

A PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE
YAQUI LANGUAGE

BY

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Some years ago, while spending a short time at the Museo Nacional in Mexico City, the writer seized the opportunity of transcribing a number of vocabularies recorded from various languages of the Sonoran¹ linguistic stock during a nation-wide census of several decades ago. These vocabularies afforded him many days of interesting research, making comparisons with each of them, and later with other languages of the Uto-Aztekan group, such as Tepecano, Papago, and Nahuatl. It would take us too far afield to consider at this time the conclusions regarding the groupings of the various Uto-Aztekan languages to which these comparisons led him; suffice it to say that he became convinced that the group containing the Cahita languages, of which Yaqui is the most important, displays by far the closest resemblance to the Nahuatlan languages, of which Aztec is preëminent. He thereupon formed a desire to make an intensive study of Yaqui—a desire which as yet has not been fulfilled—which was further whetted by the impression received independently by Dr. Kroeber that Yaqui is, of all the Sonoran languages, the most closely related to Shoshonean. The hypothesis that Yaqui presents the most archaic, undifferentiated form of Uto-Aztekan would therefore seem to be not ill founded.

The opportunity to do further work on Yaqui did not present itself until the winter of 1918–1919, when the writer spent a short time in Tucson, Arizona, working on the Papago language for the University of California and the Southwest Society. The presence of a small colony of Yaqui in the vicinity afforded the desired opportunity to make a few linguistic and phonetic notes which form the basis of the present article. These were so meager, however, that they would have been almost valueless without the assistance and corroboration of the only extant Yaqui grammar, “Arte de la Lengua

¹ Following the example of Dr. Sapir, I am adopting the more inclusive and rational name Sonoran for the linguistic family named by Powell “Piman” and using the term Piman to designate the sub-group comprising the Pima, Papago, Tepehuane, Tepecano, and possibly other languages.

Cahita," first published in Mexico in 1737, and edited and reprinted by the late Eustaquio Buelna, in 1890. It is a pleasure to bear witness to the excellence of this work of the anonymous "Padre de la Compañia de Jesus," believed by Buelna to be Juan B. de Velasco, 1562-1613. By the help of this admirable grammar, the writer has been enabled to understand and analyze practically all the grammatical constructions, stems, and morphological elements of his brief notes. Apparently this tongue, innocent of all literature or expounded grammar, has undergone little or no change in the three centuries and more which have elapsed since the good father first employed it in his missionary labors.

The writer has therefore based this preliminary sketch of Yaqui on the material found in Velasco, rearranging and interpreting it to accord with modern scientific linguistic thought, and using his own less instructive notes as examples and corroborative evidence.

PHONETICS

VOWELS

The usual five primary vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, were used by the writer in recording Yaqui. They seem to have been used similarly by Velasco and other recorders of the language. The normal quality is medium open, neither so close nor so open as vocalic qualities in English, but tending toward openness. Close qualities were recorded by the writer under certain circumstances, noted below. These appear to be not of primary value and it may be posited that there is but one vocalic quality in Yaqui. Nasalization seems to be not organic; one instance of nasalized *e* was recorded.

a has the usual continental value. The *a* of the word "but" as in American speech was recorded six times, all short unaccented ultimas, generally before plural *-m*.

e is normally nearly as open as in English. Close *ē* was recorded only once. In four instances, all also of short unaccented ultimas, a vowel phonetically intermediate between *e* and *i* was recorded. This is probably a slight variation from *e*.

i probably tends to be a little closer than *e*. Close *ī* was recorded five times, in every case an accented penult or ante-penult and was probably so heard due merely to the stress.

o is generally quite open and no instance of close *ō* was noted.

u is also open, and no instance of close *ū* was recorded. But in six cases, generally of short unaccented ultimas, an indeterminate *o-u* vowel was noted, which was probably a heard variant of this *u*.

Vowels appear to be genetically either long or short. Instances of doubled length were recorded for each of the five vowels, the long vowel being accented in almost every case.

Sapir² posits five vowels for original Uto-Aztekan, *a*, *e*, *i*, *ɔ*, *u*, which correspond exactly with Yaqui. The four vowels *a*, *i*, *ɔ*, *u*, appear to be uniform in all Uto-Aztekan languages, while the retention or replacement of the *e* vowel is one of the principal criteria by which they are grouped. The Piman group of the Sonoran languages (Pima-Papago and Tepehuane-Tepecano) have replaced *e* by *ö* (*ï*, *ü*) while the other groups, including Yaqui, as well as Nahuatl, retain *e*. The Shoshonean languages, like the Sonoran, seem to be divided, the Luiseño-Cahuilla group retaining *e*, while the others have adopted the *ï*.

