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Some Paipai Accounts of Food Gathering

THE Paipai are a Yuman-speaking people who live in and around Santa Catarina, about 80 miles east-southeast of Ensenada, Baja California. In aboriginal times, they were hunters and gatherers, though in occasional contact with the farming tribes of the lower Colorado River. From roughly 1798 until 1840, the Paipai were under the control of a Dominican mission at Santa Catarina (Meigs 1935), but they never entirely abandoned their hunting and gathering activities. Since the late nineteenth century, they have become increasingly integrated into the local Mexican economy, but at the time of the field work (1958-1959), they still retained considerable knowledge of their traditional subsistence activities.1

In the following brief accounts, the Paipai describe some of these activities in their own language. Tuna, datil, píon, bitter acorns, subjects of the four textlets, are among the food resources that were still being used at least occasionally when the field work was done. I present these accounts to (1) provide some examples of discourse in what is still one of the least-known Yuman languages and (2) record some hitherto unpublished data on food gathering and food processing, using the terms of the Paipai and making the distinctions they make.

POUNDING AND GRINDING AND THE APPLICATION OF HEAT

Plant food preparation usually involves pounding and grinding. The following terms, many of which also occur in the textlets below, are used by the Paipai to refer to these processes.

katu(-k)2 'machucar'; pounding or crushing a whole variety of items, including dried tuna fruits, juniper berries, mesquite beans, shelled acorns (the nutmeats), dried corn, and bones. The preparation which often results from this process is:

mawar 'pinol'. In addition to the pinol of dried tuna fruits, juniper berries, mesquite beans, acorns, and dried corn, mawar was also used once to refer to crushed charcoal (used in tattooing). Linguistic evidence suggests that mawar is or used to be a verb descriptive of a process, though in my corpus it was used as a noun.

Two other often-used words relate to grinding: tywa:k(-k) and tiyel, both translated 'moler'. One consultant explained the difference between them by saying that tywa:k is used when the substance is dry, such as wheat being made into flour, while tiyel is used in the case of wet substances, such as maiz when making nixtamal (tortilla dough). Moist acorn pulp, for example, is ground (tiyel) after first having been crushed (katu), soaked, leached, and squeezed to remove excess moisture. tywa:k is also used to describe the grinding of earth to make clay and occurs in a phrase meaning pulverized charcoal. In contrast to katu, both tywa:k and tiyel refer to fine grinding, the final process in a sequence.

Three other words in the same semantic area are tācoq, tāpak, and tālam, all translated
‘machucar’. The first word is used in referring to the pounding of fresh mescal leaves in a bedrock mortar or the crushing of a fresh herb to make a preparation using its juice. tapak occurs only once, where it seems to refer to the cracking of acorns prior to shelling and pounding (katuk) them. talam occurs only once, where it refers to pounding acorns on the metate before they are cleaned.

Application of heat is part of the processing and/or preparation of virtually all Paipai foods. The words involved are:

ñu(-k) ‘tatemar’, pit-roasting or baking in the earth. The roasting of mescal heads, one of the major Paipai foods, is always designated by this term. Preparation of lechugilla heads (Yucca whipplei) is also described as ñuk. The only other text use of the term is in reference to the cooking of a goat for several hours in a pit in the ground. One consultant told me, however, that the term could be used for baking potatoes covered with hot ashes.

pab ‘tatemar’. This word was used by one Paipai for pit-roasting of meat.

šil’asar’, roasting in coals or in or over fire. The preparation of stalks of both mescal and lechugilla is designated by this term. Other text occurrences of the word specify the cooking of fish, rabbit, and tortillas, and one step in the processing of piñon nuts.

ta’ol ‘cocer’, cooking with liquid in a container (whether boiling, steaming, or simmering). This term is a very frequent one. It is used to refer to making coffee, herbal teas and medicines, and for cooking pinto beans, abalones, caterpillars, and datil fruits (Yucca schidigera).

