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Comparative Vocabularies and Parallel Texts in Two Yuman Languages of Arizona

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COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES AND PARALLEL TEXTS IN TWO YUMAN LANGUAGES OF ARIZONA

INTRODUCTION

Comparative vocabularies of primitive languages are customarily secured only in order to establish genetic connection. Having this aim, they are usually restricted to words for parts of the body, natural phenomena, and the like, on the quite reasonable assumption that these would be least affected by differences in culture. Such lists should show at its maximum the degree of identity of the tongues compared. But it is obvious that if the aim is to reveal more precisely the degree of resemblance, with the dissimilarities weighed equally with the identities, such restricted lists are inadequate. For this purpose it is essential that all parts of the vocabulary should be represented to much the same extent; for where words for body parts and the like may be expected to show a high degree of resemblance, it may well be that names of things (implements, rituals, etc.) will show great divergence though the items themselves be common to the cultures of the two groups. Hence it is desirable to obtain random lists, sampling all phases of activity and culture, in which the several specialized parts of the vocabularies will be effectively balanced.

The present paper endeavors to show the relationship of two mutually unintelligible Yuman tongues of western Arizona, Havasupai and Maricopa. The analysis may be called semantic rather than phonetic and grammatical. I wish to show the groupings, the substantive categories, in which elements of vocabulary have been marshalled and the occurrence or non-occurrence of cognates in the several categories.

In the course of making ethnographic surveys of these two tribes[1] I attempted to record systematically the native

[1] The Havasupai were visited in 1918, '19, and '21 for the American Museum of Natural History and the Southwest Society of New York; the Maricopa in 1929-30 for the University of Chicago and in 1930-31 for Yale University.

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terms for every cultural element, whether object, belief, or activity. In addition I obtained incidentally many other words from other parts of the vocabulary, such as names of animals, birds, parts of the body, etc. Since the ethnographic records cover more or less adequately the whole range of culture, the words secured in this connection now make possible a fairly accurate comparison of these two vocabularies.

Where similar objects are differently named, some certainty must be offered as to whether cognate terms are or are not present in the two languages. With this in mind, I prepared a list of all the Havasupai terms published in my *Havasupai Ethnography* (except kinship and color terms, numerals, personal and place names) and systematically inquired of Maricopa informants their words for the corresponding objects or activities in their culture. Where the Maricopa word differed, the cognate of the Havasupai term was asked for, even though it might have no idiomatic usage. For the sake of completeness, this process should have been reversed, inquiry being made of the Havasupai for cognates to Maricopa forms.[2] Later a much larger number of Havasupai words was culled from my note books which to my regret were not available at the time of my inquiry. In addition, two brief texts in Havasupai, previously published, were translated into Maricopa.

Culturally the Havasupai and Maricopa are quite different.[3] The former tribe, in northern Arizona, shares the relatively simple culture of the Great Basin tribes with the neighboring highland Yumans and Athapascans. The Maricopa, located on the Gila River, participate in the culture of the Yuman tribes of the lower Colorado. The differences are so great that many culture elements of one group are not known to the other.

Similarly the flora and fauna of their habitats differ so markedly that differences are also expectable in this portion

[2] No opportunity to make such an inquiry has been possible, but it is thought best nevertheless to offer this material in its incomplete form.

[3] For descriptions of these cultures see Leslie Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 29, part 3, 1928); *ibid., Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (Chicago, 1933).

of their vocabularies. In this connection it should be noted that with both word lists there is considerable doubt as to the identity of birds, animals, and plants. This had to be left to the interpreters, whose familiarity with them or whose knowledge of English equivalents left much to be desired.

On the whole the meanings of Maricopa words are much more certain than those of Havasupai. I was fortunate in having in Mrs. Ida Redbird an interpreter whose command of English is as great as that of her native Maricopa. Her English vocabulary is surprisingly wide. Her analytic sense is strong and I have every reason to believe that at no time did she deliberately manufacture folk-etymologies. In Last Star, an elderly, highly intelligent man, we had an excellent collaborator. The Havasupai interpreters, Jess Checkapanyega and Mark Hanna, spoke English brokenly and sometimes gave doubtful renderings. This is especially true of the meanings of personal names.