CONSONANTS

The primary consonants of Yaqui appear to be *w*, *y*, *m*, *n*, *l*, possibly *r*, *s*, *v*, *h*, probably *bw*, *p*, *t*, *k*, and *tc*. Velasco states that all the letters of the Spanish alphabet with the exception of *d*, *g*, and *x* (*c*, *sh*,) are found in Cahita. His editor, Buelna, notes the absence also of *f*, *ll*, and *ñ*. Later Velasco notes that the doubled *rr* is missing also. All these exceptions are lacking also in the writer's records. The latter has not, also, any recorded instances of the sounds represented by the Spanish *j*, *z*, and *b*, letters not included within Velasco's exceptions. A rapid inspection of pages of Velasco's vocabulary fails to reveal an instance of *j*, which is apparently merely a phase of the aspirate *h*. *z* is found only in the affricative *tz* (*ts*) which Buelna claims in a footnote—he does not state on whose authority—to have the sound of *ch* (*tc*). *b* followed by a vowel is frequently used by Velasco but was never written by the present writer, who believes it to be a phase of *v*.

w is a semi-vowel with practically the same value as in English. It was recorded frequently by the writer, but in almost every case before *a* or *e* (one instance of *o*). This must not be taken to indicate, however, that it does not occur before *i* and *u*. In one case it was confused with *v*. Velasco seems to enjoin this distinction when he cautions against the confusion of *u* and *v*, giving as examples *ueie*, "go," and *veie*, "be left over, remain." By *u* he probably refers to *w*, as Spanish orthography lacks any simple character for the representation of this sound, generally employing *u*, *hu* or *gü*. Voiceless *w* was recorded several times by the present writer.

The semi-vowel *y* has a slight tendency toward the *j* of French *je* (*z* as in *azure*). It was recorded most frequently as initial and once as voiceless *ɣ*.

m, the bilabial nasal, is practically as in English. It is frequent in all positions and has a tendency to become unvoiced when final. *m*· of double length was recorded once.

² Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, A Study in Uto-Aztekan. Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n.s., x, 1913, pp. 379-425; xi, 1919, pp. 443-488.

n is also simple and common. Two instances of the palatal η were recorded, one before *k* and one before *w*. Another instance of *n* before *k* precludes the suggestion of any phonetic law governing η , which is probably merely a heard variant. One instance of doubled length was recorded.

l is relatively common in Yaqui and appears to be independent of phonetic rules. Two instances of voiceless *l* were recorded. The writer never confused *l* with *r*, but once wrote a questionable *l-n* sound.

r certainly exists as a sound phonetically independent of *l*, though it may be not primary, nor so frequent. The writer recorded *r* three times in his short notes, in each case being corroborated by Velasco's rendering. The latter states that in some words *l* and *r* are interchangeable and pronounced differently by different persons (*i. e.*, intermediate?), while in other words the sounds must be distinguished, as *alanoca*, *speak well* and *aranoca*, *be able to speak*.

s displays a very slight tendency toward *c* (*sh*), there being no real *c*. Velasco states that *s* is changed to *h* before a medial consonant in some parts.

v is bilabial sonant, never voiceless. As before noted, it was once confused with *w*, a confusion cautioned against by Velasco. Quite frequently, however, an indeterminate *v-b* sound was written. The writer believes *v* and *b* to be merely heard variants. He never wrote impeccable *b*. Velasco, however, uses *b* frequently as well as *v* and enjoins distinction between them. As an example, however, he gives *buiuc*, accusative of *much* and *vuiuc*, preterit of *quarrel*. This *bu* of *buiuc* is evidently not *b* but *bw* which will be considered later. It is doubtful if the distinction made by Velasco between *v* and *b* is phonetically warranted.

h is phonetically intermediate between American *h* and Spanish *j*. The several instances of *x* written by the writer are probably not to be distinguished.

bw was not recorded at all by the writer; the reasons for its inclusion here will be explained hereinafter. It is frequent in Velasco as *bu* followed by a vowel.

p is purely surd and not common. It is unaspirated.

t is likewise unaspirated surd. Several times it was written as intermediate *t-d*.

k approaches the English sound, being purely surd but unaspirated. *g* was, however, uniformly written by the writer in the word *go(i)*, *two*, given by Velasco as *uoi*. This may be a local dialectic divergence, due possibly to the example of Papago *go·k*.

The affricative *tc* is suave and unaspirated. Several times it was written as intermediate *tc-dj*, but was never confused with *ts*.

Consonants, as already suggested by certain examples, may be of single or double length. Whether all consonants are capable of being doubled is uncertain. Velasco notes this fact and gives examples of words distinguished by single or double *n* and *t*, as *tenne*, *run* and *tene*, *murmur*; *matte*, *manifest* and *mate*, *supplicate*.

Fourteen consonants are thus suggested for Yaqui. Sapir posits fourteen for original Uto-Aztekan. Of these fourteen, ten, *w*, *y*, *m*, *n*, *l*, *s*, *h*, *t*, *k*, and *tc* have exact reflexes in Yaqui. There remain to be considered η , *tl*, *p*, and *kw* in Uto-Aztekan and *r*, *v*, *p*, and *bw* in Yaqui.

η is found only in certain Shoshonean languages, being missing in other languages as well as in the Sonoran and the Nahuatlan languages, except incidentally before palatal stops. In other cases it is replaced by *n*. It is doubtful, therefore, if it be primary in original Uto-Aztekan.

tl, on the other hand, is found only in certain Nahuatlan languages. Other dialects and all other Uto-Aztekan languages replace it with normal *t*. It seems a more rational explanation, therefore, to consider *tl* as developed from *t* in Aztec under as yet unelucidated rules.

