not lose it." Saying this, again he directed himself home. Going perhaps just this far (pointing) he tripped over a piece of wood and again he lost his song. He just couldn't remember it, so he said, "Again I go to ask my brother once more." Saying this, he went back again to where the woodpecker was perched. Meanwhile Woodpecker perceiving Coyote said, "Darn it, there he comes again, stupid Coyote. I bet he lost his song again. I don't care what you do." Saying this, he flew off. Meanwhile, Coyote arrived at the place where Woodpecker had been perched and said to him, "Go ahead, sing for me once more." He said this to him, and no one said anything. When no one said anything Old Coyote became angry. He was angry and said, "Hey you! What's happening? You are not singing for me. If you don't sing for me, I will bite you." Saying this, Coyote asked him four times. After asking four times, when Woodpecker did

not sing for Coyote, then Coyote jumped at the charred log. Because of his biting it, today Coyote has a black snout, and his tail is also black. Because of it happening like this, Coyote became marked with black. It happened long ago in this way. Thus short is the story.

son 'ahchi sonti 'ino:te kyaki:m'an lhuwalap ta:chish sum'a'-shokt'an suski ky'akwe'kya. tewana: holh 'imat lhat 'allukkya. hish yam tekkwanten tey'on 'akky kwa' kya:k'i 'el 'itona'ma:wan 'akky sish salhpon teya'kya. 'ist holh teyatip 'imat tanaya palhto'kowa lhat 'allukkya. toms 'iyute'chik'yanan te'esse homatt'an 'el'un telhu'wan 'ichu:nans 'alhky. 'alhkyaaaa. 'okwip syaton kwaton 'iha. ta:chish tamtununu k'um chapin 'el'an 'isho'yalhasha: 'aya'kya lesn holh 'ay'ap summuwen 'okwikya. he e chuwap hish tenan co'ya' tene:'a le'holh 'imat susk 'ikwanans pilakky. 'elle holh pilakup ta: tamtununu lesn holh 'isho' yalhashekky 'asheky'ana kyana: kyana: lhakwiyawis le'holh 'imat tamtununu 'ikwap suski sish 'imat tenan 'an'elumanan 'akky tamtununu powayalhtokwin te'chinan s les 'anikwakkya he e he'kwish to' 'ali' tene:'a. 'a:ma hom'an tene 'aky ho' yanikwatinan yam ky'akkwin te'chinnan yam chawe' ho' 'a:wotenna le'holh 'imat susky 'ikwap 'iya' ma' tom'an ho' tena'unna le'holh tamtunun 'ikwanan s'an tena:kya 'asheky'ana kyama: kyama: lhakwiyawis 'a:' so' yanikwatikya. ma' so' 'a:ne le'holh 'ikwanans 'imat yam ky'akkwin 'ituna:nans 'a:kya. tom tem le:holh 'a:nap *lhapaaaaa* nishapak 'a:la'hip syam tenan 'okk'yakky. 'okk'yanan kwa' sish ten 'an'awanammen sles kwakky 'a:ma ho' 'ikw'alht 'a:nan ta: ho' yam papa:suwholh tena:n hakk'anna le:holh 'ikwanan yallupnan 'ikw'alht tamtununu powayalhtokwin (powayalhtokwin) te'chinan s les 'anikwekkya 'a:ma ta: hom'an tena'u le'holh 'imat tamtunun 'anikwap 'akky ta: s 'imat 'an tena:kya 'asheky'ana kyama: kyama: lhakwiyawis. he: 'awiskwat to:'o chims kwa' ho' 'okk'yashshukwa le'holh 'ikwanan chims yam ta: k'yakkwin 'ituna:kya tom tem le:holh 'a:nan tamm 'ipe'kunan ta: s yam tenan 'okk'yakky. kwa' sish

ten 'an'awana'men 'akkyā s les kwakkyā 'a:ma ta: ho' 'alhna't yam papa:suwholh 'ayyalha'kyan 'a:ne le'holh 'ikwanan ta: s 'ikw'alht tamtununu powayalhtokwin 'a:kya. ta:chish tamtununu suski 'ank'ohaky'anan sles kwakkyā ta:s 'an 'ist 'iya sutekkwante ta:s hinik yam tenan 'okk'yakkyā. chish ko'ah 'ana to' leye:'a. le'kwanan sla'hikya. ta:chish suski tamtununu powayalhtokwin te'chinan sles 'anikwakkyā s 'a:ma hom'an 'alhna't tena'u le'holh 'imat 'anikwap kwa' chuwholh ko' kwanamkyā kwa' chuwholh ko' kwanamap summ 'uwen s'ikyatikya. 'ikyatinan sles kwakkyā he e to:'o kop ley'ap kwa' hom'an to' tena:na'ma tena:na'ma. kwa' hom'an to' tena:na'map tom ho'uttenna le'holh 'imat suski 'ikwanan 'a:witenak'yan 'antekkunahkyā. 'a:witenakyan 'antekkunahap kwa's ten 'an tena:na'map s k'um chapin 'alla'hinan yam 'uttekow'-akkyā la:k' suski lhepon kw'innan ta: hokt kw'inna. le'na teyatip suski kw'in 'akkyā 'ic'inapkyā. le'n 'ino:te teyatikyā leeeee semkoni'kyā.

#### ANALYZED TEXTS

##### Abbreviations Used in the Glosses

1: first person, 2: second person, ACC: accusative, CAUS: causative, CMPD: compound formative, CONT: continuative, CONTEMP. SUBORD: contemporaneous subordinate, CONV.CAUS: conversative causative (cause the opposite), EXCL: exclamation, FOC: FOCUS, IMMED.FUT: immediate future, IMPER: imperative, IMPER.EXCL: imperative exclamation, INCH: inchoative, INDET: indeterminate, INDIR: indirective, IRREAL: irrealis, NEG: negation, NEG.EXCL: negative exclamation, NOM: nominative, NOMINALIZ: nominalizer, PAST.NOMINALIZ: past nominalizer, PL: plural, POSS: possessive, PRES: present, PRES.NOMINALIZ: present nominalizer, Q: question, REFL: reflexive, REPET: repetitive, SG: singular, STAT: stative, SUBORD: subordinator, SUBORD.D: subordinator, marking change in (different) event, SUBORD.S: subordinator, marking continuation of (same) event.

## Why Coyote Has Yellow Eyes

ma' sonti: 'ino:te ma' 'imat sum-'a'-shokt-'an  
 well once long.ago well seems coyote-rock-depression[PLACE  
 NAME]-AT

suski k'yakwe-'kya.  
 coyote live-PAST

tewana: hak'oha-nna-'kowa 'okshik'  
 ta:p pok'ya  
 daily white.sage-be.on.surface-PAST.NOMINALIZ cottontail.  
 rabbits and jackrabbits

lhat 'allukkyia. chim holh yam 'allash-e:-n'ona  
 hunt go.around-PAST NOW INDET REFL.POSS chase.REPET-CONT-  
 PRES.NOMINALIZ

yute'chi-k'ya-p topa kwayi-p ta:-s  
 'uhs-'ona  
 become.tired-CAUS-SUBORD.D next enter-SUBORD.D again-then  
 that-FOC

'allash-anna. yaton ill holh lesnen 'allu-kkya.  
 chase.REPET-IRREALISday have INDET in.that.way go.about-PAST

tom s 'i-yute'chi-k'ya-nan homat-'an  
 'i-chu:-nan  
 in.vain then REFL-become.tired-CAUS-SUBORD.S juniper-AT  
 REFL-lay.down-SUBORD.S

s 'alh-kya. ta:chish kw'alashi lhat 'allu-kkya. lhat  
 'allukkyaaaaa.  
 then sleep-PAST at.that.time crow hunt go.round-PAST hunt  
 go.about-PAST

s 'i-yute'chi-k'ya-nan homat-'an 'imiy-ulhlha:-kya.  
 then REFL-tire-CAUS-SUBORD.S juniper-AT collapse-be.close-  
 CAUS-PAST

‘i-yute’chi-na-sha: pow ‘ulh-’ap  
REFL-become.tired-STAT-CONV.CAUS-CONT be.on.ground  
be.near-SUBORD.D

suski ‘okwi-kya. suski ‘okwi-nan kw’alash-’an  
k’oha-k’ya-kya.  
coyote wake.up-PAST coyote wake.up-SUBORD.S crow-AT appear-  
CAUS-PAST

pilak-nan kw’alashi pow ‘ulhlha-kwin  
‘a:kya.  
arise.from.lying-SUBORD.S crow be.on.ground be.near-  
to.PLACE.WHERE GO-PAST

kw’alashi pow ‘ulhlha-kwin te’chi-nan  
‘ash-shu’wa-’kya.  
crow be.on.ground be.near- to.PLACE.WHERE arrive-  
SUBORD.S INDIR-speak-PAST

hahwa le’-holh ‘imat suski ‘ikwa-kkya.  
[EXCL OF TIREDNESS] thus-INDET seems coyote say-PAST

‘e’e le’-holh ‘imat kw’alash ‘ikwa-kkya. lesn holh ‘a:ch  
yes thus-INDET seems crow say-PAST in.this.way-INDET  
they.2

‘i:y-ashshu’w-e: pow ‘ulhlha-’kya.  
RECIPR-talk.to-CONT be.on.ground be.close-PAST

kw’alash ‘elemak-nan lesholh tey-’an ‘i:m-u-kya.  
crow arise.from.sitting-SUBORD.S this-INDET place-AT REFL.sit-  
CAUS-PAST

‘i:m-u-nan s les-kwa-kkya. k’okw’alak’om. le’-  
holh  
REFL.sit-CAUS-SUBORD.S then this-say-PAST k’okw’alak’om thus-  
INDET

‘imat ‘ikwa-p ‘an tuna: le’-holh ‘imat ‘ilhuwah-kya  
seems say-SUBORD.D poss eye-PL thus-INDET seems PL.run-PAST

tuna-: 'a:ch 'imat he'sho-tatt 'an 'a:ch 'itullap-kya.  
 eye-PL they.2 seems piñon-tree- to they.2 go.around-PAST

'a:ch 'itullap-nan 'ikw'alht kw'alashi powa-kwin  
 they.2 go.around-SUBORD.S back crow be.on.ground-  
 TO.PLACE.WHERE

'a:-kya. 'a:chi kw'alashi powa-kwin te'chi-  
 nan  
 go-PAST they.2 crow be.on.ground- to.PLACE.WHERE arrived-  
 SUBORD.S

ch'u:k'i 'a:ch 'ikw'alh kwato-kya. he: kwish to'  
 squishy.sound they.2 back enter-PAST [EXCL] very 2SG.NOM

'ali' lesne'a. 'a:ma ta: lesn-u le'holh  
 'imat  
 nice this-do-PRES [IMPER.EXCL.] again this.way-CAUS thus-  
 INDET seems

suski kw'alash 'an-ikwa-kkya. lesnholh 'imat  
 kw'alashi  
 coyote crow INDIR-say-PAST in.this.way-INDET seems  
 crow

yam tuna-: 'ilhuwash-k'ya-p  
 REFL.POSS eye-PL run.REPET.-CAUS-SUBORD.D

su-mm-uwe-n sish 'ay-yuchi'a-ti-kya. suski s  
 les-kwa-kka  
 coyote-SG-fellow-SG very TO-become.amazed-INCH-PAST coyote  
 then this-say-PAST

'a:ma hom-'an tuna-: 'ilhuwah-k'ya. ma' ko'ma  
 [IMPER.EXCL] 1SG.ACC- TO eye-PL run-CAUSE.IMPER well all.right

li:lh 'i:m-u-nan to' k'okw'alak'om  
 le'-kwa-p  
 here REFL.sit.down-CAUS-SUBORD.S 2SG.NOM "k'okw'alak'om"  
 thus-say-SUBORD.D

tom tuna: 'ilhuwaha-nna. 'akkya s 'imat  
2SG.POSS eye-PL run-IRREAL therefore then seems

suski lesn-holh 'i:m-u-nan s les-  
kwa-kkya  
coyote in.this.way-INDET REFL-sit.down-CAUS-SUBORD.S then  
this-say-PAST

k'okw'alak'om le'-holh 'imat 'ikwa-p s'an tuna:  
"k'okw'alak'om" thus-INDET seems say-SUBORD.D now POSS  
eye-PL

'a:chi le'-holh ye:lah-kya. 'a:ch he'sho-tatt'an 'itullap-nan  
they.2 thus-INDET run-PAST they.2 piñon-tree- to go.around-  
SUBORD.S

'ikw'alht suski powa-kwin 'a:ch' 'i-kya.  
back coyote be.on.ground- to.PLACE.WHERE they.2 come-  
PAST

'a:ch 'i-nan ch'u:k'i 'a:ch 'ikw'alht kwato-kya.  
they.2 come-SUBORD.S squishy.sound they.2 back enter-PAST

he:'e kwish to' 'anikwa. 'a:ma ta:  
[EXCL OF SURPRISE] very 2SG.NOM know.how [IMPER.EXCL]  
again

lesn-u le'-holh kw'alash 'ikwa-kkya. 'akkya ta: s 'imat  
this-CAUS thus-INDET crow say-PAST therefore again then  
seems

suski yam tuna: 'ilhuwah-k'ya-kka. lesn-holh 'imat  
coyote REFL.POSS eye-PL run-CAUS-PAST in.this.way-INDET  
seems

'a:chi yam tuna: 'ilhuwash-k'ya: 'imo-'kya.  
they.2 REFL.POSS eye-PL run.REPET-CAUS-CONT be.seated-PAST

la:k' to' yam tuna: 'ilhuwah-k'ya-p  
this 2SG.NOM REFL.POSS eye-PL run-CAUS-SUBORD.D

tom-'an ho' tuna: 'ito-nna. le'-holh 'imat  
2SG.ACC- TO 1SG.NOM eyes-PL eat-IRREAL thus-INDET seems

kw'alash 'ikwa-kkya. 'akkya ta: s 'imat suski yam tuna:  
crow say-PAST so again then seems coyote REFL.POSS eye-PL

'ilhuwah-k'ya-p kw'alashi susky-'an tuna: 'ito-nan  
run-CAUS-SUBORD.D crow coyote- TO eye-PL eat-SUBORD.S

yamante ko'-lewu le'-holh susk 'an-ikwa-nan  
s la'hi-kya.  
oneself something-do thus-INDET coyote INDIR-say-SUBORD.S  
then fly-PAST

suski s kwa' tuna:-w-amm-e' tekkwant 'as  
'a:w-allu  
coyote then NEG eye-PL-NEG-PRES-SUBORD stupid.person hand  
PL-go.around

'allu-kka. lesn-holh 'allu-kkaaaa. hasuski  
mo-'l 'a:chi  
go.around-PAST in.this.way-INDET go.around-PAST coyote.weed  
berry-SG they.2

'ahnan yam tuna-p-kya teya-'kowa'  
'a:chi-ya'  
take-SUBORD.S REFL.POSS eye-PL-PAST be-PAST.NOMINALIZ  
they.2-ACC

'ul-u-kya. chim s tuna-ti-kya. tuna-ti-nan-te-s  
be.inside-CAUS-PAST now then see-INCH-PAST see-INCH-  
SUBORD.S-just-then

tuna: lhupc'i-nna-'kya. yam hasuski mo-we'  
eye-PL yellow-STAT-PAST REFL.POSS coyote.weed berry-PL

'i-tun-e-kkow 'akkya la:k' suski  
PL-have.eyes-CONT-PAST.NOMINALIZ so today coyote

'a:-tuna:-lhupc'i-nna. le:' se-m-koni-'kya  
PL-eye-PL-yellow-STAT thus story-SG-be.short-PAST

## Coyote and Woodpecker

son 'ahchi sonti 'ino:te kyaki:m-'an lhuwala-p  
 [thus it begins] once long.ago [PLACE NAME]-AT be.village-  
 SUBORD.D

ta:chish sum-'a'-shokt-'an suski  
 k'yakwe-'kya.  
 at.that.time coyote-rock-depression[PLACE NAME]-AT coyote live-  
 PAST

tewana: holh 'imat lhat 'allu-kkya. hish yam  
 ttekkwante-n  
 daily INDET seems hunt go.around-PAST very REFL.POSS  
 stupid.person-SG

tey-'on 'akkyā kwa' kya:k'i 'el  
 be-PRES.NOMINALIZ because NEG sometime well

'ito-na'm-a:wa-n 'akkyā sish salhpo-n teya-'kya.  
 ate-NEG-?-SUBORD because very be.skinny-SG be-PAST

'ist holh teya-ti-p 'imat tanaya palhto-'kowa  
 there INDET be-INCH-SUBORD.D seems forest be.the.end[PLACE  
 NAME]-PLACE.WHERE

lhat 'allu-kkyāaaa. toms 'i-yute'chi-k'ya-nan  
 huntgo.around-PAST just REFL-become.tired-CAUS-SUBORD.S

te'esse homatt-'an 'el-'an te-lhu'wa-n  
 kerplop/thud junipertree-AT be.standing-AT TERR-be.shady-SG

'i-chu:-nan s 'alh-kya. 'alh-kyāaaa. 'okwi-p  
 REFL-lay.down-SUBORD.S then sleep-PAST sleep-PAST wake.  
 up-SUBORD.D

s yato-n kwato-n 'iha. ta:chish  
 then day-SG enter-SUBORD IMMED.FUT at.that.time

tamtununu k'um chapi-n 'el-'an  
 woodpecker [lit. wood-SG-make.thud-REPET] trunk burn-SG  
 be.standing-AT

'i-sho-'-yalha-sha-:  
 'aya-'kya  
 REFL-straw-CMPD-be.across-CONV.CAUS.REPET-CONTEMP.SUBORD  
 be.on.top-PAST

lesn holh 'ay-'ap su-mm 'uwen  
 'okwi-kya  
 in.this.way INDET be.on.top-SUBORD.D coyote-SG fellow-SG  
 wake.up-PAST

he e chuwa-p hish tena-n co'ya' ten-e-:'a  
 le'-holh 'imat  
 [EXCL] who-Q very song-SG pretty-SUBORD sing-CONT-PRES  
 thus-INDET seems

susk 'ikwa-nan s pila-kkya. 'elle holh  
 coyote say-SUBORD.S then stand.up.from.lying-PAST just.that.  
 time INDET

pilaku-p ta: ta-m-tunu-nu  
 lesn holh  
 stand.up.from.lying-SUBORD.D again wood-SG-make.thud-REPET  
 in.this.way INDET

'i-sho-'-yalha-sh-e-kkya 'ashe-  
 k'ya-na  
 REFL-straw-CMPD-be.across-CONV.CAUS.REPET-CONT-PAST die-  
 CAUS-STAT  
 [nonsense words of song]

kyana: kyana: lhakwi-yawis le'holh 'imat ta-m-tunu-nu  
 [. . .] [. . .] be.shot-[. . .] thus-INDET seems wood-SG-MAKE.  
 THUD-REPET

'ikwa-p suski sish 'imat tena-n 'an'eluma-nan 'akkyā  
say-SUBORD.D coyote very seems song-SG like-SUBORD.S because

ta-m-tunu-nu powa-yalh-to-kwin  
wood-SG-make.thud-REPET be.on.ground-be.on.top.of- to.PLACE.  
WHERE

te'chi-nan s les 'an-ikwa-kkyā he e he'kwish to'  
'ali-'  
arrive-SUBORD.S then this INDIR-SAY-PAST [EXCL] very 2SG.NOM  
pretty-SUBORD

ten-e:-'a. 'a:ma hom-'an ten-e 'akky ho'  
sing-CONT-PRES [IMPER.EXCL] 1SG.ACC- to sing-IMPER SO 1SG.NOM

y-anikwa-ti-nan yam k'yak-kwin  
te'chi-nan  
REFL-know-INCH-SUBORD.S REFL.POSS inhabit- to.PLACE.WHERE  
arrive-SUBORD.S

yam cha-we' ho' 'a:w-ote-nna le'-holh  
'imat susky  
REFL.POSS child-PL 1SG.NOM PL-dance-IRREAL thus-INDET  
seems coyote

'ikwa-p 'iya' ma' tom-'an ho' tena'u-nna  
le'-holh  
say-SUBORD.D all.right well 2SG.ACC-FOR 1SG.NOM sing-IRREAL  
thus-INDET

ta-m-tunu-n 'ikwa-nan s 'an tena:-kya  
'ashe-k'ya-na  
wood-SG-make.thud-REPET say-SUBORD.S then POSS sing-PAST  
die-CAUS-STAT  
[nonsense words of song]

kyama: kyama: lhakwi-yawis 'a:' so' y-anikwa-ti-kya.  
[. . .] [. . .] be.shot-[. . .] [EXCL] and.1SG.NOM REFL-know-  
INCH-PAST

ma' so'                    'a:n-e    le'-holh    'ikwa-nan s 'imat  
 well then.1SG.NOM go-PRES thus-INDET say-SUBORD.S then  
 seems

yam            k'yak-kwin                    'i-tuna:-nan s 'a:kya.  
 REFL.POSS inhabit- to.PLACE.WHERE REFL-turn.in.direction.of-  
 SUBORD.S then go-PAST

tom tem le:-holh    'a:n-ap            lhapaaaa    nishapak  
 'a:-la'hi-p  
 just yet this-INDET go-SUBORD.D flapping.noise mourning.dove  
 PL-FLY-SUBORD.D

s    yam            tena-n    'ok-k'ya-kkya.    'okk'ya-nan kwa' sish  
 then REFL.POSS song-SG be.lost-CAUS-PAST be.lost-CAUS-  
 SUBORD.S NEG very

ten    'an'awa-na-mme-n                    s les kwa-kkya    'a:ma ho'  
 in.vain remember-STAT-NEG-SUBORD then this say-PAST [IMPER.  
 EXCL] 1SG.NOM

'ikw'alht 'a:n-an            ta:    ho'            yam            papa:-suw  
 back    go-SUBORD.S again 1SG.NOM REFL.POSS older.brother-  
 CMPD-younger.brother

holh tena:-n            hakk'ya-nna    le:-holh    'ikwa-nan  
 INDET sing-SUBORD request-IRREAL thus-INDET say-SUBORD.S

y-allup-nan                    'ikw'alht ta-m-tunu-nu  
 REFL-turn.around-SUBORD.S back    wood-SG-make.thud-REPET

powa-yalh-to-'kya                    tek-kwin  
 be.on.ground-be.on.top-PAST be- to.PLACE.WHERE

(powa-yalh-to-kwin)                    te'chi-nan  
 (be.on.ground-be.on.top- to.PLACE.WHERE) arrive-SUBORD.S

s    les 'an-ikw-e-kkya    'a:ma ta:            hom-'an tena'u  
 then this INDIR-say-CONT-PAST [IMPER.EXCL] again 1SG.ACC-FOR  
 sing. IMPER

le'-holh 'imat ta-m-tunu-n 'an-ikwa-p 'akkyā  
 thus-INDET seems wood-SG-make.thud-REPET INDIR-say-  
 SUBORD.D therefore

ta: s 'imat 'an tena:-kya 'ashe-k'ya-na kyama:  
 kyama: lhakwi-yawis.  
 again then seems for.him sing-PAST die-CAUS-STAT [. . .]  
 [. . .] be.shot[. . .]  
 [nonsense words of song]

he: 'awiskwat to:'o chim s kwa' ho'  
 [EXCL] unexpectedly.fortunate 2SG.NOM now then NEG 1SG.NOM  
 'ok-k'ya-shshukwa le'-holh 'ikwa-nan chim s  
 yam ta:  
 be.lost-CAUS-NEG.IRREAL thus-INDET say-SUBORD.S now then  
 REFL.POSS again

k'yak-kwin 'i-tuna:-kya tom tem  
 le:-holh 'a:n-an  
 inhabit- to.PLACE.WHERE REFL-turn.in.direction-PAST just yet  
 thus-INDET go-SUBORD.S

ta-mm 'ipe'ku-nan ta: s yam tena-n 'ok-k'ya-kkyā.  
 wood-SG trip-SUBORD.S again then REFL.POSS song-SG be.lost-  
 CAUS-PAST

kwa' sish ten 'an'awa-na'm-en 'akkyā s les kwa-  
 kkyā 'a:ma  
 NEG very in.vain remember-NEG-SUBORD therefore then this say-  
 PAST [IMPER.EXCL]

ta: ho' 'alhna-'t yam papa:-suw holh  
 again 1SG.NOM just-more REFL.POSS older.brother-CMPD-  
 younger.brother INDET

'ay-yalha-'kyan 'a:n-e le'-holh 'ikwa-nan ta: s  
 'ikw'alht  
 INDIR-ask-RESULT.SUBORD go-PRES thus-INDET say-SUBORD.S  
 again then back

ta-m-tunu-nu                      powa-yalh-to-kwin 'a:-kya. ta:chish  
 wood-SG-make.thud-REPET be.on.ground-be.on.top- to.PLACE.  
 WHERE go-PAST meanwhile

ta-m-tunu-nu suski                      'an-k'oha-k'ya-nan  
 wood-SG-make.thud-REPET make.visible [lit. INDIR-become.  
 light-CAUS]-SUBORD.S

s    les kwa-kkya ta: s 'an                      'ist 'iya su-tekkwante ta:  
 then this say-PAST again [NEG.EXCL] there come.PRES coyote-  
 stupid.person again

s    hinik yam                      tena-n 'ok-k'ya-kkya.                      chish ko'ah  
 'ana  
 then I.think REFL.POSS song-SG be.lost-CAUS-PAST very I.don't.  
 care [NEG.EXCL]

to'                      ley-e:-'a.                      le'-kwa-nan                      s la'hi-kya.  
 ta:chish suski  
 2SG.NOM do-CONT-PRES thus-say-SUBORD.S then fly-PAST  
 meanwhile coyote

ta-m-tunu-nu                      powa-yal-to-kwin te'chi-nan  
 wood-SG-make.thud-REPET be.on.ground-be.on.top- to.PLACE.  
 WHERE arrive-SUBORD.S

s    les 'an-ikwa-kkya s                      'a:ma                      hom-'an  
 'alhna-'t tena'u  
 then this INDIR-say-PAST then [IMPER.EXCL] 1SG.NOM- to  
 just-more sing. PRES

le'holh                      'imat 'an-ikwa-p                      kwa' chuw-holh ko' kwa-  
 nam-kya  
 this-INDET seems INDIR-say-SUBORD.D NEG who-INDET what  
 say-NEG-PAST

kwa' chuw-holh ko'                      kwa-na'm-ap                      summ 'uwen  
 NEG who-INDET what say-NEG-SUBORD.D coyote-SG fellow-SG

s 'ikya-ti-kya. 'ikya-ti-nan s  
 les kwa-kkya  
 then become.angry-INCH-PAST become.angry-INCH-SUBORD.S  
 then this say-PAST

he e to:'o ko-p ley'ap kwa' hom'an to'  
 [EXCL] 2SG.NOM what-Q be.happening-SUBORD.D NEG 1SG.ACC.-  
 FOR 2SG.NOM

tena:-na'm-a. kwa' hom'an to' tena:-na'ma-p  
 sing-NEG-PRES NEG 1SG.ACC-FOR 2SG.NOM sing-NEG-SUBORD.D

tom ho' 'utte-nna le'-holh 'imat suski  
 'ikwa-nan  
 2SG.ACC 1SG.NOM bite-IRREAL thus-INDET seems coyote  
 say-SUBORD.S

'a:witen-ak'yan 'an-tekkunah-kya. 'a:witen-ak'yan 'an-tekkunah-ap  
 four-times INDIR-ask-PAST four-times INDIR-ask-  
 SUBORD.D

kwa' s ten 'an tena:-na'm-ap s k'u-m  
 chapi-n  
 NEG then in.vain for.him sing-NEG-SUBORD.D then log-SG  
 charred-SG

'al-la'hi-nan yam 'utte-kow 'akkyia  
 la:k' suski  
 INDIR-leap-SUBORD.S REFL.POSS bite-PAST.NOMINALIZ because  
 today coyote

lhepon kw'i-nna-n ta: hokt kw'inna. le'na  
 snout black-STAT-SUBORD also tail black-STAT.PRES in.this.way

teya-ti-p suski kw'i-n 'akkyia 'i-c'ina-p-kya.  
 be-INCH-SUBORD.D coyote black-STAT with REFL-become.  
 marked-PL-PAST

le'n 'ino:te teya-ti-kya. leeeee se-m-koni-'kya  
 in.this.way anciently be-inch-past thuuuuus story-SG be.short-PAST

PART TWO

YUMAN LANGUAGE

FAMILY



QUECHAN





## 5. Coyote and Hen

Narrated by Barbara Levy

Translated by Barbara Levy and Amy Miller

Introduced by Amy Miller

The Quechan people have traditionally lived along the lower part of the Colorado River. At one time Quechan territory extended from around Needles, California, to the Gulf of California (Forde 1931:88). Today, the Quechan Indian Nation occupies a portion of this territory along the east side of the river, in Winterhaven, California, and extending into Yuma, Arizona.

The Quechan language (also known as Yuma or Kwatsáan) belongs to the Yuman language family. Yuman languages are spoken in western Arizona, in California's Imperial and San Diego Counties, and in Baja California. Fewer than one hundred people speak the Quechan language fluently today, out of a tribal population of several thousand.<sup>1</sup> Most fluent speakers are elderly.

The Quechan people have a rich and varied oral literature. Much of Quechan literature is concerned with the Creation and other events that took place at the beginning of time. Coyote stories represent the lighter side of Quechan literature: they are short, self-contained, and humorous. Coyote is typically portrayed as a trickster, many of whose tricks backfire. While Coyote stories may be enjoyed on many levels, there is usually something that the listener may learn, if he wants to, from Coyote's misadventures. Published Coyote stories include those by Emerson and Halpern (1978), J. Escalante (1984a,b,c), and M. Escalanti (1984).

Different versions of the story of Coyote and Hen have been told in various cultures. Barbara Levy's version, told in Winterhaven, California, on May 17, 2001, is a story about men and women. "Like a lot of men," Ms. Levy says, "Coyote is after something for his own needs," and he tries to get close to Hen not because he loves her but because he would love to eat her. This version of the story carries an explicit warning: women, look out for the ulterior motives of men!

The writing system used here is outlined below. Further information about the Quechan language may be found in studies by Halpern (1946, 1947) and Miller (1997).

#### ORTHOGRAPHY

- á or à Like the *a* in *about*.
- aa A longer sound, like the *a* in *father*.
- e Like the *e* in *pet*.
- ee The same sound, only held for a longer time.
- a or ə Following the convention established by A. M. Halpern (1946, 1947), we write the vowel known as "schwa" with unaccented *a* when it precedes the stressed syllable and with *ə* when it follows the accented syllable. The pronunciation of "schwa" is influenced by nearby sounds: next to a palatal sound (such as *ɣ* or *ny*) it sounds like *i*, next to a labial sound (such as *m* or *p* or *w*) it sounds like *u*, and in most other circumstances it sounds like the *e* in *government*.
- i Like the *i* in *pit*.
- ii Like the *i* in *petite*, only held for a longer time.
- k Like the *k* in *sky*.
- kw The same sound, but made with rounded lips. It sounds like the *kw* in *backward*.
- ky Like the *ky* in *backyard*.
- l Like the *l* in *light*.

ly	Like the <i>lli</i> in <i>million</i> . This sound is made with the tip of the tongue touching the lower teeth.
lly	To make this sound, put your tongue in position to say <i>ly</i> , then blow air out so that it goes around the sides of your tongue.
m	Like the <i>m</i> in <i>mom</i> .
n	Like Spanish <i>n</i> , as in <i>bonito</i> .
ng	Like the <i>ng</i> in <i>sing</i> . This sound is found in few spoken words but many song words.
ny	Like the <i>ny</i> in <i>canyon</i> .
o	Like the <i>o</i> in <i>pot</i> .
oo	The same sound, only held for a longer time.
p	Like the <i>p</i> in <i>spin</i> .
q	A sound similar to <i>k</i> but pronounced farther back in the mouth.
qw	The same sound, but made with rounded lips.
r	A rolled or trilled <i>r</i> , similar to the <i>r</i> in the Spanish word <i>rojo</i> .
s	Like Spanish <i>s</i> , as in <i>peso</i> .
sh	This sound is not the same as English <i>sh</i> ; it is more of a whistling sound. It is made with the tip of the tongue at the roots of the teeth and slightly curled back.
t	Like Spanish <i>t</i> , as in <i>bonito</i> . This sound is made with the tongue touching the upper front teeth, or even between the front teeth.
th	Like the <i>th</i> in <i>this</i> .
ts	Like the <i>ts</i> in <i>lots</i> .
tt	Like English <i>t</i> as in <i>store</i> . This sound is made with the tongue touching the roots of the upper front teeth.
ty	Like the <i>ty</i> in the expression <i>got ya!</i>
u	Like the <i>u</i> in <i>put</i> .
uu	Like the <i>u</i> in <i>rule</i> , only held for a longer time.
v	Like the <i>v</i> in <i>very</i> .
w	Like the <i>w</i> in <i>wet</i> .

- x Like the *ch* in German *ach*, or like Spanish *j* as in *jota*.  
 xw The same sound, but made with rounded lips.  
 y Like the *y* in *yes*.  
 ' This sound, known as “glottal stop,” is actually a brief period of silence made by closing the vocal cords. It is found in the English expressions *uh-uh* and *uh-oh*.

The story is divided into lines in a way that we hope captures aspects of the Quechan oral delivery in the physical layout of the text. Each line contains a coherent translation of a prosodically motivated unit of Quechan speech. Prosodic criteria that motivate line breaks include a coherent intonation contour, the presence of a pause, a lengthened final segment, unit-final intonational characteristics (usually a fall in pitch spanning the last stressed syllable and any subsequent syllables, but sometimes a level or slightly rising pitch spanning the same), and increase in the rhythm of stressed syllables at the end of the line (typically when the line ends in an auxiliary verb construction). Typical prosodic lines meet several of these criteria. For further discussion, see Miller (1997). When a line of the story is too long to fit on a single graphic line, it is continued on a second graphic line, with the continuation indented. Blank lines appear Stanza breaks mark where the speaker takes in an audible breath. This broken-line format forces the flow of information in the English translation to follow that of the Quechan original. It also highlights stylistic devices such as repetition and parallelism, and it provides an English-language key to small, manageable units of written Quechan for the benefit of language learners.

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## NOTE

1. The estimate of the number of fluent Quechan speakers is from the Quechan Language Preservation Program. There are 2,668 enrolled tribal members, according to several websites, including the Economic Development Research Program, University of Arizona, Tucson, <http://edrp.arid.arizona.edu/tribes.html>, and ArizonaNativeNet, <http://www.arizonanativenet.com/nativenations/info.cfm?tribeID=6>.

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## Coyote and Hen

I am telling a story about  
Coyote and Hen,  
and it goes like this:

That Coyote,  
he was a trickster,  
he was a bad person,  
but I will call him *piipáa*, a  
person.  
He was an animal or something.

He was full of tricks,  
well,  
he ate people,  
he ate meat,  
that's what he did.

As for this,  
whenever he saw someone,  
he got hungry,  
and he wanted to eat them.

He saw Hen,  
he saw that Hen was food,  
and he felt like eating her;  
his mouth watered,  
well,  
that Coyote,  
when he saw Hen.

Nyaqwalayáawts Xatalwé  
tskuunáavək,  
vaathúum:

Xatalwényənyts,  
piipáa shtíits,  
piipáa 'aláyts,  
piipáa 'étxa.  
'Axátt-ts 'aayúuts athótsa.

'Atsashtíik,  
'aayúu,  
piipáa — piipáa sóotsk,  
kwiikwáay sóotsk,  
uuváakum.

Nyáava,  
kaawíts nyaayúuk,  
matsáam,  
asóoxa lyaviik 'étk uuváatk  
awím.

Nyaqwalayáawəny yúuk,  
Nyaqwalayáawəny tsaamáats  
athúm ayúuk,  
asóo xalyavím;  
iyaxáats iiláa 'étəm,  
'aayúu,  
Xatalwényənyts,  
Nyaqwalayáawəny nyaayúuk.

Hen knew him and was wise  
to his tricks,  
she was like this:  
“I am meat to him,  
that’s what he sees in me.”

As she was in this state,  
Coyote came along,  
and she saw him.  
“There are animals around,  
and they want to eat poor me,  
and I’m scared;  
I’m going to sit high up in a  
mesquite tree.

“Coyote  
and all animals  
are no good at climbing  
mesquite trees,  
and so,  
I think it’s all right;  
I’m sitting up high;  
I went along,  
and there he was.

“I’m sitting up high,  
I’m sitting up high in a  
mesquite tree,  
I’m enjoying this,  
I’m watching people  
as they come and go, and so,  
I’m sitting up high.”

As for this,  
I will say it:

Nyaqwalayéwənyts shuupóowk  
kamúlyk ’ím,  
vaathúum:  
“Kwiikwáayəts ’athótəm,  
nyép nyuuyúutsa.”

Vanyaathúum,  
Xatalwéts viithíim,  
ayúuk.  
“’Axátt-ts vuunóok,  
nyá — n̄yasóotsxa lyavii  
kuu’éeyəm,  
mashathék;  
’aanáaly máy ’anákəm nyáats  
’ayáak.

“Xatalwényənyts  
xáttənyts tsáaməly  
’aanáaly akúulyək  
nyiikwəntəm,  
athúm,  
’axóttk ’aaly’ím;  
má y nák ’athúm;  
yáak,  
nyiitháwəm.

“Má y nák,  
’aanáaly má y nák,  
tsamxántəm,  
piipáa ’ayúuk  
viithiik viiyáak awim,  
má y nák.”

Nyáava,  
’éxa:

this happened  
a long time ago.

athósh  
kóra.

Hen  
was sitting over there in a  
mesquite tree.

Nyaqwalayáawəts  
'aanáaly máy nák siivák.

She was sitting there, when  
suddenly  
Coyote came along,  
he was walking,  
he came along,  
he came along,  
he was hunting for things.

Siiváxayəm,  
Xatalwéts viithíik,  
av'áak,  
viithíik,  
viithíik,  
'atsxalykwáak.

It was noon,  
and when she saw him,  
he was coming along hunting,  
he was hoping for something  
to eat,  
he was sitting there thinking,  
and he turned his head,  
and he looked,  
he looked up high, and  
suddenly—

Nyáa ta'óorts 'ím,  
nyaayúuk,  
xalykwáak viithíik,  
kaawíts uumáxa aaly'ím,  
alyathúutsk siivák,  
láv 'ím,  
yúuk,  
máy yúuxayəm—

he saw Hen sitting up there.  
“Hey!

Nyaqwalayáawənyts máy nák  
uuvám yúuk.  
“Éé'é!

“Something—  
it's Hen,  
she's sitting up in the  
mesquite tree;  
I'll go along and talk to her.

“'Aayúuts—  
Qwalayáawts,  
'aanáalyk máy nák uuvám;  
yáak 'atskuunáavxa.

"I'll go along and talk to her,  
I'll trick her,  
I'll get her to come down,  
and I'll eat her."

He just sat over there thinking  
about it.

She sat in the tree,  
and when he saw her —

he came walking up;  
Hen sat there watching him in  
turn,  
she watched Coyote come  
walking up.

"Hey!" he said,  
and so,  
she looked up,  
and she saw the sun, and  
suddenly,

"Yes,  
it's getting to be noon.

"Here comes Coyote hunting,  
he feels like eating something,  
he's coming along hungry, as  
they say.

As for this,  
he sees me,  
as he's coming along over there  
thinking about food,"  
she said.

"He is going to trick me,  
he is up to something,

"Yáak 'atskuunáavək,  
'anytíishtank,  
tatsénəm,  
'asóoxa."

Aaím alyathúutsk siivák.

Lyavák,  
nyaayúuk —

av'áak siithíim;  
Nyaqwalayáawənyts  
ayúunypatk siivák,  
Xatalwənyts av'áak viithíim  
yúuk.

"'Ēe'ēeya!"  
awím,  
máyəm yúuk,  
nyáany yúuxam,  
"Áa,  
nyaat'óorts nyémk viithíikəm.

"Xatalwənyts xalykwáak  
viithíikəm,  
tsamá xalyavím,  
matsáam púuyk viithíikitya.  
Nyáava,  
nyép nyayúuk,  
tsaamáats 'ím alyathúutsk  
siithíikitya,"  
'ím.

"Nyiinytíishtan,  
kaa'émk uuváak,

he is coming to get me down.”	'anytatsén 'ím uuviithíik
And so,	athósh.”
Hen in turn was sitting there	'Ím,
thinking;	Nyaqwalayáawənyts
she knew about him.	alyathúutsapatk siivák;
	shuupóowk.
She already knew about him,	Kóra shuupóowk,
she was sitting over there,	aví siivám,
and Coyote walked up,	Xatalwənyənyts av'áak,
he came and came and came.	vanyaathíik nyaathíik
	nyaathíik.
So,	Aa'é,
underneath her,	nyaaxákəly,
he stood beside the mesquite	'aanáaly xáak av'óowk,
tree,	“'Éey,”
“Hey,”	máy ayúuk 'ím,
he looked up and said,	“Nyaqwalayáawée!
“Hen!	'Aakóoyáa!
Old lady!	'Aakóoyáa!”
Old lady!”	“Áa-aa?”
“Yes?”	“Kaawíts kamwím,
“What are you doing,	'aanáaly máy manák mvák
sitting up in a mesquite tree?	mathúum?
Come down!”	Katsénk!”
“No,	“Áa'á,
I'm all right.	'axótt-ta.
I'm sitting here,	Nyáavi 'avák,
I'm enjoying things,	'aayúu tsamaxánk 'avák,
I see people	piipáa 'ayúuk
as they are coming.	viithíik uuvá.
It's nice and cool up high.”	Ayúushəm máy 'vák 'avákash.”
“Why is it	“Kaathúntək 'ím
that you don't come down?	matsén lyémk?

I want to talk to you!  
Come down,  
so that I can talk to you!”

“Well,  
it’s all right.  
Just go on your way.  
You can see that I’m all right,”  
she said.

“Well,  
there is no-one to talk to  
as I am here;  
come down so that I can talk  
to you!”

“Well,  
it’s all right.  
Just go on your way.  
I’m all right here,  
and I don’t feel like talking to  
people.”

“Yes,  
well,  
in the past,  
I  
and you never were likely to  
fight, but  
I know  
what you’re thinking  
about me:

Hens,  
I think of them as food,  
and I am hoping—

’Atskuunáavá!  
Katsénəm,  
’atskuunáavá!”

“Áa-aa,  
xótt-ta.  
Aaíim sikayáak.  
’Axóttk ’avátəm mayúuk.”

“Áa-aa,  
piipáa tskuunáavxa nyiirishəm  
’uuváakəm;  
katsénəm tskuunáavá!”

“Áa-aa,  
xóttk.  
Aaíimk sikayáak.  
Xótt nyu’vám,  
piipáa ’atskuunáavxats  
’íilyəmta.”

“Áa-áa,  
’aayúu,  
nykóra,  
nyáats  
máany  
kyík mattanyúuv ’alyavíi  
lyémtsáa,  
’ashuupóowəsh  
’aayúu malyathúuts  
nyaa — nyép:

Nyaqwalayáawənyts,  
piip — tsaamáats ’a’ím aly  
’athúutsk ’avákəm,

I am really hoping to eat you,  
and that's what you are afraid  
of:  
my eating you."

'aaly'étk 'avákəm—  
'asóoxa 'aaly'ípəm,  
nyáany mamashathék  
ammavákitya:  
'asóoxənya."

"No,  
I'm not saying that, but  
it's all right.  
Just go on your way,  
and I will sit.  
I'll sit right up here."

"Áa'a,  
'íily'émsáa,  
xótt-ta.  
Aaím sikayáak,  
'avátxa.  
Nyáavi 'amáy 'anák 'avátxa."

"No.  
I want to talk to you.  
As for me,  
I want to shake your hand.  
That's all.

"Áa'a.  
'Atskuunáav 'ím.  
'Anyáats,  
miisháaly 'atháw 'ím.  
Nyaamám.

"I want to talk to you,  
I want to be on good terms,  
to shake your hand,  
I want to hug you,  
that's all.

"Tskuunáavək,  
iiwáa taaxótt 'ím,  
iisháaly 'atháwk,  
taxkýip 'ím,  
nyaamám.

"I like you so much,  
you,  
Hen.

"Nyamayáatanta,  
máanya,  
Nyaqwalayáawaa.

"And with that,  
I know you,  
yes,  
I want to take care of you,  
I want to take care of you,  
and shake your hand,  
and hug you.

"Nyáanyəm,  
nyashuupóowətk 'athúm,  
éé'é,  
'uutarúuy 'ím,  
máany muutarúuy 'ím,  
miisháaly 'atháwk,  
taxkýipk.

“I really love you,”  
he said,  
Coyote told her,  
and the woman—  
the old lady, I might say—

Old Lady Hen sat there  
looking at him,  
“Well,  
either he really means it,  
or else,  
he is just saying it,”  
she thought,  
and she sat there in the  
distance.  
“What he is telling me is good.  
He wants to shake my hand,  
he says he might hug me,  
as he is there.

“He says he means it—  
gee, I don’t know.  
He said it, but  
I will have to think about it.”

Coyote said,  
“Come down, I say,  
you heard me say it!  
Come down,  
so that I can shake your hand!”  
he said;  
Hen sat there in silence, and  
then

“Nyamaxántanta,”  
’ím,  
Xatalwényənyts kanáavək,  
sany’ákənyts—  
’aakóoyənyts ’étxa—

Nyaqwalayáaw ’Aakóoyənyts  
ayúuk uuvákə̀m,  
“Ée’ée,  
taaxánk ’ím ’ím,  
xóo,  
’étk ’ím ’ím,”  
alyathúutsk,  
siivák.  
“Nyaayúu kuunáavənyts  
xótt-ta.  
’Iisháaly tháwə̀m ’ét,  
txakyípum ’étk,  
uuváatə̀m.

“Taaxánk ’iikə̀m—  
tsii shamthíita.  
’Ét sáa,  
alyathúutsk ’aváxa.”

Xatalwényənyts ’ím,  
“’A’ém katsénk ’ím,  
’a’épə̀m ma’ám!  
Katsénə̀m,  
miisháaly ’atháwá!”  
’ím;  
Qwalayáawənyts náq ’ím  
uuványək

she turned her head,  
and she looked into the  
distance, and suddenly  
something was coming!  
A cat!  
A big one.  
Or something.

It came walking up,  
and she saw it—  
it too ate meat,  
this big cat did.  
Well,  
that's what was coming;

“Well,  
it sounds good, but  
I'm going to question Coyote  
about it,”  
she said.

The cat came nearer.  
When she saw the big cat  
coming nearer,

Hen said,  
“Well,  
do you really mean it,  
Coyote?  
Are you going to hug me?  
Are you going to shake my  
hand?  
Are you going to love me?”  
“Yes,  
I am going to love you.

láv 'ím,  
nyáasi yúuxaym,  
'aayúuts viithíish!  
Póosh!  
Kwavtáyənyts.  
'Aayúu.

Av'áak viithíim,  
yúuk—  
kwiikwáay asóotpatəm,  
póosh kwavtáyəv nyáavats.  
Ée'ée,  
nyáanyənyts viithíim;

“Ée'ée,  
xótt-təm 'étsáa,  
Xatalwénaya 'atskwák 'a'ávəxa,”  
'ím.

Póoshənyts xiipánk viithíish.  
Póosh kwavtáyənyts xiipánk  
viithíim nyaayúuk,

Qwalayáawənyts 'ím,  
“Áa-aa,  
taaxán 'ím 'ím,  
Xatalwéyey?  
Nyép mataxkyíp ma'ím?  
'Iisháaly matháw ma'ím?  
Nyamxán ma'ím?”  
“Áa-aa,  
maxánk 'ím.

“Come down!

“I will kiss you,”

he said;

“All right,

I am going to love you,

I am going to kiss you,”

she said.

“Well,”

and he sat there thinking.

It was great that Hen would be  
coming down,

and he sat there thinking about  
it, until

well,

as the cat was coming closer,

Hen started coming down,

she came further and further  
down,

“Yes,

it’s all right,” she said,

“So,

you tell me you want to shake  
my hand.

“Okay,

this person,

will it be all right if he stands  
there as a witness?”

she said.

“What?”

He turned his head and

looked, and suddenly,

“Katsén!

“Miiyáaly pámtəxá,”

’ím;

“’Axóttk,

maxánk ’ím,

miiyáaly pám ’ím,”

’ésh.

“Ée’ée,”

lyathúutsk avám.

Qwalayáawəny uutsénxa  
nyiináam,

alyathúutsk siiványk,

áa-áa,

póoshənyts nyaaxiipánəm,

Qwalayáawənyts tsénk viiyáak,

vanyaayáak vanyaayáak,

“Áa-aa,

xótt-təm,” ’éts,

“Nyaamám,

’iisháaly atháw nyam’ím.

“’Áxaa,

vatháts,

nyiiv’óowk nyanyúum

xóttxənká?”

ím.

“Kaawíts?”

Láw ’ím yúuxam,

póosh kavtáyənyts av’óowəsh!

the big cat was standing there!  
That carnivore was standing  
there watching them, they  
say.

Kwiikwáay kwasóonyənyts  
av'óowk  
ayúuk 'ím.

Coyote saw it,  
and he was afraid;  
this thing,  
the big cat,  
for its part, it always ate  
coyotes.

Xatalwényts ayúuk,  
mashathék;  
'aayúu nyáava,  
póosh kwavatáyənyts,  
xatalwé sóotpát-tum.

Well,  
that Coyote said nothing,  
um,  
he took off and went away.  
He went running away.

'Aayúu,  
Xatalwényənyts náq 'étk,  
awéey,  
askyínyk viiyém.  
Avéshk viiyém.

Innocently,  
Hen came down,  
her lips were puckered like  
that,  
and her hand—

Nyaatáq,  
Nyaqwalayáawənyts tsénk,  
iyyáa nyaawím,  
iisháalyəm—

“I am waiting for you,” she said.  
Coyote was gone.  
He had taken off,  
he had gone running away,  
because the cat might have  
eaten him in turn.  
“That’s it,” said Hen.  
“He tricked me to make me  
come down.  
He was going to eat me, until  
Cat came along

“Mashuutháwk 'uuvá.”  
Xatalwényənyts viiyém.  
Skyínyk,  
avéshk viiyém,  
póoshənyts sóonypat xalyavím.  
“Nyáany,” a'ét.  
“Nyinytíishtan tatsénk wésh.  
Nyasóow 'im uuváany,  
Póoshts nyaaváak  
sóonypat 'ím,  
mashathénypatk viiyém.”

and was going to eat him in  
turn,  
and he got scared and went  
away.”

So,  
listen, I say,  
women, I say,  
well,  
if a man comes into your life,  
and he says, “I really love you, I  
want you,”  
don’t do anything,  
don’t even listen to him!

Don’t do it,  
I say.  
He is deceiving you, as they say.  
He is going to take your heart.  
He is going to eat you.

Listen well:  
if a man says, “I love you,”  
keep quiet!  
Don’t even look at him!  
Harden your heart!  
“Go away!”,  
is what to tell him,  
I say.  
That’s all.

Nyaathúm,  
ka’ávək ‘íi,  
sanyts’áak ‘íi,  
’aayúu,  
’iipáats nyaxávək vanyaathíik,  
“Nyamxántan nya-áarsh,” a’ím  
kyík kathúulykəm,  
kyík ka’áavək!

Kawíilyəkəm,  
’étk.  
Mantíishkitya.  
Miiwáa tháwu ’ím.  
Masóow ím.

Ka’áv tan kuuváakəm:  
’iipáats “Nyamxánsh,” ’ík ’ím,  
náy ka’ím!  
Kyík kayúulykəmk!  
Iiwáany kashpéttk!  
“Vikayémk!”  
ka’ím,  
’ím.  
Nyaamám.



TIPAI





## 6. Rabbit and Frog

Narrated by Jon Meza Cuero

Recorded by Margaret Field

Translated by Jon Meza Cuero, Amy Miller,  
and Margaret Field

Introduced by Margaret Field

The story “Rabbit and Frog” is a Tipai, or Southern Kumeyaay, story from Baja California. It is told by Jon Meza Cuero, who learned it from his father in San José de la Zorra, a traditional Kumeyaay community of Baja. Meza Cuero is also a traditional singer of Wildcat songs, which are similar to the better-known and related Bird songs—a particular type of Southern and Baja California song cycle specific to Yuman and some nearby Uto-Aztecan-speaking cultures (Apodaca 1999). Wildcat songs, to our knowledge, are sung today only in Baja California, and Jon Meza Cuero is one of the last singers with knowledge of them. Bird songs, on the other hand, are sung in several communities north of the border. In addition, Wildcat songs differ from Bird songs in that they are somewhat more secular or upbeat and are not sung at events such as funerals, whereas Bird songs typically are. Wildcat songs also tell and accompany stories about animals (the first people) that are somewhat akin to the European genre of moral tales known as Aesop’s Fables.

Traditional stories like this one are important aspects of Kumeyaay culture and contain information about cultural norms and values, as all cultures’ oral traditions do. This story points out the folly of behaving in an overly familiar manner with outsiders. Rab-

bit allows Frog, an outsider, into his home and ends up losing it to him. Although both Rabbit and Frog also call each other “Brother” throughout the story, it is Frog who uses this term first, eventually wearing down Rabbit’s initial reservations about inviting him into his home.

Tipai is one of a group of closely related Yuman languages known in the United States as Kumeyaay (or Kumiai, after Spanish spelling conventions) or Diegueño. This language group extends from northern San Diego County southward about 150 miles into Baja California, Mexico. Ongoing research into Baja dialects of Kumeyaay identified approximately sixty speakers of Tipai (or Baja Kumiai) speech varieties in six indigenous communities of Baja California: La Huerta, Juntas de Nejí, San José de Tecate, Peña Blanca, San José de la Zorra, and San Antonio Necua. Kumeyaay/Diegueño speech varieties were once spoken in twelve communities in the United States; today only a handful of fluent speakers remain.

Phonemic analyses of the varieties of Tipai spoken in Baja California are presently in progress, and a practical orthography is being devised in consultation with community members. Pending their completion, we have used the orthography of Miller (2001) and Meza Cuero and Meyer (2008).

## REFERENCES

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## Rabbit and Frog

It's an old story.  
It's old.  
It's old,  
it's old, I say.  
It's an old story I am telling you:  
Long ago,  
people,  
people were here,  
they were in this place.  
They were not people,  
they were animals.  
They were animals, but  
they were like people.  
They spoke the People's  
Language,  
they came,  
they came,  
and they went,  
they went all over the world,  
and they spoke the one  
People's Language.  
They were animals,  
all of them were animals,  
they were animals, but  
the People's Language—  
they were like people  
and they spoke the People's  
language.  
They were around and they  
spoke it.

Ke'nápa nyuuchs.  
Nyuuch yúsa.  
Nyuu,  
nyuu yus 'i mat.  
Ke'nápa nyuuch nyáasa:  
Matt 'ekur,  
tipay,  
tipay pi tenyewaay,  
matt pi tenyewaay.  
Tipay máwa,  
chillyich.  
Chillyích pas  
tipay llywícha.  
Tipay Aa chuwaay,  
  
peyi neyiw,  
peyi naa,  
matt cham naach,  
Tipay Aa shin chuwaay.  
Chillyich yu,  
  
cham chillyich,  
chillyich pas  
Tipay Aa—  
tipay llywii  
  
Tipay Aa chuwáaya.  
Chuwaay tenámta.

They were around,	Tenam,
they were around.	tenamta.
They were around.	Tenámteya.
There was a rabbit sitting there,	Lly'aaw shin tewa,
there was a rabbit.	lly'aaw shin.
He had a house,	Nyewa wich tewa,
Rabbit (did).	Lly'aaw.
He had a house.	Nyewa wich tewa.
There he was,	Tewachm,
and Frog passed by.	Xa'nya axkay wáasa.
He (Rabbit) had a house,	Nyewa wich wam,
and so he (Frog) passed by.	axkay waa.
He was passing by,	Axkaych waa tewaach,
scanning the distance.	um tewaa.
Rabbit sat in his house,	Lly'aaw nyewally wach,
that's all,	nyáama,
Rabbit, in his house, was warm.	Lly'aaw nyewally pin tewácha.
He sat inside,	Kewaay wa,
and he was warm.	pin tewa.
He sat there,	Tewa,
Frog went passing by,	Xa'nyach axkay waa,
Frog passed by,	Xa'nya axkay,
He hopped by,	xttupch axkáyech,
he hopped by—	xttupch axkáyech—
hop!	xttup!
hop!	xttup!
hop!—	xttup!—
he went hopping by.	xttupch axkaych waa.
He just peeked in the house	Nyáama nyewa llykully úmcha,
and took a look,	
he looked inside.	kewaaylly um.
Rabbit was in there,	Lly'aaw puully tewa,
and he sat down.	nak.
He was sitting there.	Nak tewa.

He was in there eating  
something.  
Not saying anything,  
he (Frog) passed by and went  
away.

On another day,  
another day,  
three days,  
two  
or three,  
(the days) passed,  
and he came back again.  
He (Frog) came passing by,  
and so,  
when he arrived,  
that's all,  
he reached his destination at  
(Rabbit's) house.

"Hello!  
How are you?"  
(he said as) he got there.  
"I'm fine.  
And you?"  
"I'm fine."  
As he was sitting there,  
Frog said,  
"Gee,  
It's very cold outside!"  
"It's cold?"  
Ooh,  
it's nice and warm in here."  
  
"Ooh,  
it's cold for me."

Kewaaylly nyewich saaw tewa.

Chewi maw,  
axkay waam.

Nya nye'míchi,  
nya nye'mich,  
nya xmuk,  
xewak  
xmuk,  
pekwillym,  
akwaych páaya másha.  
Axxkay weyiw wi,

nyapaach,  
nyaam,  
nyewa pam yu.

"'Áwka!  
Mamyu temwa?"  
pam.  
"'Ixxan ta'wa.  
Máacha?"  
"Nyaach 'ixan ta'wácha."

Nyatewach,  
Xa'nyach wi,  
"Ii,  
taar shukatt apsiíwsa!"  
"Shukáttaa?"  
Uu,  
peyally kewaaylly pinch 'ixan  
pi wa."  
"Uu,  
shukatt nyáapa."

He was just rubbing his hands,	Nyaam shally pesh—peshaally
he was rubbing his hands,	wi,
he was massaging his hands.	shally peshiilly wi,
“Gee, it’s very cold!”	shally penyaach wi.
“Oh?”	“Ii shukatt wáarta!”
Walk around and soon it will	“Óo?”
be all right.”	Mamp tempaam asuum
“Well,	‘ixánxa.”
it’s just so cold.	“Mo,
Maybe,	nyáama shukáttsa.
if I say a little something,	Yúxaa,
you will give me another	lye’pich nyich,
chance	chaan nye’mich
and I might come in the	nyewa xapx.”
house.”	
“No,” he said.	“Noo,” wi.
“You are someone from the	“Maach táar kuman,
outside,	
and you must stay outside,” he	taarm tempáachxwach,” wi.
said.	
“God made you	“Máayepxách nyaam mechaw
so that you would live there,	nyaam pu menyewayk,
so that you would be outside.	taar tempaak.
Not me;	Nyaach maw;
I am a rabbit,	nyaap lly’aaw,
and I must stay in my house.”	nyaap wa kewaaylly
	wáxwachesa.”
“All right,	“Bueno,
You’ll see me again soon.	asuu nyewiww másha.
I’m just going to go.”	Nyaam ’aamx.”
He just went hopping away—	Nyaam xttupch waam—
hop!	xttup!
hop!—	xttup!—

he went hopping away.  
In two or three days,  
he came back again.  
He (Frog) came back again.  
He came back.  
He peeked in and saw him.  
“Hello,  
brother!” he said.  
“How are you?”  
“I’m fine.  
How are you?”  
“Oh,  
it’s very cold for me.”  
“It’s cold?”  
“Yes,  
it’s cold.”  
“How can it be too cold for you?  
You are someone who comes  
from outside!  
You—it’s not in any way too  
cold for you!  
Someone who comes from  
outside,  
that’s you!”  
“For all that, it is very cold for  
me,” (Frog) said.  
“That’s all,  
my body is shivering,” he said.  
“It’s shivering—brrr!—  
it’s shivering,  
it’s shivering very much!”  
“He is lying;  
he is making his body shiver.  
He must be,” (Rabbit) said.

xttupch waam.  
Nya xewak xmuk,  
akwaych páaya másha.  
Akwaych páaya mash.  
Akway paacha.  
Llykullych wíiwa.  
“’Áwka,  
irmaan!” ísa.  
“Mamyu temwa?”  
“Nyaach ’ixan ta’wa.  
Maach mamyu temeyaw?”  
“Uu,  
nyaap shukatt apsiíwsa.”  
“Shukáttá?”  
“Xa,  
shukáttá.”  
“Mukm meshukatt?  
Maany t’aar kumánsa!  
Maany—mukm meshukatt  
mawch!  
T’aar kuman,  
máapa!”  
“Pu nyaap—nyáapa shukatt  
apsiiw,” i.  
“Nyaam,  
maat shukar,” ich.  
“Shukar—rrrr!—  
shukar,  
shukar wáarteya!”  
“Chunyatt;  
maat ashukárteya.  
Tuyáwes,” i.

“Okay,  
all right!  
He wants to come in for a little  
bit,” (Rabbit thought).

“No,” he said.  
“On a different day,  
not just now.”  
He (Frog) sat there—  
and then he just left,  
he just went hopping away.  
He went hopping away,  
he went away.  
As he was there,  
Rabbit sat there thinking.  
There he was,  
“He’s lying.  
Poor thing,  
it must be very cold for my  
brother,”  
(he said as) he was there.  
“Maybe if he were to come  
back another day,  
‘It’s all right,  
if you come in,’ I (would) say.  
‘It’s all right,’ I would say,  
‘if you come in,’” (Rabbit said  
as) he sat there.  
On another day he (Frog) came  
back again.  
He came back around and  
arrived.  
He just got there.  
“Hello, brother!”  
“Hello!

“Okay,  
xan!  
Nyim—lyepich xáplya.”

“Noo,” i.  
“Nya nye’míchi,  
nyaam maw.”  
Nyaam tewach tu—  
nyaam waam,  
nyaam xttupch waam.  
Xttupch waam,  
waam.  
Nyatewach,  
Lly’áaw paycha tewa.  
Tewa,  
“Tu’ii.  
Tipur,  
irmaan shukatt apsiiw,”  
páacha.  
“Yúxich nya nye’mich  
akwáyku,  
“Ixan,  
nyamxaply,’ íya.  
“Ixan,’ ikm,  
‘nyamxaply,’” tewa.  
Nya nye’mich akway páaya  
másha.  
Akway kakap páaya mash.  
Nyaam páma.  
“’Áwka, irmáana!”  
“’Áwka!

What's up?" he said.  
"Ooh,  
it's very cold, that's all.  
Outside the ground is very  
wet, that's all.  
Snow is falling too!  
Gee,  
it's just so bad!"  
"Come on in!  
Come in!"  
That's all,  
he just went hopping in,  
he hopped,  
he went in in in in in in.  
That's all,  
he sat there on the floor.  
He sat inside.  
He was sitting there.  
"What's up?"  
"Nothing.  
I'm fine,  
as for me,  
I'm nice and warm here."  
"Okay."  
He sat and sat,  
and soon,  
that's all,  
"Good,  
brother!  
I'll be back soon,"  
Rabbit said,  
"I'll be back soon."  
"Where are you going to go?"  
"Ah,

Chewi wip?" wi.  
"Uu,  
nyáama shukatt apsiíwsa.  
T'aar nyaam matt 'ixay  
apsiiwch wa.  
Chach nally wáya!  
Ii,  
nyaam wellyíchsa!"  
"Kum kxápeka!  
Kxápeka!"  
Nyáama,  
nyáama xapch waam,  
xttupch,  
xap xap xap xap xap xap.  
Nyaam,  
matt puully nak.  
Kewaaylly nak.  
Nak tewa.  
"Chewi m'ip?"  
"Uy i.  
'Ixaan pi wach,  
nyaa,  
'ixaan pin pi wa."  
"Oo."  
Tewa tewa,  
asuu,  
nyaam,  
"Bwéen,  
irmaan!  
Asuum akway paam,"  
Lly'áaw wich,  
"Asuum akway paa."  
"Mam maax?"  
"Aa,

I'll bring back food.	chesaw ayíwxa.
I'll bring back food," (he said).	Chesaw ayiwx."
That's all,	Nyáama,
Rabbit went out and left.	Lly'aaw chepach waam.
He was going to bring back food.	Chesaw ayíwxwich.
He went and looked for food.	Waa chesaw shemay.
He went on and on looking for food,	Chesaw shemay tapaa tapaach,
and soon, while they were there,	asuum nyatenámech,
when it was late he came back.	nyatnaym akway.
It was late and he came back;	Tenay akway paa;
"What's up?" he said,	"Chewi m'íp?" wi,
his brother said it.	irmaan wich.
"Nothing.	"Uy i,
I'm fine here," he said to him.	'ixan pi wáya," aach.
"Oh,	"Oo,
I'm fine here."	'ixan pi wa."
That's all,	Nyaam,
he gave him food.	chesaw winy.
He gave him food,	Chesaw winy,
and he just sat there eating.	nyaam saaw tewa.
Frog sat there eating.	Xa'nyápech saaw tewa.
"Ooh,	"Uu,
the food you brought is very good!	chesaw mechshaakch 'ixan apsíiwsa!
It's good, the food," he said to him.	'Ixan chsáwpech," aa.
They both sat there eating.	Nyáama xewak saw tenyeway.
There they were,	Tenyeway,
there they were.	tenyeway.
That's all,	Nyaam,
it was one day,	nya— nya shin tewa,

it seemed to be a different day,  
it was the second day,  
it was the second day,  
and that's all.

He just left again.

Rabbit left again.

He left again to look for food.

He went on walking,

it got late and he came back.

When he got back.

that's all.

Frog was sitting in there,

he was just sitting in there, big  
and puffed up.

He was sitting there,

and he (Rabbit) got there;

"Hello!"

"Hello!"

How are you?

Are you sick or something?"

"No," he said,

"I'm fine."

"Why are you so big?"

"Why am I big?"

Well,

every day you give me food,

and I just get full,

and I am just going to sit here  
getting fat.

Oh,

I'm fat!

Well,

yes,

I am getting fat."

nya nye'mich llywíia,

nya xewak,

nya xewak,

nyaam.

Nyaam waam másha.

Lly'aawch waam mash.

Chesaw shemych waam mash.

Waa tuyaw,

nyaam tenay akway paa.

Nya-akway pam,

nyaam.

Xa'nyach kewaaylly tewach,

nyaam kwatay kluu i takwa  
llywácha.

Tewachm,

pamch yu;

"'Áwka!"

"'Áwka!"

Mamyu temwa?

Mexnu mameyu?"

"Máw," wi.

"'Ixaan pi wa."

"Muchm mekwatay máarya?"

"Mu kwatay?"

Mo,

nya kech'uur chesaw nyeminy,

nyaam tuy,

nyaam shay pewáxech yu.

Oo,

shay!

Mo,

xa,

shay pewa."

That's all.  
 That's all,  
 that Frog, that fat one, just  
     kept getting big,  
 that's all,  
 he was the biggest!  
 "You're a big one!" (Rabbit  
     thought.)  
 Ah,  
 on another day,  
 he just left and looked for  
     food.  
 Another day,  
 it was just the third day.  
 On the third day,  
 that's all,  
 Frog really was at his biggest,  
  
 he was just at his most puffed  
     up,  
 and when Rabbit arrived,  
 "Hello,  
 brother!  
 How are you?  
 Your belly really is very big!"  
  
 "Oh?"  
 "It's very big,  
 I came in and it was big,  
 that's all."  
 "It's all right.  
 So what if it is very big?"  
 "If I am to fit in the house,  
 you must come out of the  
     house and go away!"

Nyaam.  
 Nyaam,  
 Xa'nyápech nyaam kwatápech  
     kwa'tay tewa,  
 nyáama,  
 kwa'tay xan!  
 "Maany mekwa'tay!"  
  
 Aax,  
 nya nyemíchi,  
 nyaam waam mash chesaw  
     shemay.  
 Nya nye'mich,  
 nyaam nya xemukly.  
 Nya nyaxemukly  
 nyáama,  
 Xa'nyáapech nyaam kwa'tay  
     xan,  
 nyaam kluu i xan,  
  
 Lly'aaw nyapaa,  
 "'Áwka,  
 irmaan!  
 Memyúaa?  
 Nyáama metuch kwatay  
     wáarsa!"  
 "Oo?"  
 "Kwatay wáara,  
 xápm kwatay,  
 nyáama."  
 "Bwéen,  
 kwa'tay nyawaar yu?"  
 "Wápelly perwiik,  
 wa meshpak káampekexa!"

“No,  
it’s my house.  
No,  
no,  
it’s my house.  
It’s my house, that’s why.  
That’s all,  
It’s just very good,  
my belly is very big,  
  
that’s all.”  
That’s all,  
um—  
“Okay.  
Okay,  
here you are,  
and I will go away.”  
He did it reluctantly,  
Rabbit went out and went away.  
Frog stayed inside,  
in the house.  
He was just sitting there,  
that’s all.  
Rabbit just went.  
Well,  
he went away looking for  
another house.  
Frog was there in that house,  
he (Rabbit) had left him  
behind in there,  
that’s all.  
That’s all, it will end here,  
that’s all,  
this thing that I’ve been  
telling.

“Noo,  
nyaap nyewápu.  
Noo,  
noo,  
nyaap nyewa.  
Nyaap nyewa peknaa.  
Nyaam,  
nyaam ’ixan apsiiw,  
nyaap—nyaap tuch kwa’tay  
apsiiw,  
nyáama.”  
Nyáama,  
*este*—  
“Okay.  
*Okay*,  
maach pi temwa,  
nyaach ’aamxa.”  
Nyáama skwii,  
Lly’aaw chpach waam.  
Xa’nyach puully pe’aam,  
wápully.  
Nyaam tewach,  
nyáama.  
Nyaam Lly’aawch waa.  
Mo,  
wa nye’mich shemay waam.  
  
Xa’nya puully wápelly tewa,  
nyillyanmak,  
  
nyáama.  
Nyaam pi awattx,  
nyaam,  
nyewii kenápech.



PART THREE

NADÍNE (APACHEAN)

LANGUAGE FAMILY



NAVAJO





## 7. A Family Struggles

Excerpt from the Washington Matthews

Version of the Navajo Mountain Chant

Introduced by Paul G. Zolbrod

In 1883–84 Washington Matthews published a book-length report for the Bureau of American Ethnology under the title *The Navajo Mountain Chant*. Arguably the first attempt at recording a Native American ceremony in printed form, it remains a landmark in Native American studies to this day, for it identifies the Navajo community as one with a viable cultural base as opposed to the long-established stereotype of tribal savages “with a lack of tradition . . . and no knowledge of their origin” that had by then come to mark our national identity (Letherman 1856:294).<sup>1</sup>

An army surgeon whose nonjudgmental curiosity prompted him to investigate traditional Navajo healing practices, Matthews served at Fort Wingate on the eastern edge of the Navajo Reservation from 1880 to 1884 and again from 1890 to 1894. Between those two duty tours he served with the Army Medical Museum in Washington DC, where he was able to consolidate his field data and write. During the first of his two stays he learned Navajo, and throughout the entire fourteen-year period he worked closely with medicine men and came to respect them as fellow practitioners (see Halpern 1997). At the same time, he recognized that in orchestrating elaborate ceremonies they were “invoking divine aid” within a religious framework far different yet equal in magnitude to that of his own Judeo-Christian legacy ([1897] 1994:56–59). Such open-minded objectivity, in fact, led him to realize that Navajo ceremonial practice combined healing with religion,

drama, entertainment, and most notably from the perspective of this volume, poetry and storytelling.

As I have written elsewhere in reference to Matthews's achievement (1979, 1998, 2004; see also Wyman 1983), a ceremony is an elaborately staged gathering either to avert or overcome an affliction that might strike an individual and in turn create disharmony throughout an entire group. Framed by a narrative that serves as a reference to the whole process—similar to the way the story of Christ's birth might provide the narrative framework for a midnight mass or candlelight service at Christmastime—it celebrates a storied event that contributes to the fabric of the Navajo mythic past. Generally the narrative accounts for the exploits of a hero or heroine whose self-inflicted misfortune is reversed by the intervention of deities in order to restore balance (see Spencer 1957, esp. 19–50).<sup>2</sup>

In his preface to the *Navajo Mountain Chant*, Matthews indicates an intention to describe a number of ceremonies, although he would go on to record just one other, the Night Chant. Yet he seems to hold this one in special regard among those he was familiar with, having “witnessed it most frequently” and calling it “the most interesting to the Caucasian spectator” ([1883–84] 1997:3). It has become well known because when held in the late fall it provides the occasion for a spectacular Fire Dance that attracts local non-Navajo onlookers as well as tourists from distant places. Yet while I cannot be sure, I am guessing that the story itself, with its universal appeal, may have attracted Matthews as well, given his apparently broad literary background, as I have tried to explain in an earlier article (Zolbrod 1998).

The overall plot concerns a Navajo youth from a foraging family who ignores his father's warning against hunting to the south of their family settlement, is consequently captured by a band of Utes, manages to escape with his life thanks to the intervention of the divine Holy People, struggles to return to his family, and integrates into a broader community following his harrowing ad-

venture, where he can share with others the ritual knowledge he has acquired.

It is a stirring tale in its own right, inviting comparison with legends, stories, and narrative poems prominent in our Western literary heritage, along with accounts of initiation rites from other tribal communities worldwide (see, e.g., Campbell 1996:92–103). At the same time it provides a rare glimpse of the Navajo worldview from a purely Native perspective in a setting where familiar yet sacred landmarks animate the action with immediacy not readily present in mainstream literary works. The story begins at the foot of the imposing Carrizo Mountains in the Four Corners region—or Dzil Náhoozilii, as the Navajos call them—and in plain sight of the towering desert landmark of Tsé Bit'a'i—or what is called Shiprock in English. There people today in nearby communities herd sheep, brand calves, conduct ceremonies, or do their routine shopping amid a landscape where their culture and their stories exist in an ongoing symbiosis. Thus it testifies to a still-overlooked contribution made by Navajo oral tradition, along with traditions of other tribes across the Southwest, to a more broadly inclusive pantheon of American literature than its standard historians have recognized. Moreover, it demonstrates that for the Southwest's indigenous peoples the narratives that have found their way into print show how natural features that distinguish the landscape are integrated into their respective societies. Or to put it more plainly, literature and everyday life remain unified by the natural environment.

For the most part Matthews tells this story well, even by the high standards he himself set in translating from a complex holo-phrastic Athabaskan language not easily given to replication in English. His prose captures the story's crisp pace with nuanced detail and conveys an emotional undertone that allows the reader to identify with the hero as he heeds the instructions of the Holy People in his flight and gains possession of his own destiny. Even so, Matthews treats it more as an appendage to his description

of the ceremony than as a story that can stand on its own. He packages it in long, dense paragraphs of formally constructed sentences that sometimes read more like ethnography than literature, which I believe it is.

Over a period of years of studying this text, I have grown familiar with the narrative in a broad cultural context by way of field research, casual contact with Navajos, and working with it in the classroom at the Navajo Nation's Diné College—all with an increasing belief in its potential to appeal to readers. Little by little and segment by segment in that regard, I have been reworking it in an effort to convert it to a well-crafted literary work rather than making a somewhat artless attempt to replicate in printed English a story initially recited orally and perhaps fragmentarily in conjunction with a ritual gathering.

I hasten nonetheless to praise the relative effectiveness of Matthews's translation. In general he paces individual sentences in clear, direct English; the overall tone of his prose registers an unobtrusive crispness. His descriptions are vivid and easy to picture, even for those unfamiliar with the story's unique setting where high desert terrain gives way suddenly to wild alpine country. I find it ironic, in fact, that the earliest of the narratives he rendered in English seems liveliest and most literary; apparently he had not yet subordinated his enthusiasm for the story itself to his predilection to transcribe subsequent narratives as data with a scientist's cool objectivity.

Even so, his translation of this myth lacks qualities that I have become conscious of while exploring the issue of converting oral narratives to written texts (see Zolbrod 1995). Its virtues notwithstanding, it retains a certain stiffness, accentuated by long, dense paragraphs inimical to the dynamics of the storytelling voice. While repetition registers in his distinguished translations of Navajo songs and chants, he fails to transmit its resonance in recording the more colloquial voice of someone reciting narrative. And for all its clarity, his written English lacks the persistent yet

understated rhythm of Navajo speech, present even when a native-speaking storyteller recites in English.

In thus altering Matthews's prose—sometimes only slightly and sometimes more radically—I have in mind the contours of a Navajo storyteller's voice, with its undertone of ceremonial chanting or spoken public discourse, whether in Navajo or English, especially at formal gatherings (see Zolbrod 1995:9–10, 43–44). While there are exceptions, Navajos tend to recite stories softly in a rhetorical style given to understatement and dry humor and in a slow cadence that assumes an unobtrusive but steady rhythm. A listener must be attentive to slight nuances of pitch and pause that match the undulations of a tonal language that may easily baffle a nonspeaker trying to master it. Thus, when the males and females in the family whose exploits are described in the accompanying passage disagree over where to build their shelter, a reader might overlook what very well could be intense disagreement. When the father orchestrates the procedure that will assure the success of his sons when they go hunting deer, he is issuing sacred instructions. Or when, in a later incident not included here, he admonishes his sons to avoid hunting south of where the family has established its temporary settlement, it is easy to mistake a severe admonishment for a matter-of-fact, casual bit of advice. Likewise, throughout the story interludes of humor punctuate the mounting intensity as it progresses once the eldest son disobeys his father's warning, senses his loneliness in finding that he has isolated himself from the rest of his family, is captured by his Ute tormentors, and must acquire the courage needed to escape from them and make his way to safety in a harrowing escape that includes being mocked by the deities who assist him. All of that adds to the power of the story and the suspense it builds for an attentive reader willing to take pains to become familiar with a Native setting.

What I wish to highlight here in reconstituting Matthews's prose, however, is the description of a family of hunter-gatherers

as the story opens, struggling to survive on small game where water is scarce in a very real landscape that those familiar with the Four Corners region will recognize.

A reader can glean something from following the routine hardship of day-to-day life in such an existence, whether the family is deciding between camping near water or where game can more easily be found, constructing and furnishing a temporary shelter, fashioning simple traps to catch small game, or preparing a simple meal of boiled rabbit and ground seeds. Such clearly articulated and apparently authentic glimpses of prehistoric life are rare indeed. Customarily, it is up to archaeologists who rely on material evidence to reconstruct a nomadic routine without verbalizing it on this level. Here, however, one gains an animated sense of movement and hardscrabble subsistence across a harsh landscape with simple, handmade tools within the framework of Navajo family dynamics—all quietly and evocatively understated. Thanks to the discursive power of language readers can identify with this modest family whose circumstances seem at the same time both exotic and very, very real.

What I wish to underscore as well is the way this portion of the story permits a virtual first-hand look at what Karl Luckert calls in his little noticed but important *Navajo Hunter Tradition*, “the oldest religion of mankind” (1975:3). Obscure in the seemingly offhand description of the father’s demonstration to his sons of how to hunt successfully is the shamanistic magic of identifying with the object of the hunt by assuming its shape. Likewise when he explains to them that by shooting an arrow into the mountain mahogany bush (*tsé ésdazii*) or the cliffrose bush (*awééts’áál*) they will in effect kill a buck and a doe respectively, inasmuch as those two plants account for the mythic origin of the male and female deer (Luckert 1975:29–30). Left unexplained is where the father has acquired that awareness—which very likely is part of a body of esoteric knowledge in the possession of and carefully guarded by a medicine man. But in imparting it to his sons, he is setting them

up for initiation into a society that extends beyond the nuclear family. In this narrative it is the eldest son in particular who undergoes the related ordeal once his hunting venture leads to his capture and eventual deliverance. Thus a story that begins by telling of an isolated family and ends at a tribal gathering—and one seemingly detached from a world familiar to today's readers—bears a deep resonance with the universal theme of a solitary individual's withdrawal and his triumphant return to benefit the larger community, whether as a living member or resurrected from the dead.

To be sure, as the narrative progresses the pace of the action picks up beyond this sequence, the tension builds, and the description of interaction between the protagonist and the Holy People intensifies. In that regard these opening passages may seem subdued as they articulate the family's day-to-day struggles. But because they account for the ordinary details of eating and sleeping, the reader can easily identify with their solitary routine, much the way the classic film *Nanook of the North* articulates cinematically the everyday struggles of an Eskimo family. The difference, however, is that while the film was staged thanks to the technology of moviemaking, this segment of the *Navajo Mountain Chant* narrative seems more authentic, given the evocative power of a storyteller's straightforward language. That is what I aim to re-create here in an attempt to demonstrate the finer nuances of what Matthews managed to recover by paying close attention to the ceremonial context of a great story, learning a difficult language well enough to listen attentively, and reassembling it in English, even if his prose did not quite manage to do it full justice as a literary work. As it progresses and is reenacted by the ceremony it introduces, the story grows in its fascination as an archetypal account of initiation that links an archaic hunter religion with a more advanced sacred awareness. At the same time this segment offers an archetypal fascination of its own because it foregrounds the activities of a nuclear family in its struggle to survive under the conditions of an elemental economic adversity.

## NOTES

1. I summarize Matthews's achievement in originally compiling the *Navajo Mountain Chant* text and discuss the narrative as literature in Zolbrod 1997. A modified version of that essay is Zolbrod 1998. I explore in greater detail the process and effects of converting Native American orality to written literature in Zolbrod (1984, 1992, 1995). By way of contrast, see Bahr, Paul, and Joseph (1997), especially chapter 1 (3–31). See also Tedlock (1982), Hymes (1981), and the various essays in Swann (1992). For a detailed inquiry into the history of committing Native American oral traditions to printed English, see Clements (1996).

2. Spencer (1957) provides an early list of Navajo ceremonial narratives along with synopses. While published nearly half a century prior to this commentary, hers remains the most comprehensive survey. More recent guides can be found in Wyman (1983) and Levy (1998).

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## A NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION

Although they introduce several unfamiliar sounds and form sound combinations difficult for newcomers to the language to articulate, Navajo consonants equate roughly with their English counterparts, except for two that are

rare or nonexistent in English—the voiceless *l* (ł), which sounds a little like *sh* as in *push* or like the double *l* in Welsh place-names; and the glottal stop (ʔ), which resembles the medial click-like sound in the English expression “uh-oh.” There are only four basic vowels—*a* as in *art*, *e* as in *met*, *i* as in *sit*, and *o* as in *note*. However, vowels may be short or long, and length is designated by doubling a letter. A given vowel can take on a high tone. Hence, the second part of the proper name *Dzilyi neeyání* includes a long vowel and a high-toned one. Vowels may also be nasalized, but I have chosen not to designate those in the Navajo terms reproduced here.



## A Family Struggles

(1)

Of a time long-ago these things are said.

It is said that in years long past, nearby *Dzilyi’hozhoni* in the *Car-rizo Mountains*, there lived a family of six, consisting of a father, a mother, their two sons, and their two daughters.

They were unable to dwell in one spot, however, but moved perforce from place to place, and place to place again, throughout the region, just to survive. For game was sparse, water scarce, roots and plants hard to find, and they had not yet learned to grow crops in those early times so as to dwell in one place.

The young men hunted rabbits and wood rats, for only such small game could they find. The girls, meanwhile, spent their time gathering what edible seeds and berries they could find, for only on such wild things did they obtain added nourishment.

Thus did this family manage barely to subsist.

(2)

And so they wandered and foraged, foraged and wandered, living as best they could while searching for a better life.

Until after a time they found themselves at a place called Tsé Bit'a'i or Shiprock as it is now called, which lay to the east of the Carrizo Mountains facing a wide plain farther to the east.

When at that place they first encamped they found no water. So the elder of the two brothers went out in search of some.

From where they camped, he noticed that vegetation seemed to be growing on a little sandy hill not far in the distance. So he made up his mind to see just what plants those were and whether they thrived on water. And once there he noticed a soft, moist spot. Whereupon he got out his digging stick and worked it into the wet patch until he had made a small hole.

Before long, water suddenly burst therefrom, flowing generously until it had filled the excavation he had dug. Upon seeing which, he hurried back to the family's camp to announce his discovery.

When the family had first left the Carrizo Mountains, their intention was to travel to north towards Dibé nitsaa, or Hesperus Peak, in what today are called the La Plata Mountains to hunt, so their stay at Tsé Bit'a'i was to be temporary. But now they found themselves with a supply of water nearby.

"Under the circumstances," the elder brother advised, "Let us not hasten on; let us remain here where the water never ceases to flow." Indeed, to this day, the spring he dug bears the name Tobinakis, or One Eyed Water.

(3)

Some distance separated the spring from the camp, and the family had only one wicker bottle. So to lighten her labor, the mother suggested that they move closer to the spring. For it was her task to fetch water.

The father, however, favored staying where they were, inasmuch as material for building their shelter was close by. For it was his duty to erect the hut.

For a long time they argued the issue, he insisting they stay put to make building a home easier, she demanding that they move to the spring so that water could be more easily had. At length it was the wife who prevailed, however, and they wound up carrying all their belongings close to the spring.

For his part, the elder son suggested that they dig into the soft, sandy soil in order to erect a good shelter. Thus the old man chose a sandy hill overgrown with greasewood and excavated it along one edge. And so as to have a wall on one side, he dug straight down into the side of the hill.

(4)

Among their possessions was a grooved stone axe. Around it they bent a pliable twig of oak, to which they lashed fibers of yucca to make a handle. And with this axe on the day following their discovery of the spring, the young men went out, chopped all day, and at night returned with four more poles of oak. The father, meanwhile, continued digging in the hillside. Thus they worked for four days until the lodge was finished. For four long days they labored endlessly.

For beds they fashioned mats of hay. A mat similarly fashioned they hung in the doorway. For blankets they fashioned additional mats of finely spun cedar bark, for these were the days before Navajos wove fine blankets such as they make nowadays. The soles of their moccasins they made of hay, while to make uppers they wove finely spun yucca fibers.

For four additional toilsome days thereafter the young men set out to hunt. Only with such an effort could they keep the household supplied with meat, limited to small game that they occasionally managed to catch in fall-traps. These they laboriously set at night adjacent to the burrows nearby their campsite. Or else if they set them far from home, they had to sleep close to the traps, ever alert to the sound of a single trap's cover as it fell, lest a captured prai-

rie dog or wood rat escape. Meanwhile, their sisters worked just as laboriously, scouring the surrounding countryside in search of edible seeds.

(5)

All that labor notwithstanding, they found it hard to subsist in this barren, unyielding place. Not even rats and prairie dogs lived there aplenty, which made game especially scarce. Few seed-bearing plants grew thereabouts. The sparse vegetation yielded few edible roots and scarcely any wild berries.

So as their fourth day there drew to a close, they held a counsel. "We would do better," the old man said, "to move on to the San Juan River, where food will be more plentiful."

"And," added the mother, "we can trap and gather seeds more successfully as we make our way than we do by staying here." Whereupon it was agreed. They would break camp the next morning and depart for the river.

Which indeed they did, journeying on until they reached the green valley of the San Juan. There in abundance grew amply seeded grasses along with groves of aromatic sumac, rich clusters of fleshy fruit, and easily spotted ripe berries. And there they encamped for the night on the river's south bank.

(6)

Next day they traveled upstream to a place called Tse'taak'áán, or Rock Ledge Slanting into Water, noted for its natural salt deposits. There again they spent one night, and before setting forth for another day's journey they cut slabs of salt for themselves. With these they filled bags made out of the skins of squirrels and other small animals they had managed to catch.

From that place they moved further up river to Tsé'deezá, or Protruding Rock as we would call it today, and thence to T'isyahoozhoni, which now bears the name Beautiful Under Cottonwoods. And there they spent yet another day.

In those early times the People had neither horses nor donkeys. Thus the family could not carry large metates with them when they traveled, as they were later to do. So they had to grind their seeds with whatever stones they managed to find, which made that task all the more demanding.

While there they managed to kill two rabbits, which they skinned and gutted, then crushed and ground between two stones, bones and all, in order that no meat be lost. That they then put into an earthen pot to boil, seasoned with a portion of powdered seeds to make a thick soup, which made for them a hearty meal.

In the morning the father advised the family that this was a likely place to cross the river. So he directed his sons down to the water's edge to search for a place to ford. And after a while they returned to announce that they had located a place where the stream was mostly knee deep, and where in the deepest place the water would not rise above their hips. So every family member should be able to cross there easily, they said.

Accordingly, the old man suggested that they cross the river the next day at the hour of *bihilts'oohigi*, when the earth begins to radiate warmth. By today's clocks we would specify that time as ten in the morning. And at the appointed time they easily made their way to the north bank. From there they traveled onward upstream until they reached a small tributary whose waters flowed down from the heights of Dibé nitsaa in what is now known as La Plata peak. And there they camped.

(7)

Next day they moved on toward the foothills, where they noticed that deer tracks marked the soil, along with those of other large animals. Here they made their next camp, and on the morrow the two youths set out in different directions to hunt, encouraged by the signs of large game they had seen. Even so, both young men returned empty-handed that evening. And for the next three days they set out again to hunt and again reported back with no success.

And during each of the four days his sons were away hunting, the father kept busy cutting down saplings with his stone ax to erect a dwelling. Luckily, trees grew amply close by; thus the old man was able to build a lodge quickly, so that by nightfall of the fourth day it was finished. Meanwhile, his daughters gathered seeds, which provided the only food the family had to eat.

At nightfall on the fourth day the two youths returned once again from their fruitless labors, weary and hungry, their bodies badly torn by thorns and underbrush that blocked their way in canyon thickets. The old man looked at them silently, seemingly deep in contemplation, while the other members of the family joined him in maintaining silence for quite some time.

Until at length he looked up and then spoke. "*Ahaláane' sha'alchiniii,*" he said, "My poor, woebegone children. Once again you have returned without food. What purpose is served when you go out each day to hunt but bring nothing home? Perhaps you kill nothing because you know nothing. With the proper knowledge, however, you would be successful. So instead of admonishing you, I pity you."

And upon hearing those words, the disheartened youths lay down and went to sleep, wondering if their hapless family would ever thrive.

(8)

"Get up, my sons," the old man bid the two youths at dawn the next morning. "Go out and greet the sun. Then build a sweat-house, and make a fire to heat stones for bathing.

"But build the structure exactly as I tell you. Use tender branches from four different trees. Use juniper for the east side. Use mountain mahogany on the south side. Use pinyon at the west side. And along the north side fasten cliffrose. Join them together at the top and cover them with whatever shrubs you choose.

"Find two small forked sticks of a forearm's length to carry the stones into the sweat house," he further instructed them. "And

find one stick long enough to pry the stones out of the fire. Make sure the bark of all three sticks has been rubbed smooth by a deer's antlers. Then gather plants on which deer most likely feed and spread them on the sweathouse floor where we will seat ourselves."

Accordingly, the brothers did as they were told. They erected a frame with boughs of juniper, mountain mahogany, pinyon, and cliffrose, anchoring them firmly in the earth and joining them securely at the top. They covered it tightly enough with shrubs to seal the heat that would build within. They found three sticks amply scraped clear of bark by browsing deer. They lined the structure with leaves and bushes favored by those animals.

When finished, they prepared wood for a fire, lit it, heated the stones, and carefully moved them into the lodge. While they did so, the old man brought out the mats on which they all had slept and hung them one atop the other over the doorway. That done, all three entered the sudatory and sat down to sweat, saying not a word among them.

After perspiring sufficiently, they left the lodge and sat outside to cool off, still saying nothing, until they were again ready to submit to the heat a second time, whereupon they went back inside. Again sweating themselves in total silence, then again going back outside, saying nothing whatsoever and cooling themselves once more. For a third time they reentered, perspired heavily, emerged to cool, and maintained total silence until ready to repeat for a fourth time what they had already thrice done.

Only to instruct his daughters to dig some soaproot and work it into a suds did the old man break the silence. And only to bid his sons wash their hair and lather their bodies well did he speak. Once satisfied that they were sufficiently clean, he then instructed the youths to go forth and set twelve stone fall-traps, which would keep them well occupied for the rest of the day.