šymwé(-k) ‘tostar’, parching (rather than cooking). This term is used a few times to describe one step in the processing of piñon nuts and islaya seeds (Prunus ilicifolia). The seeds are moved about rapidly on a tray (probably of basketry in aboriginal times), sometimes with coals in the tray, to drive off moisture. The form seems built on the verb mawe: ‘be warm’ (see also the causative verb šymwa: ‘to heat up [a cold child, cold coffee]’).

casay ‘guisar’, cooking with lard in a pan. This term refers to such non-aboriginal practices as frying beans, rice, and eggs. The word seems to be built on the noun šay ‘manteca’ (animal fat). (There may also be a verb *?asay ‘be greasy’.)

şumkwin ‘atol’, also ‘hacer atol’, mush or pudding made from a wide variety of seeds, most notably acorns, but also, for example, islaya seeds and corn. To make şumkwin, it is first necessary that the seeds be ground fine, either dry (tuwd:k) or wet (tiyél).

THE TEXTLETS

The four textlets which follow were recorded manually as dictated by Josefina Ochurte in 1959. The Spanish is Ms. Ochurte’s original translation of the Paipai words and phrases; the English is my somewhat free translation of the Paipai guided by the consultant’s Spanish version.

xté (tuna)

Tuna is the fruit of the nopal cactus (Platyopuntia), which grows abundantly on hillsides around Santa Catarina. The fruits were gathered ripe in September (although in one story, the narrator mentioned going to gather tuna in November). Some Paipai words in the textlets are given further explanatory treatment in the notes.

xtéh4 ya:k kami:g5
la-tuna junto y-las-trajo
the-tuna one-gathers one-brings-them-back

las6 niyá7 sá:8
lo-pasan el-caldo lo-tome
one-splits-them-open the-juice one-drinks

\
Free translation. One gathers and brings back the tuna fruits. One splits them open with a knife and drinks the juice. When the opened tuna are dry, they are pounded and made into pinol. This is poured into clay jars and stored. In winter we eat the pinol by mixing water with it and drinking it. In addition, we cook the juice and pour it into a clay jar and store it. This we drink in winter. That's all.

**Báñat** (datil)

Datil (*Yucca schidigera*) puts up a short flower stalk bearing quantities of fruit. Each individual fruit is a fleshy seed pod containing several rows of edible seeds. The fruit ripens gradually and can be collected at various stages of ripeness during August and September.
One splits open the datil and dries it. Later [i.e., in winter] one cooks it and drinks the juice. One breaks off all the seed pods and brings them back. One dumps them into a pit in the ground. One piles them up and seals the pit with branches. In three days, some of them ripen, and these one takes out and leaves in the sun all day. Next day one opens them. And then one leaves them covered and goes to collect and bring more and dump them in the pit. That's the way it's done, until it's finished. These [i.e., datil fruits] have much shell, it's very thick, so that one collects two or three sackfuls in a short time.

**Kxo (Piñon or Pine Nut)**

In recent times, nuts of the piñon (*Pinus monophylla* and *P. quadrifolia*) were not only a highly tasty food but an important trade item. In exchange for pine nuts, the Paipai received from the Mexicans either useful goods (such as food and clothing) or money with which to purchase them. Consultants paid particular attention to the subject of piñon and either went into great detail about the gathering and processing activities (as in this text) or provided an animated account of all the trading and buying and selling that followed the harvest.