Uto-Aztekan *p* is probably replaced by its reflex *v* in Yaqui, although the writer has not found sufficient correspondences to make this certain. At other times, however, *p* seems to be retained in Yaqui, as *pusim*, *eyes*. It is possible that two original sounds are to be posited for original Uto-Aztekan in place of the single *p*. For, notwithstanding the fact that *v* seems to be the normal reflex in Papago and Tepecano as well as in Yaqui, the writer has recorded a *p* in addition to *v* in all three of these tongues. It may be possible that consonants of doubled length, a phenomenon common also to many Uto-Aztekan languages, may have obtained in the original tongue and be the cause of the varying reflexes. Velasco, as has been noted, employs *b* as well as *v* and *p*. It is uncertain whether his *v* and *b* are to be differentiated.

kw presents an interesting shift. While the writer recorded no instance of it, many instances in Velasco show indubitably that it has its reflex in Yaqui *bw*, written by Velasco as *bu*. This seems to be the first step in the direction of the greater change to *b* found in the Piman group.

Nahua (<i>Simeon</i>)	Yaqui (<i>Velasco</i>)	Tepecano (<i>Mason</i>)	
qua	bua		eat
cui	buisse	bõ	take
qua · uh-tli	buaue	ba'a · a	eagle
	buasia	bai	tail
cuitla-tl	buita	bit	excrement

The reasons for giving *r* a place in Yaqui apart from *l* have been stated already. In practically all Uto-Aztekan languages *l* and *r* are closely related and only one original sound is posited for Uto-Aztekan. Worthy of consideration, however, is the large number of languages in which observers have written both *l* and *r* (Tepehuane, Tepecano, Cora), as well as those which distinguish *r* and *rh* (Lower Pima and Heve). More striking yet is the fact that Papago has two very variant reflexes of Tepecano *r*: *l*, which was frequently recorded as *r* by the writer, and *ʔ*. Unless these very varying reflexes can be explained on phonetic grounds, it may be necessary to posit two precursors for them in Uto-Aztekan.

Yaqui has therefore retained its phonetic scheme comparatively close to the original type, apparently making only two certain shifts, *p* to *v* and *kw* to *bw*. By contrast, the Piman group, in addition to the vowel shift *e* to *ö*, has made six consonantal shifts. A complete series of sonant stops has been built up by the changes of *kw* to *b* (a further development of the Yaqui shift, examples of which have already been given), *y* to *d* and *w* to *g*.

Nahua (<i>Simeon</i>)	Yaqui (<i>Velasco</i>)	Tepecano (<i>Mason</i>)	
ye-tl	yena	dön	smoke tobacco
yaca-tl	yeka	da·k	nose
	iaha	dada	arrive many
	iooco	du·r	jaguar
	iuco	du·k	rain
	<i>iurasno</i>	Sp. <i>durazno</i>	peach
uei	we	gö	large
ome	woi	go·k	two
uetzi	huechec	göc	fall

Furthermore, the *p* to *v* shift is fully active in the Piman group, *tc* has been shifted to *s* or *c*, and *s* to *h*. This latter process was evidently just beginning in Yaqui, as witness Velasco's statement that in certain regions *s* before a consonant was replaced by *h*. This is a phonetic change of widespread occurrence. It has become fully functional in French, is frequent in Spanish dialects, and is found in Dogrib and Slavey, northern Athabaskan languages.

PHONETIC PROCESSES

The writer's notes are too short to warrant the suggestion of any phonetic laws. Velasco states that the assimilation of vowels is very important, particularly when two vowels fall into contact. Interpolation of consonants and vowels for phonetic euphony is also a frequent process, *r*, *t*, *k*, *l*, *le*, and *a* being thus interpolated.

MORPHOLOGY

Yaqui, naturally, follows the general type of Sonoran languages, agreeing with all in some respects but displaying many individualities in details.

The most essential elements are the noun and the verb.

THE NOUN

The usual Yaqui nominal stem is polysyllabic and dissimilar from verbal stems. Nominal stems never combine. Nominal and verbal stems may be combined to form a verb of special significance, but the incorporation of the nominal object in the verbal complex is not a functional process.

Formation of Nouns

Most nominal stems are intrinsically so, but in addition a large class of nouns are formed from other nouns, verbs, or other parts of speech. This is achieved solely by the suffixation of certain elements. A list of those enumerated by Velasco follows, the examples, as uniformly hereafter, being from the writer's personal notes.

- wa*, -*rawa*, suffixed to substantive nouns, adjectives, and verbs forms abstract nouns, as *humanity, evil, love*.
- i*, -*ri*, suffixed to verbs forms substantive nouns, as *word, voice, gift*
- iria*, -*ria*, -*ia*, suffixed to verbs forms substantive passive nouns, as *fugitive, absent one*
- ia*, suffixed to verbs forms instrumental nouns, as *hammer, rope*
- me*, suffixed to verbs forms instrumental *nomina actoris*, as *cup, pen*.
- ye*, suffixed to verbs signifies the action of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive one, as *sleep, beloved*.
- me* (*nomen actoris*), suffixed to verbs signifies the effect of the action of the verb, or the performer of the act, as *love, food, drink, instruction, lover*.
 kamakua'kame Those to whom they were not given
 asua'kame Those who had children
- ra*, -*i*, suffixed to verbs signifies the habitual performer of the act, as *drunkard, glutton, clown*
- po*, suffixed to verbs signifies the time for or of doing the act
- u*, suffixed to verbs signifies the former doer of the act, as *he who formerly loved*
- kau*, -*tukau*, suffixed to nouns, signifies the former existence of the object.
- po*, suffixed to nouns signifies *place of*.