Proceeding carefully, the two young men buried a flat stone for each trap, making sure to place its upper surface level with the surface of the ground. Upon that surface they sprinkled a little earth, so that the rat or squirrel would suspect nothing. Above that they placed another flat stone, leaning it at an angle and supporting it with a slender stick. And along that stick they baited a cluster of aromatic sumac berries.

Although tired from such a busy day of bathing and setting traps, the young men stayed up very late. During that interval they sat talking with their father. Not until midnight did they lie down. And in their doing so, he directed them to place themselves side by side with their heads to the east.

(9)

Come the next morning's earliest ribbon of light, the elder of the two youths awoke, stirred the previous night's embers, made a fire, and waited for the awakening of the younger, which occurred with the first bright glimmer of the newly risen sun.

As they sat warming themselves by the fire, the elder said this to the younger: "Younger brother," he said. "I had a dream last night. And in that dream I killed a buck deer!"

To which the younger brother said in reply: "I, too, had such a dream, elder brother," he replied. "But what I killed was a doe."

Hearing which as he awoke and rose, the old man had this to say: "It is good, my sons," he said. "Now you should go out and again try your hand at hunting large game. But before you do that, visit the traps you worked so hard yesterday to set. See what small game you have managed to catch." Which is what they did.

The upper stone of the first one they looked at had fallen, and when they lifted it, indeed they found the body of a rat. Similarly, the top stone of the second one had likewise fallen, and under it they found a ground squirrel. Likewise, when they lifted the upper

stone of the third trap, they saw there a prairie dog. And raising the top stone of the fourth trap, they found a small muskrat.

So it was with each successive trap they inspected. On each the upper stone had fallen, and from each they extracted some small animal. So that when they returned to the lodge they could present members of their waiting family with twelve little creatures for their food.

“Now, my sons,” proclaimed their father confidently. “Truly you are becoming hunters. Now you are ready to set forth and seek large game.”

(10)

Next morning the old man bid the brothers take their bows and arrows and set out in search of deer. “Hunt to the east,” he bid them, “and to the west; or hunt to the north, if you so choose. But do not hunt anywhere south of our lodge.”

So instructed, they each set out in a different direction. The elder brother had not traveled far to the east before he spied a herd of deer and managed to shoot one. After skinning and butchering it, he took the backbone, hide, and tallow; hung the rest in a tree; and returned to the lodge. As he drew near, he saw his younger brother approaching from the west, carrying the hide and meat of a doe.

Seeing them enter with their quarry, their father asked which of the two deer was shot first. “I think mine was,” answered the elder brother, “for I killed it early this morning soon after leaving here.”

“Very well, then,” replied the father. “This skin of the first slain is mine. Stretch it and dry it carefully for me.”

Following that day of initial success, the brothers went out hunting every day for twelve additional days, the elder to the east and the younger to the west. But their luck seems to have waned. They were unable to kill any more game, and by the end of the twelfth day the family had run out of meat.

Whereupon their father said, "Do not allow yourselves to become discouraged. Real success requires four attempts. Go out once more. But if you should kill a deer, do not skin it; instead leave it as it is."

(11)

On yet the next day they left the lodge and set out together on the same trail. Before long they spied a deer and killed it. Asked the younger brother then, "What shall we do with it, inasmuch as our father has bid us not to skin this deer but leave it as is?"

"I do not know," replied the elder. "Suppose you go back to the lodge and ask him what he wishes us to do." Whereupon the younger brother returned to his father, who gave him the following instructions.

"Make a clean cut around the deer's neck," he instructed, "then draw the skin carefully from its head, so that you are able to remove the horns, the ears, and all other parts of its head without tearing the skin anywhere else. Leave enough flesh with the nose and the lips so that they will not shrivel or lose their shape once they dry. Then remove the hide from the body, which again will be mine."

To which instructions he added the following. "From the body of the deer, one of you must remove the heart, the liver, the windpipe, and the lungs and place them together in the skin, which you will then carry to me. The other will bring the skin of the head and the meat. The one who bears the inner parts should come first and must not stop until he comes directly to me and hands it to no one else." Whereupon the younger brother returned to the elder one and repeated what he had been told.

Accordingly, they dressed the deer as instructed, the younger putting the heart, liver, windpipe, and lungs in the skin and setting out in advance; the elder following with the venison and with the skin of the head, its horns, its ears, its nose, and lips still intact.

“Where are inner parts?” asked the father when they reached the lodge.

To which the younger brother replied, “They are bundled in the skin.”

“Take the bundle out,” instructed the old man, “and fasten it on the mountain mahogany bush over there,” which the younger brother accordingly did. Whereupon the father advanced with his bow and arrow and handed them to the elder brother, who placed the arrow on the string and held the bow, the man then cupping his hands over those of his son so that they could draw the bow together.

(12)

Their father took careful aim at the bundle of inner parts and let the arrow fly. Hitting its mark, it penetrated through heart and lungs clear to the other side. Then the old man told his son to seize the arrow by the point and draw it all the way through, which the elder brother did. Next he bid the youth stand close to the bundle facing it, and while he stood thus the old man blew on him in the direction of the bundle.

“From now on,” he then said, “whenever you want to kill a buck, even if you can find neither tracks nor the sight of one, you need only shoot into a mountain mahogany bush. And there where your arrow strikes you will find a dead deer. Likewise, if you wish to kill a doe, shoot your arrow into a cliffrose bush and there you will find one of those. First, however, you must disguise yourself properly so that whether buck or doe, your quarry will consider you one of their kind and not take flight upon seeing you.”

Accordingly, under their father’s supervision the two sons prepared the skin of the buck’s head for that purpose. They inserted a wooden hoop into the neck to maintain its shape, sewed up the mouth, left the eyeholes open, and stuffed the aperture with hay. After placing holes in the neck so that the hunter wearing it might

see, they hung it in a tree where it would neither get smoky nor dusty. There it was left to dry.

The skin of the doe, which the younger brother had erstwhile killed and which had been properly tanned, they painted red and gray so that it resembled an antelope. They then prepared two short sticks the length of a forearm, which would enable the hunter to move easily while holding his head at the proper height as, cloaked in disguise, he drew near his quarry.

From the camp where all these things had happened, they now moved to Tsé' Ií'áhí, known as Chimney Rock in English or sometimes called White Standing Rock.

Now, thanks to the wisdom of their father, the brothers were ready to hunt for larger game, the better to provide for their family and henceforth less likely to struggle as they had been doing thus far, it is said.



## 8. John Watchman's “Ma’ii dóó Gólízhii”

Narrated by John Watchman

Translated by Harry Hoijer, Blackhorse  
Mitchell, Edward Sapir, John Watchman,  
and Anthony K. Webster

Introduced by Anthony K. Webster

In the summer of 1929 at Crystal, New Mexico, a community that sits in the shadow of the Chuska Mountains on the Navajo Nation, John Watchman told Edward Sapir the narrative that is the focus of this chapter. Watchman told Sapir a Coyote story as well as a number of other narratives (Sapir and Hoijer 1942; see also Dinwoodie 1999). These narratives were given slowly, so that Sapir could record the words by hand. The narrative that follows is a testament to the patience and skill of both Watchman and Sapir.

Traditionally, Coyote stories were told at night during the winter. They were told to delight and to educate. Watchman, for his part, told these stories outside their normal times. Today, Coyote stories are still told in the winter, but a number of Navajo stories are now used in teaching Navajo literacy as well. Ideally, the restrictions on Coyote stories are maintained. They continue to delight and educate.

In the introduction to *Navaho Texts*, Harry Hoijer, who edited the texts after Sapir’s death, refers to Watchman as a young man. Watchman also helped Sapir translate the Coyote story to follow. After Sapir’s death, Hoijer edited the interlinear translation, or

word and morpheme glossing, into a running translation. In 2006 I asked Blackhorse Mitchell to translate the Navajo text into English again. I then asked him a number of follow-up questions for clarification, and using a number of Navajo dictionaries as well as the various translations and my own lexical files, I assembled the translation presented here in consultation with Blackhorse Mitchell.

#### THE NARRATIVE

I titled the narrative "Ma'ii dóó Gólízhii" 'Coyote and Skunk', following the titling practices I have encountered with Navajo storytellers. The narrative has many versions narrated by others. A comparison of the ways that Watchman told this story with other narrators' tellings (Yellowman, Curly Tó Aheedlínii, The Late Little Smith's Son, Timothy Benally Sr., and Rex Lee Jim) reveals the individual artistry of Watchman's narrative.<sup>1</sup> The essential details of the plot are as follows: Coyote and Skunk come up with a plan to deceive the other animals (sometimes just prairie dogs, sometimes all the animals that "trot"). The plan revolves around Coyote pretending to be dead. Once the other animals are convinced of the truthfulness of Coyote's death, Skunk, whose name in Navajo is *gólízhii* 'the one who urinates', urinates in the eyes of the other animals, and Coyote jumps up and clubs all the animals to death. After they have done this, Coyote convinces Skunk to participate in a race. The winner gets the dead animals and the loser gets nothing. Skunk, knowing he is slower than Coyote, hides and lets Coyote run past him. Afterward, Skunk eats all the dead animals, which have been roasting in a pit. Coyote returns and pleads with Skunk for food, and Skunk gives Coyote scraps (bones).

Most of the versions of "Coyote and Skunk" begin with Coyote alone. This opening scene (scene 1 in the narrative below) represents a "lyrical" moment (Hymes 1998:ix) or a "providential world" (Hymes 1984:195; see also Hymes 1981; Hymes 2003). Such lyrical moments are common in other Native American tra-

ditions. Here the lyrical moment concerns a world of wish fulfillment. All seems right with the world. Coyote wishes aloud for a gentle rain, and a gentle rain begins to fall. Watchman develops this scene with very tight parallelism (or repetition with variation) and pairing.

- “My toes, I wish that water would come bubbling between!”  
 Just so, between his toes, it came bubbling up, they say.  
 “My belly, I wish water would come to that level!”  
 Just so, it reached the level of his belly.  
 “My back, I wish I could trot along with it at that level!” he  
 said, they say.  
 Just so, his back, it reached that level, they say.  
 “My ears, I wish only that they stuck out!” he said, they say.  
 Just so, his ears, only they stuck out, they say.

Each line begins here with Coyote mentioning a body part and then his desire. The Navajo version presents the parallelism even better.

- “Shikégizhdéé’ tó hada’nłxoshle’!”  
 T’áá’áko bik’egizhdéé’,hada’nłxosh, jiní.  
 “Shibid bíghahgo tó neel’áale’!”  
 T’áá’áko bibid tó bíneel’á, silíí’.  
 “Shiigháán t’éidasitáago yishdloshle’!” ní, jiní.  
 T’áá’áko bíighaáán t’éidasitá, jiní.  
 “Shijaa’ t’éeyá háát’i’le’!” ní, jiní.  
 T’áá’áko bijaa’ t’éeyá háát’i’, jiní.

Not only is there the repetition of the initial possessed body part (in Navajo, body parts need a possessive pronoun, here *shi-* ‘my’), but each pair is resolved through the use of *t’áá’áko*, which I translate as ‘just so.’ There is more. Watchman also ends each of Coyote’s “wishes” with the optative enclitic *-le’* ‘wish’ (enclitics are semi-bound morphemes that occur word final, optative means

that the enclitic indicates a wish). This is a form of grammatical parallelism, and it lends an internal coherence to this section as well. Finally, Watchman ends five of the lines with the quotative *jiní* 'they say'. This device is used at the end or near the end of thirty-eight lines (there are eighty-eight total lines) in the full story. It is one of the primary poetic structuring devices in this narrative. Note that it occurs nineteen times in the first twenty-four lines (scenes 1 and 2) and then occurs only nineteen more times in the next sixty-four lines. Its use at the beginning of narratives indicates that the narrative is outside the personal, firsthand knowledge of the narrator and places the narrative in the voice of tradition (this is what others have said).

With Coyote's arrival at the Prairie Dog Town, the lyrical moment ends. Coyote must now deceive in order to get what he wants (namely, food). Watchman spends very little time on the actual mechanics behind the deception that Coyote and Skunk engage in; rather, he moves to the "running and returning" motif. Here the various animals each run to see if Coyote is, in fact, dead, and seeing him "dead," they return exclaiming *t'áá'aaniíllá!* 'it is indeed true!' This is repeated verbatim five times (twice by Deer). To make sure that listeners understand the veracity of this statement, Watchman adds the emphatic enclitic *-lá* 'indeed'. It is also here, in scene 3, that Watchman displays a keen sense of humor. Both Curly Tó Aheedlíinii and Rex Lee Jim, in their versions of this narrative, have the animals sing once they are convinced that Coyote is "dead." Watchman instead allows Chipmunk to "skip" (*dahnahacha'*) on top of the "dead" Coyote. I find this to be a particularly well-crafted narrative moment.

And only then Chipmunk,  
 "What about you?  
 You also run over there!  
 It may really be true.  
 He is dead." It was said to him, they say.

And then he also ran over there.

Then, "It is true that Ma'ii is indeed dead!"

He got on top of his body and skipped around.

"ts'os, ts'os,

ts'os, ts'os," he said as he skipped around.

As Chipmunk skips around on Coyote's body, he makes the onomatopoeic *ts'os, ts'os, ts'os, ts'os*. This scene has been described to me as Chipmunk kissing the sky in delight. The form *ts'os, ts'os, ts'os, ts'os* is broken into two lines here based on the fact that such sound symbolism often occurs in reduplicated pairs (that is, an onomatopoeia is repeated twice). Here we have two pairs of reduplicated pairs. Such uses of sound symbolism add a certain amount of flavor to the narrative. One can picture Chipmunk kissing the sky as he skips on the "dead" body of Coyote. Imagine Coyote's restraint at this moment. Such narrative moments reveal something of Watchman's unique voice and style.

Later, in scene 4, Watchman uses another form a parallelism. This time Watchman has Coyote echo the words and actions of Skunk. This echo, I believe, is for rhetorical and expressive purposes (I suspect humor). When Skunk returns to the roasting pit to eat the animals that Coyote has killed Watchman gives the listener this:

He poked into the pit.

Then he moved a little Prairie Dog out.

"This will not keep me from eating the good meat," he said  
as he tossed it aside.

And then he took all of them out.

!!! He ate them all by himself.

When Coyote returns, Watchman echoes but varies the preceding scene. The variation is crucial for rhetorical effect because Watchman sets up the scene in a similar manner but the listeners know that the scene will not end the same way that it ended for Skunk.

He poked into the pit.  
Then he moved a little Prairie Dog out.  
"This will not keep me from eating the good meat," he said  
as he tossed it aside.  
Then nothing, they say.

It is the brevity of the final line, *ńt'ée' ádin, jini* 'then nothing, they say', that provides the rhetorical counterpoint to the earlier scene with Skunk.

There is one final image that, I think, needs to be mentioned. Once he realizes that Skunk is above him, Coyote pleads for food. Watchman adds an interesting descriptive detail.

And so he dropped a bone from above.  
"My companion?!?!"  
Please give me the food back!" he said as he stood under  
him,  
his blue eyes looking up.  
He spoke in vain for he dropped only bones for him from  
above, they say.

*Dego bináá' dahdoot'izh* 'upward his eyes they appear blue'? What are we to make of Coyote's blue eyes? Biological coyotes have amber or yellow eyes. But Ma'ii here has blue eyes. There seem to be two plausible explanations for Coyote's blue eyes, neither of which excludes the other. First, Blackhorse Mitchell noted that one reason Coyote might have blue eyes is that this story took place before Coyote lost his original blue eyes and had to replace them with yellow pine pitch. Watchman did not tell Sapir the story concerning Coyote losing his eyes. It seems likely, however, that he was aware of the story. On the other hand, it should not come as a surprise that white people are often spoken of by Navajos as having "blue eyes." Indeed, while it is obvious that many white people, or *bilagáana*, do not have blue eyes, Navajos often stereotype white people as having blue eyes. More than once my blue eyes were commented upon by Navajo friends as being stereotypically white.

It seems that Watchman is connecting Coyote, who is begging for food, with white people. Let me also note, however, that Blueeyes is a common Navajo name as well. None of the other narratives, told by Curly Tó Aheedlíinii, The Late Little Smith's Son, or Yellowman, includes this detail. It does seem here, however, that the trickster Coyote becomes a white man, for a moment. The blue eyes of Coyote are a part of Watchman's individual creativity. The use of "blue eyes," then, points to another Coyote story and Coyote's ultimate loss of his blue eyes but also to a potential association of blue eyes with white people. We are left to ponder its implications.

#### NAVAJO ETHNOPOETICS

Dell Hymes (1981, 1998, 2003) has shown that Native American narratives that were dictated to a previous generation of linguists and anthropologists are better represented as a series of lines than as block prose. I have followed Hymes's lead and segmented this narrative into lines, verses, stanzas, and scenes. In doing this, I hope to have highlighted something of Watchman's underlying poetic structuring. Ethnopoetics attempts to reveal something of individual voice and style.

Lines have been segmented based on the use of the quotative *jini*, parallelism (thus, if two utterances are identical, I take that as an indication that each is a line), the use of initial particles (*nit'éé'* 'then', *áádóó* 'and then', *áadi* 'and', etc.), as well as form and content alignment. Larger narrative units are principally determined by form and content alignment.<sup>2</sup> Scenes have been indicated by Roman numerals (there are four scenes). Stanzas are indicated by a space between lines. Verses are indicated by indentation.

There is a great deal of repetition and parallelism in this narrative. Such parallelism seems to create meaningful pairs of action and response. The providential world of the opening scene is one example. By providential world, I mean that a narrator creates a world that sustains or provides for the needs of a character. Here,

Coyote desires water, and water is provided for him. Such providential worlds can be found in other Native American narrative traditions as well (see Hymes 2003:203–27). This is another example of the use of parallelism by Watchman:

He went there.

Then, "It is indeed true!" he said as he came running back. And then Jack Rabbit also started running toward that Ma'ii.

Then, "It is indeed true!" he said as he also came running back.

And then Turkey also ran there.

Then, "It is indeed true!" he said as he also came running back.

Watchman uses the initial particle *'áádóó* 'and then' to introduce both Jack Rabbit (Gahtso) and Turkey (Tązhii) and alternates that use with *ńt'ée'* 'then' when they return having been convinced (*-lá*) that Coyote was dead. Watchman also uses the semeliterative prefix *náá-* 'again, also' (a prefix that indicates repetition) on the verb of running for both Jack Rabbit and Turkey but not on the verb of running for Deer.

Watchman uses a number of Navajo ethnopoetic devices that are particular to the Navajo language. For example, he opens the narrative with the formulaic opening *'alk'idáá'* *Ma'ii joldlosh, jini* 'long ago Coyote was trotting along, they say'. This formulaic opening clearly indicates that what is to follow is one of Coyote's numerous adventures. *'Alk'idáá'* 'long ago' suggests that the world Coyote inhabits will be slightly different from the current world. It is, as one Navajo told me, a "necessary" part of the story. It also places this narrative squarely within the voice of tradition. Navajos sometimes call this genre of narratives *Ma'ii joldloshí hane* 'stories of the trotting Coyote'. This opening connects with the genre name. Watchman also closes the narrative with the formulaic closing *t'áá'ákódí* 'that's all'. In such ways, Watchman places his narrative within the received expectations of Navajo narrative genres.

## THE TRANSLATION

I have not translated Ma'ii as 'Coyote' in the following narrative. Here is why: first, in Navajo, words that begin with /m/ are relatively uncommon. Thus, Ma'ii stands out in Navajo as a slightly different word (much the way words that begin with /z/ in English seem to stand out). Second, this is a Navajo narrative and not some "pan-Coyote" narrative. Retaining the Navajo name for Coyote seems warranted, then. I have also not translated the sound symbolic form *ts'os*, *ts'os*, *ts'os*, *ts'os*. I have retained the Navajo form because I do not believe that such sound symbolic forms are easily translated across languages.<sup>3</sup> The form is meant to simulate a sound, which is difficult, if not impossible, to capture across languages. Finally, the *ts'os* resonates with Chipmunk's Navajo name, Hazéists'ósii. Such resonances, I believe, add to the expressiveness of the scene. I have capitalized all character names in both the English and Navajo versions.

Translation always involves exuberances and deficiencies (Becker 1995). That is, all translations put things into one language that were not in the original language, and they leave out things found in the original language that are not found in the other language. All translations are incomplete. The following translation is no different. In doing this translation, I have been guided by the original translation made by Watchman with Sapir, as well as Hoiijer's notes on the translation, and I have especially benefited from a translation that Blackhorse Mitchell did and the conversations we have had about that translation. During the summer of 2007 I lived in the Navajo Nation, and in the evenings Mitchell and I would discuss the translations that he had been doing. I would tape-record those discussions and take notes. I would also ask him questions for clarification. Those discussions and discussions with other Navajos about the language have greatly influenced my translation here. It was through such discussions that my sense of the importance of *shít'naa'aash* came about (see below).

I have consistently translated *jini* as 'they say'. I have translated each individual initial particle consistently throughout the narrative. For example, *ńt'ée'* is always 'then'. By translating these initial particles consistently, I hope to suggest something of their prevalence throughout the narrative as well as something of their discourse functions. Where forms in Navajo are identical, I have translated them into English identically. In doing so, I hope to highlight some of the ways that Watchman creatively echoes various portions of his narrative for rhetorical and expressive purposes.

Sapir and Watchman translated *t'éeγá* as both 'alone' and 'only'. On the other hand, *índa* was also translated as 'only'. In the decisive scene where Coyote kills all the trotting animals, Deer escapes. Early in the stanza, Coyote takes *índa* 'only' when he jumps up. When Deer escapes, however, Deer takes *t'éeγá*, which I translate as 'alone'. I again translate *t'éeγá* as 'alone' when Watchman describes Skunk and Coyote as "buddies." Sapir and Watchman had translated *t'éeγá* as 'only'. However, I think the consistency of translation here reveals the resonance across lines, providing commentary, I think, on the magnitude of killing.

Alone Deer ran off.

All the small animals, all of them, were killed.

Alone Skunk and Ma'ii were buddies, they say.

*Hááhgóshíí* is a metanarrative exhortation; that is, it is used at crucial moments in the narrative to call attention to the narrative moment. Watchman uses it twice in this narrative. The first time he uses it as the response that the trotting animals give when Skunk pees into their eyes. The second time Watchman uses it when he describes Skunk eating all the animals by himself. Following Barre Toelken and Tacheeni Scott (1981) I translate this form as '!!!'.<sup>4</sup>

*Gólízhii* is translated into English as 'Skunk'. This is unfortunate, but translating the form as 'the one who whizzes' seems too

distracting. Part of the play in this narrative has to do with Skunk doing the very thing his name describes. This, like the resonance between Chipmunk's name and the sound symbolism, is a deficiency in the translation.

*N'dózhoh* is translated as 'gentle rain'. Watchman and Sapir translated the form as 'sprinkle'. I follow Mitchell's suggestion by using 'gentle rain'. Given the lyrical quality of the opening scene, I think 'gentle rain' better captures its feeling.

*Shitnaa'aash* is often translated as 'my cousin', but in discussing this with Mitchell, he suggested 'my companion'. I follow his suggestion. Coyote and Skunk are often companions in Navajo Coyote stories. It is a term of endearment, but it seems too often to be used in dubious circumstances. Coyote calls Skunk *shitnaa'aash* when he wishes to enlist Skunk in his con and then later when he is begging for Skunk to throw him some food. *Shitnaa'aash* is, according to Mitchell, an example of an "old word" that is often associated with Coyote narratives and specifically with Coyote and his frequent companions (Skunk, Porcupine, and Beaver). I have been tempted to not translate *shitnaa'aash*, but the importance of recognizing the possessive 'my' *shi-* has weighed in favor of a translation as 'my companion'.

*Dahnahacha'* is translated as 'skipped'. Other possibilities included 'danced' and 'hopped'. There is a sense of *dahnahacha'* as 'hopping about like a child'. It was that sense that I wished to capture in the choice of 'skipped'. The image of Chipmunk skipping on what he believed to be the dead body of Coyote and kissing the sky captures the playfulness behind *dahnahacha'*, I think.

At times I have attempted to retain something of the Navajo word order (predominately Subject-Object-Verb) to highlight the use of parallel constructions. The lyrical moment in scene 1 is one example of this, where I have kept the body part at the beginning of each line along with its possessor, to match the parallel structure in the Navajo version.

Watchman had a tendency to place a noun after the quotative

*jiní*. For example, we find "Shiłnaa'aash," *yitní, jiní, Gólízhii* "My Companion," he said to him, they say, Skunk'. The Navajo language tends to be a verb final language, but here we see the noun following the verb and the quotative (which is composed of the fourth person pronominal *ji-* 'one' and the verb of speaking *-ní* 'to say'). In each case in which Watchman places a noun after the verb and quotative, it is the name of a character in the narrative. In Navajo, nouns are optional in any sentence. Actors can be disambiguated through paralinguistic features (Coyote often speaks with a nasal voice) or through the alternation of third- and fourth-person pronominals. I think the forms act as a parenthetical that disambiguates who is speaking to whom. Each time it occurs, I place the character's name in parenthesis and move it to the place it would occupy before the quotative. The above example becomes, "My companion," he said to him (Skunk), they say.

#### A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

In preparing this narrative, I have retranscribed the Navajo forms to more closely align with the current orthography used by the Navajo Nation. I have retained some of Hoijer and Sapir's orthographic conventions. For example, I keep their /hw/ for a labialized (lips) /h/. Vowels in Navajo have a similar quality to vowels in English, with these exceptions: vowels with a "nasal hook" (ą, ę, ĭ, ǫ) are produced in a similar manner as the vowel in English *man*, where the vowel is pronounced through the nose. Accented vowels (á, é, í, ó) are pronounced at a higher pitch. When a vowel is "doubled" (aa, ee, ii, oo) it is a long vowel. Long vowels are pronounced for a longer period of time than non-long vowels. An accent mark on the first vowel of a long vowel (áa) indicates a falling tone. An accent mark on the second vowel of a long vowel (aá) indicates a rising tone. Navajo consonants in general are more aspirated than their English counterparts. For example, Navajo

/g/ is closer to English /k/, and Navajo /k/ is more aspirated than English /k/. Navajo has a voiceless *l* that is presented as /t/. This sound is similar to the *l* sound some English speakers make when they say *please*.<sup>7</sup> /ń/ is a syllabic nasal, similar to the *n* in *kiln*. That is, it takes stress. Navajo has a set of glottalized stops as well: /t'/, /k'/, /ts'/, /tʃ'/, and /ch'/. Such forms are produced by holding the air in the mouth for a moment longer than English speakers normally do and then releasing the air in a burst. Finally, Navajo has a glottal stop /'. This is the catch in the throat when English speakers say *uh-oh*. In Navajo it is phonemic (that is, it changes the meaning of a word with its presence or absence). All words that appear to begin with a vowel actually begin with a glottal stop. By convention, and for the sake of dictionaries, the glottal stop is often deleted here and understood. Its presence is realized only in combination (e.g., when a prefix is added). I have retained the glottal stop vowel initial as a reminder of its presence. In my experience, Navajo cadence is slower than English and pauses tend to be longer in Navajo than in English.

## NOTES

1. See Toelken and Scott 1981; Haile 1984; Hill and Hill 1945; Benally 1994; and Jim 2004.

2. I take these issues up in more detail in Webster 2008. In that piece I analyze Watchman's narrative "Coyote and Horned Toad."

3. See Zolbrod 2004 on the poetics of Chipmunk's name. Zolbrod cites Pearl Sunrise as glossing *hazéits'ósii* as 'little chatterbox'. I think some of the humor of this scene comes from Chipmunk's chattering sound of *ts'os*, *ts'os*, *ts'os*, *ts'os*.

4. I discuss Navajo ethnopoetic devices, such as the use of metanarrative exhortations, in more detail in Webster 2009. There is a burgeoning sub-genre of Navajo written poetry concerning Coyote as well. See Webster 2004.

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## John Watchman's "Ma'ii dóó Gólízhii"

I

Long ago, Ma'ii was trotting along, they say.

It got very hot for him, they say.

"Let there be clouds!" he said, they say.

There were clouds, they say.

"A gentle rain!" he said, they say.

There was a gentle rain, they say.

"My toes, I wish that water would come bubbling between!"

Just so, between his toes, it came bubbling up, they say.

"My belly, I wish water would come to that level!"

Just so, it reached the level of his belly.

"My back, I wish I could trot along with it at that level!" he said, they say.

Just so, his back, it reached that level, they say.

"My ears, I wish only that they stuck out!" he said, they say.

Just so, his ears, only they stuck out, they say.

"Let me flow in the current!" he said, they say.

Just so, he flowed with it, they say.

"To the Prairie Dog Town, let it flow me there!" he said, they say.

Just so, he flowed to the Prairie Dog Town, they say.

II

Then, Skunk was running along with a pot, they say.

That Ma'ii lay down, they say.

"My companion," he said to him (Skunk), they say.

"The hated-one is indeed dead,' say that," he said to him (Skunk), they say.

And then he put dead grass in his ears and his eyes.

"He has indeed become maggoty,' say that."

III

After this had been said, he started to leave.

He arrived.

Then Rabbit, Chipmunk, Prairie Dog, Deer, Turkey, Bird, and all those that trot.

"That Ma'ii is indeed dead,' it has been said everywhere.

What about it? Go there!" it was said to him (Deer).

He went there.

Then, "It is indeed true!" he said as he came running back.

And then Jack Rabbit also started running towards that Ma'ii.

Then, "It is indeed true!" he said as he also came running back.

And then Turkey also ran there.

Then, "It is indeed true!" he said as he also came running back.

And then Deer again started running there, they say.

He again looked at that Ma'ii.

"It is indeed true!" he said as he also came running back.

And then, "How about you?"

You also run over!" It was said (to Prairie Dog), they say.

And then he also ran over there.

"It is indeed true!" he also said, they say.

And only then Chipmunk,

"What about you?"

You also run over there!

It may really be true.

He is dead," It was said to him, they say.

And then he also ran over there.

Then, "It is true that Ma'ii is indeed dead!"

He got on top of his body and skipped around.

"ts'os, ts'os,

ts'os, ts'os," he said as he skipped around.

And then they all went over there.

And they all danced around, "Ma'ii is dead!" they were saying.

Then, Skunk, "Look up while you are dancing!" he said, they say.

And then perhaps, they all looked up as they danced, they say.

And then perhaps, Skunk whizzed up into the air.

His whiz got into everyone's eyes, they say.

"!!!" Everyone cried as they lay about rubbing their eyes, they say.

And it seems only then that Ma'ii jumped up.

He picked up a stick.

And then he started clubbing everyone.

All of them he killed.

Alone Deer ran off.

All the small animals, all of them, were killed.

Alone Skunk and Ma'ii were buddies, they say.

#### IV

And then they built a fire, they say.

They roasted all his kills by burying them in the ground.

Then, "My companion, let us have a race.

Whoever runs back first will eat all the roasted kills," he said to him (Skunk), they say.

Then, "I can't run fast

So I'll run ahead while you wait."

"We'll race around the distant mountain," he said, they say.  
And then, "You start ahead of me," (Ma'ii) said, they say.

That Skunk took a head start.

Then, nearby, he crawled in a hole, they say.

He covered himself with bark.

Peeking through it, he lay there, they say.

Then that Ma'ii through there,

His tongue hanging out,

Came running, they say.

He ran passed him.

When he was out of sight, he crawled out.

He returned to the pit.

He ran back.

He picked up a stick.

He poked into the pit.

Then he moved a little Prairie Dog out.

"This will not keep me from eating the good meat," he said as  
he tossed it aside.

And then he took all of them out.

!!! He ate them all by himself.

He put back for him only that little Prairie Dog, they say.

He made everything like it had been, spreading the ashes over it,  
they say.

He climbed up into a tree still eating.

Then that Ma'ii came running back.

He lay down in a shady place.

His tongue was hanging out.

While laying there he rubbed moist dirt on his chest.

"That companion of mine, I wonder whereabouts he is running,"  
he said as he lay there.

"Now, perhaps, it is cooked," he said as he picked up a stick.

He poked into the pit.

Then he moved a little Prairie Dog out.

“This will not keep me from eating the good meat,” he said as he tossed it aside.

Then nothing, they say.

And so he dropped a bone from above.

“My companion?!?”

Please give me the food back!” he said as he stood under him,

his blues eyes looking up.

He spoke in vain for he dropped only bones for him from above, they say.

That’s all.

I

‘Ałk’idáą’ Ma’ii jooldlosh, jiní.

Hweehoniigaigo, jiní.

“K’os hóle!” ní, jiní.

K’os beehazlǫ́, jiní.

“N’dózhoł!” ní, jiní.

Been’deezhoł, jiní.

“Shikégizhdéé’ tó hada’nłxoshle’!”

T’áá’áko bik’egizhdéé’, hada’nłxosh, jiní.

“Shibid bíighahgo tó neel’áąle’!”

T’áá’áko bibid tó bíneel’á, silǫ́.

“Shiigháán t’éidasitáągo yishdloshle’!” ní, jiní.

T’áá’áko bíighaáán t’éidasitá, jiní.

“Shijaa’ t’éeyá háát’i’le’!” ní, jiní.

T’áá’áko bijaa’ t’éeyá háát’i’, jiní.

“Shiłdó’eeł!” ní, jiní.

T’áá’áko biłdeez’éeł, jiní.

“Dlǫ́’ótahjǫ́ shiłch’óó’eeł!” ní, jiní.

T’áá’áko dlǫ́’ótahjǫ́ biłch’íní’éeł, jiní.

II

Ńt'ée' Gólízhii 'ásaa' yiylghoł, jiní.

Ma'iyyeę neeztí, jiní.

"Shiłnaa'aash," yiłní, jiní, Gólízhii.

“,Doildinéę daaztsááłá,' didínił,” yiłní, jiní, Gólízhii.

'Áádóó t'ohs'ózi bijeeghi'go 'índa binák'eegóó hadei'dééłbijid.

“Baada'ashch'oshlá,' didínił.”

III

Hodooñ'iidii, dahnázhdiidzá.

Ńdzídzá.

Ńt'ée' Gah, Hazéists'ósii, Dlóó', Bįh, Tązhii, Tsidii, 'áádóó t'áá'altso na'aldlooshgi.

“Ma'iyyeę daaztsááłá,' dahodooñiid.

Háá'ishą'!

'Ákóó dílgheed!” ho'dooñiid bįh.

'Ákóó jílwod.

Ńt'ée', “t'áá'aaniłá!” jinío nįjílwod.

'Áádóó Gahtso dahnáázhdiilghod Ma'yęę bich'į'.

Ńt'ée', “t'áá'aaniłá!” jinío nńáájilghod.

'Áádóó Tązhii 'ákóó náájilghod.

Ńt'ée', “t'áá'aaniłá!” nóo nńáánálwod.

'Áádóó Bįh 'ákóó dahnáádiilwod, jiní.

Ma'iyyeę náánéeinééł'į'.

“T'áá'aaniłá!” nío nńáánálwod.

'Áádóó, “nishą'?

náádilgeed!” ho'doon'iid, jiní, Dlóó'.

'Áádóó 'ákóó náájilwod.

“T'áá'aaniłá!” náádini, jiní.

'Áadi 'índa Hazéists'ósii,

“Nishą'?

‘Ákóó náádílgheed!

T’áadaats’í ‘aaní.

Daaztsá,” ho’doon’iid, jiní.

‘Áádóó ‘ákóó náájílghod.

Nt’ée’, “t’áá’aaníl ma’iiyéę daaztsá!á!”

Yikáá’ haasghodii’ dahnahacha’.

“ts’os, ts’os,

ts’os, ts’os,” nóo dahnahacha’.

‘Áádóó t’áá’ájíłtsó ‘ákóó jíkaí.

‘Áadi bínda’jilzhíish, “Ma’ii daaztsá!” dajinío.

Nt’ée’ Gólízhii, “dego dasídóó’íí’go da’oołzhish!” ní, jiní.

‘Áádóóshíí dego dazdéez’íí’go da’jilzhish, jiní.

‘Áádóóshíí Gólízhii dego yanáalizh.

Nanáak’eegóne’ bilizhée’ ‘aheesdááz, jiní.

“Hááhgóóshíí!” dajichago hanáá’ bíłndziz’á, jiní.

‘Áádishíí ‘índa Ma’yéę ndiilgod.

Tsin néediitá.

‘Áádóó hatah nki’diilxaal.

‘Áłtsó nahastseed.

Bíh t’éeyá dahdiilwod.

‘Ádadzıłts’íisíyéę, t’áá’ájíłtsó, naho’diztseed.

Gólízhii t’éeyá Ma’ii yił’ıłts’oóní, jiní.

#### IV

‘Áádóó diidíıłjéé’, jiní.

‘Áłtsó néistseedéę łeehiyínil.

Nt’ée’, “Shiłnaa’aash, ‘ałghadidiit’ash.

T’áá’átsé náłghodígíí t’áá’áłtsó yidooghíıł,” yiłní, jiní, Gólízhii.

Nt’ée’, “doodinshjáada

Nba’yishghołdo.”

"Nléi dził binaago 'ahééhidi'níilchéél," ní, jiní.  
'Áádóó, "shiba'yílt'éeł," ní, jiní, Ma'ii.

Gólízhiiyéę dahdiilt'á.

Nt'ée', t'áá'aghídígí, 'ą'ą́na', jiní.

'Ahásht'óóz 'ádiideenil.

Binákáádéé' ndét'ijhgo, sití, jiní.

Nt"eé' Ma'iiyéę kodéé',

Bitsoo' hahíikaadgo,

Yilghoł, jiní.

Hwíighahgóó dahdiilwod.

'Ajoolghodgo, kodi hanáána'.

Łee'azniléęgó.

Nálghod.

Tsin néediitá.

Łe'íishiizh.

Nt'ée' dló'oyázhí hayí'ishiizh.

"Bąądoó'oshghańi," níigo 'iiyíłxan.

'Áádóó 'altsq hááyoonil.

Hááhgóóshjí t'áásahí, 'oolghal.

Dló'oyázhíyéę t'éiyá hánnéiníłtí, jiní.

T'áá'át'éhéęgi 'it'áo, łeshch'i yik'éeyiidziid, jiní.

Tsin yąąhaasna' atsí' t'áayiyáo.

Nt'ée' Ma'iiyéę nálwod.

Hayaagóó, chaha'oh, neeztí.

Bitsoo' hahyíikaad.

Łeezh ditléé' bijéi yíijihgo, sití.

"Shiłnaa'aashéę, dashą' háádéé' njoolgoł," níigo sití.

"K'ad, daats'í, da'díizhěi," níigo tsin néediitá.

Łe'íishiizh.

Nt'ée' dló'oyázhí hayí'ishiizh.

"Bąądoó'oshghańi," níigo 'iiyíłxan.

Nt'ée' 'ádin, jiní.

‘Áko ts’in bik’iji’ adajííft’e’.

“Shiłnaa’aash shíí!

T’áashoqdí shaná’níłtsóod!” níigo hayaadéé’ sizí,  
dego bináá’ dahdoot’izh.

Ch’ée’h’áháłníigo ts’intéiyá bich’i’ ‘idajiznil, jini.

T’áá’ákodí.

CHIRICAHUA APACHE





## 9. Samuel E. Kenoi's Portraits of White Men

Narrated by Samuel E. Kenoi

Translated by Anthony K. Webster

Introduced by Anthony K. Webster

Let me begin with an understatement. Native Americans have had a long and complicated history with “white people.” While mainstream American society has created any number of stereotypes about Native Americans through popular media and the like (see Deloria 1998; Meek 2006), Native Americans have not been passive here, merely the object of the Western “gaze.” Native Americans have also long been evaluating the behaviors of white people and providing commentary on such behaviors. Keith Basso’s impressive ethnography *Portraits of “The Whiteman”* is an account of how Western Apaches talk about and joke about white people (Basso 1979). In this chapter I present two narratives by Samuel E. Kenoi, a Chiricahua Apache, told to Harry Hoijer, an Anglo anthropological linguist, in 1930 on the Mescalero Reservation (south-central New Mexico), which provide images of white people (specifically, white men), or *Indaa* (see Hoijer 1938). The images, I should add, are humorous but not terribly complimentary. I consider Kenoi’s narratives to be examples of indigenous social commentary and critique.

We know a bit about the narrator Sam Kenoi (as he was known). He was one of anthropologist Morris Opler’s primary consultants for his monumental memory ethnography of the Chirica-

hua Apache, *An Apache Life-Way* (Opler 1941). He also provided an autobiographical account to Opler (Opler 1938). Kenoi, according to his own recollection, was born in the mid-1870s. This was a time prior to the forced removal of the Chiricahua Apaches from the southwest in 1886. In 1886, after the surrender of Geronimo, the Chiricahuas, including those who had helped the U.S. government, were forcibly relocated to Fort Marion, Florida. Kenoi tells of soldiers terrorizing the Chiricahua Apaches on the train cars they rode as they were relocated to Florida. The U.S. government treated all Chiricahuas, including the young Kenoi, as prisoners of war for the next twenty-seven years. Kenoi attended the infamous Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. In 1893 the Chiricahua Apaches were relocated to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and in 1913 the U.S. government offered to resettle them on the Mescalero Apache Reservation. Otherwise, they would remain in Oklahoma and receive allotments. Kenoi was among the two-thirds of the Chiricahuas who chose to resettle on the Mescalero Reservation.

Kenoi was politically active on the Mescalero Reservation, writing letters complaining about reservation conditions and, more importantly, writing letters concerning the compensation of Chiricahua Apaches for being falsely imprisoned by the U.S. government (see Lieder and Page 1997:69–75). His views on white people were based on a long and complicated set of life experiences. That he chose to sit down with both Opler and Hoijer, to share with them something of his language and his culture, speaks a great deal about Kenoi. Kenoi was not naïve about white people and their attitudes and behaviors. Perhaps he felt that working with these two *Indaa* would aid his efforts at getting monetary compensation for the Chiricahua Apaches' time as prisoners of war?

#### THE NARRATIVES

Both narratives are from recognizable genres among the Chiricahua Apaches. Coyote stories are well-known among the Chiri-

cahua Apaches. Coyote is a trickster figure. *Tsilkizhéne bigundide* 'Foolish People Stories', were also a well-known genre of narratives among the Chiricahua Apaches. The Foolish People were a group of Apaches who were always doing the opposite of what they should be doing. For example, in one story a grasshopper lands on the forehead of a Foolish Person, and he asks a companion to shoot the grasshopper. Naturally, his companion, also a Foolish Person, shoots the grasshopper and kills both the grasshopper and his friend. Both Foolish People stories and Coyote stories offered Chiricahua Apaches opportunities to comment on their changing circumstances. Other examples of these narratives, and Coyote and Foolish People stories more generally, can be found in English-only versions in Opler's *Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians* (1942).

The Coyote story here is more than likely a motif borrowed from Spanish American tradition (see Opler 1942). Yet it has been creatively reimagined into Chiricahua Apache verbal tradition. The plot can be summarized as follows: Coyote cons two White Men into buying a tree that they believe will produce money, or *béesu*. *Béesu* is one of a very small set of words in Chiricahua Apache that have been borrowed. This word was borrowed from Spanish *peso*. Once the White Men realize they have been conned, they search for Coyote. Not being able to tell the difference among Coyotes, they are once again fooled by Coyote. I have changed the title from "Coyote and the Money Tree" to "Coyote and the White Men" to highlight the protagonists in this narrative. Sam Kenoi told Hoijer seven other Coyote stories, and this is the only story in which Coyote wins.

This is also the only Coyote story that Kenoi tells in which Coyote acts in a socially appropriate manner. Coyote gives away the things that the White Men traded him. He shares. Much of this narrative is also in the form of dialogue. Kenoi presents Coyote as verbally adroit. Again, speaking well was and is highly valued among Chiricahua Apaches. The White Men, in contrast, are

greedy and react angrily. Their behavior is neither restrained nor controlled. Again, restrained and controlled behavior is valued among Chiricahua Apaches. The White Men, then, are a model of what not to do.

There is something in Kenoi's verbal artistry that suggests his attitude toward the White Men. In Chiricahua Apache there are four person markers. The fourth person in Chiricahua is used for people who are socially remote. For example, when Coyote speaks to the White Men, Kenoi uses the fourth-person dual *gu-*.

Nágu Ma'yéń 'águłndiná'a:  
 "Au, ditsjí hishxá."

Then that Coyote spoke thus to them, they say:  
 "Yes, I'll shake the tree."

Kenoi uses the fourth-person pronoun repeatedly in this narrative for the White Men. There is another way to disambiguate third persons in Chiricahua Apache. In Chiricahua Apache narratives there is a tendency for overt nouns to be relatively infrequent. Actors are disambiguated through paralinguistic features and through the alternation of pronominal prefixes (in Chiricahua Apache, pronouns are attached to the verb). In Chiricahua Apache there are two third-person pronominal prefixes, *yi-* and *bi-*; both can be glossed as 'he, she, it' (Chiricahua Apache does not code gender on its pronouns like English does). The alternation between *yi-* and *bi-* has to do with the importance of a character within the narrative. If the narrative is about Coyote or the Foolish People, then they are more important or topical and take the *bi-* prefix. The less important characters—like the White Men—take the *yi-* prefix (see Webster 2006).

Here are two lines from Kenoi's "The Foolish People and the White Men." In the first line we can tell the object of the verb is the Foolish People because Kenoi uses *bi-*. In the second line we can tell the object of the verb is the White Men because Kenoi uses *yi-*.

In Chiricahua Apache third-person subjects do not take a prefix but are understood. (DIST= Distributive; 3O = third-person object; PP = postposition).

daabiiḥndiná'a

daa-	bi-	-ḥ-	-ndi	-ná'a
DIST	3O	PP	to say	they say

They (Foolish People) said to them (Foolish People), they say.

daayiiḥndiná'a

dayi-	-ḥ-	-ndi	-ná'a
DIST	3O	PP	to say they say

They (Foolish People) said to them (White Men), they say.

What we should take away from this is that Kenoi had options about how he was going to reference White Men. In “Coyote and the White Men” Kenoi uses the fourth-person prefix to indicate that these White Men are socially distant.

Kenoi's “The Foolish People and the White Men” begins with the White Men approaching a camp of Foolish People. The Foolish People shoot at the White Men, perhaps to scare them away. Of course, they quickly realize that bothering them will only make the matter worse. It does. The White Men move among them and begin stabbing the Foolish People with swords. We know this because Kenoi uses a form of the verb stem *-zhiish* ‘to stab with a pointed object’. The Foolish People respond by shouting, “*Shighúúyé!*” ‘My maternal siblings!’ The Foolish People attempt to calm the White Men by addressing them as relatives. The Chiricahua Apaches were, traditionally, matrilineal (that is, married couples tended to live with the wife's family), and children could expect a fair amount of help and aid from their mother's siblings. The Foolish People's gambit does not work, of course, and the White Men continue to kill the Foolish People. Finally, the Foolish People realize the situation is hopeless and flee.

In Chiricahua Apache there are a set of enclitics (semi-bound

morphemes) that can attach to the noun. These enclitics specify that a noun has been mentioned before. There are two relative enclitics that Kenoi uses with some frequency, *-ń* and *-í*. They have the general meaning of ‘aforementioned’, and I often gloss it as ‘that Coyote’ or ‘those White Men’. There is a subtle semantic distinction here. *-ń* is used for persons and *-í* is used for actions, things, or collectivities. In “Coyote and the White Men,” Kenoi uses *-ń* for both Coyote and the White Men. In “The Foolish People and the White Men,” he uses *-í* for the White Men. One explanation for this is that since it is a group of White Men the enclitic for collectivities is used instead of the one for persons. Another possibility is that the White Men, who appear as unstoppable killing machines, are not considered by Kenoi to be people but rather things.

In both Kenoi’s portraits of the White Men, the White Men appear socially aberrant. In “Coyote and the White Men” they are greedy and easily angered and thus become easy dupes for Coyote. They appear indifferent to distinctions among Coyotes, treating them all alike. Indeed, they exhibit characteristics normally associated with Coyote. Coyote, on the other hand, behaves in a socially responsible manner. It should also be noted that while Coyote is often called a trickster, his tricks very rarely work out well for him. This is the only Coyote story that Kenoi tells in which Coyote comes out ahead. It is at the expense of the White Men. In Kenoi’s “The Foolish People and the White Men,” the White Men are presented as inarticulate (they utter no words in the narrative), disrespectful of kinship obligations (they ignore the overt plea from the Foolish People), easily angered, and unstoppable killing machines.

Perhaps Kenoi is reminding the listener that the Chiricahua Apaches had fought a long, bloody, and ultimately failed campaign to hold their homeland against white men who were easily angered, unstoppable killing machines, unable to distinguish among Chiricahua Apaches, and greedy. In any case, Kenoi presents the White

Men as easy dupes of Coyote because of their greed (no small task) and as unstoppable killers.

#### CHIRICAHUA APACHE ETHNOPOETICS

Chiricahua Apache narrators typically organized narratives into a series of lines by the interweaving of initial particles and the use of a narrative enclitic. Rather than present these narratives as block prose, I have separated them into lines and larger groupings. The presentation of these narratives is meant to highlight something of the poetic structuring of the stories by Sam Kenoi. This ethno-poetic methodology was first developed by Dell Hymes (1981, 2003).<sup>1</sup> An ethno-poetic analysis pays tribute to Kenoi's unique voice and style.

Beyond the line, these narratives have been further divided into scenes, stanzas, and verses. Scenes have been organized based on form and content covariation. When there is a shift in location, for example, a scene is often indicated by the use of the initial particle *nágu* 'then'. Scenes are indicated by Roman numerals. Stanzas are also based on form and content alignment. When Coyote acts, his actions take a stanza. When there is a shift in character there is a shift in stanza. Kenoi also signals these by his use of *nágu* or by overtly mentioning the character being switched to. Stanzas are indicated by spaces between lines. Here is an example of the interplay between *nágu* and overt character mentioning:

'Indaań ábiińdiná'a:

"Naanaahiińdii," biińdiná'a.

Nágu 'áńdiná'a:

"Duuda, dá'ayáńá'í lí," yiińdiná'a.

Nágu 'Indaań 'ábiińdiná'a:

"'Áíídí'í ń'í da'ńk'eh daadahundééńgu

'Ásh'í d'í'í xéé'ń b'ńnuudzuh'í d'í'ńk'eh nanndí'ńgu

‘Aaí ditsiní nahaadén’aa,” gulgundiná’a.

“’Íyąąada ditsjí nghá;

Béésu naaniidá hálí,” gulgundiná’a.

Nágu Ma’yeń ‘águłndiná’a:

“’Au, ditsjí hishxá.”

The White Men spoke thus, they say:

“We will buy it from you,” they said to him, they say.

Then he spoke thus, they say:

“No, it is very valuable,” he said to them, they say.

Then the White Men spoke thus, they say:

“We will give you both these horses with their burdens and all of these pack animals that we are driving if you will give us that tree,” they said to him, they say.

“But shake the tree;

let’s see if money falls,” they said to him, they say.

Then that Coyote spoke thus to them, they say:

“Yes, I’ll shake the tree.”

What indicates that the second stanza above is a turn by Coyote is the use of *nágu*. For Kenoi, *nágu* signals shifts in actors, actions, time, and location. These are either scene or stanza divisions.

Verses are organized by the interaction of form and content as well. Verses are indicated by indentation. Subordinate verses are often indicated by Kenoi by the use of ‘*ákuu* ‘and so’. This initial particle acts as a resultative particle (that is, what happens is a result of the proceeding action).

Then that Coyote spoke thus to them, they say:

“When I have driven across the big mountain that lies at that place over there, then shake the tree.

And so pick up the money that has fallen off,” he said to them, they say.

And so he began to drive away from there, they say.

He drove it over there as he had said, they say.

With the con complete, Coyote is free to drive the pack animals away from the White Men. 'Ákuu thus compliments the first verse in the stanza.

The narrative enclitic *-ná'a* 'they say' occurs thirteen times in "The Foolish People and the White Men" and forty-one times in "Coyote and the White Men." The enclitic is attached to the final verb of each sentence and clause outside of quoted speech. Chiricahua Apache has a verb final word order, and thus the enclitic is the rightmost line boundary. The narrative enclitic serves three primary poetic and rhetorical purposes. First, due to its use at the end of sentences and clauses, it aids in structuring this narrative into a series of lines. Second, the narrative enclitic is used in genres such as Coyote stories and Foolish People stories and acts as a genre signature. Third, it also places these narratives within the voice of tradition. These narratives are not the firsthand experience of the narrator; rather, they are connected to the words of others.

Kenoi also uses the Apachean quotative couplet. Here is an example from each of the stories presented here:

'Indaań 'ábiĩndiná'a:

"'Iyáabąą dákudeshí síndá?" biiĩndiná'a.

The White Men spoke thus, they say:

"Why are you sitting in this lonely place?" they said to him,  
they say.

Nágu hí' 'ándiná'a:

"Juundéí, 'íładaadahká!  
Duugudúú'uuda!" daabiiĩndiná'a.

Then some thus said, they say:

"Friends, flee!  
Nothing will stop them!" they said to them, they say.

Kenoi uses a verb of speaking (*-ndi* ‘to say’) before and after the quoted speech. The verb form before the quoted speech has the prefix *‘á-* ‘thus’, while the verb of speaking after the quote lacks the prefix. Both verbs also take the narrative enclitic. This quotative couplet frames or surrounds the quote. It is a very common way that Kenoi introduced quoted speech in his narratives, and it can be found in the narratives of other Apache narrators as well.

Kenoi introduces “Coyote and the White Men” with the formulaic opening of *Mai ‘ítin hulghułná’a* ‘Coyote was going along a road, they say’. Kenoi uses the progressive aspect for the verb to move *-ghuł* (*-ing* in English often marks the progressive aspect). The progressive aspect suggests incompleteness and ongoing action. We can understand the opening of this narrative as suggesting that Coyote has always been and will always be going along a road. Such an opening frame sets the stage for the kind of narrative to follow (much the way “Once upon a time” sets the stage for the kind of narrative to follow in English, though Coyote stories are not fairy tales).

#### THE TRANSLATION

Translations are always approximations (see Becker 1995). One tries to find a term in one language that is close—but never exact—to a term in another language. There are always things in one language that cannot be transferred into another language and connections in one language that were not there in the other language. Translations always put too much in and leave too much out. As such, translations are always incomplete and subject to revision, rethinking, and reimagining. In this translation I have been guided by the linguistic work of Hoijer. It appears likely that Kenoi helped Hoijer with the translations.

I have translated initial particles consistently. *Nágu* is always ‘then’ and *‘ákuu* is always ‘and so’. I have translated the narrative enclitic as ‘they say’ every time it appears in the narrative. In doing

this, I hope to highlight their recurrences throughout these narratives. They are the principal organizing devices. When forms in Chiricahua Apache are identical, I have endeavored to translate them into English identically. Here I hope to show something of the parallelism (repetition with variation) that Kenoi employs in his narrative. Kenoi repeats the phrase *'ítinshí ditsj'úú'ái bitláshí* 'the tree which is standing there by the side of the road' twice, and he repeats *ditsj'úú'ái* 'tree that is standing there' three other times as well in "Coyote and the White Men." Such repetitions create coherence throughout the narrative. I have also capitalized character names for ease of reference in both the Chiricahua Apache and English versions. I will leave it to the reader to track the actors when they are not overtly mentioned.

*Shighúúyé* is translated here as 'my maternal siblings'. This is a noun with a possessive pronominal prefix, *shi-* 'my'. In Chiricahua Apache certain nouns (kinship terms and body part terms, for example) require a constant possessor (that is, they cannot appear without a possessive prefix). Hoijer translates the form as "my cousins." In Chiricahua Apache, *-ghúúyé* could be used for one's mother's sisters and brothers and for one's mother's sister's daughter's children and for one's mother's brother's daughter's children. My translation hints at the maternal aspect of the kinship term.

*'Indaa* is consistently translated as "White Men" here. I follow the translation of Hoijer. Nothing in the Chiricahua Apache form suggests that these are men, but based on the contexts of these narratives, I believe a male gender can be inferred. Therefore, since Chiricahua Apache does not code for gender on its pronominal system, I have translated third-person pronouns as masculine. Here again I follow Hoijer's conventions. There are other words for white people in Chiricahua Apache, including *dáadatt'ijénde* 'blue-eyed people'.

A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY  
AND PRONUNCIATION

In preparing this narrative I have retranscribed the Chiricahua Apache forms to more closely align with the current orthography used in the *Mescalero Apache Dictionary* (Breuninger et al. 1982).<sup>2</sup> Vowels in Chiricahua have a similar quality to vowels in English, with these exceptions: vowels with a “nasal hook” (ǣ, ɛ̃, ɪ̃) are produced in a similar manner as the vowel in English *man*, where the vowel is pronounced through the nose. Accented vowels (á, é, í, ú) are pronounced at a higher pitch. When a vowel is “doubled” (aa, ee, ii, uu) it is a long vowel. Long vowels are pronounced for a longer period of time than non-long vowels. An accent mark on the first vowel of a long vowel (áa) indicates a falling tone. An accent mark on the second vowel of a long vowel (aá) indicates a rising tone. Chiricahua Apache has a voiceless *l* that is presented as /ɬ/. This sound is similar to the *l* sound some English speakers make when they say *please*. /ń/ is a syllabic nasal, similar to the *n* in *kiln*. That is, it takes stress. Chiricahua Apache has a set of glottalized stops as well: /tʰ/, /kʰ/, /tsʰ/, /tʃʰ/, and /chʰ/. Such forms are produced by holding the air in the mouth for a moment longer than English speakers normally do and then releasing the air in a burst. Finally, Chiricahua Apache has a glottal stop, /ʔ/. This is the catch in the throat when English speakers say *uh-oh*. In Chiricahua it is phonemic (that is, it changes the meaning of a word with its presence or absence). All words that appear to begin with a vowel actually begin with a glottal stop. By convention, and for the sake of dictionaries, the glottal stop is often deleted here and understood. Its presence is only realized in combination (e.g., when a prefix is added). I have retained the glottal stop vowel initial as a reminder of its presence.

NOTES

1. On Chiricahua Apache ethnopoetics, see Webster 1999. I discuss this narrative from a different perspective in Webster 1998.
2. For a useful overview of Chiricahua Apache linguistic structure, see Hoijer 1946.

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## Samuel E. Kenoi's Portraits of White Men

### *The Foolish People and the White Men*

Their camp, they say.

Many White Men moved in a group toward them, they say.

They shot at them, they say.

And so thus they said to each other, they say:

“Don’t bother them.

And so it will be worse,” they said to each other, they say.

Then White Men moved among them, they say.

They slashed them with swords, they say.

They went between those White Men.

“My maternal siblings!

What have they done to you that you would stab them!”

they said to them, they say.

And so they were being killed, they say.

Then some thus said, they say:

“Friends, flee!

Nothing will stop them!” they said to them, they say.  
And so some of them fled, they say.

Biguutaná’a.

Łágu ‘Indaa baajínzhuuzhná’a.

Daabúúłt’úná’a.

‘Ákuu ‘ádaa’iłdihndiná’a:

“Duudaadaał’jida.

‘Ákuu dánúúghu’úundíł,” daa’iłdihndiná’a.

Nágu ‘Indaa bitañjéná’a.

Bighádaada’ishiishná’a.

‘Indaaí nádaayútąnáná’a.

“Shighúúyé!

Danjil’jigu gugháda’ishiish!” daayiiłndiná’a.  
‘Ákuu bee’nlťseená’a.

Nágu łi’ ‘ándiná’a:

“Juundéi, ‘iładaadahká!

Duugudúú’uuda!” daabiiłndiná’a.

‘Ákuu łi’ ‘iładadaadeeskaná’a.

### *Coyote and the White Men*

I

Coyote was going along a road, they say.

He sat down under a tree that was standing on the side of the road, they say.

There he sat for awhile, they say.

Then he put several pieces of money up in that tree that was standing there, they say.

Then two White Men came along the road driving a burden,  
they say.

There he sat, under that tree that was standing there on the side  
of the road, they say.

They drove the burden to him, they say.

The White Men spoke thus, they say:

“Why are you sitting in this lonely place?” they said to him,  
they say.

“No,” he said, they say.

“I sit protecting this tree that stands here,” he said, they say.

“Money grows on this tree.

For that reason it is valuable to me,” he said, so they say.

The White Men spoke thus, they say:

“We will buy it from you,” they said to him, they say.

Then he spoke thus, they say:

“No, it is very valuable,” he said to them, they say.

Then the White Men spoke thus, they say:

“We will give you both these horses with their burdens  
and all of these pack animals that we are driving if you  
will give us that tree,” they said to him, they say.

“But shake the tree;

let’s see if money falls,” they said to him, they say.

Then that Coyote spoke thus to them, they say:

“Yes, I’ll shake the tree.”

Right then he shook the tree, they say.

Some of the money that he had put in the tree fell down,  
they say.

Then they gave him all of the things they had been traveling  
with, they say.

Then that Coyote spoke thus to them, they say:

“When I have driven across the big mountain that lies at that place over there, then shake the tree.

And so pick up the money that has fallen off,” he said to them, they say.

And so he began to drive away from there, they say.

He drove it over there as he had said, they say.

||

Then the White Men got up, they say.

They shook the tree for a long time, they say.

Nothing fell from it, they say.

In a sorry state, they stood about under the tree that was standing there, they say.

They became angry, they say.

They started to go after him, they say.

And so he had long ago driven far away, they say.

He had driven to a camp of many Coyotes, they say.

He had distributed all of it among them, they say.

And so those White Men were coming to that place, they say.

The Coyote who had done those things to them met them first, they say.

They asked him, they say:

“You haven’t seen someone over here who was driving a pack?” they said to him, they say.

That Coyote spoke thus to them, they say:

“I was walking over there recently but saw no one.

Which people went?” he said to them, they say.

I

Mai 'íntin hułghułná'a.

'Íntinshí ditsj'úú'ái bitláshj neesdána'a.

'Aashj sidágu a'ááłná'a.

Nágu ditsj'úú'ái béésu yaadahyeesndilná'a.

Nágu 'íntinshí 'Indaa naaki xééł yił'inayułná'a.

'Aashj, 'íntinshí ditsj'úú'ái bitláshj, sidána'a.

Xééł baabił'inényuuná'a.

'Indaañ 'ábiłndiná'a:

"'Iyáabąą dákudeshj síndá?" biłndiná'a.

"Duuda," ndiná'a.

"'Ádíi ditsj'úú'ái baasída," ndiná'a.

"Díi ditsj beésu baanánt'j.

'Áıbąą, shıłnzhú," ndiná'a.

'Indaañ ábiłndiná'a:

"Naanaahiiłndii," biłndiná'a.

Nágu 'ándiná'a:

"Duuda, dá'ayáłái ilí," yiłndiná'a.

Nágu 'Indaañ 'ábiłndiná'a:

"'Áíidíi hji da'łk'eh daadahundééłgu

'Áshj díi xééłi biłnuudzuhí díik'eh nanndíiłgu

'Aai ditsiní nahaadén'aa," gulgundiná'a.

"'Íyąąda ditsjı nghá;

Béésu naaniidá hálí," gułgundiná'a.

Nágu Ma'yeñ 'águułndiná'a:

"'Au, ditsjı hishxá."

Dákugu ditsjı yuughána'a.

Béésu hiká dahyeesndilní k' naaneesdaaná'a.

Nágu beeja'ashní díík'eh baajínndilná'a.

Nágu Ma'yeń 'águuńdiná'a:

"'Ághaí ghashí dziłntsaai si'á'íyeyí bitis i'núúyuugu, 'áneeda ditsíj haxá.

'Ákuu béesuí naaneesdaagu náhałá," guuńdiná'a.

'Ákuu áneeda guch'á'indeeyuuná'a.

'Águłjindiní bitis i'jinúúyuuná'a.

||

Nágu 'Indaanń nádiit" aázhná'a.

Ditisíj yighágu yaanaa'aashná'a.

Duuyáanuut'jįdaná'a.

Juujibááyegu, ditsí'úú'ái bitláhee naajiyee'aashná'a.

Gułgúútúúná'a.

Bike'shdiyeest'áázhná'a.

'Ákuu iłk'dą nza'yá i'núúyuuná'a.

Ma'yeí łagu biguuta ná'tee inéńyuuná'a.

Díík'eh gutaadaisndiiná'a.

'Ákuu án indaanń ghashí ga'aashná'a.

'Áń Ma'ye águł'inn iltsé gudáhághuná'a.

Hishdiłkiná'a:

"'Ijšhí łá'n xéel hił'inayułń duuxaaúú'įda?"

Ma'yeń 'águuńdiná'a:

"'Aashí ándeedegu husháał ndah duuyáhush'įda.

Xaadeń naadaaguka?" guuńdiná'a.



WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE





## 10. Ndah Ch'ii'n

Narrated by Paul Ethelbah

Commentary by Genevieve Ethelbah

Introduced by M. Eleanor Nevins

“Ndah Ch'ii'n” is a story about a man who gambles with a dangerous being named Ndah Ch'ii'n and becomes indebted to him. The man, who is never named, journeys to Ndah Ch'ii'n's home in the underworld to work off his debt. Ndah Ch'ii'n then sets him a series of seemingly impossible tasks, which the man completes successfully, but only with the help of Ndah Ch'ii'n's youngest daughter. This is also the story of the man's marriage to Ndah Ch'ii'n's daughter, their escape from the underworld, and the difficulty she encounters trying to live with him in his world. While the story ends tragically, much of it is nonetheless designed to be funny. The unnamed protagonist is no buffoon but is foolish in ways that most people are foolish at times. If he has a distinguishing characteristic, it is his persistence, which often helps him successfully overcome hindrances but also lands him in predicaments he cannot master on his own. He requires help from someone more powerful than himself. And because this comes in the unlikely form of a girl, Ndah Ch'ii'n's youngest daughter, the situation is ripe for humor.

### STORYTELLER AND STORY

This story was told by Paul Ethelbah, a respected White Mountain Apache storyteller and respected *diyíń*. *Diyíń* is sometimes trans-

lated as ‘holy man’ and is used to refer to someone who has undertaken special training in the songs, narratives, and rituals of one or more Traditionalist ceremonies. Mr. Ethelbah was seventy-two years old when he told this story and was still in great demand, performing a range of ceremonies on the Fort Apache Reservation and surrounding Apache reservations. He told the story of Ndah Ch’ii’n at his kitchen table in the winter of 1998 to a group composed of his wife, Genevieve Ethelbah, and two anthropologists: Eleanor Nevins and Tom Nevins. As he did with other stories he recorded with us (see Nevins et al. 2004), Paul Ethelbah expressed a keen interest in the translation, transcription, and publication of this story. And as with other recordings we generated together, Genevieve Ethelbah played an active role as commentator and translator. Tom Nevins and I made up a willing and appreciative audience, which we hoped compensated somewhat for our occasional unintended lapses in meeting local standards of narrative participation.

As a *diyíń* who performs a range of different ceremonies and as the son of parents who were themselves excellent storytellers, Paul Ethelbah commands a wide range of stories. Many of the stories in his repertoire will likely never be recorded. These include stories associated with the ceremonies he performs. Circulation of these is restricted to ceremonial contexts and to those training to become *diyíń*. These stories are off-limits for recording and transcription. Ndah Ch’ii’n, by contrast, is the sort of story fit to be told to one’s entire extended family on winter nights. Paul Ethelbah also judged this sort of story, which he terms a “legend,” appropriate for transcription and publication.

#### STORYTELLING, AUDIENCE, AND RECIPROCITY

There are many layers of mediation and translation between oral storytelling in the Ethelbah household and presentation on the printed page. Translation between the Apache and English lan-

guages is one dimension. Translation from oral performance to print is another. But shaping both of these is the radical shift in social relationships within which the storyteller, story, and audience are embedded.

Paul prefaced his performance with a description of the context of storytelling in his family:

Yeah, we, if we want a story, usually my Dad or my Mom, we'd usually, us family, we'd usually get together and make arrangement—what DAY we should get together, and let my Dad or Mom tell us a story, you know. It's a legend, so. Then we have to pay them to do that too, so. That way they're willing to do it, so. That's how we used to do it.

Here he casts storytelling within an idiom of reciprocity within families. Younger family members ask older family members to tell a story by giving them gifts of food and other things, so that they will “feel happy” about doing it.

In addition, the rhetorical formulas of storytelling frame it as a labor that the storyteller performs—work that contributes, like food, to the sustenance of his audience. For example, at the end of the story Paul Ethelbah utters an Apache-language formulaic closing: *Shigoshkaan Dasjah*, or ‘My yucca fruit lay piled up’. Not only does this function as a sort of “The End,” but it also casts storytelling as a labor of harvesting and piling up yucca fruit for the sustenance of his audience.

The Ethelbahs expressed regret that it had been fifteen years since anyone asked him to tell this story and blamed this in part on the lack of Apache-language fluency among the young. During our three years of fieldwork on the reservation, complaints from elders that younger people today do not show the same sort of respect for them that they were taught to show to their elders in their youth. At the same time, we encountered younger people eager to learn the Apache language who complained that older people were “stingy” with their knowledge, preferring to “take it with them”

rather than pass it on. It is tempting to comfort oneself that efforts to write down and publish traditional stories, like this present volume, pose an answer to the problems raised by young and old alike. However, this assumes that the problem is one of transmission of certain discrete texts. Nevins and Nevins (in press) argue that Apache storytelling is being problematized by people on the reservation not as the failed transmission of individual stories but as a breakdown in the terms of reciprocity between generations. Young people lack fluency in Apache idioms of storytelling, so they do not know how to ask for a story or how to listen to it when it is performed, while older people, facing a radically changed social environment, have a difficult time recognizing occasions when it would be appropriate to share their knowledge.

In the context of these changes and the problems attributed to traditional storytelling by many on the reservation, work with researchers becomes an occasion for experimentation. Like other Apache elders with recent coauthored publications (see, for example, Watts and Basso 2004), Paul Ethelbah makes strategic decisions about language choice and storytelling style to accommodate an audience unfamiliar with the Apache language or Apache storytelling precedents. Also, in the course of telling the story he offers many explanations and asides to bring his audience up to speed on narrative conventions that would be assumed by an audience competent in Apache narrative practice. In addition to accommodations of style and content, “Ndah Ch’ii’n” as presented here is an experiment with new forms of reciprocity and new audiences. The recording took place within a researcher-consultant relationship that involved formalized reciprocity. Whether we were recording stories or laboriously translating them, Paul received a modest set fee per afternoon work session. The publication of “Ndah Ch’ii’n” in this volume also involved a modest payment to the Ethelbahs, in the form of a few copies of the book, in exchange for their contribution. Paul and Genevieve Ethelbah consider the

stories he shared with us to be intrinsically valuable and expressed gratification that a wider audience, including Apache young people, would now appreciate them. From their perspective, the small fees received from researchers and university presses do not commodify the story but rather formally mark a set of relationships through which the story is now expressed.

#### STORYTELLING, INTERACTION, AND INNOVATION

Storytelling is more than the transmission of a given set of characters and plot. It is also an interaction between narrators and audience (Bauman 1986; Ochs and Capps 2002). With “*Ndah Ch'ii'n*” we have a story that twenty-five years ago in the reservation community of Diamond Creek would have been told within an extended family household.<sup>1</sup> Today it is told to two anthropologists so that it may be published to a larger audience, many of whom are not Apache. To address this transformed context of storytelling Paul Ethelbah adopts a novel performance strategy. One of these is to use the Apache language but only in ways that can be followed by an audience that is not fluent in Apache. He reserves Apache words for certain proper names and for the initial dialogue sequences in which the man queries four bird elders.<sup>2</sup> In the bird dialogues Paul Ethelbah immediately follows each Apache-language turn at talk with an English translation.

Apart from this, the rest of the story is told in English. This is in contrast with other stories that Paul recorded with us, which were spoken almost entirely in Apache. Perhaps he chose to use English for “*Ndah Ch'ii'n*” because this story is longer than his other stories and is the most reliant on humor to move things along. It is perhaps contrary to the purpose of storytelling to tell a succession of funny episodes to audience members who are unable to get any of the jokes because of a language barrier. Paul Ethelbah told the story in English because the involvement of the audience,

particularly the laughter of the audience, is necessary. In the presentation of the story below instances of laughter from storyteller and audience are included in brackets when they occur.

To a greater extent than is the case for Paul Ethelbah's Apache-language narrative performances, "Ndah Ch'ii'n" is riddled with asides and explanations inserted into the progression of events, particularly in places where he suspects his anthropologist audience did not "get the joke" and needs more information. All this is included in the story as presented here, including some comments and responses from his audience. After Paul finished telling the story, Genevieve Ethelbah spontaneously offered commentary, explanation, and evaluation. We have included these in the presentation as a coda to the story. If we are to understand this oral narrative as literature, then Genevieve Ethelbah's comments can be taken as contributing to what Larry Evers terms the "oral literary criticism" of the story (Evers and Molina 1987).

#### APPROPRIATING ENGLISH TO APACHE STORYTELLING

Among adults over thirty years of age on the reservation, bilingualism in Apache and English is the norm. In using English to tell a story he would otherwise tell in Apache, Paul Ethelbah is not creating the kind of Apache-English translation that we would have created, say, if he performed the story in Apache and we then translated it word for word to the idioms of standard American English. Instead, he draws upon a repertoire, a set of idioms, for English-language use that were current on the reservation at the time of the recording. Unsurprisingly, many aspects of "Apache English" that mark it off stylistically and sometimes grammatically from standard English can be traced to established patterns in Apache-language poetics and grammar. In these instances, bits of English words, phrases, and even grammatical items are picked up and used in ways that reflect norms of Apache-language usage.

Perhaps the most accessible of these is Paul's use of English terms and phrases in the way he would use special Apache words called "discourse particles" in his storytelling (see Webster 2004 for a similar exploration of translational strategies of Navajo poets).

Discourse particles are bits of grammar that operate above the level of individual sentences and serve more general, orienting functions. Some mark off when one utterance ends and another begins and establish the relationships between them. Others express an orientation toward what is being said, often specifying to what degree and by what manner the statement is known to be true (see de Reuse 2003 on Western Apache evidentials). Hymes (1981) in particular has argued for the importance of discourse particles to the poetic organization of oral narratives.

Apache narrative poetics makes particular use of utterance-final discourse particles. The most common used in many White Mountain Apache narratives is "*ch'idii*," and translates roughly as 'it's said', or 'they say'. In the stories recorded as text collections fifty to a hundred years ago, these utterance-final particles were extremely regular—occurring at the end of almost every sentence or every quoted turn at talk of a story (Goddard 1919, 1920; Hoijer n.d.). These frame the content of the utterance as something that is known to the speaker through the speech of others, not from personal experience. It is a very precise way of orienting to narratives about the distant past. Repeated use of these particles creates an orienting frame and can function as a narrative genre marker. In my own recordings of stories and speeches from 1996 to 1999, these utterance final particles are still present but used more sparingly—perhaps an accommodation to norms of English usage.

I suggest that Paul Ethelbah's frequent use of utterance final *you know* is an example of utilizing a common English phrase in service of Apache narrative poetics. He uses the phrase with approximately the same frequency that he uses *ch'idii*, or 'it's said', in the Apache-language stories he recorded with us. You might ask why he does not use a more direct translation like *it's said* or

*they say* in his English stories. He does in fact use *it's said* once in this story but makes repeated use of *you know*. I think this is because *you know* is more idiomatically common and less formal in English usage than *it's said*, and it can be used to similar ends. In fact, it behaves as a discourse particle in English. *You know*, like *ch'idii*, works to establish that speaker and listeners share a common frame of reference, because the background knowledge the narrator is drawing upon is presumably something everyone knows. While *you know* does not make use of a verb of speaking like *ch'idii*, it nonetheless serves overlapping poetic and interactive functions in Paul's performance of oral narrative.

What we lose in the translation from *ch'idii* to *you know* is the shade of doubt attached to the former. Not only does *ch'idii* specify that the story is only known through hearsay, it disavows the speaker's responsibility for the factuality of the story and highlights the difference between the kinds of truth encountered in storytelling those in the testimony of direct personal experience. By contrast, *you know* loses these epistemological complexities and focuses attention on building shared context. It is plausible that telling a story to a non-Apache audience brings different communicative needs, like building shared context, to the fore.

A more straightforward appropriation of English-language items for Apache oral narrative poetics is Paul's use of *so*. This is parallel to his use of *'áko* in his Apache-language stories. *'Áko* is sometimes described as an "initial particle" because it often marks the beginning of an utterance or group of utterances. However, attention to prosodic contours in Paul Ethelbah's storytelling reveals that he uses both *'áko* and *so* as disjunctive particles—sometimes at the end of an utterance and sometimes at the beginning—to mark off one utterance from the next. An example of his use of *so* can be found in the quote provided above under "Storytelling, Audience, and Reciprocity." Here is an example of his use of *'áko*:

*'ákoo, díí 'iskzqá*

so, four/fourth days-and-nights

So after staying for four days and nights

*gotghai koo yikááyóó ch'inyyaa 'ákoo*

white-turquoise here door he-went-through, so

He passed through a white turquoise door, so

*ndée ta' daagoljí ch'idii, 'ákoo*

people some they-were-living-there, it's-said, so

Some people were living there, it's said, so<sup>3</sup>

Throughout "Ndah Ch'ii'n" Paul Ethelbah's use of *so* mirrors his use of "'ákoo" in his Apache-language stories.

While this discussion of oral narrative poetic devices may seem beside the point to readers interested in a story only for its "content," such devices are important to the unfolding of the story as an oral performance. A discussion of these is worth the trouble if it reveals the presence of Apache poetic style in a largely English-language performance and if it draws attention to Paul Ethelbah's agency in bringing English into the service of his Apache storytelling. In his use of *so* and *you know* Paul selects English words and phrases that are unmarked and idiomatically appropriate for speakers of standard American English but uses them in service of his own style of Apache narrative poetics.

#### ORAL NARRATIVE, PERFORMANCE, AND POETIC STRUCTURE

In rendering Paul Ethelbah's oral performance as a print story, I have attempted to express some of the qualities of voice that Paul utilized to shape the experience of the narrative for his listeners. A long story told in real time requires orienting devices to keep the audience on track. The most basic and indispensable are

words that orient the audience to the temporal dimensions of the sequence of events that make up the story. Paul uses increased volume and emphasis for terms of temporal orientation. Through this he establishes prominent temporal scaffolding. Increased volume is rendered with capital letters. Words uttered for a longer than the usual amount of time are represented by a doubling of the letters corresponding to the elongated sounds. As would be expected, Paul also uses increased volume and lengthening to draw attention to key actions or qualities—and I have endeavored to render these with the same orthographic conventions.

Another way that an oral narrator orients an audience during long stories or long sequences of stories is by creating familiar scenarios, which are repeated with small but significant variations. Many scholars have noted the importance of parallelism, or “repetition with variation,” in Native American oral poetics (Hymes 1981; Reichard 1944; Evers and Molina 1987). In “Ndah Ch’ii’n” the reader first encounters this with the protagonist’s dialogue with a succession of bird elders. The man asks the same question of four bird elders and receives similar stylized answers from each. Several other parallel sequences shape the body of the narrative. This storytelling technique functions in part to create intratextual cohesion, keying listeners’ expectations and fulfillment within the story (see Hymes 1981). Because many other stories, Traditionalist rituals, and everyday observances utilize similar parallel sequences, building this into a storytelling performance creates intertextual relationships with other stories and other routines of speaking as well.

However, all repetitions are not equal. Among the Western Apache and most other Southwestern oral traditions, repetitions are given an arc of significance by expectations surrounding successions of four. Each successive repetition intensifies the action. Repeating the same or similar acts four times brings a sense of completion—a new state is affected, for better or for worse. Nevins et al. (2004) provide a more elaborate discussion of the symbolic

and cosmological significance of four. The plot of “*Ndah Ch'ii'n*” is organized around four different thematic episodes, each of which is structured by successions of four similar actions. Each set of four similar actions results in profound changes for the characters in the world of the story.

As noted above, the first of four similar acts consists of the man asking four elders, who are manifest in the form of four different meat-eating birds, until he finds the oldest and most knowledgeable. This fourth and final bird is the one who tells him the way to *Ndah Ch'ii'n*'s home. The second of the four occurs in the underworld, where *Ndah Ch'ii'n* lives with his wife and four daughters. *Ndah Ch'ii'n* sets the man to four tasks, each of which must be completed in one day. The man initially attempts and fails each task but is helped by *Ndah Ch'ii'n*'s youngest (and fourth) daughter. With the help of this girl, all tasks are completed successfully. *Ndah Ch'ii'n* is so impressed by what he takes to be the man's ability that he offers him one of his daughters in marriage. The man is to be blindfolded and then choose among the four daughters. The man and the youngest (fourth) daughter work out a plan to ensure that he picks her — utilizing the fact that her little finger had been shortened during their attempt to find a lost ring. He successfully chooses this daughter, marries her, and lives in that world for several years. Eventually, however, he desires to return to his own world. Knowing that *Ndah Ch'ii'n* will not allow this, he and his wife decide to flee on horseback.

The third of four attempts structures their escape. *Ndah Ch'ii'n* chases them on an impossibly fast horse. They elude him four days in a row through four miraculous transformations in which they become, respectively, occupants of a boat surrounded by water, doves, ants, and a stump. After the fourth escape they arrive back on this earth only to find that the man's relatives are uncomfortable with his strange new wife. Over time he begins to talk to her about having children. She refuses because she is not a human being and worries it will bring disaster.

The fourth of four attempts is somberly reported, not acted out. The man is described as persisting in his requests for children, asking his wife four times. Unable to comply, she returns to the opening in the cave that leads to the underworld, passes through, seals it up behind her, and goes back to live with her father. The story ends with the man in great sorrow, sitting by the cave, visited by a dove. The dove identifies herself by asking him to remember the succession of escapes that they went through. As he recognizes her, she takes her final leave from him in a flutter of wings.

Since these four groups of successive parallel actions appear to be major structural divisions of the story, they are each marked off with section breaks in the presentation below. Less encompassing structural divisions, such as those between four parallel successive actions, are marked off as stanzas.

#### TIME ORIENTATION

The story “Ndah Ch’ii’n” has a complex relationship to the present moment of storytelling. On the one hand, the characters, their actions, and even the colloquial meanings attached to them (like ‘white man’ for *ndah*, ‘devil himself’ for *Ndah Ch’ii’n*, or specifying playing cards for gambling) need to be fresh and accessible—so the audience can become immediately involved and familiar.<sup>4</sup> However, Paul and Genevieve Ethelbah both point to the fact that this story involves conversations with birds and explain that this places the story in a time distant from the present: “way back,” as they characterize it. Many Native American narrative traditions utilize a past time when animals talked and were understood by and as people (Hymes 1981; Viveiros de Castro 1998). That certain verbal idioms are associated with particular kinds of animal characters is clear even from the written form of the dialogue in this story. Genevieve Ethelbah adds to this by describing the importance of songs giving voice to animals in the stories she heard as a child:

Yeah when they tell these stories way back, they would tell you what, ah like, ah what dove said, and you know, every little creature, you know, the birds, what they said or if they were singing—how they sang it. The speaker would actually sing that song too, as it went along.

Paul acknowledges knowing stories with songs but chose for this audience a story without such songs. He explains his reasons:

My Dad did that, yeah. The way that, with the snake song, where it starts, up there by Alpine, clear down to Salt River too, sort of a salt bank, you know. Every place they stop, what kind of song they sing down the line. It's real nice, but it's, kind of like a medicine world. So it's kind of, in a way, there's some "no no" and some "yes," you know, so. It's pretty hard to do. But there are some words that are used for a special prayer, you know, to heal a person. There are some words in there you don't say, you know, that are in the medicine world. It's like that. So that's why.

So while the bird elders place this story in the "way back," the relationship between that formative time and the present storytelling situation is not as charged and transformative as is the case with some of the ritually embedded stories that form the larger part of Paul Ethelbah's repertoire. Even though he does not use song to give voice to the birds, they do have a special status in this story. The only Apache-language dialogue is reserved for the protagonist's encounters with these bird elders. Paul further marks off the birds' speech by raising the pitch of his voice and exaggerating the tonal contours of sentences.

#### VOICE ESCAPES PRINT

In the final scene Paul left the strictly linguistic and delivered the coup de grâce for the story as a whole. He surprised his audience

by making a sound with his mouth that sounds for all the world like the sudden flutter of wings when a dove is startled into flight. It made for a uniquely moving end—effecting the man’s loss while also anchoring this “way back” story to a familiar contemporary perceptual experience. It also opened up that familiar experience to a greater sense of mystery. Needless to say, I could not render the sound adequately in print. Careful readers will hopefully take the “hhhpt hhhpt httpt hhhpt hhhpt hhhpt httpt” I provide in the story as a placeholder and fill the rest in with their best imagination of such as sound (See Nuckolls 2000 for a discussion of ideophones and translation).

In sum, converting “Ndah Ch’ii’n” from an Apache oral narrative to a literary print publication required many layers of translation and mediation: from Apache to English, from familial relationships between teller and listeners to contractual relations between author and readers, and including strategic deployment of Paul Ethelbah’s storytelling style and rhetorical form for his anticipated audience. Such considerations should not call into question the authenticity of this story—Paul Ethelbah is an authentic and authoritative storyteller as defined by standards of his own community. Instead, considering how he modulates his storytelling to communicate with new audiences draws attention to the issue of mediation in Native American oral literature and to his exertion of agency and artistry not only in being the bearer of the story but in translating it for a wider audience.

#### NOTES

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willingness to spend hours of their valuable time in storytelling and translation. I thank Thomas J. Nevins, who formed part of the performance context for the telling of “Ndah Ch'ii'n” and who offered up invaluable insights into matters of translation, interpretation, and social relations of performance. I am grateful also to Dell Hymes for providing an inspiring model for the production, translation, and graphic representation of oral narrative texts. Any shortcomings, of course, are my own.

1. Genevieve Ethelbah noted that traditional storytelling is more prevalent in the reservation community of Cibecue, where there is also a higher rate of Apache-language fluency among young people.

2. These include Ndah Ch'ii'n, the primary antagonist of the story, and *łííbaanatsíkęęsé*, the very skinny but very fast horse ridden by Ndah Ch'ii'n as he pursues his daughter and her human husband on their way back to this earth. These are different from most English proper names, which are semantically opaque. For anyone fluent in Apache, these names have transparent meanings and describe the character they stand for in salient ways.

3. This is taken from Paul Ethelbah's performance of “He Became an Eagle.” The first line is Apache. The second line is a word-by-word (not morpheme-by-morpheme) gloss of the Apache sentence. The third line is a loose and more colloquial English translation.

4. *Ndah* acquires its meaning in part as a contrasting term for *ndee*, which translates as ‘the people/Apache people’. The more general meaning of *Ndah* is ‘non-Apache/stranger/enemy’. The most prominent *ndah* in contemporary life are white people, so this has become the most salient and common association for the term. However, the name Ndah Ch'ii'n is not exclusive to white people. And while in this story he is portrayed as a white man, he can be thought of as a particular instantiation of otherness that might have been fleshed out differently during historical periods when the Apache were dealing with different *ndah*.

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## Ndah Ch'ii'n

NARR Paul Ethelbah, narrator  
COMMENT Genevieve Ethelbah, commentator  
AUD, EN Eleanor Nevins, audience  
AUD, TN Tom Nevins, audience

*Capital letters represent louder volume*

*Doubled letters represent drawn out or lengthened words*

*Descriptions of nonverbal aspects of the performance are in brackets [ ]*

*Words in parentheses () are delivered verbally by the narrator as parentheticals within the narrative.*

NARR: Going? [recording?]

AUD, TN: yeah.

### INTRODUCTION

NARR: Yeah, we, if we want a story, usually my Dad or my Mom, we'd usually, us family, we'd usually get together and make arrangement—what DAY we should get together, and let my Dad or Mom tell us a story, you know.

It's a legend, so

Then we have to pay them to do that too, so

That way they're willing to do it, so

That's how we used to do it.

The first story, ah, I'm gonna tell you about is, ah

We call it "Ndah Ch'ii'n"

[to Genevieve] How would you translate "Ndah Ch'ii'n"?

Ndah is white man. Ch'ii'n is a ghost.

Devil [chuckles] The Devil himself.



So one DAY,  
 That Devil Himself, he was on the earth, here.  
 They were gambling, cards, you know.  
 (They call it Daka'ilaha, so . . . )  
 They were gambling . . . 'Til NOON

And this guy, one guy [staccato], he went broke.  
 And Ndah Ch'ii'n, he was winning aaaalllll the money,  
 So this guy asks him:  
 "Can you loan me . . . A hundred dollars? I'll pay you back," he  
 says.

Ok, so, he gives him a hundred.  
 And he lost again.  
     and he borrowed again,  
         gave him another one,  
             ALL DAY LONG, you know.  
 So he LOST QUITE A BIT.

So that this guy here, he's from the earth.  
 The other guy, he's Ndah Ch'ii'n, he's like the devil, you know.  
 They didn't know because he looked like a human being, you  
 know,  
     when he was on earth, so.

So the day was about over,  
 And then he, this Ndah Ch'ii'n, got back on his horse and took off.  
 And they were looking at him.  
 He was going that way  
     . . . WEST, you know,  
         and disappeared into TREES.

And there's a place where he goes under the earth, you know.  
 There's a kind of hole, I think,  
 And he went down in there.

He lives right under the world, so  
He came back.

And this guy here, he had said to him:

“I’m gonna come to your place and I’m gonna work for you  
because you loaned me so much money, and I’ll work for you,  
he says.

WELL: “You’ll never find my place,” he says, you know.

And: “How . . . How come?”

“You’ll never find my place,” he said.

So then he was wondering about it.

“Ok, but I’ll look for you.”

“Ok, if you’ll find me, you’ll work for me,” he says, that Ndah  
Ch’ii’n, you know.

▲▲▲

So, ONE DAY, maybe a month LATER,  
He decided to go find Ndah Ch’ii’n, this guy.  
So he starts looking.

Oh, he asks around . . .

He asks a . . . REAL old man . . . a CROW

(CROW is ah GAAGÉ(+), we call it in Apache).

GAAGÉ CHO HASTIINÍ means a REAL old crow, you  
know,

old man, an old crow (softly).

And he asks him:

“Gaagé cho hastiiní, ya’. Ndah Ch’ii’n hayóó goljini  
baagonsee?”

This is what he was asking:

“Do you know where that ah, Ndah Ch’ii’n lives?” you know.

“No, I’ve been all over this world,  
I’ve been flying all over, all my life.  
I got old.

I never heard of that name, such a name” he says, tells  
him.

“Okay you might ask this GOLD TAIL HAWK,” you know  
“Go ask him, he might know it.”

“OK”

▲▲▲

So he went over there.  
He called him, ah, TS’EłTS’OK,  
(ts’elts’ok is gold-tail hawk)

“TS’EłTS’OK HASTIIł, ko naaniyáá”

“I [want to] ask you a question,” he says

“Ko naaniyáá. Ndah Ch’ii’n hayóo golíí?”

[softly] he was asking “Where does that guy live?” you know.

He says:

“I don’t know. I never heard of such a name,” he says to him.

“I’ve been AALL over places EVERYwhere,  
all my life.

I got old  
and I know a lot of things.”

(Yeah, these stories were told when these animals were talking,  
you know.

When they were talking.

So the stories we’re telling go waayy back, you know.)

So in this case,

this, ah HAWK,

he told this guy,:

“Yeah, I’ve been around aalll over.  
When I was younger I went all over,  
    but when I got old,  
        when some of my feathers came out,” you know.

“sht’aatn dowhaa naadishgizh shishłéé ‘aná’hiłe.”

(That means when his feathers were aall still there. “That’s when I went all over many places.”)

So that’s TWO, he asks TWO elders.

▲▲▲

And the third elder was . . . CH”IIZH SHOOGI, was . . .  
BUZZARD, Buzzard Old Man.

He asks buzzard: “Have you ever heard of Ndah Ch’ii’n? Do you know where he lives?”

    he says, you know.

“No, this, I never heard of it.  
I’ve never seen that guy,” he says.

“Yeah, he was on earth here,  
    we were playing, we were gambling.  
I lost alllooot,  
    he loaned me allooot of money.  
    And I want to go find him  
        and I want to go to work for him.” He says.