**I. Mai’ana k**

**Treyntaseys yu:ham**

el-ano
treinta-y-seis
time

**Treyntaseys**, **yu:ham**

treinta-y-seis
time

we-left here

we-went

into-the-Sierra

**Nani:titkam**

**Nanakam**

sevento: PM

we-arrived

there

we-were picking-piñon

c.-llegamos

when-we-arrived

we-were

picking-piñon

when-we-arrived

we-were

picking-piñon

when-we-arrived

when-we-slept

next-morning

**Kxo ky:la**

**XukyeYW**

comenzamos

a-piscar

carga

[and-then]-when-we-began
to-pick loads

**Dos llevamos burros ese-lo-cargamos**

two

we-carried burros

these-we-loaded

**Tük:biok**

**XukyeYW xuwak cakmi:gi**

ten-and-now

en-la-AM

trajimos-dos-cargas

in-the-AM

we-brought-two-loads
PAIPAI FOOD GATHERING

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ñátiñé: } & \quad \text{xokyeyw xuyákí } & \quad \text{ñam t'at'or}\ldots & \quad \text{?i'ëb batem}^{39} & \quad \text{ciyá:w } & \quad \text{ñu'cpaqc} \\
y-en-la-tarde & \quad \text{dos-cargas-también todos-los-días} & \quad \text{in-the-PM} & \quad \text{two-loads-also} & \quad \text{everyday} & \quad \text{un-palo-grueso agarramos lo-garroteamos} \\
& \quad \text{a-thick-stick we-take-it we-beat-it} \\
\text{ñubyum} & \quad \text{cakámig ?unú:k } & \quad \text{?ícëaY} & \quad \text{kxo kül'yłkha}^{40} & \quad \text{ñacpaqcem} & \quad \text{yé:cha}^{41} \\
\text{asi} & \quad \text{trajimos-todo-el-tiempo} & \quad \text{nosotros} & \quad \text{la-piña} & \quad \text{c.-lo-garroteamos} & \quad \text{la-semilla} \\
\text{thus} & \quad \text{we-were-bringing-back} & \quad \text{we} & \quad \text{the-pinecones} & \quad \text{when-we-beat-them} & \quad \text{the-seeds} \\
xopak & \quad ?'u:l sakyaw ?té:olim & \quad \text{yémik poq} & \quad \text{yé:cha}^{Y} & \quad \text{pa:yt'ëa} \\
\text{somos-cuatro piscamos por-eso mucho} & \quad \text{se-caen-solo} & \quad \text{la-semilla} & \quad \text{todos} & \quad \text{fall-out-by-themselves} & \quad \text{the-seeds all} \\
\text{?ña:k} & \quad \text{ciyumkc ku'l ?a'ñunú:k} & \quad \text{poq} & \quad \text{ñubwir'am} & \quad \text{körübha}^{42} & \quad \text{en-el-día} & \quad \text{juntamos c.-estamos-piscando} \\
\text{in-a-day we-gather when-we're-picking} & \quad \text{se-cae c.-se-acaba los-secos} & \quad \text{fall-out when-it's-done} & \quad \text{the-dry-shells (?)} \\
\text{ñam t'at'or} & \quad \text{ñám bónas xawak}^{35} & \quad \text{ñi'sa oxiñ poqc} & \quad \text{pay'am} & \quad \text{todos-los-días a-los-veinte-días} & \quad \text{everyday twenty-days} & \quad \text{esa lo-quitamos tiramos y-después} \\
\text{we-pick therefore a-lot} & \quad \text{this we-remove throw-away and-then} \\
\text{ñi'ñubyum} & \quad \text{ñapay ?sí:lec ñuwač} & \quad \text{yé:cha}^{Y} \text{haxpír} & \quad \text{pic} & \quad \text{ña'payam} & \quad \text{en-esos-días después tatemamos y-después} \\
\text{en-los-secos el-piñón} & \quad \text{lo-quitamos} & \quad \text{y-después esa} & \quad \text{we-rost and-also} & \quad \text{just-seeds} & \quad \text{remain and-then} \\
\text{the-piñón} & \quad \text{we-pile-it-up} & \quad \text{and-also these} & \quad \text{la-pura-semilla queda y-después} & \quad \text{la-semilla} & \quad \text{c.-agarramos en-la-bandeja} \\
\text{yémik} & \quad \text{kak ñisaciya:w} & \quad \text{yé:cham} & \quad \text{ñaciya:w} & \quad \text{bande:xa} & \quad \text{sola si-abre esa-agarramos} \\
\text{by-themselves they-open these-we-take} & \quad \text{echemos-allí} & \quad \text{[no gloss]} & \quad \text{we-dump-them-in-it} & \quad \text{tooss-up (?)} \\
\text{?ña:k} & \quad \text{ilpa:c} & \quad \text{kariyé:xábkiyá:wa}^{45} & \quad \text{ñixayu}^{46} & \quad \text{en-el-sol} & \quad \text{lo-tendemos} \\
\text{in-the-sun} & \quad \text{we-spread-them-out} & \quad \text{pa'que-se-limpia c.-hace-viento} & \quad \text{so-they-get-clean when-there's-wind} \\
\text{ñi'ñaY} & \quad \text{niru:Y}^{36} & \quad \text{yémik bolá:wik}^{37} & \quad \text{xanám} & \quad \text{kaštám kariyé:g yuso} & \quad \text{c.-se-seca} & \quad \text{si-abren bien} \\
\text{when-they-are-dry alone they-open (?)} & \quad \text{luegito se-limpia pero} & \quad \text{right-away they-get-clean but} \\
\text{ñapayam} & \quad \text{ñi'sa ñukwe:yc xolphu:p}^{48} & \quad \text{xckwak} & \quad \text{después ese volvemos echar-en-una-redi} & \quad \text{c.-no-hace-viento no no-se-limpia} & \quad \text{then these we-return to-put-into-a-redi} & \quad \text{when-there's-no-wind not they-don't-get-clean} \\
\text{ñapayam} & \quad \text{ñi'sa xuyú:ñitémam} & \quad \text{kos kárye: temám} & \quad \text{xayú: ñitémam} & \quad \text{yus} & \quad \text{ñi'sa Y}^{36} & \quad \text{yémik bolá:wik}^{37} \text{xanám} & \quad \text{kaštám kariyé:g yuso} & \quad \text{c.-se-seca} & \quad \text{si-abren bien} \\
\text{when-they-are-dry alone they-open (?)} & \quad \text{luegito se-limpia pero} & \quad \text{right-away they-get-clean but} \\
\end{align*}
\]
payam ʔtakariyé:g ʔadcywir  
y-después lo-limpiamos c.-acabamos  
and-then we-clean-them when-we-finish