Plural

Nominal stems are altered in but one way, by the formation of the plural. All nouns form their plurals by the suffixation of *-m* under various phonetic rules.

<i>pasapo'rtem</i>	passports	<i>ye'kam</i>	noses
<i>famīliam</i>	families	<i>na'kam</i>	ears
<i>anima'nim</i>	animals	<i>pu'sim</i>	eyes
<i>vemasuam</i>	their children	<i>ko'mim</i>	arms
<i>ilitcum</i>	small dogs	<i>ma'mam</i>	hands
<i>yo'rim</i>	Mexicans	<i>wo'kim</i>	feet
<i>hya'kim</i>	Yaquis	<i>iliu'sim</i>	small boys
<i>ko'vam</i>	heads	<i>to'mam</i>	legs

A collective plural is formed by the suffixation of *-me*.

The plural may also be formed, under what conditions Velasco does not state, by reduplication. Doubtless some phase of the iterative is thus expressed.

These two methods of forming the plural, by an *-m* suffix and by reduplication, seem to be characteristic of Uto-Aztekan. The Piman group of languages, as usual, seems to have diverged the most, having lost the *-m* plural entirely, except in such stereotyped cases as the plural of the second and third personal pronouns. Plurals are formed exclusively by reduplication. This appears to be characteristic of Eudeve and Tarahumare also. Nahuatl, like Yaqui, seems to employ *-me* as its principal pluralizing suffix, but also reduplicates in certain conditions. Cora employs various suffixes while Opata seems generally to dispense with any plural.

The Yaqui nominal complex may be augmented by two means: prefixed pronominal elements denoting possession and suffixed postpositional elements denoting the usual prepositional relations. Both of these are firmly welded to the stem, a fact noted by Velasco.

Pronominal Possession

The pronominal elements, according to Velasco, with examples from the writer's notes, are:

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>	
1. in-	<i>in-xwo'awi</i>	to my house	<i>-itom</i>	<i>ito'ŋ-kova</i>	our head
	<i>i'n-kova</i>	my head			
2. em-	<i>em-kova</i>	thy head	<i>-em</i>	<i>e'ntcim-kovam</i>	your heads
3. a-	<i>a-hwa'awi</i>	to her house	<i>-vem</i>	<i>ve'm-asuam</i>	their children

The denoting of pronominal possession by means of prefixed elements more or less distantly related to the independent pronouns is one of the most constant elements of the Uto-Aztekan languages. *n* is the common and vital element in all the pronominal prefixes for the first personal singular in all the Sonoran languages, Nahuatl and Ute. *e*, *i*, and *o* are the accompanying vowels. *m* is likewise uniform for the second singular with vowels in *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*, with the exception of Cora, which is reported to utilize *a* alone without *m*. For the first plural, the element is regularly *t*, generally with the vowels *a*, *i*, or *o*. The second plural most frequently contains the *m* of the singular form with a different vowel, this holding true for Pima, Papago, Tepehuane, Tepecano, Opata, Eudeve, Tarahumare, Nahuatl and Ute. Cora retains the *m* in this case. It is in the third person that the greatest differentiation is found. In the singular, the Piman group deviates radically—as it does in many other respects—by adopting a possessive suffix in place of a prefix. The others employ prefixes in which there is no common element. The third plural is uniformly formed by prefixes which possess little in common.

No other nominal prefixes are found in Yaqui.

Postpositions: Case Ending

Velasco states that the relations expressed by the Latin oblique cases—genitive, dative, accusative, and ablative—are expressed in Cahita by the use of the case suffix *-ta* when the stem ends in a vowel and *-e* when it ends in a consonant. These are used equally with nouns and pronouns. Whether this is a true case ending or a very general and comprehensive postposition, the writer is not in a position to say.

ye'e-m-ta (They watch that) dancer

Velasco enumerates some forty postpositions which need not be transcribed here. He divides them into groups: 1, those suffixed to the ablative of pronouns, or some to the nominative and some to the oblique forms of nouns; 2, suffixed to the ablative of pronouns together with the preposition *tzi*, or to the oblique form (nominative in one case) of the noun; 3, those suffixed to the genitive of pronouns or nouns; 4, those which rarely or never are found with pronouns but are used with nouns about equally in the nominative or oblique form; 5, those which possess an adverbial sense.

ahwa'a-wi	to her house
i'nxwo'a-wi	to my house
anima'nim-ve'nasia'	like animals

THE VERB

The verb is the heart of the Yaqui sentence, though the verbal complex is not so comprehensive and all expressive as in many other American languages, even some of the Sonoran group.

Verbal stems are generally polysyllabic or disyllabic. Combinations of verbal stems are frequent, combinations of verbal with nominal stems less so.