“Well I’m sorry, I can’t tell you where he is,” you know.  
“I’ve been all around over, many places.  
When I was younger I used to go all over,  
    but then I got old,  
        I lost some of my feathers,  
            and I still haven’t found out where he lives,” he was saying.

So

And he told him: “You go to ask that NACHO ŁIK”IIZH”

(That’s an EAGLE) Nacho łikłzh.

‘Itsaan chaahi is his name too.)

“’Itsaan chaahi cho hastiín ań, cho hastiín nahjikit.”

“He might tell you where that Ndah Ch’ii’n lives.”

He says “OK” [very quietly]

▲▲▲

He goes to look for EAGLE, old man EAGLE.

“’Its’aań chaahi hast’iín nyąąnyááda”

He asks “Do you know where Ndah Ch’ii’n . . . lives?”

“Ah, yes,” he says,

“Yes. I’ve been there,” he says.

“But DON’T GO!

It’s a really bad place to go!” he says.

“No don’t go,

just don’t even mention his name,

just go,

leave it alone.”

“Noooo, I gotta go.

He loaned me a loootttt of money.”

So, OK:

He asks,

and he tells him not to go four times.

But after the fourth time he obeys, so

“I want to go,” he says.

“Okay, you just go THIS way:

Towards the, WEST,” you know,

there's a BIIIGG lot of trees, big trees;  
there's a kind of big hole in there, a CAVE,  
you walk right down in there.  
It's gonna be dark,  
but you go a little farther down,  
it's gonna be a daylight.  
“Okay?”

▲▲▲

So he took off.  
Went right into the big cave,  
Went in there, and he went under the earth, you know,  
Right in the earth.

There he found a place, a beautiful place, you know.  
You see a light, thing like that.  
He was walking.  
He was at a house there.  
Somebody's living there.

Went there, stopped there. [staccato]

He asks: “Ndah Ch'ii'n bikaashtaa waashtii.”  
He says: “I'm looking for a guy named Ndah Ch'ii'n” you know.

And this person told him:  
(It was a LADY, that's Ndah Ch'ii'n's wife, I guess), told him:

“Dzəə Dzəgoljijihilí.”  
“He lives right here.

“But just turn around, just go back.  
That guy's no good.  
You shouldn't be here.  
It's no good.”

“Nooo, no, I can't go back.  
Gonna work for that guy.

He loaned me a looottt of money.”

So he stayed, you know.

Ok, and:

“He’ll be back pretty soon,” she said.

So he waited.

And the guy, that big man, came, you know.  
Ndah Ch’ii’n came home.

“Who’s that guy there sittin around?” he said.

And the man came out:

“I’m the guy that owes you a lot of money.  
Remember you were gambling, and you loaned me a lot of money,  
And I lost all of it, and I told you I was going to come work for you.

“OH yeah, I remember,” he says, you know.

▲▲▲

So he says:

“OK, you start first thing in the morning.

Ok, there’s a little shed there.

You can sleep there.

And first thing in the morning, before the sun comes up,  
I’ll tell you what to do,” you know.

Now, that morning, he told him they had a little hill,  
(really a BIIGG hill . . . It’s a kinda big hill.).

“See that little hill there:

Dig the whole thing out and make a REEAALL GOOD farm out  
of that thing there.

Tomorrow, all day, you work on it.

[laughing voice] Take that little hill, spread it out,” you know.

That's what he told him.

AUD, EN: —oh, take it down.

NARR: Aa, take it down, so.  
But he didn't have no bulldozers, nothing!  
[everyone laughs]

But that morning,  
    he got a duuulll axe [laughing voice],  
    duuulll hoe  
        and everything's dull, you know!  
He just gets to work!  
He's got a lot of work to do, so.  
He stepped up there, you know.

And this Ndah Ch'ii'n had FOUR DAUGHTERS, nice looking daughters.

So this, ah, oldest one was a no good one too.  
She wasss jusst as evil as her Dad, you know.  
    as was the second,  
    and the third,  
        but the LAST ONE was a nice, nice girl.  
She was nice, real nice, so

They were watching him over there.

He was just stuck . . . til NOON.  
He didn't even START, you know.  
He TRIED but the tools were DULL, you know.  
And he sat there, held his head down, CRYING, I guess.

So this ah, this ah, number FOUR, girl, came.  
And she told him:

    “Hey! You're supposed to make a farm out of that hill.  
    How come you're crying there?”

“I can't do it. This, all these tools are dull, just NOT SHARP.”

So,  
 This girl told him:  
 “Well, sit facing the other way,  
     close your eyes  
     and cover your eyes.  
         I’ll help you,” she said.

“OK.”

So they agreed and that man turned around and covered his eyes,  
     went like that, closed his eyes.  
 The girl, you know, went to work.

Just then: “Don’t look! Don’t look, just, just close your eyes!  
 Only when I tell you to open then, then you do it,” she says.

OK, so he’s facing the other way, and the girl’s gone to work.  
 He doesn’t know how or what she’s doing—she’s there working  
 real hard, and

Pretty soon, maybe about two, three hours:  
 “Hey, wake up! You’re supposed to be working!” [audience  
 laughs]  
 And he opened his eyes.

He looked over there and; boy, a beautiful field, you know.  
 That one girl did it, you know.

And here was the one and:  
 “HOW DID YOU DO THAT?” you know.

“You’re just supposed to DO it,” she said.

And he said: “Thank you.”

THE DAY IS OVER.

He came back.

And Ndah Ch’ii’n went out there, ooohhh, he’s proud of him:

“Ooohh, you did a really nice job!  
Beautiful farm there, the beautiful field,” you know.

He was proud of him.

It was his daughter [who] really did it,  
[laughing voice] but he didn't know his daughter did it, you  
know!

He only THOUGHT he knew what happened.

▲▲▲

Then,

That evening, Ndah Ch'ii'n told him:

“Tomorrow, first thing you do is plant some corn,” you know.

“And all different kinds of vegetables, plant them out there.

And then, by evening time tomorrow,

I want some RREEAALL fresh cornbread in my house from  
that field.”

[laughing voice] In ONE DAY, you know. [everyone laughs]

That's what this guy's been told.

He thought “What? Look at that guy! What's wrong with that  
guy?” you know. [laughing]

That's what he's been told:

“Go out there and plant first thing in the morning,

and in the afternoon bring me [laughs] some corn bread

[everyone laughs],

hot corn bread!” you know.

“Yeah? You want what?!!” [voicing the man's response]

So next morning, he started.

Went out there,

he got all the corn planted, you know.

and all different things.

And he waited . . . til about NOON-time, you know,  
 He had planted everything, but he just waited.  
 He got fed at noon-time you know.  
 And this girl came and brought his lunch again, you know.

And he was wondering how he was going to do that:  
     how he was going to get the corn to grow,  
         get that fresh [laughs] corn bread, you know.  
 He didn't know how to do it.  
 He was wondering.

So this girl came again.  
 Fed him.  
 And he was CRYING again.

“Hey, you're not supposed to be crying!  
 You're supposed to be getting this corn growing here! [laughter]  
 You're supposed to get us fresh corn bread in the afternoon, my  
 Dad says that.”

“Yeah, I know; but I don't know how to do it!”

He was just crying, you know.  
 He put the corn in but nothing's growing, you know.

So she said:  
 “OK you go ahead and eat and,”  
 (the same thing, to help him.)  
 “turn around, cover your eyes. I'll help you, OK?”

So he covers his eyes, closes his eyes, and the girl went to work  
 again, you know.

And pretty soon, later, three or four hours later:  
     “Hey, wake up! Wake up! You're supposed to be working!” you  
     know. [audience laughs]

And he looks:

“Whoa,” there’s the corn, you know. [everyone laughs]  
Everything. “WOOW!!”

So he went out there and gathered the corn, you know.  
So he starts making that corn bread.  
So in the evening, booyyy,  
    he brought it in to that Ndah’s Ch’ii’n,  
        and it’s hot on the table, you know,  
            good fresh corn, corn bread.  
And oohh that guy Ndah Ch’ii’n was proud of him, you know.  
“Good man! Good man!” you know.

▲▲▲

So he then:  
“TOMORROW, tomorrow morning,  
    Tomorrow morning, you go out.  
There are horses out there, my horses.  
Bring ’em in.  
There’s about maybe SEVENTY-FIVE head out there, have never  
been ridden.  
I want you to break all the horses in ONE DAY.”  
[laughing voice] It’s what this guy told him. [everyone laughs]  
Break seventy-five head in one day, you know.

“whaa . . . OKay.”

So next morning he went out, looked for the horses, and brought  
them back in.  
BBOOYY, they were nice looking horses, all wild ones you know.  
He caught ONE.  
Booyy, he had a hard time, you know.  
Put the saddle on and everything, everything on,  
COULDN’T DO IT!

Came NOON.

And here comes his lunch, the same girl, you know.

“You’re not supposed to be crying! You’re supposed to be breaking the horses! So what are you crying about!” you know.

[everyone laughs]

“Can’t do it,” he says. “I can’t . . .”

He ate, OK, same thing:

“Turn around, cover your eyes.”

That girl went to work.

And he was there covering his eyes, you know.

Oh when she finished:

“Hey wake up! You’re supposed to be breaking the horses,” you know [laughter]

He went where all those . . . those horses had been broken, you know.

So gentle! There was a saddle on some, you know.

He got on it, tried one, everything’s working just perfect.

This Ndah Ch’ii’n came.

“Ahh, you’re a good man,” you know, pats him on the back [pats back], you know. [laughter]

[laughing voice] And he wasn’t even doing it, you know!

[laughter]

▲▲▲

So, “TOMORROW,”

Ndah Ch’ii’n told this guy:

“There is a LAKE, a lake right by my place.”

(A BBIIGG lake.)

“Tomorrow you go in that lake and get in the boat, or just dive under the water.

We had a ring.

My wife lost a ring there in about THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, I reckon.

Find that gold ring,” you know.

That’s what he told him. It’s been told.

“OK, I’ll try it,” he says. [quietly]

So, that’s going to be the FOURTH DAY.

So,

The NEXT MORNING,

He put on his shorts, you know.

Went into that LAKE, you know.

Looks under the water, everywhere, you know.

By noon.

    he felt aalll given out, you know

        just sittng by the shore there

        just crying.

Here comes his LUNCH, you know. [mmhmm]

The SAME GIRL

“Hey, you’re not supposed to be crying! You’re supposed to find the ring! Why are you [laughing voice] crying?” [everyone laughs]

“Can’t DO it,” he says.

So he ate.

She told him:

“OK, I’LL help you.”

After he ate, this girl told him:

“Cut me ALL IN PIECES,” she told him.

“Just cut me up and throw me into the water.”

Then:

“See that LITTLE POND right there by the water there?  
Make a little DAM, you know, but leave a little place to go in.

So, when you throw in all my BODY into the WATER,  
There’s gonna be a LOOTT of little fishes,” she told him.  
“Lot of little tiny fishes,” you know.

[the fish are going to find the ring at the bottom of the lake, then  
return to the man by gathering through the little passageway into  
the little pond he’s dammed up beside the lake]

“When they get here, most are gonna go in there [the little pond].  
Try to get all at one time with your hand.  
Just try to throw EVERYTHING out onto the land, like that.  
Don’t miss ANY of them,” is what they told him, you know, so

That’s what he did:

Cut her up and threw the girl’s body into a water, you know,  
all CUT UP.

And pretty soon those fish start comin’ in.  
He’d made a little pond and they were comin’ in there,  
AAALLL thoses fishes, all of them.

Til when there’s NOTHIN back there.  
EVERYTHING went in there, so it’s time for him to scoop them  
out and:

everything wheshhhh [watery whoshing sound]

But he lost one.  
It went back into the lake.  
That was a joint from her little finger.  
Her finger kinda got short.[laughs]

Of that GIRL, she came back,  
It was the GIRL, you know, CAME BACK [laughing voice].  
But the ONE LITTLE FISH, went back

And there was this little tiny finger [high voice].

She handed him a reeaall beautiful ring.

“Here, it’s what you were looking for.”

Then, that evening he went home, gave it to that Ndah Ch'ii'n.

“Hey, I found your ring right here,” you know.

“HEY, you’re a GOOD MAN! You’re a good man!” [everyone laughs]



This Ndah Ch'ii'n told him:

“TOMORROW morning, you’ll pick one of my girls and you can marry the girl you pick,” he told him.

So this girl told him:

“Three of my sisters are no good. Just don’t pick any of ’em. REMEMBER ME. Remember I lost this part of my finger. Feel our hands. When you feel the short finger, that’s me, so pick me.”

So that’s how he would know her, you know.

So, the NEXT MORNING,  
the girl was in line with her sisters,  
and Ndah Ch'ii'n BLINDFOLDED him.

“Pick one of my girls.”

They’re in line, you know, so

So he FELT for THE HAND, you know.

He found that one that seemed short.

He picked it.

So, he got married to that girl.



SO, HE LIVED THERE . . . for about MAYBE two, three years.

And then, HE DECIDED to go HOME one day.

So he told his wife:

“I want to go home to see my family,” he was saying.

“Weelll, it’s pretty hard to do, but

ALL THOSE HORSES they’re the ones you broke,

THERE’S ONE in there, this RREEAALL SKINNY one,

he is by far the BEST out of that seventy-five head.

A very SKINNY one! All the rest are FAT, you know.”

And she called him “aljí, hííbaanatsíkęęsé” she called it.

híí’baanatsíkęęsé, eilá’

“When you get the horse,

bring back that horse,

and we’ll double on it,

and we’ll take off,” she told him.

“And go home,” you know.

NIGHT TIME, you know

He sneaks off, ’cause he won’t let him go home.

Ndah Ch’ii’n won’t let him go home, you know.

So he just wants to SNEAK OFF.

The GIRL told him he had to sneak off to go home, “otherwise he won’t let you go.” [ascending]

So they decided to leave ONE NIGHT, I guess.

So he went, after that horse.

And BOOYY, the horse she talks about,

that horse hííbaanatsíkęęsé,

BBOOYY he’s all skin and bones!

He doesn’t want to ride that horse, you know, a long way!

So,

He roped a FAT one, and brought it back, and doubled on it, and took off.

And: "I told you not to pick that one! I told you to pick the OTHER ONE," you know.

But he didn't listen, you know.

So they got on it and took off.

▲▲▲

Then,

THE DAY

(They left in the middle of the night, I guess)

The DAYLIGHT came, and they looked back, and there's a STORM coming.

So that girl told him:

"That's my DAD coming there.

Remember that horse, *hííbaanatsíkeęsé?*

He's riding that.

He's gonna catch UP with us in NO time.

So what we're gonna do here is, ah . . ."

This girl, she can, ah, do ANYTHING, you know.

So, that girl, she just . . . made a BIIGG Lake

They hid the horse, the horse disappeared, you know.

it was made to disappear.

And she built a RREEAAL BIIGG lake

and a boat

and they got in there.

"When my dad goes around the lake and he tries to tell us to look at him,

don't look that way.

Just look in a different direction.”

That’s what the girl told him, his wife, you know.

So,

So they did that and . . .

Ndah Ch’ii’n came and he saw the tracks stop right there, you know.

“Where did they go?” you know.

But he sees somebody right in the middle of the lake going round and round.

“HEEYY! LOOK AT ME!” he says

And this:

“Just turn the other way. Don’t look, don’t look,” his wife told him.

He’s going round and round and round and round.

And they never looked toward him, Ndah Ch’ii’n.

So that guy just went back . . . and the RAIN went back with HIM.

The RAIN stopped and they went aSHORE.

As that horse came back, with that lady, that girl, you know.

And got back, and took OFF again.

▲▲▲

THEENNNN

Second DAY

Here comes STORM again.

They were still riding.

Make that girl told him, his wife told him:

“Hey! here comes my DAD again.

I TOLD you to get that horse.  
You make a mistake.  
You could have been home a LONG TIME ago.  
He's catching up with us.  
That *hǫ́bbaanatsíkęęsé* is one of the best horses in the whole world.  
We'll never win against him."

Storm coming.  
And they stop.  
And they, she makes the horse disappear again,  
And they, this girl, and his husband, turn into ANTS, little RED ANTS.

And this *Ndah Ch'ii'n* is coming, you know, Storm  
And he notices it.  
The track stops there.  
Nobody's around but there's these little ants

He looked and went around and around where the tracks stopped.  
The little ants tried to stay right by the log there  
So the horse won't step on them, you know. [laughing]  
Because it's THEM, you know.

So he looks around, looks around  
Did it a lot of times.  
When he couldn't find them,  
That guy, *Ndah Ch'ii'n*, went back again.

So this RAIN, went back, and then  
They got their horse back in and then  
TOOK OFF again.

▲▲▲

Then

The THIRD DAY

Here comes the STORM again

Ndah Ch'ii'n coming again,

Third day

This girl told him

his wife told him:

“It’s my DAD again”

So they had their horse disappear and they turned into DOVES,  
sitting on a branch.

He came, Ndah Ch'ii'n came.

The tracks stop there, and he looks around, looks around;

just sees the doves, two, you know.

He talked to the doves, that Ndah Ch'ii'n.

“Did you see any two, two guys, double on a horse, go by through  
here?”

he was asking them.

And one dove answered him, “No. We didn’t see nobody.”

And just right there were two the two guys that he was talking to,  
but he keeps looking.

“I’m looking for them, I’m checking around. That’s my daughter  
and my son-in-law,”

he was saying, you know, so

Goes around, looks around.

So he went BACK again.

And this guy TOOK OFF again.

▲▲▲

And the FOURTH DAY, here comes STORM again.

That guy came.

They made their horse disappear, and they turned into a stump,  
I think.

Just a little stump, you know.  
The horse had disappeared

Ndah Ch'ii'n, and the tracks stop there.

He couldn't . . .

He looked, look, couldn't find NObody.

Look,

look,

and then he went home.

He's surprised.

That's the fourth day,

it's the last time they need to try,

FOUR TIMES, you know.

So, that, the last four days

and they . . . came out of . . . that hole

that makes a passage to the earth, you know.

▲▲▲

So that's where that guy looked for his FAMILY.

He couldn't FIND his dad, where his MOM and his dad's place  
was.

They had moved, I guess.

And they look around

FINALLY FOUND it.

So they CAME BACK, and

Nobody kinda wants to TALK to him.

CAUSE he had a NICE LOOKIN LADY with him, you know, and

But the medicine man . . . KNEW that

that's not a . . . HUMAN BEING from the earth.

It's a . . . DEVIL'S DAUGHTER, you know.

They knew it, some way, by the feel or somethin, so  
They kinda IGNORE him.

But HE was pretty friendly, you know,  
and HANG AROUND . . .

And ONE DAY, I think,  
they, him and his wife,  
talked about having a little one, you know.

He was talking about it,  
and the lady didn't want no baby, you know.

Sooo,  
he asked  
"why don't you want it?" you know.

She says:  
"It's, it's just not possible,  
It's just impossible.  
Something's gonna happen.  
somethin wrong,  
something's gonna be wrong," so.

So HE AGREED WITH IT

So, [soft, sad voice]  
but . . . he still wants it.

Keeps talkin,  
yeah, he wants it,  
wants  
and his wife told him "NO."

He asks her four times . . . and the lady said "no."

Still the man wants the baby, you know.

"No."  
So she kept on telling him

One time, then,  
the lady got,  
just kinda got MAD, you know.  
Didn't want that, so



ONE DAY  
NIGHTTIME  
the lady took off . . . took off  
went back to her DAD, you know.  
She made it in ONE DAY to her house.

And the next day, next morning,  
the man woke up  
look for his wife  
couldn't find her.

He sees the track.  
He goes to the CAVE  
But, after that,  
he's gone into the cave and  
in the cave,  
she's shut the cave, you know, closed it real tight.  
He couldn't go nowhere.

So he hung around there,  
just cried, you know.  
Cry and cry . . .

FOUR DAYS

FOUR DAYS.  
And the last day he was sitting there, crying, you know.  
And a DOVE came.  
He was sitting there crying as a dove came and sat with him for a  
long time  
And the dove talked to him:

“Remember me” she told him, you know, she said.

“Do you remember me, do you remember me?”

“Wh . . . what . . . what dh . . . what?” he said

“Do you remember . . .

that my dad chased us and

I built a lake and we were sitting right in the middle of the  
lake

in a boat and we were gonna look in another direction

with my dad going around us?

Do you remember that?” she says.

“YES, I still remember that.”

Then:

“Do you remember that . . .

when we . . .

turned into a ants?”

“YES, I still remember that.”

And so, with the next one,

and all those four things I was telling you about, you know.

She was telling all that, reminding him, you know, all that.

The fourth one was a stump, you know.

“ . . . And then we came home.

Remember? . . . Yeah, that’s ME!” that’s what [she said]

“That’s me.

“So now,

goodbye.

I’m not going to see you again anymore.”

hhhpt hhhpt httppt hhhpt hhhpt hhhpt httppt

[sound of dove’s wings through the air]

She’s gone home.

He sits there crying.

Shigoshkaan dasjah, right there!

C O D A

NARR:[laughing] That's the way that story ends

AUD, EN: Thank you

COMMENT: Tremendous, huh?

AUD, TN: oh yeah

AUD, EN: yeah

COMMENT: When it's all in Apache, its . . .

To convey it in English, it loses some of its, ah, magic in it.

And that . . . we can't even tell our grandkids stories like that anymore. They don't understand. They don't speak the Apache language, it's just sad.

Yeah when they tell these stories way back, they would tell you what, ah like, ah what dove said, and you know, every little creature, you know, the birds, what they said or if they were singing—how they sang it. The speaker would actually sing that song too, as it went along.

NARR: My Dad did that, yeah. The way that, with the snake song, where it starts, up there by Alpine, clear down to Salt River too, sort of a salt bank, you know. Every place they stop, what kind of song they sing down the line. It's real nice, but it's, kind of like a medicine world. So it's kind of, in a way, there's some “no no” and some “yes,” you know, so. It's pretty hard to do. But there are some words that used for a special prayer, you know, to heal a person. There are some words in there you don't say, you know, that are in the medicine world. It's like that. So that's why.



PART FOUR

UTO-AZTECAN

LANGUAGE FAMILY



CHEMEHUEVI





## 11. How Coyote and Dog Exchanged Noses

A Chemehuevi Tale

Narrated by George Laird

Translated by Carobeth Laird and John P. Harrington

Glossed by Angelina Serratos and Justin Goodenkauf

Introduced by Angelina Serratos

The story presented here is one of the traditional Chemehuevi narratives that center on the most prominent character of Chemehuevi mythology—Sünawavi, Mythic Coyote. Coyote stories are quite common in the Native cultures of the Southwest, and they are much more than adventures of a sly trickster. Chemehuevi Coyote stories are tales about the prehuman era, a time when animals were people and as forerunners of humankind they set patterns for human behavior and, in many ways, traditions of the Native people. Mythic Coyote was present at the beginning of times when the sea goddess Ocean Woman made the earth. He fathered the first humans and carried them in the basket on his back to be settled in the Native lands. Even his name, Sünawavi, differs from that of the earthly coyote, known as *süna'avi*, a hint perhaps to the importance of this legendary character. But such is his nature—in spite of being one of the immortal forefathers, he has many follies and tends to follow his lower instincts and self-serving motives. In many Chemehuevi myths, Coyote is presented as the opposite of his older and wiser brother Wolf, who by his extraordinary powers has to fix many of Coyote's mishaps. But as bad as he sometimes

is, Sünawavi is close to the Chemehuevi heart, as his struggles and weaknesses make him closer to human nature.

The story I chose to present is a simple one and does not dwell on the usual mythical themes of life, death, love, and war. It is about an encounter between Coyote and Dog and describes how Dog came to settle with humans. The simplicity and yet ingenuity of this tale make it representative of the wit of Chemehuevi storytelling.

I became acquainted with Chemehuevi myths as part of the research I conducted with Dr. Susan Penfield for a Mohave and Chemehuevi language documentation project funded by a NSF/NEH Documenting Endangered Languages grant. The project was a collaborative effort between the Native community at the Colorado River Indian Tribes (CRIT) Reservation and researchers at the University of Arizona. The main goal was to collect new materials as well as recover everything that had ever been recorded in the Mohave and Chemehuevi languages. Both languages are highly endangered: there are only three speakers of Chemehuevi and fewer than thirty speakers of Mohave remaining on the CRIT Reservation. In the course of the project we came across several valuable resources on Chemehuevi, such as Roy Major's (1969) and Guy Tylor's (1972) collections of audio recordings of oral history with several Chemehuevi speakers. Both included word lists, personal narratives, songs, and traditional stories in both English and the Native language. As part of our project, we digitized all these materials and made them available to the CRIT archives as well as to Chemehuevi community members.

The story presented in this chapter comes from another extensive source of the documented Chemehuevi language that we came across in our search—the unpublished field notes of John Peabody Harrington, collected at the National Museum of Natural History by the Smithsonian Institution. The University of Arizona library holds some of this collection on microfilm, and thus we had access to the original transcriptions of Chemehuevi stories,

collected by Harrington's assistant and wife at that time, Carobeth Tucker Harrington. She started her Chemehuevi interviews on the CRIT Reservation in 1919. Later both she and her Chemehuevi consultant George Laird moved to Santa Fe and later to Washington DC to work under Harrington's supervision. John Harrington proofread and edited Carobeth's notes and later submitted them to the Bureau of American Ethnology. As they appear today, these field notes comprise sixteen microfilm reels containing Chemehuevi vocabulary and grammar and twenty-eight texts from traditional Chemehuevi mythology. Carobeth later married George Laird and continued documenting Chemehuevi mythology until his untimely death in 1940. She published some of these stories in *The Chemehuevis* (1976) and *Mirror and Pattern: George Laird's World of Chemehuevi Mythology* (1984).

Those familiar with Harrington's field notes are very well aware of their outstanding merit as well as of the difficulties of deciphering some of his transcription. As we set out to digitize and transfer some of the Chemehuevi materials into contemporary Chemehuevi orthography for the use of the tribe, we were pleasantly surprised by how clearly they were written. Some of them were even typed on a typewriter. Of course, it was Carobeth (Harrington) Laird who transcribed and translated these stories, and we owe so much to her diligence and hard work.

For the purposes of our project we selected several short stories that could be used later for a children's storybook. These were photocopied from the microfilm and then transcribed in the new Chemehuevi orthography. This choice was based on several considerations: this orthography has been approved by the Chemehuevi language preservation group, it is keyboard-friendly, and it has few symbols that are unfamiliar to the general English-speaking audience. We also provided morpheme-by-morpheme glosses for each sentence but preserved the original English translation from Harrington's files. We used the *Online Chemehuevi Dictionary* (Elzinga n.d.) and *Chemehuevi: A Grammar and Lexi-*

*con* (Press 1979) as our main reference sources. Providing morpheme glosses was not always straightforward, and in some cases we left some words unparsed, but at least the main meaning of every word was clear. Morpheme-by-morpheme glosses are valuable for linguists and those interested in language documentation and revitalization, as they represent not only the lexical meaning of each word but also the grammatical meaning of each word's components.

Traditional narratives like the story in this chapter can be viewed from many different perspectives. For readers interested in the cultural aspect of the story and in oral culture in general, morpheme-by-morpheme presentation may feel like dissection of art and may even take away from the wit and humor and the moral of the story. So for readers interested in the language flow and power of the punch line, I present the whole story in Chemehuevi and then in English. Then, for those readers interested in details of syntax and morphology, the story is repeated with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses.

#### THE CHEMEHUEVI ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

There are several writing systems used by linguists in their work on Chemehuevi. The orthography in John P. Harrington's field notes differs from that of Margaret Press in *Chemehuevi* (1979). Needless to say, this inconsistency can potentially cause problems for both community members and linguists. There is, however, a writing system approved by the Chemehuevi tribal community as the official orthography, developed with the assistance of Dr. Dirk Elzinga and used in the *Online Chemehuevi Dictionary*. In this orthography, the Chemehuevi alphabet consists of the following letters: a, c, g, gw, h, i, k, kw, m, n, ng, o, p, r, s, t, tc, ts, u, ü, v, w, y, '.

For the purposes of discussion in this chapter, it is useful to

compare the writing system used in the original story transcribed by Carobeth Laird and approved by Harrington with the contemporary Chemehuevi orthography. I also include corresponding sounds in the International Phonetic Alphabet, as well as a rough pronunciation guide based on familiar English and Spanish sounds.

It is also important to mention that all Chemehuevi vowels in word final position are voiceless or whispered. In real life, this effect is achieved by shaping the lips for the pronunciation of the vowel without vibration of vocal cords. In other words, these vowels are breathed, rather than sounded out.

Traditional narratives like Chemehuevi myths are invaluable to the study and understanding of the native culture and heritage, and the very language of these myths is sacred for the people and must be treated with respect. These stories are a window into an ancient culture, a treasury of wealth not only for the Chemehuevi people but for every human being. Working with heritage materials like Harrington's files can be tedious and requires much concentration, but it is also one of the most exciting things a linguist can do. For me this is especially true when it comes to working with texts. Word lists and sample sentences are important, but there is nothing like a narrative to inform us about the language structure and the way words interact with each other in a language. A story is a complex organism that pulls together every single component of the language, from individual sounds and words to sentences and idiomatic expressions.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I present the story about how Coyote and Dog exchanged noses. Do not be misled by the seeming insignificance of the described event, for all the parties involved were significantly altered in this exchange and the lives of all humankind were not left untouched.

Table 1. Chemehuevi orthography

Chemehuevi orthography		Corresponding sounds in
Elzinga	Harrington and Laird (unpublished field notes)	International Phonetic Alphabet
a	a	[a]
aa	ā	[a:]
c	unattested	[š]
g	g	[ɣ]
gw	gw, gw	[ɣw]
h	h	[h]
i	i	[i]
ii	ī	[i:]
k	k	[k]
kw	kw, kw	[kw]
m	m	[m]
n	n	[n]
ng	ŋ	[ŋ]

Spanish *guapo* ‘handsome’ and *lago* ‘lake’  
 Long version of *a*  
 English *ship, push*  
 Pronounced like Spanish *g* in *lago* ‘lake’ and *segundo* ‘second’; not pronounced at all between two vowels  
 Pronounced like a blend of Spanish *g* and a *w* sound. This sound does not occur in English. Some Spanish speakers may pronounce this sound in words like *agua* ‘water’ or *saguaro*. It is sometimes pronounced like a *w* in Chemehuevi.  
 English *house*  
 Spanish *chico* ‘small’  
 English *pea, meet*  
 English *sketch, pack*  
 English *square, equal*  
 English *move, hum*  
 English *now, penny, tan*  
 English *singer, hang*

o	o	[o]	Spanish <i>rojo</i> 'red'
oo	ō	[o:]	Long version of o
P	p	[p]	English <i>spin</i> , <i>top</i>
r	r	[r]	English 'atom', <i>daddy</i> . This sound is called a <i>tap</i> or a <i>tapped-r</i>
s	s	[s]	English <i>soft</i> , <i>mouse</i>
t	t	[t]	English <i>stop</i> , <i>pot</i>
tc	ts	[č]	English <i>pitcher</i> , <i>catch</i> . The Chemehuevi sound is pronounced without rounding the lips as in English.
ts	ts	[ts]	English <i>pizza</i> , <i>cats</i>
u	u	[u]	Spanish <i>uva</i> 'grape'
uu	ū	[u:]	Long version of u
ü	ə	[i]	This sound does not exist in English or Spanish. One way of saying it is to say the Spanish sound <i>u</i> as in <i>uva</i> 'grape' and slowly stretch your lips into a smile.
üü	ə	[i:]	Long version of ü
v	v	[v]	English <i>vase</i> , <i>leave</i> . Some Chemehuevi speakers will pronounce this sound more like Spanish <i>b</i> or <i>v</i> in words like <i>uva</i> 'grape' and <i>cabeza</i> 'head'.
w	w	[w]	English <i>water</i> , <i>away</i>
y	j	[j]	English <i>yellow</i> , <i>layer</i>
,	,	[ʔ]	This sound is called the <i>glottal stop</i> , and it is written with an apostrophe in Chemehuevi. <i>Glottal stop</i> is not written in English, though English speakers pronounce it frequently. It is heard between the vowel sounds in the expression "uh-oh"; it is also how many English speakers pronounce the <i>t</i> in <i>button</i> or <i>Titans</i> .

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Source: Based on a pronunciation guide from Dirk Elzinga (personal communication).

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1dl.incl	first person dual inclusive
1sg	first person singular
2pl.anim.vis	second person plural animate visible
2sg.obj	second person singular object
2sg.subj	second person singular subject
3pl.anim.here	third person animate here
3pl.anim.invis	third person plural animate invisible
3pl.anim.vis	third person animate visible
3sg.anim.invis	third person singular animate invisible
3sg.anim.vis	third person singular animate visible
cont	continuous aspect marker
cop	copula
emph	emphatic particle
fut	future tense marker
loc	locative marker
mom	momentaneous aspect
npn	non-possessed marker
obl	oblique case marker
perf	perfective aspect marker
poss	possessive marker
pres/past	present/past-tense marker
pres.prt	present participle
prt	participle
refl	reflexive marker

## NOTES TO ORIGINAL TEXT

1. *-aikya* is Coyote speech signature, a characteristic feature of Chemehuevi narratives. Many animals have speech signatures that mark their speech, usually appearing at the end of words or phrases.

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## How Coyote and Dog Exchanged Noses

Coyote and Dog were traveling together as partners. Then Dog saw a house and wanted to go over to it. “I am going to stay with those people. I will live eating with the house owners,” said Dog. “Very well, I will live traveling around. Let us exchange our noses. You are the one who is going to stay at the houses. I, having that nose of yours, will drink at a place that is hard to get at, it being slender. I will eat something even in a small place.” Then they exchanged noses. Having shaken hands, they separated. Dog stayed at a house; Coyote, being a coyote, lives no matter where.

That is all; thus it ends.

Sünawavia Pungkutsiwa'a Muvinanawituwapü.

Sünawavia pungkutsiwa'a nasumpüagaiyu'umü 'uruwayü. Haita'-ungwa pungkutsi'ungwa kania punikaiyu 'uvaantuwarügaayü. "Mamüvani'ivaani kanigamüaamüa'a, mamüvatsüa tükagai nüwügaiva," maika pungkutsi'anga. "Hü'ü-aikya, nü'ükwa-aikya<sup>1</sup> pagaini'igai nüwügaiva-aikya muviyarami nanawituwangumpa-aikya. Ümi'ikwa kanivaani'ivaantü-aikya, nü'ü'kwa muviya'amiakaya muvikaiyu-aikya toronaampüvaantüaniya-aikya hiviva-aikya, si'yautsiguwaka-aikya mi'yaupütsiipa'atüasampa-aikya nanaagaru'wapütsiya-aikya tükava-aikya." Haita'umü muvinanawituwangu, mo'onagwütsi'imü na'uwingu'umü, pungkutsi'uungwa kanivani'ingu, sünawavi'aanga süna'avigaiyu, humpa'yawi hagava nüwüga'i. Hu'ürüsampa'ukwa, püruwa'ukwa tupikuna.

Sünawa-vi-a Pungku-tsi-wa'a Muvi-nanawi-tuwa-pü.

Coyote-npn-obl Dog-npn- and nose-hand- towards-prt  
'Coyote and Dog Exchanged Noses'.

(1)

Sünawa-vi-a pungku-tsi-wa'a na-sumpü-a-gai-yu-'umü  
'uruwa-yü.

coyote-npn-obl dog-npn-and refl-partner-obl-be-while-3pl.  
anim.invis walk-pres/past

'Coyote together with Dog, being partners, were traveling'.

(2)

Haita-'ungwa pungku-tsi-'ungwa kani-a puni-kai-  
yu 'uvaa-ntuwa-rügaayü.

then-3sg.anim.invis dog-npn-3sg.anim.invis house-obl see-perf-  
while there-toward-want-pres/past

'Then Dog, upon seeing a house wanted to go over to it'.

(3)

“Mamü-va-ni’i-vaa-ni kani-ga-mü-a-’amüa’a,  
 mamü-vatsü-a tüka-gai nüwügai-va,” mai-ka  
 pungku-tsi-’anga.

2pl.anim.vis-at-cont-fut-1sg house-have-anim-poss-3pl.anim.vis  
 3pl.anim.vis-around-obl eat-pres.prt live-fut say-perf  
 dog-npn-3sg.anim.vis

“I am going to stay with the house owners, at them eating I will live,”  
 said Dog’.

(4)

“Hü’ü-aikya, nü’ü-kwa-aikya pagai-ni’i-gai nüwügai-va-aikya  
 muvi-ya-’rami nanawi-tuwa-ngu-mpa-aikya.

yes 1sg-cop walk-cont-while live-fut  
 nose-poss-1dl.incl hand-towards-mom-fut

“All right, since I will live traveling around, we will exchange our  
 noses.’

(5)

‘Ümi-’ikwa kani-vaa-ni’i-vaa-ntü-aikya, nü’ü-kwa muvi-ya-’ami-  
 aka-ya muvi-kai-yu-aikya toronaa-mpü-vaantüa-  
 ni-ya-aikya hivi-va-aikya, si’yautsi-guwa-ka-aikya mi’yaupütsii-  
 pa’a-tüa-sampa-aikya nanaagaru’wa-pü-tsi-ya-aikya tüka-va-aikya.”

2sg.sub-cop house-at-cont-fut-pres.prt 1sg-cop nose-obl-2sg.  
 obj-3sg.inanim.invis-obl nose-have-while place-npn-at-1sg-obl  
 drink-fut slender-be-perf small-loc-in-only  
 something-npn-npn-obl eat-fut

‘Since you will stay at the house, I, that nose of yours having for a nose  
 at a place that is hard to get at will drink, and because it is slender  
 even in a small place I will eat something.’



HOPI





## 12. Two Hopi Poems

Singers Unknown

Recorded by H. R. Voth

Introduced by David Leedom Shaul

As fluent and/or active and/or native speakers of Native American languages become fewer in the twenty-first century, the problems of translation will grow in several dimensions. One, of course, relates to the resources available. The basic necessities are: a good grammatical description as devoid of linguistic theory as possible; adequate dictionary word stocks to match rare words and usages; and descriptions of various genres the translator will meet.

This chapter illustrates the last point by presenting two unpublished lyrics from the H. R. Voth papers in the Bethel College Library in North Newton, Kansas. The first lyric is a grinding song, which has the same sorts of themes as song-poems that are used in the Plaza Dances: rain, health, happiness, the good life. At the same time, the Hopi penchant for repetitions of four is found. Because of this, the lyric can be given a fairly straightforward “reading” by the translator. The clouds are fathers and mothers to people that bring rain, which brings health and happiness to the community that is in harmony, delighting each other with their own words. The “someones” (Hopi “someone” has a plural form) are the clouds looking at the community stated in the first part. The skip in lines is intended to shift the focus of the agent doing the looking. The interjection *oooo* is meant to give the sensation of a pleasant, refreshing chill, as when rain pours over one.

The last part of the poem is the “upward” part of the traditional Hopi song-poem. In translating it as a poem, I used extra line space to show the separateness of the “upward.” The interjection *mmmm* puts an affirmative, pleasant feeling into the English text. The expression “dancing toward you” refers to the forward motion of grinding at a grinding stone; perhaps an illustration of grinding would suggest this for the reader of the translation. The only word not clear in the last part is “water hawk” (better: “water sparrow hawk”), which may refer to ceremonial initiates, something that would come from the experience of most of the intended readers.

The process of translating is a process of reconstructing a poem in another language, so it is the kind of exercise advocated by reader response criticism. The new text (the translation) is a reading by the translator, creating text anew for readers of the English language.

This textual re-creation is informed by the translator’s knowledge of the language and its cultural context. A brief preface giving background and form can probably prime the English reader’s own feel for the Hopi original. The lexical resource (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998) and poetics (Shaul 2002) would give any translator the resources needed for satisfactory output, as would the many models of the song-poem available (discussed in Shaul 2002:172–206).

“Four Hopi Lullabies” (Sands and Sekaquaptewa 1978) provides comments and cultural background on the Hopi lullaby, along with the texts of the four standard lullabies. The second lyric presented is a textual variation of the familiar “Stinkbug Lullaby” (see List 1987) as given in the Voth papers. In this lyric, the word *nukpana* is taken in its sense of ‘naughty’. After all, stinkbugs are not major criminals (*nukpana* also connotes evil). The half-lines of the original are displayed in such a way as to tempt the English reader to mentally sing the translation to the *nyah-nyah-nyah-nyah-nyah-nyah* melody of Anglo-American childhood culture, in keeping with the lullaby idea. The wording “his horns” refers to the insect’s

antennas (*aala* is glossed as ‘antennas’ in the *Hopi Dictionary*), but the word *antennas* (much less the pseudo-English plural *antennae*) do not belong in a child’s song.

It can reasonably be inferred that mud and soot (from ashes dumped in the midden) would be on the bug, because it goes along the ground dragging its butt in the mud (an indication of moisture necessary for crops) and probing with its “horns.” Also, stinkbugs, when mating, go around piggyback, so this could account for the line about Stinkbug’s wife.

But why would Stinkbug take away someone’s shade? Is this just lullaby nonsense on par with “I gave my love a cherry that had no stone,” or does it have some cultural meaning?

This second lyric shows the kind of problems that will confront translators of the future. At some point they will have to stop at their very best effort and intent and let the new text be a text. They will have made a reading, a translator-response criticism of the original piece that will no doubt have explanation and critical apparatus to lend the reader a background for his or her own reading of the translated text.

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## Two Hopi Poems

### *Grinding Song*

Yes,  
    yes,  
        yes,  
            oh yes my mothers.

Yes,  
    yes,  
        yes,  
            oh yes my fathers.

we will be your children,  
as we, with our own words  
delight others  
    all day long.

At us, someones are looking:  
oooo clouds are pouring water.  
The day before, rain water pounds  
over us  
    early.

Indeed *mmmm* water hawk  
you array us;  
and I, for that reason, am dancing toward you  
    all day long.

Haa'o,  
    haa'o,

haa'o,  
    haa'o ingumu.  
Haa'o,  
    haa'o,  
        haa'o,  
            haa'o inamu.  
Itam umùutiwungwni,  
niikyangw itam itàalavayiy akw  
itam tuutayawna,  
    tawanawita.

Itamumi taayungwa hakimu  
*hayapa* omawu paa'oyangwu.  
Pay owi masay akw taayungwa.  
Totokyam yoymumuta  
itamuy ovaa *hayahàa hahaya*  
    talawayihi.

Hapi *ma* pavakyeletu,  
Um itamumi yuwsinaqö  
    nu' pankayngw umumi titiwunima  
tawanawita.

*Stinkbug Lullaby*

Stinkbug:,                   you stinker,  
taking away                 the shade!  
Mud on the                 butt,  
ashes on                   his horns,  
Stinkbug,     Stinkbug!  
  
From inside our plants,       he comes with his wife.  
Plans, plans:     Aha! Aha!

Hohoyaw nukpana  
ura um hakiy kiisiyat nàwkitangwu,  
Tsöqa hoviikyangw,  
    siivu aala'ykyangw,  
Hohoyaw, hohoyaw

itää'uyiy àasongaqw, nömay wiknuma.  
Tingavi, tingavi,     *hoho hoho.*



## 13. The Field Mouse Story

Narrated by Qöyawayma

Recorded by H. R. Voth

Introduced by David Leedom Shaul

The following narrative is recounted in H. R. Voth's *Traditions of the Hopi* (1905:229, no. 90, told by Qöyawayma). The Hopi text here is from the H. R. Voth papers at Bethel College in North Newton, Kansas. Voth compiled the *Traditions* by dictating partial English translations to a stenographer during the course of the narration. This present text is longer than most of the folkloric abstracts and is in Voth's handwriting. Of the twelve or so texts that he wrote out in Hopi, this is one of the longer ones; most of the others are folkloric abstracts in Hopi.

Another considerable difference between this text and the published English version in the *Traditions* is that in the central part of the story, when the field mice arrange pointed sticks in the ground where they are going to dance and fix a large bunch of owl feathers on a central stick as their *tïponi* (ritual standard). In this stretch of text, the events reported in the Hopi text in Voth's papers differ sequentially from the events reported in Voth's published translation. In the central part of the published version, Voth explains some ethnographic detail that is presupposed in this Hopi text. The mice describe their dance as *motstiva*. This refers to the defunct Momtsit Society, a war cult whose members were initiated after achievement in battle.

They then tied the larger feathers of the Owl in a large bunch and set it in the center of the enclosure. This was to serve to them as a tiponi, around which they were going to perform their dance. They then got ready for the dance. Though they were only small they had large bunches of feathers (nákwas) on their heads. The leaders held a little bow with some tiny arrows.

The dance that they were performing was an imitation of the dance of the Mómchitu Fraternity. (Voth 1905:230)

The irony of the story is that such timid creatures as mice imitate the dance of a warrior society. As with the real dance, the theme of fertility is involved: “The meaning is that they dance in order to bring about an opportunity to get at some seeds and kernels again” (Voth 1905:230). However, the mice’s “fertility” amounts to increasing their chances of feasting nocturnally on the food of others (i.e., in the houses of the Hopis, when they are asleep), as is shown by the following line from the story.

Pay pi uma tooki piw haqam hakiy himuyat so’on qa hoyalaya.  
‘Again last night you all laid waste to someone’s provisions’.

It is perhaps this bad intent that allows the hawk to kill and scatter the mice. However, the theme of killing a raptorial bird with sharp sticks stuck in the ground occurs in another Hopi narrative (“The Field Mouse Goes to War”), where the same species of hawk (*kiisa*, ‘chicken hawk’) is killed by a field mouse (Kennard 1944). In the present text, a mouse successfully impales an owl, a nocturnal raptor. Mice are nocturnal, and when they try to transfer the technique to the daytime, a diurnal raptor (a *kiisa* hawk) turns the tables, killing a number of them as they try to imitate a human, diurnal ceremony. The ingenuity of an individual cannot be successfully copied collectively, that is, during the daytime (when mice are out of their element).

Voth also omits the *cante fable* in his Hopi text, and it has been

inserted at the appropriate spot in the Hopi text as presented here. As with most songs embedded in stories, this song has a limited linguistic text (and probably had a musical envelope of very limited range, perhaps a second or third in western music).

Extensive work with Hopi narratives (Shaul 2002:chap. 2) has shown that Hopi traditional narratives tend to group into an architecture of lines that arrange in multiples of four. Lines are defined by special forms of words (pausal forms) that show they are utterance final or by subordinating verb suffixes. An example of a pausal is in line 2 of the text here (*-tsmove'e* for sentence internal *-tsmove*). Hopi default word order is Subject plus Object plus Verb; verbs, as the final elements of the simple sentence, do not usually appear in pausal form (the pausal forms of verbs are imperative in force). Examples of subordinated verbs are in line 6 and 11 of the text, with a subordinating verb suffix preceding each (*niinani* 'will eat it' plus *-qa'e* in both cases).

Even though the present text was written in Hopi by Voth, an architecture of multiples of four is apparent. At the end of the story, the climax of the action is told in a sequence of eight lines (lines 66–74) and subsequent action (lines 79–81, 82–85, and 86–90) is cast in quatrains. That versification of Native American narratives is not predictable (but instead a feature of individual artistry) is one of the givens of ethnopoetics, as established by Hymes (1981). In *Hopi Traditional Literature*, I showed that Hopi versification is largely predictable and that, moreover, predictable versification is at work in novel discourse (a radio commercial cast as a traditional *tsa'alawu* announcement; longer narratives translated into Hopi in the New Testament; narratives edited into western prose by Ekkehart Malotki). Hopi predictable versification (and its consistent extension to novel uses) is one of the major points of my book, demonstrated over and over, but that point is ignored in the flawed review by De Reuse (2005), who never mentions either that point or the extension of predictable versification; it is as if he did not read the book or chose to ignore its central themes.

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## The Field Mouse Story

Hear, here!

They were living here.

And riht here at Sand Sage Hill  
     there lived a pocket mouse.

And right northwest of here there perched an owl  
 5] always thinkin’  
     of killin’ that mouse of his.

As the mouse went about  
     the owl glided along above  
     and would swoop down on him

10] and that mouse was the one  
     he wanted to kill.

So at Greasewood Hill the mouse made stick  
     brought ’em  
     sharpened ’em up

15]            inserting them beside his house  
                 sharp points up all around.

Then that night when the mouse was about  
the owl swooped  
impaled himself on one of the sticks

20] and just died;

                 So the mouse was the one who came out in the end.

                 He was plucking the owl's down feathers  
                 and plucked.

He tied a prayer stick

25] and held the prayer stick  
                 and prayed,

                 "I did it," he pondered.

And that night he came out of his burrow  
and said real loud,

30]            "Okay all of you offspring living here,  
                 "all of you assemble here early."

He announced it  
and went in.

They listened.

35] They were poor,  
                 those mice.

So they gathered.

And they said,

                 "So why did you want us?"

40] "Yes," said the mouse,

                 "Right here I killed the Owl

                 "wanting to make a dressing up of his downs.

                 "So we will have a dance."

"Indeed," they said.

45] They were delighted.

They got some downs for themselves  
and they tied some to themselves

and tied some in their hair.  
 As it gradually got bright,  
 50] they did it.  
 They got one mouse to compose:  
     “You make up a war song;  
     “This is a war dance,” they said.  
 So they learned it  
 55] [and this is how they sang:]  
                     Enjoying creativity  
                     Enjoying creativity  
                     That’s the skill!  
                     Aha! Wow, a lot!  
 60] At dawn they were emerging.  
 And so they danced  
     alongside his house  
     outside.  
 And way  
 65] over there on Kachina Point a hawk sat.  
 And those pocket mice  
     asked for the prepared greasewoods.  
     He brought ’em.  
     They really sharpened ’em.  
 70]             Again they inserted ’em beside his house  
                     standing pointing directly up.  
                     Around this erection they danced.  
                     Their voices rose in song.  
 So that hawk watched ’em,  
 75] thought to himself,  
     and said,  
         “Again last night you all laid waste to someone’s  
         provisions.”  
 And the mice  
     made their “pet’s” standard  
 80]     and they stood it up

and danced.  
The hawk dove toward them  
and entered them above their sharpenings,  
scattered the mice  
85] and killed some.  
And so he took a couple of 'em  
up to Coyote Hill  
just sitting there  
eating 'em,  
90] and so they died.  
Here it ends.

Aliksay.

Yaw yep yeesiwa.  
Noq yaw yep Hovaqaptsomove'e  
homìitsi ki'ya.  
Noq yaw yep akwnignya sutsep mongwu tsokiwtangwu.  
5] Pu' pam put homìitsiy niinaniqa'e  
wuuwantangwu.  
Homìitsi ep waynumqw  
mongwu atsva puuyawnumngwu,  
niikyangw ephaqam homìitsit aw wùukungwu.  
10] Pam homìitsi hin as put niinaniqa'e  
wuuwanta.  
Pu' pam kur aw Teptsomomi put teevet yukuta,  
pu' kivat  
put a'ne tsukutoynata,  
15] pu' kiy aqlavaqöy put tsööqömna  
niikyangw tsuku'at naanan'ivaq itsiwyungwa.  
Pu' ep mihikqw homìitsi waynuma.  
Pu' mongwu put aw wùuku.  
Put suukw kohoyat akw naatsööqökna.  
20] Pu' pay kur pam mooki,

Pu' homiitsi put aw yamakqa'e.  
 Pàasat pam pöhöyat ang soskyalawu,  
 ang sòokyanta.

Paahot yaw somta,

25] pu' paahot tangata,  
 pu' yaw pam wuuwanlawu.  
 "Kur nu' put hintsani," yan wuuwanta.

Pu' mihiqw kivay angqw yamakqe  
 oove a'nö tsa'alawu,

30] "Ta'a uma inatkomu panghaqam uma yeese,  
 uma iits pew tsovawmani!"

Pu' yaw tsa'alawt  
 paki.

Pu' ep puma nùutayta.

35] Pu' antsa okiwta,  
 hohomitstu.

Pu' sòosoyam tsovalti.

Pu' aw pangqaqwa,  
 "Ta'a hinoq um itamuy kita naawakna?"

40] "Owi," yaw kita pam homiitsi.  
 "Pay nu' yep it mongwut niinaqa'e  
 "it nu' pöhöyat as yuwsinaniqey wuuwanta."  
 "Noq oovi itam hìita tiivani."

"Antsa," yaw kitota.

45] Yaw hàalaytoti.

Pu' pöhöyat amumi tsaama.

Pu' yaw puma put naap somtota,  
 pu' put nakwatota.

Nuwu talawva[qw]

50] pu' puma pas yukuya.

Pu' yaw put suukw homiitsit yeewa[qat] ayata.  
 "Um motstawit yukuni!"  
 "It motstivani," yaw kita.

Pu' yaw puma antsa put tatawkosya.

55] [Pu' yaw puma yan tawlalwa]:

Tuhuskyangw tsootsona,  
Tuhuskyangw tsootsona,  
Tsoonaniqa'e  
Ahe! Ehehehe!

60] Pu' talayvaqw puma nönönga.

Pu' yaw puma tiiva,  
kiy ang'a,  
iikye'.

Noq yaw pepeq

65] ayaq Katsinkituyqaveq kiisa tsokiwta.

Niikyangw puma hohomitstu  
suukw teevet yukutoniqat ayata.

Pu' pam put kiva.

Pu' puma put a'nö tsukutoynaya.

70] Pu' put kiy aqlavaqöy piw tsööqöмна.

Kya pas süu'oomi wunuptsiwyungwa.

It tsöqömiwtaqat asonve puma tiiva.

Niikyangw puma tawsa'akiwyungwa.

Pu' kiisa amumi tayta,

75] pu' [naami wuuwanta],

pu' pangqawu,

“Pay pi uma tooki piw haqam hakiy himuyat so'on qa  
hovalaya.”

Niikyangw puma hohomitstu

it voki'at taponit yukuya,

80] pu' puma put wunuptsikyaakyangw

tiiva.

Pu' pam kiisa amumi wùuku;

pam pumuy tsöqömuymuy atsawva amumi paki[t]

pu' puma hohomitstuy tsalakna,

85] niikyangw peetuy pas qööya.

Pu' lööqmuy àapiy yawma,  
Istsmovami[<sup>h</sup>i]:  
    pu' pep tsokiitiqa'e  
    pumuy tuumoyta,  
90]           pu' pumuy sowa.

[Pay yuk pölö.]

YAQUI





## 14. Wo'i Wakila into Taavu

Skinny Coyote and Bunny

Narrated by Santos Leyva

Translated into English by Maria Florez Leyva

Translated into Spanish by Mercedes Tubino Blanco

Introduced by Jason D. Haugen and Heidi Harley

The Hiaki (Yaqui) people are indigenous to the Rio Yaqui valley of Sonora, Mexico, and also live in several communities in southern Arizona, in the United States (e.g. Old Pascua, New Pascua, and Barrio Libre in the Tucson area and Guadalupe in the Phoenix area). Elders in the eight traditional pueblos in Mexico are typically bilingual in Hiaki and Spanish, while elders in the Arizona Hiaki communities are often trilingual in Hiaki, Spanish, and English. Although the Arizona communities have been settled for a century, Hiakis still maintain close family and friendship ties across the U.S.-Mexican border. However, as with all Native American communities, language shift within the younger generations is a major contemporary concern for Hiakis in both countries.

The Hiaki narrative presented below is a folktale that stems from the documentation and revitalization efforts of members of the Pascua Yaqui Tribe. In addition to formal education programs for children and adults run by the Pascua Yaqui Tribe's Education Division, current tribal efforts at promoting the preservation and use of the Hiaki language have been initiated in several other venues, including through radio broadcasts in the Hiaki language via the tribe's FM radio station (WPTY) and through a Yaqui language, history, and culture section in the quarterly tribal news-

letter, *Yaqui Times*. This recurring section offers language-related information (e.g. vocabulary lessons, lists of commonly used phrases, etc.) in each issue, in addition to the cultural history, current news, notices of upcoming community events, and other information relevant to tribe members that is printed in the newsletter.

The story presented below is the third and final installment of a series of narratives involving the adventures of Wo'i Wakila ('Skinny Coyote') and Taavu ('Bunny'), which were collected for the tribe's archive of folktales and published in the newsletter to present some of this traditional folklore to the members of the tribe. This version of the story first appeared in *Yaqui Times* volume 6, number 8, in August 2005. It was told by Santos Leyva Alvarez and transcribed and translated by Maria Florez Leyva. The version presented here has added a new morphological analysis of the Hiaki words, a literal translation of the Hiaki sentences, and a Spanish free translation of the whole story, to supplement the English free translation.

#### HIAKI VERBAL ART

Previous collections have presented examples of Hiaki literature in various genres. These have included transcriptions of oral performances of myths and legends in English translation (Giddings 1959; Evers 1980), myths and legends printed in Hiaki without translation (Mondragón, Tello, and Valdéz 1996), text and translation of Deer songs (Evers and Molina 1987), and liturgical texts such as a full transcription and explication of an Easter sermon (Alvarez 1955). Hiaki authors have also contributed texts in various written genres, such as full autobiographical narratives (in English) (Moisés, Kelley, and Holden 1971; Savala 1980) and a collection of poems and stories intertwining Hiaki myths and legends with personal family history written by a contemporary writer and poet (Endrezze 2000). Particular attention has been

paid to variations on a frequently told narrative that has come to be called “The Talking [or Singing] Tree” (Spicer 1980; Sands 1983; Erickson 2003). This tale, in any of its various incarnations, relates the origins of the Hiaki people and serves as “a mythic history that prophesies the arrival of the Europeans and the ensuing baptism and ultimate transformation of the [Hiaki] people” (Erickson 2003:466).

A common feature of Hiaki narratives is the use of animals as the main characters, both as protagonists and as antagonists. The use of these animal characters not only is entertaining but also lends itself to instructing Hiaki children in the important Hiaki belief in the interrelatedness of humans and the natural world, including the animal world. In Hiaki culture, animals (and in fact all forms of life) are viewed as being extremely significant to the well-being of humans, and for this reason all forms of life are to be respected. Certain animals, such as deer, play extremely central roles in Hiaki culture and mythology. The *maaso* ‘deer (dancer)’, specifically, plays a prominent role in every Hiaki festival, and the Deer Dance is one of the most important cultural traditions of the Hiaki people.

A common feature of Hiaki animal stories is that the animal characters are imbued with humanlike characteristics, which allows the listeners to relate to the animals according to the various traits that they associate with themselves and other humans from their own experiences, both positive (e.g. wisdom, intelligence, or hardiness) and negative (gullibility, foolishness, or silliness).

#### THE PRESENT STORY: WO’I WAKILA INTO TAAVU ‘SKINNY COYOTE AND BUNNY’

The Hiaki narrative presented below is a Coyote story. As in the oral traditions of many Native American communities, Coyote is often featured prominently in Hiaki stories. However, rather than he himself serving as the central trickster character, in Hiaki stories

Coyote often finds himself the victim of those whom he would otherwise have victimized. In this he is not completely unlike the Wile E. Coyote character depicted in the famous Looney Tunes cartoons, and he even shares the same Sonoran Desert backdrop.

In the present story, and in many other Hiaki stories like it, the Coyote figure is presented as Wo'i Wakila, or 'Skinny Coyote'. His skinniness reflects his essential character trait: he is always hungry and looking to capture another animal as prey, and his chief hunting method is the attempted use of guile. His prey is usually more clever than he, however, and the tables are typically turned on him. Thus he is disappointed in his search for food, and his constant failure makes him a bit of a pathetic figure.

In this particular story, Wo'i Wakila makes two ineffectual attempts to capture and eat Taavu ('Rabbit' or 'Bunny'). The story begins by explicitly setting up a narrative framework, placing the events to be related within a larger series of like events (*It is said that Skinny Coyote still had not succeeded in eating Bunny. Bunny kept fooling Skinny Coyote*). After wandering around and looking for food, Wo'i Wakila discovers Bunny stirring a stick around in the ground. When Wo'i Wakila threatens to eat Bunny, Bunny pleads for his life by claiming that he is busy cooking pork rinds (*chicharoonim*) by stirring pork skins in very hot lard under the ground. In fact, Bunny has been agitating a rattlesnake, and knowing Wo'i Wakila's gullibility all too well, Bunny warns him not to stick his hand down into the hole to grab one of Bunny's pork rinds. Wo'i Wakila is too hungry (and impatient) to heed Bunny's ostensible warning, and he reaches in to grab a pork rind and gets bitten (*"Oh my goodness, yes; the lard is really hot!"*). It is only later, after his hand has swollen from the venom and Bunny has made his escape, that Wo'i Wakila realizes that he has been fooled again.

More time passes (*He still did not eat. He continued to walk around very hungry.*) before Wo'i Wakila happens upon Bunny again. This time Bunny is busy sewing up a bag from animal hide. Wo'i Wakila tells Bunny, *"You sure fooled me very well once again, my friend.*

*But now I am really going to eat you.*" This time Bunny tells Wo'i Wakila not to eat him because the world is about to end—it is going to be consumed with fire. Bunny claims to be making the hide bag in order to sew himself up to protect himself from the forthcoming flames. Wo'i Wakila, illustrating the negative characteristic of self-centeredness and lack of concern for others, demands to be sewn up inside the bag instead, leaving Bunny to sew up another bag for himself later on (or so Wo'i Wakila thinks). After falsely demurring for a brief time, Bunny "acquiesces" and agrees to sew Wo'i Wakila up inside the bag. Once he has tied Wo'i Wakila up in the bag, Bunny hangs the bag from a tree and then lights a fire beneath it. Bunny then commences to act like he himself is burning alive outside the bag by screaming "*Ik! Ik!*" while the heat from the flames increase for Wo'i Wakila inside the bag. For a brief period of time Wo'i Wakila is convinced that he has outwitted a doomed Bunny, but as the heat increases he soon comes to realize that, to the contrary, he has been fooled again and is actually now in quite a bit of trouble. Bunny runs away and leaves Wo'i Wakila to die in the fire.

Although the narration of Wo'i Wakila's fruitless (meatless?) plight often highlights a Sisyphean quest, at the conclusion of this version it is implied that Wo'i Wakila might have died and been put out of his misery once and for all (*Then Bunny ran away, and Skinny Coyote was finished*). In a fitting stroke of rhetorical parallelism the same verb stem is used to describe the demise of Wo'i Wakila as Bunny had used to describe the foretold end of the world: *lu'ute*, which Molina, Valenzuela, and Shaul (1999) define as meaning 'be completed, finished'; 'pass away (die)'; or 'vanish, disappear'.

This tale illustrates several personality traits of Wo'i Wakila, including greediness, self-centeredness, impatience, and failure (or, perhaps even worse, refusal) to heed a warning. Because he embodies all of these negative traits his efforts are not rewarded. On the other hand, Bunny shows resourcefulness, and for this reason

he is able to avoid being captured and eaten. Although his cleverness serves him well, one source of humor in the story is the subtext that Bunny also somewhat enjoys his narrow escapes, since his deception involves not only saving himself but also punishing Wo'i Wakila for his effort to eat him.

#### GRAMMATICAL NOTES

The text of the story clearly illustrates several interesting features of Hiaki grammar, including verb derivation and compounding, reduplication, and clitic-doubling with noun phrase postposting in narration.

Hiaki has many ways of forming complex verbs, both with derivational suffixes, such as *-tua*, 'make' (line 6, line 39), *-tuite*, 'start, begin' (line 40), and *-le* 'think, consider' (line 41), and also by compounding with words that can be independent verbs in their own right, such as *-maachi*, 'appear, seem' (line 16) and *-siime* 'go' (line 3). All such complex verbs must be translated into English using two independent verbs, each in its own clause, but in Hiaki they comprise a single complex verb-word and occupy just a single finite clause.

Verbs in Hiaki are reduplicated to express habitual aspect (lines 2, 3) and emphasis (line 9). Reduplication interacts with compounded verb forms in an interesting way. In a compound verb such as *hariu-sime* 'look-go', meaning 'to go around looking for something' (line 3), reduplication applies not to the entire verb compound but rather just to the rightmost element (i.e., the head) of the compound, giving *hariu-si-sime* and not *\*ha-hariu-sime*.

Hiaki generally has fairly rigid subject-object-verb word order, but in many sentences in this narrative material appears following the finite verb, especially noun phrases and postpositional phrases. This following material is often the subject of the sentence, as in line 7, but sometimes it is an object (line 40) or indirect object (line 8, line 20). Sometimes both the subject and

object can follow the verb (line 2). Whenever an object or postpositional phrase follows the verb, however, clitic object pronouns or pronominal postpositional phrases also appear in their usual place before the finite verb, in effect “doubling” the noun phrases that follow. This clitic doubling phenomenon is quite pervasive in Hiaki narrative, although the word order it produces is not otherwise much observed in the language. We have occasionally tried to replicate its effect in the literal translation, at least in cases where the resulting English phrase is not too unnatural and the interpretation is clear.

#### ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

The orthography used for this narrative is the one adopted by the Pascua Yaqui Tribe of Tucson, Arizona. The pronunciation of the alphabetic symbols is fairly straightforward, with the simplex vowels having the same values as they would have in Spanish. Diphthongs include /ai/ and /au/. The consonants are pronounced as they often would be in English. However, there are three consonants of note: *bw* and *ch*, both of which represent a single consonantal phoneme of the language (a velarized bilabial stop and an alveo-palatal affricate, respectively), and the glottal stop ('). Two places where the orthography used here differs from the that typically used in Mexico are in the use of *h* (rather than *j*) for the voiceless glottal fricative and *v* (rather than *b*) for the voiced labiodental fricative.

While the narrative is presented in the traditional Pascua Yaqui Tribe orthography, words have been divided into their component morphemes with hyphens. Words that are cliticized to another host word are orthographically attached to their host with an “equals” sign (=). A morpheme-by-morpheme gloss and a close-to-literal translation of each sentence is also given. The narrative itself is accompanied by free translations of the story into the common second languages of many Hiaki speakers: English and Spanish.

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## Skinny Coyote and Bunny

1. It is said that Skinny Coyote still had not succeeded in eating Bunny.
2. Bunny kept fooling Skinny Coyote.
3. One day Skinny Coyote was walking around there terribly hungry looking for food.
4. Then he found Bunny again.
5. Bunny was sitting on a tree trunk, busy stirring a long stick that he had placed in a hole in the ground.
6. Inside the hole was a rattlesnake who was extremely upset since Bunny was moving him around with the stick.
7. This is where Coyote came to Bunny again.
8. "Now, finally I am going to eat you my friend," said Skinny Coyote to Bunny.
9. "Don't eat me for I am making pork rinds.
10. But don't stick your hand down in there since you will burn your hand because the lard is very hot."
11. This is how Bunny responded to Skinny Coyote.
12. Since Coyote was really very hungry, he quickly reached into the hole to grab a pork rind.
13. He wouldn't listen to the warning.
14. And the rattlesnake immediately bit him on the hand.
15. "Oh my goodness, yes; the lard is really hot!" said Skinny Coyote.
16. His hand started swelling and he didn't know what to do.
17. "My friend has already fooled me again!" said Skinny Coyote, realizing what had happened.
18. He still did not eat.
19. He continued to walk around very hungry.

20. After wandering around for a while, Skinny Coyote again happened upon Bunny.
21. Bunny was hunched over sewing a piece of hide.
22. Skinny Coyote approached him and said to him, "You sure fooled me very well once again, my friend.
23. But now I am really going to eat you."
24. Then Bunny replied to him thus: "Don't eat me. Don't you know that the earth is going to end?"
25. "It's going to end?" questioned Skinny Coyote.
26. "Yes, the world is going to burn.
27. This is why I am going to go inside this skin bag.
28. I am going to sew myself in it and save myself," stated Bunny.
29. "You should place me inside the bag and sew it up," said Skinny Coyote, having become scared already.
30. "Then what about me?" replied Bunny.
31. "How shall I save myself?"
32. "You can make another bag later," replied Skinny Coyote.
33. Bunny acted as if he did not want to do this,
34. but finally replied to Skinny Coyote in this way:
35. "Well, alright, but hurry and get into the bag since the world is about to start burning."
36. Skinny Coyote hastily entered the bag.
37. Bunny quickly sewed up the Coyote in the bag and hung him from the tree.
38. Then he quickly lit a very large fire underneath Skinny Coyote.
39. Then he commenced to make crying sounds, squealing, "Ik, Ik!"
40. Meanwhile, Skinny Coyote began to feel the heat from the flames.
41. "Oh yes, the world is starting to burn!" he exclaimed, feeling the heat even more.
42. Then Bunny ran away, and Skinny Coyote was finished.
43. This you may know about Skinny Coyote and Bunny.

1. Uu Wo'i Wakila vaha hiva kaa uka Taavuta bwa'aka tea.
2. Hiva aa vaitatta'a tea uu Taavu uka Wo'i Wakilata.
3. Hak weeka vaha uu Wo'i Wakila si ousi tevaureka ama hi'ibwe hariusisime.
4. Hunak vaha Tavuta uchi teak.
5. Uu Tavu into hunama kutanawapo kateka woho'oriapo kutata kuria tea.
6. Hunama woho'oku uka aakame kutatamak kuriaka aa o'omtituala.
7. Hunama vaha au yepsak uu Wo'i Wakila.
8. "I'an ala nee enchi bwa'aka in Hala'i," ti vaha au te'eka Tavutawi uu Wo'i Wakila.
9. "Katee nee bwabwa'e. Ketchu nee chicharoonim hooa.
10. Kat aman kom mamma, ala bweituk si tata uu manteka."
11. Ti vaha hia uu Taavu Wo'i Wakilatawi.
12. Uu Wo'iinto tevai muukeka sep aman kom mamtek, chicharoonim nu'uvaekai;
13. kaa au noktu.
14. Uu aakame into lauti mampo aa ke'eka.
15. "Ay tua e'aka, si tata uu manteka!" ti vaha te'eka uu Wo'i.
16. Hunama vaha mamvahak uu Wo'i Wakila. Hunak vaha kaachin anmachi.
17. "Haivu uchi nee vaita'asuk uu in hala'i," ti vaha hia uu Wo'i Wakila.
18. Hiva huni kaa hi'ibwak.
19. Kia siawikosaka nah weye.
20. Chuvala nah weyeka vaha uchi aet remtek uu Tavutachi.
21. Uu Taavu vaha ama lovola kateka si e'aka veata hiika.
22. Uu Wo'i Wakila vaha inien au hiia, "Si empo nee vaita'ak in hala'i.
23. I'an ala nee enchi bwa'avae."
24. Hunak vaha inen aa yopnak uu Taavu, "Kat nee bwabwa'e ketchu ania luutivae."

25. "Luutivae?" ti veba aa yopnak uu Wo'i Wakila.
  26. "Heewi, veetivae uu ania.
  27. Kialikun nee inim veapo waiwa kivakvae.
  28. Ama nee ino hiikakai nee ino hinne'uvae," Ti veba te'eka uu Taavu.
  29. "Emposu nee ama hiikean," ti te'eka uu Wo'i Wakila haivu womtilatakai.
  30. "Hunaksu inepo?" ti aa yopnak uu Taavu.
  31. "Haisa nee ino hinne'une?"
  32. "Chukula empo senum ya'ane," ti veba hiia uu Wo'i Wakila.
  33. Uu Taavu into kaa hunuen au eetuamta venasi anekasu,
  34. veba iiyilen au hiia,
  35. "Abwe tu'i, noolia ama kivake, taa lauti bweituk aave veeti-taite uu ania."
  36. Uu Wo'i Wakila veba lauti ama voosapo kivakek.
  37. Uu Taavu veba lauti ama waiwa aa hiikak.
  38. Chukula veba si bwe'um au nayak, tua Wo'i Wakilata cha'aka vetuku.
  39. Uu Taavu veba si au bwantua, kia "Ik, ik" ti bwana.
  40. Uu Wo'i veba aa ine'etaitek uka tahita.
  41. "Ay tua e'aka haivu veete uu ania!" ti veba tete uu Wo'i Wakila, che'ewasu tatalekai.
  42. Hunum veba uu Taavu vuitek. Uu Wo'i Wakila into hunama luutek.
  43. Inien eme'e aa hu'uneiya'ane Wo'i Wakila into Taavuta vetana.
1. Se dice que Coyote 'el flaquito' aún no había conseguido comerse a Conejito . . .
  2. pues Conejito seguía engañando a Coyote 'el flaquito'.
  3. Un día que el Coyote, muerto de hambre, deambulaba en busca de algo que comer . . .
  4. Se volvió a encontrar con el Conejito.
  5. El Conejito, que andaba apoyado en el tronco de un árbol,

- se entretenía revolviendo una larga ramita en un hoyo que había en el suelo.
6. Dentro del hoyo se encontraba una serpiente de cascabel terriblemente enojada por culpa de Conejito, que la andaba revolviendo con la rama.
  7. Y esto es lo que el Coyote le dijo a Conejito esta vez:
  8. “Ahora no te vas a escapar: esta vez sí que te voy a comer, amigo mío,” le dijo Coyote ‘el flaquito’ a Conejito.
  9. “No me comas que estoy haciendo chicharrones.
  10. Pero no vayas a meter la mano ahí dentro porque la manteca está ardiendo y te quemarás.”
  11. Así fue como el Conejito le respondió al Coyote.
  12. Como Coyote se moría de hambre, sin pensarlo metió la mano en el hoyo para agarrar un chicharrón . . .
  13. . . sin hacer caso a la advertencia.
  14. Y la serpiente de cascabel en seguida le mordió la mano.
  15. “Ay, Virgencita!—es verdad, la manteca sí que está caliente!” dijo Coyote ‘el flaquito’.
  16. La mano se le empezó a hinchar, no sabiendo él qué hacer.
  17. “Mi amigo me ha vuelto a engañar!” dijo Coyote ‘el flaquito’ al darse cuenta de lo que había pasado.
  18. Y encima se quedó sin comer.
  19. Así que volvió a deambular muerto de hambre.
  20. Tras ir de un lado para otro durante un rato, el Coyote se volvió a encontrar con el Conejito una vez más.
  21. El Conejito estaba en cuclillas cosiendo un pedazo de piel.
  22. El Coyote se le aproximó y le dijo: “La última vez me volviste a tomar bien el pelo, amigo mío . . .
  23. Pero ahora sí que te voy a comer.”
  24. El Conejito respondió así: “No me comas . . . ¿acaso no sabes que el mundo se acaba?”
  25. “¿Que se acaba?” preguntó el Coyote.
  26. “Sí, ¡el mundo va a arder!

27. Y es por eso que me estoy haciendo esta bolsa de piel, para meterme ahí.
28. La voy a coser yo mismo y ahí es donde me voy a salvar,” dijo el Conejito.
29. “Pues entonces deberías meterme dentro de la bolsa y encerrarme allí,” dijo el Coyote asustado.
30. “¿Y qué pasa conmigo?” dijo el Conejito.
31. “¿Cómo me salvo yo?”
32. “Tú puedes hacerte otra luego,” contestó el Coyote.
33. El Conejito hizo como si no quisiera hacerlo,
34. pero al final le dijo a Coyote ‘el flaquito’:
35. “Bueno, está bien, pero date prisa y métete en la bolsa porque ya queda poco para que el mundo empiece a arder.”
36. Coyote ‘el flaquito’ corriendo se metió en la bolsa.
37. El Conejito enseguida encerró al Coyote en la bolsa y lo colgó del árbol.
38. A continuación encendió una hoguera enorme justo debajo de Coyote ‘el flaquito’.
39. Y luego empezó a imitar chirridos, diciendo “ik, ik!”
40. Mientras tanto, Coyote ‘el flaquito’ comenzaba a sentir el calor de las llamas.
41. “Es verdad, ¡el mundo está empezando a arder!” exclamó, sintiendo el calor cada vez más fuerte.
42. Entonces el Conejito se escapó corriendo, y poco después fue el fin del Coyote.
43. Esto es lo que se sabe de ellos, de Coyote ‘el flaquito’ y de Conejito.

Line 1.

Uu Wo'i Wakila veba hiva kaa uka Taavu-ta bwa'a-ka  
tea.

the Coyote Skinny already here not the.ACC Bunny-ACC eat-PPL  
said.

It is said that Skinny Coyote still had not eaten Bunny.

Line 2.

Hiva aa=vai-tat-ta'a                    tea uu Taavu uka        Wo'i  
Wakila-ta.  
here him.ACC=fool-RED-fool said the Bunny the.ACC Coyote  
Skinny-ACC

It is said that Bunny kept fooling him, the Skinny Coyote.

Line 3.

Hak                wee-ka vaha uu Wo'i Wakila    si    ousi tevaure-  
ka    ama    hi'ibwe hariu-si-sime.  
somewhere walk-PPL then the Coyote Skinny very much hungry-  
PPL there eat        look-RED-go

Skinny Coyote was then walking somewhere very very hungry,  
going around there looking to eat something.

Line 4.

Hunak vaha    Tavu-ta        uchi tea-k.  
then    already Bunny-ACC again find-PERF  
Then [he] found Bunny again.

Line 5.

Uu Tavu=into    hunama kuta-nawa-po kate-ka woho'oria-po  
kuta-ta    kuria tea.  
the Bunny=and there    stick-root-at    sit-PPL hole-at  
stick-ACC turn    say

And [they] say that Bunny was sitting there on a tree trunk,  
turning a stick around in a hole.

Line 6.

Hunama woho'ok-u uka        aakame        kuta-ta-mak    kuria-ka  
aa=o'omti-tua-la.  
there    hole-to        the.ACC rattle.snake stick-ACC-with turn-PPL  
him.ACC=angry-CAUS-PAST.PPL

Turning the rattlesnake around there in the hole with the stick,  
he had made him angry.

Line 7.

Hunama vaha a-u yepsa-k uu Wo'i Wakila.  
 there already him-to arrive-PERF the Coyote Skinny  
 There is where Skinny Coyote came to him.

Line 8.

"I'an ala nee enchi bwa'a-ka in Hala'i," ti vaha  
 a-u te'eka Tavu-ta-wi uu Wo'i Wakila.  
 today well I you.ACC eat-PPL my friend this.way already  
 him-to say.PERF Bunny-ACC-to the Coyote Skinny  
 "Well, today I am going to eat you, my friend." Thus [he] spoke  
 to him, Skinny Coyote to Bunny.

Line 9.

"Kat=ee nee bwa-bwa'e. Ketchu nee chicharooni-m hooa.  
 don't=you me RED-eat still I porkrind-PL make  
 "Don't eat me. I'm still making pork rinds."

Line 10.

Kat aman kom mamma, ala bweituk si tata uu manteka."  
 don't there down put.hand, well because very hot the lard  
 "Don't put your hand[s] down [there], because the lard is very hot."

Line 11.

Ti vaha hia uu Taavu Wo'i Wakila-ta-wi.  
 Thus already said the Bunny Coyote Skinny-ACC-to  
 Thus Bunny responded to Skinny Coyote.

Line 12.

Uu Wo'i=into tevai muuke-ka sep aman kom  
 mamte-k, chicharooni-m nu'u-vae-kai;  
 the Coyote=and hungry die-PPL immediately there down  
 reach.hand-PERF pork rind-PL get-PROSP-PPL  
 Since Coyote was dying of hunger he immediately reached his  
 hand down [there], wanting to get some pork rinds.

Line 13.

kaa a-u nok-tu.  
 not him-to speak-PRED  
 ignoring what was said to him.

Line 14.

Uu aakame=into lauti mam-po aa=ke'eka.  
 the rattlesnake=and immediately hand-on him.ACC=bite.PERF  
 And the rattlesnake immediately bit him on the hand.

Line 15.

"Ay tua e'a-ka, si tata uu manteka!" ti vaha te'eka  
 uu Wo'i.  
 "ay really feel-PPL very hot the lard." Thus already say.PERF  
 the Coyote  
 "Ay, yes, the lard really feels very hot!" Thus spoke Coyote.

Line 16.

Hunama vaha mam-vaha-k uu Wo'i Wakila. Hunak  
 vaha kaachin an-machi.  
 there then hand-swell-PERF the Coyote Skinny Then  
 already nothing do-appear  
 Then Skinny Coyote's hand swelled there. Then there seemed to  
 be nothing left to do.

Line 17.

"Haivu uchi nee vaita'a-su-k uu in hala'i," ti vaha  
 hia uu Wo'i Wakila.  
 already again me fool-COMPL-PERF the my friend. Thus already  
 said the Coyote Skinny  
 "[He's] already fooled me again, that friend of mine!" Thus spoke  
 Skinny Coyote.

Line 18.

Hiva huni kaa hi'ibwa-k.  
 here still not eat-PERF  
 Here he still had not eaten.

Line 19.

Kia sia- wikosa-ka nah weye.  
 just intestines-belt-PPL around walk  
 [He] just walked around with his intestines for a belt. [I.e.,  
 walked around very hungry]

Line 20.

Chuvala nah weye-ka vеха uchi ae-t  
remte-k uu Tavu-ta-chi.

For.a.while around walk-PPL already again him-on  
open.eyes-PERF the Bunny-ACC-on

Later he was walking around and laid eyes on him again, the  
Bunny.

Line 21.

Uu Taavu vеха ama lovola kate-ka si e'aka vea-ta  
hiika.

the Bunny already there hunch sit-PPL very feel.PPL hide-ACC  
sew

Bunny was sitting there very hunched over, very intently sewing  
a piece of hide.

Line 22.

Uu Wo'i Wakila vеха inien a-u hiia, "Si empo nee  
vaita'a-k in hala'i."

the Coyote Skinny then this.way him-to said "Very you me  
fool-PERF my friend"

Skinny Coyote then spoke to him in this way: "You fooled me  
very well, my friend."

Line 23.

I'an ala nee enchi bwa'a-vae."

now CONJ I you eat-PROSP

But now I am going to eat you.

Line 24.

Hunak vеха inen aa yopna-k uu Taavu, "Kat nee  
bwa-bwa'e ketchu ania luuti-vae."

then already this.way him answer-PERF the Bunny "don't me  
RED-eat still world finish-PROSP"

Then in this way Bunny responded to him: "Don't eat me, the  
world is going to be finished [i.e., is going to end]."

Line 25.

“Luuti-vae?” ti vaha aa=yopna-k uu

Wo'i Wakila.

finish-PROSP Thus already him.ACC=answer-PERF the  
Coyote Skinny

“[It] is going to be finished?” Thus Skinny Coyote responded to  
him.

Line 26.

“Heewi, veeti-vae uu ania.

yes burn-PROSP the world

“Yes, the world will burn.”

Line 27.

Kialikun nee inim vea-po waiwa kivak-vae.

therefore I here skin-at inside enter-PROSP

“Therefore I am going to enter inside the skin here.”

Line 28.

Ama nee ino=hiika-kai nee ino=hinne'u-vae,” Ti vaha  
te'eka uu Taavu.

here I myself=sew-PPL I myself=save-PROSP Thus already  
say.PERF the Bunny

“I am sewing myself up here in order to save myself.” Thus  
spoke Bunny.

Line 29.

“Empo=su nee ama hiikea-n,” ti te'eka uu Wo'i Wakila  
haivu womtila-ta-kai.

you=EMPH me here sew-IMPF Thus say.PERF the Coyote Skinny  
already scared-become-PPL

“You should sew me up in here.” Thus spoke Skinny Coyote,  
already becoming scared.

Line 30.

“Hunak=su inepo?” ti aa=yopna-k uu Taavu.

“then=EMPH I” thus him.ACC=answer-PERF the Bunny

“And *me*?” Thus Bunny answered him.

Line 31.

“Haisa nee ino=hinne’u-ne?”

how I myself=save-FUT

“How shall I save myself?”

Line 32.

“Chukula empo senu-m ya’a-ne,” ti vaha hiia uu  
Wo’i Wakila.

later you another-PL make-FUT thus already said the  
Coyote Skinny

“You will make another [one] later.” Thus Skinny Coyote replied.

Line 33.

Uu Taavu=into kaa hunuen a-u ee-tua-m-ta  
venasi ane-ka-su.

the Bunny=and not then him-to think-CAUS-S.REL-ACC  
resemble do-PPL-emph

And Bunny acted to make him think that he did not want to do  
this.

Line 34.

vaha iiyilen a-u hiia,

already in.this.way him-to say

[He] finally replied to him in this way:

Line 35.

Abwe tu’i, noolia ama kivake, taa lautí bweituk  
aave veeti-taite uu ania.”

“Well good hurry.up here enter but immediately because  
almost burn-INCEP the world.”

“Well, alright, hurry up and enter here, since the world is almost  
starting to burn.”

Line 36.

Uu Wo’i Wakila vaha lautí ama voosa-po kivake-k.

the Skinny Coyote already quickly there bag-in enter-PERF  
Skinny Coyote quickly entered into the bag there.

Line 37.

Uu Taavu vеха lauti ama waiwa aa=hiika-k.  
 the Bunny already quickly there inside him.ACC sew-PERF  
 Bunny quickly sewed him up there inside the bag.

Line 38.

Chukula vеха si bwe'u-m a-u naya-k, tua  
 Wo'i Wakila-ta cha'a-ka vetuku.  
 later then very big-PL him-to light-PERF really  
 Coyote Skinny-ACC hang-PPL under  
 Afterwards [he] lit a very large [fire], under a certainly hanging  
 Skinny Coyote.

Line 39.

Uu Taavu vеха si au=bwan-tua, kia "Ik, ik" ti bwana.  
 the Bunny then very himself=cry-CAUS just "Ik ik" thus crying  
 Then Bunny really made himself cry, just crying thus: "Ik, Ik!"

Line 40.

Uu Wo'i vеха aa ine'e-taite-k uka tahi-ta.  
 the Coyote then it.ACC feel-INCEP-PERF the-ACC fire-ACC  
 Coyote then began feeling it, [the heat from] the fire.

Line 41.

"Ay tua e'aka haivu veete uu ania!" ti vеха  
 tete uu Wo'i Wakila, che'ewasu tata-le-kai.  
 "oh really feel-PPL already burn the world!" this.way then  
 RED-say the Coyote Skinny more.and.more hot-think-PPL  
 "Ay!, I'm really feeling [it], the world is already burning!" Thus  
 spoke Coyote, finding it more and more hot.

Line 42.

Hunum vеха uu Taavu vuite-k. Uu Wo'i Wakila=into  
 hunama luute-k.  
 then already the Bunny run-PERF the Coyote Skinny=and  
 then finish-PERF  
 Then Bunny ran away. And Skinny Coyote was finished.

Line 43.

Inien eme'e aa hu'uneiya'a-ne Wo'i Wakila into  
Taavu-ta vetana.

like.this you.PL it.ACC know-FUT Coyote Skinny and  
Bunny-ACC from

This you may know about Skinny Coyote and Bunny.



## 15. The Talking Tree

A Yoeme Beginning

Narrator Unknown

Introduced by David Leedom Shaul

This central, emblematic Yoeme story (Giddings 1959:25–27; Painter 1986:4–11; Evers and Molina 1987:35–39) does not appear in any previous collection of Yoeme narratives in Yoeme (Johnson 1962). The present text came from Encinas, Romero and Valenzuela (1998:1–14); it is not clear which of the Yoeme narrators should be credited for this telling of this paradigmatic, diagnostic Yoeme text. A related, longer text appears in a Sonoran imprint (Fernández et al. 2004:317–38) but is not quoted here. This is the first time the full Yoeme text of this hallmark story has been presented in English. The spelling is that preferred by Arizona Yoeme, and the versification and translation are my own.

The story is about the Surem, who occupied the Yoeme country before the Yoemes as their ancestors, not knowing about God, good vs. evil, and Jesus. It is also about a dry (dead) tree that vibrates, making a crackling sound that only one person is able to translate. A young woman/girl (Yomumuli, Enchanted Bee; a.k.a. Sea Hamut, Flower Woman) is sought to interpret the tree's message, though in this version she emerges from the Yaqui River. The tree's message foretells the advent of Christianity. Those who rejected the prophecy retreated into the wilderness and the sea, taking the *yo anía* (enchanted wilderness world) with them. Muriel Painter remarks that “the yoania is still present there today, concurrent with the visible, tangible world. It only reveals its secrets

and fits to those who have special attributes to receive them. It can appear in visions in wild and lonely places far off on the desert or in secret caves in the mountains. It can also communicate by means of dreams" (Painter 1986:11). The mytheme of the Talking Tree/Pole not only separates Yoeme time but also draws a line between culture and nature, between the settled, agricultural life of the village and the wilderness just beyond, into which people venture to hunt and gather plant resources. "The relation between these two parts of the Yaqui [Yoeme] world is complex and reciprocal" (Evers and Molina 1987:38), and this myth accounts for the creation of the present Yoeme world.

The motif of a talking tree is central in another Yoeme story (Giddings 1959:42-44). In this narrative, two brothers go into the *monte* (wilderness), encounter gold, and one kills the other for a ball of gold. A stick or pole grows up from the slain brother's body, a passing mule driver finds it, and it tells him, "For a ball of gold, my brother killed me." The muleteer shows this in the towns he visits, and eventually the culprit is found out. Similar to a "staff of life" mytheme where the symbolic (food) plant grows out of a buried human body (e.g., corn, saguaro cactus, tobacco), this motif is yet the opposite because the foul play produces a barren stick and not a living plant.

A talking tree also appears in the Tohono O'odham narrative of the resurrected Elder Brother and the conquest of the Hohokam archaeological culture by the race of people he created before the Flood (Densmore 1929:23). Children disturb his bones after Brown Buzzard kills him. He then rises up into the sky.

In the middle of the sky was as "Talking Tree." When he reached the tree he broke off four branches and took them with him. The branches of the talking tree gave him power wherever he went in the world. (Densmore 1929:23)

Densmore also gives a song that relates to this; Bahr et al. (1994:88) give another version of this song, and the Talking Tree

is also mentioned by Benedict, Bahr, and Blackwater (2001:35, 187). This Talking Tree is a species of the Axis Mundi (World Tree) that connects the heavens, middle earth, and the underworld. It is not surprising to find the same mytheme in two neighboring mythologies.

I have versified the present text into lines containing clauses and appositives, indenting successive subordinate clauses. One remark by Sea Hamut (the woman who translates the Talking Tree's message) about the coming of Christianity is obscure.

That will help us

“so that (it) would not keep eating us

“(that one that) no one has been able to kill.”

It is not clear what the entity that “eats” the people is; presumably it is the enemy of the people (the Devil) in whatever pre-Christian guise. Then, too, the little girl comes out of the river. In other accounts in English and Spanish she gets angry at the end of the scenario and goes away, taking the river with her. Presumably this river is not the present Yaqui River (or else it is restored in another story).

This narrative clearly fits into a larger account, one that has yet to be assembled in Yoeme from the texts that are available. The settings and types of characters (First Deer Hunter, maidens who become plants such as tobacco, etc.) and the ways they fit into the ecology of this pre-Christian mythology await additional work. This work will deal with figures that bridge nature and human culture (such as Sea Hamut), etiological stories that answer the basic mythological questions (creation of the world and humans, eschatology, origin and differentiation of cultures), and stories bridging the Yoeme nature tradition (as opposed to the culture tradition) with Christianity. In a sense, this story represents an episode in a pre-Christian Christian mythology, one on which I am presently working.

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## The Talking Tree

Okay then, Fathers, I myself want to tell  
 about the Surem,  
 the former inhabitants of the present Yoeme land.  
 They are certainly natives here.

They are our ancestors.  
Together with them we emerged.  
Those Surem moved into Eight Pueblos here,  
    unbaptized,  
    God thus created them here.

When already the years went out  
overcoming the days,  
a priest would be sent to tell them.

Long ago a dry tree trying to talk  
    came out.

But no one understood it.  
When it settled downward the pole sounded crackling.  
Over there a tree was talking  
but no one heard.

People wanted to listen.

One day at Wiiwis people were residing [and]  
from the river a little girl came out.

Upon arriving they greeted,  
    the little girl.

“Which way did you come out?” they said to her.

To the two persons [she said],

“Let’s go together to the Eight Pueblos,

“to the one called the Pole that Would Speak,

“there let’s learn to hear [its] language,” she said to them.

“But no one knows how to hear

    “what it is trying to say,” they said to her.

The little girl said to them,

“So I will lead you and

    “I invite you and

        “will myself go with you.”

So then the girl and elders agreed [to go]

to the people directly

to tell the authorities.