ʔxmdl poqc  
echamos-en-el-saco y-después  
we-pour-them-in-a-sack and-then

ʔkxómahâ ʔisâ ʔipá:y  
el-piñón-cocado esa juntar-leña  
the-roasted-piñon this gather-firewood

ʔawirc ʔak xanâm̱̂ ʔapay  
lo-amontonamos mucha después  
we-pile-it-up plenty and-then

ʔkxoâ ʔúlpâkha icciâ:w  
el-piñón la-bolita agarramos  
the-piñon the-cones we-take-them

iwilha ʔay: poqc  
arriba-la-rama lo-echamos  
on-top-of-the-brush we-dump-them

ʔadcywir ʔapay ʔnuʔḻ̱ lâycm̱̱  
c.-acabamos y-después lo-prendimos-fuego  
when-we-finish and-then we-light-the-fire

iwilha Y ʔnikwa:tam pa:yem ʔakxoâ Y  
larama c.-si-arden después la-piña  
the-brush when-it-burns then the-cones

ye:mk ʔak ʔnikakəm  
solo se-abre c.-se-abre  
by-themselves they-open when-they-open

ʔisâ icciâ:w qakwar poqc  
esa agarramos afuera lo-tiramos  
these we-take outside we-toss-them

ʔapayəm ʔiʔicciâ:w aʔa:bc  
y-después agarramos-un-palo lo-garroteamos  
and-then we-take-a-stick we-beat-them