Formation of Verbs

Verbs may be formed from nouns and other parts of speech, but these processes are considerably fewer in number than those by which nouns are formed. Velasco lists the following:

- k*, suffixed to nominal stems indicates possession of the object.
(?) *asua-k-a-me*. Those who had children.
- te*, suffixed to nominal stems signifies to make the object named.
- re*, suffixed to substantive nouns, adjectives or adverbs signifies to consider a person or thing to be of the character indicated by the nominal stem.
- u*, suffixed to nouns signifies to go to secure the object indicated.
- tuc*, -*yec* (verbs to be) suffixed to nouns and adjectives signify to convert into the designated object.

The verbal stem is modified in but one way, by reduplication to express iterative and frequentative senses.

The verbal complex may be augmented by prefixes or suffixes, the former expressing certain pronominal relations, the latter tense and modal relations.

*Verbal Suffixes**Modal*

- ua*, -*wa*, passive

<i>am-ma'k-ua-k</i>	(they) were given to them
<i>k-am-mak-ua'-ka-me</i>	those to whom they were not given
<i>to'i-wa-ka</i>	(they) were gathered together
<i>saka'-wa-'k</i>	(they) were carried away
<i>am-u''a-wa-'k</i>	(they) were taken away from them
- suk*, completive, intensive
- tua*, compulsive, causative
- ria*, -*ia*, applicative
- yina*, intention
- oove*, frustration
- neka*, auxiliary, to do in conjunction with another.
- yaa*, auxiliary, to assist another in the deed.
- tutu*, usitative.
- taite*, inceptive.

-tevo, mandatory	
-bu, imperative plural	
-wawa, -na, -yo, optative	
-wawa, -na, -eyai (active), -ewai (passive), subjunctive	
a'aví'tcu-ne	that (they) may see him
-ma, indirect command	
-vare, desiderative	
si'm·-ba(i)	she desires to go
ka-a'-sim-'bai	do you not wish to go?
ne'spo si'm-bai	I wish to go
ka'-an-amaŋ-we-va	I do not wish to go there
k-aman-we-vai	(I) do not wish to go there
i'nepo a'man we·'-vai	I wish to walk there
i'nepo ko't-vai	I wish to sleep
-taya, potential, know how to do something	.
-roka, indirect discourse (?)	
-se (sing.), -vo (plu.), go to do	

Several other suffixes are given by Velasco to be used in the protasis and apodosis of conditional and other clauses, as:

-teka, used after <i>if</i> and <i>before</i>
-kari, used after <i>as</i> , <i>when</i> , <i>although</i> , <i>afterwards</i>
-teka, -tuka, used after <i>because</i>
-varekari, -rokakari, -poeya, used after <i>for</i> and <i>so that</i>
-yo, -ko, -kako, used after <i>if</i> , <i>before</i> , <i>as</i> , <i>when</i> , <i>although</i> , <i>after</i>

Tense

All qualifications of tense are designated in Yaqui by the use of suffixes, as follows:

-k, preterit	
am-nai'kim-te-k	(they) divided them
am-mi·'ka-'k	(they) gave them
n-o'iti-k	I went
aman si-ka	he went there
i'nepo ka-ni-aman-no'iti-k	I did not go there
i'nepu a'man no'itiki	I went there
i'nepo ko'tc·u-k	I slept

See also the examples given for the passive, all of them preterit.

There seems to be the greatest divergence among the Uto-Aztekan languages in the formation of the preterit, probably the most important and frequent of the tenses. A suffixed element is most frequently employed, but these differ greatly, Tarahumare agreeing most closely with Yaqui by employing the suffix *-ka*. Opata and Eudeve appear to use entirely different suffixes. As usual, the Piman group of languages is the most variable, but, not as usual, remarkably

analogous to the Nahuatl process. Both employ a prefix, quite unrelated, together with a clipped form of the verb stem.

- nake*, future
- nawa*, future passive
- n*, imperfect. (Mayo uses -*i*, and Tehueco -*t*)
- kan*, pluperfect. (Mayo uses -*kai*, and Tehueco -*kat*)
- te*, future intention
- n*, future mandatory
- su-nake*, future perfect

Verbal Prefixes

The few verbal prefixes indicate objective relations. The most important ones are:

- hi-*, indefinite neuter object
hi-po'na, he strikes it (plays harp)
- yore-*, indefinite personal object
- ne-*, indefinite personal object. (Used only with the verb sawe, *command*)
- a-*, *am-*, definite personal object. These are tantamount to being the singular and plural of the third personal pronominal object. They are, however, the only persons thus prefixed and probably are not entitled to be considered as pronouns. They are used only when the nominal plural is not mentioned, or when it lies far distant from the verb. The pronominal subject, a definite pronoun, may be interpolated between these and the verb stem.

Certain adverbs, particularly those of location, are frequently prefixed closely to the verbal stem and practically serve as locative prefixes.

na'uto'iwaka, they were gathered

Pronominal Relations

It is doubtful if the pronoun, either as subject or as object, is to be considered as a part of the verbal complex. The writer has nothing bearing on this topic in his few notes, but the remarks of Velasco seem to indicate that they are not an integral part of the verbal complex.