The council truly did sound out  
     the girl.  
 They did take her ceremonial request.  
 They sounded the small drums.  
 Among the Eight Pueblos drums thudded.  
 The girl asked  
     at what hour the crackling sounded.  
 “At three, (or) four the crackling begins.”  
 Then that hour was awaited.  
 In a while the pole did begin to sound.  
 Then (she) stood up there  
     listening to it  
         listening to it  
             listening to it.  
 Momentarily she began to say to these people,  
 “That baptism will come to us  
 “and the salvation of people will come about.  
 “That will help us  
     “so that (it) would not keep eating us  
         “(that one that) no one has been able to kill.”  
 Thus she said to them.  
 Then those who came there  
     all Eight Pueblos vowed to God.  
 Furthermore what was being said overcame.  
 Then the ones came forward  
 who wanted to be baptized,  
 while others didn’t want themselves baptized  
 (and) they did return to the wilderness.  
 They became wild pigs,  
     became deer,  
         became mountain lions,  
             became jaguars.  
 All became animals  
     to us today.

The original baptized ones remained.  
We went out over there.  
But these people and others we still call nomads,  
but (our life) doesn't go like that.  
We live  
    on this land.  
We don't live the truth of the *monte*.

Fathers,  
    in this way will know about it,  
        about those Surem.

Pues heewi, achaim, nehpo ket emou etehovae,  
    wane Surem vétana,  
        inim Hiakímpo hohoasukame.  
Ume tua im hoomem.  
Dios im am hu'unaktek.  
Huname itom yo'owam.  
Namet itepo yeu sahak.  
Huname Surem im Wohnaiki Pueplompo kuaktek  
    into ka vato'imtukan,  
        hunén Dios véa am chupuk.

Hunak veva ume wasuktiam siika  
véa yuumak ume taewaim  
paare ameu vittuawakai tehwawak.

Vatnatekai hunak kuta wakía nokvaekai  
    weyek.  
Abwe kaave a mammate.  
Lu'ula kom yehteó u kuta tosisiti hihíutaitek.  
Hunama véa u kuta nooka  
abwe kaave a hikkahak.  
Num aman veva ume yoemem a hikkahivae.  
Sehtul ta'ápo Wiivis vétana ume yoeme katek.

Vatwe vétana katek ili hamut yahak  
 au yahakai véa au tevotek  
     huna ili hamut véa.  
 “Hausa eme sahak?” ti ameu hia.  
 Wame woi yoememmewi,  
 “Wam te Wohnaiki Pueplom nau yeu yahiwa,  
 “kutata nokvae teamtawi  
 “aman te nokhikkahimachi,” ti au hia.  
 “Ta kaave hikkahimachi,”  
     hitasa a teuwavae’u,” ti au hia.  
 Na’a ili hamut nuen ameu hia,  
     hitasa a teuwavae’u.  
 “Nuenpo amamni enchim ne aman weiyavao,  
     “ne enchim nehunwavao,  
         “ket enchimmak aman wéene.”  
 Hunata mala into achai[m] a hewiteriakai  
     huname yoemem naavuhti sahakai  
         uka ya’urata vеха tehwak.  
 Huna ya’ura véa tua tu’i ti hiuwakai  
     ili hamut aman sahak.  
 Au uhwanaka véa aman vicha a nuksahak.  
 Aman véa kuvahem hihiutuawak.  
 Wohnaiki Pueplom vétana ume kuvahem popomwak.  
 U ili hamut véa nattemae  
     hak orapo a tosisiti hiutattaiteo.  
 Hunak véa au hunen hiuwa,  
 “Vahimpo, naikimpo tosisiti hiutatine.”  
 Hunak véa oora vo’ovitwa.  
 Chuvvatuko véa u kuta hiutaitek.  
 Hunak véa aman kiktekai  
     a hikkaha  
         a hikkaha  
             a hikkaha.  
 Chukula ameu a teuwataitek ume yoememmewi,

“Wa itom vato’owaneme itou yevihne  
“into wa peuplota hinneuneme ket anne.  
“Wa itom ániane,  
    “ka itom bwa’ana vetchi’ivo,  
        “[hunu’u] ket kaave me’etune.”  
Hunuen ameu hiak.  
Hunak yeu simsuka’apo  
    si’ime Wohnaiki Pueplom a Dios bwaniak.  
Chea wam vicha véa ket teuwawakame ket yuumak.  
Hunak véa ume yahak véa am vato’owavaekai.  
Waáte into ka emo vato’owatevok.  
Vempo véa pocho’oku watek.  
Huname véa huya kowimtuk,  
    masomtuk,  
        ouseimteuk,  
            yóokoimtuk.  
Si’ime animalimtuk,  
    ian itom vivicha’u.  
Vatnatekai vato’owawakame into im taawak.  
Hunamet te yeu sahak.  
Ta ime hentem into waáte kia itom nomadam ti hia.  
Ta ka hunuen weye.  
Itom hoak,  
    hunaka bwiata.  
Itam ka kia kau woho’oriata ho’ak.  
Achaim,  
    inién a hu’uneiyane,  
        huni wa Surem vétana.



## 16. Cowgirl Jane

A Yoeme Cow and *Monte* Mediation

Narrator Unknown

Recorded by Tom Stanford

Introduced by David Leedom Shaul

In addition to the Deer songs that are a familiar and important part of Yoeme ritual and literature (Evers and Molina 1987), there is also a body of Yoeme “popular” songs. One of these is presented here. It was recorded in January 1961 by Tom Stanford and transcribed by John Dedrick. The present transcription and translation are my own. Presentation includes repetition of the chorus to simulate a complete performance, albeit without music.

In this song text, Cowgirl Jane is asked about her emblems of office that mark her as a cowgirl. She has:

a sea turtle shell saddle;  
bits of silvery metal;  
a blue-gray snake rope;  
horny toad head spurs.

All of these objects link Cowgirl Jane with the natural world outside the village and the realm of human activity. Perhaps Jane was originally a rain or mother goddess linked to the procurement of food from nature, or perhaps she is a comic figure casting women in the masculine role of cowboy. Whichever, she mediates not only between the natural world and culture but also between the Native and the European worlds.

The white flowers that Cowgirl Jane is holding and fascinated

by are most likely clouds. This image makes her a herder of clouds and therefore a deity connected with rain. What is of interest is the connection between cows and cattle husbandry as a human matter and the wild areas in which Yoeme cattle range: the cows that were brought by the Spanish are an intrusion into the *monte*, the wild area outside the eight Yoeme towns.

In order to appreciate Cowgirl Jane's symbolic mediation, it is necessary to examine the role of Spanish loan words and cultural loans in Yoeme culture as well as the relationship of the natural world with the human sphere.

#### SPANISH WORDS AND CULTURE IN YOEME CONTEXTS

The large number of Spanish vocabulary items in the Yoeme language indexes the incorporation of many other aspects of Spanish culture into Yoeme cultural praxis (Spicer 1943; Dozier 1956). There are different reasons for linguistic borrowing. Where language is an ethnic marker, grammatical and phonological borrowing may be pervasive, while vocabulary remains distinct. A classic case is the four ethnic-caste varieties in close contact in Kupwar, India (Gumperz and Wilson 1971), where the phonology and grammar was nearly identical for each of the four varieties, with four different vocabularies maintaining ethnic boundaries. It follows that language was not an ethnic marker at the time of Yoeme and Spanish European contact, making linguistic borrowing a possibility.

Another aspect of culture change is that when an item is borrowed, it mirrors something in the borrowing culture, or else it fits well into a practice of the borrowing culture. Yoeme incorporation of Spanish elements, whether in vocabulary or other cultural inventory, is not simply the listing or enumeration of borrowed cultural traits but rather the principled (and structured) equating based on existing cultural practice.

Shaul (2006) has shown that the Yoeme names of three of the four major predators (eagle, wolf, bear) are seen in Yoeme culture to be in a reciprocal relation with people as predators of the mythologized Deer in the *monte*, while large felines (jaguar, mountain lion) are seen as sinister and are not trustworthy and hence not possible partners in a reciprocal arrangement. The three predators that have reciprocal relationships with people have Spanish names in Yoeme (*hoóso* 'bear'; *ágila* 'eagle'; *loóvo* 'wolf'), while the words for large cats remain native (*yóoko* 'jaguar'; *ousei* 'mountain lion'). Spanish words are used to code reciprocity, and in principle, Spanish cultural materials could be used to code the symbolic mediation of mythic persona in Yoeme mythology.

#### SYMBOLIC MEDIATION BETWEEN VILLAGE AND MONTE

The Yoeme physical world is divided between human habitation (*ho'ara* 'the village') and the *monte* 'wilderness', also known as *huya anía* 'wilderness world', as *sea anía* 'flowery world' when in bloom after moisture, and as *yo anía* 'enchanted world' as a supernatural concept. Yoeme mythic persona mediate between both of these spheres.

The first deer hunter, Ye Vu'uku Yoeme (People Tamer), dressed in skins and lived only in the *monte* with his mother, away from of human contact (Giddings 1959:100–102; Evers and Molina 1987:48–50, 109–10). In the mythic time before corn agriculture, Ye Vu'uku Yoeme "had great power over the deer," dominating them "so that they became as tame as burros" (Giddings 1959:100).

Eventually, Ye Vu'uku Yoeme's scent is divulged to the deer by Rabbit (Evers and Molina 1987:48), he marries (Giddings 1959:102), and hunting enters Yoeme culture. Ye Vu'uku Yoeme "had the ability to communicate with birds and animals" (Evers and Molina 1987:109) largely through song and respect.

The figure of the Deer Hunter is a bridging entity between the world of the *monte* and the village. This figure is a deer in the context of the village and a deer hunter in the context of the *monte*. In order to bridge both worlds, there must be respect and reciprocity. A deer hunter, one who likes hunting, must “have good thoughts” or he will have no luck. The Golden Rule is the basis of relations within Yoeme society and with the outside of human habitation as well. Respect for the wilderness and its inhabitants is a part of the hunter taking on the guise of a deer when he enters the *huya anía*.

Respect bespeaks reciprocity. This is illustrated when the *huya anía* is brought into contact with the village in a ritual context. To do this, the village must reciprocate to the *huya anía* what the *huya anía* does for the village. The ritual context of Yoeme ceremonies (*pahkom*) includes the fiesta *ramada*. This, “especially the dance area of the deer, is imagined to be the *huya anía*, the world of the deer and other wild life” (Painter 1986:409).

To initiate a temporary relocation of the *huya anía* in a human town, *pascolas* (ritual clowns that interact with the deer dancer) set off three *kohetem* (small rockets) each to notify God and St. Michael that a ceremony is beginning. St. Michael, the same as Meteorite in Yoeme myths (Giddings 1959:19, 140), protects the earth from *chupiarim* (monstrous snakes), just as St. Michael slays dragons and snakes, by hitting the serpents with meteorites or lightning bolts. By sending up rockets, the *pascolas* are reversing the action of St. Michael (a.k.a. Suawaka, Meteorite).

Reciprocity, then, is the basis of respect, whether in the *huya anía* or the village. Respect and reciprocity govern relationships within both the *ho'ara* and the *huya anía*. But there is also a hierarchy to village and *monte* relationships.

After Yo Mumuli (Enchanted Bee, a.k.a. Sea Hamut, Flower Woman) created the Indians of Mexico (Giddings 1959:25) and before agriculture, there was a Talking Tree that made noises that sounded like bees. When Yo Mumuli interpreted it, she told her children about the coming of European culture and religion. Some

of the people decided to stay, but others (who became the Surem) retired into the *monte* as immortals. Before Yo Mumuli and the Surem went away, she “left governors behind for each region” of the human world (Giddings 1959:65). Thus, both the human world and the wilderness world are based not only on respect but also on hierarchies instituted by myth.

Cowgirl Jane in the song may represent Sea Hamut or perhaps another mythic person connected with water and the aquatic sustaining of human and animal life. Being cast as a cowgirl, she must have the things a cowgirl would have. Cows, of course, extend outside the sphere of the village into the *monte*, and a cattle industry is dependent on water and rain falling on and into the *monte*. As such, Cowgirl Jane’s riding gear are things from the natural world connected with rain, as she herds her clouds along. To paraphrase a classic American cowboy song, “Get along little cloudies, the *monte*’s your home.”

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## Cowgirl Jane

Cowgirl Jane went to her ranch  
had gone for a heifer but got a bull:  
going along playing a white flower in hand  
wow, the white flower is amusing!

What kind of saddle?  
Sea turtle shell saddle:  
going along playing a white flower in hand  
wow, the white flower is amusing!

What kind of bits?  
Of silvery metal:  
going along playing a white flower in hand  
wow, the white flower is amusing!

What kind of lariat?  
A blue-gray snake rope:  
going along playing a white flower in hand  
wow, the white flower is amusing!

What kind of spurs?  
Some horny toad heads:  
going along playing a white flower in hand  
wow, the white flower is amusing!

Waníta Vakéra su ranchou siíka  
vakéata nu'usuka y torótasu nu'upak:  
totosali seewata mampo yéewesíme,  
ai, totosali seewata musa'aule!

Hítas huntuk e'e siilaka siika?  
Mosen véak e'e siilaka siika.

totosali seewata mampo yéewesíme,  
ai, totosali seewata musa'aule!

Hítas huntuk e'e peenaka siika?  
Tósali tómita peenaka siika:  
totosali seewata mampo yéewesíme,  
ai, totosali seewata musa'aule!

Hítas huntuk e'e riáta siika?  
Tóloko vakót e'e riáta siika:  
totosali seewata mampo yéewesíme,  
ai, totosali seewata musa'aule!

Hítas huntuk e'e éhpuelaka siika?  
Motchol kova kona e'e éhpuelaka siika:  
totosali seewata mampo yéewesíme,  
ai, totosali seewata musa'aule!

# TARAHUMARA





## 17. Rarámuri Stories from Before

Rarámuri *historias de antes*

Narrated by Valente Argüelles, Eligio González,  
and María Ignacia Merino de Argüelles

Translated by Jamie Shadid

Recorded by Juan Pablo Garrido

Introduced by Juan Pablo Garrido and  
Nicolás Olivos Santoyo

Deep in Copper Canyon in northern Mexico live the indigenous people of the Lower Tarahumara, a regional adaptation of the Rarámuri culture.<sup>1</sup> The Lower Tarahumara region has conformed to different historical processes that have left a print on the ethnic configuration of the region. During the colonial period it belonged to the administrative missionary region known as Chínipas, which was dependent on the jurisdiction of Sinaloa. The region was not appointed to the newfound state of Chihuahua until the nineteenth century. With the creation of federate states after Mexican independence, the zone was divided into municipalities such as Batopilas, Urique, Uruachi, and Chínipas, among others. The political-administrative profile that is found today began from this division. The Lower Tarahumara, which is located in the deep canyons of the southwestern part of Chihuahua, is where the first contact between the Spanish and the indigenous habitants took place; it would later be named the Sierra Tarahumara in 1589.

Even though it was where the first missionary presence of the Jesuits was felt, missionization did not have the same impact in

this region as in other parts of the Sierra Tarahumara, especially the zone of the Upper Tarahumara. Missionary efforts were slowed by the difficult terrain, consisting of canyons and ravines where numerous small indigenous *ranchería* settlements were dispersed, along with the raids of the military and miners who were eager to find precious metals. The Rarámuri rioted against the missionaries as they resisted abandonment of their settlements and ways of life and the reduction program. The expulsion of the Jesuits in the late eighteenth century suspended conversion efforts, although they were resumed by Franciscans soon thereafter. Much of the religious syncretism of the canyons of the Lower Tarahumara was produced by interactions between Franciscan Catholicism and the indigenous Rarámuri worldview. Examples of this syncretism are vividly expressed in the good and evil dichotomy and the prayer of the Rosario during Holy Week, in which the churches have a space set aside for the song, which corresponds to the prayer. In some villages members of the community congregate in the churches on Sundays to carry out songs and not to attend a liturgical ceremony such as mass.

The *historias de antes* testimonies presented here were recorded in the community of Guadalupe Coronado, a village deep in the canyon of Urique. The concepts of good and evil are central in these stories and in the beliefs and the norm system of the Rarámuri of Guadalupe Coronado and are symbolized by God and the Devil (God's younger brother). Both characters were present at the moment of creation of the Rarámuri world. God created the earth, which was tender and soft, and then he made it solid so that people could live on it. He provided the world with animals to accompany the Rarámuri, and he provided maize, the most valuable source of nourishment. God showed the Rarámuri how to eat and drink the maize. God also gave them moral advice about how to behave with the other Rarámuri. He advised them to share and cooperate with one another, but among his greatest advice was that of coexisting in peace and being conflict-free. However, the Devil,

from the moment of creation, dedicated himself to misleading the Rarámuri, teaching them to go against the advice of God and to make poor choices. The Devil is a deceitful character who appears only to give people advice that induces them to fight, rob, and kill and encourages men to womanize. He likes to attend the festivities of the Rarámuri and to drink *tesgüino* (a fermented corn beer called *sowiki* in Rarámuri), as do all Rarámuri; the Devil takes advantage of the moment to tempt others into misbehaving.

Good and evil, or God and the Devil, are not just concepts communicated in religious or ritual contexts. Such topics are present not only in religious festivities but also when the governor or counselor dictates norms to the Rarámuri community about how to behave oneself during a festival or about obligations to share with the community and not to fight. In everyday life people speak of the latent dangers of being seduced by the Devil, for they know that the Devil has the power of entering into the hearts and minds of the Rarámuri to induce them to commit actions that are against their social well-being.

Elderly people (*chélame*) warn the youth of the dangers of the Devil, for he is a being capable of adopting distinct forms in order to express himself. The Devil can appear in a sudden change of climate, such as a vertiginous wind, intense rain with hail, an eclipse, or even when the sun sets. He can present himself in the form of an animal, such as a snake, or through people themselves, by entering their minds and planting disruptive temptations in order to induce poor behavior.

Since the beginning of time the Devil and his older brother, God, have been people who keep their word and give advice about life. When they both lived on Earth, the younger brother tricked God by sending him to the mountain to get some things; the Devil then fermented *sowiki* with herbs (*basiáhue*) in order to get the people drunk quicker and give them his advice.<sup>2</sup>

The Rarámuri remember the departure of God and the Devil toward their respective worlds. They know that each of these char-

acters occupies a place in their everyday lives as well as in their festivities. The Rarámuri know that they have the duty to remember and show that God made things in the world for them and therefore their word and advice are good. They are also very aware that the Devil is always spying on their world, trying to trick them, something that is always mentioned in the speeches and the *newésari* (sermons), with the purpose of avoiding the manipulation of this malevolent being.<sup>3</sup> In order to neutralize the presence of the Devil, the Rarámuri offer him *sowiki* at every festivity, with the intention of keeping him content so that he will not bother them. They give him a little of the drink, coaxing him toward the ground, where he lives. This petition is reinforced with a dance step from *pascal* in which the dancer forms a cross with his foot in the ground, preventing the devil from rising into the Rarámuri world.

The narratives or *historias de antes* (stories from before) are presented here just as they were recited. Each individual narrator recreates and interprets the story as he or she tells it, repeating some elements and adding or changing others. The *historias* are part of an oral tradition that is fragmented due to the lack of indigenous storytelling traditions. However, the Rarámuri still recite these stories in which they conceive their world where the central protagonists are God and the Devil. Other characters related to these myths are the Sun and snakes, which are creations of God and the Devil; both are capable of benefiting or harming the world of the Rarámuri.

The narrators of these *historias de antes* are Valente Argüelles, Eligio González, and María Ignacia Merino de Argüelles. All three are Rarámuris who speak the Rarámuri language and live in the settlement of Mesa de Reyes (Rozohueybo) in the village of Guadalupe Coronado.

Valente is a fifty-five-year-old man who occupies the public position of counselor. A counselor's function is to give good advice to his fellow Rarámuri and to resolve internal conflicts among family members; he also supports committees related to the two

schools in the settlement of Mesa de Morihibo. Maria Ignacia is a fifty-year-old woman and is the wife of Valente. Her obligations are in the house and with her children. Eligio, a forty-seven-year-old peasant farmer, is the neighbor of Valente and Maria Ignacia.

Lower Tarahumara is distinguished from other regions in the Sierra Tarahumara by the high level of bilingualism among the Rarámuri who live there. This stems from strong and constant contact between the inhabitants of this zone and the mestizo society. Construction of the Chihuahua-Pacific Railway has facilitated fast communication with the outside world, and in addition a large number of the region's habitants have gone to work as migrant workers in the fields around the valleys of the state of Sinaloa.

This situation has forced the population to be bilingual in Spanish and Rarámuri. It is common for people to speak Rarámuri while interjecting phrases and sentences in Spanish. While telling stories it is also common to switch between both languages in a natural flow. One thing constant is that the Devil traditionally transmits advice in Spanish. When the Rarámuri repeat the words of the Devil they commonly mix in "rude" or "bad" language in Spanish because such terms do not exist in Rarámuri.

We have opted to leave the narrations just as they were told in Spanish. At times we requested that the stories be told in Rarámuri, but because the narrators are bilingual, even when they began a story in Rarámuri they quickly switched to Spanish. For the purpose of making the narrations flow well we decided to present the Spanish versions.

The narratives were told in Spanish during 2004–2007. The first story narrates the opposition between God and the Devil, telling the story of the *tesgüinada*, when these brothers had to separate and took different paths. The narrators tell of the different qualities of God and the Devil and how they behave in society. The duality of the brothers marks the first behavioral norms of the Rarámuri: both good and evil actions. The myth shows two cases where the Devil enters into the minds of the Rarámuri, convincing

them to commit actions that go against society. One case shows the act of incest among family members who marry each other; another depicts the deception of a Rarámuri woman who sleeps with a man other than her husband. Both actions violate the moral and social norms of Rarámuri society.

These testimonies connect two characters: the Sun, which has a double symbolic function, and the snakes. The Sun is a creation of God and is both a positive deity that helps and is of benefit to the people and a negative deity that punishes the Rarámuri who behave badly and fight among themselves. The snakes are the creation of the Devil and belong to the lower world; they live in the troughs, arroyos, and caves.

The stories were recorded in the context of the festivities of the Virgin of Guadalupe and during Holy Week and the ritual of *la pintada*. Rarámuri deities, whether adopted ones such as Jesus Christ or the Virgin of Guadalupe or native ones such as the Sun, the Moon, and various stars, are evoked in the festivities that are carried out in the communities and ranches of the Rarámuri. All of their festivities are directed toward these characters with the intention of both asking for and thanking them for their help received during the year. It is in this festive atmosphere that these stories are recited and enacted through dances or other rituals. The festivities are social occasions that link human and divine communication—that is to say, the social world on earth with the celestial and magic world. Through mechanisms such as the *newésari*, in which advice is given by either the traditional authorities or older people, the Rarámuri exalt the role that God and the Devil play in their lives and the way they behave both morally and socially. It is custom to tell stories in sacred spaces, such as a church or another place destined for rituals and dances. This is where the Rarámuri congregate and listen to the myths and also where they acquire greater power and respect.

In the ritual of *la pintada* the Rarámuri remove much of their clothing and paint their bodies in various designs, using circles,

stripes, or polka dots in black, red, and white paint. Once painted, these characters symbolize evil and are the ones who capture and kill Jesus Christ. Narrators are also active in the festivities. For instance, during Holy Week they help paint the bodies of the Rarámuri men. It is custom during this time for the Rarámuri to recount among themselves and to outsiders the motives for the festivities and how to behave as devils. This provides continuity in the reproduction of the festivity and its mythical origin; it also helps maintain order in Rarámuri life—that is, to help them to continue behaving according to how Christ dictates and to share with others.

The *historias de antes* that are told here are the most notable among the Rarámuri of the Lower Tarahumara. The emphasis on evil and the Devil are distinctive in this region. The social norms that are implied by choosing the good or evil path are themes found in everyday life among the Rarámuri.

## NOTES

1. “Rarámuri” is the ethnic term that the Tarahumara use to refer to themselves within their community. “Tarahumara” is the ethnic term that outsiders use to refer to them. We use both terms synonymously.

2. *Basiáhue* is a type of herb that is similar in appearance to wheat. It is added to *sowiki* at the end of its elaboration to make it ferment more quickly, giving it a stronger taste.

3. *Newésari* is the sermon or advice that the Rarámuri who hold public office give to community members. The community congregates outside of the church doors to receive this advice. The theme varies, but it always teaches the duties of good behavior and being reciprocal with God. The sermons carry the function of teaching social norms.

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## Rarámuri Stories from Before

### GOD, THE DEVIL, AND THE TEGÜINADA

Narrated by Valente Argüelles

God put everything here, except the Devil, the Devil didn't put anything good, he put only bad.

They say that the Devil and God used to make tesgüino, just as it is made now. And then God left and the Devil stayed with the tesgüino. Then [the Devil] invited lots of people just as people are invited now, and God didn't come, and after the people drank the tesgüino, God says to the Devil, "What did you tell people, did you give them advice when they were going to drink?" And the Devil responded, "Well yes, I told them, I told them to play over there,

to play and to grab the women by their hair and to fight with one another.”

That’s what the Devil told people, to stab and punch one another, to fight with sticks, that’s what he told people to do, since it was all a game to the Devil. And then, when people started bleeding, the Devil sucked their blood. He liked sucking [the blood]. It made him laugh. It gave him pleasure to see the people fight and kill one another. He liked the blood. “These are my children,” said the Devil. All of the bad people come from him, but God gave good advice, people don’t believe in God or in his advice now, the bad people, those that rob, are children of the Devil.

In the end, God said, “Okay, you Devil take with you those that fought and I will take with me the good ones, those that didn’t fight.” Those that fought went to hell forever, to the fire. That was the punishment they received. And this is true now that a lot of people fight, when they drink they fight.

The Devil is evil, they say that when one gets mad, he becomes like the Devil. The Devil is inside of one, he gets inside of one’s head in a bad way, because the Devil makes you do things, fight with your mother, with your brother and it affects one’s head and heart, that’s why people are killed and one’s heart becomes sick and he kills people, it is an order from the Devil, the Devil makes people kill other people.

The Rarámuri tell a story of when God invited his brother the Devil to drink. The Devil was newer [younger]. And when God left, the Devil started drinking. And then the Devil invited God the next day. God arrived early the next day with his people, with ten or fifteen people. And the Devil drank two or three kettles of tesgüino, and the Devil made a mess. The Devil cut people, the people pulled each other’s hair out, and they made a big mess. The Rarámuri fought with the women and with everyone. Then God arrived with his people, and he brought all of his instruments, the guitar and the violin. Then God told the Devil, “Well what happened last night, well what happened, why is there so much blood around

here?” and the Devil said to him, “Well us children are playing, we are playing, kicking around, being bums, that’s all.” And then God said to him, “What do you mean you’re being bums, there is blood slung about everywhere, that is bad,” and then God said, “Well all of us are going to leave from here, you take your people and I will take mine.” And then the Devil went underground with his guitar and he took his people, God left with his violin and that’s where they parted.

It’s true what those from before say, it’s the truth, because that’s how it happens now: people are invited and they fight, these things happen. And that’s how God and the Devil parted from each other and, up to today, that’s how it has stayed. Then later on the Devil had a *tesgüino*, but he couldn’t get [the *tesgüino*] to boil, then God told him to turn around, and God made a cross, and then the kettle of *tesgüino* started to work, it boiled. Then the Devil turned back around and said, “I really am a man, look, did you hear me? The kettle is working now!” And the Devil jumped up and down, at ease, he was very happy because the kettle was boiling. “I am a God too!” said the Devil; “God just made a cross and the kettle started working.” God heard him but he wasn’t listening to what the other [the Devil] was saying; the Devil said, “I have powers too!” But the Devil doesn’t have powers, God heard him talk. But he didn’t fight with the Devil, he just heard him talk, God was the one that put everything here on earth, he was the real one. And from there they parted.

And God left the land and everything here. He left the water, the food, beans, and lard, everything that is the world. It’s the same with the animals; he left them with his power. Everything has its creation, which comes from God. Everything that is life to us God put here by himself. Everything that is *matachín* dances and *pascoles* are linked to God, that’s how it is. The land is pure power from God, it has everything that there is here, the world. He left the food, that is the food that God put here, this is very true.

## GOD

Narrated by Valente Argüelles

The old folks told us the story like this:

He gives us everything. He gives breath to all of us, all of us that live here. He gives breath to the goats, donkeys, cows, hens, snakes, birds, and only one breathing God does all this, few people know that story. We say that God is around here; it's just that we can't see him; wherever we go God is always with us, if we are under a tree God is also with us, because God himself is giving us breath, God is very powerful.

When we marry our sisters or cousins God gets upset. We must marry others that don't have the same last name; we have to look for other people because God tells us that we shouldn't marry members of our own family, God doesn't have family. Lots of things happen here between family members. What happens to God when we marry our family members? Lots of figurative things happen, the rain comes and it pushes us down, or the sun could go down, or something could happen with the moon. God is taking care of us but there was someone who invented the world, but here we are listening to what is happening in other parts of the world, that thousands are dying, that thousands are dying, why? Because they don't have respect, they don't believe in God, they just want to eat and they want to marry. It's nice to know what God did. God is watching all night long. God is there all day watching what people do, God gave us everything, we have beans, corn, wheat, peas, he made all of the food that we have here, there are papayas and all the things that there are in the mountains, all the food, God put it all there.

## THE DEVIL

Narrated by Eligio González

It used to be like this. It's as if you had an older brother, and the Devil was your older brother, he was the bad one. The younger one,

the smaller one, who is God now, gave good advice; the Devil told the Rarámuri, “You will grab women, you will rape, fight, you will kill, you will stab, you will take her away from her man, you will rob, and that’s how things will happen right now.”

God looks after things, but we Tarahumara hang around the Devil, and he tells us, “If you don’t love your neighbor, then kill him!” The Devil is always near. When [the Devil] is let into the heart, [the Tarahumara] kills a woman, he kills anyone, and he [the Devil] is behind him [Tarahumara], and God doesn’t let him [the Devil], that’s why so many things are said, like gossip or something, it’s not necessary to believe what others say. If you believe what others say you’ll go kill your wife, your cousin, or your brother-in-law, or another woman, because the Rarámuri let the Devil enter he goes and kills five or six people, that’s what one does who doesn’t believe in God, that’s why God doesn’t let the Devil enter his heart, every Rarámuri has the Devil inside him, because the Devil enters all of a sudden and says, “Get married and take her away quickly!” And the Devil convinces a lot of people.

#### THE MAD SUN

Narrated by Valente Argüelles

A long time ago, the Rarámuri fought a lot, always in the *tesgüinadas*, and they never behaved themselves and were mad at each other, the women at the men, the men at other men, and everyone was mad at everyone. Then the Sun realized that everything was wrong here, and he decided to come down from the sky. He came down here to the canyon; he came down really low, really close to the ground, close to the houses and the cornfields. The Rarámuri ran to save themselves. They hid in the caves, behind the rocks, but nobody was saved, the Sun burned everything and the Rarámuri that hid in the caves were burned right there; the Sun got really mad and killed all of the Rarámuri.

### SNAKE WOMAN

Narrated by Valente Argüelles

A woman turned into a snake for sleeping with the brother of her husband in a *tesgüinada*. In that moment, in the house where it happened, the house started to move very quickly, to shake a lot, then it started to turn around in circles. It turned to one side and then to another. Finally, a lot of smoke came out from the inside, the house was burning. Then the woman came out transformed into a snake.

### THE SNAKE

Narrated by Valente Argüelles, María Ignacia Merino de Argüelles, and Eligio González

That was much before, when they say the snake was around here, that he was eating a lot of people. Then a big rain fell, then the rain fell and the snake came out, but the snake was scared of the rain and he left, and then they say that a long time after, somewhere over there in *Murajaque*, somewhere over there he went in the river, yes, he went in the river. But they say that before a lot of people passed by there and somewhere over there from the river the snake killed people that were passing by, by the river, he pulled them into the river and he ate them that snake, and yes, they say that a long time ago a lot of people gathered there and they made a pile and they burned a lot of sticks and they threw a lot of rocks on top, and then they say that the rocks were burning and the snake came up to eat people, then with a stick the people hit the snake with the hot stones, then the snake swallowed the stone, he swallowed all of the stones, and they were really hot those stones, then they say that [the snake] split in half, the snake was cooked, he split in half, the head died and the river took it and well, the tail stayed there, and they say that the tail stayed there. They say that the tail stayed in the rock, that it is engraved in the rock on the hill.

The snake lived there, they say that it's the one that lived in the [ranch] Cerro Blanco and then he went to live in the river and he has still been eating people. That snake left Cerro Blanco and left his body marked and engraved when he went walking, and then the people killed him. There in Cerro Blanco one can see where the snake passed by.

A lot of people say that the snake frightens them, it scares us Tarahumaras. If you take a creature [a child] by there he will be frightened, he will get sick, he will vomit and get diarrhea. There are people that cure that fright; they know, at night they reveal where the soul [of the Rarámuri] is, if it's in a spring they will bring it back to the body [of the Rarámuri]. There are people that get frightened by even just a person, a crazy person or by a fight. The people that don't know the snake get frightened, it scares us.

When I passed by there, I got scared passing by where the snake lives. The snake is inside of the land, beneath, and that's why the snake produces water right there, the snake comes out of the land the same way as the water.

## DIOS, EL DIABLO Y LA TESGÜINADA

Narrado por Valente Argüelles

Lo que es Dios, él puso de todo: buenos y malos. Pero, lo de abajo, no es malo, pues todo es bueno. Todo puso Dios, menos el Diablo, el Diablo no puso nada bueno, puso puro malo.

Dicen que antes el Diablo y Dios hicieron tesgüino, así como lo hacen ahora. Y Dios se fue y el Diablo se quedó con el tesgüino. Después invitó a mucha gente así como se invita a tomar ahora, y entonces Dios no llegó en el momento, y luego que se tomaron el tesgüino, que le dice Dios al Diablo, "Qué le dijiste a la gente, les diste consejo cuando iban a tomar?" Y el Diablo respondió, "Pues sí, sí les dije, les dije que jugaran por ahí, y que jugaran y que se agarraran de las greñas las mujeres y que se pelearan unos con otros."

Así le dijo el Diablo a la gente, que se dieran puñete y que se

dieran chingadazos, que se estuvieran peleando con un garrote, así aconsejo a la gente, ya que para el Diablo era un juego. Y luego, cuando salía sangre a la gente, el Diablo la chupaba. Le gustaba chupar [la sangre] a él. Le daba risa. Le daba gusto que la gente se peleara y se matara. La sangre le gustaba. “Estos son mis hijos,” decía el Diablo. Toda la gente mala es de él, pero Dios dio buen consejo, pero la gente no cree ya, la gente mala, la que roba, es hija del Diablo.

Al final Dios dijo, “Bueno, tú Diablo te llevas a los que pelearon y yo me llevo lo bueno, los que no pelearon.” Los que pelearon se fueron para el infierno, para siempre, allí lo iba echar para la lumbre, al fogón. Ese era el castigo que iban a recibir. Y esto es cierto ya que mucha gente pelea, pues cuando toman pelean.

El Diablo es malo, dicen que el Diablo es uno, ya que uno se pone malo, corajudo. Está concentrado el Diablo en uno, le llega malamente a uno en la cabeza, porque el Diablo te hace hacer eso, pelear con la mamá, con el hermano y afecta a uno la cabeza y al corazón [surarachi], por eso se mata la gente y si uno se enferma del corazón y mata a la gente eso es mandato del Diablo y el Diablo hace que las personas maten a las personas, está carajo.

En esa plática, cuentan los rarámuri que fue cuando Dios invitó a tomar a su hermano el Diablo. El Diablo era más nuevo [joven]. Y cuando Dios se fue, luego, el Diablo empezó a tomar. Y luego el Diablo lo había invitado para el otro día. Luego Dios llegó al otro día temprano con su gente, con unas diez o quince personas. Y el Diablo el mismo día se las chupó; eran dos, tres ollas de tesgüino, y el Diablo hizo un desmadre. El Diablo cortó a las personas, trozaron todo el cabello, bueno, hicieron un desmadre. Pelearon con las mujeres y con todos y todo. Entonces llegó el Dios con su gente, y trajo todos sus instrumentos, la guitarra y el violín. Entonces Dios le dijo al Diablo, “Pues qué pasó en la noche, pues qué pasó, por qué se ve tanta sangre por aquí.” Y el Diablo le dijo, “No pues aquí estamos jugando los bukes [niños], andamos jugando, echamos patadas, de vagos nomás.” Y luego Dios le dijo, “Cómo no va a

ser vago, pues ahí ésta toda la sangre tirada, eso es malo,” y luego Dios dijo, “Pues aquí vamos a partirnos todos,-dijo-pues llévate los tuyos y yo me llevo los míos.” Y luego el Diablo se fue para abajo con su guitarra y se llevó a sus compañeros, el Dios se fue con el violín y allí se apartaron.

Es cierto lo que dicen los de antes, es la verdad, porque así es como pasa ahora: invitan gente y se pelean, esas cosas pasan. Y así ese Dios y el Diablo se apartaron y, hasta la fecha, así se quedó. Ya luego, después, el Diablo hizo un tesgüino pero no lo puso a hervir, no, nomás que el Dios le dijo, voltéate para allá tantito, e hizo una cruz, y empezó la olla a trabajar, a hervir. Entonces el Diablo llegó otra vez y dijo, “A cabrón, yo sí soy hombre mira, me oíste, ya está trabajando la olla, ahora sí.” Y el Diablo brincaba para arriba, a gusto, estaba muy contento, porque la olla estaba hirviendo. “Yo también soy Dios,” dijo el Diablo; “pues el Dios nomás hizo una cruz y hizo trabajar la olla.” Pero Dios nada mas lo oía, sólo escuchaba lo que decía el otro; y el Diablo decía, “Yo también tengo poderes,” pero el Diablo no tiene poderes! Dios nomás oía. Pero no peleó con el Diablo, solo lo oía, Dios fue el que puso aquí todo el mundo, era el verdadero. Y de ahí se apartaron.

Y Dios dejó la tierra, aquí todo aquí. Dejó el agua, la comida, fríjol, manteca, todo lo que es el mundo. Los animales es la misma, él dejó con su poder. Todo de él tiene su creación, lo que es Dios. Y así, todo lo que es la vida la puso él sólo, Dios nomás. Todo lo que es bailes matachín, pascoles está pegado con Dios, así es. La tierra es puro poder de Dios, tiene todo lo que es aquí, el mundo, dejó la comida, eso es la comida lo que puso Dios, eso es muy la verdad.

## EL DIOS

Narrado por Valente Argüelles

Cuentan los viejos de antes que:

Dios con la mano de nosotros, todo lo que están dando, respiración a las cosas, todos los que vivimos aquí, por ejemplo, los ani-

males chivas, burros, vacas, gallinas, culebras, pájaros, y un sólo Dios respirando, eso nadie sabe. Contamos que el Dios por aquí está, no mas que nosotros no lo vemos, donde quiera que vamos estamos con Dios, si estamos debajo del árbol también estamos con Dios, porque el mismo Dios está dando respiración, Dios muy poderoso.

Cuando nosotros nos casamos con hermanas, con primos, pero tampoco eso no es por ahí. Debemos casarnos con otros, que no tengan apellido igual, tenemos que buscar otros, y también eso ahí se ve feo, por qué, porque Dios no tiene familiares. Es que pasas muchas cosas aquí entre familiares, es que Dios no tiene familiares. Qué es lo que pasa a Dios? Muchas veces pasan cosas figuradas, vienen una lluvia y nos avienta, o puede bajar el Sol, o puede pasar algo en la Luna, y todo eso, nos están cuidando, nosotros nos cuidamos como un bebe chiquito, pero hubo quien invento el mundo, pero aquí estamos escuchando lo que esta pasando en otra parte, que miles se acaban, que miles se acaban por qué, porque no saben de respecto, no creen en Dios, no mas quieren comer y quieren casarse, y volverse . . . todos los días. Es muy bonito saber lo que hizo el Dios. Dios esta viendo toda la noche. Dios esta todo el día viendo todo lo que hace la gente, Dios nos dio todo, tenemos fríjol, maíz, trigo, garbanzos chicharos, hizo toda la comida lo que hay aquí papayas y bueno cuantas cosas no hay aquí en el monte, todo la comida, todo nos puso Dios.

## EL DIABLO

Narrado por Eligio González

Eso fue antes aquí. Así como si tú tuvieras un *carnal* [hermano] mayor, y entonces el Diablo era el hermano mayor, fue el malo. El menor el más chiquito tenía buena palabra, que es del Dios ahorita; el Diablo decía a los rarámuri vas a agarrar a la mujeres, vas a violar, pelear, vas a matar, vas a puñalar, le vas a quitar la vieja al otro, vas a robar, y así pasan las cosas ahorita.

Dios anda cuidando, pero también nosotros los tarahumar andamos con el Diablo, y él también nos dice, “¡No lo vas a querer pues mávalo!” El Diablo anda cerquita. Ya cuando [el Diablo] se deja entrar en el corazón, [el tarahumara] mata una mujer, mata todo, y entonces anda tras de él [tarahumara], y ahí el Dios no lo deja, por eso se dicen muchas cosas, que hay un chisme o algo, no hay que creer lo que dice el otro. Si tu crees lo que dice el otro vas a ir a matar a tu señora, a tu primo o a tu cuñado, lo mismo una mujer igual, porque dejó entrar al Diablo, va y mata uno cinco y seis, es lo que hace él quien no cree en Dios, por eso, Dios no deja entrar al Diablo, es que es cada quien lo tenemos, porque ahí el Diablo entra de repentito y dice, cástate y llévatela rápido. Y mucha gente lo convence el Diablo.

#### SOL ENOJADO

Narrado por Valente Argüelles

Hace mucho tiempo, los rarámuri peleaban mucho, siempre en las tesgüinadas, y siempre se portaban mal y estaban enojados unos con otros, las mujeres con los hombres, los hombres con los hombres y todos con todos. Entonces el Sol se dio cuenta de que todo estaba mal aquí, y decidió bajar del cielo. Bajó aquí al barranco, bajó mucho y pasó por abajo muy cerca de la tierra, de las casas y de las milpas. Entonces todos los rarámuri corrieron para salvarse. Se escondían en las cuevas, atrás de las piedras, pero nadie se salvó, el Sol pasó quemando todo y todos los rarámuri que se escondieron en las cuevas se quemaron allí mismo; el Sol se enojó mucho y bajó y mató a los rarámuri.

#### MUJER CULEBRA

Narrado por Valente Argüelles

Una mujer se convirtió en culebra por acostarse con el compadre de su esposo en una tesgüinada. En ese momento, la casa donde

sucedió la falta, empezó a moverse muy rápido, a sacudirse mucho, luego comenzó a dar vueltas. Giraba para un lado y luego para otro. Finalmente, salió mucho humo de adentro, pues se estaba quemando la casa. Entonces, salió la mujer incestuosa convertida en una culebra.

#### LA CULEBRA

Narrado por Valente Argüelles, María Ignacia Merino de Argüelles, and Eligio González

Eso fue muy antes, dicen que por ahí estaba la culebra, que estaba comiendo mucha gente, entonces pues pasó y cayó muy grande lluvia, entonces cayó la lluvia y salió la culebra, pero la culebra con la lluvia se asustó y se fue, y entonces dicen que mucho después, por ahí en Murajaque, por ahí se metió en el río, sí, se metió en el río. Pero dicen que sí, que por ahí antes también pasaba mucha gente y por ahí la culebra linchaba en el río a la gente que iba pasando para arriba, pal' río, los metía ahí en el río y se los comía la culebra, la culebra esa, y sí, dicen que hace mucho tiempo se juntaron mucha gente ahí e hicieron un montón y quemaron muchos palos y echaron muchas piedras ahí encima, y entonces dicen que estaban ardiendo las piedras y la culebra pues se levantaba a comer gente, entonces la gente le echaban con la pala la piedra bien caliente, entonces se tragaba la piedra la culebra, se tragaba todas las piedras, y estaban bien calientes todas las piedras, entonces dicen que se mochó [partió] la culebra, se coció la culebra, se trozó a la mitad, la cabeza si se murió y se la llevó el río y más bien pues la cola se quedó allí, y dicen que la cola se quedó allí. Dicen que la cola se quedó en la piedra que está grabada en el cerro.

La serpiente vivía ahí, dicen que es la que vivía en el [rancho] Cerro Blanco y después se fue a vivir al río y todavía ha estado comiendo gente. Esa culebra salió en Cerro Blanco y dejó pintado y grabado su cuerpo, y salió cuando se iba caminado, y luego la gente la mató. Allí en Cerro Blanco se ve por donde pasó la culebra.

Mucha gente dice que lo asusta la culebra, a nosotros los tarahumaras. Si llevas a una criatura [niño] se asusta por ahí, de ahí se enferma, le pega basca [vomito] y diarrea. Para eso hay gente que cura el susto, ellos conocen, revelan de noche donde está el alma, la van a traer si es que está en un agujaje. Hay gente que se asusta hasta con una persona, un loco o con una pelea. La gente que no conoce agarra el miedo; a nosotros nos da miedo.

Cuando yo pasaba me daba miedo pasar por allí donde vive la culebra. La culebra está adentro de la tierra, abajo, y por eso produce agua ahí la misma culebra, la culebra sale de la tierra al igual que el agua.

PIMA-MARICOPA





## 18. The Life History of a Pima-Maricopa Woman and Her Speech to Pope John Paul II

Narrated by Alfretta Antone

Introduced by Sam Pack

This chapter presents the life history of Alfretta Antone of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community. Her life history foregrounds a speech she was selected to deliver to Pope John Paul II during his visit to Phoenix, Arizona, in 1987. Both her reminiscences of her life and the speech she delivered offer a unique perspective on what it means to be Native American and Catholic in the late twentieth century. This chapter diverges from what one might typically read in a collection on Native verbal art. However, it provides eloquence equal to traditional verbal arts genres as it speaks with immediacy of now and of complex countervailing aspects if not outright contradictions of being Indian in the United States today.

After talking with many Native American Catholics, I quickly realized that the way some Native people live their lives as Native Americans and as Christians was a deeply personal phenomenon. For something as complex as religious identity, there is no such thing as a collective “answer” germane to the views of all Native Catholics or even a small group of Pima Catholics. With this in mind, I wanted to produce a life history of a Native Catholic to learn how identity is negotiated under these circumstances. Alfretta Antone agreed to this collaboration. In order to better understand how she has lived her life as a Pima and a Catholic

together, we explored how she negotiated her devotion to Kateri Tekakwitha and how Kateri has helped to reconcile these two identities. Kateri, of Mohawk descent, is the first Native American to be considered for canonization by the Roman Catholic Church. For many Native Catholics, the prospect of the church's recognition of one of their own is exciting.

Alfretta Antone was born in 1929 and raised in the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community in southern Arizona. Despite recommendations from many members of St. Francis Catholic Church, who all pointed to her as a tremendous source of knowledge, I was initially reluctant to ask Antone for her life story because I feared her recent hearing loss might impede the interview process. In fact, I decided to proceed with Antone only because of her availability and willingness to participate in my study. It turned out that I was extremely fortunate to have such an amazing collaborator.

Antone has been a respected leader in her community and church for decades. She served as the vice president of the Pima-Maricopa Tribe for twelve years, the first woman to hold this position. At St. Francis she has been parish council president twice in addition to her duties as a eucharistic member and choir member. Antone also led the St. Francis Kateri Circle for a number of years, until an extended illness limited her participation. With such an impressive background, it was not surprising that she was chosen to represent the over five hundred Native American tribes in addressing Pope John Paul II during the 1987 Tekakwitha Conference in Phoenix.

All of the interviews were conducted at Antone's home in Salt River during the spring of 1995. Her residence was immaculate, spacious, and comfortable. Because of Antone's hearing impairment, I had anticipated that interviewing her would be difficult. With the aid of a computer, however, the interviewing process was remarkably simple. I sat at the end of a large kitchen table with the keyboard while Antone sat directly adjacent to me with the

monitor in front of her. I typed my questions and Antone simply read them off the screen. I interviewed Antone on three occasions, which produced a total of seven hours of recordings. A copy of the transcription from the previous interview was provided and read by Antone for corrections before beginning the next session.

The transcription of seven hours of taped interviews produced over one hundred pages of text. Needless to say, cutting it down to a “manageable” length presented a dilemma: How do I edit her oral history without altering or compromising her voice? In editing the transcript my main concern was to maintain the flow and character of her voice without injecting too much of myself in her words. The criteria that I employed for this process revolved around the “readability” of the text. (The unexamined life may not be worth living, as the Socratic saying goes, but the *unedited* life is definitely not worth reading.) First, I removed most of Antone’s colloquialisms, such as “you know” and “so anyways.” I also eliminated digressions and repeated or redundant statements. I made minor grammatical changes in syntax, keeping tenses consistent and making pronouns agree where needed. When condensing her responses, I avoided substituting more descriptive words or phrases. I also retained the order of her life history by not “cutting and pasting” different sections. Even though parts may appear out of place, I believe she made her remarks in a specific order for a reason. Other than these simple guidelines, I tried to minimize alteration her words. Her life history foregrounds her speech to the pope and the two pieces are presented in that order.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## The Life History of a Pima-Maricopa Woman and Her Speech to Pope John Paul II

### ALFRETTA ANTONE'S LIFE HISTORY

#### The Early Years

Well, I was born here on the Salt River Indian Reservation. My father, who was Jose Juan, was a full-blooded Tohono O'odham, formerly of the Papago tribe. And my mother, Louisa Enis Juan, was Pima and also had some Maricopa blood. So I'm kind of a mixture. Where we live right now is just a little ways from where I was born. I was born at home. In fact, my mother had all her children at home with the help of my father. So I was not born in a hospital.

Back then, when I first became aware of my life, which prob-

ably was when I was around four or five years old, the federal government had a school called the Salt River Day School. They had a little kindergarten also. So I went there. And later on, during grade school, I was a student at the Salt River Day School. But during those days, it was also a high school. Later on when I finished the eighth grade, they did away with the high school and most of the students that went to school there were transferred to the Phoenix Indian School, which is no longer there.

But my parents decided that I should go to a Catholic school. So there is a Catholic school on the Gila River Indian Community called St. John's, which is on the west end of Gila River around Fifty-first Avenue. It's still there today, but I think a very small number of children go there. They've had financial problems, and I don't know if they even go up to the eighth grade. But it was a high school then, so that's where I spent most of my high school years.

Life, I've always said, was very simple at that time. I mean there was nothing like it is today. When I think about it, it kind of makes me . . . homesick even though I'm home. Because I miss the big cottonwood trees like this tree back here [she points to a tree in the back yard]. We used to have a row of them through here. It had a little wilderness area where I used to play as a child. There were a lot of open ditches. And we didn't have the farmers then. We did our own farming so the water was clean, no pesticides. So any day we wanted to, we could go swimming in the open ditches. Our favorite pastime was to go swimming in the afternoon.

But we also had chores to do. My father had at least fifteen head of horses, and we would have to herd them to a watering hole down the road here and take them to water. We didn't have running water. We had a wagon and our team of horses, and we had great, big barrels that we would take to the water hydrants along Indian School Road. The City of Phoenix water line runs through there. We would hitch up the team, clean the barrels, and then take them down there and fill them up and bring them back. So those

were some of the chores that we did, as well as helping out in the fields.

My father was a real good farmer. I know he planted wheat and he planted cotton and he planted maize. My mother would have her garden of corn, squash, beans, and melons. We had a lot of fruit trees like apricots and peaches, and we had a few vines of grapes and figs. We also had a few plants of plums. Of course, we had chickens and turkeys, and I remember one time we had some hogs. Then we had a milk cow. I had to learn how to milk the cow. We would make our own cheese. We'd make our own butter. And I thought life was great then [soft laughter] . . .

We didn't really have transportation so when people had gatherings back in those days or celebrations of some kind, you could hear the wagons starting to roll in the evenings. The roads weren't paved or anything so you could hear them. We never went to town on Saturday evenings like they do now. Mesa was the closest and, I think, the biggest town at that time. Scottsdale was just a small, dusty little place with just a few stores. In the evening, as people were coming home, you knew who it was by the sound of the wagon. We'd be sitting outside and my mother or my dad would say, "Oh, here comes so and so, they're coming home." So when I think about it, that's true that each wagon has a different sound or a certain sound so you could always tell who they were.

Our home was traditional. I grew up in a traditional home, which is the mud-thatched home. The roof is also made of mud. We didn't have electricity or running water. So anyway, I thought that life was so simple.

As far as I can remember, my parents were very strong Catholics. During that time, it was different, you know, more stricter. Like now, for this Easter season, we really, really fasted. We weren't allowed to eat meat on Good Friday. But we never really had meat anyway. Maybe on Saturday or Sunday, we had some kind of stew. Our main source of diet came from the fields. Like we had the wheat. And my mother would grind the wheat on her *matate* and

use it for whole wheat tortillas. Or she'd make something they call ash bread, and it's real, real heavy. They'll mix the whole wheat and maybe add some of the regular white flour. And she'd build a big fire and when the fire died down, she would scoop the live coals and then sort of make a bowl with the ashes. Then she'd just pour the batter in there, then put ashes on top, then the coals, and let it bake maybe practically all day because, like I said, it's very thick.

And it keeps, not like it is today. You buy a loaf of bread and within two or three days, you get the mold [laughter]. Things kept. Things were different. Sometimes we make tortillas, and in a day or two, they get moldy. It wasn't like that at that time. If you made a batch of tortillas, they could keep for three or four days and they were still good.

Then we have what we call tepary beans. I don't know if you're familiar with that. They're little, small beans and they're white and then they're brown. And those were the main staple. We very seldom ate pinto beans or the other kind of beans because that was what we planted. Of course, we had the corn. Then we had our chickens and our turkeys. I remember when Thanksgiving came around, they would kill one of the turkeys for our dinner.

I often wonder, you know, how did we live back then? Because my dad didn't have a job. Most of what we had was from the farming. Of course, when we had cotton, we'd sell it and he'd get a few dollars. But I think a dollar went a long way back then.

Anyway, like I started to say, we were all always going to church. Very, very strict back then in those days. During this time, Easter, you fasted. Now they say you can fast an hour before you receive communion. Well, we fasted in those days from midnight on. We didn't have any water, no food, nothing. It was difficult for me to get used to it since they had that Vatican II, whatever that is. I never could understand it.

I think it's just something that made a lot of major changes within the church. They kind of relaxed on some of the things, which I guess should be okay. But I feel uncomfortable because

you can't do this anymore like it was way back then. You know, you never laughed in church like we do now before Mass starts. People are visiting and talking. You don't do that! You sit and pray or whatever you do, but that's not the way it is now. It is just so different from what it used to be back then.

Back then, I guess it was unheard of to use anything traditional. We had a priest here and his name was Father James O'Brian. He worked for many years among the Indian people, especially the Tohono O'odham around Tucson. And he learned the language. Then he came here and he was our priest for a number of years. Every time he said Mass, he would say it in Pima. Even the Gospel, he would say it in Pima. But the problem is that the young people don't understand the language. They don't talk the language. There's very few of us who understood what he was saying. But he did that, which made me feel very, very good. He was also the one who said that we could use the drum and we could use the gourds. Sometimes, it's really, really good when they use the drums and the gourds both at the same time.

At the time when the pope was here, that was one of the things that we had asked that we be allowed to incorporate some of those things in our church. And he has allowed us to do that. When we did our benediction, our people sang and they danced. And they were allowed to do that. So, more and more, I think it's being accepted now in many of churches like with the Pueblo people. They're great for doing that with their traditional songs and their traditional dances that they use for many of their religious celebrations.

I think, for whatever reason, this tribe has really lost a lot of its culture. I really can't say why. One time, I was talking with this woman, who is a Presbyterian, and we were talking about some of the culture. She said she didn't know any kind of cultural activities because when her parents were young, they were forbidden by the minister to have anything to do with something like that. As a result, a lot of them obeyed whatever they were told.

So that kind of took away our culture and traditional kinds of

things that we may have known. I feel that maybe we didn't feel comfortable in taking part or carrying on any of the things that we learned. I think that's the reason why there are a lot of things that we as a Pima people no longer have. In the name of progress, a lot of materials that were used to weave the baskets are gone. Like they used the cattail for our baskets, and they used the willow that grows wild along the river banks, but now you don't see that. Because of the farming area and the pesticides, you don't see the devil's claw that is used for making baskets.

People were beginning to find that it was better for them to work at some kind of a job rather than work their own little fields. As a result, a lot of the land was lying fallow. I don't know how it started, but the white farmers started to come in and they began to lease hundreds of acres. I don't know if the farmers found it lucrative and I don't know if the people were being paid enough for their acreage. Maybe about ten, twenty dollars an acre, but I can't be sure. As my dad got older, he could no longer do anything. I think in the sixties, that when the Great White Father said, "Well, maybe it's better to relocate some of these Indian people, to train them at jobs so that they can go out and earn their own living."

As time went on, they enacted the self-government for the Indian tribes. That's when we first had the election for a president and a vice president for this area. Ever since then, we began to grow and we are slowly trying to get out from the thumb of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Now, this tribe has really advanced in a lot of ways. We are a small municipality. We have our own social services department, police department, fire department, health clinic, and a lot of other things. I can't think of all of them right now.

We're talking about the traditional kinds of things that we've now brought into the church, and I guess you know I was the spokesperson for all the Native Americans across the United States when the pope came to Phoenix in 1987. In that speech, I asked about the social justices that have been denied to the Indian

people. In his response, he encouraged us to use whatever traditions that we have in the church, that we shouldn't be afraid to use it, that it would be well to go ahead to use it.

I don't know how I was chosen to give that speech. I never even dreamed that anything like that would happen. Then this priest—he was the executive director of the Tekakwitha Conference—called and he told me that I was selected to speak to the pope. Oh my God, my heart just stopped! I couldn't say anything. I just sat there probably with my mouth opened. I'm glad that he didn't see me. Finally, I said, "What did you say?" I said, "Oh, my gosh! I don't know if I can do it!" He said, "Sure you can."

After that, I was floating on air and I just had a mixture of all kinds of emotions! I kept asking myself, "Can I do it?" I mean, for so great a man. When they all gathered there at the coliseum, the people who were selected to meet him personally had to go in the back. While I was waiting there, I was thinking, "Gosh, in a few moments, I'm going to meet the pope." All of a sudden, I just broke down and started crying. My tears were just pouring. He [Mr. Antone] saw me and he came over and said, "What's the matter?" I said, "I don't know. This is something I never even dreamed would happen to me."

When it was all over, I could just see him. I mean, that man is so, so . . . I guess spiritual is the only word I can think of. When I was close to him, it just felt like he was radiating something, some good feeling. And when I shook his hand, it was just . . . just like something went through you. I kept holding my hand, and people kept shaking my hand. They said, "Oh, I want to shake the hand that shook the hand of the pope" and all those kinds of things. And, gosh, I even got a little fan mail! I thought that was just great!

It was the most wonderful thing that ever happened to me. I will never, never, never forget it. For weeks after that, every time I went to bed in the evening, I closed my eyes and I could just see him. And I could just feel that warm feeling. It stayed with me for the longest time.

### Being a Pima and a Catholic

I never found it a problem for me. I mean, I never felt that there was a separation. Maybe it's there but I just don't see it. Or maybe I'm too dumb to catch it (laughter). So many people say, "Well, it's because I'm Indian and it's because they're white." But to me, when I really think about some of the problems that we may have come across, it's no different for the Anglo people. They have the same kinds of problems among themselves. To me, it just seems like that there's no other church in the world like the Catholic Church.

It never dawned on me that I'm different from this white person over here or this Hispanic person. To this day, I try to figure out how there is this big gap between my being a Pima woman and a white person. I don't feel like there are any bridges to cross, but . . .

I hate to say this, but we have this deacon that's there now, and that's the way he is even though he's married to an Indian woman. To me, he just seems like, "Oh, these people don't know any better. I can do whatever I want to and nothing will happen to me." And you keep trying to tell him, "Deacon, this is wrong. I think we need to do it this way." I've heard many people argue with him and tell him, "This is not your church. This is our church. We're the ones that say what we want and how we want it." He tries to patronize us. And he could probably have done it twenty or thirty years ago, but now because I think we're smart enough to see some of the things that shouldn't be happening.

So if I look at it that way, he's treating us like that because we're Indian. Maybe I'm way off base, but I think that in the movement for the Blessed Kateri, we're beginning to feel more so that we're equal to anybody else in the world. We feel that we have the right to do certain things and that we're able to do certain things.

There are so many people that have come up with so many ideas as to how the movement should go. They have petitions that

they sent to the Pope. And they are looking for miracles, for people who may have had a miracle happen to them because they say she [Kateri] has the power to heal sick people. That's why she is on the second step. For the third step, they just need another miracle that can be proven. As a result, we feel that whenever this happens, we'll all be sitting on top of the world. We'll all be so proud that a Native American would be among the saints.

I started going to the Kateri Conferences in 1980. That's when I first saw the priests smoking the peace pipe, and I thought, "They're doing this?" Of course, I really didn't see anything wrong with it, but it was a surprise because the priests were taking part and also getting the blessing from the smoke.

At all the other conferences I went to, they did this. I've been up there in Fargo, and they did a lot of that. Then I've been to Syracuse, New York, and they did that. And, of course, we had the conference here in Phoenix, and that's what they did. Although it was against the regulations of Phoenix to have any kind of fire, somehow or other they got permission to use the smoke for blessings. I think because of them doing that, the pope was told that the Native Americans would like to include more and more of the traditional things.

I know this question was asked to me at the time when the pope came: what did I think about the atrocities that those Franciscans committed against the Native Americans? And I was not sure whether that really happened or not. Because I've met a lot of Indians through the conferences that are from the little rancheros, and I never heard them say that they were mistreated by the Franciscan priests or that their grandparents or their great-great-grandparents were treated so badly. So I'm not sure whether all this happened. But I guess if somebody treated me that way, I would have nothing to do with the Catholic religion. Now, I think the Catholic Church is trying to right the wrongs they've done all those years. So minds have changed, and maybe that's the reason why they're beginning to listen.

### Role of Kateri

To me, Kateri is a person I would like to emulate even though that's not possible for me because I do a lot of things that are not right. To me, Kateri is a lot of things. She gives me the strength to bear some of the things that I'm going through now because she endured more pain than anyone of us will ever know. You try to imitate her in your everyday life when you're kind to other people, you're good to the elders, you're good to everybody.

I get so emotional about the homeless people, especially if they have children. I wish that I had all the money in the world because then I would sew something for them, even though they say it's a scam about how people stand on the streets with their signs that say "will work for food" and stuff like that. But if I have the opportunity, I give them a dollar and I just say, "I did what little I could and it's up to them to use it the best way they can." It makes me feel good. It doesn't make me feel like, "Look what I did!" I don't feel that way. I felt good because I was able to help them. And I think this is all part of the suffering that Kateri did. So every time that I do something like that, I strive to be like her in some small way.

The best way I can relate to you my feelings about her is like with my children. If one of them wants some kind of special help, I do that. But then the others will say, "She is more special to you than we are" or "You love her more than you love us." And I tell them, "You're wrong. You're my children and I love each one of you the same as the other. I don't have more love for David. I don't have more love for Cecilia than you. No, it's not like that. You're all equal to me." That's how I feel.

Maybe there is just a little bit more specialness because she's Native American. But then I'm not real strongly attached to some of the other saints. Yes, I love St. Francis because I love animals and he loved animals. And I feel special for St. Jude because he's the saint for all the things that look impossible. And there are a

few others that I feel closeness to. But for right now, it's Blessed Kateri. Even though she's not a saint, there is just a little bit more specialness. The reason I feel she's special is because we're trying to do more for her so that she can become a saint. Whenever that happens, I will love them all just the same.

When she becomes a saint, Kateri will have more healing powers and will be able to help a lot of people who are asking for her help. For the Native American people, I'm sure that a lot of them have the same feelings. Even now, it has been said that she has performed miracles for some. Even though she is only Blessed, I think the feeling is that she will have more of the powers that God bestows upon the saints.

For the Native American people, there will be a sense of great pride. Not in the way of being boastful or being arrogant. But I think we will feel like, "Yes, we have a saint who is a first American." It's just like when you have somebody close to you who does something extraordinary. You have a sense of pride. And you're happy because they accomplished something that maybe nobody ever accomplished before. In that sense is how native people would view her canonization.

I have great respect for Kateri. I have great love for her. And I don't think that'll ever go away.

#### SPEECH TO POPE JOHN PAUL II

Written and Delivered by Alfretta Antone

Your Holiness, Pope John Paul II, we welcome you and thank you for this sacred time together. We are affirmed and encouraged by your support of native peoples throughout the world. We respect you as a great spiritual leader and pray that you can help us on our road of life today.

As we approach five hundred years of Catholic Christianity in the Americas, we pray that all who come to this land will respect

our grandparents, who have lived on this land for over fifty thousand years. Upon initial contact with Europeans, we shared the land given us by our Creator and taught others how to survive here. History, however, stands as a witness to the use and abuse we have experienced in our homelands.

Today little remains of the gifts and richness which our Creator has shared with us, the original peoples of these lands. We ask you to intervene with all people of good will to preserve our homelands for our families, our children and the generations to follow us.

We choose not only to survive, but to live fully. We want to live in harmony with all people and all of creations the ways of living carved in the stones and bones of our ancestors. We are open to share and receive whatever is good for the life of the human family with all people of good will. Our traditions, our languages, our cultures with their rich teachings and values, our songs and dances, our stories and painting, our art and ways of living, celebrate who we are as people of many tribes.

We pray that our governments and all our rights as distinct peoples be honored and respected. We ask Your Holiness to do all in your prayer, power and influence to help us secure for our present and future generations the following:

First, that our people be recognized, respected and treated as equals.

Second, that our people determine our own destiny, develop our own lands and resources, plan and make our own decisions in all matters that are properly our own.

Third, that our sacred ways and prayers be respected.

Fourth, that we all learn to live in harmony as brothers and sisters on our Mother Earth.

Fifth, that racism, bigotry and a sense of superiority be laid to rest in our times.

Sixth, that the United States and other governments honor the solemn agreements and treaties they have made with

us which safeguard our lands, waters and other natural resources.

Seventh, that just compensation be given for our lands which were taken illegally through theft or violation of treaties with our ancestors.

Eighth, that governments, churches and all people of good will share the goods and resources of Mother Earth so that our people can walk tall, side by side with all people.

Ninth, that the Native American people be given the opportunity for a fair share in the resources of the world, to provide the necessary housing, health care and general well-being.

Tenth, that our people share equally in the educational, health and social benefits of the Americas.

Eleventh, that our youth be given the necessary support and encouragement to work for a just present and future of our people.

Twelfth, that our people be strengthened in our resolve to overcome the alcohol and drug dependencies which have brought us such great suffering.

We recognize that our native brothers and sisters come from many distinct tribes. We pray that we can work together in unity and mutual respect for both our individual and common good.

We also recognize that many of our native brothers and sisters have exercised their freedom of religion by following either their own traditional sacred ways, another world religion or other Christian traditions. Many of us have chosen the Roman Catholic way of walking with Jesus, speaking his truth and living his life of grace.

As Roman Catholics, we native people ask Your Holiness to strengthen and affirm us. Until recent times, many of our people have turned away from the church. Holy Father, we have always respected the one God, who made all and who is without beginning. The Creator has given us a way of life on Mother Earth. As

Catholic natives, we have come to know Jesus as the Son of God who loves us and lives with us. The Holy Spirit works in many ways through our people. We are encouraged by the support the Roman Catholic Church gives us in affirming the beauty and value of our traditional prayers and ceremonies.

Our people are sharing their own cultural gifts in living and celebrating the mysteries of our Catholic faith. Our languages, which we treasure, are now even spoken by some of the missionaries. Yet we still need your help and guidance in certain areas:

First, as native peoples, we seek to follow Jesus Christ in the languages and cultures which God has given us.

Second, we seek a fuller participation in the life of the universal church as bishops, priest, deacons, religious, catechists and in all lay ministries.

Third, we seek a fuller inclusion of our cultural gifts and languages in the sacramental life of the church.

Fourth, we seek the canonization of Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha. This young Mohawk woman has given our people a beautiful example of a native person living out the Christian Gospel. Through her help, our people are being gathered to the church.

Your Holiness, as native peoples, we are affirmed in our journey and encouraged in our work through your love and support of us. We pray that God will continue to bless you and your ministry.

In the name of all Native Americans, we ask Your Holiness for your blessing and guidance as we walk together with God as we live here on Mother Earth and for all time to come.



ALTAR VALLEY PIMAN





## 19. Eighteenth-Century Jesuit and Franciscan *Platicas*

Lexical “Choice” and Textual Architecture

Translated into Altar Piman by Francisco Moyano

Introduced by David Leedom Shaul

Jesuits who translated ecclesiastical materials into Piman and other Sonoran and Californian languages were influenced by the Native variety into which the material was being translated. This influence includes lexical choice but also stylistic features. After considering the former, I will turn to the latter in a translation from a set of *platicas* (sermons) by the Franciscan priest Francisco Moyano (n.d.), the first translation of such sermons into English. I use Piman data from the drainage of the Altar River in Sonora, northern Mexico, considering how the Jesuits in Sonora had to accommodate their indoctrination with the lexical material that was available in Altar Piman. (Piman refers to the northern part of the Tepiman subfamily of the Uto-Aztecan language family, including O’odham; Altar Piman spoken along the Altar River; Atar Piman originally from the Sea of Cortez coast; Sonoran O’otam, spoken in the desert area between the present international border between the United States and Mexico and the Sea of Cortez; Santa Cruz Valley Piman, spoken along the Santa Cruz River of northern Sonora in Mexico and in southern Arizona; Nevome and its descendent variety Onavas Piman; and Oob No’ok or Mountain Piman, spoken in the Sierra Madres between Chihuahua and Sonora.)

Piman thought held that the supernatural was impersonal and

that interaction with it could be done methodically; that is, a given ritual correctly performed would yield a mechanically predictable result. Power “is impersonal, a great unknown force pervading the earth. It can be harnessed (to use a modern illustration) like an electric current, and used for anything, good or bad. Like the current, it is dangerous to him who uses it if he is not wise” (Underhill 1946:13–14). Contact with the supernatural was through song or ritual speech in shamanistic or public rituals (Bahr 1983, Densmore 1929, Underhill 1946). Accidental contact with the supernatural caused disease or misfortune (Bahr et al. 1974, esp. 26–27), and those who had left the context of the local community, such as hunters, enemy slayers, men who went on the salt expedition, or menstruating women, were required to undergo purification rituals before returning to normal life (Underhill 1946). The individual and community, then, were in constant flux with the supernatural, and rituals restored balance by negating the ritual pollution (contact with non-village entities, or the supernatural). This view was qualitatively the same as that of other Mexican cultures farther to the south (cf. Burkhart 1989; Ingham 1988).

Indeed, the Christian conception of the supernatural (transcendental dualism) is reflected as an aboriginal, this-worldly monism in the Piman *doctrinas* (catechism), in which “sin” is cast as ritual pollution or a repairable error that may be redressed with the appropriate ritual. This is seen clearly in the Piman words used by Jesuits and Franciscans (after 1767) to translate key Christian concepts. The translator priests had partly acculturated to Piman culture, and their use of Piman is reflected by word choice and also by the very structure of their discourses composed in Piman.

The Piman worldview and religious practice focused on effective, actual behavior in the everyday world. Moreover, this utilitarian focus was not essentially moralistic. This is shown in the Piman equivalent for the concept of sin, which literally translated indicates something done badly or ineffectively. (The abbreviation *N* stands for Nevome, and *AP* for Altar Piman; these abbreviations

indicate after the gloss of a vocabulary item that the example is taken from either or both varieties.)

pima s-cuga	tuidaga	'bad deed' (N, AP)
pars	tuidig	'blotched deed' (AP)

The noun *tuidaga* comes from the verb for 'do' (*tuida*, itself related to *tuidu* 'happen'). What is intended in 'bad deed' is explained by the synonym *pars tuidig* 'blotched/ruined deed': anything that is bad is ineffective, wasted effort. A sin is therefore a 'misdeed'.

The result of 'sin' was 'feeling sad or miserable'		
soiga m'-urid(a)		'feel sad' (N, AP)

The basic meaning of the root *soiga* is 'domestic animal' or 'slave', and it is from this concrete meaning that the sense of 'miserable/sad' derives. It connects with the sense of 'misdeed'; if one does something major and it turns out badly, one feels sad. (Anger in Piman culture is connected with childishness and is not a usual response to poor outcomes.)

The words that are used in the *doctrinas* with the "sin" concept support the reading given above. One could not "commit" sins in colonial Piman cultures. Rather, the verb associated with "sin" in both *doctrinas* is *viha* 'permit/allow to happen'. From this basic meaning derives a more abstract sense, 'exceed the limit', and this is clearly the sense that the Jesuits had in mind. Sins, then, were wont to happen from time to time.

Fortunately, there was an appropriate ritual technology to address the problem. The state of balance with the social world and even the entire cosmology that Pimans wished to achieve is reflected in the word used to indicate the absence of sin, "blessed."

si-vaguima		effective/happy (N, AP)
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The concrete sense of 'effective' yields the abstract sense of 'happy'; that 'efficacious' is the basic sense is reflected in the fact that this root survives in Tohono O'odham as 'industrious' (*s-wagima*).

Finally, the Piman translation equivalent of “redeem” in both varieties is *nam(a)cai* ‘exchange/trade’. Where there was an imbalance with the supernatural, it was possible to restore balance via ritual exchange.

Additional confirmation of a this-worldly Piman view of Catholicism is shown by in the names of the major figures in the Christian pantheon. Both “God” and “Satan” are Spanish loanwords (Dios, Diabro); it is their epithets that are critical. Diabro ‘Devil’ has the epithet *t’-obaga* ‘our enemy’. This is in harmony with the western conception until one examines the Piman equivalent of “lord” as an epithet for “God”; God is called *s-tuodiga* ‘headmanly’ (N, AP). The word *tuoti-hipuitcama* ‘virile, courageous’ was also applied to the deity; it has the root *tuoti* ‘adult male’. Courage was the essential qualification for a village headman in the context of the internecine warfare of ancient Sonora. ‘God’ is an ‘effective’ ‘headman’ against ‘our enemy, the Devil’.

Catholicism as taught in the surviving Piman *doctrinas* was in harmony with the Native religious view and practice. It is not known whether the Jesuit translators deliberately chose an array of terms that would stimulate a Native conception of the introduced religion, but the potential for the Pimans’ syncretizing interpretation is clear.

In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from New Spain, and Franciscans took over their missions in Sonora. The Franciscans copied some of the earlier materials in and about the Piman varieties of Sonora that the Jesuits had produced. A distinct Franciscan contribution is a set of sermons (*platicas*) composed and/or redacted by Moyano (n.d.) that date from the second half of the 1700s.

In Piman culture the magic number is four, much as three is in European cultures and derivatives. In Piman native discourse, therefore, ritual repetitions of four (and multiples of four) occur. It is interesting to note that in the Moyano sermons an architecture of four and multiples of four is used, while at the same time a limited number of themes is repeated over and over as in a Piman

*amoga* (talk/pronouncement). Such a textual architecture of versification occurs in other Uto-Aztecan formal speech (e.g., Hopi culture; see Shaul 1988, 2002:chaps. 5 and 6).

The text that follows has been transcribed directly from Moyano's manuscript. It has been set as lines that usually represent a clause, sometimes a large phrase, with the author's punctuation also serving as a guide. Indentation is made with reference to this punctuation and to subordinating conjunctions that begin clauses. Paragraphs in the original are represented as stanza breaks in the present text.

The lines tend to group into quatrains or multiples of four. Some quatrains modify a preceding clause, while in some instances two or three related lines may count as a single "line" for purposes of the textual architecture of four. Groups of eight or sixteen are particularly frequent near the end of a paragraph in the manuscript.

Among the themes are:

not having sex with a person you are not married to;  
not having sex if you are single;  
the need to be bound with a single person in the Church;  
not masturbating;  
not fondling women;  
not engaging in bestiality; and  
the need to confess if guilty of any of the above.

Curiously enough, homosexual behavior is not even addressed, even though Jesuit ethnographers mentioned it.

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## Eighteenth-Century Jesuit and Franciscan *Platicas*

### *Sermon 4 on the Sixth Commandment*

My children,

hear me well:

because I'm going to tell you many things;  
so that you will learn them.

My children,

God commands

that men will not do bad things with women.

O my children,

truly God forbids this deed.

Because of this deed

of women doing things with men  
God sends many people to the Devil's village.  
This deed God abhors  
because the Devil lies to many men  
so that they will do something with a woman.  
Many people believe the Devil  
in order to do this deed.  
O because of this my children:  
I tell you that some will fall  
you all listen to me well  
you will believe me  
because I am not lying to you.  
My children, if some man  
"marries" a woman  
who has a husband,  
and does the bad thing (with her)  
that man does a triple sin:  
against the other husband he sins  
because God has joined them together;  
it is also a sin against his own wife  
because he abuses his own wife because of  
this deed.  
The woman also does a sin:  
against her husband  
because the woman (against) her husband  
did the bad deed  
and because of the deed disloves her husband.  
My children:  
Three bad deeds are done.  
Okay, I tell you my children:  
what man wants  
some man to do the bad deed with his own wife?  
He doesn't want it,

so if some day he sees  
 his own wife doing it with some man  
 he will hit his own wife;  
 he will tell  
 so that they will beat that other man  
 that did the bad thing with his wife.

So,

if you don't want  
 your own wife screwing some man,  
 how can you do it with some other woman?

My children,

you all know this  
 that it isn't good;  
 you all know  
 that the Devil tells you  
 to do bad deeds;  
 so, my children don't believe the Devil;  
 you will believe in God  
 and not do something bad with a woman.

You women hear me well:

also you woman  
 that "marries" a man  
 who has a wife,  
 to do "something" with him;  
 (you) do three sins:  
 one towards God,  
 one towards your own husband,  
 one towards that other man's  
 wife  
 with whose husband you did it.

The Devil will bring women to his village, too,  
 who have done the bad thing with men;  
 you women and the men

with whom you have done bad  
with them you will suffer.  
My children you all hear  
what I am telling you  
that a man  
who “marries” a woman  
who has a husband  
and does bad things with her  
that man who has a wife  
does three sins;  
so also (the woman) does three sins.  
Something else I’m going to tell you all:  
if you  
who have no wife  
a woman  
who has a husband  
do something bad with her,  
then you do three sins:  
also the woman  
who has a husband  
with whom you did bad  
or felt up,  
then you did three sins:  
also you man without a wife  
with a woman without a  
husband  
do a bad deed,  
you have really sinned.

My children, believe:  
if you are unmarried  
and some day do something bad  
with some woman  
who is without husband,

it's no good;  
 this God hates  
 and one day God is going to give you over to the  
 Devil's village.

Something else I'm going to tell you my children:

so hear me well,  
 and you will believe:

If a woman wants some man for a husband,  
 and they are not bound together in the Church,  
 and they lie together,  
 my children, believe that this is not good;  
 God hates it.

If the Priest joins you together in the Church:

then you may lie together;  
 if in fact you haven't yet been joined in the Church,  
 you may not lie together  
 for God abhors this.

They know it that the Priest would not tell them

who are not joined  
 to lie with each other  
 for it would be a sin.

Something else I'm going to tell you all

so hear me well:

if you men speak to a woman  
 that she will sin with you  
 and you don't love this woman,  
 then by means of your word,  
 you sin against God;  
 therefore  
 you are to confess  
 telling the Priest  
 that you spoke to a woman  
 that she would do bad with you.

Look here:

if any of you all have wanted some woman in your heart,  
and spoke to any woman (about it)  
you do a bad thing toward God,  
because in your hearts you wanted the bad thing;  
that God sees your hearts  
because (He) sees all things;  
that is because, my children,  
the Devil puts bad thoughts within you  
so you should ask God  
to be with you,  
that the Devil not lie to you,  
that you also not believe the Devil;  
if someone believes the Devil  
and does something bad with a woman,  
when that one dies  
he will suffer all of the days in the  
Devil's village.

Something I will tell you all,  
so hear me well;  
think every day  
that the Devil will not lie to you.

Some people handle themselves  
and (they) do a "biggie";  
O my children:  
truly this is a big fault;  
God certainly does not like this act;  
this deed will quickly kill;  
and in the Book (of Life) it will be seen  
that a man abused himself.

And then this man will die soon  
and God will put his heart in the Devil's village.  
My children,

if you handle yourself,  
 you will let go of this fault  
 because it is not good.

My children God also orders  
 that men will not be playing with women;  
 that (they) will not touch women  
 so if you touch a woman feeling all over,  
 then God is really going to be angry at you  
 and when you die  
 you will fall into the Devil's village.

If any of you someday do a bad thing with a horse,  
 or with a goat,  
 or with a dog  
 or with any other (animal),  
 you will tell the Priest straightaway  
 and then will confess;  
 even if you don't "do it"  
 you will tell the Priest.

If you men at some time have done the bad thing with women  
 you will tell the Priest of these deed(s);  
 you will not hide it from the Priest  
 because the Priests will do nothing to you.

Priests want  
 that all of you confess all your faults/sins;  
 so that God will [illegible].

My children,  
 believe in God  
 so that you will not sin with a woman.

You women  
 if men tell you  
 to do bad things with them,  
 you will do nothing these bad men.

If you believe these bad men  
 and do the bad thing with them

then the Devil will take you to his village  
and you will suffer forever with all of the Devil's own.

Iñ Aarítac:

si sap iñi caibo:

coiva humu mui haitu an to um áaguit;  
umut Apim ò si mai.

Iñ Aarítac

Dios, tuhan,  
cut Tuteot Oub a buuma pars tuitic pi apo o tù.

A iñ Aarítac:

tuhocam ci subitit uc Dios hucai tuitic.

Hucai tuitic buutur,

mat Oub Tuteot buuma apuboa  
Dios mui humatucam' Diaburi Oítac bui à suric.

Hucai tuitic umu Dios iba hohoit,

ucu buutur uc Diabori mui Tuteo ha iatoquit,  
cut uc hucai tuitic Oub à buuma apo o tu.

Mui humatucama Diabruí si buhocurit,

ucu buutur hucai tuitic apuboa.

Oucu buutur aarítac

humai ci suri an to um aaguit;  
Apim ci sap iñ caibo,  
up am to si buhoguiñurit,  
coivañ an pi an to am iatoguit.

Iñ Aarítac ushumici humai Teot

mat hoñic humai Obi

mat Curi buuma;

pars tuitic apuboa,

hunoc hucai Teot Vaic tuitic si paprat apuboa:

humai ci cucuri tuitic apuboa,

coiva huca mat Dios ha subitit, apuboa,

humai up tuitic apuboa, ù Honic bui,

coiva hucai tuitic buutur u Honic pi apuata.

Humat up tuitic apuboa hucai Ob,  
 mat buuma pars tuitic aptu Cuna bui,  
 coiva hucai Ob Cuna mat buuma pars tuitic aputu,  
 hucai tuitic buutur pi apuata.

Iñ Aarítac:

Vaic tuitic ci paprat apuboa.

Oigon in aaguit iñ aarítac:

Hom hohoítc,

cut humai Otam um Honic buuma parts tuitic upo o tu?

Pi am hohoít,

ucu buutur erpo humai tas api nuit,

cut um Hoñic humai Otam buuma pars tuitic ap tu,

hunoc api um Honic ha cuba;

Ociacacam' up aaguit,

cut hucam ò Cub hucai Otam,

mat um Honic buuma pars tuitic aputù.

Ashumu,

erpo pi um [h]ohoít,

cut um Hoñic humai Otam buum pars tuitic apo o tu;

astù buutur api hai Oub à buuma pars tuitic apuboa?

Iñ Aarítac,

apim iba simat,

cut it o pi cuucat:

Apim iba simat,

cut uc Diaburi um aaguit

cumut Apim pars tuitic apo otu;

ucu buutus iñ Aarítac pi am to sibuhocurit uc Diaburi;

Dios am to sibuhocurit;

pi am to Oub à buum' pars tuitic apo o tu.

Apim Oub up sap iñi caibo:

erpo api Ob,

map Cuna humai Otam,

mat Hoñic,

buum' pars tuitic apuboa,  
Vaic pars tuitic apuboa:  
Humai Dios, bui,  
humai um Cuna bui,  
humai up hucai Teot,  
mapt buum api tu, Honic à bui.  
Uc Diaburi Oub up à to ha ùuc ù Oitac bui,  
erpo pars tuitic Tuteo buuma apuboa;  
Oub apim up hucam Tuteot  
mamt à buuma pars tuitic apuboa,  
o ha à buuma am to ù mumugit.  
Apim iñ Aaritac buuci iba cag hucai,  
mant um aaguit:  
Apim iba cag,  
cut hucai Teot  
mat Hoñic erpo humai Ob,  
mat Cuna,  
buuma pars tuitic apuboa,  
Vaic pars tuitic apuboa:  
Hucai Ob up,  
mat Cuna,  
erpo humai Teot, mat Honic,  
buum pars tuitic apuboa;  
up vaic pars tuitic apuboa.  
Humu haitu up an to um aaguit:  
erpo api tigot  
map pia Hoñic,  
humai Ob,  
mat Cuna,  
buum pars tuiti[c] apuboa,  
hunoc Baic tuitig apuboa:  
erpo hucai Ob,  
mat Cuna,

mat um buum' pars tuitic apitù,  
 ò burs ci ma um tatum,  
 hunoc api Vaic tuitic apuboa:  
 erpo api Teot pia Hoñic  
 humai Ob mat pia Cuna,  
 buuma pars tuitic apuboa,  
 hunoc api humai pars tuitic  
 apuboa.

Iñ aaritam, um to sibuhoguiñurit;  
 Vatum api pia Hoñic,  
 erpo humai tas pars tuitic apuboa;  
 humai Ob buum;  
 tum pia Cuna;  
 ito pi cuucat;  
 ito Dios ci subitit;  
 uc Dios up humai tas to om mamacat am  
 Diaburi Oitac urha.

Haitu up an to um aaguit iñ Aaritam;  
 sap iñi caibo,  
 up am to sibuhoguiñurit:

Hunoc mat humai Ob tatoa humai Teot Cuna buutur,  
 hunoc vatum coi Teopiturs guiguia o ha buum toma,  
 up o ha buum ò voy,

Iñ Aaritam am to tutuhoguiñ urit ito ci pi cuucat;  
 ito Dios ci subitit.

Erpo Para am Teop urha mu guiguia,  
 hunoc iba ò ha buuma am to voy;  
 hapucait erpo apim Teopiturs coi guiguia,  
 pi amto ha buum ò voy,  
 coiva uc Dios ito ci subitit.

Hucam up mat pi aaguit uc Para cut hucam,  
 mat coi guiguia,  
 a bum ò voy,  
 up pars tuitic apuboa.

Haitu up am to um aaguit:

sap iñi caibo;  
erpo api Teot humai Obi neoc,  
cut um buum pars tuitic apotù,  
vatum hucai Obi pi tatoa,  
hunoc api tigot umu neoqui buutur,  
Dios bui pars tuitic aptù;  
ucu tuutur hunoc,  
map to compis,  
ap to aac uc Para,  
cup api humai Obi bui at neoc,  
cut um buumi pars tuitic apootu.

Nuitbo:

erpo apim om iputac urha Oub à buum pars tuitic à ci tuñim,  
Va tum apim pi humai Ob aaguit,  
urha Dios bui pars apubo,  
coivamt um iputac ap pars tuitic tatoa;  
uc Dios um iputac nuit,  
coiva buus haitu nuit;  
ucu buutur iñ Aaritac hunoc  
mat uc Diabruí am um mo urha hucai pars tuitic  
am tuquitoit,  
am to tan uc Dios,  
cut um buumat;  
cut uc Diaburi pi um iatoguit;  
pi am to up sibuhocurit uc Diaburi;  
erpo humu uc Diaburi sibuhocurit,  
up pars tuitic Oub a buuma apuboa,  
huma mamto coi,  
ama Diaburi Oitac urha buuci tas am to  
ou mumugit.

Haitu up huma an'to um aaguit:

sap iñi caibo;  
upo buuci tas am to s-tuquito,

cut uc Diaboru pi um iatoquit.  
 Hai Ootama up huturi ù taatac huturi ù maupas;  
 junoc cu bùa:  
   Aiñ aaritac;  
   tuhocam cicu tuitic hucai:  
     suriñim [pi] hohoit uc Dios hucai tuitic;  
     hucai tuitic buutur hai sostoma coi;  
     am oohan tap an nuit;  
       cut humai tas humai Teot huturi is mabasc.

Cut up bùa hunoc ci sostoma at mu,  
   hucai iputac up uc Dios Diaburi Oitac uit at bùa:  
 Iñ Aaritac;  
   erpo apim huturi ù maupasc,  
     am to taguito hucai tuitic,  
     coiva vuhocam ci pi cuucat.

Iñ Aaritiac Dios up tuhan;  
   cut hucam tuteot Oub à buuma pio titibia;  
   cut Oub pi ò tatac:  
     erpo apim titibia Oub à buum' busco tatac,  
     hunoc uc Dios um bui ci pacat,  
     upo mù  
       suric Diaburi Oitac bui.

Erpo Apim humai tas pars tuitic apitù aptù cabiyo  
   astù cabori;  
   astù gocci;  
   astù up buuma,  
 ci suri am to aac hucai Para,  
   hunoc mamto compis;  
   pi am to hia urs cibuaa  
   amto aguit hucai Para.

Erpo Tuteot humai tas Oub buum humai pars tuitic apubua;  
   up amto aagui Para hucai tuitic;  
   pi am to humai tuitic ò ustoit hucai Para,  
   coiva Papara pi has om ò toot;

Papara tatoa,

cumut Apim ci buuci umu tuitic ò compis;  
cut uc Dios ò humhoi[ILL]cuit.

Iñ Aarítac,

Dios am to si buhocurit;  
pi am to hucai tuitic Oub a buum apo tù.

Apim up oub

vatum Tuteo um aaguit,  
cumut apim' o ha buuma pars tuitic apo otu,  
pi am to sibuhocurit hucam pi cuuc Tuteot.

Ami pi Apim Tuteot sibuhocurit;

Ami pi apim o ha buuma pars tuitic apubua,  
hunoc uc Diaburi to um uuc amu Oitac bui;  
am amto buus tas ò mumugit buuci Dioaburi buum'.



## 20. The Lord's Prayer

Translated into Altar Piman by Anton Maria Benz

Back Translated by Phillip Miguel

Introduced by Phillip Miguel

As O'odham speakers, we are interested in our past. Our language is central to our culture and identity. One way of looking at our past is to see how our language has changed over time. In order to explore the similarities within O'odham it is important to look at texts rather than single words. The only known O'odham-language texts before 1872 are from the mid-1700s from the Altar River Valley in northern Sonora, Mexico. These texts are translations of standard Christian Biblical texts, in this case made by the Jesuit missionary Anton Maria Benz. I am not here interested in the religious content of these texts. Rather, I examine the Lord's Prayer to look at O'odham language change. By doing this, I use this colonial text to recover something genuine of the O'odham past.

A path to understanding our O'odham past is via language. Language is a central means of conveying our thoughts and beliefs about the O'odham universe, from one generation to the next. The language itself serves as our cultural identity. It is how we express our spiritual connection through orations, songs, and ceremonial speeches. In this way, language is perpetuated through everyday use in families, communities, and the People as a whole. Moreover, language is a way of defining a person as O'odham. Our oral tradition is understanding and believing the traditional O'odham concepts. In order to understand these, each O'odham individual

must understand the O'odham language and thus be able to express and participate in the O'odham oral tradition.

All languages change over time, and so we expect that the O'odham language has changed over time. This is evident in the Altar Valley Lord's Prayer text examined below. By using texts in O'odham from the Spanish colonial period, we can recover some of the past of our O'odham language. There is a spiritual and profound effect in seeing the O'odham language as it was spoken (and written down) in the mid-1700s. As a native speaker, I could transcend the time difference and connect spiritually with the language.

The texts from the Spanish colonial period in O'odham cannot, in a sense, be decolonized, because they are from the colonial/imposed culture and not from O'odham culture. Looking at these texts from this perspective, we can see that attempting to translate them into O'odham is a way for O'odham culture to colonize the texts. We have our own conceptions of God (a creator, I'itoi, and his creator, Jewed Ma:kai) and heaven (Wuaga, in the easterly direction where the sun rises; this word also refers to a girl's puberty ceremony). The words of the texts (e.g., "our Father who art in Heaven") echo nearly identical O'odham beliefs.