ʔapayəm ʔiʔicciâ:w  
y-después lo-tendemos ese está-en-el-sol  
we-spread-them these are-in-the-sun

ʔpabc ʔisâ Y ʔna:kiyâk  
lo-tendemos ese está-en-el-sol  
we-spread-them these are-in-the-sun

ʔaxab ʔáñikiyé:k ʔiŋâ:btâlîm  
todo-el-día en-la-AM muy-temporado  
all-day next-morning very-early

ʔubwicâm ʔRwu:ylïk sâkiyâ:wâ  
asi-lo-hacen por-que-va-hacer-mucho-calor  
one-does-thus because-it’ll-get-very-hot

ʔuawak ʔkxâkâšâ ʔnaʔsâ Y ʔnaʔRwu:əm  
y-después la-piña-verde esa c.-hace-calor  
and the-green-cone this when-it’s-hot

ʔuawak ʔkxâkâšâ Y ʔisâkkiyâ:w ʔáñiňé:tlîm  
tiene-mucha-trementina por-esos muy-tarde  
it-has-a-lot-of-pitch therefore very-late

ʔașc ʔuawak ʔiŋâ:btâlîm  
lo-garrotean y-después muy-temprano  
one-beats-them and very-early

ʔisâ ʔiʔicciâ:w  
esa agarramos afuera lo-tiramos  
these we-take outside we-toss-them

ʔapayəm ʔiʔicciâ:w aʔa:bc  
y-después agarramos-un-palo lo-garroteamos  
and-then we-take-a-stick we-beat-them

ʔuawik ʔkxâhâ umiyâ:b kuńâ:k  
asi la-piña lo-trabajan  
that’s-the-way the-pinecone they-prepare-it
III. agosto kinse o bente
los-Indios en-agosto-quince-o-veinte
the-Indians August-15-or-20
c.-si-abre-la-piña esa el-piño
the open-pinecones for-them the-piñon

nii?sam yak niy?:m sey yok
ese-dia de-aquí-van estaban-allá
then they-depart-here they-are-there
se-suben con-un-palo lo-pegan y-después
they-climb with-a-stick they-hit-them and-then

septyembre kators yu:hum ňukwe:yk nákab
septiembre-catorce ese-dia volvieron-a-venir
September-14 then they-return-again
the-seed falls-to-the-ground this they-collect

nii?sam kxocakmi:k kuy:ik ňa?pay
en-ese trajeron-piño a-vender y-después
then they-bring-piño to-sell and-then
lo-echan-en-el-saco algunos la-gente
they-dump-in-a-sack some the-people

icmac tars?a:t cawam nii?sey yok
comida compraron pa’-llevarla allá-estaban
food they-buy to-carry younder-they-are
when-they-are-many two-sacks in-a-day

?cmáchah ma:w ňa?pay
la-comida lo-comen y-después
the-food they-eat and-then
lo-juntan y-después la-gente
they-collect and the-people

tokwe:yk terscác niiyok
vuelven-a-trabajar c.-estaban
they-return-to-work when-they-are (-there)
si-son-pocos un-saco en-el-día
when-they’re-few one-sack in-a-day

septyémbr e buwir do:s tre:s yu:hem
septiembre se-acaba el-día-dos-o-tres
September ends the-second-or-third
lo-juntan el-grano crudo
they-collect the-seed raw

cankami:k wukwe:yk šymwe:k
c.-lo-traen vuelven-a tostar
when-they-bring-it-back they-again toast-it

nii?sam pa:ytak kak buwir
ese-tiempo todos se-abren-todos
now all finish-opening
lo-echan en-saco asi-los-están-haciendo
they-dump-them in-a-sack that’s-the-way-they-do