The material is arranged so that Havasupai words appear in the first column, Maricopa in the second. As far as possible words relating to the same object or phonetically similar words having distinct meanings are opposed. Where the Maricopa word was given in response to the Havasupai, both terms are asterisked. A dash has been inserted in the lists where an item mentioned in the opposing list is known not to exist. This device has also been used where, so far as my Maricopa informants knew, no cognate for the Havasupai term exists in their language. Maricopa forms which were suggested by Havasupai words but which are not idiomatic are indicated by (ni). All analyses and etymologies are those of my informants, except that a few analyses, which my very limited knowledge of these tongues permitted, have been inserted in brackets. Forms derived from personal names are especially designated as (pn), since these have undoubtedly suffered abbreviation and phonetic change.

In addition to the nominal forms recorded below, an equal number of words having verbal, adverbal, and adjectival force were secured. It does not seem wise to publish these until proper analysis can be made.

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COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

PERSONAL STATUS

In this section are collected words expressing personal status as defined by tribal affiliation, friendship or enmity, sex and age, familial relation (except for designations for kinship), leadership, occupation, and activity.

Cognates appear in only a limited number of tribal designation, viz., for Yavapai, Apache, Hopi, Paiute, Mohave, and white man. Cognates also appear in the words for child (baby), probably for girl, for man, for polygynous unions, possibly for a barren person, for twins, and in the commonest designation for chief (gàmu´lvà). Different stems are used for boy, woman, old man, old woman, widowed, orphaned, and partner. No comparison can be made of the remaining words since they are represented only in one or the other vocabulary.

It must be borne in mind that for both groups knowledge of other tribes is limited by a screen of hostile peoples across central Arizona, the Yavapai and Apache. Hence the Havasupai know well only tribes living north of the Yavapai-Apache habitat and are quite hazy about those of the lower Colorado and the Gila. Conversely, the Maricopa know little of the peoples of northern Arizona. The only groups the two know in common are Walapai, Western Apache, Hopi, Paiute, and the whites. With the exception of the Walapai, they know them by similar names. There is some question whether Hopi and Paiute were known to Maricopa in early days. The Havasupai use the ordinary Yuman designation for the Yavapai (nyăvăpe^{e}), but as their enemies *par excellence,* more commonly use the generic term for enemy (ĭtcàhua´) as a specific designation. The Maricopa use the cognate yăvipai´ for all the mountain peoples, Yavapai and Apache alike, but among them make distinctions unknown to the Havasupai. But this is nothing more than the habit of both peoples in defining more sharply those tribes they know best: the Maricopa know far more of the mountaineers and their actual divisions than do the Havasupai. At that, the

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Maricopa do not recognize the tripartite division which really exists among the Yavapai. The common stem for enemy is ȧhua´ or ahwĭ´, appearing as H. ĭtcȧhua´. In the form H. ȧhua´dje, M. ȧhuadj it is reserved for specific designation of the Western Apache (White Mountain and San Carlos groups).

It may be that age status terms are as precisely defined in Havasupai as in Maricopa. I know only that this did not crop out spontaneously in the course of nearly a year's association with the former. The only real conceptual difference lies with the terms for boy. In both tongues the terms for child and son (the latter a kinship term as used by a man) have the same root. But where H. hame´^{e}, home´gȧ also means boy in general, Maricopa has the special term mȧxai´.

It is curious that while both use the term man to mean male, a parallel form for female is not based on woman. Instead, in Havasupai at least, female in compounds is girl.

Havasupai ȧlai´ȧ, spoiled, awry, is applied to the widowed and orphaned. The Maricopa equivalent cannot be used in parallel fashion, hence the appearance of quite different stems.

At bottom, in both languages married is expressed as having or taking a wife, but the construction is different. Maricopa also makes use of a term apparently implying a comrade. Terms for plural marriage express no more than association with two or three persons, without specifying that the linkage is with women. This is conceptually identical with terms for partner, comrade, co-wife, and twins; that is, the basic concept is one of number without specification that humans are involved or of their sex (unless it is indicated by some grammatical element which I do not recognize).