The Pima-language version of the Lord's Prayer considered here is from a manuscript from the vicinity of Caborca, Sonora. It was written sometime in the mid-1700s by the Jesuit missionary Anton Maria Benz (ca. 1796). Benz's work had to have taken place prior to 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled from New Spain. The actual manuscript in the Bancroft Library is a Franciscan copy of Benz's work that was made around 1796.

I assume that the translation was accurate for its day. I translated this text into contemporary Tohono O'odham as closely as I could and then created a back translation, produced by asking a native O'odham-speaking colleague to translate into English as I read my translation of the Altar Piman Lord's Prayer. The back translation revealed some problems with my reading in O'odham

of the Altar Piman original. I explore these differences and then, in a final section, assess how Altar Piman of the mid-1700s compares with the O'odham language spoken today.

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## El Padre Nuestro

The following is an exact reproduction of the text of the Lord's Prayer found in the materials by Anton Benz.

T'Oga ti tamacatum apa dacama, scug' amoguidtana m'tuguiga:  
 Ta vuy tiviana si m'tuotidagga: cus'asp m'tatui ti damacatum apa  
 gushuta ap upu ia tuburst apa gushuatana. Vusi tas ti coataca  
 humo  
 gu ti maca. T'oanitan' upu pima scuga ti tuidiga; cus' hasi ati  
 pima  
 tut/hucton toopagc; vuy pima scuga tuidiga. Pima part tuidig,  
 g/quit huc  
 Diabro ta hiatoguituitana cup'ta duguvontana pima scuga ami  
 durts.  
 Amen Jesus.

PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION

Below is a line-by-line transcription of the original text, followed by a phonemic transcription made with reference to O'odham (discussed below) and word-by-word interlinear translation, and finally a free English translation made on the basis of the text in Altar Piman with reference to modern O'odham (and not the familiar English text). Vowel length has been supplied in the suggested phonetic transcription.

t-o:ga            ti-damakatem    api            dahakam  
our-father    us-above            you            one.sitting  
Our Father, the one sitting above us,

scug' amoguidtana m'tuguiga:  
s-ke:gam        am            ho'ogida-na            m-te:giga  
STAT-good    there        respect-may.it.be.so    thy-name  
may your name be well respected.

Ta vuy tiviana si m'tuotidagga:  
ta        vui        tiviana            si        m-teodidaga  
us        to        arrive-ma-it-be.so    very    thy-headmanliness/rule  
May your leadership arrive to us:

: cus'asp m'tatui ti damacatum apa gushuta  
ku-sasp        m-tattui        ti-damakatem    aba        gusuda  
and-perhaps    thy-hopes        us-above            on/in    be.lived  
just as thy will be lived in heaven,

ap upu ia tuburst apa gushutana.  
hab    masma    ia            dever    aba    gusuda-na.  
thus    as            right.here    earth    on    be.lived-may.it.be.so  
so also may it be lived right here on earth.

Vusi tas ti coataca humo gu ti maca.  
ve:si    tas        ti-koadaga        hemo    ge        ti-ma:ka  
all        day(s)    our-food        now    IMP    us-give  
Give us our food every day.

T'oanitan' upu pima scuga ti tuidiga;  
 t-oanida-n epe pima s-ke:ga ti-tu'idiga  
 us-wipe.for-IMP also not STAT-good our-fault(s)  
 Also wipe away for us our bad faults

cus' hasi ati pima tut/huhton toopagc;  
 ku-s-hasi ati pima tetecton  
 t-o'opa-g[a] vui  
 and-MOD-thus we not think/remember  
 our-enemies-ALI to  
 just as we do not remember about our enemies'

pima scuga tuidiga.  
 pima s-ke:ga tu'idiga  
 not STAT-good fault(s)  
 bad faults.

Pima part tuidig, g/quit huc Diabro ta hiatoguituitana  
 Pima par tu'idig, [i]ki[i] heg Diabro ta  
 iatogida-na  
 not bad faults by.means.of that Devil us  
 lie.to-may.it.be.so  
 May the Devil not lie to us by means of bad faults

cup'ta duguvontana pima scuga ami durts.  
 ku-p ta duguvonida-na pima s-ke:ga ami  
 der.  
 and-you us save-may.it.be.so not STAT-good there  
 from  
 and may you save/deliver us from evil.

#### CONTEMPORARY O'ODHAM TRANSLATION

Below is my translation of this text into contemporary O'odham. I have tried to use related words and stay as close as possible to the Altar Piman text.

T-O:g m-ap a:pi an daha  
da:mkacim ceḏ,  
our-father that-you you there.to the.side sit/live  
heaven-in

s-ke:g am 'o i ho'ige'idan g m-ce:gig.  
STAT-good there AUX best sincerest the your-name

t-wui jiwia g si m-ciojdag,  
us-to arrive the very your-leadership

kutp m-taccui t-da:mkacim ab  
t-doakudḏag  
and.maybe your-wishes us-above there  
our-means.of.living

ab ep ia jeweḏ ab doakudḏag.  
and also right.here earth on/at means.of.living

We:s taṣ ab o i t-ma: ha'icu hu:gĩ.  
all day(s) on/at will likely us-give food

T-oanid g paḏ t-cu'ijig,  
us-erase the bad our-faults

hab masa ma-c a:cim pi amhu ha-cegito  
t-o'obaga g paḏ ha-cu'ijig.  
just.as that-we we not about them-think  
our-enemies the bad their-faults

Pi paḏ cu'ijig o t-iattogĩ g jiauwul,  
not bad faults will us-lie.to the devil

kupt api o gewito ab paḏ ha'icu  
amjeḏ.  
and.you you will overcome there bad thing(s)  
from.

## A BACK TRANSLATION AND DISCUSSION

The technique of back translation is used as a way of testing the reliability of translations, especially scriptural ones. The method involves taking a candidate translation and having a native speaker translate into a second language that the speaker also knows.

I asked Dena Thomas, the cultural resources technician at the Venito Garcia Library and Archives in Sells, Arizona, to do a back translation of my provisional version of the Altar Piman text in contemporary O'odham. I read her the O'odham "translation," and this is what she translated:

You our father who is in Heaven,  
 say the rosary in your name.  
 You came to us as a boy.  
 If you want us in Heaven that is our life,  
 and here on the earth in our life.  
 All day give us food,  
 leading us away from our sins.  
 Don't give us lies/mistakes through the devil.  
 You overcome to teach us bad things.

For anyone familiar with this prayer in English, there are a number of problems, among them the following:

say the rosary in your name	for	hallowed be thy name
you came to us as a boy		may thy leadership come
if you want us in Heaven . . .		thy will be done in Heaven
all day give us food		give us our daily bread [food]
you overcome to teach . . .		deliver us from evil

Prior to the coming of Christianity, the O'odham did not have the concept of God and prayer in the Christian sense. However, they did believe in a deity, from the concept of a creator, as referenced in the creation legend of the O'odham. Ceremonial orations, songs, and speeches do refer to I:itoi as the creator of the

O'odham universe. Some of the O'odham words in the Altar Pima text have changed meaning in modern O'odham.

The Altar Piman version of the Lord's Prayer, *amoguidtana m-tuguiga*, literally 'your name in the kindest', is very similar in O'odham. The O'odham *ho'ige'dan* is now being used to mean 'to pray'. In Thomas's back translation 'say the rosary in your name' connects O'odham Christian praying through the use of a rosary. From an O'odham point of view, saying the rosary is prototypical of the act of prayer. It makes prayer even holier. At the same time, most O'odham people will face the east when they say the rosary if this is possible (for example, one may be facing a different direction when in a church saying the rosary).

For *t-wui jiwia g si m-ciojdag*, Thomas literally translates 'you came to us as a boy'. The Christian coming of Jesus Christ does start as a child (*cioj*, 'boy' or 'man') but the use of *m-ciojdag* refers not to a boy but to the characteristics of a person with honor, wisdom, endurance, and leadership qualities in O'odham. Thomas was translating *masculinity* (and by extension *leadership*) as 'boyhood'. This is probably because she was assuming *you* (singular) as the subject of the verb *jiwia* 'arrive', which is the verb of the clause under consideration; this is because one is addressing God as *you*.

Thomas translated the expression *kutp m-taccui t-da:mkacim ab t-doakuddag* as 'if you want us in heaven that is our life'. The O'odham word *kutp* can be used to mean 'if, should, possibly' to signify a sense of uncertainty. Another word *kupt* means 'and you will'. In the previous miscue ("came to us as a boy"), Thomas was assuming the subject of the sentence as *you* (singular). She continued this assumption, choosing the word *kupt* 'and you will' as the subject marker of the sentence and then connecting it with the verb *taccu* 'want' rather than with the noun in the text (*taccui* 'wish/desire').

The way of saying 'daily/each day' in modern O'odham is *we:s taškaj* (literally 'by means of all days'). The Altar Piman text has *ve:s tas*, which translates to *we:s taş* in modern O'odham. (I added

the locative particle *ab* to it instinctively.) However, this combination of morphemes actually means ‘all day long’ or ‘throughout the day’. This is the source of Thomas’s wording in the back translation.

In rendering ‘deliver us from evil’, the Altar Piman text uses *duguvonida*, a word that does not exist in modern O’odham. One must choose a modern vocabulary term. I chose *gewito* ‘overcome/beat’. I think that Thomas was trying to say “teach us to overcome evil.” In this case, the sense of ‘teach’ is understood or supplied.

Another word used in the Altar Piman text is *gusuda* ‘live a particular way’ (for example, good versus evil). This word probably comes into the Altar Piman text from a related Piman variety called Nevome, which was spoken to the south in the area of present-day Hermosillo (Sonora) and east of Hermosillo. We know about Nevome from the work of the Jesuit Baltasar Loaysa (Shaul 1986:2–4), whose *Vocabulario en la lengua Nevome* gives the following information under an entry for Spanish *vida* (‘life’) (Loaysa 1979:120):

Vivir bién o mal es *gusuda*    [‘to live well or badly is *gusuda*’]

This word is unusual and probably is not of Tepiman or Uto-Aztecan origin. This is because the root *gusu-* would have to come from Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*\*wutsu-*. The combination /w/ plus /u/ is forbidden in Proto-Uto-Aztecan and so does not occur and would not have been passed on to Proto-Tepiman (the ancestor of the Piman varieties).

The word *duguvonida* in the Altar Piman text also probably comes from the Nevome tradition as recorded by Loaysa. This word is given in the Nevome *Vocabulario* for *salvar, redemir* [‘save/redeem’] (Loaysa 1979:107). The source of the Altar Piman text analyzed here (Benz ca. 1796) has a lot of internal evidence that it was based on or copied partially from the Nevome materials (D. Shaul, personal communication).

## CONCLUSION

The Spanish colonial text in *Altar Piman* shows that the O'odham [Piman] language has had minimal change. This means that an O'odham speaker of today can still understand most of the O'odham of nearly two hundred years ago. Since language is a vital connection with our culture, and since we connect with other O'odham people not only in the present but also in the past and future, this demonstration of language continuity assures me of the cultural connections I just mentioned.

It surprised me that I could easily understand most of the *Altar Piman* text analyzed here, once I knew the writing system used to record Piman in the text. Tohono O'odham and Akimel O'odham (the Piman variety spoken in the Phoenix area) are mutually intelligible because they are used near each other geographically. In this same sense Tohono O'odham and *Altar Piman* are close, although they are separated by time.

In using this Spanish colonial text for the purpose of connecting in knowledge and spiritually with O'odham of the past, I have in a sense colonized the colonial culture. I have used what was intended as a tool of culture change for my own, Native purpose. I have decolonized this text by co-opting it for an indigenous purpose—colonizing the colonial text, as it were. I don't know if Spanish or Latin influenced Benz's translation into Piman or what language the *Altar Pimans* usually used when saying this prayer. If reports from the several major Piman revolts in the 1700s are correct, they said this prayer in Piman, because the revolts centered around a ritual of saying or singing Catholic prayers in Piman. Modern bilingual Tohono O'odham people use both English and O'odham (Piman) for saying this prayer, depending on context. The Benz translation and the process of back translation (along with the lack of one-to-one, matching meanings) add a dimension to the modern Tohono O'odham conception of language by bring-

ing to mind the actuality of history and language change. Such an awareness is usually associated with languages that have a tradition of writing, but back translation of colonial texts can provide this awareness for modern Piman peoples, allowing them to connect intellectually and spiritually with Piman speakers of the past.

TOHONO O'ODHAM





## 21. The Albino Saguaro

Contemporary Storytelling in Tohono O’odham

Narrated by Stella Tucker

Translated by Phillip Miguel and Colleen M. Fitzgerald

Introduced by Colleen M. Fitzgerald and Phillip Miguel

The Tohono O’odham language is experiencing the rapid decline in number of speakers seen in other indigenous cultures, especially those of the American Southwest. In fact, the American Southwest has been identified in recent publications (e.g., Harrison 2007; National Geographic 2007) as a language “hotspot,” an area with a high number of languages in danger of extinction. As Harrison (2007) and others have noted, language loss correlates with cultural and knowledge loss and, in particular, a loss of the rich verbal arts tradition associated with indigenous cultures.

As languages fall out of use into forgetfulness, entire genres of oral tradition—stories, songs, and epics—rapidly approach extinction. Only a small fraction have ever been recorded or set down in books. And the tales captured in books, when no longer spoken, will exist as mere shadows of a once vibrant tradition. We stand to lose volumes: entire worldviews, religious beliefs, creation myths, observations about life, technologies for how to domesticate animals and cultivate plants, histories of migration and settlement, and collective wisdom. And we will lose insight into how humans fine-tune memory to preserve and transmit epic tales. (Harrison 2007:159)

Speakers of the O'odham language are fortunate in that there are a number of recordings of legends that preserve the original language as told by elders. The storytellers who have this specialized knowledge are dwindling, with it becoming more likely that people know only select portions of the entire cycle of legends or individual coyote tales. Some of these recordings are located at university archives in Berkeley and Tucson; others are held by individual researchers. The legends have also been published in O'odham and English. Russell ([1908] 1974) and Kroeber (1909) represent some of the earlier versions of these stories, while the bilingual versions in Saxton and Saxton (1973) and the English translations in Bahr (2001) represent more recent additions. The publication of such volumes spans nearly a century.

Storytellers have thus had a central role in preserving and passing on knowledge of the oral culture of the Tohono O'odham, with mostly legends and coyote stories represented in the story genres published. Other genres, such as personal narratives, have been published, but fewer are in the O'odham language. Only two texts represent people telling their stories about their lives in the O'odham language: Mathiot (1991) and Manuel and Neff (2001). There are several autobiographies and personal narratives told by O'odham people that are published only in English (e.g., Rios and Sands 2001).

The vibrant oral tradition of the Tohono O'odham continues, with people such as Ofelia Zepeda and the late Danny Lopez creating literature in Tohono O'odham using contemporary forms like poetry and traditional forms like songs. In this chapter we present an example of spontaneous contemporary storytelling, defined as a person coming up with a story on the spot. It may be a story they have told before, but it is a verbal moment generated at that moment, based on an event in which the storyteller is an onlooker or participant. The spontaneous story here was told by Stella Tucker in 2002. We present it in Tohono O'odham and also offer two versions in English, one a retelling by Tucker in English,

the other a translation from the O'odham crafted by Phillip Miguel. Stella Tucker is a well-known figure in the O'odham community for maintaining an annual summer camp to harvest saguaro fruit. She shares her cultural knowledge extensively with various audiences (both indigenous and Anglo) in the Tucson area, especially during the saguaro harvest time in early summer. Here she tells a story from one summer camp where she and her cousin found the ripe fruit was white, rather than its typical red.

#### HARVESTING SAGUARO FRUIT

The saguaro cactus (known botanically as *Cereus giganteus* and *Carnegiea gigantea*), known as *ha:sañ* in O'odham, dominates the landscape in southern Arizona. Its large size and the arms that often shoot off the main trunk make it readily recognizable and often depicted in characterizations of this part of the country. Even those not from the Southwest often recognize this cactus. Saguaros are often treated as humanlike. One legend (Saxton and Saxton 1973:215–16) recounts this human association, where a child goes into the earth and her mother asks Badger to bring the child back. Unfortunately, Badger ends up accidentally removing the child's arm, and the mother buries the arm, which later comes up as a saguaro. Later in this story the saguaro produces red, ripe fruit, known as *bahidaj*, for eating and for making cactus wine, known as *nawait*. In *Papago Woman*, the autobiography of Chona first published by Ruth Underhill in 1936, the importance of the saguaro fruit and its wine are linked to summer rains:

At last the giant cactus grew ripe on all the hills. It made us laugh to see the fruit on top of all the stalks, so many, and the men would point to it and say: "See the liquor growing." We went to pick it, to the same place where we always camped, and every day my mother and all the women went out with baskets. They knocked the fruit down with cactus poles. It fell

on the ground and all the red pulp came out. Then I picked it up, and dug it out of the shell with my fingers, and put it in my mother's basket. She told me always to throw down the skins with the red inside uppermost, because that would bring the rain. (Underhill [1936] 1979:40)

As this excerpt suggests, the saguaro plays a very important role in the traditional calendar year and ceremonies. At the top of the saguaro the blossoms turn into the *bahidaj* fruit, and the ripening of this fruit comes before the summer rains. The O'odham would camp during June for the *bahidaj* harvest, each family usually having its own spot. The fruit is knocked down with poles, usually made from saguaro ribs, known as *ku'ipad*. It is gathered into a basket and then boiled up until it is cooked into *bahidaj sitol*, saguaro fruit syrup. Traditionally most of the fruit would be made into a fermented beverage, *nawait*. When the *bahidaj* harvest is over and everyone has returned home, a meeting will be held and a particular time will be set for the Nawait I'i. *Bahidaj* syrup will be collected from households willing to donate a portion of their syrup to be used for ceremonial and fermentation purposes. The *nawait* is "prepared and drunk at a yearly three- or four-day ceremony designed to 'bring down the clouds.' Without summer rains there would be no crops. Neither would there be any life in the desert" (Fontana [1981] 1989:45). The saguaro harvest marks the beginning of the calendar year, with the ceremonial drinking of *nawait* and the song and speech rituals accompanying them bringing the rains.

The annual tradition of the saguaro camp is fading away. The late Frances Manuel tells of her experiences harvesting in saguaro camp:

When I got here [to San Pedro], my in-laws used to camp way out on that side of the mountain [pointing to a mountain called Komalk]. That's to harvest saguaro fruit. I would

go with them because that's the only time I got out. Well it was hard, hard work, because we had to get up at four o'clock in the morning, and come back and cook breakfast and eat and cook the saguaro, and then start boiling it. Maybe by two o'clock the syrup will be ready and then we'll go after some more. We'd leave it for the night, and the next day we'd go for some more. We'd do it for five days. But boy, everything was good to eat, we'd be so hungry. That's about all we'd do, we'd go to bed early on the earth. (Manuel and Neff 2001:25)

Stella Tucker told the story that is published here during the summer months of 2002. Tucker may currently be the best-known person associated with the saguaro fruit harvest. She does the traditional yearly camp in June in Saguaro National Park West, near the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, just outside of Tucson. Tucker is following the tradition of her relative, the late Juanita Ahil, who camped at that site and harvested *bahidaj*. Juanita Ahil, with her traditional knowledge of desert foods, served as a reference for many researchers on Tohono O'odham history, culture, and food before her passing in 1994. The Tohono O'odham online bibliography, compiled by Bernard Fontana with the assistance of Michael Owens, lists at least ten publications in which Juanita Ahil played an important role as a cultural educator (Fontana 2004), ranging from the *Journal of the Southwest* to *Arizona Highways*. Ethnobotanist and writer Gary Paul Nabhan has written of his work with both Juanita Ahil and Stella Tucker, notably in discussing the saguaro harvest in *Coming Home to Eat* (Nabhan 2002).

Stella Tucker has certainly carried on this tradition as a cultural educator. At the time when this story was recorded, she was working as a cook in the San Xavier Mission School during the school year and then, as the summer began, she would start her annual camp for harvesting *bahidaj*. This location and camp have been in her family for a very long time. Due to her expertise in harvesting and preparing local desert foods, Tucker has done workshops with

various institutions in Tucson, including the Arizona State Museum, the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, the American Indian Language Development Institute, and Tohono O'odham Community College.

Tucker has generously shared her knowledge of this important activity with Tohono O'odham community members, among others. A search of her name and "saguaro" yields 4,420 hits on Google (although not all of these reference her), and the *Arizona Daily Star*, a Tucson newspaper, has published seven articles interviewing her since 1992, with the media collection also including videos on the desert harvest. Now, around the age of sixty herself, Tucker has become the most visible person maintaining the *bahidaj* camp, passing on the knowledge of the harvest and doing her part to bring down the rain.

When we worked together in summer 2002, Tucker told a variety of stories, mostly from the saguaro camp, to Colleen Fitzgerald, who recorded them. Our work process was straightforward. Tucker would tell the story in Tohono O'odham first and then retell it in an English version. For each story there are two versions, one in each language. The story told here is the first from that summer to be published in its entirety. It is about finding some unusual *bahidaj* during the daily morning walk to knock down saguaro fruit. Tucker and her cousin Anna were out picking when they found a saguaro with fruit that was more white than red. The saguaro fruit was, as Tucker terms it, albino.

This story also serves as an example of a spontaneously told contemporary story, few examples of which are found in published literature on Tohono O'odham. In other work, Fitzgerald (2003) has shown that in traditional narratives the sentences begin with fewer content words (like nouns and main verbs) and more function words (like auxiliary verbs or copulas). These function words also tend to be unstressed, and the preponderance of function words, especially at the beginning of a traditional narrative, may make the meaning of a story more opaque. She also shows a con-

trast in these patterns with those of the poetry written by Ofelia Zepeda in Tohono O'odham. This is important, given that roughly a third of the community actually speaks the language. Zepeda's poetry has more content words. The upshot of genres with more content words earlier in the sentence is that they are likely to be more easily understood by those learning Tohono O'odham as a second language. A coyote story, with its conventionalized format and large use of functional information, represents a genre that was traditionally told to audiences that already knew the story. These were stories that had teaching purposes and packaged information told every year. We would argue that this ritualized retelling makes the syntax and the meaning more difficult for someone new to the particular coyote story. Think of English, where there are fairy tales that begin with conventionalized language that tells little about the actual content. An example would be, "Once upon a time, in a kingdom far, far away, there lived a boy."

In contrast, the telling of a spontaneous narrative, such as the one Tucker tells here, represents the packaging of new information. More clues need to be present early in the story for the listener to know what it is about. Nouns and main (or lexical) verbs thus serve as roadmaps for the listener, so that they know the general content of the story. Thus examples like the saguaro story told here can serve as valuable tools for language revitalization and teaching O'odham language and literacy, as their narrative and syntactic structure offer an easier path to comprehension.

All in all, the story is told in Tohono O'odham in a little over three minutes. The audio of this story has been played on many occasions for Tohono O'odham and Milga:n (Anglo) audiences, in both languages. Audiences enjoy it, and both versions also reflect the bilingual nature of the Southwest, with Tucker using some English in the Tohono O'odham version and some Tohono O'odham in the English version. Such linguistic behavior is completely natural for bilinguals, as speakers may look for a word mentally and sometimes find an equivalent only in one language

(like “albino”), or they may quote someone speaking in a language other than the one used in retelling the story.

#### ORTHOGRAPHIC SYMBOLS AND TOHONO O'ODHAM LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE

The Tohono O'odham Nation adopted as its official orthography the writing system developed by Tohono O'odham tribal member Albert Alvarez with the MIT linguist Kenneth Hale. Alvarez and Hale tried to balance the different sounds of O'odham and the need to represent that special linguistic identity against the common use of the Roman alphabet due to English literacy.

The language has five vowels, /a e i o u/, with /e/ representing a vowel not generally found in American English, a high, central, unrounded vowel. The vowels can be short, long (represented with a colon after the vowel, as in /a:/), or devoiced (represented with the breve diacritic (̃) above the vowel). Most often the particular devoiced vowel is an /ĩ/, but other vowels can also devoice.

The consonants of the language represent some contrasts not found or not functioning as phonemes in American English. The glottal stop, /ʔ/, does occur in words like *kitten* and *uh-oh*, in the middle of these words. Tohono O'odham also has consonants that are retroflex, made with the tip of the tongue curled up. These sounds are indicated with dots underneath, /ḍ ṣ/. In addition, there are two nasal consonants, a palatal nasal (as in Spanish words with an ñ or English words often written *ny*), /ñ/, and a velar nasal (as in English words written *ng*), /ŋ/.

In addition to these orthographic symbols that are not found in English, Tohono O'odham also makes use of orthographic symbols found in English but having different phonetic values. The /l/ in O'odham is a palatal lateral flap, and it sounds more like the single *r* in Spanish words like *pero* ‘but’. The /j/ represents the sound like the *j* in English *jinx*, while the /c/ represents the voiceless version of that sound, as in the *ch* found in *chip*. The other

sounds of Tohono O'odham are represented by symbols that are somewhat similar in sound to how they are used in English, although there is considerable more devoicing in Tohono O'odham.

In examining the Tohono O'odham version of the story below, a reader unfamiliar with the language is sure to notice the use of certain forms. A verb of speech, *kaij* 'saying', occurs frequently because the storyteller relates a conversation between herself and her cousin. But this also occurs because the grammar of Tohono O'odham is rich in evidential marking, which means that there are markers indicating the source of information, such as that it comes from someone having said it or comes from reported information. So the sources of information are marked, either with speech verbs or with the suffix *-ṣ* on auxiliary verbs to mark them as reportative.

Hyphens appear in the O'odham text when there are clitics that precede the verb (or noun or postposition), such as object markers, reflexives, and possessives. The hyphen also is used when the stative marker, *s-*, is part of the word. Prefixes and suffixes do not generally get separated from the word, similar to English.

Another element required in O'odham syntax is the auxiliary verb, which indicates the person and number of the subject as well as aspect information and, when required, a subordinate clause marker, the prefix *m-*. First-person singular information is often packaged using a palatal nasal; *'aṇ* is the long version of the imperfective auxiliary, but in connected speech it is more often the short version, *ṇ*, that gets used. Markers that go on verbs to indicate first-person singular (direct and indirect object, reflexive) and on nouns to mark possessives have the same marker, *ṇ*. Unsurprisingly, these surface in a variety of contexts in the O'odham version of the story here, since it is a first-person narrative.

We have used ellipses (. . .) to indicate false starts and repetitions by the storyteller.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We dedicate this paper to the late Danny Lopez, a tireless voice for the Tohono O'odham way of life, or *himdag*, especially the language. Many thanks to Ofelia Zepeda for discussion and help with some aspects of the transcription.

## NOTES TO ORIGINAL TEXT

1. In this example the phrase *kus hascu wuḍ* was reduced in connected/fast speech to *sascuḍ*.
2. In this example *kus has 'o* was reduced in connected/fast speech to *saso*.
3. In this example *'aš o ha- to'akcid* was pronounced in connected/fast speech as *šo ho- to'akcid*, showing reduction and some round harmony.

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## The Albino Saguaro

One time, one morning, when we were going to go pick bahidaj, we were there with my relative, Anna, picking the bahidaj. I went a little further ahead of where she was, and there stood a cactus with white bahidaj on it. I stared at it, then took one down and looked

at it more closely. I called to my relative, "Come here, I am going to show you something."

She came over and I showed her the bahidaj that was white. She looked at it and said, "Why does it look like that?" I told her, "Why don't you taste it?" and she said, "Didn't you taste it?" I said, "Huh-uh, no, I didn't taste it."

I was looking at the other [bahidaj], they were all the same color, white.

She said . . .

I asked her, "Did you taste it?" She said, "Yes, it is sweet." I kind of laughed as I looked at her.

I said, "Let's take all of them down, they are all ripe and some are already dry, dried up all of them."

The cactus was not that tall.

I, too, tasted one and it tasted just like the bahidaj. It was sweet.

I said, "We'll take them back and show the others back at the camp. Let's see what they say about the cactus." We showed them and they said that some were like that, that the milga:n called them "albinos."

"Oh! That is what I kind of thought, that it was one of them."

I said, "I'll show them to those milga:n that came, if they have ever seen any like these. I will just keep them here."

The other campers said, "Ok, because some of the bahidaj are like that."

"I have never seen one yet, I have been here a long time and this is my first time."

"I have never seen one like that cactus."

#### THE ALBINO SAGUARO — A RETELLING IN ENGLISH

I said, one morning we were out picking, with my cousin Anna. And we were out picking and, like we do our routine morning pick. We were out, and you know, usually we go in different areas.

And this area was, you know, one area we've all . . . we've been to before. But there was this one saguaro that I ran upon. You know, I looked at this saguaro, and the fruit on it looked so strange. It looked all white, it was white! And I knocked it down and I said, "Anna!" And she wasn't too far away from me.

And I said, "Come here!" "Come here," I said. "I'm gonna show you something."

And I showed her this fruit, and it was white.

And she says, "Why is it, why is it white? Why does it look white like that?"

And I said, I said—you know, and to myself I thought, well, I think it's an albino saguaro.

And she said, "Look at the difference, it's white and, and it's supposed to be red."

And I . . . and she said, "Are they all like that?"

And I said, "Yeah."

And she said, "Did you taste it?"

And I said, "No. Why don't you taste it?" [chuckling]

And so she tasted it, and she says, "Umm, it's pretty good, it tastes like fruit." And so I got one and I tasted one, and she says, "Eda 'ant hio ko'ito." [In O'odham, "Well, you know me, I'm going to eat it up."] I mean, she said in O'odham, she said, "Well, I ate it all up."

And I said, "Well, I'm gonna eat mine up, too." So I said, "I'm gonna take, knock 'em all down." Because there maybe just was a few, there wasn't that many, maybe . . . maybe about seven of 'em. And some were already dried. And even the . . . the skin was white.

So I knocked 'em all down, and I said, "Well, let's take them back to the camp and show the other campers."

And so when we took them back, I showed it to them and they said, I guess, well, the older . . . the older uncle said, "Well, I've seen one before, but I just never picked it, you know, 'cause it looks different." [laughing]

And so I said, "Well I'm gonna show it to one of the guys from

the Desert Museum, and see if, you know, he . . . if they recognize . . . if they've seen one before."

So, I did, I did and showed it to him. And he said, "Yeah, there is some albinos."

And I said, "Well, all these years that I've been picking in the desert out here, I've never ran into one before, like this one."

And they asked me, "Do you remember where it was?"

And I said, "Yeah, I remember where it was." End of story. But really, it was strange, I've never seen one before. Yeah.

Wenog hema . . . hemako si'alim mac 'am 'oyopo, c ma ḍ mo  
behim g bahidaj.

C 'am 'oyopo g ñ-hajuñ we:m, Anna.

C 'am 'u'u g bahidaj.

Ñ ḍ 'an 'am hejel hi:. 'Im hab ṣa baic, mo 'am 'oimed.

K 'am haṣ hema ke:k g ha:ṣañ.

Ge s-to:tam 'ab daḍha g bahidaj.

Ñ 'ab si ñeid.

C 'am ha hema 'i-hu:duñ, hema 'i-hu:duñ. K 'am . . .

Ñ 'am si ñeid.

Ñ 'am si waid g ñ-hajuñ, kc hab 'a:g "'Oig 'i."

Nt o ha'i cum je:k.

Ḑ 'ab 'i-hi:, ñ 'am cegid hegai bahidaj mo ge . . . ge s-tuha.

K 'am si ñeid kc hab kaij "K hascu 'a:g hab ge ma:s?"

Ñ 'ab 'a:g "Sascuḍ,<sup>1</sup> k hascu 'a:g hab ge ma:s?"

Ki:g ṣa je:k.

Ba ki:g ṣa je:k." B 'añ 'a:g.

K hab kaij, "Napt pi 'ab ho ha-je:?"

"Ha'a pi 'ant 'ab ho ha-je: ."

And . . . K hab kaij, "Ñ 'eḍa 'imhu ñeid c hab ha'i . . . ma ha-ñeid

ha'i mo wes hab mas, heg 'ab ha . . . ha:ṣañ."

K hab kaij, ñ 'am ha-kakke, "Napt 'ab ha-je:?"

K hab kaij, "Hau'u, s-'i'ow 'o."

Ñ 'aṣ ṣa hehem c 'ab ñeid.

C 'ab ñeid, c hab kaij,

"Di: g 'o wes 'ab 'i: ha-huhuts ñe . . . natp pi wes bai. Ge 'eða we:  
. . . ha'i gagagş.

S-gag . . . gagidag ñ đ 'epo wes 'ihia huhuts.

Pi'a mui si cewaj 'i:da ha:şañ.

Ñ đ 'añ ba 'ab hema je:k ba ka:k mo g bahidaj c ge s-'i'ow.

Ñ hab kaij, đ o 'u'uk 'am 'u:hum.

K mo je:k hegam mo'om đ we:m ka:mbo."

Saso<sup>2</sup> cei 'ab 'amjeđ, 'i:da ha:şañ.

Tt 'am ha-ce:k, k hab kaij, maşma hai'a b hi'a mams ha'ap.

Şab ha 'a'aga hegam milga:n, "albinos."

Ñ hab kaij, "Oh, s-ma:c, b 'añ b 'a şa 'elid mo . . . mo hab . . . mo  
đ hema hegam."

K hab kaij, kc hab kaij . . . kaij "Nt hig o hema ha-ce:k hegam  
mo . . . hegam mo g eða milga:n ma:s hebai hema 'i-ñeid hab  
mascu."

'Ant 'i'a şo ho-to'akcid.<sup>3</sup>

K hab kaij, k hab kaij hegam mo ñ-we:m ka:mbo, mo s-'ape . . .  
you know . . . ma s-'ape . . . ha'i 'atp 'ap pi'a mams c 'eða, ñ  
'eða pi he:kid şa'i hema ñeid 'a:ñi, ba ñ 'a:g, 'a:ñi.

Pi hekid hema şa . . . şa'i 'e-ñeid mo, mo b mams 'eða mañ taş  
. . . taş 'i:a bei bahidaj g 'i:da đ ñ we:peg mañ hema.

Mañ hema ñei m-'ab ma:s hegai ha:şañ.



PART FIVE

KIOWA-TANOAN

LANGUAGE FAMILY



KIOWA





## 22. How Thébôl Got His Name

Narrated by Parker P. McKenzie, Yí:sâum

Transcribed and Translated by

Gus Pàntháidê Palmer Jr.

Introduced by Gus Pàntháidê Palmer Jr.

Thébôl, the subject of this story, was a well-known Kiowa. He was about seventy years old when James Mooney met him in the late 1890s. T'ébodal, as Mooney wrote his name, was also a fairly successful Indian doctor and a warrior of some note, as charming and charismatic as any person of importance at the time, a kind of Indian superstar, I would imagine. Mooney describes Thébôl as “among the oldest men of the tribe” and as one of the witnesses and a grown boy “when the stars fell” (Mooney [1898] 1979:163). This event was the Leonid Meteor Shower of 1833. The incident is recounted by a number of stories. It has played largely in the folk-life of the tribe.

One of the problems with the name Thébôl is the ambiguous nature of the name itself. According to Mooney, Thébôl is defined as “one who carries a buffalo’s lower leg” ([1898] 1979:163). Others have disputed this claim by interpreting the name to mean “rotted upper leg or thigh” or “the place where the thigh and hip bone connect.” All of this has, of course, created concerns regarding the incident out of which the name has come down to us.

A common practice among Kiowa families is the giving of names of deceased family members to offspring. There is much honor in being bestowed with the name of a deceased relative of

high esteem and reputation in the tribe. Many names derive from important and heroic events surrounding the person for whom the name was given. Although this practice is becoming rarer, families do often name a child who then, after reaching adulthood, is given a more appropriate adult name. For Kiowas, a person's name precedes the person in much the same way that a special title designates certain individuals, such as earls, barons, and ladies. Much thought and consideration goes into the giving of a name. The bearer of a meaningful name must bear the responsibilities that come with the name. Names are not such a simple matter as the English name Joe or Jill. Rather, names and the persons so named are proprietary in that they conform to established standards of proper tribal behavior.

Much spectacle and drama surrounds the events leading up to the actual name giving. Generally, items given away at the ceremony consist of blankets and shawls, jewelry, food, and money. Even horses and automobiles are known to have been given away. This is the way one honors one's relatives and friends. Very often the family of the person receiving the name will honor the occasion by holding a big feast for all attendees and their guests. Family members attend the gala event decked out in fine buckskin dress and moccasins, brightly colored shawls with long fringe, and red and blue trade blankets trimmed with circular medallions hand-crafted with cutbeads that glitter in the air. Attachments of eagle fluffs on the ends of beaded staff poles twirl about gaily in the breeze.

The name *Thébôl* did not come out of normal circumstances. Not only is the name that has come down remembered, but it is one that has always been surrounded by consternation and the comic events surrounding it. I believe *Thébôl* must certainly have had a proper given name prior to the one he was given. Perhaps it was a name bestowed on him traditionally, as it was supposed to be. The drama, ceremony, and pageantry that surrounded that event had to have been grand, if not meaningful.

We do not know much about the early story of Thébôl, not the one reported by James Mooney but the earlier one about when he was growing up. Kiowas are fond of teasing and joking. In fact, teasing and joking among relatives seems to be an expected activity of families and perhaps a good way for family members to form close bonds. The comical events surrounding how Thébôl got his name are reminiscent of how Kiowas joke among themselves. Many classical stories, whether ancient Greek and Roman or the more recent ones by Cervantes or Mark Twain, contain comical situations that are unforgettable. This is because we recognize these common human events occurring in our own lives, and they make us laugh every time we think about them and remember. It seems stories are even more memorable when they present comical incidents and mishaps that happen to unsuspecting individuals no matter what their station in life. It is proof, perhaps, that people at one time or another inevitably trip over something and fall down at the most inauspicious times. For instance, if a president slips and falls while disembarking from an airplane, we are more likely to laugh than if it was a common person who had fallen down, not because we are mean and insensitive or we wish harm upon a hapless fellow creature but because we like to think we are all human and susceptible to the same human mishaps. These human accidents make us feel that mishaps accompany people sooner or later and do not discriminate. In addition to this, we make these accidental occurrences into stories we can pass down.

The story regarding Thébôl is charged with comedy that someone not knowing Thébôl might not understand. It might well be that to understand the story one had to know Thébôl personally. However, I believe the telling of it was perhaps aimed at a few select people who knew Thébôl fairly well and could joke about it. In any event, this is how most Kiowas remember the story. It has resulted in making Thébôl, through no fault of his own, a kind of everyman's hero down through the years.

## PRONUNCIATION TABLE

The following pronunciation table is a list of Kiowa consonants and vowels and the symbols representing those sounds.

Table 2

Stops	Unaspirated	Aspirated	Glottal	Voiced
Labial	p	ph	p'	b
Kiowa	f	p	v	b
Dental	t	th	t'	d
Kiowa	j	t	th	d
Velar	k	kh	k'	g
Kiowa	c	k	q	g
Affricatives				
Dental	c		c'	
Kiowa	ch		x	

The remaining consonants are the same as they are in English and include:

h, l, m, n, s, w, y, z

Vowels            i    u

                      e    o

                      a    au [ɔ]

Diphthongs      ai    ui

                      oi    aui

Tone                high (á) low (à)    high/low (â)

Length             colon (:)

Nasalization     underscore (a)

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## How Thébôl Got His Name

1. They roamed about.
2. The Kiowas roamed about.
3. Rotted Thigh accompanied them.
4. They had killed a deer.
5. And they butchered it.
6. It wasn't quite butchered
7. when there were some (unidentified strangers).
8. Perhaps they were Texas Rangers.
9. They were probably Mexican soldiers
10. and they [Mexican soldiers] took after them.
11. They [the Kiowas] took flight.
12. They had just finished butchering the deer.
13. Rotted Thigh must have thought: even if you should run away you might certainly become hungry.

14. So he picked up the thigh meat.
15. and secured [it] to his saddle.
16. He secured [it] to the saddle. They took flight.
17. They [the Kiowas] ran all day.
18. They were apparently being pursued by them.
19. It became night.
20. They finally stopped to rest.
21. Once more early, it had not become daylight yet
22. and once more they [the Kiowas] rose up early.
23. They might still be in pursuit, they probably thought.
24. Once more, they took flight.
25. It was hot.
26. In the meantime, Rotted Thigh had secured the leg to his saddle. [Meanwhile, he (Thébôl) had the meat tied on his Kiowa saddle. The leg of a deer. Or antelope. Whichever one it was.]
27. They were in flight, coming along.
28. It was hot by afternoon.
29. Finally, they stopped.
30. Someone happened to see he [Rotted Thigh] still had the deer leg secured to his saddle.
31. “Haaaaa! He still has that leg hanging there. I bet it’s rotten.”
32. Someone else was heard saying: “Haaaa! That is a fine name. Let’s call him Rotted Thigh.”
33. That’s how he got his name Thé:bôl.

1. á dàumzé:mê
2. Cáuigú á dàumzé:mê
3. Thébôl qí:yádàu:mè
4. tháp á hòlhèl
5. gàu á fè:nè
6. héjáu háun féngâuhèl
7. nàu hágâu è dáu:cá
8. hàgà Jèhá:nèsòlègàu è dáu:

9. hâgà Qóptháukáuisólègàu máun ét bó:
10. gàu ét hâfèhèl
11. gàu hègáu gá càuètàihèl
12. tháp héjáu sáut ø féndéhèl
13. nàu Thébôl máun áun, gá càuètàithàual hábé hègáu àn gá óbóitàu:òbàuiàu:màu
14. hègáu [He picked up a leg. Ham part of that deer.] fàu:cí ø hâfèhèl
15. táu:gàt ø pái:hèl [It was already dressed.]
16. táu:gàt ø pái:hèl [all day] gàu gá càuétàihèl
17. [all day] è càuétàu:hil
18. fàhí: ét jáu:ái:hèl
19. gà kó:hèl [They kept on . . . way into the night.]
20. [They finally stopped to their horses and rest themselves.]
21. fôi gí:gàu— héjáu háun gà óigáubòaum:gà
22. hègáu fôi én kifèhèl
23. háyátjàu héjáu dáu jáu:à:jàu, máun bá àun
24. gàu gá àuiàihyèl
25. gà sálhèl
26. máun hégàu tó:dé ø páihèl
27. á càuétàu:àhèl
28. kí:sáutàup gà sálhèl
29. hábé [about middle of the afternoon] á páu:hèl [to rest.]
30. nàu há:jèl háundé jó:hèl nàu úigàu héjáu [ham] héjáu á òlpá:hèl
31. [He was just joking.] “Haaaaa! Thébôl, áu:fâu thép [calf . . . It was a whole leg but he called it the ‘calf’.] . . . áu:fâu thép [He meant ‘calf’. It was a whole leg but he called it a ‘calf’.] yán hál:yà. Máun yán bóldàu.” [He (Thébôl) untied it and tossed it out in the grass.]
32. gàu há:jèl án jó:áunhèl: “Haaaa! Kòháí gà dáu:. Káu:gà. Thébôl bá kàu:.”
33. [That’s where he got his name.] Thébôl.



PICURIS PUEBLO





## 23. Picuris Traditional Tales

Stories from the Hidden Valley

Narrated by Rosendo Vargas (Phithəxoməŋə)

Recorded by John P. Harrington

Translated by Amy Zaharlick

Introduced by Amy Zaharlick

In 1928 the Smithsonian Institution published a report that included texts and songs from Picuris, a small Pueblo Indian community in northern New Mexico. The texts were collected by John Peabody Harrington, a linguist and ethnologist who worked for the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology for thirty-nine years. Harrington most likely collected the texts around 1918. He was a remarkably gifted and prolific linguist who collected Picuris stories and songs and "folkways" accounts of Picuris life and later prepared them for bilingual publication in the *Forty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1925–26.

Harrington is best known for his prodigious fieldwork, his phenomenal memory for detail, his massive collection of linguistic materials, and his knowledge of a great number of American Indian languages. Such well-known anthropologists as A. L. Kroeber and Edward Sapir considered Harrington to have "the best ear for phonetics of any American linguist." Harrington used his own phonetic orthography and never adopted the phonemic approach used by most other American Indian linguists. He was immersed in his own research and did not take part in the major linguistic and ethnological developments of the early twentieth century. He is reported to have shown little interest in theory or grammatical

analysis. Instead, his focus appears to have been with vocabularies, texts, and place-name etymologies (Stirling 1963:371).

Although Harrington did not take part in the major professional developments of his time, today he is recognized for the value of the materials he left behind. Certainly there is the absolute value of his recordings of languages that are now extinct or near extinction. But more important is the phonetic accuracy with which he recorded these languages. He believed that his major task was to rescue from oblivion information that would otherwise be lost forever (Stirling 1963). Because of his commitment it is possible for contemporary scholars to reexamine his texts, render his orthography into a more familiar form, and conduct phonological, grammatical, and ethnological studies. It is also possible to preserve these stories in a form that makes them more accessible to scholars and to the Picuris people, who have become increasingly concerned about preserving their rich verbal traditions. In fact, it is because Harrington preserved these stories that the present author has been able to conduct linguistic analyses of Picuris, to serve as a consultant to the tribe and the school system on linguistic matters, and to provide the current chapter (Zaharlick 1977, 1980).

When Harrington originally prepared the Picuris bilingual texts for publication, he included interlinear translation. Regrettably, this was omitted due to the cost of printing. Harrington reports that he deplored this omission for he believed that interlinear translation best served “the purpose for which such texts are published” (Harrington and Roberts, 1928). Instead, Picuris text and corresponding English free translation were printed on facing pages.

#### EXPANDING HARRINGTON’S TEXTS

In the 1970s I became interested in Pueblo Indian languages. An opportunity to study the Picuris language arose following the

death of Felicia Harben Trager (Trager 1968, 1971), who had described the language's phonology. Linguist George Trager, Felicia's husband, subsequently encouraged me to continue the work of his late wife. After checking Felicia Trager's phonology with several Picuris speakers, I turned to an investigation of the structure of the language.

At first I requested words, phrases, or sentences in English and sought the nearest Picuris equivalent. As I came to recognize different types of words in the language, I was able to ask questions about the various components of words. Consequently I began to determine rules that appeared to govern the formation of particular constructions and to offer additional examples for speakers' verification or modification. Sessions with Picuris consultants were tape recorded for later transcription and analysis. The morphology of simple nouns and verbs was fairly apparent; however, syntax posed a major challenge.

As I began to explore more complex syntactic constructions, I experienced more difficulty in eliciting the syntactic distinctions in which I was interested and that I believed existed in the language. Frequently Picuris consultants would provide several different ways of saying the same thing. In these instances they were able to convey the idea but not to consistently produce the distinctions I sought. Efforts to force a response usually resulted in confusion. At the same time, I was not certain that the method I was using was allowing the natural syntax of the language to emerge to its fullest extent.

In addition, working with several different speakers revealed that the language was in the process of major change and that speakers had little confidence in their fluency in the language. They were hesitant to provide any kind of extended text material, and when they did provide texts, the material was replete with Spanish and English loanwords and other types of borrowings. I asked about traditional stories in an attempt to acquire more extended Picuris materials. Many remembered hearing the tra-

ditional stories while growing up, but few could actually tell the stories at the time. The few who could remember the stories could recount only abbreviated versions at best. I decided to see if I could decipher enough of Harrington's texts to jog the memories of those who were willing and interested in assisting me to "help preserve" the language. This time I wanted to work from the Picuris expressions rather than from English translations.

Knowing that Harrington had a reputation for accurate phonetic transcription, I wrote out each story, one at a time, in his orthography. I then worked with a number of different Picuris speakers to decipher this transcription, using the free English translation as a guide. I substituted more modern symbols where necessary until I could read back or have the Picuris speaker read the words, phrases, and sentences that seemed to match the English translation and content of each story. We would then break down each expression into its component parts. Each component part became an entry in a developing dictionary and provided the material I needed for the syntactic analysis (Zaharlick 1977, 1980). Each time we encountered material that was unknown or unclear, I or the Picuris speaker would consult other Picuris speakers for clarification and/or elaboration. Feedback from other speakers allowed adjustments to be made to the manuscript.

These linguistic adjustments are part of a continuing process, for there are still some elements that are either unfamiliar to current speakers or attributed only to storytelling. One example of this is the word *chexamən* or *choxamən*, found after the opening phrase in a traditional story. Most people today cannot give a translation for these two words. For those who attempt to identify the term, they report that it is "just what you say at the beginning of a story." We examined the stories until some consensus was reached and those who worked with a particular story were satisfied. For the Picuris children and the local school program, we turned a few completed stories into short, illustrated storybooks.

There are a little over two hundred people on the Picuris tribal

roll, with only about one-third living at the pueblo. Many adults leave due to lack of employment opportunities in the nearby towns and on the reservation. Tribal members, both on and off the reservation, consider Picuris to be the language of the pueblo, though all cannot speak it. It is used in all Native religious and ceremonial contexts, in conducting most tribal council meetings, and in everyday conversation among some adults. All residents of the community speak English or Spanish, or both, and a significant number also speak other American Indian languages. Picuris parents typically use English with their children. Parents say they want their children to learn English first because they want them to do well in school, and they do not want them to endure the hardships they did when they were young. The children attend school in Peñasco, where they use English in the classroom and learn or expand their Spanish in dealing with their classmates and with other members of the local Hispanic population. Many of these children no longer acquire Picuris as their first language, although a few still “understand some Picuris.”

In the late 1970s, while I was working intensely with the tribe to transcribe and analyze the language, a number of adults began to express concern about maintaining the Picuris language as a part of their Indian identity. That concern became so great that a “bilingual program” was started at the local Peñasco Elementary School. I worked with this program to provide teaching materials and some preliminary linguistic training for the two Picuris teacher aides employed by the school at the time. I continued to work with this program into the mid-1990s, when it was discontinued due to lack of funding.

#### THE TEXTS

Harrington’s published texts were titled *Picuris Children’s Stories*. Although presented as children’s stories, there is nothing to suggest that these tales were only for children. In fact, they were for

everyone. People at Picuris today think of them as their traditional sacred stories rather than children's stories.

The narrator of Harrington's tales was Rosendo Vargas, *Phithəxoməŋə* in his native language, who provided Harrington with over four hundred pages of text material. Vargas reported to Harrington that the stories he dictated were "just as he heard them told by his grandfather and others" within the village when he was a boy (Harrington 1928). Many of the Picuris consultants who worked with the stories presented here recalled hearing these same tales "years ago as children."

Stories were told on cold winter nights during the ceremonial period of staying still, while the Earth is sleeping (Parsons 1940). The Picuris believe that the Earth sleeps for about a month at the time of the winter solstice. This was the time for storytelling in the village. Families would gather in the homes of grandmas and grandpas after the evening meal. Children would bring along a few pieces of wood to keep the fire burning and sacks of pinyon nuts that they had gathered and roasted in the fall. Once all had gathered and seated themselves along the walls, one of the elders would begin to tell a tale while everyone snacked on the pinyon nuts.

Typically children would request that the older people start with one of the longest stories. Many of these tales contained well-known songs associated with myths that the story characters would sing at various points throughout the story. The songs were fairly simple and included much repetition. These tales took a considerable time to tell. Once the storyteller finished, however, others were expected to take a turn telling a story. As the night wore on and the children grew sleepy, the storytellers would tell shorter and shorter stories.

It is a Picuris custom to begin a traditional story with the phrase or words *Nək'uthə*, *nək'uthəke* (ten), *chəxoməŋə*, or *chəxaməŋə* (or with the emphatic repetition of *nək'uthə* omitted), 'long ago, long ago, therefore accordingly', which may be freely translated

as ‘long ago, then’, ‘in a long ago time and place’, or ‘once upon a time’. Following this introductory phrase, the tale opens in characteristic Pueblo style by naming the characters and where they were living.

Throughout the stories are found various particles, such as *choxomęn*, *hattą*, and *męnchoho*, which occur most often at the beginning of sentences or independent clauses. These particles have been translated as ‘once’, ‘then’, ‘and then’, or ‘at that time’. Although rare in written texts, these particles are quite common in spoken texts, as anyone who has transcribed interview data can attest. These particles link ideas and allow the tale to move along in time. Particles such as these have been noted in other Southwestern story traditions. For example, in Apache they serve as a kind of punctuation or are used just before the speaker introduces a new point of focus (Nevins and Nevins 2004). Although typically unnecessary and deleted from written texts, they have been retained in these stories to better reflect the oral tradition that these written stories represent. Following Hymes (1980, 1981), these stories are presented in print in a way that mirrors the rhetorical features of the spoken Picuris as much as possible.

It is also a Picuris custom to end a traditional story with the phrase or word *Kąxwęki*, ‘(Now) you have a tail’. In the past Picuris storytellers held foxtails when speaking. At the end of a story the storyteller passed the foxtail on to the next speaker, indicating that it was now that other person’s turn to speak. It is said that the meaning of this expression is “you must tell a story to take it off, so it won’t freeze on you.” Because children eventually would be taking a turn telling a *tale*, they were expected to listen carefully to the stories so that the *tail* would not freeze on them.

This chapter contains four of the original Harrington published texts. Two of the stories, “The Woman and the Wolf” and “The Cricket and the Coyote,” were revised and analyzed in the mid-1970s as part of my dissertation research (Zaharlick 1977). The other two stories, “The Turkeys and the Great Flood” and “The

Ants,” were revised and analyzed in summer 2007 specifically for the present chapter. All of the revised text material was collected from Picuris speakers in their homes, either at Picuris Pueblo or in Taos, New Mexico. I intentionally do not mention the names of my Picuris consultants because they do not wish to be identified at this time.

These four traditional stories were selected to illustrate some of the more typical characters and themes found in Picuris traditional tales. Some of the stories have human characters and generally convey a moral teaching. For example, in “The Woman and the Wolf” we learn why women should not go out alone at night. The other three stories all involve animal characters. These animals talk, sing, dance, and engage in other human activities. There are some well-recognized characters, such as Coyote, Old Wolf, and Cricket. Often they provide an explanation of nature or “how things came to be the way they are.” In “The Turkeys and the Great Flood” we learn why turkeys have white feathers at the end of their tails and why other flying and four-legged animals are spotted. In “The Ants” we learn why birds like and hunt for ants. In “The Cricket and the Coyote” we learn why bee stings hurt and are warned to avoid places where bees are found. Other well-known characters are the Old Giant, the Elf, and the two Dove Maidens. As noted earlier, some stories incorporate traditional songs; however, none of those are included in the present collection.

Harrington capitalized references to the animal characters in stories, and I follow the same convention. These stories are considered sacred to the Picuris. They were used not only for entertainment on cold winter nights but as teaching tools to pass on many mythic and religious concepts to Indian children. The number four is a sacred number, and often the stories consist of four attempts at accomplishing something with the fourth attempt being successful. Or four different kinds of animals attempt to solve a problem. In “The Ants” we are told that the dance for the flying creatures will be held in four days. There are also references in

the stories to sacred places in the mountains, to the cardinal directions, and to animal and color associations with these directions. Children not only listened to these stories but were expected to repeat them accurately when they were called upon to do so. When handed the foxtail, one was required to tell a story accurately and could not refuse the request.

#### ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

The stories presented in this chapter have been written in the orthography I developed for the Picuris language, which Picuris people use today when writing their language. This orthography is also being used in the local school district for the Tiwa Language Program offered for Picuris students. For each of these stories I have rewritten Harrington's text using this updated orthography and have provided a breakdown of the various segments, words, and phrases. Although it would be difficult for non-Picuris speakers to follow the story with reference to these segments, they do provide a sense of the language's flow and grammatical structure. The free translation of the story, provided by Harrington, is also presented in order to provide understanding of the content and flow of the story.

The Picuris language has a total of thirty-five distinct sounds, or phonemes. There are fourteen consonants, six oral vowels, six nasal vowels, three stresses, three tones, and three types of transitional phenomena. The consonant phonemes are /p t č k ' s ł x h m n l w and y/. The unaspirated fortis stops /p t k/ occur in initial and medial position but are somewhat less tense before a glottal stop, /'/. All three phonemes occur in clusters with a following /'/, and /p t/ occur with a following /h/. Although /k/ does not occur in a cluster with /h/, it does occur with a following /w/. There is also a /k'w/ sequence. These consonant combinations yield the following consonant clusters: /p' t' k' ph th kw k'w/. In the text material Picuris consonants are represented in the orthography

as they are in the International Phonetic Alphabet, with two exceptions. The  $ʰ$ /č/ phoneme is represented as [ch] and the glottal stop, usually represented as a question mark without the period, is represented as [ʔ].

The phoneme /č/ appears in free alternation as [ts] or [č]. The phoneme /x/ occurs with considerably more friction noise than /h/. The phoneme /x/ also appears in a cluster with a following /w/. The glottal stop, /ʔ/, tends to be weak. However, when combined with low tone, the glottal stop has a phonetic effect that is noteworthy. The /ł/ occurs as [ł], [sł], or [łs] in free alternation. The /l/ is a standard [l] with some palatalization [ly] before /i/. The consonants /m n l w y/ are the only consonants that may appear in syllable final position.

Picuris has twelve vowel phonemes: six pairs of oral vowels and six corresponding nasal vowels (indicated in the orthography by a “hook” or some other marking under the vowel). The twelve vowel sounds are indicated by the following symbols: /i ĭ e ɛ ə ɤ a ɤ u ɥ o ɔ/. Four of the vowels are in the front (i ĭ e ɛ), four in the back (u ɥ o ɔ), and four in the central part of the mouth (ə ɤ a ɤ). There is only one vowel cluster in Picuris: /ia/.

Besides the consonant and vowel phonemes, the Picuris language has three phonemes of stress: primary /ˈ/, secondary /ˌ/ and weak /˘/. These are left unmarked in the texts. Stress refers to the prominence of a syllable. More specifically for Picuris, stress refers to the loudness and length of the vowel nucleus or, in some cases where the stressed syllable ends in /l/, /m/, or /n/, the final consonant, rather than the vowel nucleus, evidences lengthening.

Stress phenomena are closely related to tone phenomena. The stress affects the allophones or pitches of tone, while tone phenomena add to the amount of lengthening of a syllable. A primary stress on a syllable results in a higher allophone. In terms of syllable length, primary stress produces the longest segment; secondary stress lengthens the syllable, but not as much as primary stress; and weak stress accounts for the shortest length. One

phenomenon of vowel length traditionally has been called a reduplicated vowel. This reduplicated lengthening occurs when a syllable with low tone and medial or secondary stress precedes a syllable with primary stress. Important to the structure of this language are the numerous stress sequences. Thus a word such as /piwene/ 'rabbit' contrasts in pattern with /piweneŋ/ 'rabbits'. In this example and many more like it, it is the stress patterns /<sup>˘˘˘</sup>/ and /<sup>˘˘˘</sup>/, respectively, that are the important marks of contrast. When the words are said, no matter how imperfect the rendering of the vowels and of the contrast between /e/ and /ẽ/, they are understood only if the stress patterns are correct. The stress system, therefore, is one of contrasting word contours, with the three levels of stress occurring in different sequences.

There are three tones in Picuris: low, middle, and high. In terms of occurrence, middle tone is the most frequent and high tone is the least frequent. High and low tones occur primarily on base morphemes. A few suffixes, however, have high tone, but prefixes and suffixes are mostly tone neutral structurally. Although most prefixes and suffixes have middle tone phonemically, a slight rise or decline in pitch phonetically is anticipatory for prefixes with following base tone and residual for suffixes with preceding base tone.

Finally, there are three transition phonemes in Picuris: plus, sustained, and final. The plus, or internal open transition, is found in utterance medial position. It occurs between words and between stems, though some words may combine in normal transition. In addition, a plus transition often occurs between an affix and a base morpheme in a word. It is not indicated in the text material. Its phonetic duration is shorter than that of the sustained (indicated orthographically as a comma /,/ ) or final transitions (indicated in the texts as a period /./ ). The plus transition does not affect the pitch quality of the adjacent vocalics. The sustained transition is also found in utterance medial position and will always be followed by additional segmental materials. It imparts the acous-

tic effect, with accompanying pause, of being unreleased to the final phoneme preceding it. The final transition occurs only in absolute final utterance position and marks the transition from segmental material to silence.

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## Picuris Traditional Tales

### *The Ants*

Once upon a time at K'omaythoṭha dwelt the Ants.

No birds came around there, and so they lived without fear.

They went wherever they pleased without fear,  
for there was not even a little Hummingbird around near  
where they lived.

One day their leader told them at a meeting:

“My people, in four days from today  
we are going to dance here in this land of ours;  
we will entertain the other people.

So you must be looking for such things as red paint, beads, war  
bonnets,

and whatever dress you may need.

And we will call the flying animals of all kinds here to  
look on.”

As their leader instructed them thus, they said:

“It seems all right the way you say,  
we will get ready to dance four days from today.”

And the Ants were getting ready within that time.

They went around borrowing things  
from their neighbors whom they knew.

On the fourth day the leader assembled them in their kiva.

And they then were told:

“My people, tomorrow the day arrives on which we are to  
dance,

so the flying animals of every kind  
are to come here to our home to look on.

And so you must all do your best.”

The next morning as the sun was rising  
 the Ants gathered in their kiva.  
 After they were all assembled,  
 both men and women,  
 all dressed up nicely,  
 [they] emerged from the kiva.

When they looked around at the trees,  
 there were birds of every kind sitting there.

They were only dancing a little while  
 when all the Eagles, who were sitting looking on,  
 flew to the ground where the Ants were dancing,  
 and being hungry, began to eat the Ants up.  
 After they had enough, they flew away to their homes.

The leader of the Ants said to the people:  
 "Dance your best, my people, for there are many people  
 looking on."

When he had hardly finished saying thus,  
 the Redtail Hawks, from where they were sitting looking on,  
 flew down to where the Ants were dancing,  
 and began to eat up the Ants.  
 When they got enough, they all flew away to their  
 homes.

The leader of the Ants said to them:  
 "My people, dance your best, for there are many people  
 looking on."

When he had hardly finished saying thus,  
 the Buzzards, from where they were sitting looking on,  
 flew down to where the Ants were dancing,  
 and began to eat the Ants.  
 When they got enough, they all flew away to their  
 homes.

By that time there were very few of the Ants left,  
 but they would not quit dancing. They danced all the more.

Their leader said to them:

“My people, dance your best, for there are still many people looking on.”

When he had hardly finished saying thus,  
the Turkeys, from where they were sitting looking on,  
flew down to where the Ants were dancing,  
and began to eat the Ants up.

When they got enough, they all flew away to their homes.

By that time there were but few of the Ants left.

But they danced their best.

Their leader said to them:

“My people, dance your best, for there are still many people who are looking on.”

When he had hardly finished saying thus,  
the Bluebirds, from where they were sitting in the trees looking on,  
flew down to where the Ants were dancing,  
and ate the Ants that were left, together with their leader.

And then the Bluebirds all flew away to their homes.

And the other birds who were looking on all flew away.

Because there were no more Ants left for them, they all said:

“Since the other birds have not left us any Ants,  
let us also go and look for some.”

When the birds who were sitting looking on said thus,  
they all scattered to look for Ants.

So this is the reason that the birds today hunt around for ants,  
and also the reason that birds like ants, because they ate the ants at that time.

*The Cricket and the Coyote*

Once upon a time

the Cricket dwelt southeast at Kan'in'ay  
and the Coyote dwelt at Chuxwetho'ay.

One day the Coyote said to himself,

"I think today I will go for a walk down southeast to Kan'in'ay  
to see what I can find there."

Early in the morning he ate his breakfast and then went to  
Kan'in'ay.

Then arriving at Kan'in'ay,  
he came to where the Cricket was lying basking beside the  
road.

As he passed there, he stepped on the Cricket.

The Cricket said to the Coyote,

"Why do you not speak?"

The Coyote said, "I do not speak to such looking people as that."

"Very well," said the Cricket, "we will make a bet then  
to see whose people are the strongest."

"Very well," said the Coyote to the Cricket,

"we will meet tomorrow then down by the river."

"Very well," said the Cricket,

"we shall see each other again tomorrow."

Then the Coyote went home.

That night the Cricket called his people.

All the Bumble Bees,

Wasps,

Honey Bees,

and other winged stingers he called.

And the Coyote was doing the same. That night

he called all the four-footed animals that live in the  
mountains—

the Wolves,

the Mountain Lions,  
the Wildcats,  
the Bears, and other beasts of prey that are there.

The next day as the sun was rising the Coyote's people began to come.

After all of them had arrived, he said to them,  
"My people, over southeast at Kin'in'ay,  
where I went for a walk yesterday,  
the Cricket asked me to bet.

That is why I am calling you today."  
"Very well," said the other beasts of prey,  
"we will show the Cricket today."

Then the Coyote started ahead of the rest,  
and they went to Kan'in'ay.

When they came to the Picuris River, the Coyote said,  
"Wait here. I am going across the river to see the Cricket."

He then went across the river.

Arriving at the Cricket's home, the Cricket was already waiting for him.

"Are you ready?" said the Coyote to the Cricket.

"Yes, I am ready," said the Cricket;  
"you are to send your best man here."

"Very well," said the Coyote,  
and then went back across the river to where his people were waiting.

"Very well," said the Coyote to his people,  
"I will go over first, to see what is going to happen to me."

Then he went across.

When he arrived at the Cricket's home,  
the Cricket turned all the Bees loose on him.

He was stung by the Bees in his eyes, ears, mouth, and all over his body.

He bit some of them, but that did not help him any.

When he came to the river, he plunged into the water and dived,  
but when he emerged, the Bees stung him again.

At last he arrived where his people were waiting and said,  
“The Cricket’s people are well supplied with weapons.”

“Very well, I will go this time,” said the Mountain Lion. Then he went.

When he arrived at the home of the Cricket, all the Bees were turned loose again.

He was stung the way the Coyote had been,  
in the eyes, ears, mouth, and all over his body.

The Mountain Lion bit some of them and hit others  
with his paws

and ran toward the river.

When he arrived at the river, he plunged in.

When he emerged from the water, the Bees stung him again.

When he came out of the water,  
he went to where his people were waiting  
and said to his people,

“My people, the Cricket has defeated us.

His people are stronger.

Although I have many claws,

I did not last very long among the Bees.

And so now, my people, you must all go to your homes.

Do not go over to where the Bees live.

You must go to your homes.”

As the Mountain Lion told them thus,

they all went to their homes.

And this is why it hurts when bees sting you.

You have a tail.

### *The Turkeys and the Great Flood*

Once upon a time there lived some Turkeys at K'ə'oma Mountain.

And one time there came a certain bird to tell them  
that all four-footed and flying animals must go up Pueblo  
Peak,  
since the whole earth was to be covered by rain,  
it being that the Power was to send rain to the earth.

Then the day arrived for them to go.

All the birds that lived at K'ə'oma Mountain  
went to Picuris Peak.

And two Turkeys started to go there with their little brother,  
leading their little brother by the hand.

As they got near, their little brother was growing tired and  
began to cry.

“Keep on, our little brother,” said his older brothers to him.

As he grew tired he went along crying.

“Do not cry, our little brother, we shall now soon reach Pueblo  
Peak,”

said his older brothers to him as they went along.

They finally came to the top of Pueblo Peak.

When they reached the top,  
four-footed and flying animals of every kind were already  
there.

Since it was raining hard, the water was almost reaching the top.

Some of the birds were sitting on top of the trees  
and just as the water was about to reach the top of Pueblo  
Peak,

it stopped raining.

So this is the reason why

the turkeys have their feathers white at the end of the tail,  
because they were touched by the foam of the water.

And this is also the reason why  
 some of the flying animals and four-footed animals are spotted,  
 because as they ascended, fleeing from the rain,  
 their feathers were touched by the foam of the water.

You have a tail.

*The Woman and the Wolf*

Once upon a time the people were dwelling at Picuris.  
 The women, after it got dark,  
 were to remain inside their houses.

And one woman in the night had no water.  
 She took the water jar and went down to P'aynon to get water.  
 As she was pouring the water with her gourd, a Wolf came to  
 her.

"What are you doing?" he said.

"I am pouring water," the woman said to the Wolf.

"Get on my back, then," the Wolf said to her.

"I am about to take the water to my house," said the woman.

"Get on my back, I said to you, or I will eat you up right here."

The woman got afraid,  
 left the water jar,  
 and got on the Wolf's back.

And the Wolf took the woman up to the mountains.

When he had brought her to the mountain top,

The Wolf went northeast,  
 northwest,  
 southwest,  
 and southeast

To call the other wolves.

The woman then climbed a tall pinyon tree.

Her husband, when his wife did not come up from below  
 quickly,

Yelled as a signal from the top of the house.  
And shortly men with their weapons arrived.  
When the Old Wolf arrived from his summoning [the other  
wolves],  
The woman was sitting in the top of the pinyon tree.  
The men all gathered for a search.  
And then at about midnight  
One man found the woman.  
Then the man gave a yell.  
After the rest came,  
they took the woman home again.  
The woman was scolded very much by the men.  
And that is why the women,  
after it gets dark,  
Do not go forth from inside the houses alone,  
For something might happen to them.

*P'a'ayasiwlanę [The Ants]*

Nąk'uthę Nąk'uthęke      checųmęn      K'omaythotha  
P'a'ayasiwlanę      'ithę.  
Once upon a time      long ago      Needle Horn Pile-at  
Black ants      they-live  
Chiho hele 'imachiwchowamę      hoke chexamęn piwepęn  
'ithat'ahu.  
There      no      they-birds-come-dur. so      then  
fear-without they-live-do-pres.  
Chokwil      'imiawmęmpiw      piwęn      'imęmęn  
Everywhere they-want-dur.-where worry free  
they-go-dur.  
wi      tocholo'onę      węn      'imathę'ępa      pu'aw.  
Not hummingbird even one they-not-live-rel.-because  
near

Męchoho wepa 'itt'onwia'ipa 'i'ommiahu 'itayantha:  
Then one day their leader-by they-him-tell-pres.  
meeting-at

“anant'aiwia'e, chathəw'ayte withələ nąpuymęnno  
my-people today-after four-days it-pass-dur.-emph.

yon 'ithəttha yont'əy pə'anę kikuttha 'iphələchi,  
here we-live-where right here land our-land we-dance-  
will

wel t'ay'enę tinąsenpiachi.  
other people we-show-make-will

Hokeyo hele chut'əy palenę, k'ənenę, xixwawanę  
That is why then today red paint beads headdresses

han wel chut'əy mimapiachi'e miwnoči.  
and other things you-need-will-rel. you-look for-will

Hayhęnno pohan thəlt'ay'enę 'iyayxanemọ yotha  
'ipisen'awchi.”

And then all fly-people all kinds here  
we-them-show-invite-will

Ho 'itt'onwia'epa 'inąwichiamęhen 'itohu:  
As their-leader he-them-give-dur. they-say-pres.

“K'owęnno nana ho 'aytomęnno,  
Good-emph. to us as you-say-dur.-emph.

Chathəw'ayte withələ nąpuymęnno kimaphələxia'anchi.”  
today-from four-days it-pass-dur. we-dance-get  
ready-will

Hayhęn chit'əy nana'e P'a'ayasiwlanę 'imaxia'amhu.  
Then within time-rel. Ants they-ready-pres.

Yın 'it'aythən'aw pu'aw hele 'ipeme'e  
There their-people-live-near nearby what they-need-rel.

'ąwęn 'imawia'e 'imąsichihu.  
things they-not-have they-borrow

Hattą withthələ nąpuymęn 'itt'onwia'epa 'itąymia  
'inątətakittha.  
Then four-days it-happen-dur. their-leader-by they-meet  
their-kiva-is-there

Hayhęn 'i'ommiahu:  
Then he-them-tell-pres.

"'Ąnąnt'aywia'e, thęnnayo han thę'ęnę 'iphęlechinna  
kiwan,  
My people tomorrow and day we-dance-will it-  
come

Hokeyo thęlt'ay'ęnę 'iyayąnęn  
That is why fly-people every kind

k'ętęnno yotha 'ithęttha kinsęnwanhę.  
just right here we-live-where they-us-watch-come-  
dur.

Hokeyo mąnaythiamęnno mąt'achi."  
That is why your-best-emph. you-do-will

Męnchoho thęphiahęn halo 'ot'sęthol'owęlemęnta  
Then next-morning as it-sun-rise up-dur.-as

P'a'ąyąsiwlanę 'intętakimma 'itąchiahu.  
Ants their-kiva-in they-gather-pres.

'Itąchiaphal'ayhęn pọhan  
they-gather-with-then all

hiwchiw han sęnchiw  
women-all and men-all

'ik'opia'ayhęn  
they-nicely-dressed

tətak'etha 'iwwəle.  
kiva-from they come out

Yɪn ɫasian'aw 'iwphɔlmɔn'ayxɛ,  
There trees-in they-look around-when

thəlt'ay'enɛ 'iyayxənɛn k'ətɛm 'i'ɛ.  
birds every kind just right they-sit

Halo ɫɛw'ohɛn 'iphələmɛn  
Only little while they-dance-dur.

mɛnchoho pɔhan Chiwenɛ chiho 'isɛn'epu'e,  
when all Eagles there they-watch

pətha P'a'ayəsiwlanɛ 'iphələmɛnpiw 'iməhakehɛn,  
on earth Ants they-dance-dur.-where they-flew

'ihəpiwmɛ'epa, 'ipiP'a'ayəsiwlakalhu.  
they-hungry-because they-Ants-eat-pres.

'Ihəwapuhɛn wa chokwil 'ithəppiw  
'iməthəlhay.  
they-finish-eat over there everywhere their-house-  
to they-fly away

P'a'ayəsiwlanɛ 'itt'onwia'epa 'i'ommiahu:  
Ants their-leader-by they-tell-pass.-pres.

"mima'olechi, 'ənənt'aywia'e, pisiwenno kitt'aysɛnwia."  
do your best my people many-emph. we-people-  
watch-are

Halo ch'ɛtɔphalmɛn thapa  
When just-say-finish then

Xwɛphaymɔnɛ 'isɛn'epun'ayte,  
Redtail Hawks they-watch-from

'iməhakehɛn P'a'ayəsiwlanɛ 'iphələmɛnpiw  
they-flew down Ants they-dance-where

chexəmən 'ipiP'a'əyəsıwłak'alhu.  
then they-Ants-eat-pres.

'Thəwapuhən wa 'ithəppiw  
they-full-dur. over there their-houses-to  
  
'iməpəhatthəlhay.  
they-all-fly away

P'a'əyəsıwłanə 'itt'onwia'əpa 'i'əmmiahu:  
Ants their leader-by they-tell-pass.-pres.

“'Añant'aywia'e, mima'olechi, pisiwənnə kɨnt'aysənwia.”  
My people do your best many-emph. we-people-  
watch-are

Halo ch'ətəphalmən  
When just-say-finish

P'akəyənə 'isən'pun'ayte,  
Buzzards they-watch-from

P'a'əyəsıwłanə 'iphələməpiw 'iməhakehən  
Ants they-dance-where they-flew down

'ipiP'a'əyəsıwłak'alhu.  
they-Ants-eat-pres.

Thəwapun wa 'ithəppiw  
When have enough over there their-houses-to  
  
'iməpəhatthəlhay.  
they-all-flew away

Hə'an hattə ch'ohən P'a'əyəsıwłanə 'ixwetchiahu,  
By that time then few Ants they-left-pres.

Həwənko 'iyaphəlwemə. Łəywən'eyo 'imə'olehu.  
That is why they-not-dance-quit even-emph. they-do  
better-pres.

'Itt'onwia'epa 'i'ommiahu:  
 their-leader-by they-tell-pass.-pres.

“’Aṅant’aywia’e, mima’olechi, halo pisiwəṇṇo yon  
 kitt’aysəṇwia.”

My people do your best still many-emph. here  
 we-people-watch-are

Halo ch’əṭəphalmən  
 As just-say-finish

P’illelo’əṇə ’ipə’epun’ayte,  
 Turkeys they-look-sit-from

P’a’əyṅsiwlanə ’iphələmḗpiw  
 Ants they-dance-where

’imḗhakehən ’ipiP’a’əyṅsiwlak’alhu.  
 they-flew down they-Ants-eat-pres.

’Iḗwapuhən wa ’ithəppiw  
 ’imḗpəhatthəlhay.  
 they-full-when over there their-house-to  
 they-all-flew away

Hattḗ ḥə’ḗn P’a’əyṅsiwlanə chu’otən ’ixwetchiahu.  
 Then by that time Ants few they-left-pres.

Həwəṅko nḗthia’ayo ’imḗphəl’olehu.  
 That is why really they-dance-best

'Itt'onwia'epa 'i'ommiahu:  
 their leader-by they-tell-pass.

“’Aṅant’aywia’e, mima’olechi, halo pisiwəṇṇo  
 kitt’aysəṇwia.”

My people do your best still many-emph. we-  
 people-watch-are

Halo ho ch'etophalmen Solenę łak'ay'aw 'isen'epun'awte  
wa,  
When as just-say-finish Buebirds tree-sit-in they-  
watch-from there

P'a'ayasiwlanę 'iphalemępuppiw 'imahakehen,  
Ants they dance-where they-fly down

P'a'ayasiwlanę 'iphmępu'e t'onchiwta 'ipipohahę.  
Ants they-left-rel. leader-including they-all-eat

Hayhen Solenę wa 'ithappiw  
'imapohatthęhay.  
Then Bluebirds there their-house-to they-all-fly  
away

Hattę wel thęlt'ay'enę chiho 'isen'epu'e 'imapohatthęhay.  
Then other fly-people there they-watch-rel. they-all-  
fly away

Hele 'iyaP'a'ayasiwlahimeę'epa pohatta 'itomęn:  
None they-not-Ants-left-because all-as they-say-dur.

"Howe nęxen yinnę wel thęlt'ay'enępa  
'iyaP'a'ayasiwlahiliako  
Thus it-happen these other birds-because they-  
not-Ants-leave-pass.

chokwilwęn 'imomęchi."  
everywhere we-see-go-will

Ho thęlt'ay'enę chiho 'isen'epu'e 'itomęhen  
As fly-people where they-watch-rel. they-say-dur.-when

'imapohaP'a'ayasiwlanokwele.  
they-all-Ants-search for-go up

Hokeyo chexəmən chiwchoneḡ halo chathəy maxən  
 'iP'a'ayəsiwlanəchiḡ,  
 This is why then birds still today around they-  
 ants-hunt for-pres.

Hokeyo thapa thəlt'ay'enḡ iwP'a'ayəsiwla'a, ho'e  
 hankən 'ipik'ale'epa.  
 this is why also birds they-ants-like as-rel.  
 when they-eat-rel.-because

*P'aychekone ha Toxwiane [The Cricket and the Coyote]*

Nək'uthḡ, nək'uthḡke,  
 Once upon a time

choxomən hukwe Kan'in'ay P'aychekone thə.  
 accordingly southeast Buffalo-Tracks-at Cricket live

Ha Toxwiane Chiwxwəthə'ay thə.  
 And Coyote Eagle Tail Pile-at live

Wḡn thə Toxwiane wətən tḡhu:  
 One day Coyote himself say-pres.

"Xommə chatthə hukwe Kan'inpe he  
 tayteywamḡchi,  
 Let's see today southeast Buffalo Tracks-by-there that  
 way I-visit-go-will

xommə hele'a chiho tisothḡchi."  
 let's-see what there I-emph-find-will

Thekke hiawlotta 'othəkk'alehən mənchoho,  
 hukwe Kan'inpe mḡ.  
 Morning-in early he breakfast-eat-dur.  
 then southeast Buffalo Tracks-to go

Kan'in'ay wan'ayxən,  
 Buffalo Tracks-at come-when

męnchoho P'aychekone p'įwaytha łukkuytha wan.  
then Cricket road-side-there warm-lie-there come

Chihokwil choměn męnchoho  
P'aychelko'įch'echo.  
There-when pass-dur. then Cricket-step-on-past

P'aychekone pa Towxiane 'omnia:  
Cricket by Coyote tell-past

"Hęxęyo 'ę kowato'ąmmę?"  
Why you you-not-talk-do-dur.

"Piyat'ay'ąnke." Toxwiane tohu: "Ną ho  
'it'aymoyo'e."  
I-them-not-talk-never Coyote say-pres. I who  
people-look one-rel.

"Taxuyhọ" P'aychekone tohu, "kąnhoy'ąnchi xuy,  
All right then Cricket say pres. we-bet-do-will then  
xommą chut'ə'a 'ąnsolayt'aykwiwil."  
let'see which person they-emph.-very-people-  
strong(est)

"Hoxuy," Toxwiane P'aychelko'omę,  
Very well Coyote Cricket-say-pres.

"thęnnayo xuy, yona'ay p'a'ay kimąso'ochochi."  
tomorrow then here-below water-by we-emph.  
meet-wil

"Taxuy," P'aychekone tohu,  
OK Cricket say-pres.

"thęnnayo wewe kąnsomọchi."  
tomorrow again we (2) emph.-see-will-each other

Toxwiane thęmmakwil mę.  
Coyote home-up the hill go.

Chit'ə nɔwiane P'aychekone 'ant'aywia'e 'ixwia'ąn.  
 That night Cricket his-people-be-rel. he-them-  
 call-past

Kakkaphoyonę,  
 Bumble Bees

Pumele'enę,  
 Wasps

Ch'olmolonę,  
 Honey Bees

thapa wel Pumele'enę 'uk'iwasia'e  
 'ipɔhaxwia'ąn.  
 also other Winged Stingers they-wing-have-rel. he-  
 them-all call- past.

Thapa Towiane hotamen t'ahu. Chit'ə nɔwiane  
 Also Coyote same-thing-dur. do-pres. That night

nąkwet'ay'enę yĭ p'in'aw 'ithə'e  
 ground-tail-people four-legged right there mountains-in they-  
 live-rel.

Kal'enę,  
 Wolves

Xęnłanę,  
 Lions

Xęnch'elanę,  
 Wildcats

Kə'ənę, ha chiw wel homąxot'ay'enę  
 Bears and all other beasts of prey

'iyaywiatta 'ixwia'ąn.  
 they-many-be-as he-them-call-past

Thəpiakən 'otholwəlemən, Towiane 'ənt'aywanhu.  
Morning-next it-sun-rise-past-dur. Coyote his-people-  
come-pres.

'Ipəhakwəphal'ayhən, 'i'əməhu:  
They-all-arrive-when he-them-say-pres.

"'Aṅənt'aywia'e, yi hukwe Kan'in'ay  
My-people-be-rel. here southeast Buffalo Tracks-at

huxən tatəwachimən'aw  
yesterday I-visit-walk-dur.-where

P'aychelkone pa tahoy'amia.  
Cricket by he-me-bet-make-past

Hokeyo chatthə məpixwia'ənhu."  
That is why today you-I-call-have-pres.

"Hoxuy," xə wel homəxo'enə 'itəhu:  
Very well that some beasts of prey they-say-pres.

"chatthəyo P'aychelkone 'əṅəsokachachi."  
today-emph. Cricket he (his)-aff.-find out-will

Ho 'aytən Toxwiane məch'omətaketən  
And from-there Coyote he-first-go-in front-just

Kan'inpe 'imə.  
Buffalo Tracks-to they-go

P'a'ay 'iwan'aytən Toxwiane təhu:  
River-at they-come-as Coyote say-pres.

"Halo yəhuy məyxiawiawən xəmmanə P'aychelkone  
tapəçənhə."  
Wait right here you-wait-must let me see Cricket  
I-see-across-about to

Męnchoho p'aliawkwepa chan.

Then river-the other side cross

P'aychelkone thән'ay wan'ayhęn, P'aychelkone xiawia  
hatta.

Cricket house-at come-when Cricket ready-be then

"Axiamo?" Toxwiane P'aychelko'omę.

You-ready-be Coyote Cricket-say

"Hatta tamo," P'aychelkone tohu;

Yes I-am Cricket say-pres.

"yohuyo xuy kałayt'aykwiwil'e, 'a'elchąnęchi."

right over here then your-very-people-strong-rel. you-send-  
across-come-will

"Hoxuy," Toxwiane tomęhęn

Very well Coyote say-go-about

P'alkwepa 'ant'aysiataytha, wewe chąn.

river-across his people-wait-inside-there again cross

"Tahuyha" Toxwiane 'it'ay'omę

All right then Coyote he-them-people-say

"nayo xuy tach'ochąnchi, xomma chohe  
'annasopuchi."

I-emph. then I-first-cross-will let's see what to me-aff.-  
happen-will

Męnchoho chąn.

Then cross

P'aychelkone thән'ay wan'aytęn,

Cricket house-at arrive-as

P'aychelkone pa 'anpohapumele'elhemmia.

Cricket by his-all-bees-send out-dur.

Choxomęn pumeliahu cheta t'afaw lamofaw,  
tumofaw.

Once sting-pass.-pres. eye-in ear-on mouth-on  
body-all over

Wel ifiweme howenko wi hele  
'owatantiamę.

Some he-them-bite-dur. but then like nothing to  
him-not-help-dur.

P'ay wan'ayxen, map'a'ophuy manap'opemen,  
River-to come-when he-water-plunge-into he-himself-splash-dur.

wewe 'owalemęn'ay pumele'ene pa pumeliameęn.  
again he-come out-dur.-where bees by sting-pass-dur.

hechuwęn 'ant'ayxia'ęn'ay wan. Xa tohu:  
at last his-people-wait-dur.-at come Then say-pres

"Hele P'aychekone 'ant'aywia'e nathia'ayyo  
'ixalkapisi."

What Cricket his-people-be-rel. very much  
they-weapons-many

"Taxuy, xomma nayo chan tamęchi," Xęłane  
tohu. Męchoho me.

Very well let's see I-emph. now I-go-will Mountain Lion say-  
pres. Then go

P'aychekone than'aw wakko wewe P'aychekone  
'ipumele'elhemeę.

Cricket house-to come-when again Cricket he-them-  
send-dur.

Thapa Toxwiane way'amiaputta pumeliahu  
Also Coyote like-do-pass.-past-as sting-pass.-pres.

che'aw, t'afaw lamofaw, tumofaw.  
eye-on ear-on mouth-on body-all over

Xęńłane wel 'iļwęmęn,  
Mountain Lion some he-them-bite-dur.

wel mąmpa 'imąť'emęn  
some paws-by he-them-hit-dur.

wa p'ape toliamęhu.  
over there river-to run-go-pres.

P'a'ay wan'ayhęn, mąńą'opehu.  
River-at come-as he-reflex.-splash-pres.

P'atate waychąnniamęnta, Pumele'enę pa  
pumeliahu.  
Water-in-from like-arise-pass.-dur.-as Bees by  
sting-pass.-pres

P'anate 'owąletęn  
Water-in-from he-come out-as

wa 'ąnt'ayxia'empe me,  
over there his-people-where-to go

hele 'it'ay'omęhu:  
what he-them-people-tell-pres.

"'Ąńąnt'aywia'e, męn P'aychelkone payo 'iļemmia.  
My-people-be-rel. so Cricket by-emph. they-us-defeat-  
pass.

'Ęwęnyo 'ąńłąyt'aykwiwil.  
He-emph. his-very-people-strong

Hiapa ną wihuchun 'onowiwįsian, wihuchun  
'onowimąchęlsian,  
Although I as-many-as my-many-teeth-have as-many-as  
my-many-claws-be

Pumele'enę pa łęwtiya'ąmia.  
Bees by very long-I-do-not-pass.

Hokeyo hatta, 'anant'aywia'e, mathappe mametchi.  
So that is why then my-people-be-rel. your-house-to you-  
go-will

Wa Pumele'ene ithan'aw mamepo.  
Over there Bees they-live-where you-not-go-must

Hokeyo wa mathappe mapohametchi."  
That is why over there your-house-to you-all-go-must

Ho Xenlane pa 'i'ommiamehen,  
There Mountain Lion by he-them-tell-pass.-dur.

poan nakwet'ay'ene ithappe ime.  
all ground-dog-people their-homes-to they-go

Hokeyo choxomen pumele'ene upumelehəl.  
That is why once bees they-sting-hurt

Kaxwēki.  
You-tail-have

*P'illelo'ene ha P'awanmenyo*  
[The Turkeys and the Great Flood]

Nak'uthēke checumen K'əomap'ittha P'illelo'ene ithə.  
Once upon a time long ago K'əoma Mountain-at Turkeys  
they-live

Menchoho wepa chut'ay thelt'ayene pa inat'alakalia  
Then one time sun-people by they-them-  
message-brought

wa Maxwalap'ittha chiw 'iyaynankwethəlt'aythən  
'iwilechi'e  
way Pueblo peak all they-four-footed-fly-people-live  
they-go up-must

loipa napakemmiah'e'epa  
rain-by it-was going to flood-because

añathia'epa p̄atha n̄al'əl̄əwweh̄e'epa.  
 one with power-because-earth-there he-rain-send-call-  
 because

Hatt̄a th̄ənē 'im̄ēchi'e wan.  
 Then day they-go-must came

Poh̄an chuchonē wa K'ə'omap'ittha 'ith̄əpu'e  
 All birds over at K'ə'oma Mountain they-live-who  
 'imehu M̄axwalap'ippiu.  
 they were going Picuris Peak

Chex̄am̄en wesen̄ P'illelo'ene 'añap'ay'ophil̄ chihokwil  
 Then two Turkeys their-younger brother-with that  
 way

'im̄əp̄esay 'añp'ay'oxach̄ile'ayh̄en.  
 they-started to walk their-younger brother-hand-hold-then

Hatt̄a pu'aw 'iwanm̄en 'añap'ay'on̄e  
 'am̄əłohanm̄en t'alhu.  
 As closer they-coming their-little brother he was  
 tired he crying

"'Am̄əpiachi, k̄añap'ay'on̄e," 'añpapa'an̄e pa 'omm̄iahu.  
 Be strong our-little brother his-older brothers by they-him  
 telling

'Am̄əłohanm̄enta t'olm̄en m̄ehu.  
 he grew tired-as crying he-going

"'At'alp̄o, k̄añap'ay'on̄e, hatt̄a M̄axwalatha 'iwi'owan̄e,"  
 Don't cry our little brother soon Pueblo Peak we almost  
 come

'omm̄iam̄en 'añpapaane pa 'imehu.  
 they-him-were saying his-older brothers by they-going

Męnchoho hechuwęn Mąxwalap'ikkətha 'iwan.  
Then finally Picuris Peak-top-there they came

'Iwan'ayhęn p'ikk'ətha,  
They-came-then mountain-top-there

nąkwęt'ay'ene hattą thəlt'ay'ene 'iyaywiatta 'i'e.  
four-footed animals and flying animals they-all-are-as  
they were there

Nąthia'ay łolmę'epa, hattą p'ikkəthaxęn p'awanhu.  
So hard it was raining-because and mountain-top-to  
water-coming

Wel chuchonę łak'əy'aw 'imąłaymęn,  
Some birds tree-tops-on they were sitting

hattą wi Mąxwalap'ink'ətha p'awanhęn,  
and just about Pueblo Peak-there water-coming

nąłolpe.  
it-rain-stop

Hokeyo chexąmęn  
That is why then

P'illelo'ene xwęxanę'ay  
Turkeys tail-end-at

'ip'axałap'axay'epa.  
they-foam-water-touch-rel.-because

Thapa hokeyo  
Also that is why

wel thəlt'ay'ene thapa wel nąnkwęt'ay'ene  
təłowęn 'imoyo,  
some flying animals also some four-footed animals  
spotted they-look

wa M̄axwalatha 'iŋolxwinwileputtha  
over there Pueblo Peak-there they-rain-ran-went-there

'ip'axalap'axay'epa.  
they-foam-water-touch-rel.-because

K̄axw̄ęki.  
You-have-tail

*Łiwene ha Kalene [The Woman and the Wolf]*

N̄ak'uthęke, choxomęn P'inweltha 'it'ayth̄a.  
Once upon a time once Picuris they-people-live

Choxomęn liweneę n̄an̄ak'em̄opupun'ayte  
Once women time-as-get-dark-happen-after

phaltahęnyo 'in̄axuy.  
inside-then-emph. they-there-stay

Choxomęn węn łiwene n̄owian hele 'ap'awia.  
Once one woman night-be no she-not-water-have

'Ip'amolokolehęn, P'ayn̄on p'axayłiw.  
she-them-water jars-pick up-dur. Picuris Creek water-get  
down

K'olomate p'ataymęn 'aKalwan.  
Gourd-in-from water-put in-dur. to her-Wolf-come

"Heyo 'at'ahu?" choxomęn 'om̄mia.  
What you-do-pres. Then he-say-pass.