pu:t c xamal ňubwikunuk
la-mitad-se-vinieron y-la-mitad quedaron-allá
half-come-home and-half stay-there
c.-se-acaban y-después
when-they-finish and-then
Free translation. (Part I) In the year 1936 we left and went to the Sierra, to the pinon groves. In the morning we left, and in the evening we got there, to Bajio del Toro. That's where we were, picking pinon. When we arrived, we slept. Next morning we began to harvest. We took along two burros to carry the loads. In the morning we brought two loads and in the afternoon two loads also. That's the way we were doing it every day. Four of us are harvesting, and therefore we collect a lot in a day. We harvest every day for twenty days. During this time we roast the pinions and pile them up. Then, too, they open by themselves, and we take them and spread them out in the sun. When they dry, they open up fully by themselves, and then we throw them into a large carrying bag. We take a heavy stick and beat the pinecones. When we beat them, the seeds fall by themselves. When all the seeds have fallen, we remove the shells and throw them away. Then only the seeds remain. Then we take a basin, throw the seeds into that, and toss it into the air to clean the seeds. When it's windy, they get clean right away, but when there's no wind, they don't. Then, when we're finished winnowing, we pour the seeds into a sack.

(Part II) Then, there's the roasted pinon. For this, we gather firewood and pile up plenty. Then we take the pinecones and dump them on top of the wood. When we're done, we light the fire. When the brush burns, the pinecones open by themselves. When they open, we take them off the fire and toss them aside. Then we take a stick and hit the cones. When we're done, we spread them out in the sun. They lie in the sun all day.

We do the beating very early in the morning. It's done at sunrise because it will get extremely hot later on. In addition, the green cones are beaten very early and also when the sun goes down. When it's very hot, the green cones have a lot of gum. Therefore one beats them very early and very late so that the gum doesn't get stuck all over the seeds. That's the way the Indians work at the pinon.

(Part III) August 15th or 20th is when they set out from here. They stayed there until September 14th when they started to return. At this time they carried pinon to sell, and they bought food to take back to the groves. They were up there, eating these provisions. They start working (at the pinon) again. While they're there, September ends. The 2nd or 3rd (of the month), they come back home. Up there, meanwhile, all the cones have opened. Half the people returned, and the other half remained there. When the cones have opened, they climb the trees and strike blows with a stick. The seeds fall to the ground. They gather these up and toss them into a sack. Some of the people, when there are many (in the working group), gather two sacks in a day. If there are few people, they gather one sack in a day. When they bring raw seeds (i.e., seeds gathered from the ground), they have to toast them and toss them in a sack. That's the way they do it until they're finished. And then, those who remained there, all of them return home. That's the way they do with the pinon.

*sina:wa* (bitter acorns)

These are the acorns of the coast live oak or red oak (*Quercus agrifolia*). Indians of southern California and northern Baja California relied heavily on this species (Hicks 1963). These acorns require leaching to remove the bitter tannic acid. The Paipai gathered them in December.
la-bellota esa van-a-las-bellotas
the-bitter-acorn this one-goes-to-the-groves

pit we-finish on-top on-the-ground

one-brings-them-back these one-returns-them

when-we-finish

one-brings-them-back these one-returns-them

when-we-finish

when-I-finish water we-keep-pouring-it-there

in-the-sun we-dump-them all-day

and-then the-bitterness when-it's-all-gone

and-then we-take-it we-squeeze-it we-finish

when-we-finish-and-then in-the-sun

we-pour-it and-then to-make-mush

we-grind-them finish and-then

when-we-finish making-mush then-we-eat

the-bitter-acorn is-very-good-food
Free translation. For the bitter acorns, one goes to the groves. One brings them back to be cleaned. We put the acorns on the metate and pound them. When we finish, we put them in the sun for the whole day. Next day we clean them. We remove the shells. When we’re done, we spread them out in the sun to dry. When they’re dry, we take them and dump them in a sack. That’s what we do (?) Then we grind the acorns completely. Then we make a basin in the ground, and on top, on the ground, we stretch a sack. When we’re done, we put the acorn meal there. Then we run water through it. Then when all the bitterness has gone, we take and squeeze the moisture out thoroughly. Then we grind it on a metate. When we’re done, we dump it into a clay jar. Then mush is made. When we’ve made the mush, we eat it.
The bitter acorn makes a very good food. Our ancestors ate no other; that’s why they gathered so much of it when it was available. The bitter acorn mush is watery when hot. When it chills, then it gets hard. In days gone by, the bitter acorn always bore abundantly, but now for many years it hasn’t borne [i.e., hasn’t borne an abundant yield].