The subject pronoun is expressed either by the full independent form, as:

ne'po ahwa'awi no'itik	I went to the house
i'nepo a'man we'vai	I wish to walk there
i'nepo ko'tc·uk	I slept
ne'spo si'mbai	I wish to go

or by semipronouns, which are clipped varieties of the independent forms and are never used alone, as:

porke ne te'vaure	Because I am hungry
ha'n-te' ama'ni	Let's go there
ka-n-amaη-weva	I do not wish to go

These examples seem to be integral prefixes of the verb complex, but Velasco states as one of his most infallible rules, that the pronominal subject *must* be the second word or element in the sentence,³ so that, if the sentence contains *only* verb stem and pronominal subject, the latter follows the verb stem. At other times it is absolutely separate from the verb as, to give his example, *cate Diosta suale*, "Not-thou God-in believest?" in which *-(t)e* is the semipronoun of the second person singular. So unexceptionable is this rule, according to Velasco, that the semipronoun will fall between what cannot but be considered as integral parts of the verb complex, as *cot-ne-vare*, "Sleep-I-wish;" *am-ne-eria*, "Them-I-love." Grammatical classification is at best an academic question, but it is difficult to classify elements, apparently enclitics of some kind, which may stand either after a verb stem, between a verb stem and its morphological suffixes, or be separated from the verb by means of a noun with postposition or case-ending, as in the above examples. Other examples, with the elements in the order given, are: "Here *I* tomorrow will-come" and "Tomorrow *I* here will-come."

The pronominal subject is, then, best considered as independent or at best enclitic to any part of speech. These semipronouns are:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. <i>ne</i>	<i>te</i>
2. <i>e</i>	<i>em</i>
3. (nothing)	<i>im</i>

The pronominal object, of which the writer has no certain examples in his notes, appears, judging from Velasco, to be not expressed in the verbal complex. Velasco gives no semipronouns for the objective forms, as he does for the subjective and possessive relations, but implies that the pronominal object is always expressed by the accusative form of the independent pronoun.

If the definite personal objectives *-a* and *-am* are to be considered as pronouns, they form an exception to this rule, being, apparently, prefixed to the verbal complex.

PRONOUNS

As noted, most of the pronominal relations are expressed, according to Velasco, by independent pronouns which vary according to case. The writer has no material to controvert this. Velasco gives these case forms for the various persons and numbers in full. They

³ This is also the rule in Luiseño, in which an accentless fusion of semipronoun and modo-temporal element is enclitic to the first word in the sentence, even if this should happen to be the independent pronoun used for emphasis.

need not be copied in extenso here. Frequently several case forms of a given pronoun are identical, but there appears to be no uniformity or agreement between the various forms of any given case. The independent subjective (nominative) forms appear to be

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
1. inopo, nehe, neheri		itopo, itee, iteriwa
2. empo, ehee, eheri		empom, emee, emeri
3. wahaa, wahari	that	wamee, wameri
ahaa, ahari	the same	amee, ameri
ihii, ihiri	this	ime, imeri
huhuu, huhuri	this	humee, humeri

ADVERBS

Adverbs are normally independent parts of speech. They may be formed from other parts of speech, as:

-siwa, suffixed to adjectives, forms adverbs

Certain particles are intimately connected with verbs but, apparently not being parts of the verbal complex, must be considered as adverbs. Principal among these are the interrogative *ki* and the negative *k(a)*. The former is always first in the sentence and may be separated from the verb by the nominal subject. The negative particle seems also not to be a prefix but independent.

i'nepo	ka'n·i	a'man	no'itik
I	not I	there	went

ADJECTIVES

Many adjectives are independent stems, as they are independent parts of speech. Others are formed from other parts of speech, mainly from verbs.

-ri, *-i*, suffixed to verbs forms adjectives of the type of perfect participles, as *loved, eaten, measured*

-machi, *-wawa*, *-tu* (with the prefixed particle *ara-*), *-tsi*, suffixed to verbs form adjectives of the type of *-able*, as: *eatable, potable, credible, visible, dangerous*

-la, suffixed to verbal adjectives, more rarely to substantive nouns, lends an habitual, usitative sense to the adjective, as: *lazy, strong, lame, deaf, garrulous*

PARTICLES

Two particles are suffixed to various parts of speech to lend emphasis. They had probably best be considered as enclitics.

-wa, suffixed to nouns, pronouns, adverbs, postpositions and conjunctions

-liwa, suffixed to adverbs and postpositions

TEXTS AND ANALYSIS

THE YAQUI INSURRECTION

hu'nako Once	ti'empo time	si'ime all	hume those	hya'kim Yaquis	na'u together
to'iwaka were gathered.	si'ime All	pasaportem passports	ama'kuak were given them.	hu'me'e Those	ka·' no
pasapo'rtim passports	kamakua'kame who were not given	nuk were taken	saka'wa'k were taken	ī'La island	yukata'n Yucatan.
famīliam families	asua'kame that had children	am.u'awa'k were taken away	iliu'sim small boys	anima'nim animals	ve'nasia' like.
vemasuam Their children	govie'rnu government	ilitcum small dogs	amnai'kimte'k distributed them.	ume Those	yo·'rim Mexicans
am·i·'ka'k gave them	yo'uwe the large.				