"Tip'atayhu," łiwene Kal'omę,  
I-water-pour-pres. Woman Wolf-tell

"'A'ęłłayxuy, choxomęn" Kalene pa 'om̄mia.  
you-get on back then Wolf by tell-pass.

“hatta ’anthəmmakwil tip’a’olemeko,”  
then my-house-up to I-water-take up-go-now

choxomən hiwene tōhu.  
then woman say-pres.

“’A’əllay, ’a’oməhu, howe’ən yohotayo ’ahənnəchi.”  
get on my back I-you-tell-pres. or else right here I-you-eat  
up-will.

Liwene ’anəpikwən,  
Woman she-afraid-become

’ip’amoloməcho,  
she-them-water jars-leave

’ayhən Kalene’ay mə’əllay.  
and then Wolf-on his back-get on

Choxomən Kalenepa hiwene p’immakwil ’owlia.  
At that time Wolf-by woman mountain-go up she-him-take  
up-pass.

P’ikk’ətha kaliahən,  
Mountain-top-there bring-pass.-dur.

choxomən Kalene  
then Wolf  
təpupa  
east  
tə’opa  
north  
tənən  
west  
təkwetha  
south

wel 'okalxwiawe.  
other he-them-wolves-call-go out

Łiwene męnchoho 'it'awtłikimmakwil wile.  
Woman then she-pinyon tree-tall-there go up climb  
'Asətthə'e, choxomęn 'akwənliw- wilemę'epa,  
her-man-live-rel. then his-not-quickly-wife come up-  
dur.-rel.-because

thək'əchitate maławia'ąn.  
house-top-there-from he-signal-past

Łęwtęnyo sənene 'unaxalkamphil 'iwan.  
Later on men their-weapons-with they-come

Kallofe wa mațohemępun'awte, wan'ayhęn  
Wolf-old over there he-signal-go-dur.-there-from come-after

łiwene t'awk'əta yo 'e'ąn.  
woman pinyon tree-top-in one sit-past

Sənene 'imąnọt'ilephale.  
Men they-look for-spread out-finish

Męnchoho nọpin'aw  
Then night-middle-in

węn sənenepa łiwene thąmia.  
one man-by woman find-pass.

Hanko sənene mațohęmę.  
Then man give-yell-past

Wel 'iwan'aytęn,  
Other they-come-after

'łiwławe wewe thąppe.  
they-her-woman-bring down again house-to

Łiwene sənənəpa t'əphaliahu.  
Woman men-by mad-really-pass.-pres.

Hokeyo choxomən, łiwənə  
That is why accordingly women

thoʃan'ayhən  
evening-after

phal'awte wetən 'uwawəlemə  
inside-from alone they-not-go out-dur.

hetən 'ipuchiko.  
Something it-to them-happen-will-because



ARIZONA TEWA





## 24. A Yaaniwe Song

### Celebrating Prosperity and Identity

Composed by Dewey Healing

Translated by Paul V. Kroskrity

Introduced by Paul V. Kroskrity

In situations of cultural borrowing between Native American cultural groups, it is rarely the case that we know precisely when and how the borrowing took place. But for Arizona Tewa Yaaniwe songs the anthropological record details all of this and even provides the identity of the individual who was instrumental in transporting this social dance tradition from Santa Clara Pueblo in New Mexico to Tewa Village, then called “Hano” by outsiders. Remarkably, that individual was to be one of the first “Native” anthropologists that profession produced—Edward P. Dozier (Kroskrity 2000, Norcini 2007). During fieldwork performed on First Mesa around 1950, Dozier, then an anthropology doctoral student as well as a Tewa from Santa Clara Pueblo who was just beginning field research for his doctoral degree in anthropology at UCLA, brought several of his friends and relatives from Santa Clara Pueblo in order to perform Yandewa social dances for his Arizona Tewa hosts (Dozier 1954:260).<sup>1</sup> The Arizona Tewa embraced this social dance and have performed it periodically since then, continuing it into the twenty-first century as one of a number of distinctive (insofar as the Hopi Mesas are concerned) social dances performed there. I collected several examples of these Yaaniwe songs during the first few years of my fieldwork in Tewa Village during 1973–77 from Dewey Healing—Tewa Corn clan elder, expert singer, and former

chairman of the Hopi Tribe.<sup>2</sup> The songs are lyrical appreciations of the natural world sung by community singers who volunteer to perform at the request of some family or clan. From the time of my early fieldwork in the early seventies through my most recent visit in 2010, such performances were occasioned by a family celebrating its good fortune by offering music and food to the larger community as a chance to share in the celebration. There can be many reasons to celebrate, including building a new house in the village or having a family member return home after an extended period away. Like other social dance songs—as opposed to those sung in Katsina ceremonies—Yaaniwe must be scheduled in the summer after the Katsinam have been appropriately thanked and sent home during the Home Dance at Wálpi, a Hopi village that also occupies First Mesa along with Tewa Village. The songs include pre-existing ones as well as some that are newly composed on each occasion. They can have topical themes as well the usual expression of delight in the natural world. One of the songs I recorded was composed by Dewey Healing shortly before my arrival in the community, and it contains a meditation on the cultural continuity of the Arizona Tewa. Dewey Healing was unusual in his early recognition of a sociolinguistic tip toward English, as a gradual process of language shift was bringing English into more and more social contexts in which Tewa had formerly prevailed. In the 1970s few others recognized the gravity of the linguistic situation, although today the problem is widely acknowledged in the community and most members support language renewal efforts.

Though Tewa songs have been collected, translated, and analyzed by Spinden ([1933] 1976) and Huang (1997, 2004), most have been from the Rio Grande Tewa language (spoken in Tesuque, Nambe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and San Juan Pueblos). The only existing translation and analysis of Arizona Tewa songs consisted of my examination of a set of social dance songs called *ohóy khí khaw* ('war dance songs') (Kroskirty 1993:177–91). Like those songs, Yaaniwe songs are viewed by most Arizona Tewa people as indexing their distinctive cultural identity, since they are normally

sung only in the Arizona Tewa language, they allude to the specific cultural history of the Arizona Tewa and their ancestors, and they represent the vocal part of ceremonies that are unlike social dances performed in the neighboring villages.

During performances, one or more couples will dance at various directional points in the main village plaza with a chorus of male singers and a drummer standing behind them, performing the music. Each couple, consisting of a young man and a young woman, will dance in complementary moves so that one occupies the foreground while the other retreats to the background. In Native clothes, unmasked, and holding gender-specific objects like bows and arrows and winnowing plaques, they move to the steady rhythm of the drum while gesturing upward with the objects they hold. The singers will have practiced these songs in the kiva for the past month or two. Experienced performers will teach and lead the singers in old songs that they agree to sing, and the composers of new songs will guide the group through the new lyrics and their associated melodies and rhythms. Sponsoring families may make specific requests for songs that they would like to have included, and such requests are usually honored.

The song translated here is a meditation on and celebration of the continuity of the Tewa people. It invokes a homeland prior to the New Mexican villages that their ancestors left before coming to the Hopi mesas. This song alludes to a lake in southwestern Colorado, perhaps near Alamosa, from which many Tewa believe they emerged as a people, leaving their prior, underground world. Thus the song harkens back to the very beginning of time in the present world and celebrates the cultural continuity they have experienced, in part, by carrying their ancestral Tewa language forward. In other writings I have remarked on the prominent place of the Tewa language as an icon of group identity and a cultural resource that has promoted the Tewas' sense of identity (Kroskrity 1993:44–6, 2000). In this song the verses take us from the very emergence of the Tewa as a people to their future as represented by the grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

## NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The Tewa language song text appears below in alternating lines of text and morpheme-by-morpheme translation. The Arizona Tewa orthography used here follows conventional Americanist practice with a few exceptions. All superscripts indicating secondary articulations like aspiration, labialization, and palatalization (e.g., kh, kw, ty) are written simply as digraphs (kh, kw, ty). In addition, glottalization is indicated with the use of an apostrophe (') and vowel length is indicated by doubling a vowel. While no orthography has been officially approved by the Arizona Tewa community, the one used here—which is both phonologically adequate and easy to write as a practical orthography—is currently under consideration by the community.

## NOTES

1. The Tewa term is rendered here in the Santa Clara Pueblo regional dialect of Tewa and is represented in the orthography Dozier created along with Harry Hoijer (Hoijer and Dozier 1949).

2. Though the Arizona Tewa are a distinct ethnic group and Tewa Village enjoys some autonomy, for purposes of federal administration and political representation all Arizona Tewa are officially members of the Hopi Tribe.

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## A Yaaniwe Song

### *Where Shells Are Shaken by the Waves*

Far, far away where shells are shaken by the waves,  
From there the Tewa people came, bearing life-giving corn.  
This is what our elders have always said.  
This is what our grandmothers have always said.

So heeding their words, we exchange greetings and kind words  
here.

This is how we should live our lives!  
But how far will we carry on our Tewa language,  
We elders, as we live out our days?

When I think about this, I look to my grandchildren.  
When I think about this, I look to my great-grandchildren.  
And I embrace them all!  
May our people live on!

*Kayi-'iwe kayi-'iwe 'ook'a 'akyan p'o-kwin na-k'ó,*  
 Far-there-at far-there-at shell shake water-spring it-lies  
*'iwe-dam-ba tééwa-t'owa khúúllú-wokan woowaci-in-kán*  
 There from-they.say Tewa people corn-bearing life-them-with  
 Ho 'íbí-kháádi-ma'a.  
 Already they-move-hither.

*Kin haawan naambí senóó ho díbí-tú-ma'a*  
 This something our elders already they-say-hither  
*Kín haawan naambí sááya-'in ho díbí-tú-ma'a.*  
 This something our grandmothers already they-say-hither

*Heedán kwen 'imbí hiili-'an 'ie'ε-t'ó-yan-di,*  
 Then if their words we listen

*Nεwe sengi-tú sígí-tú waakan ho 'íbí-hú-mí*  
 Here greet-word kind-word this let's we-live-should.

*Wεε heyáma nεmbi tééwa hiili-yán ho 'ii-hú-mí,*  
 Distance how our Tewa language let's we-live-should  
*Wεε heyáma naa-'in senó ho 'ibí-ka-mí*  
 Distance how we elders let us-live-should

*Kín haawan naa-bí 'ankhyaw déh-mún-dí naa-bí thétée-'e*  
 This what our thought I-see-when my grandchildren

*naabí páaepáa-'e ho dee-same-'an.*  
 My great-grandchildren already I-embrace-d

*Gasineweeyan t'owa t'εmε ho díí-kwo-mí.*  
 May-it-be people all let's they-live-should.



## 25. 'Avayun (and Coyote) Story

A Retranslation of “Coyote’s False Tail”

Narrated by an Unknown Tewa Elder

Translated by Elsie Clews Parsons

Retranslated by Paul V. Kroskity

Introduced by Paul V. Kroskity

Though the great majority of Tewa-language narratives that Elsie Clews Parsons collected, translated, and published in *Tewa Tales* in 1926 were provided by linguistic consultants from the Rio Grande Tewa-speaking pueblos of San Juan, Santa Clara, and San Ildefonso, Parsons did include eighteen narratives translated from the Arizona Tewa of an unidentified elder. The Arizona Tewas, also known as the Hopi-Tewas, are an especially remarkable Native community since they are the only group of the more than one hundred Pueblo diaspora communities who left their native Rio Grande-area villages after the Pueblo Revolts of 1690 and 1696 to have successfully relocated and retained their heritage language into the present (Kroskity 1993, 2000; Dozier 1954). This translation and commentary revisits one of the stories that Parsons collected that was still in the repertoire of some older speakers when I first conducted linguistic research on Arizona Tewa traditional narratives in 1976–85. During that time I heard the Tewa elder Albert Yava (1978) tell a story in Tewa that was remarkably like the story presented by Parsons as “Coyote’s False Tail.” Though I was unable to record that performance, I later asked Dewey Healing, a

Tewa Corn Clan elder and former Tribal Council chairman of the Hopi Nation as well as Yava's son-in-law, to tell me that story so that I might record it and analyze it in detail. His recorded performance of the story would become a Tewa-language text published as part of the *International Journal of American Linguistics*-Native American Texts series (Kroskirty and Healing 1978).

#### TRANSLATION MATTERS

My strategy for this retranslation of Parsons's "Coyote's False Tail" really amounts to a rethinking of her English version in light of an Arizona Tewa-language version of the same basic script. Since Parsons never provided Tewa originals and her renderings are more like free translations than ethnopoetically motivated translations (e.g., Hymes 1992; Tedlock 1983), my basic method is to use the content of the 1926 narrative but to rely mostly on the Tewa-language versions to get an understanding of indigenous rhetorical forms. I will first discuss some of the translation issues, then provide a commentary on the similarities and differences between the Parsons version and the version Dewey Healing provided about half a century later, and finally provide the translation itself. As part of my discussion of translation, I must alert readers that the narrative has a new name based on indigenous conventions for titling rather than Parsons's very folkloristic preference for etic labeling by motif. Native conventions for this genre name the story after the main character, optionally adding Coyote in a secondary position. This is an important first step in attempting to understand so-called coyote stories because it suggests that the main character is not the buffoon/antihero but rather the character that displays more exemplary Pueblo behavioral ideals. In this story that character is Avayun, the Horned Water Serpent—a supernatural figure in Pueblo mythology associated with storms. According to Spinden ([1933] 1976), this creature is often depicted as having clouds attached to his body and "a tongue of barbed light-

ening.” In Pueblo mythology the supernatural figure of Avayun, like many nature deities, holds an ambivalent position. For though he is sometimes represented as a monster who threatens to flood the world, at other times he is viewed as residing in sacred lakes and springs and even appealed to for rain from the storm clouds he also inhabits (Spinden [1933] 1976:123). In the present story the positive image of Avayun is selected, as he is the character who better embodies Tewa values, and hence he takes center stage in the new, Nativized title.

Building on this tendency to follow local knowledge and aesthetics, but unlike either Parsons’s ([1926] 1997) earlier version or the more recent narrative provided by Dewey Healing (Kroskitty and Healing 1978), the translation below attempts to employ ethnopoetic considerations of structural form and narrative performance inspired by the work of such scholars as Dell Hymes (e.g., 1992) and Dennis Tedlock (e.g., 1983). I use such criteria as pauses by the performer and structural considerations of form and meaning to divide the story into six sections and to determine the organization of lines, verses, and stanzas.

One of the ubiquitous features of Arizona Tewa traditional narratives—and a major problem for translation—is the evidential particle *ba*, used multiple times in almost every narrative clause in stories of this genre and usually translated as ‘so they say’ (Kroskitty 1985, 1993). I sometimes reduce it to ‘so’. This is indeed a genre marker or a genre signature of Tewa *peeyu’u*, just as *yaw* is of Hopi *tutuwitsi* (Shaul 2005). In this translation I have opted to explicitly use “so they say” only in the initial line or two of each section and in the concluding lines, rather than every time it actually occurs. I believe this strategy captures the “traditionalizing” role of the evidential without making the English-language translation more awkward than the Tewa, with its ubiquitous and highly codable evidential. For example, the concluding lines of the story appear immediately below in tripartite form—Tewa original, morpheme-by-morpheme translation, and free translation,

Kinan ba Bayena-senó 'úú-po-dí-yán  
 This.way SO Coyote-old.man he-happen-since-Emphatic  
 So they say, since this is what became of Old Man Coyote,

ba towi' we-dii-su'o-dε-di.  
 SO someone not-they-imitate-habitual  
 People should not imitate others.

Note that even in this final sentence the evidential particle that I have glossed 'SO' in the morpheme-by-morpheme translation occurs twice, though it appears in the free translation only once (as 'so they say'). Since Tewa *ba* serves as both a grammatical particle and a discourse marker of the "voice" of the traditional storyteller, its presence twice in the Tewa original sentence is not at all obtrusive, whereas to translate every one of these evidential particles as 'so they say' or even 'so' in the English translation could seem distracting, contrived, and awkward for readers of the translation. In prior translation experiments (e.g., Kroskirty 1985) I have attempted to be mechanically faithful by rendering every Tewa *ba* with an English 'so'. But to avoid the distraction of such a redundant marking of the evidential in English, I have opted for a more selective strategy here.

#### COMMENTARY

While the basic plot is very similar in all the versions mentioned above, several important differences exist between the version that Parsons collected and the ones that I heard from Dewey Healing and Albert Yava some fifty years later. The most fundamental difference is in the identity of the hero. In the Parsons story the protagonist is Avayun, whereas in the other stories Old Man Bullsnake (Naala-senó) plays that role. This is remarkable because in the earlier version recorded by Parsons the protagonist is a supernatural culture hero associated with water and especially the local springs that provide fresh water for the villages. The replacement

of Avayun by a mundane animal character like Old Man Bullsnake may have been part of a general shift away from stories with supernatural characters or an attempt to produce a more secular version for the consumption of either children or outsiders. This consideration of audience is very important because, while local ideologies of storytelling consistently target children as the prototypical audience, few scholars other than Harrington and Roberts (1928) and Kroskrity (1993) seem to have adequately attended to Native intentions that the stories be primarily aimed at children. Since both of the more recent storytellers, Yava and Healing, were very practical and secular in outlook, their choice of Naala-senó might suggest their willingness to construct these narratives more as instructive folktales than as a religious myth for the consumption of their own young people and for me, the Tewa-speaking outsider, who served as the entextualizing mediator. In addition to issues of recipient design we should consider the linguistic repertoire of the Arizona Tewa as a resource that may have encouraged the change from Avayun to Bullsnake. Note that in Hopi the Water Serpent deity is called Paalölöqangw and, significantly, its morphology consists of a noun-noun compound in which initial *paa-* 'water' is added to the lexeme for "bullsnake" in Hopi (Whiteley 1996; Hopi Dictionary Project 1998:370). This may help account for why Tewa elders (who also speak Hopi) were inclined to use the Tewa word for "bullsnake" as an alternative to the mythological character.

Though the heroes of these stories are constructed somewhat differently, the plot structure is largely preserved from the earlier period. In both cases the protagonist is an exemplary host, serving to contrast with Coyote, who fails to provide tobacco and violates other norms of Pueblo hospitality. In a parody of correct moral behavior, Old Man Coyote steals rather than grows the food he serves his guests. Of course, the final straw is his construction of an enormously long, artificial tail so that he can exceed the natural length of his host and displace him from his home.

In the local view Old Man Coyote deserves what he gets precisely because of his boastful cleverness and his offensive behavior in attempting to be something he is not. The exact manner in which Old Man Coyote meets his fate is also different in the two versions. In the older version recorded by Parsons, Old Man Coyote simply burns to death, but in the newer version he drowns attempting to douse the flames that are burning him. I have retained the newer version along with the didactic ending because I think it is appropriate to design these stories for children, since all adults consider the stories from this genre (*peeyu'u*) to presuppose children as a focal audience. The more recent version is seen as more humorous and child-friendly, and the exhortation to avoid the imitative artifice of Old Man Coyote is especially appropriate for the Arizona Tewa, who encourage their children not to follow their more numerous Hopi neighbors but rather to maintain their identity as Tewa.

Another difference between the two stories appears to be how the characters are represented in terms of their inability to share the space of their home. In Parsons's version Avayun is too big to enter Coyote's house even though Coyote—false tail and all—is able to enter Avayun's place. This nonreciprocal arrangement differs in later versions of the story, which depict Old Man Coyote as wanting to displace Old Man Bullsnake from his own house as payback for what Bullsnake did to him. I have retained the newer version in regard to this because it helps convey what is wrong about Coyote—the artificial lengths he will go to in order to avenge an unintentional slight by Avayun. The older version makes the asymmetry in visits yet another failure of Coyote as host, but it fails to maximally set up the competition (for length) with Avayun that displays Coyote's inappropriate reaction and retaliation. I have selected the version that makes the greatest possible contrast both because this opposition of good and bad characters is at the heart of the narrative genre and because it fits the design for children as prototypical audience members (Kroskrity

1993, 2006). Though Parsons was more preoccupied with Tewa narratives in terms of their comparative dimension, both to other Tewa and Tanoan tales as well to Spanish and other narratives, I am concerned with bearing in mind the function of these stories according to local storytelling ideologies. Foremost among such functions is the moral guidance of young listeners.

#### NOTES TO ORIGINAL TEXT

1. This place-name is Poheligye (in Parsons's orthography), also known as Isba, 'Coyote Spring', in Hopi.
2. This place-name is Bayena-p'in in Arizona Tewa.
3. This is a conventionalized dyadic greeting. Like many greetings throughout the world (e.g., Duranti 1997), it conveys nothing more than what is obvious to both parties, but it serves as an acknowledgment of the arriving guest.
4. Old Man Coyote has "the shakes" because he is unaccustomed to the effects of the strong, local tobacco.
5. Sikyatki is a ruin of a former Hopi village, just north of First Mesa. Since Old Man Coyote is actually stealing food that is stored there, the reference implies that the story occurs when the village was still inhabited, more than five hundred years ago.

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## Avayun (and Coyote) Story

1. Long Ago, so they say

Avayun was living at the place called Coyote Spring.<sup>1</sup>

Not far from there, so they say

Old Man Coyote was living at Coyote Mountain.<sup>2</sup>

So then, once in a while, so they say

Avayun would visit a friend of his who lived at Khosonwep'o.

He would leave in the morning and return each night,

And Avayun's friend would also return his visit.

And then, one time, on their travels back and forth,

Avayun met Old Man Coyote.

"Where are you going?" he asked.

"I am going to visit my friend," Old Man Coyote said.

"And where is your friend?" Avayun questioned.

"He is living at Khosonwep'o," Coyote said.

"And do you think it would be all right for me to visit you

In your house some day?" he added.

"Tomorrow would be the best time for me,"

Avayun told him.

2. So then, so they say, Old Man Coyote went home to Coyote Mountain,

Keeping his new friend in mind.

Then, on the next morning,

He started out for Coyote Spring.

As Coyote approached,

Avayun stood outside of his home.

"Well, my friend, did you arrive?"<sup>3</sup>

Avayun greeted him.

"Yes!"

"Come in!"

Avayun opened the door to his home,  
And he walked in first.  
Old Man Coyote followed him,  
And went to sit on a buffalo skin set out for him.  
Avayun asked Old Man Coyote:  
“How are you getting along?”  
And “What kind of work do you do?”  
“I go hunting every day and I kill lots of rabbits,”  
Coyote said.  
“And in the summer,” he continued,  
“I raise corn, melons, muskmelons, and squash.”  
“Well then,” said Avayun,  
“We do the same kind of work;  
“I, too, raise corn and melons,  
Just the same as you.”

So then, as it was about dinner time,  
Avayun went into the other room,  
Returning with watermelons and muskmelons.  
So then, they ate together,  
And they smoked together.

Avayun blew out four times  
And handed it to Old Man Coyote.  
Old Man Coyote blew out four times  
And handed it back to Avayun.

Old Man Coyote kept on smoking  
Until his pipe was smoked out.  
But he had smoked so much,  
That he became sick.

“It is time to go home,”  
Said Old Man Coyote.  
He walked out,  
Shaking all over.<sup>4</sup>

3. That night, so they say,  
Old Man Coyote slept.  
When he woke up the next morning,  
He said, "I'll go visit my friend."  
So he went to Coyote Spring.  
"My friend, have you arrived?"  
Avayun said.  
"Yes!"  
"Come in!"

And so they talked again about what they were doing.  
And Avayun again brought out watermelons and muskmelons.  
They ate together.

Avayun put tobacco in the pipe.  
He blew it out four times,  
He handed it to Old Man Coyote.  
"Thank you, my friend," he said,  
And he smoked it all out and handed it back.  
Since he was now used to the tobacco,  
It was not so hard on him.

Later that evening, "I need to go home,"  
He said.  
"Come back tomorrow,"  
Avayun told Coyote.  
"All right, I shall,"  
Old Man Coyote replied.

4. And then, so they say, he returned the next day.  
As before, Avayun brought out melons.  
As before they ate and smoked.

Avayun smoked four times,  
And he handed the pipe to Old Man Coyote.  
"Thank you, my friend," he said,  
Taking the pipe and smoking it out.

It was time to go home,  
 And Coyote said,  
 “Why don’t you visit me tomorrow?”  
 “All right, I will!” replied Avayun.

When Old Man Coyote reached home, so they say  
 He thought about what he would feed his friend.  
 “Perhaps I should go to Sikyatki,<sup>5</sup>  
 That’s where I once saw lots of watermelons in a house.”  
 So he went there and looked into the house,  
 Seeing that the watermelons were still there.  
 He went in and picked up the largest one,  
 Carrying it back to his house.

5. The next morning Avayun woke up, so they say  
 And headed to his friend’s house.  
 He arrived and found Old Man Coyote,  
 Sitting outside of his house.  
 “Have you arrived, my friend?”  
 Coyote said.

“Yes!” Avayun replied.  
 “Come in!” Old Man Coyote said  
 As he entered.

Avayun began to enter as well  
 But he was too big to get in with Coyote there.  
 “There is not enough room for me in here,  
 So I will just go and talk to you from outside.”  
 So they talked to one another,  
 Coyote on the outside  
 And Avayun inside.

In the afternoon, Old Man Coyote went  
 And got watermelons to give to Avayun.  
 But he had no tobacco:  
 “You know, I never smoke,” Old Man Coyote said.

“Don’t worry! We don’t need to smoke.  
Come to my house tomorrow,” said Avayun.  
“Yes!”

6. But then, so they say,  
Coyote thought to himself.  
“How can I make myself larger so that  
I fill up his house?”  
“I know, come tomorrow,  
I will gather up some cedar bark and some yucca.”  
So then he got these and he went home,  
He softened the bark with his hands for hours  
And tied the bark pieces together with yucca.  
The next morning, Old Man Coyote split the yucca,  
Tying the strung cedar bark to his own tail.  
He set off for Avayun’s house,  
Laughing to himself.  
When he got to Avayun’s house, so they say  
Avayun was waiting for him outside.  
“Have you arrived my friend?” Avayun asked.  
“Yes!”  
“Come in!” said Avayun,  
Noticing that Old Man Coyote  
Was trailing a long “tail” behind him.  
Avayun laughed at him, saying  
“You have a really long tail!”  
“Yes,” said Coyote, following Avayun into his own house  
Until Avayun realized that he had to leave  
In order to make room for Old Man Coyote.  
As before they talked,  
This time Coyote on the inside,  
Avayun outside.  
Avayun fed Old Man Coyote melons,  
And then he brought out his pipe.

He smoked it four times  
 And offered it to Old Man Coyote.  
 When Coyote was finished,  
 He said, "It's time for me to go back home!"  
 "Tomorrow you should come and visit me,"  
 He added.  
 "Yes!"

After that, so they say, Old Man Coyote left,  
 From there, he walked up the hill homeward.  
 Reaching the top, he looked back at Avayun's house,  
 Noticing his tail had not yet uncoiled from there.  
 Grinning, Old Man Coyote said to himself,  
 "See. Just as I planned it:  
 You could not help but be outdone by me!"  
 But when Old Man Coyote had just gone over the hill,  
 Avayun set the end of his tail on fire.

Old Man Coyote gradually noticed that a fire was trailing him.  
 "Maybe it is my tail that is burning," he thought.  
 "What can I do?  
 Of course—run to the wash where there's some water  
 running!"  
 The fire had gotten very close to him,  
 So he was running with all his might.  
 He finally got to the wash and jumped,  
 Without looking.  
 But since the water was so deep and strong,  
 It carried him away and drowned him.

So they say, since this is what became of Old Man Coyote,  
 People should not imitate others.

OHKAY OWINGEH  
(FORMERLY SAN  
JUAN PUEBLO)





## 26. Four Springtime Tewa Songs

Presented, Translated, and Discussed by

Peter Garcia Sr.

Tewa Discussion by Reycita Garcia, Patricia Ortiz,

Beverly Garcia, and Gordon Garcia

Hopi Translation and Discussion by Griselda Saufkie

Acoma Keresan Translation and Discussion by

Gregg Shutiva

Collected, Edited, and Introduced by Linda J. Goodman

Clouds, rain, flowers, and birds are only a few of the beautiful images presented in song texts of the Tewa-speaking people of Ohkay Owingeh (formerly San Juan) Pueblo. This quiet Indian village, home to about five thousand residents, lies east of the Rio Grande near its confluence with the Chama River in north-central New Mexico. In the heart of the pueblo, adobe room blocks, including two kivas, surround three outdoor plazas where public ceremonies and dances are held. Presently several newer housing developments sit just outside this sacred center. Ancient farmland, watered by an old system of ditches, lies beyond the living and ceremonial areas of the pueblo.

For centuries, farming and hunting sustained the people of Ohkay Owingeh—activities reflected in their ceremonies. As agriculturalists living in a desert environment, they learned to grow a variety of crops in the fertile land adjacent to their homes and to

the Rio Grande. In addition to their hard labor, traditional religious and ceremonial activities honored and encouraged the forces that allowed plants, animals, and humans to maintain life.

Though the lives of Pueblo people have changed in many ways, and agriculture no longer sustains most families, the philosophy and beliefs supporting this way of life have survived and continue to thrive. Love, respect, and care for nature and for all living things remain core beliefs for many. These concepts are continually renewed and reaffirmed through an annual cycle of ceremonial activities, most of which include musical performances that unite the people of the pueblo in common goals. Particular ceremonies are required at specific times—some occurring every year, others occurring once every few years.

Agricultural songs were and still are sung as part of spring and summer ceremonies either before crops are planted or during the course of their growth and maturation. These ceremonies are essential in order to allow both the natural and supernatural parts of the world to accomplish the specific tasks necessary to support the people of the pueblo. If men and women undertake the duties required by traditional Pueblo religious standards, then natural and supernatural forces will respond in the proper manner in order to sustain life for the people.

All three elements are essential here: nature, supernaturals, and humans. All are intertwined. Only humans plant the seeds to grow domesticated crops. Nature provides the birds and insects to pollinate them and the sun and moisture to help them grow. However, it is the supernaturals that are in control of nature and especially in control of the moisture critical for growth and maturation of the crops. Finally, humans must harvest and prepare the ripened crops in order to provide sustenance for the Pueblo people. Ceremonies, songs, and dances help maintain this complex interrelationship.

The songs presented here focus on natural and supernatural phenomena rather than human ones. However, it is humans who

perform the ceremonies and sing the songs, so in a sense they are the prime movers between natural and supernatural forces and the resultant plants. Song itself may act as a mediator in the sense that it helps bring about a positive working relationship between natural and supernatural forces on the one hand and the growing plants on the other hand. In this, song would be joined by dance and the ceremony as a whole—all three are necessary to accomplish the final goal.

It is important that these forces cooperate “to maintain a harmonious balance,” as Edward Dozier (1970:200) once stated. Though spring and summer ceremonies are performed to encourage rainfall and ensure the growth of plant life, they stand symbolically for the continuation of life for all. This is perhaps the most important concept underlying Tewa Pueblo ceremonies—they seek “to maintain life for all living things.”

#### PUEBLO TRADITIONAL CEREMONIAL SONGS, CONCEPTS, AND ACTIVITIES

At Ohkay Owingeh most traditional music is created and sung by men. Deep-voiced male choruses sing, usually to the accompaniment of gourd rattles and/or large, two-headed log drums. Women participate in many of the dances, but most of the serious singing and song composition belongs in the male domain. In the past, women often sang as they danced, though they seldom do so now. They still perform occasional women’s dances in the pueblo, but the songs are composed by the men.

Some Ohkay Owingeh ceremonies require newly composed songs each time they are performed. Other ceremonies require the same traditional songs year after year. Both kinds of songs are necessary, however, for the continuation of a good life for the Pueblo people. The first three songs presented here, the two Green Corn Dance Songs and the Coming to the Center Dance Song are old, traditional songs—the same ones are used each time these cere-

monies are performed. The Basket Dance, however, is a ceremony that requires new songs for each performance. Thus the fourth song, the Slow Standing Dance of the Basket Dance, was newly composed for a performance held in the 1960s.

Often, Pueblo musicians were also the village composers. Traditionally certain men in the pueblo were trained as singers and drummers and passed this knowledge and training on to their sons, grandsons, or other interested and talented individuals. Through years of training they internalized the musical forms and the formulas that were used for songs belonging to specific ceremonies. Thus, when new songs were required, these men would allow their minds to be open and receptive, and shortly thereafter a new song, new words or a new melody would come to them. This could occur at any number of times and places: when working in the fields, driving a car, walking in the mountains, working around the pueblo, fixing fences, and so forth.

Formerly when a man created a new song, he would repeat it a number of times until he was sure it was committed to memory, since there were no tape recorders or other recording devices in the past. Today, a composer may indeed record his newly created song. After completion of the initial composition, the composer meets with the other singers/composers of the pueblo on a designated night, and together they refine and finish the song. Thus each new song begins as an individual creation but is completed by a knowledgeable and talented group.

The conception of a new song among the Pueblos is somewhat different than the conception of a new song in the Western European musical tradition. In the latter, most often (but not always) the words and music are new — not used in an earlier composition. Among the Pueblos, the words and/or melody may be completely new or may be revised, modified, or minimally reworked from a song used previously. Any of these combinations constitute a new song. However, the new song always fits into the standard traditional form or structure used for that type of composition. Usually

the topics presented in new song texts are similar in theme and subject to those found in old song texts.

## SONG TEXTS

Tewa ceremonial song texts are perhaps best described as creating beautiful images with the purpose of aiding the survival of the people. Many texts relate the time of day or year, special geographical locations, and sometimes the four cardinal directions and their associated colors. Natural elements such as sun, clouds, lightning, rain, and other types of moisture figure prominently. All living things depend on these elements for survival, thus their presence in the songs is essential. The texts often speak of birds, insects, animal life, plants, flowers, and the ever-important supernatural rain gods necessary to bring the moisture, keep the crops growing, and keep the people alive. Such images are present in the four songs translated below.

Ohkay Owingeh song texts include meaningful words and/or vocables—syllables without specific meaning. Some of these texts are lengthy, others quite short. Lines of meaningful text usually appear near the beginnings of certain sections of Ohkay Owingeh ceremonial songs and are preceded and followed by vocables. Some songs consist entirely of vocables, which usually appear in a fixed order.

Also, meaningful words when sung sometimes differ considerably from spoken Tewa. For example, the spoken word for the color “blue” is *tsaenwe’ih*. When sung, this word can become *tsanyu*, as occurs in the Green Corn Plaza Dance Song. *Tsanyu* is never used in spoken Tewa. Some words in the songs are even less obvious and are said to be archaic Tewa words, no longer spoken. In other instances, words can be extended or collapsed in order to fit the musical line or for ease of pronunciation while singing. Additional kinds of changes exist but are beyond the scope of this chapter.<sup>1</sup>

Often the Tewa text includes pairs of related concepts. When

a certain concept or subject is introduced, it must be completed in an acceptable Tewa manner. For example, if one verse speaks of the cardinal directions “North” and “West,” the following verse will then include “South” and “East.” This completes the statement of directions and brings balance to the song lyric. Or, if one line of text refers to a male animal, the following line or verse usually refers to the female animal of the same species. Both sexes are necessary for the continuation of life, so both are present, one after the other, in the song texts.

Repetition is another common feature of these songs. All texts, with their respective melodies, repeat several times during the course of the song, in an order determined by the song form, as will be shown below. Repetition of text and vocables creates unity and at the same time strengthens the message and the power of the song.

Fairly often Ohkay Owingeh songs include words from other Pueblo tribes, such as Zuni, Hopi, or the Keresan-speaking pueblos such as Acoma. In general, the meanings of these texts are not known to the Ohkay Owingeh singers but were borrowed because the composer liked the melody of a song he heard at another pueblo and incorporated it, with its text, into a song he created. This type of borrowing occurs among all the pueblos.

Some Ohkay Owingeh songs include portions of foreign text and portions of Tewa text. This is true in three of the four songs presented here. The Green Corn Plaza Dance Song opens with an untranslated section of Zuni text, the Coming to the Center Dance Song includes a short Hopi text in the Middle (Hapembeh) section, and the Slow Standing Dance of the Basket Dance has a short Keresan text included in the Middle (Hapembeh) section. Because “pronunciation often undergoes significant change when words are spoken or sung by people unfamiliar with the language” (Goodman and Swan 2003:205), speakers of these other languages sometimes have a difficult time translating the non-Tewa texts.<sup>2</sup> Thus, three Zuni speakers did not recognize any Zuni words in

the Green Corn Plaza Dance Song. Griselda Saufkie, from Second Mesa, Hopi, Arizona, listened to the Hopi words in the Coming to the Center Dance Song and stated, “They don’t say the Hopi words properly.”<sup>3</sup> Because she knows many Hopi song texts well, she was able to translate the words but was aware that they had changed greatly in the Rio Grande Tewa version and were not easily understood. Gregg Shutiva from Acoma Pueblo had a similar response. He was able to translate the few Keresan words present in the Slow Standing Dance of the Basket Dance but said they too underwent change from their original form.<sup>4</sup> Only the Green Corn Entrance Dance Song has a text that is completely Tewa.

Images in Tewa song texts are sometimes fully described, while in other instances they are only hinted at—leaving the listener to fill in the rest of the picture in his or her imagination. The words often have a broader and deeper meaning than the literal translation can supply. When one concentrates on these texts during performances, Tewa songs remove a person from daily life and transport the singers, dancers, and attentive listeners to a place far removed from the mundane world. They provide affirmation, inspiration, and renewal of life.

### SONG FORM (STRUCTURE)

Each of these songs has a carefully organized and balanced form or structure. Many, though not all, Ohkay Owingeh ceremonial songs are divided into two main parts. The first part of the song is called the Pucheno, which is translated as ‘Beginning’ in English. The second part of the song is called the Hapembeh, which has no English translation but means the ‘Middle’ part of the song. Each of these two main parts is subdivided into three sections that repeat in a particular manner (table 3).

The Pucheno begins with a short, vocable Introduction (no Tewa word is used for this short opening), which is followed immediately by a section called the Xapu—the ‘Root’ or beginning of the

Table 3. Ohkay Owingeh Tewa Ceremonial Song Form

Part 1 PUCHENO 'BEGINNING'	
Introduction	A short segment of vocables
Xapu	'Quiet' section, with main musical theme and text, heard at beginning of song
Xake.gi	'Loud' section of song
Xa 'xanu	'Ending' section of song
REPEAT OF PUCHENO	
Part 2 HAPEMBEH 'MIDDLE'	
Introduction	The word <i>Hapembah</i> is sung once or several times
Xapu	'Quiet' section, with different musical theme and text from that heard in the Pucheno
Xake.gi	'Loud' section (same as in Pucheno)
Xa 'xanu	'Ending' section (same as in Pucheno)
REPEAT OF HAPEMBEH	
Part 1—Repeat PUCHENO 'BEGINNING' (sometimes shortened)	
Introduction	Short segment of vocables
Xapu	'Quiet' section (same as in first Pucheno)
Xake.gi	'Loud' section (same as in first Pucheno)
Xa 'xanu	'Ending' section (same as in first Pucheno)
END OF SONG	

song, essentially including the first melody or theme and several additional musical phrases that follow it. In this section meaningful text is sung to the first melody line and is usually surrounded by vocables. The Xapu is sung in a rather quiet and serious manner, and singer Peter Garcia Sr., when speaking of it in English, referred to the Xapu as the 'Quiet' section of the song. Following the Xapu is a section called Xake.gi, which means 'Strong' or 'Loud' song. Peter Garcia Sr. called this the 'Loud' section of the song because it often starts on a higher pitch and is sung louder than the 'Quiet' section. Sometimes the Xake.gi has meaningful text; at other times it has only vocables. The third section of the Pucheno is called the Xa'xanu, which means the 'Ending' of the song. Peter Garcia Sr. called this portion, which is composed entirely of vocables, the short or 'Ending' section. When the song is being sung as part of a ceremony in the pueblo the entire Pucheno is repeated.

The second part of the song, the Hapembbeh, usually begins with the word *Hapembbeh*, which serves as the Introduction. This word (Hapembbeh), with no known translation, may be repeated once or several times. It is followed immediately by another Xapu 'Quiet' section, with different words and melody from that in the Pucheno. Then follows the Xake.gi 'Loud' section and the Xa'xanu 'Ending' section, each with essentially the same words and melody as were used in the Pucheno. When sung as part of a ceremony, the entire Hapembbeh is repeated.

Finally, to bring the song to completion, the singers repeat the first Pucheno, with its original three sections. Sometimes, however, the final repeat is condensed or shortened.

This ceremonial song form is found in most of the New Mexico pueblos as well as those of the Arizona Hopis, although the terms for the sections of a song differ. Presently it is not known which tribal group first developed this form and when or how it might have spread to others. A common version of the Ohkay Owingeh song form as it currently exists is shown in table 3.

## INTRODUCTORY SONG FORMULAS

Certain introductory formulas—consisting of standard, accepted vocable patterns—are used in each of the songs belonging to a particular ceremony. Called here the Introduction, these short patterns normally appear at the beginning of a song and change only minimally from song to song of the same type. (There is no Tewa term for this part of the song; it is just known as the beginning of the Pucheno.) It signals the dancers that a particular dance is starting. Melody cannot be used to differentiate these opening formulas because, in general, the same pattern of pitches (a descending minor third followed by repeated notes) is used in all of them. However, the particular syllables and the particular rhythmic pattern used in the Introduction help identify the song as belonging to a specific ceremony or portion of a ceremony (figure 2).

For example, a traditional Green Corn Entrance Dance begins with the following vocable pattern used as the Introduction:

Ho wena ye ye wena, ye ye ye

This opening phrase allows the dancers and the knowledgeable listener to understand that the song to follow will be a Green Corn Entrance Dance Song. Other songs of this type use essentially the same syllables.

Different vocables mark the beginning of a Green Corn Plaza Dance Song:

Ah ya he ya gha wi, yai ya he ya wi

Other Green Corn Plaza Dance Songs also open with essentially the same set of syllables as those seen here. Thus the particular pattern of opening vocables helps distinguish a Green Corn Entrance Dance from a Green Corn Plaza Dance.

The opening syllables heard in a traditional Coming to the Center Dance Song are:

Ah gha gha ha, ha gha ha gha  
He he, he ye ye ye, he ye

This formula is quite different from that used for either of the Green Corn Dance Songs. These three songs would not be confused if one knew the opening formula for each.

For the Slow Standing Dance of the Basket Dance, which is the first of each set of newly composed songs performed as part of this ceremony, the following syllabic pattern can be heard:

Oh-ho ey he ye he, oh-ho ey he ye

Other Slow Standing Dance Songs of the Basket Dance use the same opening vocable pattern. Immediately after the statement of this initial formula, meaningful text is introduced in the Xapu as the song continues.

Opening formulas, then, can serve two different purposes. They can help identify and unite songs belonging to the same ceremony or to a particular part of a ceremony, or they can differentiate songs belonging to different ceremonies.

Whether a song is new or old, it almost always includes a standard opening formula and often several other segments of formulaic material that appear later in the song. Frequently a different formula (Hapembeh) introduces the Middle part of a song, and sometimes other connecting formulas and ending formulas are used as well. These formulaic phrases are made up entirely of vocables. (Vocables usually occur elsewhere in the song as well, not only as part of introductory, connecting, and ending formulas. As stated above, some songs consist entirely of vocables.) When creating a new song, the composer commonly places new music, new text, and/or additional vocables between the segments of standard formulaic material. The final result is a new song, created in the proper form—a structure that has been handed down orally from generation to generation.

### Green Corn Entrance Dance



Ho - we na ye - ye we na ye - ye ye

The musical notation for the Green Corn Entrance Dance is a single line of music on a treble clef staff. It consists of two measures. The first measure contains a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The second measure contains a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. There are accents (>) above the first G4 and the first A4 in both measures. The lyrics "Ho - we na ye - ye we na ye - ye ye" are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables across notes.

### Green Corn Plaza Dance



Ah - ya he ya gha wi yni - ya he ya wi

The musical notation for the Green Corn Plaza Dance is a single line of music on a treble clef staff. It consists of two measures. The first measure contains a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The second measure contains a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. There are accents (>) above the first G4 and the first A4 in both measures. The lyrics "Ah - ya he ya gha wi yni - ya he ya wi" are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables across notes.

### Coming to the Center Dance



Ah - gha gha ha — ha - gha - ha gha he he — he - ye ye ye he ye

The musical notation for the Coming to the Center Dance is a single line of music on a treble clef staff. It consists of two measures. The first measure contains a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The second measure contains a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. There are accents (>) above the first G4 and the first A4 in both measures. The lyrics "Ah - gha gha ha — ha - gha - ha gha he he — he - ye ye ye he ye" are written below the notes, with hyphens and a long dash indicating syllables across notes.

### Slow Standing Basket Dance



Oh - ho ey he ye he oh - ho ey he ye

The musical notation for the Slow Standing Basket Dance is a single line of music on a treble clef staff. It consists of two measures. The first measure contains a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The second measure contains a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. There are accents (>) above the first G4 and the first A4 in both measures. The lyrics "Oh - ho ey he ye he oh - ho ey he ye" are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables across notes.

Figure 2. Introductory song formulas for four Ohkay Owingeh Tewa songs. The same two pitches are used for each of these four song introductions; however, the rhythmic patterns and vocables differ for each. These four songs are sung by a male chorus an octave lower than shown here. Transcribed by Linda J. Goodman. Computer version by John Pennington.

PETER GARCIA SR. AND THE GARCIA FAMILY  
OF SINGERS AND COMPOSERS

Peter Garcia Sr. (1927–2001), Kwan' Phade Ts'ae.n, 'White Passing Rain', a highly talented composer, singer, and drummer, was instrumental in maintaining much of the musical life of Ohkay Owingeh for over forty years. He nourished the musical life of this pueblo with his extensive knowledge, his gentle yet assured guidance and teaching, his talent for creating new songs and texts, his exceptional bass voice, and his wonderful gift for performance. He was considered an important spiritual leader as well.

Peter Sr. was one of the last in a long, carefully trained line of outstanding Garcia family singers and composers who were born and lived most of their lives at Ohkay Owingeh. He was the sixth of twelve brothers, ten of whom were involved to differing degrees in the musical life of the pueblo. From a very early age, music and dance were an important part of the Garcia children's upbringing. Three male relatives provided excellent role models: their father, Jose Antonio Garcia, K'a. Ts'ae.n, 'White Leaf'; their paternal grandfather, also named Jose Antonio Garcia, T'ang Yo, 'Sun Thorn' or 'Sun Ray'; and their maternal grandfather, Santos Cruz, Oxuwa An'yen, 'Shaking Cloud'. All were song leaders, deeply involved in composing, singing, and performing the ceremonial music. All influenced the boys' musical development.

Principally under their father's guidance, the Garcia children constantly practiced singing and dancing, thus internalizing knowledge of the songs, introductory song formulas, and dance patterns. Over a period of years, as this kind of intensive training continued, Peter Sr. developed a special interest in, and love for, the music of his people. The songs he and his brothers learned were created and performed primarily for traditional religious ceremonies. Occasionally family members would perform parts of some dances for non-ceremonial purposes, outside the pueblo,

but this was the exception rather than the rule. The predominant use of songs was for ceremonies held within and for the pueblo.

At some point after World War II, and after the passing of some of the older song leaders, Peter Sr.'s brother Cipriano Garcia (1934–96), Oye.gi Timu, 'Sparkling Frost', was selected as the pueblo's principal song leader. However, Cip usually worked closely with his brother, Peter Sr., and the two functioned essentially as co-song leaders. Together they guided and strengthened the musical life of the community for over forty years. They were a fine musical team, involved in composing, singing, and drumming for pueblo traditional ceremonial activities. Often they spelled each other when one was tired or ill. Of the two, Cip was the quieter, Peter Sr. the more outgoing and more involved in teaching. Both were excellent composers. After Cip passed away, Peter Sr. became the principal song leader. At times he spoke of how difficult it was to carry on all the musical and ceremonial responsibilities without the help and support of Cip. Formerly the two had relied on each other constantly.

Cip and Peter Sr. have left a wonderful legacy for those who are following in their footsteps. It may be that, in the future, one or several of their sons or grandsons will step in and continue the family vocal music tradition. A number of their children and grandchildren are already involved in the pueblo's ceremonial life. Peter Sr., as he grew older, worked hard to pass on some of his knowledge. Presently, however, the pueblo is in a transitional state, musically. As might be expected, with the passing of the two brothers composing new songs has become a more challenging undertaking. The tradition is continuing, however.

Peter Sr. always cherished the subjects presented in the song texts. He especially loved the beauty of the images captured in the words of the springtime agricultural songs, whether new or old. Peter Sr. created some of these images himself as he composed new songs over the years. "Composing is serious business," he used to say, "and it takes a lot of concentration."

SONG COLLECTION BACKGROUND

I first met Peter Garcia Sr. in the early summer of 1967. At that time I was a young graduate student in Wesleyan University's ethnomusicology program and, under the guidance of Professors David McAllester and Alfonso Ortiz (University of Chicago), came to what was then San Juan Pueblo to study some of the music for my master's thesis. Professor Ortiz introduced me to Peter Garcia Sr. and to several of Peter's brothers, uncles, and cousins who were also deeply involved in the music of the pueblo. Over that summer I worked with Peter Sr. and with his relatives, discussing music, recording songs, and translating some of the song texts. If there were topics that were not meant for the ears of outsiders, they always told me, and we moved on to material that they felt they could share. All of these individuals were most open and helpful, and I learned a great deal from them. Much of the material they shared with me was incorporated in my master's thesis the following year. All of these knowledgeable men wanted the outside world to learn something about their pueblo, its customs, and the beauty of their culture. Except for Peter Sr., all passed away long ago.

After graduate school, I stayed in touch with Peter Sr. and his family, and over the years we developed a fine friendship. Peter Sr. and I worked on songs, texts, and music periodically for thirty-four years, until he passed away in 2001. He was a wonderful, generous person and an outstanding teacher and musician.

Peter Sr. sang the four Tewa songs presented here under a variety of circumstances. In the spring of 2001 he was teaching the Green Corn Entrance Dance Song and the Coming to the Center Dance Song to his grandchildren. He was happy to record both of these old, traditional Tewa songs for me at that time. I recorded the Green Corn Plaza Dance Song, also old and traditional, during a musical discussion Peter Sr. and I had in the spring of 1992. The Slow Standing Dance of the Basket Dance was newly composed by

Peter Garcia Sr. approximately in 1961 or 1962 for performance at that time. He liked that song and sang it for me in the summer of 1967 when I was working on my master's thesis. According to his youngest son, Gordon Garcia, this song is so well liked that it still is revived and performed periodically for the Basket Dance.

Some of the information and translations presented below were provided by Peter Sr. at the time we recorded these songs. Periodically, as time allowed, he and I worked together on the music, the song texts, and the translations. He shared with me only material that he felt was appropriate. More recently, additional information was generously provided by Peter Sr.'s wife, Reycita Garcia; two of his daughters, Patricia (Honey) Ortiz and Beverly (Bea) Garcia; and his son Gordon Garcia, who passed away unexpectedly in 2011. All were most helpful in discussing some of the background of these Ohkay Owingeh songs—songs that will stand as a tribute to a fine musician and composer.

#### NOTES ON THE SONGS AND DANCES

*Xo He'ye*—Green Corn Dance (*Xo* 'Arm', *He'Ye* 'Shaking')

The Green Corn Dance, performed annually in the pueblo, is held on St. Anthony's Day, June 13. The same traditional songs are sung in the same order every year. It is not fully understood why this dance came to be called the Green Corn Dance. There is no mention of corn in the Tewa texts, and none of the dancers carry ears of corn in their hands. Rather, the dancers carry freshly cut cottonwood branches. However, in a conversation that occurred in the mid-1960s between ethnomusicologist Don Roberts and Antonio Garcia, an older cousin of Peter Garcia Sr., Antonio stated, "This is the time of year when the corn is green, therefore we have a Green Corn Dance" (Roberts, personal communication, 2008).

In Tewa this dance is called *Xo He'ye*, which means 'arm shaking', because the dancers move their arms from side to side, shaking the cottonwood branches as they dance. This is especially true

in the final dance of the day. In English, “green corn” refers to crops not yet ripe. They are still in need of adequate moisture in order to grow and mature properly. Therefore, the Green Corn Dance and its songs are performed in order to strengthen the natural and supernatural forces needed to bring moisture and thus a good harvest at the end of the season.

Ideally, equal numbers of beautifully costumed men and women perform this dance. After emerging from the kiva, they enter the plaza in two parallel lines, in an alternating pattern of males and females, dancing a Green Corn Entrance Dance called *Pungxa*. *Pung* means ‘go forward’ and *xa* means ‘song’, so this song is sung while the dancers are “going forward” or “entering” the plaza. They move to the accompaniment of one man drumming and a separate male chorus singing the Entrance Dance Song. The song may be repeated as many times as needed until all the dancers (numbering anywhere from about 70 to 150) have made one or more circuits around the plaza and are in their proper places. (This Entrance Song includes a Pucheno but not a Hapembeh section.)

Upon the conclusion of the Entrance Dance, the first Green Corn Plaza Dance follows immediately. The dancers in their two long lines stretch across the length of the plaza, turn to face each other, then perform a lengthy dance involving a variety of choreographic moves, such as back and forth movements, circling around the opposite partner, dancing face to face or beside the opposite partner, moving to the opposite side of the plaza and then back to the original side, and so forth.

Transcribed and translated below is a Green Corn Entrance Dance Song followed by a Green Corn Plaza Dance Song. The two together comprise a dance set.<sup>5</sup>

Because these two songs and the other two that follow incorporate sacred Tewa elements that should not be shared with non-tribal individuals, interlinear translations are not considered appropriate. Therefore they are not included in this chapter.

Pingeh Tsureh—Coming to the Center Dance  
(*Pingeh* ‘Center Place’, *Tsureh* ‘Coming In To’)

The Coming to the Center Dance, a springtime dance, is performed only occasionally at the pueblo. Neither Peter Sr. nor other elders knew why it was not performed more often, since tribal members like the songs and enjoy singing them. When performed, it is given usually during early spring or the Easter season, for the purpose of honoring the seeds that are sown in the fields in springtime. It is also connected to the sacred concepts of the Center and the Heart—both essential for the continuation of life for the people of this pueblo.<sup>6</sup> Reycita Garcia said, “*Ping* means ‘heart’ and also ‘center’. Therefore it refers to the center of the heart.”<sup>7</sup> In describing the importance of this dance, Gordon Garcia stated:

Life is like a circle; it continues. The center is the heart of life. In this dance, the people are returning to the place of beginning—coming back to where they originated from. This is the heart of the pueblo—this is where the center is. It has two kinds of meaning: the people of the pueblo coming to the center and also the individual coming to the center. It is tied in with the fulfillment in every individual’s heart.<sup>8</sup>

In recent times this dance has been called a “Social Dance” by some individuals. However, according to Gordon Garcia, it is much more than a social dance. It has deeper significance relating to the statements above.

No new songs are created for this dance; rather, the same traditional songs are sung each time it is performed. The songs are very old, though no one knows exactly how old. According to Peter Garcia Sr., he and his brother Jerry Garcia and two other singer/composers—Peter Aguino and John Trujillo—helped revive this ceremony and its songs sometime in the 1950s or 1960s. Since then it has been performed several times: once in the 1970s, before Easter in 1993, and at Easter in 2003. Even though performed



Figure 3. Coming to the Center Dance, Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, April 20, 2003. The dancers form two long lines, men on the left, women on the right. As a man and woman reach the front of their respective dance lines, they come to the center, form a couple, and dance toward the back of the lines. Photo by Linda J. Goodman.

infrequently, it is a lovely dance with good songs and is well liked by the dancers.

Equal numbers of beautifully costumed men and women perform this dance in two parallel lines — men in one line, women in a separate line (figure 3). There is no drum and no separate chorus for this dance. The male dancers are the singers, and they accompany themselves with gourd rattles. At the beginning of the song the lead man and lead woman dancers move out from the head of their respective dance lines, meet in the center of the space between the two lines (they “come to the center”), then dance as a couple between the two dance lines, moving from the head of their respective dance lines to the tail end of these lines (figure 4). At this point they separate and each dancer moves back into his



Figure 4. Another view of the Coming to the Center Dance, Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, April 20, 2003. Between the women's dance line on the left and the men's line on the right are the dancing couples who have "come to the center." The man in the striped Pendleton blanket with his back to the camera is one of the tribal officials who is watching over the dancers. Photo by Linda J. Goodman.

or her own line once again. Each couple in turn follows their example, until both dance lines have completed this routine. This symbolic uniting and separating has many parallels in the life of an individual.

In describing the meaning of this dance, Peter Sr.'s daughter, Patricia Ortiz, had some additional thoughts:

This is springtime when new life comes forth. The "Center" is a gathering place where all come together. All human beings—men, women, and children—come together to celebrate spring and a new beginning. A whole new life emerges in the spring—one feels the warmth of the air; smells the lilacs, the roses, the cherry blossoms. Corn, squash, water-

melons, and pumpkins are planted and begin to grow. This is the time of the new rains. One sees the clouds build in the distance and move closer. One smells the fresh rain in the air. This is a time of joy, of beauty, and new life.<sup>9</sup>

The images presented in translation in the short song text below, in essence, provide a brief outline or framework that the listener can expand upon in his or her imagination. The phrase “Over here, toward summer” can bring to mind a whole host of images and thoughts relating to the beauty and productivity of the coming summer season in the area around the pueblo. The words “Beautifully they are singing” refers to males, and “Beautifully they are making their sounds” refers to females—texts that acknowledge the fact that every living animal, human, or supernatural either sings or makes a unique sound. These few Tewa words capture much more than they literally say. Those who speak and understand Tewa are aware of this phenomenon.

T'un Shadei—Basket Dance (*T'un* ‘Basket’, *Shadei* ‘Dance’)

The Basket Dance is perhaps Ohkay Owingeh’s most important agricultural ceremony.<sup>10</sup> Performed in late January or early February before the seeds are planted in the ground, it anticipates the coming agricultural season. Its purpose is to bring moisture, fertility, good crops, and everlasting life. This ceremony is also meant “to lessen the cold” before the planting season. New songs are composed for the Basket Dance each time it is performed. Occasionally, old, cherished songs may be revived and used as well. This lovely dance is not performed every year because the ceremony includes a number of additional nonpublic, sacred activities that involve much time, preparation, and expense. Therefore it is performed approximately once every three to eight years.

Basket Dance Songs are performed in sets.<sup>11</sup> In this case a set consists of two different songs: first, a Slow Standing Dance Song, called *Diwi.ngdi*, meaning ‘they are standing’, which has a slow to

moderate tempo; followed by a Fast Kneeling Dance Song, Wae'aen Kwon, meaning 'rasping and kneeling', which has a faster tempo. Equal numbers of beautifully costumed men and women dance in two parallel rows—women in one row, men in the other. There is no drum and no separate chorus of men. The music is created by the male dancers, who sing to the accompaniment of their gourd rattles. Each woman holds a basket in one hand and a carved pair of notched rasping sticks in the other. As described by Bertha Dutton (1965:34), the baskets symbolize that which they will contain: "The seed which is planted in the ground . . . ; the fruit or grain which the earth yields in response to the efforts of the people; the meal which is produced when the harvest of corn is ground; and finally, the loaves of bread ready for sustenance of the Pueblo group."

During the Slow Standing Dance, the parallel lines of men and women rotate simultaneously and almost continuously from west to east and back again throughout the course of the song. For the Fast Kneeling Dance, the women face the men, kneel in front of them, and play their rasps on their overturned baskets in imitation of grinding corn. The men sing and dance in place in front of the women. When this dance is ended, the women stand and, along with the men, perform a short reprise of the Slow Standing Dance. A return to the beginning completes this set of Basket Dances.

Beverly Garcia, another of Peter Sr.'s daughters, talked about the significance of the Basket Dance to her, personally. As a former dancer, she said,

You feel it in your heart. The music of the rattles and the rasps together—you feel it in your head, in your hands, and in your heart. Really listen to it—it is beautiful and it speaks to you. It speaks of a new beginning. One season is ending and another is beginning.<sup>12</sup>

The Slow Standing Dance Song translated here was composed by Peter Garcia Sr. in 1961 or 1962 for a performance at that time. This is a song he especially liked. Because it has been revived and

performed a number of times in the intervening years, it is clear that others in the pueblo also cherish it. The Fast Kneeling Dance that ordinarily follows and is the second half of this pair of dances consists entirely of vocables and has no meaningful text. Therefore it is not included here.

In conclusion, all of these springtime ceremonies are conceived and performed in beauty and show a love and respect for nature. The songs and dances, in addition, are intended to maintain harmony with the universe while helping to sustain life for all living things.

#### TEWA PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

##### Consonants

kw	as in <i>quick</i> <sup>13</sup>
ng	as in <i>song</i>
ny	as in <i>canyon</i>
ts	as in <i>cats</i>
th	as in <i>through</i>
sh	as in <i>shelter</i>
ch	as in <i>chosen</i>
x	as in German, <i>Bach</i>
gh	as in Russian, <i>boghu</i> 'God' (vocative), or Greek, <i>ghala</i> 'milk'
'	as in the middle of the expression <i>oh-oh</i> (glottal stop)

Consonants resembling English: p, b, t, d, k, g, f, v, s, m, n, w, r, l, y, h

Glottalized consonants (said with a popping sound): p', t', k', ch', ts' kw'

##### Vowels

i	as in <i>cream</i>	u	as in <i>root</i>
e	as in <i>ape</i>	o	as in <i>boat</i>
ae	as in <i>can</i>	a	as in <i>water</i>

Lengthened vowels have a dot next to the vowel.

Nasalized vowels are followed by an *n*.

Additional sounds heard in spoken Tewa (including tones, since Tewa is a tone language), are not readily apparent in sung Tewa and thus are not included here.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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#### NOTES

1. Singer and composer Peter Garcia Sr. was well aware of these word changes in the songs and that there were a variety of reasons for the changes. Some words were extended in order to “fit the music,” he said. Thus the Tewa word *Oxuwā* ‘Raingod’ may be extended in the following manner: “O wo wo xu wu wu wu a” in order to fit the musical line. Another type of change involves replacing the spoken letter *l* with the sung letter *s*. Other types of changes also occur.

2. Pronunciation change from spoken to sung texts was also true for songs of the Nootkan and Makah peoples of the Northwest Coast (Goodman and Swan 2003:205). According to University of Washington professor emeritus

Bill Holm, this type of pronunciation change was common in the songs of other Northwest Coast tribes as well (personal communication, 1978, 2008).

3. Hopi elder Griselda Saufkie (personal communication, November 16, 2007) spoke the correct Hopi text over the telephone, but the words did not come through clearly; therefore I was not able to write them down.

4. Acoma tribal member Gregg Shutiva sent an e-mail (November 16, 2007) that included the following information about the translation of the Keresan words in the Middle, or Hapembeh, section of the Slow Standing Dance Song of the Ohkay Owingeh Basket Dance. He began with the Tewa words as they were sung and then gave the correct Acoma Keresan version with the English translation, as follows:

Tewa words: *E'nan te ya* = *He'nan tee* (in Acoma Keres) means "Clouds."

Tewa words: *He ya tseyeh* = *Hei yaa shi* (in Acoma Keres) means "Fog."

Tewa words: *Ha tsa ya ya ano* = *Kaa tsa ah yano* (in Acoma Keres) means, "The singer (or song composer) is saying or said." The Keresan text then translates as "The singer (or song composer) said 'clouds and fog exist at this moment'."

Peter Garcia Sr., who composed this Basket Dance Song, stated that he did not know the meaning of these Keresan words.

5. A dance set at Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo consists of two songs, each with its own dance and purpose. Not every ceremony requires dance sets, but if required, then this form must be used. Often the first dance in the set is a kind of preparation for the second, which follows immediately. In some cases the first song in the set is an Entrance Dance, as for the Green Corn Dance, which allows the dancers to enter the dance space using certain steps and moving to the accompaniment of a particular piece of music.

The second dance in the set is considered the Main Dance or Plaza Dance, which is usually performed in the plaza. Here the performers dance in different choreographic formations using different steps. The singers speak of these two songs as a set, practice them together, and perform them as such. One cannot be performed without the other. Many elements in the culture come in pairs or sets (directions, sexes, animals, birds, colors, seasons of year, moiety divisions, etc.), and songs and dances in sets provide perhaps another example of this type of organization.

6. For additional discussion of the Center, see Ortiz 1972:142–43; for description of related dances see Roberts 1980:105–6.

7. Discussion with Goodman, October 24, 2007.
8. Discussion with Goodman, October 24, 2007.
9. Discussion with Goodman, July 6, 2007.
10. For more detailed description and discussion of the Basket Dance and its songs, see Goodman 1968.
11. This is the particular form that is required for this ceremony. One dance cannot occur without the other. (See note 5 for additional information on dance sets and pairs in Tewa life.)
12. Discussion with Goodman on November 17, 2007.
13. This pronunciation guide is adapted from Goodman 1968:173; Hill 1982:xxii–xxiii; and Martinez 1982:4–6.
14. The pueblo formerly known as San Juan now uses its Tewa name, Ohkay Owingeh, which means ‘Place of the Strong People’. This change took place in 2005. When Peter Garcia Sr. and I worked on this song in 1992, he used the name San Juan Pueblo, which, therefore, is used in this translation.

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## Four Springtime Tewa Songs

### GREEN CORN ENTRANCE DANCE SONG

Recorded April 6, 2001

#### PUCHENO — BEGINNING

##### *Introduction*

Ho wena ye ye wena, ye ye ye.

##### *Xapu — Quiet Section*

At Dawn Lake,

At Dawn Lake, the home of the Raingod boys, it is happening.

Beautiful lake, where the Raingods live.

Ha ya ha he ya ye.

Weya he-aya. Aya weya ye weya ye.

At Dawn Lake,

At Dawn Lake, the home of the Raingod girls, it is happening.

Beautiful lake, where the Raingods live.

Ha ya ha he ya ye.

Weya he-aya. Aya weya ye weya ye.

##### *Xake.gi — Loud Section*

From the center of Dawn Lake,

Down from the mountains,

Enshrouded in fog, the Raingod boys are coming.

Over here they have arrived.  
Because of this, we are happy, our lives are enriched.  
Ya ey ah ey yendeh. Ya ha ha ye ye ah ye.

From the center of Dawn Lake,  
Down from the mountains,  
Enveloped in mist, the Raingod girls are coming.  
Over here they have arrived.  
Because of this, we are happy, our lives are enriched.  
Ha ey ah ey yendeh. Ya ha ha ye ye ah ye.

*Xa'xanu—Ending Section*

Oh wo wo wo ho wo wah ey yeh. Ey ye he yeh lo.  
Ah ya wiya aye. Ah-wina he'ey ye wina. Ha ey-ye ye.

GREEN CORN PLAZA DANCE SONG

Recorded June 10, 1992

PUCHENO—BEGINNING

*Introduction*

Ah- ya heya gha wi yai ya he ya wi.

*Xapu—Quiet Section*

[Zuni text, no translation available]

[Peter Garcia Sr. stated that the Zuni words speak of “rain coming from the South” and “coming for the corn.” He knew no other meanings.]

Ya ley tsema owanami

Ah- towa-nyaga- wiye yo wo wo wo.

Ala homa owa tambiyah towa nyaga- wiye yo wo wo.

Te owo ho oma howa 'ana nang bi

Cha tetse na oke ya toniyagha ha tsehe kwa

Ah gha he ah gha wiya.

Ya ley tsema owanami

Ah- towa-nyaga- wiye yo wo wo wo.

Ala homa owa tambiyah towa nyaga- wiye yo wo wo.  
 Te owo ho oma howa 'ana nang bi  
 Cha tetse na oke ya toniyagha ha tehe kwa gha  
 Ha ya he ya gha.

*Xake.gi— Loud Section*

[Translation of Tewa text]

From that place to the North,  
 From that place to the West,  
 Because it is so.

Raingods, as a dark cloud, are coming.  
 Here, at San Juan Pueblo,<sup>14</sup> they have arrived.

Ah-ey- ye ye ye

He ndey ndeya. He ndey ndeya.

From that place to the South,  
 From that place to the East,  
 Because it is so.

Raingods, as a dark cloud, are coming.  
 Here, at San Juan Pueblo, they have arrived.

Ah-ey- ye ye ye.

He ndey ndeya. He ndey ndeya.

*Xa'xanu— Ending Section*

Ah-ey- ye ye ye.

He ndey ndeya. He ndey ndeya.

He ndey ndeya wiya wiya ah wi-.

HAPEMBEH

*Introduction*

Hapembbeh. Hapembbeh.

*Xapu— Quiet Section*

[Translation of Tewa text]

Blue Flower Raingod

Yellow Flower Raingod

Here at this place they have arrived.

Ah ya he ya ya wi. Ah ya he ya wi.

Red Flower Raingod

White Flower Raingod

Here at this place they have arrived

Ah ya he ya ya wi. Ah ya he ya wi.

*Xake.gi— Loud Section*

From that place to the North,

From that place to the West,

Because it is so.

Raingods, as a dark cloud, are coming

Here, at San Juan Pueblo, they have arrived.

Ah-ey- ye ye ye.

He ndey ndeya. He ndey ndeya.

From that place to the South,

From that place to the East,

Because it is so.

Raingods, as a dark cloud, are coming.

Here at San Juan Pueblo, they have arrived.

Ah-ey- ye ye ye.

He ndey ndeya. He ndey ndeya.

*Xa'xanu— Ending Section*

Ah-ey- ye ye ye.

He ndey ndeya. He ndey ndeya.

He ndey ndeya wiya wiya ah wi yi yi.

[REPEAT OF PUCHENO]

*Xapu— Quiet Section*

[Untranslated Zuni text repeats as above]

*Xake.gi— Loud Section*

[Translation of Tewa text]

From that place to the North,

From that place to the West,  
 Because it is so.  
 Raingods, as a dark cloud, are coming.  
 Here, at San Juan Pueblo, they have arrived.  
 Ah-ey- ye ye ye  
 He ndey ndeya. He ndey ndeya.

From that place to the South,  
 From that place to the East,  
 Because it is so.  
 Raingods, as a dark cloud, are coming.  
 Here, at San Juan Pueblo, they have arrived.  
 Ah-ey- ye ye ye.  
 He ndey ndeya. He ndey ndeya.

*Xa'xanu—Ending Section*  
 [Repeats as above]

COMING TO THE CENTER DANCE SONG

Recorded April 6, 2001

PUCHENO — BEGINNING

*Introduction*

Ah gha gha ha ha gha ha gha.  
 He he he ye ye ye he ye.

*Xapu—Quiet Section*

[Translation of Tewa text]

Over here, toward summer,  
 Here, toward summer.  
 Summer, over here.  
 Little male canaries and little male orioles,  
 Beautifully they are singing.  
 He ah yah he ah gha wi. Ha ya he ya wi.

Over here, toward summer,  
Here, toward summer.  
Summer, over here.  
Little female canaries and little female orioles  
Beautifully they are making their sounds.  
He ah yah he ah gha wi. Ha ya he ya wi.

*Xake.gi—Loud Section*

Ya hi ya gha gha gha wi.  
Oh wo wo ah ya hi. Oh—wi. Oh—wi.  
Oh wo oh wo oh—wo.  
Ya hi ya gha gha gha wi.

Ya hi ya gha gha gha wi.  
Oh wo wo ah ya hi. Oh—wi. Oh—wi.  
Oh wo oh wo oh—wo.  
Ya hi ya gha gha gha wi.

*Xa'xanu—Ending Section*

Ah ha ah ha 'awi  
Ah ha hawi Ah ya yahi  
Ah gha gha gha wi.

He he He ye ye ye ye ye  
He aha ha gha  
Ey he he ye ye ye ye—.

HAPEMBEH

*Introduction*

Hapembbeh ye.

*Xapu—Quiet Section*

[Translation of Hopi text]  
From the West, the rain has come to us.  
Ah ya he ya ya wi. Ah ya he ya wi.  
From the West, the rain has come to us.  
Ah ya he ya ya wi. Ah ya he ya wi.

*Xake.gi— Loud Section*

[Repeats as above]

*Xa'xanu— Ending Section*

[Repeats as above]

REPEAT OF PUCHENO

*Introduction*

Ah gha gha ha ha gha ha gha.

He he he ye ye ye he ye.

*Xapu— Quiet Section*

[Translation of Tewa text]

Over here, toward summer,

Here, toward summer.

Summer, over here.

Little male canaries and little male orioles,

Beautifully they are singing.

He ah yah he ah gha wi. Ha ya he ya wi.

Over here, toward summer,

Here, toward summer.

Summer, over here.

Little female canaries and little female orioles

Beautifully they are making their sounds.

He ah yah he ah gha wi. Ha ya he ya wi.

*Xake.gi— Loud Section*

[Repeats as above]

*Xa'xanu— Ending Section*

[Repeats as above]

SLOW STANDING DANCE OF THE BASKET DANCE

Recorded August 23, 1967

PUCHENO — BEGINNING

*Introduction*

Oh-ho ey he ye he. Oh-ho ey he ye.

*Xapu — Quiet Section*

[Translation of Tewa text]

Here, at this place, the blue dawn is coming.

At Dawn Lake it is happening,

The dawn youths are singing.

Oh ho oh wo ey he he.

Here, at this place, the blue dawn is coming.

At Dawn Lake it is happening.

The dawn maidens are sounding.

Oh ho oh wo ey he ye.

*Xake.gi — Loud Section*

From that place, the sacred home of the gods,

Rain gods, as a dark cloud, are coming.

With their corn-producing powers they are coming.

Oh ho oh wo ey he ye.

From that place, the sacred home of the gods,

Rain gods, as a dark cloud, are coming.

With their wheat-producing powers they are coming.

Oh ho wo wo ey he ye.

*Xa'xanu — Ending Section*

Be-he owo owo owo. Yahi agha gha gha wi.

He oh waya hi agha ha'agha gha gha gha gha

He'owo 'ay-ya he owo 'oh we ye he ye.

Oh wo 'oh we ye he ye he ye.

HAPEMBEH

*Introduction*

Hapembah ye, hapembah ye.

Hapembah ye, hapembah ye.

*Xapu—Quiet Section*

[Translation of Keresan text]

Now, the clouds and the fog are here, the singer said.

Oh ho wo wo ey he ye.

Now, the clouds and the fog are here, the singer said.

Oh ho wo wo ey he he.

*Xake.gi—Quiet Section*

[Translation of Tewa text]

From that place, the sacred home of the gods,

Raingods, as a dark cloud, are coming.

With their raindrop powers they are coming.

Oh ho oh wo ey he ye.

From that place, the sacred home of the gods,

Raingods, as a dark cloud, are coming.

With their dewdrop powers they have arrived.

Oh ho oh wo ey he ye.

*Xa'xanu—Ending Section*

[Repeats as above]

REPEAT OF PUCHENO

*Introduction*

Oh-ho ey he ye ye. Oh-ho ey he ye.

*Xapu—Quiet Section*

[Translation of Tewa text]

Here at this place, the blue dawn is coming.

At Dawn Lake it is happening.

The dawn youths are singing.

Oh ho oh wo ey he ye.

Here at this place, the changing color of a new day is coming.

At Dawn Lake it is happening.

The dawn maidens are sounding.

Oh ho oh wo ey he ye.

*Xake.gi— Loud Section*

From that place, the sacred home of the gods,

Rain gods, as a dark cloud, are coming.

With their corn-producing powers they are coming.

Oh ho oh wo ey he ye.

From that place, the sacred home of the gods,

Rain gods, as a dark cloud, are coming.

With their wheat-producing powers they are coming.

Oh ho wo wo ey he ye.

*Xa'xanu— Ending Section*

[Repeats as above]



PART SIX

SOUTHWEST

TRANSLATION, MYTH,

AND HISTORY





## 27. Translating the Verbal Art of the Native American Southwest

William M. Clements

One of the biggest stories in translation news since the turn of the century has been the publication of two new renderings of Tolstoy's novel *War and Peace* into English. Richard Pevear, co-translator of the text based on what was apparently the final version of this sweeping account of Russian life during the Napoleonic Wars, noted some of the difficulties posed in attempting to convey the complexities of Tolstoy's original in twenty-first-century English: the author's use of words and phrases in unexpected juxtapositions, his employment of some specialized vocabularies, such as that associated with hunting, and issues in treating the varying registers that are used in the novel's dialogue, for example (Jones 2007:82).

Undoubtedly, translating Tolstoy poses challenges—as does any attempt to bring the literary subtleties of one language into another. In fact, translation theory is based on the assumption that the process inevitably results in changes that are usually deleterious. Many translators and theorizers about this art insist emphatically that translation creates something that must be evaluated as a newly realized creation on its own terms. However, the challenges faced by translators working with *War and Peace* pale when compared to the obstacles confronting someone trying to translate the orally expressed verbal art of American Indians into English. For one, the issue of linguistic similarities and differ-

ences increases exponentially. Russian and English, after all, are both Indo-European languages, and they share some fundamental grammatical structures and even some cognate vocabulary. The languages of Native North America, on the other hand, represent a range of language families, none of them sharing the fundamentals of English. In the Southwest, for instance, one encounters these and other language families: Nadene (represented, for example, by various Apache languages, Navajo), Cochimi-Yuman (Mohave, Quechan, Upland Yuman), Uto-Aztecan (Hopi, Upper and Lower Piman, Tarahumaran), Kiowa-Tanoan (Jemez, Tiwa, Tewa), Keresan (Acoma-Laguna, Rio Grande Keresan), and Zuni.<sup>1</sup> One of these languages, Hopi, differs so markedly from English (and other Indo-European languages) that it provided the impetus for the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which argues that its speakers view the world differently from English speakers because of the profound language differences. The first task of the translator from these languages — “translation proper,” as Roman Jakobson called it ([1959] 1992:145) — is making the leap across a chasm where even such concepts as verb conjugations, noun declensions, and parts of speech, shared to some extent between Russian and English, may have little relevance. If *War and Peace* had been written in Navajo or Zuni, it would pose problems much more basic than those that Richard Pevear and his colleague Larissa Volokhonsky encountered with Tolstoy’s Russian. Matching vocabulary and grammatical forms at the most fundamental level creates special problems for the translator working with Native American materials.

Another complicating issue that does not factor in at all when one translates a Russian novel into English is that the verbal art of Native America has most often been oral, not written. The fundamental unit of discourse is consequently not a written text but a speech act, an artistic performance that occurs at a particular time and place and involves a particular set of participants, primarily the performer who narrates, sings, or orates and his or her

audience. The ethnography of speaking has provided convincing evidence that speech acts involve much more than what is said (words such as those that might be inscribed on paper by a novelist); instances of oral discourse involve how the message is delivered and the milieu, both immediate and contextual, where and when that delivery occurs. Orally expressed verbal art depends, for example, on such paralinguistic devices as pacing, intonation, volume, and voice quality. It also relies on body language—the gestures, postures, and facial expressions that the storyteller, singer, or orator assumes during performance. Ambience also figures into the performance of orally expressed verbal art: not only who is there when the performance takes place but the specific conditions of the environment, including time of day, temperature, and external distractions and interruptions. When the translator takes these components of oral performance into account when converting Native American verbal art into written or printed English, he or she is practicing what Jakobson calls “transmutation,” the intersemiotic movement from one medium of communication to another ([1959] 1992:145).<sup>2</sup> If one is working with a Russian novel, one need not consider these matters at all.

Both translators from Russian and those working with Native American verbal art confront a third level of concern: the cultural divide between their source material and the audiences they are targeting. The version of *War and Peace* translated by Pevear and Volokhonsky appeared in 1869, so not only culture but over 140 years separate their English rendering from the Russian original. But for Pevear this did not seem to be a problem. He told a *Newsweek* essayist that he and his collaborator were not concerned that Tolstoy’s sensibility and worldview would be anachronistic. The novel’s essential “modernity” needed no adjustments for twenty-first-century readers, apparently even those reading in English (Jones 2007:83). Translators of American Indian verbal art cannot be so sure that their readers will appreciate the cultural specifics that inform the original material with which they are working.

For example, Margot Astrov's anthology of translations of Native American "poetry" (usually the words of songs without the music), *The Winged Serpent*, presents the texts of four songs "sung during the girls' puberty rites" of the Chiricahua Apaches. The material, recorded and translated by Morris Edward Opler, cannot speak for itself to a non-Chiricahua reader. In fact, Astrov's footnote, which attempts to provide needed contextual information, does not completely represent what happens during the ceremonial context for these songs. She writes,

The Puberty Ceremony for Girls, as performed by the Chiricahua and led by the Masked Dancers, is, essentially, a prayer for long life—and in order to obtain this blessing of all blessings, songs are sung over the girl which first are to conduct her to the "holy home" and from there symbolically through a long and successful life. The ceremony lasts four nights and is concluded in the face of the rising sun of the fifth day with Song 4, "a graceful apotheosis of the life-journey upon which the adolescent girl has embarked." White Painted Woman is associated with earth and is the power that symbolizes the feminine principle (1946:206–7).<sup>3</sup>

Though what she writes may be somewhat helpful for the reader unfamiliar with the Chiricahua *rite de passage*, Astrov has not fully grasped the relationship between the initiate and White Painted Woman, who is much more than an earth mother and embodiment of sacred femininity. In fact, as Claire R. Farrer (1996) has pointed out in regard to girls' puberty ceremonies at Mescalero in New Mexico, where many Chiricahuas have lived for almost a century, the girl who is transitioning into womanhood during the event actually *becomes* White Painted Woman. She assumes the identity of the mythological figure whose fulfillment of the cycle of life affords a model in sacred time for what every human goes through in ordinary reality. And this represents only one dimension of a ceremony whose meanings and functions are

manifold. The problem is not so much that Astrov has misled the reader; she simply has not provided enough cultural information so that the reader can appreciate all that he or she should to comprehend the poem fully. Moreover, additional ethnography might distract the reader from the literature itself. A translation of *War and Peace*, on the other hand, does not require a total shift in worldview. Topical and culture-specific references can be cleared up in a simple footnote, if they need to be cleared up at all.

All this is not to say that translating *War and Peace*, *The Brothers Karamasov*, or *Fathers and Sons* does not present difficulties. But those difficulties are more surmountable than the obstacles facing the translator of orally expressed Native American verbal art, who must move between languages from different language families, shift the medium of presentation, and bridge a great divide of cultural difference. Fortunately, though, plenty of translators have been only partially daunted by the apparent insurmountability of their undertaking posed by these concerns, and a few have come quite close actually to surmounting them. Furthermore, in many cases a particular translator may have failed to accomplish all the dimensions of the threefold task of the translator of Native American verbal art but succeeded in one or two of them.

Consider, for instance, the case of John Gregory Bourke, adjutant to General George Crook during two tours of duty in Arizona Territory in the 1870s and then the 1880s. Evincing more interest in Native American cultures than most of his contemporaries in the U.S. military, Bourke authored several scholarly books, monographs, and articles especially on indigenous religious practices. He also recognized the importance of verbal art as a part of ceremonial life as well as of everyday activities. For example, his memoir of his first deployment with Crook in Arizona Territory in the 1870s includes an account of the “desolate, romantic country” of the Hualapais and the Havasupais, where “one may sit and listen, as I have often listened, to the simple tales and myths of a wild, untutored race. There are stories to be heard of the prowess of . . .

a multiplicity of deities—animal and human—which have served to beguile the time after the day’s march had ended and night was at hand” (1891:164). Bourke provided no texts or translations of these narratives, and in fact, he does not seem to have been particularly interested in textualizing and translating. He ignored issues involved in both interlingual and intersemiotic translation by not trying to deal with them. His few attempts at such work—for example, some translations of orations in his memoir (1891:436–37) and an occasional attempt to paraphrase stories in his book on the “Moqui” (i.e., Hopi) Snake Dance (1884:157, e.g.)—reflect his interest simply in getting across the gist of what he heard. He did little to suggest the verbal artistry at the level of either text or performance.

Bourke’s documentation of verbal art performance, though, has its values since he did suggest some of the situational and contextual features that informed such performance. Bound by ethnocentrism as they are (he did not hesitate to refer to Hopi Snake Dancers as “deluded heathens” [1884:126]), Bourke’s descriptions of customs continue to have value for the reader of Native American verbal art as ethnographic descriptions of the contexts for sung performance. For the words of Hopi Snake Dance songs and for their stylistic features in oral performance we will have turn to someone other than Bourke. But as intercultural translation, his work remains useful for a reader sensitive enough to wade through and weed out his cultural prejudices.

Though much more serious than many of his predecessors or contemporaries, Bourke was part of a long line of visitors to the Southwest who reported and, in some cases, attempted to represent the stories, songs, orations, and ritual verbalizations that have been integral to the lives of the region’s indigenous inhabitants. The publications of figures such as Bourke, though invariably ethnocentric, foreshadowed the flowering of interest in the verbal art of the Southwest that has been a component of each of what Lawrence Evers (1983) calls recurrent “cycles of apprecia-

tion” of American Indian cultures, which began in the last couple of decades of the nineteenth century and have appeared and reappeared until the present.

The role of the Southwest in textualized and translated Native American verbal art is especially evident in the region’s representation in the major cross-cultural anthologies of that art that began with Natalie Curtis’s *The Indians’ Book* in 1907. For this volume Curtis, a trained concert pianist, selected materials from eighteen American Indian communities, most of which she had recorded herself. A preponderance of those communities (ten of the total) were located in the Southwest, and in fact, the earliest “field” situations where she recorded materials firsthand were Southwestern: at the Hopi community of Orayvi and Laguna Pueblo. Other Southwestern materials in her collection as well as many of the oral narratives, lyric poetry, and musical transcriptions from Native communities from elsewhere in Native North America apparently came from her experience at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, where W. J. McGee, head of the anthropology department, had set up a kind of outdoor laboratory featuring representatives of several Native American societies as well as groups from other parts of the world in order to illustrate effectively the evolutionary cultural sequence that both he and Curtis endorsed.<sup>4</sup>

Another major cross-cultural anthology of Indian “poetry” appeared in 1918. *The Path on the Rainbow*, edited by George W. Cronyn, capitalized on the interest in American Indian lyric poetry that was influencing poets, especially imagists, not only in the Southwest but throughout the country by republishing translations, many of which had originally appeared in Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) publications, as well as “Interpretations”—that is, original poems in imitation of those translations. By far the longest section of translations is that titled “Songs of the Southwest,” encompassing some 75 of the 190 pages devoted to this material (1918:73–148). Similar foregrounding of translations

from the Southwest has continued to characterize anthologies: seventy pages and two sections of Margot Astrov's *The Winged Serpent* (1946:183–253), fully a fourth of the pages devoted to Native North American poetry in A. Grove Day's *The Sky Clears* (1951:59–97), twenty-one of the seventy-nine reworked texts in William Brandon's *The Magic World* (1991:36–64), and almost two hundred of the eight hundred pages in Brian Swann's *Coming to Light* (1994:519–703), for instance.

The importance of the Southwest in the general public's awareness of American Indian oral literature through these anthologies, paralleled by the region's prominence in archeology and ethnology, has, in fact, made it a kind of "laboratory" for attempts to represent that literature in print: the "richest hunting grounds for contemporary seekers of Indian poetry," as anthologist A. Grove Day put it (1951:59). One can find, for example, in the publications of the BAE, a branch of the Smithsonian Institution that began research in the Southwest in 1879, renditions of myths in which Frank Hamilton Cushing (1896) reproduced the words of Zuni storytellers in the purple prose of his Victorian literary contemporaries as well as representations of Pima orations in which Frank Russell (1908:339–89) provided interlinear English equivalents of Pima morphemes as well as quite artless "free" translations. Neither of these extremes—which may be designated "literary" and "ethnological" for the sake of convenience—proved entirely satisfactory. Anthropologists and others have suggested that the approach taken by Cushing strayed too far from the originals in its quest to produce polished texts that would be recognizable as "literature" by their readers. Critics of Russell's approach have noted its neglect of any of the artistry that characterized the original performances. Moreover, neither extreme has taken into account the other dimensions of translating Native American verbal art, especially the intersemiotic. Yet a kind of pendulum has swung between the two extremes represented by these examples, and the Southwest has provided a setting not only for producing texts and

translations representing the extremes but also for attempting to find ways in which to respond to the challenges posed by both as well as to the issues involved in re-creating oral performances in print and in conveying sufficient cultural information for the reader to appreciate what is going on from somewhat of an insider's perspective.

#### LITERARY TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

The roots of the approach to representing Native American orally expressed verbal art in print practiced by Cushing and others who produced highly literary translations, "workings," or interpretations probably lie in the Enlightenment and in romanticism. The ideal of the Noble Savage included the propensity for "natural eloquence." Though belief in American Indians as consummate eloquent savages could have negative as well as positive implications, equation of the savages of America with the ability to speak effectively, especially when orating, became part of the stereotype that flourished particularly among nineteenth-century eastern intellectuals such as Walter Channing and William Gilmore Simms, who, in fact, argued that the foundations of a truly American literature could be found in Indian verbal art (Clements 1996:97–99, 2002:3–22). What this meant for translators was that if "eloquence"—at least as it was defined in European terms—was not evident in what they heard from an American Indian oral performer, they felt justified in adding it themselves. Thus Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, an Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie who with the help of his Ojibwe wife published and republished translations of the stories he had heard primarily from her relatives, produced texts that reflected a mid-nineteenth-century Euro-American literary aesthetic rather than whatever artistry had been present in the original Ojibwe performances. Schoolcraft was one of the most influential interpreters of American Indians for the general public during the mid-nineteenth century. Henry Wadsworth Long-

fellow, for instance, drew upon Schoolcraft's Ojibwe material for most of the content for his epic poem *The Song of Hiawatha*, which recounts the career of an Iroquois culture hero.<sup>5</sup>

In the Southwest, perhaps Curtis was the most notable early textualizer and translator who assumed a literary approach to the verbal art she heard on the Hopi mesas, at Laguna Pueblo, and at the St. Louis fair. One of the most frequently reprinted songs from *The Indians' Book* is one that she calls "Song of the Horse" (1923:360–62). This poem, "sung and told by Navajos of Arizona," also appears, for example, in Cronyn's *The Path on the Rainbow* (1918:99–100) and Day's *The Sky Clears* (1951:79).

How joyous his neigh!  
 Lo, the Turquoise Horse of Johano-ai,  
 How joyous his neigh,  
 There on precious hides outspread standeth he;  
 How joyous his neigh,  
 There on tipis of fair fresh flowers feedeth he;  
 How joyous his neigh,  
 There of mingled waters holy drinketh he;  
 How joyous his neigh,  
 There he spurneth dust of glittering grains;  
 How joyous his neigh,  
 There in mist of sacred pollen hidden, all hidden he;  
 How joyous his neigh!  
 There his offspring many grow and thrive for evermore;  
 How joyous his neigh!

Curtis does provide a Navajo text of the poem, and from that one can see at a glance some of the ways in which she has transformed it to make it more "literary" in a Victorian English sense. For example, the anaphora that occurs in every even-numbered line does not appear in the Navajo, nor does repetition of "hidden" in line twelve. The inverted word order in the English and the archaic formality of "-eth" on the end of verbs may reflect the reg-

ister of the Navajo original, but one suspects that for Curtis the source is more likely the King James translation of the Bible than anything in Navajo. Moreover, Curtis has omitted the vocable that occurs at the end of each refrain line in the Navajo. In fact, many literary translators dismissed vocables as meaningless, nonsense syllables and preserved them if at all only to create an “Indian” effect. None of this suggests that Curtis’s translation is poor or inaccurate, merely that she has added some touches to make it as literary as possible in the terms she best understood. Her translation efforts, which did much to generate enthusiasm for American Indian verbal art among her contemporaries, exemplify the literary approach quite effectively.<sup>6</sup> The fact that she also provided original-language texts (though how she recorded them is not always clear) marks her off from other students of Native American literature at the time. Most simply presented their translations.