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NOTES

1. Field work among the Paipai at Santa Catarina was carried out in 1958-1959 under a grant from the National Science Foundation (Grant No. 5689).

2. (k) indicates a past-present indicative suffix that occurs regularly on many verbs (see Joël 1966:23-24).

3. To shorten glosses, the following abbreviations are used: c. for ‘cuando’, AM for ‘mañana’ and ‘morning’, PM for ‘la tarde’ and ‘afternoon, evening’.

4. The Paipai name for the nopal cactus plant is la:v.

5. Neither this nor the preceding verb is here inflected for person. If they had been first person forms, as the Spanish has them, they would have been prefixed by ^_. Perhaps that’s the way I gave them back to Ms. Ochurte when soliciting the translation. Discrepancies of this sort will be found throughout the material and henceforth go without comment.

6. When questioned, consultant gave alternate gloss of ‘lo abran’. The same word, tas, is used with reference to datil and means ‘cut open; split open; cut in half’.

7. ŋixáy ‘juice’, literally ‘its wetness’. Comparison of the Paipai account with Walapai accounts obtained in English by S. Mekeel (Kroeber 1935:50-51) helps to clarify the Paipai version. According to one Walapai, “the sour, red juice is drunk immediately,” the pulp dried and stored; when about to be used, it is pounded and mixed with water to make a “good drink.” According to another Walapai, the fruit was cut open and spread on the ground to dry. Then it was ground and stored for winter. It was dissolved in water and drunk.

8. si:v is probably a plural verb. If referring specifically to a single person drinking, the verb si:(-k) would be used. The consultant nevertheless gave a singular gloss. With regard to number, here and throughout, she seems most concerned with the sense of the Paipai word or phrase in its context. If she had been offering English instead of Spanish glosses, we would probably see second person subjects in many of these predicates. The English interlinear, just as the Spanish, is an attempt to render the meaning rather than to analyze the Paipai.

9. mat ‘clay; earth’.

10. poq ‘dump; pour; toss’.

11. When questioned about ŋaqi, Ms. Ochurte offered the alternate gloss ‘lo revuelven’ and explained that this is the same word one would use for fixing lemonade or honey-and-water.

12. ʔut ‘pour; dump (a liquid)’.

13. There are a number of Paipai words that the Paipai translate as ’y despues’. Roughly, they can be distinguished as follows: mi:v ‘next, later, after that’; ŋuwák ‘besides, in addition’. Probably carrying more grammatical or stylistic than semantic weight are ŋa?=pay, ŋa?=payam, and payam, which can be translated as ‘and then; and; now’.