TRANSLATION

Not long ago all the Yaquis were gathered together. Passports were given to them. Those who did not get passports (because they refused to surrender) were taken to the island (*sic*) of Yucatan (when captured). The families with children had their little boys taken away like animals. The government distributed their children (like?) little dogs. They gave the older ones to the Mexicans.

ANALYSIS

hu'nako	Temporal adverb. NOT LONG AGO. hunac hubuat heuela, Spanish <i>no ha mucho tiempo</i> , 345 ⁴
ti'empo	TIME, Spanish <i>tiempo</i>
si'ime	Noun. Demonstrative adjective. ALL. I am unable to find this word in Velasco, but it occurs several times in the text. The final -me is probably the sign of plurality, 132.
hume	Demonstrative pronoun, third plural. THOSE. humee, <i>estes</i> , 156
hya'kim	Plural noun. Stem probably hyaki, YAQUI; -m, plural suffix, 132
na'u	Adverb or possibly part of verb stem. TOGETHER. haultzi, <i>juntamente</i>
to'iwaka	Preterit passive verb. Stem probably toi, GATHER. Possibly should be combined with preceding adverb. naatocha <i>recoger lo esparcido</i> , nauatocha, <i>juntar una cosa con otra</i>
si'ime	-wa-, passive suffix, 27; -ka, preterit suffix, 1
pasaportem	Demonstrative adjective. ALL. Cf. supra
	Plural noun. PASSPORTS. Spanish <i>pasaporte</i> . -em, plural suffix, 132

⁴Numbers refer to paragraphs in Velasco.

- ama'kuak Preterit passive verb. am-, probably third plural pronominal object, 175; mak, stem GIVE. One of the most uniform of Uto-Aztekan stems, found also in Salinan and some other extra-group languages. Velasco gives amaca, dar, to which Buelna has appended the footnote, "Es el verbo maca con el pronombre relativo a, que suele anteponerse a los verbos en este vocabulario." In his Yaqui-Spanish vocabulary, Velasco gives maca, mica, dar. -ua-, passive suffix, 27; -k, preterit suffix, 1.
- hu'me'e Demonstrative pronoun, third plural. THOSE. Cf. supra
- ka·' Probably negative adverb. No. caita, nada, ninguno
- pasaportim Plural noun. PASSPORTS. Spanish *pasaporte*. -im, plural suffix, 132; cf. supra
- kamakua'kame Nominative verb, *nomen actoris*. k (a)-, negative particle, probably proclitic, 85; mak, stem GIVE (Cf. supra); -ua-, passive suffix, 27; -k-, preterit suffix, 1; -(a)me, substantive *nomen actoris* suffix, 257
- nuk Uncertain. I am unable to analyze this word. It may be a proclitic or prefix of the following verb:
- saka'wa'k Preterit passive verb. Stem saka, MANY GO. saca, saha, irse muchos
-wa-, passive suffix, 27; -k, preterit suffix, 1
- ĩ'La Noun. ISLAND. Spanish *isla*
- yukata'n Noun. YUCATAN. Spanish *yucatan*
- wa'me'e Demonstrative pronoun, third plural. THOSE. uamee, aquellos, 153
- familiam Plural noun. FAMILY. Spanish *familia*. -m, plural suffix, 132
- asua'kame Possessive verbalized noun. asua, stem CHILD (Cf. infra); asoac, hijo o hija de la hembra. -k-, verbalizing nominal suffix denoting possession, 63; -(a)me, substantive *nomen actoris* suffix, 257
- am.u''awa'k Preterit passive verb. am-, probably third plural pronominal object, 175; u'a, probable stem CARRY. I am unable to find this word in Velasco, but it is probably cognate with Tepecano (')ua('), BE CARRYING. -wa-, passive suffix, 27; -k, preterit suffix, 1
- iliu'sim Diminutive plural noun. ili-, adjectival proclitic (?), SMALL. I am unable to find *ili* alone in Velasco, but several instances in combination are given, as ili totoli, pollo; ilit hehue, *chica cosa*; ilichi, *pequeño*. -usi-, stem BOY. usi, *muchacho*. -m, plural suffix, 132
- anima'nim Plural noun. ANIMAL. Spanish *animal*. -im, plural suffix, 132
- ve'nasia' Postposition. LIKE. vena, venna, como, á la manera que; siua, como si, á la manera de quien
- me Unidentified. It was written as proclitic to following:
- vemasuam Possessed plural noun. vem-, third plural possessive pronoun, 172; asua, stem CHILD (Cf. supra); -m, plural suffix, 132
- goviernu Noun. GOVERNMENT. Spanish *gobierno*
- ilitecum Diminutive plural noun. -ili-, adjectival proclitic (?), SMALL (Cf. supra); tcu, stem DOG; chuo, *perro ó perra*. -m, plural suffix, 132
- amnaikimte'k Preterit verb. am- third plural objective pronoun, 175; naikim, probable stem, DIVIDE; naequimhinenca, *repartir algo*. -te-, unidentified; -k, preterit suffix, 1.
- ume Demonstrative pronoun, third plural. THOSE. Cf. supra
- yo·'rim Plural noun. yo·ri, Stem MEXICAN; iori, *Español, fiera, valiente*. -m, plural suffix, 132

am·i·'ka'k	Preterit verb. am-, third plural objective pronoun, 175; mi·ka, stem GRV. maca, mica, dar. -k, preterit suffix, 1
yo'uwe	Substantive adjective. yo'u, uncertain, probably demonstrative of some kind. -we, stem GREAT. I am unable to find this in Velasco, but it is practically identical with Nahua <i>uei</i> and relates to Tepecano <i>gō</i> by regular rules. buere, <i>grande hombre</i>