Curtis had little to say about verbal art or about translation practices on a theoretical level. That omission was repaired by Mary Austin, one of the most influential figures in the interest in Native American literature of the Southwest during the early twentieth century. Like such nineteenth-century forebears as Channing and Simms, Austin believed that American Indian verbal art could provide a basis for a truly “American” literature. In her introduction to Cronyn’s anthology *The Path on the Rainbow*, one of her most pointed statements about how Euro-Americans might use Native American verbal art, she wrote, “It is only by establishing some continuity with the earliest instances of such reaction [as that of American Indian verbal artists to the natural environment] that we can be at all sure that American poetic genius has struck its native note” (Cronyn 1918:xiii). While on one hand she praised what she believed to be “literal” translations by Cushing and Curtis and argued that no “clumsiness of translation” (Cronyn 1918:xix) could completely obscure the artistry of Native American literary expression, on the other hand she suggested that it could

find its fullest realization only through “interpretations,” by which she meant complete reworkings by English-language poets that captured the “sense of immanent world-overturning and spiritual reestablishment in the Oneness of God and the Brotherhood of man” that she believed to be the essence of Native American verbal art (Cronyn 1918:xxiii). Though critics have noted the highhandedness of Austin’s views and practices, our major concern here is her emphasis on translating the source material in American Indian languages into texts that would meet her Eurocentric aesthetic of the literary. She has had plenty of disciples among translators and editors of Southwestern Indian verbal art.

While applying a European aesthetic to their attempts to make English-language poems out of Native American songs and downplaying the difficulties of working with two highly dissimilar linguistic systems, most literary translators have ignored the concerns raised by the ethnography of speaking and by the difficulties of translating across disparate cultural lines. Their intention was to produce textualized literature that, they believed, could be appreciated in the same ways as other literary texts: that is, on their own terms without accounting for specifics of performance or cultural background. Many literary translators, for example, followed the lead of Natalie Curtis in her rendering of the Navajo “Song of the Horse” by omitting vocables, and many translators failed to represent the repetitions (often in terms of the culture’s pattern number) that characterized the orally performed songs that they were converting into lyric poetry. They had no mechanisms to suggest nonverbal performance variables such as paralinguistics and “body language.” When they did suggest something about performance, they did so in very general terms as Bourke did in his comments about Hualapai and Havasupai storytelling or as Curtis did in setting the scene for her presentation of two Zuni corn-grinding songs in *The Indians’ Book*. She notes the centrality of corn in the Zuni diet and describes a typical corn-grinding scenario: “The corn is placed on the stone [metate] and is ground

by rubbing over it another cubelike stone. The woman kneels to the work and sways back and forth with rhythmic swing. As she grinds she sings. There are usually two or three metates in each house, and two or three women often grind and sing together” (1923:429).

Then Curtis presents in Zuni and in English the words of three songs, two of which “were sung by women whose white hair and quavering voices told of wellnigh fourscore years” (1923:430). Nothing suggests tempo, pitch, voice quality (beyond the “quavering”), or even how the songs specifically replicated the rhythms of grinding corn. However, Curtis’s generalized description of context is far superior to how the same poems are presented in Cronyn’s *Path on the Rainbow* (1918:145–47), where they are allowed to stand wholly without any description of how they might have been performed in culture context. Since Cronyn labels them as “Corn-Grinding Songs,” the reader probably would assume that they accompanied the actual labor of converting kernels into meal. But everything is left to inference. Like anthropologist Laura Bohannon (1966), who found to her dismay that the plot of *Hamlet* did not speak in the same way to the Tiv elders to whom she related it while doing fieldwork in west Africa as it did to her, Cronyn (and many other translators and their editors who approached Native American verbal art from a literary perspective) committed what anthropologists call “naïve realism” by apparently assuming some universality of meaning that does not require specific cultural information. Literary translators have, for the most part, worked with the apparent belief that the “text is the thing” and that virtually any context of interpretation that a reader brings to that text can provide an appropriate response to it.

#### ETHNOLOGICAL TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

The ethnological approach to textualizing and translating Native American verbal art in the Southwest owes much to the ideas

about the scientific value of that art for archeological and general ethnological research developed by John Wesley Powell, first director of the BAE, and polished by Franz Boas and his students. For these early anthropologists, American Indian oral literature was primarily a source of data on languages. Powell (1881), for example, set out a program for his researchers that involved the collection of what he called “chrestomathies”—passages of sustained discourse that demonstrated language in action—to supplement the vocabularies and grammars that had been the staple of linguistic research in the Americas. A ready-made source of chrestomathies lay in verbal art, so BAE researchers were encouraged to make records especially of myths in the indigenous languages. These were usually published along with interlinear translations that matched English morphemes and words with their parallels in the Native language. Occasionally a free translation, which captured only the gist of the material’s content by rearranging the words of the interlinear translation into standard English syntax, might also be published. This practice was perfected by the work of many of the students of Franz Boas, who punctiliously took down original-language texts by means of dictation and filled periodicals such as the *Journal of American Folklore*, *International Journal of American Linguistics*, *Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, and publication series issued by museums such as the American Museum of Natural History and Harvard University’s Peabody Museum with texts, sometimes with only interlinear translations, primarily of American Indian myths.

For these ethnographers the translations were usually unimportant. The primary document in their publications was the original-language text, the record of discourse in a language that they believed was moribund or perhaps even defunct except as it was recalled by an often-elderly consultant who had perhaps known the language only in his or her youth. Hence, representative titles of published collections of this material foreground the issue of “text”: *Acoma Grammar and Texts* (Miller 1965), “A Kere-

san Text" (Boas 1921–23), "Three Tewa Texts" (Harrington 1947), and *Zuni Texts* (Bunzel 1933). The interlinear "translation" tried to match words or morphemes in English with their counterparts in the Native language for the assistance of linguists who might be trying to reconstruct the language's grammar. The artless free translations usually did little but rearrange the English matches into a readable word order. Although both interlinear and free English versions of the original-language texts were intended only as guides for those studying the Native languages, many of them made their way into anthologies of Native American verbal art. They were accepted as legitimate attempts at translation by many readers who were not social scientists or linguists. Their lack of artistry in European literary terms inspired the poet Alice Corbin Henderson, writing from the Santa Fe artists' colony in 1917, to lament that they failed to recognize American Indian "poetry as poetry" (1917:256). This allowed her to support a more literary approach to translation that would correct this failure.

Since many ethnological texts and translations were the product of recording situations not particularly conducive to verbal performance, the textualizers often had little to work with in terms of textual artistry beyond what was said or sung. Frequently the anthropologist or linguist had the consultant recite the material slowly enough so that every sound could be carefully noted. Sometimes the anthropologist did not even understand the language he or she was hearing, so the consultant had little to encourage performance creativity. Moreover, dictation not only required a pace that perhaps was much slower than that of natural performance, but it also resulted in frequent pauses and perhaps repetitions so that every articulation could be captured in the appropriate orthography and so that nothing would be misheard. The dynamics of oral performance consequently fared no better from the attentions of ethnological translators than from those of their literary counterparts.

Somewhat surprisingly perhaps, information necessary for

cross-cultural understanding might be equally lacking. In many cases those who recorded, textualized, and translated ethnologically were also working on general ethnographies of the cultures that had generated the verbal art they were documenting. When it came time to issue their data to the public, though, ethnographies and texts of verbal art might appear separately, with the latter having little in the way of information to clarify specific cultural references except for an occasional footnote. Even when the verbal art texts appeared as part of ethnographies, they often found their place at the end of an often-exhaustive description of the culture, as a kind of afterthought. The dedicated reader might be able to place one of the orations that Frank Russell includes at the end of his ethnography of the Pimas (1908), for example, by searching through the ethnographic information provided earlier in the volume, but the orations themselves are, for the most part, left to stand alone and largely without any sense of when and how they might have been performed.

#### ETHNOPOETIC RESPONSES

Both of these extremes left much to be desired if one were truly interested in representing oral performances of verbal art holistically on paper. An unsigned note in the *Ariel* in 1831 could pretty much apply a century later: "The eloquence of the North American Indian has never appeared to full advantage" ("Indian Eloquence" 1831:144). Undoubtedly, what this author meant by "full advantage" was colored by his or her assumption that this eloquence evinced merely "the very decided beginnings of a literature" (Simms 1962:137) that could reach its full realization only by means of embellishments in translations such as those of Cushing, Curtis, and Austin. By the last third of the twentieth century, though, "full advantage" had taken on a different meaning. More and more, translators had begun to recognize that rendering oral performance into printed text was not only an act of linguistic

translation but one of ethnography. If the ethnographer's art involves capturing human behavior in print so as to create as far as possible the vicarious experience for the reader of witnessing that behavior and understanding it from an insider's perspective, then translation as ethnography imposed the responsibilities on the translator of providing not only a rendering of the words of the performance of verbal art but some clues as to how those words were articulated as well as a thorough account of the situation where and when the performance took place and enough background on the cultural context of the performance for the reader to understand its implications for the natural audience. At the most basic level, this requires that the translator's decision about whether to favor the source language or the target language comes down in favor of the former. While this position seems to lean toward the ethnological translation approach developed by Powell and Boas and to dismiss a literary approach to translation that might add Western embellishments to make the material measure up to Euro-American expectations for the literary, it also suggests that the translator should be interested in representing the source language's style as far as possible in the target language—something in which ethnological translators were uninterested. As far as the words that make up a verbal art performance, then, the translator's task becomes to represent not only what is said in the source language but how it is said. The result may be texts whose literary value is not immediately apparent from a Euro-American perspective and that may be comprehended only with some effort on the reader's part.

For example, Ruth Bunzel, who recorded and translated Zuni verbal art, seems to have done a better job of capturing what Zuni performers articulated and how they did so than her predecessor at Zuni, Frank Hamilton Cushing, had been able to do. Her translations have stood the test of time fairly well and, in fact, have appeared in general anthologies of world literature as a representative of the indigenous verbal art of North America. Her transla-

tions in *Zuñi Origin Myths* and *Zuñi Ritual Poetry*, both of which appeared in the *BAE Annual Report* for 1932, demonstrate her recognition that both the vocabulary and the grammar of the originals presented obstacles to easy English translation. However, instead of going beyond simply acknowledging those issues and attempting to render the material in a form that worked toward replicating the originals, she opted for translations that she admitted were more like Miltonic blank verse and the prosody of the Psalms in the King James translation of the Old Testament than Zuni verbal art (1932b:620). Several lines from a ritual text that Bunzel titles “The Great Fire Society Chief Sets Up His Altar” serve to illustrate her approach:

Yonder from the north,  
The rain maker priests,  
Bringing their waters,  
Will make their roads come hither.  
Where lies my white shell bowl,  
Four times they will make their road. (1932b:783)

I should note that Bunzel does provide a footnote for the second line of this excerpt in which she describes what the speaker is doing as he intones these lines.

Bunzel also left some of the material she recorded untranslated, providing only the interlinear glosses that characterized the ethnological approach to text-making. Taking into account the principles of ethnopoetics, the movement in translation that has emphasized the importance of holistically favoring the source language by representing stylistic features as fully as possible, M. Jane Young translated some of this material in the 1990s, primarily to show stylistic features from Zuni that Bunzel missed in her own translations. Young’s rendering of the Zuni “Songs for Pouring in the Water,” part of a ritual sequence associated with what Bunzel calls the “Medicine Cult,” contrasts with Bunzel’s approach to rendering similar verbal art in English:

When you have sat down quietly,  
our children  
will drink  
your healing waters.

Then, their sacred roads reaching  
to Dawn Lake,  
their roads will be finished. (Swann 1994:573)

Young's retranslation of the Zuni text included in Bunzel's BAE publication suggests how literary style can survive the move from one language to another. Though not apparent from this brief excerpt, Young shows the importance of temporal and directional structuring of the Zuni verse. Spacing and indentation indicate structure on a more microcosmic level. Young's translation also tends to emphasize repetitions more than Bunzel's did. Moreover, her work also demonstrates a value that previously recorded texts in indigenous languages can have, even if the original ethnological translations did not do them justice. The retranslation of texts dictated to Franz Boas and his students has flowered, particularly in the texts and translations prepared by Dell Hymes, who worked primarily with materials from the Northwest Coast but whose influence is evident among translators dealing with Southwestern materials, including Young. Hymes (1981) and those whom he influenced have demonstrated that the scrupulously recorded original-language texts taken down by means of dictation can preserve enough of the indigenous literary aesthetic to merit retranslations that evince that aesthetic. In particular, Hymes, using a technique he called "verse analysis," noted that the recurrence of grammatical forms such as "particles" and such syntactical markers as changes in predicate signal organizational structures, especially in Native American narrative poetry. Once the analyst establishes poetic lines by using such forms and markers, he or she can organize them into the larger poetic units of stanzas, scenes, and acts by noting such devices as paral-

lelism and taking into account culture-specific pattern numbers (five for many of the Northwest Coast linguistic communities with whom Hymes worked, frequently four in Southwestern societies) or—as in Young’s work with Zuni material—temporal and directional patterns. Using an approach similar to that advocated by Hymes, Donald Bahr (1975), for example, has returned to the Pima-language oration texts that Frank Russell published in 1907 and reworked them to reflect the indigenous aesthetic that Russell ignored when he rendered them in English.

The issue of style in translation applies, of course, to any interlingual situation, though it is exacerbated when the languages involved are as different from one another as English is from various American Indian languages. But it becomes more complex when one tries to capture orally expressed verbal art in print. The translator needs to be concerned not only with moving material between languages but with moving between media. Oral performance, of course, involves more than simply words. Most obviously it includes how those words are enunciated: paralinguistic features such as volume dynamics, pacing and tempo, pitch, and vocal timbre. Moreover, the oral performer uses communication channels other than the vocal, including facial expressions, gestures, manipulation of objects, postures, and positioning relative to the audience. In fact, the composition of the audience in terms of gender, age, and outsiders versus insiders constitutes part of the performance experience, as do such factors of the immediate performance situation as temperature, ambient noise, and size and acoustics of the venue. Capturing all of this in print seems an insurmountable task, but some gallant attempts to do so have been made.

With some success, poet Jerome Rothenberg, a pioneer in ethnopoetics, has used what he calls “total translation” to bring oral performances of Native American verbal art as holistic entities into readable texts in English. Rothenberg’s goal has been to transfer the complete performance of orally expressed ver-

bal art onto the printed page (in Swann 1992:64–94), but his methodologies for doing so—especially the use of concrete poetic forms—seem to draw more attention to the printed text itself than to what it represents. Most of his work has focused on the artistic traditions of Indians of the Northeast and Southeast, especially Iroquois and Cherokees, but one of his most successful undertakings is a “working” of a Navajo Horse song, usually a part of the Blessingway healing ceremony, recorded by David McAllester from the performance of Frank Mitchell. Rothenberg’s treatment of the song reproduces the range of sounds, which include vocables and distorted syllables, in Mitchell’s performance. McAllester supplied the poet with a tape recording of Mitchell’s singing, a transcription in Navajo with some linguistic commentary, and a literal translation of the words of the songs. Using these resources, Rothenberg created a literary translation that reflected the song’s meaning and then added distortions of the English syllables and vocables using English phonology. Translations of two of Mitchell’s songs appeared in Rothenberg’s collection of translated materials from American Indian sources, *Shaking the Pumpkin: Traditional Poetry of the Indian North Americas*, in 1972. Lines from “The 12th Horse Song of Frank Mitchell” demonstrate the results of Rothenberg’s work:

Because I was (N gahn) I was the boy raised Ng thedawn(n)(n)  
 But some are & are gowing to my howinouse baheegwing  
 & by going from the house the bluestone hoganome but some  
     are & are  
 gone to my howinow baheegwing  
 & by going from the house the shahyNshining hoganome but  
     some  
 are & are gone to my howinow baheeGWING  
 & by going from the swollenouse my breath has blown but  
     some are &  
 Are going to my howinouse baheegwing

& by going from the house the hohly honganome but some are  
 & are gone to my howinow baheegwing ginng ginnng.  
 (1972:350)<sup>7</sup>

Rothenberg did not intend this text for silent reading in an easy chair; instead one should read it aloud, as Rothenberg himself did in a taped performance that, he believed, captured in English the nature of the Navajo original.

While Hymes, Bahr, and—to a lesser extent—Rothenberg have shown how material recorded by other researchers, even before the ready availability of mechanical recording technology, can be reworked effectively to meet the goals of ethnopoetics, other translators have worked with material that they themselves encountered in oral performance and consequently had the opportunity to witness as holistic discourse events. Dennis Tedlock, for example, has focused his translation efforts on material from Zuni Pueblo that he recorded on audiotape (1983). Like Rothenberg, he has tried to represent the totality of performance in print, but he has taken a somewhat different approach, which involves an attempt to represent not just what is said but the oral style of performance. Using a technique that has been called “pause phrasing,” Tedlock has arranged orally rendered stories into lines, presenting them as what he calls “narrative poetry.” A line break occurs in Tedlock’s method when the narrator pauses and thus reflects the way in which he or she paces the performance. Lengthy poetic lines suggest a rapid narrative style, while shorter lines indicate a slower, possibly more reflective approach to storytelling. Tedlock suggests other features of Zuni narrative performance through manipulation of type: upper case indicates an increase in volume, small type denotes softening the voice, subscripts and superscripts parallel changes in pitch, long dashes or repetition of letters signals lengthening of words, and italicized comments in parentheses suggest tone of voice, gestures, and audience responses. The effect is to capture the specific features of a specific

performance at a specific time and place. Most of Tedlock's translations (or "scores," since, like Rothenberg's representations of Frank Mitchell's recordings of Navajo Horse songs, they are intended for oral interpretation by the reader) appeared in his 1972 collection, *Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians*. He also translated a narrative about a watershed moment in Zuni history as "Because He Made Marks on Paper, the Soldiers Came" in Brian Swann's anthology *Coming to Light*. In these lines, which describe the consequences of the Zunis' and Euro-Americans' differing views on how to deal with a witch, Tedlock uses boldface type instead of upper case to indicate loudness:

The **truth** was **brought to light**,  
 that it wasn't that way,  
 it was because he was not living a peaceable life that he was  
     captured, then there  
 was talk;  
 and that man  
 called the soldiers out of spite, in order to get the whole town  
     stretched out;  
 [gravelly] the Bow Priests were locked up;  
 [normal] they **strung that man up**, so they were **locked up**.  
 Ever since they were **locked up at Luuna**,  
 our Bow Priests have been in decline. (Swann 1994:588)

Some critics of Tedlock's approach have suggested that his focus on the particulars of one performance may lay too much emphasis on peculiarities that result from elements in specific situations that have little or nothing to do with verbal artistry. For example, a narrator who is physically uncomfortable may produce a performance that does not realize fully the aesthetic depth of the poetry. The material may not receive the sort of performance it deserves from such a rendering. Nevertheless, those who may favor less emphasis on the minute particulars of one rendering of a work of

orally expressed verbal art have still been able to move toward capturing that art in ways that do justice to all its components. For example, Paul Zolbrod (1992) has used Washington Matthews's late-nineteenth-century rendering of Navajo creation mythology as a starting point for creating an ethno poetic translation that incorporates elements from performances that Zolbrod himself has experienced. The result does not capture the idiosyncrasies of a specific performance; instead, it reflects a literary aesthetic that transcends such idiosyncrasies, which may, in fact, obscure what Zolbrod thinks of as the "deep poetry" that is more important than the superficial features of a particular rendering (1995).

The philosophy underlying ethno poetics seems to provide the appropriate approach to rendering performances of verbal art in print. How to implement that philosophy remains work in progress, and the verbal art of the Southwest continues to operate as a laboratory for experimentation. In recent anthologies edited by Brian Swann (1994; 2004), for example, translators have developed varying techniques to accomplish their ethno poetic goals and have extended and improved upon some of the practices of their predecessors. One important development is involving speakers of Native languages as collaborators in translation. Although Henry Rowe Schoolcraft may have done this when he relied upon his wife's knowledge of Ojibwe to translate stories from that tongue into English, the results clearly reflected Schoolcraft's notion of what literature should be. Moreover, he acknowledged Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's role only in passing. However, contemporary translators, when they are not themselves Native speakers, sometimes rely heavily on the input of such speakers and stress their collaborative role in shaping what ultimately appears on the printed page.<sup>8</sup> In the Southwest, Donald Bahr has noted his reliance on Pima speakers in his reworkings of texts recorded and sometimes translated by earlier ethnographers (Swann 1994:541–63; see also Bahr, Paul, and Joseph 1997). For his translation of songs from the neighboring O'odham, David Kozak drew

on the knowledge and talents of Native speaker David I. Lopez (Swann 2004:340–49), while Larry Evers's collaboration with Felipe Molina and other Yaqui speakers has captured the indigenous aesthetic of the songs of the Deer Dance (Swann 1994:521–40; see also Evers and Molina 1987).

Other contemporary translators of Southwestern Indian verbal art have followed and improved upon the lead of Natalie Curtis when translating the words of songs by emphasizing the importance of musical accompaniment in shaping poetic form. David Leedom Shaul has retranslated some of the material that Curtis herself recorded on the Hopi mesas in light of their musical accompaniment (Swann 1994:679–89; see also Swann 1992:228–41), and Leanne Hinton's translations of Havasupai songs reflect the importance of their musical settings (Swann 1994:690–703). Another component of performance that translators have recognized as having ramifications for the form and style of translation is audience, as demonstrated by translations from the Navajo by Barre Toelken (Swann 1994:590–600).

All contemporary translators of Native American verbal art whose work evinces the goals of ethnopoetics recognize the essential role of aesthetic relativism not only in their translation procedures but in their responsibilities to their readers. Hence, ample commentaries on the part of the translators and their consultants introduce readers to what they should be expecting. Sometimes commentaries from Native speakers, perhaps the performers themselves, appear as part of the translated texts—for instance, in Evers and Molina's presentation of Yaqui Deer Dance songs (Evers and Molina 1987; Swann 1994:521–40).

Perhaps the most important principle underlying contemporary ethnopoetic approaches to translating the verbal art of the Native American Southwest should be flexibility. Different approaches may be needed to achieve ethnopoetic goals when dealing with different literary genres from different literary traditions. The approach that works effectively with a Zuni historical nar-

rative such as that presented by Tedlock may not work so well with ritual poetry from the same ethnic group's store of literature such as that treated by Bunzel and Young. The latter, which will be much more rigidly structured, is intended for more formal situations than the casual, sometimes conversational storytelling occasion when a Zuni oral historian might tell about the interference of Euro-Americans in local control of witchcraft. It will also employ a different linguistic register, whose vocabulary is archaic and perhaps esoteric. And what works for Zuni ritual poetry may not work for Navajo healing chants or for ritual oratory among the Pimas. One of the values of Swann's anthologies has been that while the translators whose work is represented invariably support the goals of ethno-poetics, they experiment in different ways to achieve those goals. The Southwest can remain a laboratory for these experiments. Many of the oral heritages of verbal art remain strong; translators committed to representing that art as comprehensively as possible in their work are bringing insights from various academic disciplines, including linguistics, literature, and anthropology, and publishers have begun to recognize that the potential audience for translation includes not just readers of English in search of the "wellsprings" of the poetic imagination but also readers literate in the languages from which the translations come. The latter development may work toward compensating for one shortcoming of Swann's anthologies: the lack of texts in Native languages.

New translations of *War and Peace* are important undertakings, but equally important is the continuing effort to bring to the attention of the world non-Western, non-written literary traditions that pose difficulties for the translator much beyond those faced by translators involved in transferring written Russian into written English.

NOTES

1. This terminology and classification comes from the “Consensus Classification of the Native Languages of North America” reported in Goddard (1996:4–8).

2. For the fundamentals of the ethnography of speaking see Hymes (1972:21–44; 1974). Fine (1984) has addressed many of the issues involved in intersemiotic translation.

3. The material in quotation marks apparently comes from Opler’s *An Apache Life Way*.

4. The Southwestern groups represented in Curtis’s volume are Pimas, Apaches, Mojave-Apaches, Yumas, Navajos, Zunis, San Juans, Acomas, Lagunas, and Hopis. For information on the Indian exhibits at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, see Parezo and Fowler (2007). Curtis’s fieldwork in the Southwest, her contact with American performers during the exposition, and a subsequent contact she made with her brother in the northern Plains are treated in Patterson (2010).

5. The most comprehensive source on Schoolcraft is Bremer (1987). See also Bauman (1993) and Clements (1996:111–28).

6. A recent critique of Curtis’s work is Salzer (2004).

7. McAllester himself has used ethnopoetic principles to textualize and translate “Enemy Slayer’s Horse Song” (Swann 1994:624–35).

8. A series of essays exploring the collaborations between Euro-American ethnographers and translators and Native American consultants is Evers and Toelken (2001).

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## 28. Edenism

On the Star Husband-less Southwest

Donald Bahr

This essay discusses some comparative methods for understanding the mythologies of peoples within a cultural region. The first part of the essay revisits studies done some time ago by Stith Thompson and Claude Lévi-Strauss on the Star Husband story, a story that is told nearly everywhere in Native North America except in the Southwest. The discussion has the double purpose of showing what Lévi-Strauss added to Thompson's historical-geographic method and to the field of comparative myth studies and of stating a rule, unnoted by them, that applies both to Star Husband stories and to Southwestern stories. This rule, which I call Edenism, prescribes that in early ancientness the distinction between humans, animals, and elemental beings is obscured, that there are no births of fully human children from the union of fully human men and fully human women, and that creation rather than procreation is the norm. In the second part of the essay I will show how the rule of Edenism applies to some central characters in Southwestern myths, particularly the monster slayer twins and Paiyatemu/Bagochidi youths.

Moreover, we will see how the stories of celestial star husbands differ from each other in the nature of the husband and the mediators between earth and sky. These differences, which Lévi-Strauss brilliantly explained according to rules of oppositions and periodicity, also illustrate a second rule important to this essay, the rule of parody. Parody in this sense means that neighboring people do

not tell precisely the same story as each other but rather mold their stories to differ but echo or resonate with each other. I will further illustrate this principle in the discussion of Southwestern myths.

The rule of Edenism owes nothing to the Bible; rather, it is a general feature of mythology, and the Bible conforms to it in that Eve is born of Adam's rib and Adam and Eve do not procreate until after the fall of Eden. Edenism characterizes the very early periods of people's mythologies and is part of what makes myths "mythic." The rule of parody is also general or, let us say, general to tribal societies—that is, to small-scale societies whose mythologies provide them with distinct national or tribal identities.

#### LÉVI-STRAUSS AND THOMPSON

In a 1953 article, reprinted in 1965, Thompson analyses eighty-four examples, all that he could find, of Star Husband myths. He abstracted plot elements from the stories and expressed them in algebraic formulas with letters for the elements. One can therefore see at a glance how similar and different the plots are. He concludes that fifteen scattered versions of one formula are similar enough to represent the original type of the story, the other versions being regional or "redactions" of the original. He theorizes that the original story changed or was "redacted" as it spread. In a 1968 article, reprinted in 1990, Lévi-Strauss rejects Thompson's historical theory and explains the redacted versions as contemporary, opposed expressions of cultural concepts such as the "periodicity" of seasons, the movements of celestial bodies, bird and animal habits, and human biology. The Thompson study was a culminating work in the historical-geographical school of myth study. The Lévi-Strauss rebuttal is an example of the structural analysis of myths.

The "base" Star Husband story, according to Thompson, is one in which nothing of lasting or historical importance occurs; that is, nothing is created and no customs or rules are established.

Thompson calls this the base or archetypal story because it is the one whose formula occurs most frequently. He thought this may be the earliest version of the story that later became more elaborate in the redactions.

Here is the story.

Two girls sleeping out make wishes for stars as husbands. They are taken to the sky in their sleep and find themselves married to stars, a young man and an old one, corresponding to their brilliance or size as stars. The women disregard the warning not to dig and accidentally open up a hole in the sky. Unaided, they descend on a rope and arrive home safely. (Thompson [1953] 1965:449.)

What interested Lévi-Strauss was not the base story but one of the redactions called “the porcupine redaction.” It was one of five versions recorded from the Arapahos, and as it happens it is the only Star Husband story from anywhere with an origin of menstruation. This event, curiously, is not in Thompson’s abstract, nor does he comment on it. Here is Thompson’s abstract of the porcupine redaction made key to his book by Lévi-Strauss. The brackets indicate details not present in Thompson’s abstract.

Sun and Moon dispute about women and Moon agrees to bring an earth-woman to the sky. Two girls are gathering wood and see a porcupine which, in spite of warning from her friend, lures one of them into a tree which stretches to the upper world. Here the porcupine becomes Moon, a handsome young man. The earth wife wins a chewing contest with the wife of Sun. She bears a son. [Her father in law, Sun, says the baby was born too soon, for babies are formed from menstrual blood and ten moons must elapse. He adds that menstruation should equal the time between the last quarter and the first quarter of the moon, i.e., the time when the moon is not visible, which is four days according to Lévi-Strauss.] The

earthly woman is warned against digging for roots but she disobeys and discovers a sky-hole. She lets herself down on a sinew rope but it is too short. The husband sends down a rock which kills her but spares her son. Explanation: moon's spots, Sun-dance ceremonies, time of human gestation. Sequel: Moon boy. (Thompson [1953] 1965:430)

In the sequel, "Moon Boy," the son survives and is raised by an old woman on earth. There he kills monsters and then goes to the sky as a star.

Here is my understanding of Thompson's comparative method.<sup>1</sup> The first step is to abstract a story into sentences that contain one or two of what Thompson calls "parts" ([1953] 1965:419). The parts manifest "traits" of comparative significance. For example, the abstracted sentence "Two girls are gathering wood" contains the parts "two girls" and "gathering wood." The traits are A, "Number of women," and B, "Introductory action" ([1953] 1965:420). The method results in an algebraic formula of the sequences of traits abstracted from the parts, themselves abstracted from the fully told story. The key to this method is that Thompson's parts (e.g., "two women") are comparative traits (e.g., "number of women") that can be followed spatially across tribes.

Like Thompson, Lévi-Strauss analyzes a myth into gross constituent units, but his units or myth themes could be compared not only across myths (as in Thompson) but also within the story. In this fashion Lévi-Strauss shows that features come in pairs and the pairs are contradictory. For instance, the rule that husband and wife be separate during menstruation demonstrates periodic unavailability. During the wife's menstruation the husband is in a middle position between a widower and a husband with rivals. Lévi-Strauss then proposes but does not prove that these opposites—the widower, the in-between man separated from the menstruating wife, and the man separated by unfaithfulness—correspond to adornments. The scalp and the pubic hair fringe

are at the extremes, and the porcupine-quill embroidery is in the middle.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, sun and earth are opposed extremes of periodicity. The sun's movement is periodic, and the earth, represented by the stone hurled at the wife, is un-periodic, while the moon, associated with menstruation, is the middle term ([1968] 1990:304).

Both Lévi-Strauss and Thompson create *readings* of particular myths. The similarities between Thompson and Lévi-Strauss are that each reduces a story to a plot abstract and makes further abstraction from that. Thompson's traits are linear and obvious. Lévi-Strauss's features are not-obvious abstractions that imply each other as oppositions. The oppositions make the myth cohere. Later Lévi-Strauss goes further, seeking and finding oppositions between *partial portions* of long chains of quite different myths. Sometimes the portions are equivalent to single episodes or "units," sometimes they are sequences of units, and almost never are they, as before, complete, start-to-finish full stories. In this fashion he uncovers systems of culture-wide logical thought.

With his chains of coherences Lévi-Strauss wishes to show that the New World has one great, ever-varying mythological culture. I strongly agree with Lévi-Strauss that entire regions and perhaps the whole New World demonstrate unity of mythological thought that is not simply attributable to historic and geographic spread of individual stories or traits from single points of origin. Later in this essay I will discuss Southwestern mythologies as an integrated and organically interrelated mythological culture area. Lévi-Strauss reads myths as having a kind of coherence that he thinks explains them and typifies mythical thought. He maintains that culture is in effect the totality of oppositional themes, mainly of a philosophical nature, that he discovered in his search. The construction of that culture is the purpose and explanation of myth. Tribal myths fulfill the purpose by forming tireless, cunning inter-myth coherences. For him, myth in the usual, Thompson sense, a story in which this and that happens, is explained by

myth in a special, elevated sense: a logic, he says, or a human tendency for “opposing” abstract notions by means of concrete narrative details.<sup>3</sup> This is a kind of psychological explanation—myth as story becomes myth as mind.

Lévi-Strauss did not disprove Thompson; he only objected to and thought beyond him. I believe his principal objection is that Thompson left out the chains of oppositional coherence that run through the *Star Husband* and all other myths. This is true. But he also objects to Thompson’s historical theory, as follows: “It will be noted that only fifteen widely scattered versions, out of the eighty-six listed, present this basic form. This is a hardly surprising result, since physical anthropologists have reached similar conclusions whenever they have tried to define the typical Frenchman or American by putting together those features which occur with the greatest statistical frequency: such a method suggests only an artificial image bearing little resemblance to any actual individual, and which there is no reason to believe to be in any way representative” ([1968] 1990:228–29).

This objection is partly unfair. Thompson does not say the archetypal form is an average; he says it is fifteen scattered stories that have precisely the same plot formula. We should call them a mode (most frequent type), not an average. We should note, too, that Lévi-Strauss says nothing about any of these fifteen stories. This omission is an example of the arbitrariness of Lévi-Strauss’s method and one reason why, in my opinion, his method is not scientific, as some have claimed. Perhaps Lévi-Strauss ignores the type story because nothing happens in it to change the history of the world; no new customs are established. From his point of view these may have been the least important *Star Husband* myths.

Lévi-Strauss correctly points out that the scattered presence of the basic *Star Husband* plot in the early 1900s proves nothing about what the original *Star Husband* text said or even if there was one original text, thus debunking the validity of historical-

geographic reconstructions. But what is the explanation for that scattered presence? Thompson felt sure that the basic form preceded the more complex ones, but he had no clear idea where or why the basic form arose ([1953] 1965:449, 455). I have the idea that it is futile and irrelevant to search for the “original story” and that neighboring peoples tend on principle not to tell precisely the same tales but to tell tales that relate to and parody each other’s. This would explain why the basic stories did not fall into a solid bloc. The question is whether the more complex stories—that is, the “redactions”—made up solid geographic blocs. They map onto fairly solid territories, but this is not to say that all the stories of a redaction type were identical. I doubt that they were, but I have not studied them to affirm this.

Lévi-Strauss calls attention to the origin of menstruation in the Arapaho myth, but that is the only such myth that has this event. He compares it to a similar South American story.<sup>4</sup> He says there is a “vast mythological system” on the “subjection of women” ([1968] 1990:221), but I do not find that he has placed stories on the origin of menstruation within such system. Therefore, now more than forty years after publication of *The Origin of Table Manners*, it is time for someone to search for menstruation origin myths in order to answer these questions: Is it true that such myths are not prevalent? And are men always the cause of periodic bleeding in women? This essay will not answer the questions, but we must thank Lévi-Strauss for prompting them.

Later in his book Lévi-Strauss sets aside the theme of human biological periodicity in menstruation and analyzes several variants of the myths, demonstrating how some minor characters oppose each other relative to seasonal periodicity. These myth types are widely spread and include several subtypes. One subtype, the porcupine, has already been mentioned; others are the meadowlark, the grebe redaction, and chickadee and squirrels. All these types are stories of women who marry the sun or moon.

Here is what the various highlighted animals do. The porcupine we already know. The hunting of meadowlarks is pronounced off limits to Moon's wife and son while they are in the sky world, but the warning is disobeyed. The grebe carries in a canoe two girls who have returned to earth. The grebe tries and fails to marry them (Lévi-Strauss [1968] 1990:244-46, myth 444). The sounds of a chickadee and the presence of squirrels are deemed prerequisite for two girls' descent from a tree they had reached after departing from the sky (Lévi-Strauss [1968] 1990:237). Lévi-Strauss observes that all of these birds and animals either mark seasons (e.g., porcupine is master of cold, the grebe master of spring thaws) or inhabit zones from low to high above the surface of the earth (e.g., the series from squirrels to chickadees). Those relations are based on Native testimony. Thus, Lévi-Strauss discovered a basis for opposing the myth types in Native views of ecology. It is a fine piece of ethnobiology. He relates the types to each other as parts of an overarching "synchronic system." And I would add, he demonstrates the strength of parody at work, as tribes develop versions of the myths in which the characteristics of the animal characters oppose each other in regard to ethnobiological beliefs. Lévi-Strauss not only unwittingly sets up a comparison that can be explained by parody but goes one step further in showing that the parody is not arbitrary but follows a biological logic of seasonal changes and oppositions.

#### SOUTHWESTERN EDENISM

Lévi-Strauss was the master of New World mythological studies from the 1960s to the late 1970s; during those years Thompson was considered old-fashioned. Lévi-Strauss went beyond Thompson in reading the stories for a kind of coherence that he thought explained and typified the logic of myths. Thompson, on the other hand, did not search for general, plot-shaping rules. He picked a story, the Star Husband, that was already known to be widespread,

sorted (analyzed, abstracted) it into types, and then speculated on the history of those types. The explanations I will pursue in the rest of this essay are perhaps in between the two men's work. I will show that the content of a people's mythology is affected by that of the neighbors, but I will not attribute this to a simple historical spread of traits, as Thompson did. I will set up the rules of Edenism as companions to Lévi-Strauss's rules of opposition as another example of the universal logic of mythical thought. Thus, while I abandon to Lévi-Strauss the specific task of understanding menstruation and periodicity or some other grand oppositional message, I retain from Lévi-Strauss a search for rules that determine, or seem to determine, the sorts of story plots that myths tell.

The rules I propose are four:

1. That all full, complete mythologies have a small number of characters who are fully human in form (such as the girls of the Star Husband myths) and very many characters that mix human and inhuman qualities like animal, bird, celestial, or "elemental" (e.g., of fire).
2. That viewed as a people's comprehensive chronicle of ancient times, the stories that pertain to the *early* portion of ancientness generally do not have fully human-looking characters who meet, make love (copulate), and produce a child, while those same actions do or may happen in the *late* portion of ancientness.
3. That almost without exception, when a fully human-looking character of early ancientness is involved with producing a child, either the other parent of that child is a mixed human-inhuman (e.g., Moon) or there is no other parent and the child is created by manufacture (e.g., by molding from mud) or else by spontaneous emission (e.g., a man ejaculates a child, or a woman gives birth to a fatherless child through her thigh).
4. That in general these stories of "abnormal" parentage are

important in mythologies. Any mythology will have a small number of them, and whatever they are, they are important. Either the human parent is important, or the offspring is, or both. These important persons make a lasting difference in world history as understood by the tellers, or important ceremonies hark back to them, or both.

I talk of early and late ancientness because the two are distinct. Mythical time is “ancient” because today’s genealogies do not reach back to it. Most of a mythology, however, is early-ancient—that is, Edenic—whereas in late ancientness procreation is more similar to the present and mortal humans do make love with each other and have normal human children. Now, if mythologies are mostly Edenic, what is interesting and explainable about them? I propose that neighboring tribal peoples *require* different mythologies and that they attain their differences *especially* in stories of creation and Edenic parenting. In effect, to maintain their identity and pride they perform endless parodies on the components of each other’s mythologies.

In the following section I give examples that illustrate the above rules. In the last sections I follow the parodic transformations of some important myth characters in Southwestern myths.

#### SOUTHWESTERN TALES OF INFIDELITY

I will first discuss some stories that share the theme of infidelity (an example of periodic unavailability, according to Lévi-Strauss) and the association of the woman character with corn. They were chosen because among them is the sole Star Husband myth that Thompson found from the Southwest; it comes from a Pueblo village. Thompson doubted that the story is a proper Star Husband tale ([1953] 1965:432). He does not explain why he doubted, nor does he explain why this region lacks Star Husbands. My answer on the first issue is that the girl of the story is not a maiden, as she is (or the two girls are) in all eighty-four “valid” Star Husband

stories. Here she is a man's wife. Thompson did not consider this variable; for him the first key "part" of a Star Husband story is "number of women [one or two]," not their marital condition.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the Pueblo story differs from the typical Star Husband myth in many other respects, as the following comparison with Thompson's abstract will show. I have placed the "traits" of the Pueblo story in brackets.

Two girls [a married woman]  
sleeping out [this woman is recruited at home]  
make wishes for stars as husband [no prior wish on the  
woman's part, and the recruiter is Sun].  
They are taken to the sky in their sleep and they find  
themselves married to stars [already married, she departs  
with Sun while awake],  
The husbands are a young and an adult man, corresponding  
to the brilliance of the stars [the story does not dwell on the  
brightness of Sun].  
The women disregard the warning not to dig and open up a  
hole in the sky [no digging]  
Unaided they descend on a rope and arrive home safely [Old  
Woman Spider helps the woman return]. (Thompson [1953]  
1965:449)

Here is the story, called "Yellow Corn Elopes with the Sun," from the Seamas, a hamlet established by refugees from Acoma Pueblo in the territory of Laguna Pueblo (Ellis 1979:439):

A long time ago a man from Acoma was married to a woman called Yellow Corn. They lived in the pueblo and used to come down the rock to plant corn and melons. One day the man went down alone. . . . His wife . . . stayed at home. And Sun came to visit her. Then for several days Sun came to visit . . . while her husband was away.

One day Sun and Yellow Corn decided to run away. They did. They passed by a woman who was baking pottery. Later

they met a man carrying melons on his back. And still later they met some children who were passing by.

When the husband got home he did not find his wife. He suspected what had happened. He went out at once. . . . And he passed by the woman who was baking pottery and sang: "At what time, at what time did my wife Yellow Corn and Sun pass by here?" And the woman replied singing: "Just now, just now your wife Yellow Corn and Sun passed by here." Then the man asked her the same question. He did not sing this time. She answered the same way, she did not sing.

[The husband does the same and hears the same with the man carrying melons and the children.] Sun and Yellow Corn had gone too far. The husband could not find them. He came home.

Sun took Yellow Corn to the east and to the sky. There she lived with him. And she had a little boy. His grandmother [Sun's mother] took care of him. But Yellow Corn wanted to come back to Acoma. Old Woman Spider helped her and she came back . . . to her husband.

When the little boy got to be a man, he wished to come back to Acoma to see his mother. His grandmother told him that the woman he found grinding corn was his mother. She told him also that his mother would fall in love with him. He left the sky and came to Acoma to find his mother . . . grinding corn. He looked at her and spoke to her and she at once fell in love with him. He knew that she was his mother but said nothing. He stayed with her for four days. Then the people began to talk about them. Then he told her that he was her son and that Sun was his father. He told her that he had come to look for her. She asked him to forgive her for falling in love with him.

Yellow Corn told her husband everything. She told him the young man was her son and that the Sun was his father. Her husband left her. Then the young man said that he was going back to his father the Sun. (Espinosa 1936:88–89)

Lévi-Strauss's analyses replace the dramas of the myths with impersonal observations on cultural oppositions. I, however, would like to emphasize the drama of this story, which I call honky-tonk. It is a drama of marital, specifically sexual, betrayal, the betrayal being followed by a halfhearted attempt to make up. In the story just summarized the woman goes off, comes back, and betrays again. The second time she has an incestuous relationship with her son, although at first she does not understand this. This Pueblo story is also Edenic in that the boy is fathered by Sun. The woman is named for corn, although nothing except the grinding implies that she is Corn.<sup>6</sup>

The next three stories show Christian influence in the naming of some characters, but they belong to ancientness, as attested by the child who is son of Prairie Dog and becomes Corn as well as by the presence of the twin brothers in the last story. The Christian characters are Montezuma, God, and a devil-like rascal. The historical Montezuma was the last king of the Aztecs and a victim of Spain. His reputation came to colonial New Mexico with Christianity in the stories of immigrants from central and northern Mexico (see Parmentier 1979 on Montezuma in Pueblo stories). The story with God is from the Tepecanos of Mexico. The third story is from a pueblo, and the Christian character is devil-like. In the Seama story a corn-associated married woman betrays her husband, and as in the Star Husband myths she has relations with a celestial being, Sun, and lives with him in the sky. In the stories that follow all the women have connections with corn, but it is the men who are unfaithful, none are celestial beings, and one, Prairie Dog, is definitely connected with the underground.

#### White Corn Goes Under Water (San Juan)

A man, Prairie Dog, and his wife, White Corn, and their baby lived in San Juan. He was a buckskin tanner. One day the wife put the baby to sleep and went for water. The husband was to

take care of the baby. A woman named Flowers-from-the-field came, said hello, and asked to come in. Told to enter, she said she had come to have a good time with him. After much of that, they slept.

The wife went to Fortune Stream for the water. As she left she heard her baby crying and hurried home. She looked through the roof-hole and saw her husband lying with the woman. "No wonder the baby is crying," she said. She went in and said to her husband, "I will live with you no longer." She took the baby and as she left the husband asked, "Why are you going away?" She sang, crying, to her husband, "Formerly you loved me. But now you do not. . . . I am just plain White Corn, but that woman is Flowers-from-the-field. Stay with your Flowers . . . I am going to my corn fields near . . . Fortune Spring."

She took the child to the stream. There she threw a magic herb in the water, and a ladder appeared in it. With the baby on her back, she disappeared down the ladder. Having followed her, the husband saw her go down. He returned home weeping. He spread his buckskins on the house roof and lay on them in the sun until he dried and became stone.

Flowers-in-the-field was ashamed when she discovered him. She cried. Montezuma met and cursed her, saying, ". . . go from here and suffer." Therefore the flowers in the field are small and dry while White Corn thrived as corn at Fortune Stream. The baby became the white corn that Indians now have. When the first ones came to San Juan they found the large and the small white corn seeds and planted them and they continue to do so. White Corn the woman still goes to worship the stone [of her husband], as wives must still worship their husbands even if they are bad. (Espinosa 1936:96-97)

THE CORN MAIDEN  
(TEPECANO; ABSTRACTED BY AUTHOR)

A lazy, stupid Indian man sees three Corn Maidens bathing in a lake. One of them proposes to marry him. She takes him to God, Our Lord, her father, ruler, or chief, who warns her against this. But the man promises not to mistreat the girl if only he can avoid working.

He brings the girl to his mother's house which the mother sweeps before they enter.

As they approach the bride appears for a moment as a heap of snakes and a cloud briefly hides her face. That night she stays alone [not with her husband] in a big clean room. In the morning the room is full of corn. Half a cooked grain will fill a pot. Next morning the room is filled with beans, just one of which fully feeds the family.

The man's mother burns the girl's face and clothes by cooking tortillas. The man keeps Turtle as a mistress. Turtle makes corncakes, an action which burns the girl's face. He keeps Raven who steals grain. The girl complains, the man says he will be good but he isn't. Told he must not look at her face, he illuminates her at night with a candle. She is beautiful. A spark wakes her. She flees and the corn and beans disappear.

The man follows her back to God. He asks forgiveness and makes new promises. God allows the couple to try again, but again the man fails and she flees. The man goes back to God who says the girl is not with him. The man searches the world for her. Finally he asks Wind who says he has not seen her but he has not looked in the city of Merlin. Wind and the man go there where the girl is imprisoned. They release her and flee. She tells the man to watch something for a month then she changes to grains of corn. The man watches only for half a month, then leaves and betroths another woman. At the wedding the girl appears, seizes the man, and takes him to God

who punishes him by partly burying him head-downward in the soil. Corn and other plants grow around this burial. (Hatt, 1951:867–68)

YELLOW CORN AND WATER SNAKE  
(ACOMA; ABSTRACTED BY AUTHOR)

A pretty girl named Yellow Corn lives with her widowed father at Acoma. The men wish to marry her. One day she goes down to the waterhole where there is a witch in the form of a snake. The snake-witch invites her to go to his house by the Big Water. He says it is always summer there, with permanent flowers and fruits. Winter never comes, everyone is happy, and no one works hard. Remembering the hard corn grinding work for her father, the girl agrees to go. They agree to meet at midnight at the west end of the mesa on which stands the village. The snake-witch will meet her as an eagle.

She meets the eagle and rides off on his back for a night-and-day flight. The next nightfall they land where another big dangerous bird lives. The witch changes them to ants and they pass through that. They reach a land of wolves and change to owls to pass above that. They reach the land of the Big Water. “Here is our home,” says the witch, and they change to human beings, he very handsome.

They enter his house where there are three other girls. “They are going to be your sisters,” the man says. When she and they are alone, the girl asks who they are and where they come from. They say the witch is a scoundrel. The sad Yellow Corn cries all night.

Her father misses her, is sorry he has been demanding to her. He goes early that morning eastward to the *kupistaya* [I don’t know who this is] to ask forgiveness, then he goes to the two Hero Brothers [or War Twins, see below] to ask for aid. That evening the two brothers go to Old Woman Spider

[see below]. They announce they will go to Big Water to retrieve Yellow Corn. She gives them medicine so they can pass through the two dangerous lands.

In traveling they chew the medicine and pass safely. They reach the land by Big Water and approach someone's house. An old man tells them the location. They go to the door, the witch comes out, and they say they have come looking for the chief so they can join a religious society. "Please show us his house so that we may call on him." "Surely," said the witch. They go over a hill. The brothers jump on the witch, knock him down with a stone blow to the head, and cut out his heart.

Returning with the girls to Acoma, they feed the witch's heart to the wolves. At the second dangerous land they all chew the medicine given by Old Woman Spider, and they pass through. They leave the four girls at their proper homes: Hopi, Zuni, Laguna, and finally Acoma. Yellow Corn's father is glad to receive his daughter. He promises never to scold her again. (Espinosa 1936:80–82)

This last story is not strictly a story of marital infidelity but is still a story of sexual deception. The association of the girl with corn is also weaker than in the other stories. She is not named Corn, she only grinds it unwillingly. I assume the teller thought the snake was a scoundrel because he tempted marriageable women to California and because he was a polygamist, while the Pueblos—in post-European times at least—were strict monogamists (Driver, 1969:239).

What is the point of these stories? They show infidelity, there is an association of women with corn, and there is betrayal, repentance, and further betrayal. The Seama story is the only story in which the woman lives in the sky, and we can see why Thompson considered it the equivalent of the Star Husband story. The others lack the heavenly component in that none of the women marry in or live in the sky, though one story has a character named God. Is it possible that the awareness of Christianity, especially folk-

Catholicism, precluded the Southwestern tribes from allowing their characters to live in the sky since that region was preempted by the Christian heaven? I believe that since about 1550 Southwestern peoples knew of the Christians' heaven, and I suspect that by the 1880s, when the first of the above stories was recorded, they were reluctant to tell myths about people going to a non-Christian sky. Knowing that God and the good Christian dead are in heaven, the Southwestern peoples would not have their own ancients go there as live persons, as the Star Husband women did, with the prospect of settling down. Their equivalents to the "Star Wives" would be impregnated on earth.

Now, I am not sure there are absolutely no stories in this region of ancient men or women going to live in the ancient, Indian sky, only that I have not found them. To be more exact, there are stories of ancient *man*-gods journeying *through* a sky world, but I know none of women getting married and pregnant "up there." Of course, if this lack proves true, we still cannot be sure if the Southwestern peoples once did tell Star Husband stories. All we would know is that they did not tell such stories in the past hundred years.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Thompson was correct in thinking that, except for the Seama not-quite version, the Star Husband stories never did travel to the Southwest.

#### CHILDREN OF WOMEN IN THE SOUTHWEST AND SOUTHWESTERN EDENISM

The stories we will consider in the rest of the essay are all Edenic, but the women definitely stay on earth. I will use these stories to also illustrate the concept of parody. All the texts have already been discussed by others. The Southwest is better provided than any other North American region with book-length mythological studies—studies not of separate myths or myth types but of entire mythologies. We will use the following: a book on Pueblo mythologies by Hamilton Tyler (1964); one on the whole of Pueblo

religion by Elsie Clews Parsons ([1939] 1996); a chapter on Pueblo mythology by Richard Parmentier (1979); a book on Navajo mythology by Jerrold Levy (1998); another on the whole of Navajo religion by Gladys Reichard ([1950] 1974); a third Navajo account from Washington Matthews edited by Paul Zolbrod (1984); and finally an article by me on Pima, Maricopa, and Yavapai mythologies (Bahr 1998).

Some comments are in order on the ideal in studying North American mythologies. The ideal is to have a telling in the Native language of all the stories that a few persons know. In truth, so far as I know, we lack this from any Southwestern people. Part of the reason is linguistic. Although virtually every Southwest people's language has been written for the past hundred years by the tiny number of linguists devoted to that task, the peoples themselves have not taken to reading and writing their languages. I wish they would have wanted to write and read their mythologies, and perhaps they still will, but I no longer count on that happening. Nor did the linguists write full mythological tellings in the Native languages. The linguists almost always took down just one or two "sample texts" in the Native language to use as examples. Yet the typical master narrator would know too many stories to take down in dictation, partly for reasons of pronouncing and writing fatigue but also because narrators do not wish to tell most of what they know in one session, especially to an outsider. This objection applies equally to the present era of electronic recording.

Understandably, then, most full tellings I am aware of, although initially told in Native languages, were interpreted on the spot into English and written down only in that language. I know of three such from the Pimas, one from the Maricopas, and one from the Yavapais. Since one of the Pima narrators was recorded twice we can see that his successive tellings are different. The differences occur more in the small, marginal stories than in the major, seminal events. I expect there are full, or fullish, single-narrator accounts from other Southwest peoples. One account was

edited by Paul Zolbrod mainly from a Navajo version published in 1897 by Washington Matthews, who obtained it mainly from a man named Old Torlino (Zolbrod 1984:343n6; Levy, 1998:42). It is not clear in this instance how much Matthews added to Torlino's telling.<sup>8</sup> That version fills a book, which is what any other master teller's full mythology should do. The Maricopa and Yavapai ones are a part of a book and a long journal article, respectively. Above all, these tellings merit study as books—that is, as complex, chaptered, integrated, and authored works. Thus, it is not the single story that most merits study, and not the continental stock of stories of one type (as Thompson studied with the Star Husband), but the assemblies of stories made by single narrators.

In the comparison that follows, however, I will follow the example of Lévi-Strauss and abstract important episodes that relate to characters central to the mythologies to show the prevalence of Edenic elements and demonstrate how variations among tribes illustrate the rule of parody.

### Pueblos

We start the Southwest survey with the Pueblos, for whom my sources are Hamilton Tyler's 1964 book *Pueblo Gods and Myths*, supplemented by Elsie Clews Parsons's older *Pueblo Indian Religion* ([1939] 1996) and a more recent chapter by Richard Parmentier (1979). Parsons does not deal with whole mythologies, although she makes abundant reference to individual figures in them. Tyler limits his book to the seven Keresan Pueblos plus the Hopis and Zunis. The Tiwas, Tewas, Towas, and Tanos are included by Parsons. Parmentier treats all of the Pueblos, although only briefly. Parsons's book serves as a check and a supplement to Tyler.

We are interested in two Edenic parentings from the peoples Tyler includes (Keresans, Hopis, and Pueblos). The parentings are of the War Twins and of a single man-god generally called Paiya-

temu. These are surely the most important and perhaps the only such parentings given in his book. He does not mention the child of Sun and Yellow Corn of the not-quite Star Husband story discussed above, and Parmentier concentrates on a different character, Poseyemu, not discussed by Tyler.

I will start by digressing to Parmentier's study, "The Pueblo Mythological Triangle: Poseyemu, Montezuma, and Jesus in the Pueblos." I do this because his chapter strengthens my contention that Southwestern mythology had to address in subtle ways Christian mythology. Parmentier explains that Poseyemu appears as three different characters: Poseyemu proper, mainly found in Tewa mythologies; the character Paiyatemu, also treated by Tyler and prominent in Keresan and Zuni mythologies; and a pair of War Twins called by various names in various pueblos. Counting the twins as one, then, Parmentier is concerned with five characters: the three variants of Poseyemu, Montezuma, and Jesus. All but Montezuma are man-gods, and all but Montezuma are born of women and Edenic fathers.

Parmentier is interested in how the Pueblos reacted to Christianity. He says they reacted by articulating one or more of the above-named "Native" characters with Jesus. To him the Pueblos needed the figure of Montezuma to bridge, or mediate, between the Native characters and Jesus. Thus, for example, "whenever Poseyemu and Jesus come in contact, Montezuma intervenes" (1979:622). In this way the figure of Montezuma, as an Indian from a non-Pueblo place, enables, and may be necessary for, the incorporation of Jesus into Pueblo mythologies. If that sounds Lévi-Straussian, it is. And Parmentier cites him on mediation.

This essay offers another instance of Christian and Indian accommodation, not through mediation and syncretism but through avoidance; namely, the rule would be to no longer tell stories of ancient Indians going to live, marry, and give birth in the sky. Visits to or journeys through the sky are retained but not long-term residence there. We will see one exception to this rule below, from the

Navajo, but I believe it is an exception that proves the rule. It is a “fusion,” as Parmentier would call it, of a Navajo god and the devil. My rule of avoidance is an instance of what Parmentier calls “compartmentalization”: to know of something, in this case heaven, but to avoid partaking of it.

Now I will return to the main characters in our exploration of Edenism and parody, the War Twins. According to Tyler their father is nearly always the sun. The one exception is from the Acoma, who hold that the twins were engendered by two pine nuts swallowed by a woman and given to her by our other key child-of-woman, Paiyatemua (Tyler 1964:215). Levy, in his book mainly about Navajos, cites the same Acoma story as an instance of seduction and fathering by that god (Levy 1998:106). I have not consulted the story, but I trust Tyler’s summary and I assume that Levy counted the induced pine-nut swallowing as a seduction-and-fathering. I would not quibble with that, but if it is granted, then Paiyatemu is an exception to a further mythological rule, unstated until now, that the children of Edenic unions, for Paiyatemu was born of one, do not father or mother children. I state this but will not pursue it in this essay. In Parsons the fathers are given as Sun (for the Zuni, [1939] 1996:204) or Rain (for the Zuni, 224, and the Hopi, 236) or the fathers are objects used by a woman or women in masturbating (for the Hopi, 236).

The mothers of the twins according to Tyler are an unnamed woman for the Acoma (1964:215), Mist and/or Laughing Water for the Hopis (214), and Yellow Woman of the North for the Sias and Cochitis (213). Tyler says that none of the War Twins’ mothers figures prominently either in their stories or in Pueblos’ mythologies in general. The important figure in all War Twin stories is Spider Grandmother, who raises, coaches, and advises the boys. We will see the same minimal mother and maximal grandmother in the Yavapai counterpart to the twins. The twins’ mothers as identified by Parsons are Foam for the Zunis ([1939] 1996:224) and one or two unnamed women for the Hopis (236).

Tyler divides the twins' attributes into three: they are fathered by Sun; they lead the tribal ancestors up from the underworld, protecting them on earth from various monsters; and they hunt large game through magic and trickery. From this last specialty comes their service in various pueblos as war gods (1964:209).

The second Pueblo character born of woman, Paiyatemu, is also sired by Sun. Indeed, to Tyler, and partly because of the paternity, the twins and Paiyatemu represent a distinct Puebloan solar duality, of war (the War Twins) and male fertility (Paiyatemu) (1964:143). No father except Sun is given for Paiyatemu either by Parsons or Tyler. The god's mother is said to be a mortal woman by Tyler (143). He also cites a Sia story in which a plurality of beings called "Pai'a-ta-mo" are created by the "Thinking Woman" Sus'sistinako, an uncreated creator (144). (For the Sia, as Tyler notes, there is the *individual* Paiyatemu character, called "Koshari," and there is a broader category that includes the sun, moon, stars, humans, and Koshari. The individuals in this broader category are collectively the Pai'a-ta-mo [144]). Parsons says the Zuni locate the mother "underground" ([1939] 1996:201), but she does not cite a text on who the mother is or how she encountered Sun there.

Perhaps Tyler and Parsons are more decisive on the parentage of the twins than on that of Paiyatemu because Pueblo narrators were more forthcoming about the former. The narrators, or at least some of them, were, however, very explicit on what the Paiyatemu character *did*. "Being half divine and half human, he exhibits the power of a god and the coarseness of humanity. As the latter qualities are more active in the young, he most frequently appears as a handsome rascal who has but two subjects of study: maidens and music" (Tyler 1964:143). Parsons says that at least some of his names mean "[male] Youth" ([1939] 1996:170). He accompanies his father, Sun, with flute music during the latter's daily travel (Tyler 1964:142), and he pursues maidens on earth—without, it seems, ever impregnating them except by means of the pine nuts mentioned above.

If Paiyatemu normally accompanies his father as “deputy” (Tyler 1964:144), the father gives him free reign to seek maidens, especially Corn Maidens, on or under this earth. Tyler summarizes two Zuni stories on this, one with actual Corn Maidens who Tyler infers are Paiyatemu’s sisters. He does not state the parentage, however, and Levy looked for texts stating it and could find none (1998:105). The other story concerns his pursuit of “evil sisters” whom Tyler regards as “transforms” of the corn girls in the first story (1964:146). I take it that these sisters are not actually said to be or have corn.

In the first story, or group of stories, Paiyatemu falls in love with Corn Maidens. This frightens them and causes them to flee their homes (Tyler 1964:144). Thereafter they will return only spiritually and seasonally. Humans have corn seeds to plant, but the humanlike maidens are gone. In the second story the god, while running, comes across the eldest of several sisters, who challenges him to a hiding contest, a “transparent echo of the disappearance of the Corn Maidens” (147). She eludes him in a cloud from which, as he crouches behind the sun, she spies him reflected in a drop of clear liquid she squeezes from her breast. Victorious, she cuts his head off and his heart out and steals his flute. She hides the head and heart and plays the flute, from which butterflies come out. The most beautiful of the flyers is Paiyatemu, revived. He finds where the sisters live and enters a room where they are at work weaving. Wishing to obtain and copy the designs on his wings, they chase him while discarding their clothes. When they fall naked and exhausted, he changes them to erratically flying, colorful butterflies, and he sends them off to attract rain (147–48).

### Navajos

The Navajo equivalent to Paiyatemu is the man-god Begochidi. Before we discuss the equivalence in full, we note a Navajo story that has the above story’s man/butterfly’s inducement of madness in

women but lacks the actual person of Begochidi, lacks Paiyatemu's flute, and has Pueblo women in place of Corn Maidens:

#### BUTTERFLY SEDUCTION

The hero [a youth abandoned by his parents and taken by Wind people to the Holy people] undertakes to entice two non-sunlight-struck [not impregnated and not allowed to see the light of day] Pueblo maidens from their underground chamber. . . . To accomplish this feat he transforms himself . . . into bird forms . . . and finally into a butterfly which flutters into their chamber and attracts their notice by its beauty. The . . . sisters attempt to catch the butterfly to copy its pattern in their weaving, and in their pursuit they are . . . drawn . . . into the light of day. When safely away from the village the butterfly changes to a corn-beetle, whose call [analogous to the flute] the girls follow, and finally he appears as a man . . . [T]he sisters decide they want to stay under his protection to avoid punishment [for leaving] by their own people. The hero brings the girls to his home, which is poor compared with their former abode. They have difficulty in adjusting to the diet of bird meat but finally accept it. . . . The women live with him as his wives. (Spencer 1957:143-44)

The story is from a set of abstracts and a comparison of all then-known versions of all of the origin stories of twelve chantway curing ceremonies. The study of these materials is as clear and comprehensive as Thompson's study of the Star Husband. Each study concerns all of a large spread of myths, but in this case it is one people's myths on the origin of a type of ceremony. The abstract just given in slightly shortened form is part of a ten-part myth of the origin of the Prostitute Way ceremony. The story is Edenic, having no normal impregnations or births and having characters with nonhuman traits. At the end, not given above, the

hero either sends his wives home or kills them by pushing them in water (Spencer 1957:136, 147–48).

This Navajo version of the Pueblo story lacks the Paiyatemu signature features of flute and corn but retains the butterflies, the underground maidens, and the hero that lures them. A more typical Navajo hero is Begochidi. According to Reichard ([1950] 1974:387), his features are that he *creates* prolifically, including the Mexican race, a single white man who resembles Jesus, insects, game, and domestic animals, and that he never *lives with* a woman. I assume this is why the hero of the above story is not called Begochidi, since he marries. It seems that characters that create do not marry, and vice versa. “He [Begochidi] got his name because he would make himself invisible, then sneak up on young girls and touch their breasts as he shouted ‘be’go, be’go’” (Reichard [1950] 1974:387). He is a sub-teen pest, not a seducer. In addition, Reichard says that when men were out hunting and ready to shoot, “he would sneak up, grab the man’s testicles and shout [perhaps the same thing, which means ‘grab, grab’]” (387).

Begochidi’s father is Sun and his mother is a flower struck by a sun ray, or his father is *Sunbeam* and his mother is *Sunray* (Reichard [1950] 1974:387). He has red hair. He dresses like a woman. He was the first potter. Begochidi, then, is not born of woman, while Paiyatemu is, but both are fathered by Sun. Begochidi is included in our survey because he so resembles the former character. Indeed, Levy feels that the Navajo borrowed the Begochidi character from the Pueblo during the years after the Pueblo revolt of 1680, when, after a Spanish reconquest, many Pueblo refugees joined with, married into, and educated the Navajos:

Begochidi represents sexual excess as well as game animals and sexual as well as hunting magic or witchcraft, and he is a trickster, as is Coyote [in Navajo and many other traditions].<sup>9</sup> The question arises, why is there a need for Begochidi when Coyote was already a perfectly adequate trickster figure?

The answer proposed here is that, as the Pueblo influence increased in Navajo religious thought, those practitioners who still adhered to the old, pre-migration to the south, pre-agricultural hunting tradition adopted a trickster figure from the Pueblo pantheon that could not be as easily “defamed” [considered to be low-class] as Coyote. This figure was the Pueblo Paiyatemu. (Levy 1998:103)<sup>10</sup>

I say that if the trickster Coyote was large in their hunter past, the Navajos supplemented him with a fully human but *odd*-looking Creator with the mind of a ten-year-old. That combination the Pueblo Paiyatemu does not have. Paiyatemu seems to have sex with women, and once impregnates them, while Begochidi does no more than touch and bother them. And in at least one story Begochidi parodies the Christian Creator by in effect creating Mexico. The sole story on him in the Zolbrod/Torlino mythology (or partial mythology—see below on the chantway origin stories) tells of a pre-Navajo but human gambler who, once defeated, is shot into the sky where Begochidi, who lives there, makes sheep, burros, pigs, goats, cotton, and a bright textile dye for him and then makes the Mexican race for the gambler to rule on his return to earth (Zolbrod 1984:111–12). I note that this episode supports the idea of a general Southwestern cession of the sky to Christianity. This story would be a Navajo counterattack on that cession: Begochidi, an impish, devil-like being who lives in the sky and is a creator of non-Indian things, including the Mexican race and Jesus.

The Navajo equivalents of the War Twins are a pair of boys called Monster Slayer and Child-of-the-water. They are generally said to be twins but sometimes half-siblings or not blood siblings at all. In the Zolbrod/Torlino text they are the latter. Their mothers are Changing Woman and White Shell Woman, and their fathers are Sun and some dripping or falling water (Zolbrod 1984:179–84). Other versions have Changing Woman the mother of both,

with White Shell Woman an alternate name for her. Sun is the sole, or at least the sole active, post-birth father. (Reichard [1950] 1974:406-14, 481-84, 494-96).

The four parts of the long Zolbrod/Torlino text treat successive periods of ancientness. The first telling of human children born from women is delayed until part 3. These are the twin hero boys. The ancestral Navajos are finally created, not given normal birth to, in part 4, stories 2 and 3. (Each part has sixteen stories.) After the creation of the Navajo ancestors in part 4, normal, non-Edenic parenting begins. There are love-making, marrying, masturbating, and adulterous humans in the first two parts, but these are not ancestral Navajos and no humanly parented births result from their activities. The twins' actions are confined to part 3. These actions center on the killing of seven monsters, who were born of women's masturbation with objects in part 1. At the time of the twins, the monsters have reduced the human pre-Navajo population to six individuals (part 3, story 1, p. 174). The Navajo twins then do not create, but their monster killings make the world ready and safe, or at least safer, for the soon-to-come Navajo ancestors.

The Navajos may have the most extensive monster-killing saga in the Native Southwest. At least, the monster references in the indexes of Tyler and Parsons for the Pueblos are few and the referenced pages say little. Tyler says of the Acoma War Twins, "they kill various monsters. . . . That group of stories is by no means integrated into an epic cycle" (1964:216). There are monster killings in the Yavapai and Pima mythologies discussed below, but they are less extensive and less central in the overall picture of ancientness than those of the Navajos. Centrality in whole mythologies is what I think we should seek, so let us consider how it exists among the Navajos. I claim monster-killing is central to the four-part "emergence" or "origin" story, but there is more to Navajo mythology than that. There are also the chantway origin stories that Spencer inquired into so well, and I assume there are many

Coyote trickster stories disconnected from those two bodies.<sup>11</sup> My impression is the same as what John Bierhorst stated:

For the Navajo, The Emergence is a catchall [or main line, or “main stalk,” as John Farella (1984) puts it] that incorporates virtually all myths and folktales known in the Navajo language, except for comic tales of Coyote and stories about a character called Tooth-gum Woman. Myths are added by fitting them into the main sequence of events or by branching off, typically at one or two points: just after the people have emerged from the lower world or just after the twin war gods have slain the monsters.

In theory the origin myths of all the great Navajo ceremonials [chantways] are contained in segments of these mythological branches. In order to account for any one of them . . . , you must tell it up from the beginning, starting in the lowest underworld [part 1 of Zolbrod/Torlino]. The entire corpus amounts to one of the most impressive [coordinated] of all Indian mythologies. (Bierhorst 1985:85)

It is difficult to say who is more important in Navajo mythology, the twins or Changing Woman, the mother of one or both (versions differ). She, however, remains important after the twins drop from the story at the end of part 3. They shed their armor and go to the east, to a place where Navajos still go to pray to them for success in their wars (Zolbrod 1984:278). At the end of part 3, Changing Woman goes to an island in the great western ocean to keep a house for her husband, Sun. While there she creates the last of the clans who will join the recently made Navajo people. She does not participate in making the previously created clans.

Pueblo and Navajo twin gods are born of Sun, slay monsters, and are prayed to for help in war. Both pairs make the world safer for the tribal ancestors. Also unlike the insignificant Pueblo mothers, the mother of the Navajo twins is a very important figure in Navajo mythology.

## Yavapais

I analyzed this mythology and two others—Pima and Maricopa—in an article in 1998, and the Yavapai one also in 1981. The three peoples are contiguous and, as the 1998 article shows, their mythologies are deliberately different. As stated then and near the beginning of the present essay, I suspect this is generally true of neighboring mythologies. Therefore, if neighbors have roughly similar versions of the porcupine redaction of the Star Husband story, for example, those versions should either be different in some aspect so each people can consider their story properly their own or else they should invest their identity-defining efforts in texts other than the Star Husbands. To establish this theory we need to have whole multi-story mythologies and check for differences in the central texts of neighboring peoples.

The Yavapai text we are concerned with is a twenty-four-story mythology given by Jim Stacey to E. W. Gifford around 1930 and published in 1933. Stacey said these were all of the stories he knew. My article “The Whole Past in a Yavapai Mythology” (Bahr 1981) puts this largest Yavapai telling in the context of the other collections recorded from this people. Stacey’s mythology has the following acts of procreation: four children born of women and also three extra-bodily creations (one from heated rocks, one from scurf off human skin, and one, strictly speaking, a revival, from buried human bones). Of the four births from women, three are Edenic and of these, two are an apparent Yavapai play on the Navajo twins—this I discuss below; one is from a human mother and Quail father and one, a boy, is from a human mother and father. The father in this last is the person created from scurf, and the mother is a woman from a camp with Coyote, who kills the father, named Scurf Boy. The son returns to his father’s people and with their help he wipes out the killers’ camp. The Maricopas have a contrasting story (discussed below) with the same rare human parenting and same genealogy of revenge.

There is no Yavapai counterpart to Paiyatemu/Begochidi—that is, no flute-playing, Corn- or Secluded-Maiden-bothering, Sun-fathered, domestic-animal-creating, handsome, or transvestite young man. There is a Yavapai counterpart to the War Twins, but he is an only child (like Paiyatemu), not a twin, and he is born of a woman and fathered by Sun and Water. The woman lies by a waterfall, “opening her legs to the water one day and the next day to the sun” (quoted in Bahr 1981:15). She is disappointed to have given birth to a girl. She remedies this by raising the girl and sending her to the same spot, after which the girl gives birth to a boy. The grandmother sends the mother off to be snatched and killed by an eagle, and she raises the boy as her son. The boy, a natural-born killer, learns his parentage from others: a quail tells him his grandmother is not his mother, his mother tells him his father is Sun; and a wild boy tells him that he has a second father, Water. In a mad effort to catch and kill this wild boy the hero heats rocks in a fire until they pop. With each pop comes a Pima; newly created, the Pimas become enemies of the Yavapais.

I assume the Yavapai hero is shocked to learn he has two fathers. The revelation ends his career as a killer; he becomes a creator of enemies. He and his grandmother turn into stars. The Southwest resists having humans visit the sky, but many of its characters, mainly disappointed ones, become stars; this is also the fate of the boy born of the woman of Lévi-Strauss’s key Star Husband myth. In presenting the double paternity the Yavapai story grabs a nettle that the Navajo stories do not, namely the idea of promiscuous motherhood. If a woman makes love with two men, who knows who the father is? *Both* are, the Yavapai text says. I assume that everyone everywhere knows this problem, but to my knowledge only the Yavapais work it into their mythology. I think they did so from impatience with the Navajos beating around the bush on one- or two-fathered, one- or two-mothered, “twins.” They parodied them sarcastically. Like the Navajo twins, the Yavapai hero kills a series of monsters. Unlike them, however, his story is also

a psychological thriller with its serial revelations on paternity. The narrated series ends before the hero learns the last distressing fact: that his fathers are also his maternal grandfathers and so he is a child of incest. He turns into a star without knowing that.

#### Pimas and Maricopas

The Maricopas have a counterpart to Paiyatemu, the Yavapai boy, and the Pueblo and Navajo War Twins in a story of twin boys born of a woman and Gopher, who attract girls by playing flutes. The story, called “The Flute Lure” by its collector Leslie Spier (1933), comes third in a mythology of fourteen texts given by a man named Kutox. Earlier come stories on creation and on a long, war-like adventure of Coyote, Mountain Lion, and Puma.

In the Maricopa story the heroes attract girls who stay with them at the boys’ mother’s house for only one night. Only one of the couples makes love, and they do so only once. The next morning the girls start for home, one of them pregnant. The boys follow them. The girls’ father has the boys killed. The orphan baby is born, grows, learns of the murders, leaves, and returns to kill his grandfather—the same as with the child of Scurf Boy in the Yavapai story. The Scurf Boy story and this Maricopa one, then, are among the few known to me with “regular,” not Edenic, parentings, and in both the child kills his maternal grandfather.

More importantly, we see from the Maricopa Flute Lure story that the matches between neighboring myths are not one-to-one. Of course, we saw this also with the Navajo character Begochidi, who addresses both the Pueblo Paiyatemu and the Christian devil. Now, the Maricopa Flute Lure story addresses two stories from the Yavapai and, beyond them, the flute-playing Pueblo Paiyatemu. Thus it is not so much that neighbors parody stories, which they certainly do. Rather, it is that they also parody each other’s episodes and characters, sometimes by addressing several at once and always by forming them into their own version of world history, unique to themselves.

Here is the Maricopa contrast with the Yavapai killer. The Maricopa twins' mother is human and their father is Gopher, a subterranean person as opposed to the celestial Sun and elevated, dripping Water of the Yavapai hero. One day the Maricopa mother slides down the bank of a pond where she bathes. Gopher spies her and surreptitiously "gets" her with his earth-drilling penis. The drama of this story is not the twins learning of their parentage. They know their mother, and there are no shocking revelations of paternity. Although Coyote impetuously claims to be their father, the boys take no interest. The drama of this story is in the boys' timid maturation: they cry frequently, they kill only small animals, one marries and the marriage is pathetically brief. The drama is also in the twin's son's vengeance after their death. It is an engaging story and different in tone from the Pueblo story.

The Pimas have two figures remotely like Paiyatemu/Begochidi. One is a young man of uncertain origin, though some say he was created by a man-god named Elder Brother. This youth marries and quickly leaves one woman after another. Each woman has a child in a shorter period of time until finally, before making love, the man gives birth through his penis. This is an important event because the child's tears cause a flood that destroys the previous creation. The other character is the devil, or actually devils, called *Jejawul* (plural; *jiawull*, singular), figures of current, not ancient times, who live in mountains and are masters of horses, gambling, money, and things Mexican. Nothing is said about their births.

It remains to state the Pima counterpart to the War Twins, the Yavapai killer, and the Maricopa flute players. The Pima characters I mentioned previously do not qualify because we are concerned with children of women. The Pimas do not say how the devil came into existence, and the point of the child-from-the-penis story is that the father and mother are one.<sup>12</sup> The Pima counterpart to the War Twins is unusual, however, in being a female rather than a male child of woman. She is called Ho'ok, a name that is usually translated as "witch," probably because she lives alone and has claws like the witch-crones of European folklore. She eats children.

She is born of a woman who captures and sits on a ball kicked her way by a young man who works for a neighboring chief. The girl's father is also a chief, named Sun Meeter. From that name we can infer that the ball, used in semi-ritualized inter-village games, is associated with the sun; supporting that association is the fact that the girl's chiefly father is a master of rain, and thus he is opposed to the chief from whose camp the ball originated. Sun Meeter sends storms to extinguish the fires of his rival. This parentage contrasts with that of the Flute Lure twins. The mothers are roughly the same—women associated with water—but the fathers are different, an underground gopher in the Maricopa story and an above-ground solar ball in the Pima counterpart.

The Pima girl-child Ho'ok could as well be called "monster" as "witch," but there is this difference between her and the monsters of the other myths we have discussed. Our present monster has a precise parentage and the others do not. The others are mostly merely present in the world, without having their origins stated. Yes, one can say that the Navajo monsters have human mothers and "fathers" no stranger than that of the witch since their fathers are objects their mothers masturbated with. Still, the Navajo monsters are many and the relation between their conception and their biography is not stated. They are less rounded and individualized than the Pima witch.

So important is this Ho'ok as a character that the usual way of referring to the whole of the Pima mythology, which has many gods and stories, is "Ho'ok's Telling." She is an interesting character because it seems from her story that no one expected her to grow into a monster. Her hands grow into clawed paws, to the people's surprise, and they are also surprised that she will eat nothing but meat. It is her misfortune to grow into a child eater. She is finally killed by roasting: the people, following the suggestion of the god Elder Brother, invite her to a dance and give her a drugged cigarette. When she falls asleep, they carry her to a cave, close her in, and roast and eat her. This is the only monster I know of who is eaten at the end.<sup>13</sup>

The witch's slim bond with the War Twins is her parentage from a woman and a sun-associated "father"—that and one more item. She does not kill a monster, she *is* one, of two killed by the Pima hero Elder Brother; the other monster is a man-eating eagle. The other peoples' twins are normally called Elder and Younger, depending, it seems, on who is understood to have been born first. The Pima hero named Elder Brother has in fact no actual brother, and his parentage is uncertain. Some say he is born of a brief meeting of Earth and Sky. He is present from almost the very beginning of creation to the end of ancientness. He never fathers a child, but he creates the Pima-speaking Huhukam and later leads another group, the present Pima ancestors, in their conquest of his own creation. He gets the name Elder Brother after the flood that he and his rival, named Earth Doctor, survive by floating in separate closed vessels. When the water subsides they find each other and dispute over who stepped onto the land first. It is impossible to settle the dispute since they came to land far from each other, but Elder Brother insists that he came out (was reborn) first, and Earth Doctor, who had preceded him in the past world, consents. Soon after, however, Earth Doctor sinks into the underworld, never to return to the earth's surface. Earth Doctor is never called "Younger Brother," and the elder/younger terminology is not meant to apply to the gods' relation to people, only to their relation to each other. Like the Pueblo twins, Elder Brother leads the tribal Pima ancestors up from the underworld and helps them conquer the previous inhabitants, thus making the land safe for the present Pimas.

This essay does two things for the first time, I believe. The first is to compare the efforts of Stith Thompson and Claude Lévi-Strauss on the one body of stories that they both addressed, the Star Husband myths. The second is to apply my ideas on Edenism and parody to some stories, Pueblo and Navajo, where they had not been applied before. I had used the ideas on the Yavapai, Pima, and Maricopa texts before, but as stated above, I remain the only per-

son interested in those ideas and so it remains for me to continue pursuing them.

My conclusions on the matter of Thompson and Lévi-Strauss are the following. Thompson did a superb job, first in finding all of the published Star Husband stories and second in seeing into them so as to extract their elements and divide the stories into types. Lévi-Strauss, for his part, used all that Thompson accomplished and levitated beyond it, as I put it, into a field of oppositions and periodicities, especially female menstrual periodicity. Thereby he was able to contrast the Thompson Star Husband types in ways that Thompson did not imagine and also to relate the Star Husband stories to others with no journey into the sky. In so doing he convincingly demonstrated that myths express a logic that relates to cultural beliefs and that can be discovered through the study of oppositions.

As for my conclusions on Edenism, the fresh texts sustain the prevalence of that idea, and they reveal something basic about Native American myths. We have always known that these myths are mainly origin or creation stories, although some, such as Thompson's "base" Star Husband story, originate nothing. The value of Edenism is that it focuses on the creators insofar as they do their work by manipulation or manufacture. Edenism draws our attention to the difference between those creations and what we call *procreations* in English—that is, to the making of babies as humans normally do. Very simply, it is one thing to create and another to procreate; as my theory holds, there is very little human biological procreation in Native American myths. Further and finally, what Edenism allows, and even requires, is a good deal of something halfway between creation and procreation, primarily the having of children by women from miraculous or supernatural fathers.

This last fact, if it is general, is not surprising. I say it is fortunate, however, for it gives us a means to compare the mythologies of the hundreds of distinct peoples of Native America. In fact, I think that it is the best and most interesting method yet proposed

for making comparisons. It focuses on *characters*—parents and children—and I propose that these are the most interesting subjects of the myths and mythologies—and it also focuses on dramas between characters.

As we enter into the stories, whether by Edenism or some other means, we will find what I think is true of all stories anywhere. They are influenced by other stories. For this reason there is no good choice but to study Native American myths comparatively. If we do not compare stories, preferably between neighbors, we will not know how they were created—or so I believe, since I think that an important force on a story is the stories of neighbors. Therefore it is not true—as it is now fashionable to say—that comparison is old-fashioned and unnecessary. It is best to compare, as Thompson and Lévi-Strauss both knew. One must compare.

#### NOTES

1. Lévi-Strauss ([1968] 1990:227) summarized his method, as did Thompson ([1953] 1965:414–16).

2. Lévi-Strauss marshaled the pieces for such a system in two different chapters, “Groups of Ten,” on the numerology of ten, and “Three Adornments,” on scalps, fringes, and porcupine-quill embroidery ([1968] 1990:327–431). Annual seasonal solar and monthly lunar periodicities figure in both chapters. Menstruation would connect to the second, and yet I cannot say that Lévi-Strauss shows how the moon and menstrual bleeding relate or not, both being independently conditioned by other factors.

3. Or, put differently, Lévi-Strauss raises the definition of what mythology is from the episodes of a plot (“units”) to the abstract features of that unit’s episodes (1955) that stand in opposition to other features ([1955] 1972; [1968] 1990).

4. The two are myths: myth 392 ([1968] 1990:94) and myth 393 ([1968] 1990:95–96). Both derive menstrual periods from the moon.

5. Thompson approaches the variable under his part B, introductory condition. The women of the story in question are coded, “B3b,” which means “elopes,” a term that does not discriminate as to prior marital condition. He uses this coding only one other time, for a Cree text in which a woman digging turnips is “enticed away” by a young man, Sun.

6. In fact, the grinding may imply that she is not. See Hatt (1951) on the element of grinding in stories of the Corn Maiden or Corn Mother.

7. My sources on Pueblo mythology are Tyler (1964), Parsons ([1939] 1996), and Parmentier (1979). Tyler has no index entry for “sky” or “heaven,” and he says, “Heavenly gods, beyond the Moon and Sun, are rare and necessarily vague” (87). (He does not explain the necessity.) Parsons’s index has two entries under “sky,” both to very short passages. One is on a name for the sky and the origin of stars as bits of a monster killed and thrown upward by the War Twins (213; see below on the twins). The other says the Keresans hold that a god named Ut’siti lives “four skies above” the earth (244). Her book lacks an index entry for Ut’siti. Parmentier’s ideas on Pueblo fusions with Christianity are discussed below. A fourth author, Ramon Gutiérrez, begins *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away* (1991) with a summary of the Acoma origin story and spells what may be the same god’s name as “Uchtsiti.” He is the father and Thought Woman is the mother of the Corn Mothers Iatiku and Nautsiti. I take it that how the girls were conceived and born is not narrated. The father, however, makes the earth by throwing a clot of his blood into space, and he provides his daughters, then in the underworld, with baskets full of the living things they would bring to the surface of the earth (3). Thereafter, perhaps, he goes to stay in the celestial place mentioned by Parsons.

I conclude from these bits that the Pueblos did not tell of the sky as a place where humans could go to and live, as in the Star Husband stories. Consistent with this, we will deal below with the Pueblo man-god Paiyatemu, who regularly accompanies Sun through the sky but whose adventures with humans are confined to the earth, and we will deal with his Navajo counter Begochidi, who in one story lives in the sky. He too has most of his remembered adventures on earth, but in one story he provides a defeated human gambler with the Mexican race and with various Mexican or white objects of material culture.

8. As Zolbrod (1984) says in his note 6, the one Matthews notebook with a Torlino telling is quite different from what Matthews finally published, but Matthews also had another telling from Torlino, which apparently has been lost.

9. Reichard ([1950] 1974) gives the following list of the trickster characteristics of Coyote. We can be sure that each item is attested in a story. Would that we would know the equivalent words in all Native American languages: “sneaking, skulking, wary, shrewd, tricky, mischievous, provoking, exasper-

ating, contrary, undependable, amusing, disarming, persuasive, flattering, smug, undisciplined, cowardly, foolhardy, obstinate, disloyal, dishonest, licentious, lascivious, amoral, deceptive, sacrilegious, and, in a sense, persistent" (422–23). In sum, the Navajos do not neglect the trickster Coyote, but they supplement him with Begochidi.

10. I praise Levy for addressing whole mythologies and comparing them as reasoned alternatives to each other. He posits the prestige of farming over hunting as the reason for the Navajo remodeling. This may be true, but in the case of Begochidi, I think there is also an influence from Christianity. In general there is much more to mythologies than subsistence, and we may exaggerate the importance of, for example, being a hunting people without farming (Levy 1998:150). Subsistence may not explain what a people say about love, creation, loyalty, selfishness, sky, or the underworld.

11. Spencer does so with her superb abstracts and also with her summary of the plot basic to all of these stories:

"The chantway myths are hero stories. . . . Typically, the hero experiences a series of misfortunes in which he needs supernatural assistance if he is to survive. . . . The hero's misadventures are usually bodily attacks. . . . In this predicament the supernaturals come to his rescue. . . . They restore him by ritual treatment, and from contact with them he acquires ceremonial knowledge and power. . . . With each misadventure and restoration he gains in power until, toward the end of the series, he has accumulated sufficient ritual knowledge . . . to be able to protect himself with little . . . help. . . . In the final events . . . the hero returns to his own people. . . . He teaches the ceremony . . . for the benefit of earth people and then [he] departs." (Spencer 1957:19)

12. More accurately, the Pimas say that the devils' origin is not from a woman. I have heard one story that derives devils (plural) from a certain mountain on the Papago or Tohono O'odham reservation. Before there were whites, some hunters find a cave with sulphur-smelling, bat-like beings inside it. They hatch from eggs.

13. According to the anthropologist C. Bonfiglioli (personal communication), the Tarahumaras have child-eating characters in the form of Serpents, Giants, and Ancestors. The Serpents are killed with hot stones, the Giants with poisoned beans, and the Ancestors by Sun.

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## 29. Yukiwmat Navoti'at

### The Tradition of Yukiwma

Peter Whiteley

Like all Pueblo peoples, the Hopi have no historic sense,  
in our meaning.

—Elsie Clews Parsons (1929:2)

Distinguishing among narrative genres in Native American oral tradition has been a persistent problem since publication of the first “autobiography” in 1833 by Sauk leader Black Hawk (Jackson 1955) and the first collection of Ojibwa “tales and legends” by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft in 1839. Despite their factual details, causal statements, and diachronic sequences, qualification as “history”—as opposed to “myth,” “folklore,” “legend,” and so on—has typically been denied to Native narratives (e.g., Martin 1987; cf. Fogelson 1989; Whiteley 2002a). Lévi-Strauss’s monumental *Mythologiques* (1964, 1966a, 1968, 1971) and other writings (e.g., 1966b) suggested Native American thought was characteristically “mytho-logical,” structurally inclined to suppress time and the differentiations of a historical consciousness (cf. Leach 1970; C. Geertz 1973). Openness to the fact that oral tradition might have direct historical value has principally occurred over the past two decades (though see, e.g., Powell 1969, 1979). Recently, even Southwestern archaeologists, canonically deaf to the oral at least since Lowie’s (1917) denunciation, have again begun to attend more carefully (e.g., Lyons 2003; Bernardini 2005).

The idea that Hopi narratives were trapped on a history-less

treadmill was perturbing to me even before I conducted my first fieldwork at the Third Mesa village of Paaqavi in 1980. In the published record (e.g., Voth 1905; Curtis 1922; Stephen 1936), it is true that many narratives seem to assert social “charters” or entitlements—like the Bear clan’s leadership, although even this has a temporal dimension associated with its status as the first clan to arrive and build a settlement. Others obviously contained etiological explanations of legendary form—from Spider Woman weaving clouds into existence at her cotton loom or Coyote carelessly scattering the stars from a sealed pot, or old people with their dewlaps transforming into the first turkeys. But there was also an evident emphasis in these recorded narratives on *events*: that is, qualitative differentiations in the temporal flow of experience that characterize authentically “historical” thought.

In the corpus of published Hopi “origin myths,” one of the thickest was told to the missionary H. R. Voth around 1902. It recounts human emergence from the underworld, clan migrations, origins and development of the town of Orayvi, and the implications of the structured past for interpreting present conditions and forecasting future events. The narrator was Yukiwma (figure 5) of Kookopngyam, the Fire clan, probably in his fifties at the time. Yukiwma was emerging as principal leader of the Qapahannanawaknaqam, “those who do not want to go along with the whiteman’s way” or “Hostiles,” at Orayvi, the largest and politically most important Hopi town. Hostile leadership was housed in the Spider and Fire clans, which opposed Loololma, the Kikmongwi (village chief), of the Bear clan, who took a more conciliatory line toward the U.S. government. Heevi’yma, Yukiwma’s close clan cousin, was Qaletaqmongwi, War chief, who led the opposition into the mid-1890s, and Lomahongiwma of the Spider clan was the Hostiles’ Kikmongwi. After the death of Patupha (Fire clan), a powerful shaman, around 1897, and with Heevi’yma’s advancing age, Yukiwma gradually began to assume clan and factional leadership. With other Hostile leaders (including those just named), Yukiwma had spent a



Figure 5. Yukiwma, while visiting Washington DC in 1911. Photograph by Delancey Gill. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

year and a half imprisoned at Fort Wingate in 1891–92 and another year at the federal penitentiary on Alcatraz Island in 1894–95.

In negotiations with agents of the dominant society, Yukiwma frequently appeared in a millenarian guise, as a prophet who challenged his interlocutors with stone tablets of authority. Prophecy, from a certain point of view, is history in reverse (Fogelson 1989:144). According to the (historical) prophecy, “Pahaana,” the “white older brother,” had separated from his younger brother, the Hopi chief, upon emergence from the world below. Pahaana migrated east toward the sunrise, promising to return in his brother’s hour of need. Epochal trouble would result, it was forecast, from the actions of *popwaqt*, witches/sorcerers, who would connive to bring chaos and corruption into Hopivötskwani, the Hopi life-plan. When he returned, the true Pahaana should be able to recognize the Kookop clan’s tablets and supply a missing corner piece as proof of his fidelity (cf. A. Geertz 1994).