H. gĭθȧai´ădj, barren (woman) may be the same stem as M. yĕsa'a´n, since H. θ is by customary phonetic shift replaced by M. s.

The large number of words for chief is occasioned by the fact that these are wholly descriptive epithets, not truly titles. Hence the dissimilarity of the languages is largely due to the selection of differing ascriptions. It must be borne in mind that while the Havasupai distinguish their head chief

from lesser chiefs (little chief) the Maricopa have but one chief at a time. A common stem appears in H. gȧmu´lvȧ M. gȧmu´lvĭnc and hamu´lĭg, which appears to be based on the verbal stem mu´l, to be named, here meaning to be named with honor. H. kahȧ´t, chief, has no true analog in Maricopa: M. kwaxω´t means any good natured man. It is of interest that in neither case is this term used for dance director, whereas on the lower Colorado the Mohave kwaxω´t and Yuma kwoxot are dance directors and scalp custodians, the latter chief as well. H. hanȧta´vȧ, superlatively good, a term applied to the head chief, has no analogous usage in Maricopa; nor is this stem (M. x̣an, real, true) ever given a comparable augmentative in the latter language. The Havasupai word is undoubtedly a cognate of Mohave hanidhala, chief (dh = ð), which Kroeber derives from Spanish *general,* mistakenly I believe.

The Maricopa do not have the levirate nor the Havasupai sibs. Councillors, dance leaders, rabbit hunt leaders, and fire tenders have no quasi-official status among the Havasupai as they have among Maricopa.

Havasupai	*Maricopa*
	tcumĭ´c, tribe
	tcumĭclȧmĕ´m, mourning in [another] tribe (pn)
* havasu´waĭpa´^{a}, blue-green water people, Havasupai (sing.)	* aẓa´x̣avȧcu´pipa´, blue water people (descriptively)
havasu´waĭpa´djȧ, Havasupai (pl.)	
θulgȧmpayȧ, Walapai	hualȧpai, Walapai
guehegai´ȧ, Walapai	
ĭtcȧhua´, enemy, Yavapai (see *enemy*)	ȧhua, fierce [person], enemy
ĭtcahuakȧθŏ`t, enemy coyotes, Yavapai	
nyăvăpe^{e}, Yavapai	yăvipai´, Yavapai and Western Apache

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Havasupai	*Maricopa*
	yăvipaí ĭnya, eastern Yavapai, the Apache of s. e. Arizona
	yăvipaí xastàu'lĭc, washed Yavapai, Apache south of the foregoing
àhua'djë, Western Apache	yăvipaí àhuadj, enemy Yavapai, San Carlos Apache
	yăvipaí àxa'n, true Yavapai, the eastern Yavapai
	yăvipaí kàve', west Yavapai
hua'àmu''u, Navaho	
hwa' mu, Navaho	
hwa'mukŏgwŏ'θà, yellow [skinned] Navaho (pn)	
paĭnya', Pima (? or Gila River peoples generally) [cf. Mohave hatpa-'inya, east Pima]	tŏxpa', Pima
	tŏxpaĭnya', east Pima
	tŏxpa àxa't, dog Pima (a Piman group)
	tŏxpa àmai', high Pima, Papago
	xapu'k, Sand Papago
mo'kà, Hopi	muk, Hopi
mo'k^A giθië', a Hopi shaman	
aurai'và, Oraibe (pn)	
sà'u'u', Zuñi	
wamàkava, Mohave (and Yuma ?)	maxa'vas, Mohave
wamàkŏvà, Mohave	
wŏmka'vĭnyuwa', Mohaves' house, the Mohave country	