15. amat xso:l, basin dug in the ground; mat ‘earth’. Compare sot:j ‘one opens [door, beer bottle]’, and cis:s:j ‘cause a wound by biting’.
16. sal ‘into that’.
17. iwi:l ‘shrub; brush; branches’.
18. ñam, ñam ‘day’; xamuk ‘three’.
19. ñak ‘in the sun’; yok ‘several are (located), several are (sedentary)’.
20. Possibly fiia.xa.v ‘sunset’ (literally ‘sun goes in’). This word probably belongs with what precedes to form two phrases meaning ‘in the sun one dumps them’ and ‘there they lie till sunset’.
21. namhaxka:y ‘next day’; xkd:j ‘another’.
22. namak ‘los deja’ (one leaves them; one keeps them).
23. yak ‘gather, collect’.
24. poq ‘dump’ (i.e., dump the additional datil fruits on the pile).
25. mat ‘body; flesh’; wi: ‘has, possesses’; -uli:k, -o-li:k, intensive suffix.
26. ka’siiam ‘right away; in a short time’.
27. xamal ‘saco’, or xamal t.sil ‘saco rofioso’, is used for the large burlap bag. The smaller cloth sack (from flour or rice) is xamal nimsdp ‘saco bianco’.
28. mai’an, mai’am, mai’am ‘year’.
29. yak ‘here’.
30. xawak ‘two’; xamuk ‘three’.
31. xamal ‘saco’; xamal ‘saco rofioso’.
32. xapu:, a Paipai placename. Virtually all placenames for camp sites in Paipai contain the element xap ‘water’. Bajio del Toro is the Spanish name for the same site. ic, probably ‘ic they say’ (here, ‘they call it’); -he, suffix complex ‘thither’.
33. xaxa.xwad ‘sierra’; xwa: ‘pine trees’. The mountain range referred to here is the Sierra Juárez. Travelling through it, one is impressed more by the pine forests than by elevation or rugged terrain.
34. Aw.x ‘pick’ (literally ‘climb [e.g., tree]’).
35. bamas ‘ten’; xawak ‘two’. (There is considerable variation in the way the word for ‘two’ was recorded.)
61. That is, they bought food to take back to the groves.
62. terscd: "they work, labor".
63. yu:ham "then".
64. box: 'several go on foot', but in combination with certain other verbs, it gives the sense of 'home': box: niyám 'they went home'; box: niyú: 'they came home'. The usage in this phrase is not clear except that, in contrast to the instance in Note 60, people are now returning home for good.
65. Probably sey na''payam 'there, now; there, meanwhile'.
66. kxókákhaY 'the open pinecones'. The season is well along now, and the remaining cones have ripened and opened on the tree by themselves. These are the subject of what follows.
67. ma:tak 'to the ground'. One would expect a short vowel here: mat, amat 'ground'.
68. kukuPulk here refers to the acorn minus cap. Compare this form with kuPulk 'bola', referring to pinecone and datil seed pods.
69. na:k 'in the sun'?
70. This phrase is not clear: ŋubwik, probably 'do thus'; na:yok 'when we are (located), when we are (sedentary)'.
71. The second time around, when giving me the translation, the narrator gave this form as mattsol. See also Note 15.
72. tum?oq 'stretch across' probably. A sack is spread on the ground across the top of the pit or basin. Also not clear is the word ?kamal, since the Paipai word for burlap sack is xamal.
73. poq 'dump; pour'; sah probably either 'this' or 'there'; wam- unidentifiable.
74. ŋul- 'into, down here'; y?ütec 'we pour (liquid)'; ?unuc 'we keep doing'.
75. cpak: 'one goes out'; ŋurbanwíam 'when finished'.
76. laslik, narrator explained this form as meaning to squeeze out water with the hands. The same word is used for milking a cow.
77. This word refers to pouring slow-moving substances such as honey, gum, lard, and acorn mush. Two comparable words for pouring are poq, for dry substances, and ?yt, for liquids.
78. icmac 'food'; xánoli 'is very good'.
79. pa 'person, people'; kyr 'long ago, far back'; yak, probably an irregular verb of various usages, one of which is 'be laid out, lie' (as in death); -haY, noun suffix complex.
80. Only partly analyzed. ŋub- 'of this'; xpir 'only'; ma:v 'several eat'. The sense here is exaggerated; there are and always were other acorn species used by the Paipai for making mush.
81. Not clear. saY may refer to ancestors 'they'; niyóm 'when they were (existing)'; but more likely the phrase refers to bitter acorns.
82. apal, pal 'bear fruit'; -c//, intensive suffix; myuc 'keep on; always'.
83. vam 'now; nowadays'; kos . . . lem 'no; not'; pal 'bear fruit'.

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