The tablets, or *owatutuveni*, stones with “writing” on them, first appear in the documentary record in 1871, when Mormons John W. Young and Andrew Smith Gibbons were shown them at Orayvi (A. Geertz 1994:175–77). In 1882 Frank Hamilton Cushing was told of the tablets during his confrontation with Hostile leaders in an Orayvi kiva, but they refused to show them until “Washington comes with his soldiers, *then* we will bring them out” (Cushing 1922:266). When “Washington’s soldiers” did come, in 1891, after the Hostiles challenged an allotment survey, Lieutenant Colonel H. C. Corbin was presented, very probably by Yukiwma, with a flat stone: “The stone was handed to us for examination and when the Hopi was asked to explain it he said it was the testament given to his ancestors by the gods securing to the clans of Oraibi control of all the country about their town” (Fewkes 1922:277).<sup>1</sup>

In 1910, rejecting another allotment program, Yukiwma “produced two slabs of stone which he claimed were evidence that the land belonged to him. He said these stones had been in his house

at Oraibi always” (Miller 1910). And in a meeting with Agent Abraham Lawshe shortly thereafter, “Yukeoma here produced from an old soiled muslin bag two small tablets of stone, which he claimed guaranteed his title to the land. He explained that these tablets of stone had been in the hands of his ancestors for many, many years, but that when his house fell some years ago, they were broken. He said that he did not know what the writing on the stones said, but that he knew from tradition they were a map and title to his lands, which, he innocently assured me, ‘reached from ocean to ocean’” (Lawshe 1910).

Lawshe proposed taking Yukiwma to Washington. Some months later that visit occurred, and Yukiwma presented Commissioner of Indian Affairs R. G. Valentine, and quite probably also President William Howard Taft, with two flat stones, again as proof of his authority over Orayvi (and more broadly, Hopi) land (Yukiwma and Valentine 1911; see also Whiteley 2008).

Yukiwma’s Fire clan heirs have presented these same tablets periodically in negotiations with the U.S. government ever since (e.g., to Commissioner John Collier in 1938 in protest of the limitation of Hopi lands to Grazing District Six and at the United Nations in the early 1990s). In an interview with Voth around 1903, Yukiwma urged him to deliver a message to the Pahaana back east, who might then come and settle Orayvi’s troubles. In the absence of that deliverance, Yukiwma’s faction was famously forced from Orayvi in the “split” of September 1906. After another year’s incarceration, at Fort Huachuca near Tucson, Yukiwma returned to lead the new Hostile village of Hotvela, six miles north of Orayvi, until his death in 1929. In the interim he served several more years in jail at the Hopi Agency in Keam’s Canyon for resisting various government programs, especially the involuntary schooling of Hopi children.

Missionary H. R. Voth, to whom Yukiwma related the narrative of interest, is a controversial figure in Hopi history (cf. Eggan 1979; Whiteley 2008). After establishing the Mennonite mission

in the Oraibi Valley in 1893, Voth was an aggressive evangelist, though with little success. Hopis had rejected the brutalizing Franciscan missions with their inquisitors' tactics two hundred years earlier in the Pueblo Revolt, and no priests had gained a foothold since. Voth became fluent in Hopi, however, and compiled a dictionary and grammar. While denouncing Hopi rituals, he was also fascinated by them and began an ethnographic study that resulted in the most closely observed accounts other than Alexander Stephen's at First Mesa. Although Voth is nowadays roundly condemned for exposing ritual secrets, he was helped in his inquiries by several Hopi priests, who gave him songs and narratives to write down. But when they sought to restrict his access to private kiva rituals, Voth refused and, though a Mennonite, was not above using physical violence to get his way. Initially all his contacts were with the "Friendly" faction under Loololma (see Whiteley 2008:chap. 19). But especially after their return from Alcatraz, Hostile leaders began to see him as a potential counterpoint to government authority who might represent their interests to the agent and side with them against Friendly faction members. Voth lost the support of Loololma and other leading Friendlies because he began consistently to side with the Hostiles in land and other local disputes. It was evidently against this background that Yukiwma recounted to Voth the account the latter titled "The Wanderings of the Hopi."

According to Voth's diary, Yukiwma began to emerge as a principal Hostile leader in 1897 (Whiteley 2008:922). Voth intermittently describes interactions with Heevi'yma and Lomahongiwma, but he appears to have had little if any personal contact with Yukiwma until around 1901. As conflict grew with the agency superintendent at Kearn's Canyon over forcible smallpox vaccinations, schooling of Hopi children, and punishment by imprisonment and haircutting, it seems Yukiwma saw Voth as a conduit to broadcast the Hostiles' predicament to the outside world. A later narrative Yukiwma provided to Voth (ca. 1903; see Whiteley 2008:961–

63) was patently a message he wanted delivered to authorities in Washington, and “Wanderings” evidently also had a political aim. It was evidently told directly to Voth, either interpersonally or in a group setting, where Voth’s presence would have modified a purely Hopi interchange. While all narrations by indigenous speakers for non-indigenous recorders have this conjunctural quality (often occluded or inexplicit in published texts), clearly “Wanderings” was part of a colloquy. It was evidently not uttered in a private Hopi discussion (with Voth as ethnographic eavesdropper) but rather appears crafted directly with Voth, in his projected capacity as mediator, in mind.

The narration certainly had a political context, and although it was included in Voth’s anthology of “folklore,” where it was located in a sequence of tales of creation and emergence, Yukiwma’s narrative intent was certainly not merely literary. Unlike other contributors to the volume, most of whom provided several narratives (probably in one-on-one sessions with Voth), Yukiwma is represented only by this single account. His tale must be re-read, I argue, not at all as a Lévi-Straussian “machine for the suppression of time” (Leach 1970), but rather agentially: as a technique of cultural resistance to the newly hegemonic state. As Armin Geertz (1994) has demonstrated, Hopi mythico-“prophetic” discourse is flexible and contingent, altering under historical circumstances while seeking to capture and accommodate events anew as they occur. In this light, it is misleading to treat such narratives as outside time and circumstance; rather, they are rhetorically mobilized specifically to engage a particular historical moment and its possible outcomes.

While he may have spoken other languages (perhaps Navajo and/or Havasupai), Yukiwma’s principal tongue was Hopi, and at this point in time at least, he probably had no or very little English. Voth apparently wrote the account down in English (to my knowledge there is no written Hopi version). As a native German speaker—his diary was almost entirely in that language—Voth’s

translations from Hopi to English, while very competent, are often somewhat stilted and sometimes reflect his evangelical interests. If he was writing down this account while simultaneously translating Yukiwma's utterances, some, perhaps much, must have been lost. As an ethnographer, however, Voth had become diligent in his recording methods, proudly recounting in his diary an ability to stay awake all night during kiva rituals while occasional non-Hopi companions fell asleep (Whiteley 2008:chap. 19). He may well have had assistance with the translation also and could thus rely on the memory of a Hopi auditor as well as his own. The narrative may have been delivered at the mission station (below the village, by the Oraibi Wash) or perhaps in one of Orayvi's dozen kivas, which Voth was accustomed to visiting frequently. During this period, as pressures from Superintendent Charles Burton and Oraibi Day School principal Herman Kampmeier became more severe, Orayvis would occasionally throng to Voth's station. If the story was told in a kiva, it would most likely have been Naasavi, "center place," on the south-central side of Orayvi overlooking the Snake plaza. This was Yukiwma's kiva; it was owned by Aawatngyam, the Bow clan, and was home to Aa'alt, the Two-Horn society, and Tsöotsöpt, the Antelope society. Yukiwma was a member of both orders, and Naasavi was a prominent Hostile kiva, very close by Sakwalenvi, Orayvi's chief kiva (owned by Lomahongiwma and the Spider clan), another major Hostile center.

If Voth was assisted by a Hopi auditor/translator, my guess is this was Qöyawayma of Orayvi's Badger clan (father of Hopi autobiographer Elizabeth White; see, e.g., Qöyawayma 1964). Qöyawayma gave several stories for *Traditions of the Hopi*. He began to help Voth regularly on the dictionary in early 1902 and was very knowledgeable in general (he worked with later ethnographers, like Leslie White, also). Hopis place explicit sociolinguistic value on precise memory, and older Hopis are often able to repeat extended accounts without significant error. If indeed Qöyawayma aided in the translation, it may be inferred he would have reliably

remembered Yukiwma's actual narrative; moreover, even if he were not present at the recounting, much would have been familiar from the public discourse of factional conflict among Hopis during this period. Albeit with the usual caveat *tradittore traduttore* (i.e., all translation is treachery), we may conclude that the account is quite faithful to what Yukiwma actually said.

#### YUKIWMA'S NARRATIVE

My re-presentation below interlaces comments on context, content, and form but otherwise reproduces the 1905 original (with commentary in square brackets).

A very long time ago they were living down below. Everything was good there at that time. That way of living was good down there. Everything was good, everything grew well; it rained all the time, everything was blossoming. That is the way it was, but by and by it became different. The chiefs commenced to do bad. Then it stopped raining and they only had very small crops and the winds began to blow. People became sick. By and by it was like it is here now, and at last the people participated in this. They, too, began to talk bad and to be bad. And then those who have not a single heart, the sorcerers, that are very bad, began to increase and became more and more. The people began to live the way we are living now, in constant contentions. Thus they were living. Nobody would listen any more. They became very bad. They would take away the wives of the chiefs.

Thus right at the outset Yukiwma foregrounds his recounting vis-à-vis current events at Orayvi, with the interpretation that drought, disease, and dissent were the direct products of negligent human thoughts and actions, in violation of fundamental Hopi ethics. This perspective—linking physical and environmental conditions to the effects of Hopi collective and individual intentions—strongly persists in contemporary Hopi political discourse.

The chiefs hereupon became angry and they planned to do something to the people, to take revenge on them. They began to think of escaping. So a few of the chiefs met once and thought and talked about the matter. They had heard some sounds away up, as of footsteps, as if somebody was walking there, and about that they were talking. Then the Kík-mongwi, who had heard the sounds above, said that they wanted to investigate above and see how it was there, and then if the one above there wanted them, they wanted to try to go out.

The possibility of an exodus, seeking to escape evil conditions, is thus broached analogically at this moment—several years prior to the Orayvi split.

So the others were willing too that they wanted to find out about that, and then if they were permitted they wanted to move up there. So they were now thinking who should find out. So they made a Pawáokaya, sang over it, and thus brought it to life.

*Pavawkyaya* (in current orthography) refers to several species of swallow, and Voth indicates that *Petrochelidon pyrrhonota*, a cliff swallow, is that intended. There had been a Pavawkyayngyam, Swallow clan, in the past, though not known recently among the Hopis. Cliff swallows are present around the Hopi mesas in summer, feeding off flying insects, which they catch often high above ground. A social species, *pavawkyaya* nests in collective clusters of mud-built “apartments” often attached to the eaves of a cave opening in a cliff wall; a large colony is present near the village of Mùnqapi. In their social and building habits, cliff swallows provide a metaphorical parallel with “cliff-dwelling” Hopi ancestors, *motisinom*, ‘first people’, or *hisatsinom*, ‘people of old’.

“Why do you want me?” the bird said. “Yes,” the chief said, “we are not living well here, our hearts are not light, and they are troubling us here, and now I have been thinking about these few children of mine here and we want to see whether we can find some other

way of living. Away above there somebody seems to be walking, and now we thought maybe you could go up there and see about that and find out for us, and that is the reason why we want you.” “All right,” the Pawáokaya said, “all right, I shall go up there and find out about it.” Hereupon the chief planted a löoqö (species of pine or fir [löqö, a ponderosa pine]), but they saw that it did not reach up, but that its point was turning downward. Hereupon they planted a reed [paaqavi, *Phragmites communis*; again, there is a Paaqapngyam, Reed clan] by the side of the pine and that reached up. Then they told the Pawáokaya to go up now and if he should find anybody to tell him and then if he were willing they would go.

In almost all other renderings, the number of species planted before the sky is successfully pierced is four (e.g., Nequatewa 1936:19–20), the standard figure of Hopi narratives (four years, four birds, four settlements, etc.). In an account to Commissioner Valentine in 1911, Yukiwma again listed only two plants, pine and reed. It thus appears he was summarizing, with the implication that other effects of the narrative were more important than strict adherence to traditional form. But the opposition of pine and reed appears symbolically diagnostic anyway. Nequatewa (1936:18–19, 126n8) lists the three tree species before reed in order as Douglas spruce (*Pseudotsuga mucronata*), white fir (*Abies concolor*), and western yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*). All have a range of traditional Hopi uses and symbolic meanings, generally associated with attracting moisture to agricultural fields (Whiting 1939:63). Pines are specifically associated with cold (Stephen 1936:78); frequent pilgrimages to collect spruce, fir, and pine branches for ceremonial use occur to Nuvatukya’ovi, “snow piled on top place,” the San Francisco Peaks, for example.

Notwithstanding other symbolic oppositions among them, all three evergreen species stand for the capacity of cold, mountainous eco-niches to create and attract snow, ice, and other cold moisture. All are binarily opposed to *Phragmites communis*, deciduous

reeds restricted in Hopi country to spring and pond environs and marshlands at lower elevations. In short, pines and reeds, both exemplars of the powers of moisture, are opposed to each other as winter to summer, cold to heat, evergreen to deciduous, high to low, and mountainous vegetative regions to semiarid mesas.

So the Pawáokaya ascended, flying in circles upward around these two ladders. When he came up to the top he found an opening there, through which he went out. After he came out he was flying around and around, but did not find anybody, so he returned to the opening again and came down. As he was very tired he fell down upon the ground before the chiefs. When he was somewhat revived they asked him, "Now, what have you found out?" "Yes," he said, "I went through there and there was a large space there, but I did not find anybody. When I did not find anybody I became hungry and thirsty and very tired, so I have come back now." "Isohí! (Oh!)" they said. "Very well, now who else will go?" and they were thinking. "Somebody else shall go," they said, and they kept thinking about it.

So they made another one, but this time a small one, and when they were singing over it it became alive. When it had become alive they saw that it was a Humming-bird (Tóhcha), which is very small but very swift and strong.

Voth here footnotes his uncertainty about the species, but his inference is correct: *tòtsa* refers to all types of hummingbirds; those typically at Hopi in summer are black-chinned, broad-tailed, and rufous (Bradfield 1974:51). Thus the first two birds, *pavawkyaya* and *tòtsa*, are both summer species and insectivores.

"Why do you want me?" the bird said. "Yes," they said, "our children [the people of a village are referred to as the "children" of the *momngwit*, chiefs, especially the *kikmomngwit*, village chief's family] here are not with good hearts. We are not living well here; we are living here in trouble. So we want you to go up there for

us and see what you can find out, and if the one up there is kind and good, we think of going up there, and that is the reason why we want you. So you go up there; you hunt somebody, and if he is gentle and kind, we shall go up there.” So the Tóhcha flew upward, circling around the two trees, went through the opening and flew around and around, and not finding anybody also became tired and came back. He flew lower and lower and alighted in front of the chiefs, exhausted. When he had somewhat revived, they asked him: “Now, then, what have you heard, what have you found out?” “Yes,” he said, “yes, I flew around there that way and became tired and exhausted and have come back.” “Isohí!” they said again, “now then, we shall send somebody else.”

They then created another one, and sang over it. But this time they had made a larger one, and when they had chanted their song over it, it became alive and it was a Hawk (Kisha).

The next bird in the sequence, *kiisa*, is *Falco mexicanus*, the prairie falcon, present throughout the winter and known for its rabbit-hunting skills. *Kiisa* is a primary emblem and aide in hunting, credited with introducing *putskoho*, the rabbit-hunting stick, to Hopi hunters (Bradfield 1995:254). One tale features Sitiyo, ‘blossom boy’, who is cursed with bad luck in rabbit hunting. *Kiisa* suddenly swoops in with a magical assist: “. . . ‘with one jab of its powerful sharp-pointed wing’; rabbit after rabbit is killed in this way then Ki’sa flies back to the cliff where he lives, and Siti’yo returns to the village, carrying the rabbits” (Bradfield 1995:254).

As a raptor, a carnivore, *kiisa* is opposed to swallows and hummingbirds, just as hunting—marked as a winter activity in the human round—is opposed to summer farming, gardening, and gathering. Thus in Yukiwma’s narrative there is a two-way dialectical progression of opposing principles: while the plants transition from winter to summer (along with the other attendant contrasts noted), the avian sequence is inverse: from summer to winter species, with an increasing emphasis on hunting and, as we will see, war.

“Why do you want me?” the Hawk also said. “Yes,” they replied, “yes, these our children do not listen to us, they worry us, and we are living in trouble here, and that is why we want you. You go up there and find out for us and inform us.” So the Hawk flew up also, passed through the opening, and circled around for some time in the space above the opening. But he [the Hopi pronoun would be *pam*, which is not gendered] also became tired and returned, exhausted. So when he was somewhat revived, they asked him: “What did you find out?” and he told them the same as the others had, that he had not found any one. “Isohi!” they said, “we shall try it once more.”

So they made another one, and sang over it again. While they were singing over it it became alive, and it was Mòtsni.

*Motsni* is a loggerhead shrike (*Lanius ludovicianus*), “bold, sturdily built birds that perch conspicuously on posts and bushes, pouncing to the ground to take lizards, beetles, grasshoppers, and other insects” (Bradfield 1974:25). *Motsni* is a primary emblem and aid in warfare: like *kiisa*, it “appears on a Hopi war shield” (Wallis and Titiev 1944:iii) and in that context is described as *tuu-wala*, ‘watchman’ (Bradfield 1995:258). *Motsni* is also an emblem of Kwaakwant, the One-Horn society (Stephen 1936:1251). There is a striking homonymy between *moomotsnim*, the plural of *motsni*, and *Moomots* (aka Mòmtsit), the Warriors society. The sodality name may well embody a figurative reference to this species and might thus be literally rendered “Shrike society.”

Moomots is owned by the Kookop clan; the clan-set in question owns Kwaakwant, also a society with warrior associations, but on a spiritual plane. In his account of 1911, Yukiwma emphasized that the *motsni* who went to penetrate into the world above was specifically sent forth by the Kwaakwant. Bradfield (1995:258–60) claims that *motsni* belongs to the Bow-Reed-Greasewood set, but he probably inferred this mistakenly from Stephen’s journal, which is attuned to First Mesa, where the Kwaakwant society is owned by the Reed clan. At First Mesa, Reed and Eagle clans

form a set, but there is no Bow or Greasewood clan. As noted, Kwaakwant at Third Mesa is owned by the Maasaw-Kookop clan group, and I thus infer that Shrike logically belongs with that set at Third Mesa.<sup>2</sup>

“Why do you want me?” the latter asked. “Yes,” they said, “our children here do not listen to us, they have hard hearts, and we are living in trouble here. So we have been thinking of leaving here, but these here have not found anybody there, so you go up too, and you find out for us. And, if you find some one there who is kind and gentle and has a good heart, why you tell us and we shall go up there.” So he flew up too, and having passed through the opening, he kept flying around and looking about, as he was very strong. Finally he found the place where Oraíbi now is, but there were no houses there yet, and there somebody was sitting, leaning his head forward, and as the Mótsni came nearer he moved it to the side a little. Finally he said: “Sit down, you that are going around here, sit down. Certainly you are going around here for some reason. Nobody has seen me here yet.” “Yes,” the Mótsni said, “down below we are not living well, and the chiefs there have sent me up here to find out, and now I have found you. Now you say, you tell me if you are willing, and I shall tell them so, and we will come up here.” This one whom the Mótsni had found was Skeleton (Másauuu). “Yes,” he said, “now this is the way I am living here. I am living here in poverty. I have not anything; this is the way I am living here. Now, if you are willing to live here that way too, with me, and share this life, why come, you are welcome.” “All right,” the Mótsni said, “whatever they say down there, whatever they say. Now, I shall be off.” “All right,” Skeleton said, whereupon the Mótsni left.

Voth, ever the missionary, translates Maasaw awkwardly (perhaps intentionally so) as “Skeleton” rather than by a term of divinity. Again, as totemic ideas, both Shrike and Maasaw belong to Yukiwma’s clan-set (including the Kookop, Maasaw, Coyote, Fox, and Millet clans) and its ritual hereditament (especially

Moomots and Kwaakwant). Totemic species linked especially with winter, hunting, and war are also emphasized here. Implicitly, Yukiwma seems to be arguing that not only were his clan's totems and ancients critical to the success of emergence but, especially in the person of Maasaw, they were already present in the fourth world before the Bear clan arrived.

So he returned and descended to where the chiefs were sitting, but this one did not drop down, for he was very strong and he came flying down to them. "What have you found out?" they asked the bird. "Yes," he said, "I was up there and I have found him away off. But it is with you now; he also lives there poorly, he has not much, he is destitute. [This may be excessive—"very poor" is probably more accurate.] But if you are satisfied with his manner of living, why you are welcome to come up there." "All right," they said, and were happy. "So that is the way he is saying, so he is kind, we are welcome, and we are going."

The cryptic nature of Shrike's report—who is up there?—reflects Voth's choices in translation but is also typical of Hopi narrative, where once a character has been introduced she or he does not need reintroduction to other protagonists even if they were not party to the original introduction. Elision from narrative-specific context to narrative-general understanding is taken as given. Hopi emphasis on material poverty and humility as virtues continues to resound into the present and serves as a guide for social action. Although statistics on Hopi poverty conform to those for many Native American reservation communities, with unemployment levels estimated at 30–60 percent or more, in referenda Hopis have twice voted down a tribal casino, specifically invoking an incompatibility with traditional values. This may change now that cessation of revenues from coal leases has forced the Hopi Tribe to lay off many employees, but the tribe also still refuses to accept a 1970s settlement from the Indian Claims Commission for loss of aboriginal lands (originally \$5 million; currently, with

interest, in excess of \$43 million). In short, this is not mere ideological embellishment; it governs much Hopi social discourse and practice.

At that time there were all kinds of people living down there, the White Man, the Paiute, the Pueblo; in fact all the different kinds of people except the Zuñi and the Kóhonina [Havasupais], who have come from another place.

This is an interesting list and contrast. “White Man,” I infer, is translated from Pahaana, and contrasts in Hopi with Kastila (from Spanish *castellano*), the term Hopis use for Hispanos (other accounts in Voth’s anthology [e.g., Voth 1905:11–15] do include the Spanish as part of the emergence), and Momonam, Mormons, who arrived earlier than most other Anglos. The Zuni and Havasupai distinction is striking and somewhat obscure: these were the Hopis’ closest neighbors on the east and west until the interpersions of the Navajos (notably absent from the list) in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Hopis generally depict their emergence taking place at Sípàapuni, a shrine near the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers in the Grand Canyon. Zunis also consider that they migrated from this point up the Little Colorado River to their historic village locations in eastern Arizona and western New Mexico (T. J. Ferguson, personal communication). While in the last century Havasupai residence has been restricted to Cataract Canyon, historically Havasupais dwelled in areas from the South Rim to the San Francisco Peaks and eastward to the confluence of Moenkopi Wash with the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928). They clearly had regular contact with Orayvi: various representations of Havasupais (“Kòoninam”) have long been popular in Third Mesa Katsina and Social Dance performances. While Orayvi did have contacts with Zunis (e.g., Talayeva 1942), these were much less frequent than at First Mesa, where ceremonial exchanges with Zuni were extensive (Stephen 1936). In any event, while its cultural and/or historical value is

uncertain, Yukiwma's account here represents a historical differentiation (of Zunis and Pai speakers) as well as a mythological incorporation (of Pahaanas into the underworld; cf. Stephen 1929, including a similar Hopi-Tewa account).

Of all these people some whose hearts were not very bad had heard about this, and they had now assembled with the chiefs, but the greater part of the people, those whose hearts were very bad, were not present. They now decided that they would leave. The chief told them that in four days they were to be ready to leave. So during the four days those who knew about it secretly told some of their friends whose hearts also were at least not very bad, that after four days they were going to leave. So the different chiefs from the different kinds of people assembled with small parties on the morning of the fourth day, after they had had their morning meal. They met at the place where they were appointed to meet, and there were a good many. "We are a great many," the chief said, "may be there will be some here among them whose heart is not single. Now, no more must come through, this is enough." So they commenced to climb up the reed, first the different chiefs, the Village chief (*Kík-mongwi*), who was also at the same time the Soyál-mongwi, the Flute chief (*Lān-mongwi*), Horn chief (*Ál-mongwi*), Agave chief (*Kwán-mongwi*), Singer chief (*Táo-mongwi*), Wūwūchim chief (*Kél-mongwi*), Rattlesnake chief (*Tcū-mongwi*), Antelope chief (*Tcöb-mongwi*), Maraú chief (*Maraú-mongwi*), Lagón chief (*Lagón-mongwi*), and the Warrior chief (*Kaléhtak-mongwi* or *Pöokong*).

This is an important index of political leadership and social organization. The series of offices indicating the Wimmomngwit, ritual chiefs, represents the system of governance (cf. Whiteley 1987), and its order is not accidental. The Kikmongwi and Soyalmongwi go together at Orayvi, with Loololma and his family (notably his older brother Sakwhongiwma) holding these roles in the late nineteenth century. The listing next of Lenmongwi, the Flute chief (which specifically means the overall chief of the

Flute ceremony, who was the formal head of Sakwalelent, the Blue Flutes) reveals the importance of this Spider clan role. Soyalangw (Winter Solstice ceremony) and Leenangw (Flute ceremony) are counterpoint rituals in the calendrical cycle (cf. Whiteley 2008), and the legitimacy of Lomahongiwma's claim to the Kikmongwi position was principally underwritten by his status as Flute chief.<sup>3</sup>

The next four chiefs in Yukiwma's list—Al (Two-Horn), Kwan (One-Horn), Taw (Singers), and Wuwtsim—represent the four "Manhood" societies that were prominent in Orayvi's governance, according to my conversations with Hopi elders. Yukiwma was an Aalaytaqa, Two-Horn initiate, and after the split that society developed an analogous role vis-à-vis village chiefship at Hotvela as Soyalangw holds at Orayvi (and the Flute ceremony holds at Wàlpi). Yukiwma's listing of the Al society first in this group reflects the fact that Al and Kwan are the most prestigious and socially and supernaturally most powerful of the four linked societies. The next two chiefs—Snake and Antelope—are important male ritual sodalities, and the two following—Maraw and Lakon—represent two of the three women's sodalities (which had male chief-priests). Missing from the last sequence is the Owaqölmongwi, chief of Owaqölt, a women's society, which is generally regarded as a later introduction by Sand clan immigrants to Orayvi from Sikyatki (though "later" here may in fact mean as early as the fifteenth century AD). And the Qaletaqmongwi, War chief—a role that I have argued was much more important than recognized by most anthropologists—brings up the rear in this ritual sequence because his role is to protect and discipline all the other chiefs. The Qaletaqmongwi was in binary opposition to the Kikmongwi, as War chief to Peace chief (cf. Whiteley 2008), and as noted, it was in his role as Qaletaqmongwi that Yukiwma's cousin, Heevi'yma, was the principal Hostile leader opposing Loololma into the mid-1890s.

The listing includes no mention of the Katsinmongwi or Powamuymongwi, chiefs of the principal Katsina societies (Katsina

and Powamuy), nor is the Badger clan (which owns Powamuy) represented by any of these chiefships. Those in the list are what I have characterized (Whiteley 1987) as the leaders of the First Order and Second Order ritual sodalities (contrasting with the Katsina societies in this regard, which I represent as somewhat less important in the politico-ritual hierarchy). We may note too that the list of officers includes the leadership of clans in six of Orayvi's nine maximal clan-sets: Bear-Spider (Kikmongwi, Soyol chief, Flute chief, Antelope chief), Bow (Two-Horn chief, overall Wuwtsim chief), Maasaw-Kookop (Kwan chief, War chief), Parrot (Lakon chief), Sparrowhawk (Wuwtsim chief), and Snake-Lizard (Snake chief, Maraw chief).<sup>4</sup> The three clan-sets not represented are Badger-Butterfly, Patki-Piikyas, and Eagle-Sun. These absences may be read as indications of later-arriving clan groups in Orayvi. I have argued (Whiteley 2008) that this is the case with the Eagle and Piikyas groups (paired, respectively, with Sun and Patki), and my sense is that the Badger clan's migration represents a later (perhaps originally Keresan-speaking) arrival that introduced Katsinas to Orayvi from a village at Kiisiwu on northeastern Black Mesa, where the Powamuy and Katsina societies still make pilgrimages during major Katsina ceremonies (cf. Whiteley 2002b). In short, the absences from Yukiwma's list suggest Hopi consciousness of historical differentiation within Orayvi's social order.

And then the people followed and a great many went out. By this time the people in the lower world had heard about this, and they now came crowding from all sides towards the trees. When the Kikmongwi above there saw that so many were coming he called down to stop. "Some of the Pópwaktu," he said, "are going to come up too, I think, so that is enough, stop now!" He then commenced to pull up the reed so that a great many people that were still on it dropped back.

The contrast in Yukiwma's account between chiefs and people corresponds to a "class" distinction in Hopi discourse between

*pavansinom*, important or powerful people, and *söqavungsinom*, common people (lacking in ritual authorities and prerogatives). Until recently (Whiteley 1987; Levy 1992), Hopi society has mostly been depicted as egalitarian, but Yukiwma's account is quite explicit to the contrary. This description may also speak to population pressure, which is identified by Hopis and others as a cause of social unrest at Orayvi (cf. Whiteley 1988). There is also an imputation here, in the Kikmongwi's punishment of his people, of chiefly overreaching—a theme common to other Hopi narratives.

So they now moved on a little bit to the rim or edge of the opening, and there they gathered, and there were a great many of them. The Kík-mongwi now addressed them and said, "Now this many we have come out, now we shall go there, but we want to live with a single heart. Thus long we have lived with bad hearts. We want to stop that. Whatever that one there (referring to the Mótsni) tells us, we want to listen to, and the way he says we shall live." Thus he instructed them.

Again this may privilege Shrike as a clan ancient of Yukiwma's own clan and ritual-sodality nexus.

In a little while the child of the chief, a small boy, became sick and died. "Isohí!" the chief said, "A Powáka has come out with us," and they were thinking about it. Then he made a ball of fine meal and threw it upward, and it alighted on the head of a maiden. So he went there and grabbed her saying: "So you are the one. On your account my child has died. I shall throw you back again." He then lifted her to the opening. "I am going to throw you down here," he said, "you have come out with us and we shall now live in the same way here again." But she did not want to. "No," she said, "you must not throw me down, I want to stay with you, and if you will contend with one another again I shall always talk for you (be on your side).["]

We may note in passing that the chief's son, not his sister's son (his proper heir in this matrilineal society), was the victim

here. Filial ties through males are more important in Orayvi's social structure than suggested by most accounts, which emphasize matrilineal clans and lineages. Also noteworthy here is Yukiwma's charge that responsibility for the persistence of witchcraft in the fourth world belongs to the Kikmongwi: the witch agrees to work for the Kikmongwi—and against his opponents—in the event of future conflict.

[“]Now, you go and look down there and you will see your child going around down there.” So he looked down and there he saw his child running around with the others. “That is the way it will be,” the maiden said to the chief; “if any one dies, he will go down there and he will remain there only four days, and after the four days he will come back again and live with his people.”

Voth here footnotes, “This is the way the narrator stated it. The meaning is not quite clear but probably it refers to the belief of the Hopi that the souls of the dead remain in the grave three days, leaving the grave on the fourth day to travel to the skeleton house to live with the departed Hopi.” Christian influence on Hopi eschatology—especially via the seventeenth-century Franciscan missions—is difficult to gauge but clearly present; this passage may represent a syncretic idea of resurrection. The witch appears responsible for introducing an afterlife and may thus represent a Christian priest, the destination to the below simply inverting the axis mundi of Christian ascent into heaven.

Hereupon the chief was willing that she should remain and he did not throw her down, but he told her that she could not go with them right away. When they should leave, when they had slept, after the first day she might follow them. So she remained there near the opening.

Hereupon Pöokong looked around all over and he found out that towards one side it was always cold. [Pöokong (Pöqangwhoya), the elder War Twin, specifically refers to the Qaletaqmongwi, War

chief, in Yukiwma's account.] It was at this time dark yet, so Spider Woman (Kóhkang Wuhti) took a piece of white native cloth (ówa) and cut a large round piece out of it on which she made a drawing. [In part Spider Woman represents intelligence, wisdom, cleverness—the “mind,” as opposed to the “heart,” in some Hopi accounts.] She was assisted by the Flute priest [i.e., the Spider clan chief]. They sang some songs over it, and then Spider Woman took the disk away towards the east. Soon they saw something rise there, but it did not become very light yet, and it was the moon. So they said they must make something else. Spider Woman and the Flute priest then took a piece of buckskin, cut a circular piece out of it, and made on it a drawing of the sun symbol, as is still used by the Flute priest today. They sang over this, whereupon Spider Woman took that away and in a little while something rose again, and now it became light and very warm. But they had rubbed the yolks of eggs over this sun symbol and that is what makes it so very light, and that is why the chickens know when it is light and yellow in the morning, and crow early at the sunrise, and at noon, and in the evening, and now they know all about the time. [An example of etiological elements in legendary tales.] And now the chief and all the people were happy because it was light and warm.

The chiefs now made all different kinds of blossoms and plants and everything. They now thought of starting and scattering out. The language then spoken was the Hopi language. This language was dear and sacred to the Hopi chief, and he wanted to keep it alone to himself and the Hopi, but did not want the people who would scatter out to take this language along, and so he asked the Mocking-bird (Yáhpa), who talks everything, to give to the different people a different language. This the Mocking-bird did, giving to one party one language, to another party another language, and so on, telling them that these languages they should henceforth speak. Hereupon they sat down to eat a common meal, and the chief laid out a great many corn-ears of different lengths which they had brought from the under-world. “Now,” he said, “you choose

of these corn-ears before you start.” So there was a great wrangle over these corn-ears, every one wanting the longest ears, and such people as the Navaho, Ute, Apache, etc., struggled for and got the longest corn-ears, leaving the small ones for the Hopi, and these the chief took and said: “Thanks, that you have left this for me. Upon this we are going to live. Now, you that took the long corn-ears will live on that, but they are not corn, they will be kwákwki, láhu, and such grasses that have seed.”

*Kwáakwi* is giant dropseed (*Sporobolus giganteus*), “a tall grass with a long spike [which is] . . . conspicuous about the base of the mesas . . . [and] easily harvested [for] food grain” (Whiting 1939:66). *Leehu* is Indian millet (*Oryzopsis hymenoides*), whose seeds are also gathered for food and whose grass is used for torches; *leehu* designates an Orayvi clan (Leengyam) linked to the Coyote clan and close to Yukiwma’s own.

And that is the reason why these people rub out the tassels of those grasses now and live on them; and the Hopi have corn, because the smaller ears were really the corn.

Other accounts of this differentiation of people by the grains they chose do not make the same contrast between cultivated (maize) and wild. Yukiwma’s ethnography, in Voth’s translation, is somewhat doubtful here, at least as regards the Navajos and Western Apaches, who have long included maize in their economies, although when Apacheans first entered the Southwest, probably in the late fifteenth century, they may have been exclusively foragers. But the contrast foregrounds Hopi self-identification as people of maize, as opposed to Apacheans or Utes, for whom farming is, from a Hopi perspective, economically secondary at best. This emphasis reflects the antiquity of Western Pueblo maize agriculture: not far from Hopi, near Zuni Salt Lake, is the Old Corn site that suggests presence of agriculture in this region as early as four thousand years BP.

The chief had an elder brother, and he selected some of the best foods that tasted well, such as *nökwiwi*, meats, etc.

Voth here footnotes, “A stew prepared of mutton, shelled corn, etc.” *Nöqwivi* is still the dish of choice at Hopi feasts, especially on dance days. Prior to the beginning of Hopi sheep husbandry in the seventeenth century, deer, antelope, and rabbit provided the main meats. Association of the best-tasting foods, even meat stew, with the elder brother (Pahaana) echoes a current Hopi Traditionalist warning about temptations of the whiteman’s way; some Hopis now identify (with good reason) the whiteman’s sweet and appealing foods as the cause of the diabetes epidemic afflicting many Native Americans, Hopis included.

They were now ready to start, and then the chief and his elder brother talked with each other and agreed that the elder brother should go with a party ahead towards the sunrise, and when he would arrive there he should touch the sun, at least with his forehead, and then remain and live there where the sun rises. But they should not forget their brethren, they should be looking this way, towards the place where they would settle down.

A half century earlier, the Hopis had sent a diplomatic packet to President Millard Fillmore, who lived near the sun’s house in the east, seeking to engage with this principal representative of Anglo authority, whom they evidently associated with the sun’s power (Whiteley 2004a). Each morning Taawa, the sun, climbs into the sky via the ladder of his eastern kiva, donning first a gray fox pelt (radiating *qöyangnuptu*, early gray light of dawn) and then a yellow one (producing *sikyangnuptu*, yellow dawn light). As a mostly beneficent “father,” the sun’s blessings are sought in ritual and song. At this historical moment, Yukiwma still evidently associated Pahaana, the elder white brother, with the Hopi sun-father at his eastern dwelling house. This idea reflects Hopi respect for and hope about the arrival of Anglos, who, according to prophecy,

might deliver them from oppression by others, especially Hispanos, and lately the Navajos who had begun to encroach on Hopi springs and lands (Whiteley 2008). Yukiwma's sense of the elder brother's capacity to deliver the Hopis from their predicament resonates with this prophetic context.

A So Wuhti (old woman, grandmother) went with each party. Each party also took a stone upon which there were some marks and figures, and that fitted together. They agreed that if the Hopi should get into trouble again, and live again the same way as they did in the lower world, the elder brother should come back to them and discover the Powákas who caused the trouble, and cut off their heads.

Opposition along intersecting axes of gender and age, between a maiden—the witch girl—and a grandmother, is a notable element here. The figure of the maiden encapsulates the dangerous antitheses of kinship and affinity, of incest and marriage rules (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1964 on the Tsimshian story of Asdiwal). While a maiden's instrumentality is inherently ambiguous, transitively potentiating the conjunction of opposing clans for social and biological reproduction, Sowùuti, an old woman—at least in one's own clan—is usually a benign figure in Hopi stories, sought out for both wisdom and power. In the War Twins' dangerous quests, for example, their Spider Grandmother consistently provides magical protection and aids them in acquiring ritual knowledge that will transform nature into culture (similarly to the Hopi Snake myth [e.g., Voth 1905:30–35]).

First mention of the stone tablets follows immediately upon the introduction of the Sowùutis. Huru'ing.wùuti, 'hard substances woman,' is the goddess of valued hard forms—shells, coral, turquoise, and so on. In some Hopi accounts, there are two Huru'ing.wùutis, each dwelling in the eastern and western kivas where the sun rises and sets. Huru'ing.wùuti and Kòokyangwso'-wùuti (Spider Grandmother) are sometimes represented as sis-

ters, and when two Huru'ing.wùutis are mentioned it is implicit that they too are sisters. In tales where these figures are protagonists, grandmothers are seen as powerful and clever agents in the holding and conferring of cultural value. Although the stone tablets are also attributed to Maasaw (below), their narrative juxtaposition with the Sowùutis here, and the theme of hardening, suggests both an echo of the appearance by the Huru'ing.wùutis at creation (see Voth 1905:1) and the implication that the Sowùutis taken along by the migrating parties were in fact Huru'ing.wùutis. In any event, for the protection and power provided by the wisdom of cultural knowledge, grandmothers are indispensable. The *owatutuveni* (stone tablets) are evidently made of a smooth, reddish, stone-like marble (A. Geertz 1994:176); according to another account, they were originally fashioned by Maasaw from hardened cornmeal (Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987:58).

Yukiwma's reference to head cutting was clearly a part of a millenarian discourse and appeared frequently amid charges and countercharges of sorcery surrounding the Orayvi split. Reuben Perry, the Navajo agent seconded to Orayvi with troops in response to the split, gave both Tawakwaptiwa (Loololma's successor as Kikmongwi) and Yukiwma the opportunity to have their heads cut off to fulfill the prophecy both declared to him. A similar discourse—that a beheading would purify the earth and restore harmony—circulated among other Southwestern peoples during this period also, sharing certain elements with the Ghost Dance in California and the Plains. Among nearby Western Apaches at exactly the same period when Yukiwma's narrative was delivered, the *daagodighá* movement (1903–07) promised a new heaven and new earth: “The goal of the movement was to establish a new world for the good people of all the nations of the earth. . . . After a series of dances [the leaders] . . . were going to lead the people up into the clouds, while the old world and all its bad people were destroyed and new world created” (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:388).

Daslahdn, one of three Western Apache prophets, proclaimed

that after his head was cut off, he would be resurrected and come back to life. Acting in accordance with his instructions, his followers evidently did decapitate him in 1906; when the other two prophets died shortly thereafter, the movement broke down (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:393; Ferg and Kessel 1988:144). The timing is particularly resonant with Yukiwma's discourse here and emerging events at Orayvi.

The elder brother and his party started first, and they became the White Men as they traveled eastward. The chief and his party started next, both taking a southern route. The maiden that had been found to be a Powáka, and who had been left behind at the opening, followed these two parties after they had left.

Like those in other cultures, the emergence narrative is clearly susceptible to Freudian interpretation as a rebirth and in that regard serves as template for Hopi male initiation and rebirth in the Manhood societies. The association with the place of emergence and a maiden (implicitly a virgin), in turn associated with death and resurrection, may be wholly autochthonous, but here too there are resemblances to the Christian narrative. The Virgin Mary ushered into the world the Messiah, who by his death and resurrection is the savior of mankind. It is at the place of rebirth where the Hopis encounter Maasaw, the deity of this earth but especially of death and the reproduction of spiritual and vegetal life. Maasaw is a direct agent in the Hopis' rebirth: without his permission, Shrike could not have passed on the word that it was all right for the people to climb up through the reed. Some Hopis have suggested to me that the word *Maasaw* is a corruption of Spanish *mesías* (or, given the Franciscan liturgy, perhaps biblical Latin *messias*), Messiah, and directly syncretize Maasaw with the resurrected Christ (cf. Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987). That may be a narrowly held view, and I doubt most Hopis would accept it. At the same time, some aspects of Christian theology likely were retained from the Franciscan period and reworked in Hopi

discourse. An alternative view concerns the influence too of Keresan culture on the Hopi, perhaps especially in the wake of the Pueblo Revolt, when there were Keresans among the Rio Grande refugees to the Hopi mesas (cf. Whiteley 2002b). Maasaw may thus be akin to Masewi, one of the Keresan War Twins. Socially, Maasaw is again associated with Yukiwma's clan-set (especially the Maasaw, Fire, Coyote, and Fox clans), which owns the societies most concerned with war and death (Moomots and Kwaakwant). And it is not impossible that a double association (with *messias* and Masewi) is involved. In any event, juxtaposition of a virgin who ushers in the afterlife with the god of death and rebirth, while in inverse symmetrical relationship to aspects of the Christian narrative, resembles a mythological transformation of the colonial religious tradition.

The people hereupon formed different parties, each party following a certain chief, and all traveling eastward. They usually stopped for longer or shorter periods at certain places, and then traveled on again. For this reason, there are so many ruins all over the country.

This reflects standard Hopi accounts of their descent from clans who built Ancestral Pueblo villages throughout the Southwest.

The Pueblo Indians also passed through about here where the Hopi now live. The White Men were more skillful than the others and got along better. Spider Woman, who was with them, made horses and burros for them, on which they traveled when they got tired, and for that reason they went along much faster. The party that brought Powák-mana [the witch girl] with them settled down at Palátkwapi, where they lived for quite a while, and these did not yet bear a particular clan name.

Apparently historical or legendary processes are again combined with magical aspects and mythologically refigured elements. The idea that (eastern) Pueblo Indians migrated through Hopi country is consistent with present-day Hopi accounts. The

original presence of White Men at emergence reflects the ideological tendency within millenarian movements, like cargo cults, arising in response to abrupt contact with a militarily powerful, technologically advanced society. Predicating an aboriginal presence of a departed white brother who cannily appropriated all the goods or technological marvels that should be the birthright of both siblings is quite common (cf. Worsley 1957).

Pahaana's reliance on Spider Woman seems surprising, however. If whites are to be absorbed into Hopi creation mythology, it may follow logically that they be guided and governed by a Hopi deity. While usually lauded for her abilities, Spider Woman's intelligence and creativity may also be an object of suspicion. Tawakwaptiwa, chief of the Friendly faction after Loololma, specifically attributed the perfidy of their Spider clan opponents to Spider Grandmother. Yukiwma here may allude to a related suspicion: although still close with the Spider clan, his relationship with its head, Lomahongiwa, definitely involved some tension, eventually resulting in Yukiwma's accusation of capitulation to the U.S. government. After the Orayvi split, the Hostiles divided into subgroups led by Lomahongiwa and Yukiwma; rather than settling at Hotvela, the former led his party back to Orayvi and then in 1909 to found Paaqavi. Yukiwma retained close ties with Lomahongiwa's brother Lomayestiwa, but rivalry between the Fire and Spider clans at Hotvela led in the 1930s to a long-running conflict over village leadership (cf. Titiev 1944).

Yukiwma's identification of the *powaqmana* with the Palatkwapi clans again expresses some internal social conflicts. The theme of division between clans who migrated directly after emergence and those who went to Palatkwapi, a city in the south, before returning to the Colorado Plateau, is widespread in Hopi historical discourse (cf. Ferguson 2003). Precise identification of Palatkwapi is uncertain, and differing accounts suggest it lies from somewhere in the Verde Valley all the way down into the Valley of Mexico. My sense (contrary to Parsons 1929) is that it corresponds with a

specific Hohokam village or group of such villages in the Gila or Salt River Valleys. One early account rather specifically suggests an area below the Gila-Hassayampa River confluence (or perhaps, though the description makes this less likely, below the Salt-Verde River confluence [see Stephen 1936:1162]). Many Hopi stories (including Yukiwma's—see below) depict Palatkwapi's abandonment after a major flood, which may well coincide with known flooding events at Hohokam sites (e.g., Pueblo Grande on the Salt River) in 1358. Attendant migration north to the Hopi mesas by the Patki clan, as recounted by clan chief Aanawita of Wàlpi around 1890 (Mindeleff 1891; Fewkes 1900; cf. Whiteley 2002a) palpably corresponds with the archaeological record of some Pueblo III demographic shifts (cf. Bernardini 2005).

Those clans that left Palatkwapi for the north settled at Homol'ovi before approaching the Hopi mesas, where they first built at Paaqòltsomo near First Mesa. Eventually they were accepted into Wàlpi, Sikyatki, and Awat'ovi and spread from those villages to Second and Third Mesas (just Songòopavi, Musangnuvi, and Orayvi at that period). Palatkwapi's destruction by flood is specifically attributed to *koyaanisqatsi*, a life of corruption into which its people had fallen from perversion of their ritual prowess—identical to the pattern in the underworld prior to emergence (e.g., Malotki 1993). The Patki group brought to Hopi a more sophisticated and fearsome ritual inventory (including Soyalangw at First Mesa, the Kwan society at both First and Second, and the Gray Flute society and a role in Soyalangw at Third). Yukiwma's implicit slight of the Patki group—that is, by associating them with witchcraft or Christianity (see above) or both—probably comments on their strong allegiance to Loololma and their historical association with Awat'ovi (feared for its ritual sophistication and destroyed by warriors from Orayvi, Musangnuvi, and Wàlpi in 1700).

The other parties traveled different routes and were scattered over the country, each party having a chief of its own. Sometimes they would stay one, two, three, or four years at one place, wherever they

found good fields or springs. Here they would raise crops so that they had some food to take with them when they continued their journeys, and then moved on again. Sometimes when they found good fields but no water they would create springs with a *báuypi*. This is a small perforated vessel into which they would place certain herbs, different kinds of stones, shells, a small *balölöokong*, *bahos*, etc., and bury it. In one year a spring would come out of the ground where this was buried. During this year, before their spring was ready, they would use rainwater, because they understood how to create rain. When they continued their journeys they usually took such a *báuypi* out of the ground and took it with them.

*Paa'uypi* is a spring-planting device, and some individuals are still attributed as having power with such instruments to draw new springs out of the earth. Use of magical skills to draw rain or otherwise alter material conditions is a major theme in Hopi ritual. *Paalölöqangw* is the plumed water serpent (appealed to in the Flute and Snake ceremonies) and here refers either to a magical creature or an image of one; a *paalölöqangw* is believed to dwell at the bottom of every spring, in rivers, and the ocean. *Paaho*, a prayer-stick, literally translates as “water arrow” and represents a magnetic capacity to attract rain. Possession of such ritual skills or instruments was the prerequisite for migrating clans to be admitted to Orayvi, as Yukiwma goes on to describe.

Before any of the parties had arrived at the place where the Hopi now live they began to become bad. Contentions arose among the parties. They began to war against each other. Whenever a certain party possessed something, another party would attack and kill them on account of those possessions. For that reason some of them built their villages on top of the bluffs and mesas, because they were afraid of other parties.

This element clearly fits with LeBlanc's (1999) account of Late Period internecine warfare and is also echoed in one Hopi ruin in the Wupatki complex called *Naqöyki*, “village where they are kill-

ing one another.” This type of descriptive statement in the narrative, associated with the landscape of ruined villages that encircle the Hopi mesas on all sides, seems plainly historical in nature.

Finally some of them arrived at Mūenkapi.

Voth here footnotes, “A little stream fifty miles northwest of Oraíbi.” Yukiwma’s reference, however is evidently to settlements in the vicinity of Mūnqapi village rather than to the Moenkopi Wash per se (both Wash and village were in fact named after the spring bearing the name Mūnqapi, rather than vice versa), where antecedent villages have been dated to the fourteenth century CE at least.

These were the Bear clan, Spider clan, Hide Strap clan, Blue-bird clan, and the Fat Cavity clan; all of which had derived their names from a dead bear upon which these different parties had come as they were traveling along.

Voth footnotes for the Fat Cavity clan, “Said to refer to traces of fat found in the cavities of the cadaver of the bear when this party found the dead bear.” This account of the origin of the names of these clans—all associated in a clan-set—is standard and appears similarly in accounts recorded at other villages (e.g., Nequatewa 1936:31–32). In itself that is somewhat unusual and points up the prominence of these clans in Hopi society and history; with other clan narratives, there are often significant variations among different villages.

While these parties lived near Mūenkapi for some time another party had gone along the Little Colorado river, passed by the place that is now called the Great Lakes [Tolani Lakes, near the confluence of the Oraibi Wash with the Little Colorado River], and arrive[d] at Shongópavi, where they started a village at the place where now the ruins of old Shongópavi are, east of the present village [Songòopavi, like Wàlpi and Musangnuvi, was relocated to a defensible site on the mesa-top after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680]. These people

were also called the Bear clan, but they were different Bear people from those living at Mūenkapi about that time. Shongópavi was the first village started. When these Bear people arrived at Shongópavi, Skeleton [i.e., Maasaw] was living at the place where Oraíbi now is, where he had been living all the time. The clan that had stopped northeast of Mūenkapi soon moved to the place where Mūenkapi now is but did not remain there long. The Bear clan, the Hide Strap clan, and the Blue-bird clan soon moved on towards Oraíbi.

Most other accounts state that Orayvi was settled by a Bear splinter group from Songòpavi led by Matsito, typically described as the Songòpavi Kikmongwi's brother—older (*vava*) or younger (*tupko*) in differing versions. Orayvi accounts tend to emphasize his seniority and mistreatment by his sibling, Songòpavi accounts the reverse.

When the Spider clan arrived at Mūenkapi they made marks or wrote on a certain bluff east of Mūenkapi, saying that this place should always belong to the Hopi, that no one should take it away from them, because there was so much water there. Here the Hopi should always plant.

Voth here notes, “The narrator says that this “writing” was effaced by Túba [Tuuvi, Piikyas/Patki or Rabbitbrush clan] (the Hopi chief who founded Túba City), his wife Katcinmana [Katsinmana, Eagle clan], and others who wanted the land.” But Voth's representation here leaves something to be desired. Clearly, if the Spider clan's petroglyphs were designed to represent a territorial claim to benefit all Hopis, Tuuvi would have had no interest in erasing them. Voth obscures the fact that Tuuvi invited Mormon settlers to plant in this area in the 1870s, but the relationship soon turned sour, as the settlers sought to appropriate Hopi water and planting sites. In the early 1890s John S. Mayhugh assigned Dawes Act allotments to some Hopis at Mūnqapi, including Katsinmana, Tuuvi's widow. The Mormons fought against this and tried to drive Hopis out. Moreover, the Orayvi factions competed over

these particular lands. In 1894 a large group of Hostiles arrived to claim farms in the allotments by planting them with winter wheat, leading to the arrest and incarceration of nineteen men (including Lomahongiwna and Yukiwna) at Alcatraz. Government officials recommended banishing three Kookop clan leaders (Yukiwna, Heevi'ywna, and Patupha) from the Hopi Reservation for life. Voth's rendering of these events, at which he was present and took photographs, is rather anodine, to say the least. It muddies the Spider clan's claim to the Mùnqapi area for its own and its allies' interests, rather than for Hopis as a whole, and neglects the context of conflict with Mormons over these lands. The latter conflict led in 1903 to a government buyout of Mormon holdings and some land transfers to Hopis and Navajos.

Soon after the Spider clan had moved on towards Oraíbi the Snake clan arrived. When these Snake people saw the writing on the bluff they said, "Somebody has been writing here that they wanted to own this. Let us write also that we want to own this here, too." [The Snake clan was principally allied with Yukiwna and Lomahongiwna.] So they wrote the same thing on the bluff. After they had left the place, the Burrowing Owl clan [Yukiwna's own clan, generally translated nowadays as Fire clan—see above] arrived and they also wrote the same thing on the bluff. But they had all heard that Skeleton [Maasaw] was living where Oraíbi now is, and so they all traveled on towards Oraíbi. When the Bear clan arrived at Nátuwanpika, a place a very short distance west of Kuiwánva [Voth footnotes, "About a mile north-west of Oraíbi"], Skeleton came to meet them there. "We have arrived here," the Hón-wungwa [Bear clan member, implicitly chief] said, "we would like to live here with you, and we want you to be our chief. Now, what do you think about it? Will you give us some land?" But Skeleton replied, "No, I shall not be chief. You shall be chief here, you have retained your old life. You will be the same here as you were down in the under-world. Someone that is Powáka has come out with you and it will be here just the same as it was down there when he comes here. But when the

White Man, your elder brother, will come back here and cut off the heads of the bad ones, then I shall own all this land of mine myself. But until then you shall be chief. I shall give you a piece of land and then you live here.”

Here is a clear instance of paradigmatic repetition reminiscent of narrative reduplication in film, poetry, and fiction. The process of admission into Orayvi directly parallels emergence, with Maa-saw there to greet the migrants and again refusing the offer of social chieftainship while retaining stewardship over the domain in question (the world at emergence; a named landscape around Orayvi at the village’s founding). The Bear clan Kikmongwi again leads the movement, as he did from the underworld. And again Maasaw notices that the Kikmongwi—whether intentionally or negligently—has allowed witchcraft to accompany them, which, Maasaw prophesies, will eventually destroy life at Orayvi. The association is evidently seen through the prism of contemporary conditions at Orayvi, where sorcery and ritual transgression were frequent accusations by both factions prior to the split. The White Man reference is to Pahaana and explains Yukiwma’s intent in presenting the tablets to various officials during this period. By Maa-saw’s statement of his overriding rights to the land, which he will formally claim at the appropriate moment of transition, Yukiwma is asserting his clan’s interests and identifying directly with Maa-saw, the Kookop clan’s ancient. Whether the true Pahaana had arrived in the form of white people was a key question for Yukiwma’s clan and allies: if true, this would usher in their moment of ascendance and add legitimacy to their claims against the Bear clan in the factional conflict. In another account Yukiwma provided later to Voth, he made this connection explicitly. Describing a contentious meeting about Loololma’s performance as Kikmongwi, Yukiwma reported, “I then got up as no one would talk and told them that although these others were the chiefs, they did not own the village here, and the land, it was I who really owned it, because I represent the old Masauwu” (Whiteley 2008:962)

Hereupon he stepped off a large tract of land, going east of where they were, and then descending the mesa west of Kōkōchmovi [Kiqōtsmovi], then towards the present trail towards Oraibi, up the trail, past the present village site, down the mesa on the west side, along the trail towards Momóshvavi [Mumurva, marsh spring], including the spring, and back up the mesa. This piece of land he allotted to the Bear clan. The leader of the Bear clan now asked him where he lived. He said he lived over there at the bluff of Oraibi, and that is where they should live also. So this clan built its houses right east of the bluff of Oraibi where there are now the ruins.

Yukiwma here makes two sociopolitical statements: first, the Bear clan's authority over any land flows from the grant made by his own clan ancestor, Maasaw; second, the area in question (figure 6) is a great deal smaller than that claimed by the Bear clan itself (e.g., Titiev 1944:61). The Kikmongwi's claim to authority, as recorded by later ethnographers (who worked principally with descendants of the Friendly faction), encompassed all of Orayvi's domain—from the San Juan River at Navajo Mountain on the north to the Mogollon Rim on the south, and on the east from the Oraibi Valley to the Grand Canyon in the west, and certainly including all farmlands in the Oraibi Valley. In contrast, the tract Yukiwma designates included the promontory on which Orayvi sits with a swath of valley land close by to the east but not nearly to the Oraibi Wash, and from there west through the village and up to Mumurva spring. Mumurva (three miles west-northwest of Orayvi) is where Loololma built his "government house" upon returning from Washington in 1890; he and the other Hopi delegates had promised the commissioner of Indian affairs to encourage their people to move out of the villages and accept individual allotments by setting the first example themselves. Loololma's house at Mumurva (marked as "Stone house" and "Spring" at the west end of figure 6) remains in the hands of a descendant family.

Yukiwma's view that the Kikmongwi's authority over land was none too extensive sheds light on serious disputes over farmland

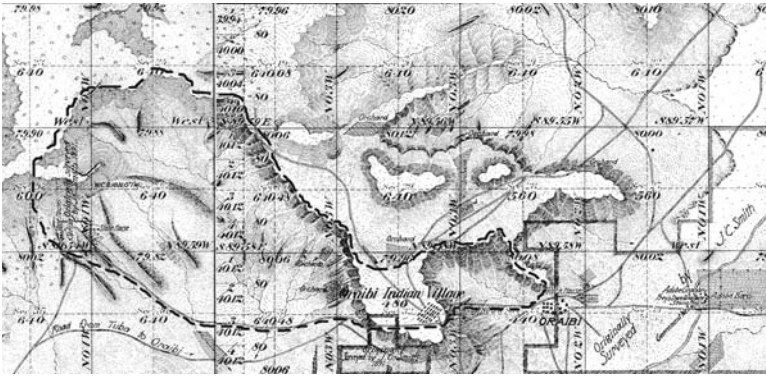


Figure 6. The Orayvi area, 1908, showing (in dashed outline) Yukiwma's description of Maasaw's grant to the Bear clan. Mumurva is the spring next to the stone house near the western edge of the map. Voth's mission station is identified here as "Frey's dwelling house" just above "Government Well" at the eastern end of the map. The Oraibi Wash is shown by two northeast-southwest trending, parallel hatched lines adjacent to the mission station. "Oraibi Indian Village" is Orayvi; "Oraibi" is modern Kiqötsmovi. Base plat map of T29N, R16E, by S. E. Blout, 1908–1909, Bureau of Land Management, Phoenix AZ.

in the years before the split. The legitimacy of authority was clearly a subject of conflict. Moreover, his location of the Bear clan's ruin is noticeably removed from the present village site, down below the east side of the bluff. On top of the bluff, by contrast, where Orayvi stands, was where Maasaw himself lived. Thus Yukiwma challenges the Kikmongwi's claim to authority over all the lands of Orayvi.

The Bear clan brought with them the Soyál cult, the Āototo, and the Soyál Kacínas.

Soyalangw is the Winter Solstice ceremony, presided over at Orayvi by the Kikmongwi's family. This serves as a master ceremony that ritually plans out the seasonal year, turning back the sun from its southern tropic (e.g., Dorsey and Voth 1901). Soyalangw had been based in Orayvi's *mong.kiva*, chief kiva, Sakwalveni. Factional contentions became so severe that Loololma and

his brother Sakwhongiwma were driven out of this kiva (probably in 1895 after Lomahongiwma, kiva chief at Sakwalenvi, returned from Alcatraz). They removed their Soyalangw to Pongovi (Circle kiva), where it persists to the present day. Ewtoto (Voth's Āototo) is the Bear clan's *wu'ya*, ancestor, and chief of all the Katsinas; he appears at particularly important Katsina ceremonies, such as Niman, the Home Dance (see, e.g., Kabotie 1977; Wright, Gaede, and Gaede 1986). The Soyal Katsina is first to appear as the Katsina season begins in December (at Orayvi).

Soon other clans began to arrive. When a clan arrived usually one of the new arrivals would go to the village and ask the village chief for permission to settle in the village. He [i.e., the Kikmongwi] usually asked whether they understood anything to produce rain and good crops, and if they had any cult, they would refer to it and say, "Yes, this or this we have, and when we assemble for this ceremony, or when we have this dance it will rain. With this we have traveled, and with this we have taken care of our children." The chief would then say, "Very well, you come and live in the village." Thus the different clans arrived: First, the Hide Strap clan, the Blue-bird clan, the Spider clan, etc. While these different clans were arriving in Oraibi, other clans were arriving in Wálpí and Mishógnovi, and settling up those villages. When a new clan arrived, the village chief would tell them: "Very well, you participate in our cult and help us with the ceremonies," and then he would give them their fields according to the way they came. And that way their fields were all distributed.

Yukiwma here presents Orayvi's founding charter that describes the village's cumulative growth by successive addition of migrant clans, each of which contributed its ritual power in exchange for an area to build houses and lands below to farm.

One of the first clans to arrive with those mentioned was the Bow clan, which came from the south-west. When the village chief asked the leader of this clan what he brought with him to produce rain, he said, "Yes, I have here the Sháalako Katsinas, the Tangík Katci-

nas, the Tûkwunang Katsina and the Sháwiki Katsina. When they dance it usually rains." "Very well," the village chief said, "you try it." So the Áoat-wungwa [Aawatwungwa, Bow clan representative] arranged a dance. On the day before the dance it rained a little, and on the last day when they had their dance it rained fearfully. All the washes were full of water. So the village chief invited them to move to the village and gave them a large tract of land. He told them that they should have their ceremonies first. This was the Wûwûchim ceremony, the chief of the Bow clan being the leader of this ceremony. So this ceremony was the first to take place.

This represents the standard pattern for all clan rights in Orayvi's domain.

Then followed the Soyál ceremony, in charge of the village chief. And then in the Báho month [Paamuya, Water month, January–February] the Snake and Flute ceremonies [i.e., their winter meetings], which change about every two years. The Snake cult was brought by the Snake clan, the Antelope cu[l]t by the Blue-bird clan, and the Flute cult by the Spider clan. The Lizard, which also arrived from the north-west, brought the Maraú cult, and the Parrot clan the Lagón cult. Others came later. Small bands living throughout the country when they could hear about the people living in Oraíbi would sometimes move up towards Oraíbi and ask for admission to live in the village. In this way the villages were built up slowly.

Yukiwma has thus sketched out the main portion of Orayvi's ritual year. He again leaves out the principal Katsina ceremonies, Powamuy and Niman (Badger and Katsina clans, respectively), the clown ceremony (Eagle clan), and Owaqölöw (Sand clan). As with the list of chiefs (above) these omissions may be significant, insofar as all appear to represent later historical additions to Orayvi's calendar.

Albeit embedded and abbreviated, Yukiwma's account effectively summarizes Orayvi's social system and its seasonal cycle of rituals. Having first outlined the sociopolitical hierarchy via

the list of chiefs at emergence and claimed priority for his own clan-set (Maasaw-Kookop-Coyote-Fox-Millet) as present first and still representing Maasaw, he has now limned Orayvi's principal ritual order, as directed by its four major clan-sets or leading clans within those sets. Bow begins the year with the Wuwtsim ceremonies, the Bear-Spider-Bearstrap-Bluebird set follows at winter solstice with Soyalangw and thereafter is prominently represented by Flute and Antelope, Snake-Lizard leads the Snake and Maraw ceremonies, and Parrot the Lakon.

At that time everything was good yet. No wicked ones were living in the village at that time. When the Katcinas danced it would rain, and if it did not rain while they danced, it always rained when the dance was over, and when the people would have their kiva ceremonies it would rain. But at that time they had not so many Katcinas. There were only the Hopi Katcinas, which the Hopi brought with them from the under-world. They were very simple but very good. People at that time lived happily, but by this time the Póp-waktu [*popwaqt*, pl. of *powaga*, 'witch, sorcerer'] had increased at Palátkwapi. The one Powáka maiden that had come with these people from the under-world had taught others her evil arts. And so these wicked ones had increased very much until finally Palátkwapi was destroyed by a great water produced by the Bálölöokongs. Nearly all the people were destroyed, but a few succeeded in reaching dry land in the flood and they were saved.

They traveled northeastward and finally came to Matövi [Little Burro Springs, south of Second Mesa, associated especially with the Patki clan] and from there to Wálpi. From Wálpi they scattered to the different villages, teaching their evil arts to others.

As noted above, Patki is the clan most strongly tied to Palatkwapi in Hopi oral tradition, and it has already been targeted by Yukiwma for introducing evil; this clan was mainly allied with Loololma, and several members were aggressive in defense of Friendly interests (see Whiteley 2008:764–65).

They would put sickness into the people so that the people contracted diseases and died. They also turned the Ute Indians and the Apaches, who used to be friends of the Hopi, into their enemies, so that after that these tribes would make wars on the Hopi. They also caused contentions among the Hopi. The Navaho also used to be friends of the Hopi, but these Pópwaktu would occasionally call the Ute and the Apache to make raids on the Hopi. They also turned the Navaho into our enemies, and then the White Men came and made demands of the Hopi. The White Men are also called here by these Pópwaktu, and now the White Men are worrying the Hopi also.

Yukiwma's recounting of a collective fall from grace accuses the Palatkwapi descendants of having introduced chaos into the Hopi world with their *popwaqt* ways and into generally harmonious relations with neighboring tribes. He still holds out millenarian hope that the true elder brother will return to remove the source of disharmony and renew the world, however.

But the Hopi are still looking towards their elder brother, the one that arrived at the sunrise first, and he is looking from there this way to the Hopi, watching and listening how they are getting along. Our old men and ancestors (*wūwūyom* [old ones]) have said that some White Men would be coming to them, but they would not be the White Men like our elder brother, and they would be worrying us. They would ask for our children.

This refers to enforced schooling then being undertaken at gunpoint by Hopi Agent Charles Burton and Oraibi Day School principal Herman Kampmeier (Whiteley 1988). The next sentence appears to criticize Voth's own missionary practice:

They would ask us to have our heads washed (baptized), and if we would not do what they asked they would beat us and trouble us and probably kill us. But we should not listen to them, we should continue to live like the Hopi. We should continue to use the food

of the Hopi and wear the clothes of the Hopi. But those Pópwaktu of the Hopi would help the White Men, and they would speak for the White Men, because they would also want to do just the same as those White Men would ask them to do. And now it has come to that, our forefathers have been prophesying that. We are now in trouble. Our children are taken away from us, and we are being harassed and worried.

If Yukiwma's account might be said to begin in myth, it definitely ends in history. Mythological emergence provides the structural paradigm first for the establishment of Orayvi and then for present conditions there. Disharmony in the world is caused by witchcraft, meaning nefarious antisocial action. Persistence of that condition following emergence was, he implies, enabled by the Bear clan Kikmongwi, who, listening to the witch girl, allowed himself to be persuaded that death can be cheated. Yukiwma suggests this compromise with witchcraft was being repeated in contemporary events, especially Loololma's accommodation of the U.S. government.

Yukiwma was specifically presenting this narrative to missionary Voth, hardly a disinterested recorder, possibly in a kiva where Voth had come to preach his gospel. The narrative appears to syncretize pre-Franciscan Hopi theology with some elements of Christianity. After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 the reordering of Hopi cultural structures reached an apogee with the destruction of Awat'ovi in 1700 and the emphatic rejection of missionaries (Whiteley 2002b). In the reordering, however, aspects of Christian theology appear to have been indigenized: reworked into Hopi ritual practices and theological ideas, but on Hopi terms. Missionaries were not permitted to return, until 1858–73, when Mormons arrived from the Kingdom of Deseret (Utah), and stayed for extended periods at Orayvi before establishing permanent communities nearby (notably, first at Orayvi's colony, Mùnqapi). Through their recognition of Hopis as Lamanites and in their attachment to

prophecies based on sacred tablets, Mormons may well have provided another layer for Orayvi syncretism.

Yukiwma was a prophet for revitalization, which required adjusting Hopi cosmology to the experience of Anglo entry and claimed dominion over the Hopi world. While dismissed by outsiders (like Agency Superintendent Leo Crane [e.g., Crane 1925]) as an unstable, hidebound traditionalist, Yukiwma's experiences of the outside world were not inconsiderable: he had already spent almost three years off the reservation, incarcerated at Fort Wingate and Alcatraz, and during the latter period he had been taken on a tour of San Francisco and met with its mayor. And when he traveled to Washington DC in 1911, Yukiwma presented some of the same narrative to Commissioner Valentine and then again to Colonel Hugh Scott at Hotvela later that year, when he was once more arrested (Whiteley 2008:1105–20). The latter presentation ("The Story of Ukeoma, Chief of the Hotivillos") followed the same line as the present narrative, while inflecting it with intervening events of the Orayvi split and its aftermath.

In conclusion, no oral tradition of creation, cosmogony, and world-ordering can ever be outside history—both concrete events at the specific juncture of recounting and the concurrent social interests of the narrator and his or her perceived audience. As received in Western discourse, indigenous narratives are always mediated by external interlocutors: folklorists, anthropologists, or in this case, missionaries. And in "post-Indian" times (in Gerald Vizenor's usage), when Natives speak "culturally," they do so while reflexively recognizing the positionality of their discourse vis-à-vis the dominant society's practices and narratives. Yukiwma's story belongs to the first moment, and its interested stance may be more easily discernible than most, but it is palpably motivated by time and circumstance. And it seeks not to absorb events into a fixed prophetic narrative comprising a closed dialogue of self-referential symbols but rather conjuncturally to bring existing structures of historical explanation—embedded in a cosmologi-

cal frame—to bear dialectically and reciprocally upon events as these unfold. I suggest that in general, the genre-division often posited between myth—as imaginative play of cultural transformations outside time and events—and history—as interpretive presentation of the causes and consequences of human actions in diachronic sequences—is more analytical device than ontological reality.

#### NOTES

The story “Yukiwmat Navoti’at” was first published as “The Wanderings of the Hopi,” as told by Yukioma, Oraibi, in Voth (1905).

1. In a list of prisoners at Fort Wingate, Navajo Agent David Shipley, then in charge of the Hopi Sub-Agency, described someone who appears (from elimination) to have been Yukiwma as “the stone man” (Shipley 12–14–1891).

2. This receives confirmation in Bradfield’s report (1995:321) that *kokophoya*, a black-throated sparrow, rather than a shrike, was actually the bird to succeed in penetrating the sky. *Kokophoya* definitely belongs to Kookopngyam, the Fire clan.

3. At First Mesa, when the Wälpi Bear clan went into decline in the late nineteenth century, the Kikmongwi role shifted to Lennngyam, the Flute clan (not present on Second or Third Mesas). The Flute clan and ceremony at Wälpi still serve as the Kikmongwi’s primary source of ritual legitimation: new incumbents continue (in recent years) to be instituted during the Flute ceremony itself.

4. The clans mentioned are all prominent in their respective sets, each of which also includes some other named clans.

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## Contributors

MARÍA IGNACIA MERINO DE ARGÜELLES is a sixty-five-year-old Tarahumara who was born in Murajaque, a ranch in the town of Guadalupe Coronado. She dedicates herself to her home, cooking, making tortillas, and raising her and her husband, Valente Argeüelles's, seven children. She also knows very well the traditions, customs, and oral histories of their town Mesa de Reyes. She says that through her dreams she is capable of predicting future events.

VALENTE ARGÜELLES is a sixty-seven-year-old Tarahumara who was born on the ranch of Cerro Blanco. He and his wife, María Ignacia Merino de Argüelles, currently reside in Mesa de Reyes, close to the town of Guadalupe Coronado in the mountains of Urique, Chihuahua. He earns a living doing a variety of jobs in the countryside, such as planting and harvesting corn and beans. He also has the very important position of traditional *consejero*, or counselor, of his town. He knows very well the cultural traditions and oral histories of his culture.

DONALD BAHR is emeritus professor of anthropology at Arizona State University. He has published extensively on the religion, mythology, language, and culture of the native Southwest in general and the O'odham in particular. His many books and articles are frequently collaborative endeavors with Native speakers. Some of his books include *O'odham Creation and Related Events*; *Ants and Orioles: Showing the Art of Pima Poetry*; and *The Short, Swift Time of Gods on Earth: The Hohokam Chronicles*, among others.

MERCEDES TUBINO BLANCO is a PhD candidate in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Arizona. She specializes in the morphosyntax and lexical semantics of the Romance languages and has been working as a research assistant on the Hiaki Project at the University of Arizona for three years.

LORENZO HERRERA CASANOVA (b. 1947) is a member of the Seri nation and usually resides in *Haxöl Iihom* (El Desemboque), Sonora. A fluent speaker of the Seri language, he was a member of the committee that edited the 2005 trilingual Seri dictionary and has worked as a consultant for the forthcoming grammar. He continues to write about his culture.

WILLIAM M. CLEMENTS teaches anthropology, literature, and Native American studies at Arkansas State University. He has published several books, articles, chapters, and reviews on issues of textualization and translation.

JON MEZA CUERO is a native speaker of Tiipay (Kumeyaay). Born in the United States but raised in the traditional Kumeyaay community of San Jose de la Zorra, Mexico, Meza spoke Tiipay as his dominant language until he left home to look for employment as an adolescent in the early 1950s. Today he resides in San Diego, California, and is involved in multiple language revitalization and cultural projects as a teacher and mentor in the extended Kumeyaay community on both sides of the border. He is also a singer of traditional Wildcat songs.

GENEVIEVE ETHELBAH is White Mountain Apache, born to a family of hereditary chiefs in the community of North Fork. Her grandfather was chief of the tribe, and his father was district chief. Ethelbah's grandparents hid her father from the district office to avoid having to send him away to boarding school. Her mother did go to boarding school, but she went nearby in the town of White-river, within the White Mountain Apache Reservation. Ethelbah is of the T'iis Kaadn clan. She is fluent in Apache, her first language,

and in English, the language of her formal education and employment. After completing high school in Whiteriver, she completed two years of commercial training at the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas (now the Haskell Indian Nations University). She did clerical work first for the Phoenix Area office, a civil agency, and then for the Ft. Apache Agency (of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) in Whiteriver. Now she is retired and lives with her husband, Paul, and family at her hereditary home in North Fork. In 1999 their youngest granddaughter had a Sunrise ceremony.

PAUL ETHELBAH is White Mountain Apache from a well-noted family in the community of Cedar Creek. His father was a ceremonial specialist in the Na'í'ees, or Sunrise Dance, and actively sponsored Ethelbah's training as a *dighíń*. His mother was a homemaker and midwife. His mother's father was a famous cattleman who, given a government cow as food rations, decided to keep it alive instead. He secured a bull and started a cattle herd that would eventually number in the thousands. Ethelbah continues the precedents set by his father and his mother's father. In addition to his role as a ceremonial specialist, or *dighíń*, for many years Ethelbah worked as a range technician, managing cattle herds grazing on tribal lands. Now he is retired from the cattle business but is still a practicing *dighíń*. He lives with his wife, Genevieve, and family in their home in the community of North Fork on the White Mountain Apache Reservation.

MARGARET FIELD is associate professor and chair of American Indian studies at San Diego State University. She received her PhD in linguistics from the University California Santa Barbara. Her research interests include American Indian languages, language socialization, language ideology, and multimedia applications for language maintenance and revitalization, among other things. Her current research focuses on the relationship between language ideology and the development of lexical dialects in the Kumeyaay community of Baja California.

COLLEEN M. FITZGERALD is chair and professor in the Department of Linguistics and TESOL at the University of Texas at Arlington. She earned her doctorate from the University of Arizona for her work on Tohono O'odham metrical phonology. In recent years she has published on Tohono O'odham reduplication, prosody, and meter as well as on other topics on other languages, including Somali, Tigrinya, and English. She is currently working with unpublished Tohono O'odham texts to bring them to wider availability in the community.

BEVERLY GARCIA, a daughter of Peter Sr. and Reycita Garcia from Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, is a fine dancer who has been involved in pueblo ceremonial activities most of her life. Formerly a potter and figurine maker, she currently works as activities assistant and alzheimer's assistant at the Sombrillo Rehabilitation Center in Los Alamos, New Mexico.

GORDON GARCIA, youngest son of Peter Sr. and Reycita Garcia from Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, was a fine singer and dancer in the past. He worked at the Ohkay Casino, run by the tribe. He passed away unexpectedly in 2011.

PETER GARCIA SR. (1927–2001) was born and raised in Ohkay Owingeh (formerly San Juan) Pueblo, New Mexico. Trained as a singer, composer, and ceremonial leader, he worked closely with his brother, Cipriano Garcia, the pueblo's principal song leader. The two functioned essentially as co-song leaders, guiding the pueblo's musical life for over forty years. A great educator, responsible for training a number of young people in the pueblo, Garcia also spoke, taught, and gave concerts at many places outside the pueblo, including Colorado College, UCLA, the University of New Mexico, the Museum of New Mexico, the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, the Heard Museum in Phoenix, and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC. His recorded music may be found on labels such as Indian House, New World Records, Tribal Music International, and Music of the World.

REYCITA GARCIA, wife of Peter Garcia Sr., was born and raised in Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, where she has participated in traditional activities all her life. In her younger years she was a fine dancer. She also excelled as a potter, a figurine maker, and an embroiderer of ceremonial garments. Now a knowledgeable and respected elder, she always assisted her husband in his ceremonial duties until he passed away in 2001.

JUAN PABLO GARRIDO is finishing his thesis for a master's degree in anthropology, specializing in ethnology. He graduated from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México in Mexico City. He is a professor at the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia and has given ethnography classes in dance at the Centro Cultural of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, Peru. He is currently working at a market research agency as an anthropological consultant.

ELIGIO GONZÁLEZ is a fifty-year-old Tarahumara who was born on the ranch of Boca del Arroyo de la Higuera. He married a woman from Mesa de Reyes, Chihuahua, and currently resides there with his wife. González, who is the neighbor of the Argüelles family, dedicates himself to growing beans and corn for his family on his small plot of land. He enjoys talking and telling stories that the older generation have told him.

JUSTIN GOODENKAUF was completing his undergraduate degree in linguistics at the University of Arizona when he became a part of the Chemehuevi language documentation project. He graduated in 2007 and is currently a graduate student studying syntax and language theory at the University of Washington.

LINDA J. GOODMAN is ethnohistorian/cultural anthropologist in the Office of Archaeological Studies of the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe. With degrees in ethnomusicology and anthropology, she taught for many years in the Music and Southwest Studies Departments at Colorado College and has publications

based on her work among tribal groups on the Northwest Coast and in the American Southwest. She is coauthor, with Helma Swan, of *Singing the Songs of My Ancestors: The Life and Music of Helma Swan, Makah Elder* (2003).

HEIDI HARLEY is an associate professor of linguistics at the University of Arizona, specializing in syntax, morphology, and lexical semantics. She has been working with the Hiaki language for seven years. Her work has been published in *Language*, *Linguistic Inquiry*, and the *International Journal of American Linguistics*.

JOHN PEABODY HARRINGTON (1884–1961) was an extraordinary linguist and ethnologist who left a unique and valuable archival legacy that continues to be important to scholars today. He was born in California, where he developed an abiding interest in languages and the local Mission Indians. After graduating from Stanford University and studying in Leipzig and Berlin, he decided on a career in American Indian language studies. In 1915 he was hired by the Bureau of American Ethnology as a research ethnologist. For nearly forty years he traveled and collected linguistic data on over 125 Native languages of California and the West. In addition, he collected hundreds of sound recordings, identified numerous place names, and took thousands of photographs.

JASON D. HAUGEN received his PhD in the Joint Program in Anthropology and Linguistics at the University of Arizona. His interests include the morphology and syntax of the Hiaki language as well as comparative and historical Uto-Aztecan linguistics. He is currently a Mellon postdoctoral fellow in the Linguistics Program at Williams College.

DEWEY HEALING (Arizona Tewa) (1905–92) was born and raised in Tewa Village on First Mesa of the Hopi Reservation in northeast Arizona. He was known in his early years by the Tewa name HeelaN, ‘Horned Lizard’, a name that indexed his identity as a Corn Clan member. His maternal grandmother was the famous

potter Nampeyo, ‘Sand Snake’, who is often credited with helping create a renaissance of Hopi pottery by reviving vessel forms and designs that she saw in the form of sherds from the ruins of Awatovi—a ruined pueblo abandoned around 1700. As a youth he attended boarding schools in Phoenix, and his off-reservation experiences included firefighting in Arizona and California. At various times in his life he herded sheep and farmed in the traditional “dry-farming” style of agriculture that is practiced on the Hopi Reservation. In his middle age he served as part of First Mesa’s delegation to the Hopi Tribal Council and later became chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council. In this capacity he sued Navajo chairman Paul Jones in a case designed to solve land disputes that was ultimately decided by the U.S. Supreme Court and set the present boundaries of the Hopi Reservation. Though Healing is famous for his political accomplishments, his fellow Tewa villagers knew him better as a knowledgeable clan elder, a gifted storyteller, and an accomplished singer and composer whose songs are still sung in social dances and cultural ceremonies today, nearly twenty years after his death.

FRANCISCO XAVIER MORENO HERRERA (b. 1964) is a member of the Seri nation and resides in Socaaix (Punta Chueca), Sonora. A fluent speaker of the Seri language, he was a member of the committee that edited the 2005 trilingual Seri dictionary. He continues to write about his culture as well as to actively work as a fisherman in the Gulf of California.

RENÉ MONTAÑO HERRERA (b. 1963) is a member of the Seri nation and resides in Socaaix (Punta Chueca), Sonora, with his wife, Rosa Barnet, and their family. A fluent speaker of the Seri language, he was a member of the committee that edited the 2005 trilingual Seri dictionary and has worked extensively as a consultant for the forthcoming grammar. During 2008–09 he spearheaded a major literacy program for the Seri nation and was active in producing more reading material.

HARRY HOIJER (1904–1976) was an anthropological linguist. He earned his PhD degree from the University of Chicago under the direction of Edward Sapir. He conducted linguistic fieldwork on the Mescalero Reservation in the 1930s and on the Navajo Reservation in 1929. Prior to that he worked with the last remaining Tonkawa speakers. He taught for many years at UCLA.

SAMUEL E. KENOI was a Chiricahua Apache who worked with the anthropological linguist Harry Hoijer in the 1930s on the Mescalero Apache Reservation. Kenoi, like most Chiricahua Apaches of the time, spent twenty-seven years as a prisoner of war of the United States (1886–1913). In 1913 he—along with a significant portion of the Chiricahuas—moved from Ft. Sill, Oklahoma, where they had been held as prisoners of war, to the Mescalero Reservation. In 1939 Kenoi became president of the Business Committee of the Mescalero Apache Tribe.

DAVID L. KOZAK is a professor of anthropology at Fort Lewis College, where he has taught since 1994. He received his PhD in anthropology from Arizona State University in 1994. It was here that he was influenced and mentored by Donald Bahr, whose important work in mythology and oral traditions influenced him to pursue this line of research. In addition to publishing work on Tohono O’odham oral traditions, he has published on Native American health and illness and land access issues, and he is most recently researching service learning in East Africa.

PAUL V. KROSKRITY is a professor of anthropology at UCLA, where he has taught since 1978. He received his BA from Columbia College, Columbia University, in 1971 and earned his PhD in anthropology from Indiana University in 1977. He has engaged in long-term field research in two Native American communities—the Arizona Tewa (First Mesa, Hopi Reservation) and the Western Mono of central California. This involvement has resulted in numerous articles and books, including *Language, History and Identity: Ethnolinguistic Studies of the Arizona Tewa* (1993), the CD-

ROM Taitaduhaan: *Western Mono Ways of Speaking* (2002), and the edited collections *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities* (2000) and *Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country* (coedited with Margaret Field) (2009). His research also continues to be deeply concerned with the interface of language ideologies, language renewal efforts, and verbal art.

GEORGE LAIRD (1871–1940) was a Chemehuevi person who worked as a language consultant with linguistic anthropologists Carobeth Laird (1895–1983) and John P. Harrington (1884–1961). Many of the traditional Chemehuevi stories told by George Laird were published in *Mirror and Pattern: George Laird's World of Chemehuevi Mythology* (1984) by his wife, Carobeth, who devoted her life to the documentation of the Chemehuevi worldview and language. Many of George Laird's narratives that have not been published can be found in the Smithsonian Institution as part of Harrington's archived field notes.

BARBARA LEVY is a Quechan Indian from Fort Yuma Indian Reservation in Winterhaven, California. She is a tribal elder, a doll maker, and a storyteller, and she helps sing Bird songs. She has three children and five grandchildren. Levy speaks Quechan as her first language. She grew up at a time when people entertained each other in the traditional way, by telling stories and singing. An elderly uncle of hers told memorable stories, and it was from him that Levy learned the story of Coyote and Hen. She began telling stories herself in 1992, and now she tells stories all over California and Arizona. "Stories," she says, "are a way of teaching people about life." Levy is currently one of the youngest speakers of her language, and she is dedicated to its preservation. She taught Quechan languages as a volunteer for many years, and she is now coordinator of the Quechan Language Preservation Program. For the past thirteen years she and Amy Miller have been working together on translating Quechan oral literature recorded in the

1970s by A. M. Halpern. Levy has published an essay about her uncle, titled “My Uncle Sam—The Storyteller” under her former name, Barbara Antone, in *Circle of Motion*, edited by Kathleen Mullen Sands (Tempe: Arizona Historical Society, 1990).

MARIA FLOREZ LEYVA, born in Barrio Libre in Tucson, Arizona, is the administrator of the Pascua Yaqui Tribe’s Language Development Center. She has taught Hiaki language classes for tribal members for many years.

SANTOS LEYVA is from the Hiaki village of Vicam in Sonora, Mexico. In addition to being a speaker of his heritage language he is also a ceremonial musician (playing the violin) and storyteller.

STEPHEN A. MARLETT (b. 1951) is married to Cathy Moser Marlett. His PhD in linguistics is from the University of California at San Diego. He is a researcher and consultant with SIL International and serves on the graduate faculty of the University of North Dakota, where he has taught in the linguistics program during many summer sessions. He directed the project that finalized the production of the 2005 Seri dictionary and is currently completing a comprehensive reference grammar of Seri.

PARKER P. MCKENZIE, Yí:sâum, (1897–1999) was born at a Kiowa camp south of Mountain View, Oklahoma. The second child of General McKenzie and Ahkaundonah, McKenzie attended Rainy Mountain School and, like other Kiowa children, spoke only Kiowa. He worked at and retired from the Anadarko Area Office in Anadarko, Oklahoma, where he met and worked as a Kiowa speaker with linguist John P. Harrington, with whom he produced one of the first significant publications on the Kiowa language. The creator of a Kiowa writing system, McKenzie spent most of his life analyzing and perfecting the writing of Kiowa.

PHILLIP MIGUEL spent his early childhood on and off the Sells Reservation, because his father worked for various farmers around the area. He was raised by his grandmother while attend-

ing nearby mission school. He later attended public school in Sells, Arizona. In 1960 his aunt started raising him, and she got him into BIA boarding schools for the next few years. He eventually graduated from the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. He spent two years in the military (1969–71) and used his military training for the next twenty years or so. His interest in history and language began around early 2000, and he has since earned a master of arts degree in linguistics from Prescott College. He is actively engaged in tribal cultural and linguistic affairs.

AMY MILLER received her PhD in linguistics from the University of California, San Diego, where she studied with Margaret Langdon. She has been documenting Yuman languages for over twenty years and is the author of *A Grammar of Jamul Tiipay*. Together with Margaret Langdon she coedited A. M. Halpern's *Kar'úk: Native Accounts of the Quechan Mourning Ceremony* and researched and compiled the *Barona Inter-Tribal Dictionary*. She is currently working with Quechan tribal members on a Quechan dictionary and translations of Quechan oral literature recorded in the 1970s by A. M. Halpern.

BLACKHORSE MITCHELL is a full-time teacher of Navajo languages at Shiprock High School and an adjunct instructor in cultural studies and Diné history at Diné College, Shiprock Campus. He is also an entertainer, artist, and lecturer, does consultant work for schools and universities, and travels to European countries to demonstrate Native arts and entertaining. In his spare time he composes sheepherder's lyrics, writes, and walks with the sheep to compose lyrics, poetry, and short stories.

M. ELEANOR NEVINS is an assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Nevada, Reno. She collaborated with Paul and Genevieve Ethelbah, as well as others, over three years of study of changes in language use conducted on the Fort Apache Reservation from 1996 to 1999. She has pub-

lished articles focusing on how members of the reservation community tack between local genres, poetics, and ways of speaking, on the one hand, and those encountered through the institutions and media of mainstream American culture, on the other. She also is editing an online version of Harry Hoijer's *Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Texts*. With Tom Nevins she has published on social dynamics of Apache heritage and on figurations of storytelling across family and educational institutions.

PATRICIA ORTIZ, a daughter of Peter Sr. and Reycita Garcia from Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, is a fine storyteller, teacher, and traditional dancer who has been involved in pueblo activities most of her life. She currently works as an early childhood teacher in the Nambe Community Education Program in New Mexico.

SAM PACK is an assistant professor of cultural anthropology at Kenyon College. His research interests address the relationship between media and culture and specifically focus on an anthropological approach to the production and reception of television, film, photographs, and new media. He is currently finishing a book manuscript titled "Television through Navajo Eyes: Situating Reception in Everyday Life."

GUS PÀNTHÁIDÊ PALMER JR. is an associate professor in the Department of Anthropology and the Native American Studies Program at the University of Oklahoma. He is a linguistic anthropologist whose main area of concentration is the Kiowa language and is presently working on a Kiowa dictionary with other Kiowa speakers in Oklahoma. A fluent speaker of Kiowa, Palmer has been teaching Kiowa since 1992. He spent several summers working with the Pawnee Nation language revitalization and preservation program, producing curricula and updating original South Band and Skiri digital sound recordings for use by tribal members. Palmer has published one book, *Telling Stories the Kiowa Way* (2003), and also poems and fiction in several anthologies and literary magazines.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS (1875–1941) was an American anthropologist, folklorist, and feminist who specialized in the study of Native American communities, especially those of the Pueblo Southwest. She earned her BA from Barnard College in 1896 and went on to complete a PhD in anthropology at Columbia University in 1899. She conducted original research in Pueblo communities in both Arizona and New Mexico and wrote many books and articles about them. These include *The Social Organization of the Tewa of New Mexico* (1929), *Tewa Tales* (1926), *Hopi and Zuni Ceremonialism* (1933), and *Pueblo Indian Religion* (1939). In recognition of her often-pioneering work in ethnography and folklore, she was elected president of the American Folklore Society (1919–20), the American Ethnological Society (1923–25), and later the American Anthropological Association.

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HEINRICH RICHERT (H. R.) VOTH (1855–1931) was born in Alexanderwohl, southern Russia, in a refugee German Mennonite colony. The Voth family migrated to Newton, Kansas, in 1874.

From 1882 to 1891 he served as a missionary to the Cheyennes and Arapahos, developing an interest in ethnography. Assigned to establish the Hopi mission at Orayvi in 1892, he remained there intermittently until 1902, becoming fluent in Hopi and completing much work on a Hopi-English dictionary. He split his time between evangelizing and ethnography. Voth's detailed publications on religious ceremonies angered the Orayvis, although they continue to be a source for younger generations not versed in traditional knowledge. Voth was a man of contradictions: his ethnography was meticulously recorded but always at odds with his ongoing, often aggressive attempts to win Hopi converts. He remains a controversial figure at Hopi.

STELLA TUCKER (Tohono O'odham) has been harvesting saguaro fruit in the Sonoran Desert of Arizona since she was a child. She is a culinary native foods specialist, with expertise in preparing a range of foods from the desert's gifts, including saguaro fruit, cholla buds, and prickly pear. During the summer she conducts workshops on the summer saguaro fruit harvest for many groups, including participants from the American Indian Language Development Institute at the University of Arizona. During other parts of the year she works on the staff of the San Xavier Mission School as a cook.

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