Havasupai	*Maricopa*
	kwĭtca'n, Yuma
	xaltcàϑŏ'm, Halchidhoma
	xalyaϑŏ'mbàg, people with queer ways
	pipaxalyaϑŏ'mbàg, a man who acts queerly
	kavĕltàϑŏ'm, western (or downriver) queer people, a tribal name (cf. $k_{y\omega}$'chĭlyuvacàϑŏ'm, wild pig, peccary)
	kwapa', Cocopa
	koxwa'n, Kohuana (pl.)
	k'wĭn, Kohuana (sing.)
	xal$_y$ikàmai', Halyikwamai
	kumàθa', Kamia, Southern Diegueno, or both
	kwàa'xl, Akwa'ala
	akwa'ł, Akwa'ala
	xakwi'tc, Cahuilla
	xatcĭ'tc, Cahuilla
	tcŭmàwo'và, Chemehuevi
paiutia, Paiute	paiu'tc, Paiute
yu'ta, Ute	
	pase'ĭndj, [man — ?], an unidentified New Mexican people (cf. Spanish *paisano)*
haigu', white man	xiko', Mexicans, Americans
as haigupagui'à, white people, the agency people	xiko'xan, real white man, Mexican
gàsti'là, whites (Spanish *Castilla, castellano)*	ipahama'l, white man, Caucasian
	mŏntĕsu'm, unknown people (!) (from *Montezuma)*

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Havasupai	*Maricopa*
ĭtckàyu´gà, the mythological men-animals	
ĭtckĭyu´gàtĭgà, a story about them	
ĭtcàhua´, enemy (see *Yavapai)*	
ĭtcahua´ gàmŭ´lvàvĭdj, the enemy chief	
ĭtcàwahŏgàgàna´mà, enemy —, an insect (the walking stick?)	
ĭtcàhua´ sĭ´tàθàgàa´mdjà, enemy who walks alone, a mythical character	
ĭtcàhwa'gàwa´waguwa´, enemy scalp place, Moki Trail	
ĭtcuhua´nᵧàwa´vĭdja, they are enemies	
ĭtcàhuavidj vama´mĭgiu, enemies are going by	
ĭtcuhua´màmu´lĕgà, will be called enemies	
hwai´à, to feel like fighting	ahwĭ´, enemy
pagahwai´à, man [who] feels like fighting (pn)	àhua, fierce [person], enemy
àhua´djĕ, Western Apache	hwĭcĭvau´, enemy standing, name of a song
	xwĭmtcàkwe´ʀᴬ, enemy speech, the speeches on the warpath
	ᴬxwĭ´c, our enemies
	gwa´mᶦc, traveller, stranger
	pipakwa´m, foreign man, member of any foreign tribe, Caucasian
	màkwilᵧuva´tc, [— wild], foreigner, stranger

Havasupai	*Maricopa*
	(cf. kᵧω´chĭlyuvacàθŏ´m, wild pig, peccary)
	kiyi´, friend (used between male strangers), a distant cousin
	ciyi´, the same (between strangers where one or both are women)
hama´n, child, children, baby	xuma´ʀᴬ, child, child to about four years old, baby
hama´nyà, children	
hama´nkʳĕdjàgĭnyuwe´và, the little boy's home	xuma´ʀᴬ unyĭ´kwĭca´m, a child looking for the road (place name)
mŏnkʳĕdjàgĭnyue´và, where the little boy lives	hama´lᵧᴬ, baby (pn)
manàgadja´ᵃ, leader of his children (pn)	
ku´dama´hama´nyatàm, long ago when you were a little boy	
* hama´nᶦà, [he took] the child	* xuma´ʀĭn, [he took] the child
	xuma´ʀàikĭ´ŋ, a boy from four to puberty
	xuma´ʀàxatcĭ´ŋ, a girl from four to eight
hame´ᵉ, boy, son (man sp.)	xumai, son (man sp.)
home´gà, boy, son (man sp.)	
	màxai´, boy, lad (a man until first child is born)
	màxainᵧunᵧĭ´, boy's road (pn)
	maxaikwĭlᵧàŏ´k, old man-lad (pn)
	xamkĭmxai´, [a certain] bird-boy (pn) [not boy-bird]
	màxai´kwàkĕtc, shooting boy (pn)

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