THE PASCOLA

pasco''la The Pascola	ama''a there	ye''e dances.	aparē'u Harpist,	lavele'u violinist	hipo'na plays.	hu'me'e Those
yue'm·e being there	a'avī·'tcu watch	hu'ka'a that	ye''emta Also dancer.	i'ntoku Also	si''ime all	ye'na smoke
a'ma' there	ane'me being	hu'len thus	ve'tci'ivu for	volo'teva wedding,	pa'rake in order that	si''ime all
huhe'nte the people	a'ma'w there	ane'me being	a'avī'tcune may see.			

TRANSLATION

The Pascola is dancing there. The harpist and violinist play and all those there watch the dancer. Also all are smoking for the wedding so that all the people may see.

ANALYSIS

pasco''la	Noun. PASCOLA. The <i>pascola</i> is the Yaqui tribal dance. The stem is uncertain but most probably is related to Spanish <i>pascua</i> , "Easter"
ama''a	Locative adverb. THERE. aman, <i>alla</i>
ye''e	Verb. Stem DANCE. ieie, yeie, <i>bailar</i>
aparē'u	Noun. HARPIST. Spanish <i>harpero</i>
lavele'u	Noun. VIOLINIST. Stem probably adopted from Spanish
hipo'na	Verb. hi-, neuter object, 107; pona, stem STRIKE. ponna, <i>golpear</i>
hu'me'e	Demonstrative pronoun, third plural. THOSE. humee, <i>estos</i> , 156
yue'm·e	Probably nominalized verb, <i>nomen actoris</i> . I am unable to find this word in Velasco but, judging from the analogy of the two instances of ane'me below, all being translated similarly, take it to be a verb BE THERE with the <i>nomen actoris</i> suffix -me.
a'avī·'tcu	Verb. a-, probably pronominal object, third sigular, 175; avi·'tcu, stem SEE, <i>abicha</i> , <i>mirar</i> ; <i>bicha</i> , <i>ver</i>
hu'ka'a	Demonstrative pronoun, third singular objective. HIM OR THAT. huca, accusative of huuu, <i>este</i> , 156
ye''emta	Nominalized verb, <i>nomen actoris</i> . ye''e, stem DANCE; Cf. supra. -m-, probably reduced from -me-, <i>nomen actoris</i> suffix, 257; -ta, post-position or possibly case suffix denoting objective relations, 125
i'ntoku	Conjunction. ALSO. ientoco, <i>y además de esto</i>
si''ime	Demonstrative adjective. ALL. Cf. supra

ye'na	Verb. Stem SMOKE (active). I am unable to find this verb in Velasco, but it has a perfect analogy, by recognized phonetic shifts, with Tepecano <i>dön</i> , <i>smoke</i> , as well as a closer connection with Nahua <i>ye-tl</i> , <i>tobacco</i>
a'ma' ane'me	Locative adverb. THERE. <i>aman</i> , <i>allá</i> Probably nominalized verb, <i>nomen actoris</i> . Stem possibly BE THERE. -me, probably <i>nomen actoris</i> suffix, 257. I am unable to find this word in Velasco and analyze it by comparisons with the translations of the following other instance of <i>ane'me</i> and the preceding example of <i>yue'me</i>
hu'len ve'tci'ivu	Adverb. THUS. " <i>Huleni significa así, en sentido simulativo,</i> " 367 Postposition. FOR. <i>vetzivo</i> , <i>por</i> , <i>para</i> , <i>propter</i> , 320. I am unable to explain why the postposition precedes the noun, but feel that it must be an error
volo'teva	Noun. Uncertain stem, WEDDING. This may be an adaptation from Spanish <i>boda</i> . Velasco gives <i>buatoha</i> , <i>bodas de mujer</i> ; <i>sahin-enca</i> , <i>bodas de hombre</i> ; <i>emohube</i> , <i>matrimonio</i>
pa'rake si''ime huhe'nte	Adverbial clause. IN ORDER THAT. Spanish <i>para que</i> Demonstrative adjective. ALL. Cf. <i>supra</i> Noun with article. <i>hu-</i> , probably reduced from <i>huhuu</i> , <i>este</i> . THIS. <i>hente</i> , noun stem PEOPLE. Adopted from Spanish <i>gente</i>
a'ma'w ane'me a'avi'tcune	Locative adverb. THERE. <i>aman</i> , <i>allá</i> Probably nominalized verb, <i>nomen actoris</i> . Cf. <i>supra</i> . BE THERE Verb. Cf. <i>supra</i> . -ne, probably subjunctive suffix