

REMARKS ON LEXICOGRAPHY IN RELATION TO UTO-AZTECAN ETHNOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH

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The preparation of dictionaries could, I feel, contribute centrally to the research goals mentioned by Dr. León-Portilla in his call for this conference. It is also central to a number of important concerns expressed by members of Uto-Aztecan communities who are seeking to define and to formalize the role of their native languages in relation to certain contemporary institutions —particularly, education.

While a number of excellent Uto-Aztecan dictionaries are in existence, the majority of them are limited in their purpose to that of providing a system for glossing Uto-Aztecan lexical items in some Indo-European language and to that of providing the essential grammatical information needed to use the items in well-formed sentences. Several dictionaries, to be sure, do supply valuable sentence material illustrating the use of lexical items —e.g., Mathiot's excellent Papago dictionary and Grimes' recent and very interesting notes on the Huichol lexicon. In general, however, relatively little information on the semantics of Uto-Aztecan lexical items is provided in the existing dictionaries, nor is there adequate information on extensions, metaphorical use, and inter-lexical relationships generally recognized by speakers (antonymy, synonymy, hyponymy, etcetera).

It is time now, I feel, seriously to begin the development of monolingual and encyclopedic dictionaries in which native-speaking language scholars set down what they know, or what they are able to determine through field research, of the full range of meanings and use of primary lexical items and their derivatives. Dictionaries of this sort, consisting essentially of collections of essays or "articles" in the languages involved, will prove to be resources of enormous value to us in our continuing study of Uto-Aztecan ethnolinguistics. The construction of such dictionaries has the added quality of being important intellectual activities in which members of Uto-Aztecan communities (from children to elders) can be directly involved. I would like to suggest, therefore, that one of our goals be the training of native-speaking lexicographers and the establishment of some financial mechanism which will enable them to enter into

lexicographic work on a continuing basis for a number of years to come.

I do not have at my disposal any concrete example of the sort of entry that would appear in a dictionary of the type I have in mind, but I have assembled (very hastily) a few notes on the Papago noun *ceoj* (man, male) which include a fraction of the material from which a proper dictionary entry might ultimately be constructed. (I appologize for using a somewhat sexist example; that was accidental.)

The notes include three kinds of material: (1) phonological, morphological, and derivational information of the sort contained in the existing bilingual dictionaries (the actual entries from Saxton and Saxton and from Mathiot are presented); (2) brief Papago-language commentaries concerning the use and meaning of the lexical item; and (3) etymological information culled from various sources. I hasten to reiterate that this is only a small portion of the material which would serve as a basis for a proper dictionary entry, but it will, I hope, serve to give some indication of the effort which must be invested in preparing such an entry¹.

I. Bilingual entries

From Saxton and Saxton:

cheoj, chechoj male
si cheoj real man

¹After writing the above remarks, I have had an opportunity to study with care a copy of José Grimes E. y otros, *El huichol: apuntes sobre el léxico*, Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, Cornell University. This work approaches the ideal in many respects (though, as the authors note, it represents only a fraction of what needs to be done). While the work does not contain native-language essays, which, in my opinion, will prove to be a most valuable textual resource for our purposes, and for many other purposes, it does systematically set out lexical and semantic information which must be included in a dictionary whose aim is to enable the user to gain mastery of lexical items. It therefore serves as a model for a part, at least, of what must go into adequate dictionary entries. In addition to necessary grammatical information, the fuller entries contain references to other entries together with essential information belonging to the following rubrics: semejante, funciones, sinónimos, tipos, partes, situaciones, actividades, nombres típicos, requisitos. Most valuable are short Huichol definitions (with Spanish translation) of many of the entries.

heojdag manliness

s-~~hechojim~~ to be brave

From Mathiot:

cioj

(dial v. *ceoj*) N inalien indiv [sg (3rd pers sg *cioji-j*); pl: *cecoj*]: young male

cioj-cucul

NComp alien indiv [sg (1st pers sg *ñ-cioj-cucul-ga*); pl: *cecoj-cucul*]: young rooster

cioj maq̃

NExpr inalien indiv [sg (1st pers sg *cioj n-maq̃*); pl: *cecoj maamaq̃*]: son (of a woman)

cioj veenag/cipran

cioj veenag

NExpr inalien indiv [sg (1st pers sg *cioj ñ-veenag*); pl: *cecoj vepnag*]: brother

cioj ?ali

NExpr alien indiv [sg (1st pers sg *cioj ñ-?ali -ga*); pl: *cecoj ?a?al*]: son

cioj ?alidag

NExpr inalien indiv [sg (1st pers sg *cioj ñ-?alidag*); pl: *cecoj ?a?alidag*]: son (of a man)

cioj

N alien indiv [sg (3rd pers sg *cioj-ga-j*): young man working for somebody

cioj

vuq̃ Stat Expr [sgs (Neutr: indef

vuq̃ cioj; def *vuq̃ cioj-k*); pls: *vuq̃ cecoj*]: to be a male *ex*:

...*vuq̃ o xa ciojk mt a hekaj o mual* ...if it's a male, kill him right away!—

...*heghekaj mo oq̃ (< vuq̃) cecoj hegam maamaq̃aj*. ...because they were males, her children.

ciojdag

Stat sgs [pls: *cēciojdag*]: to be masculine (same as *ciojig*) *ex*:

Heg ?o ge *ciojdag*. She is somewhat masculine.

ciojig

Stat sgs [pls: *cēciojig*]: to be masculine (same as *ciojdag*) *ex*:

Heg ?o *ciojig* ?uví. That woman is masculine.

ciojim

s- Adv: generously, magnamously *ex*: *Sciojim cu?i* He behaved generously.

ciojt

Vintr (event) sgs: to become a young man

II: Monolingual entries (with English version)

CEOJ (from a Papago essay by Albert Alvarez):

A. 1. *Céoj* ?o wuḍ hémajkam kc ?áigo hab ?i cú?ig ?ab ?úwí ?ámjeḍ kc ?é:p mat hékid o ?i wúḥ ?ab ?e-wiáogeldag ?ámjeḍ.

2. Tp héms g ?úwí o ge máḍt, kut héma o kák?e "šá:cu ?apt béi," kut hab o céi "*céoj* ?ant béi," kc hab wuḍ ?á:ga mat ?íd béi mo wuḍ ?áigojeḍkam ?ab ?úwí ?ámjeḍ.

3. Tp héms g há?icu dóakam mat wuḍ o ?úwík o ge máḍt, kut héma hab o céi "šá:cu ?at máḍt g m-šóiga," kut hab o céi g šóigakam "*céoj* ?at máḍt," k hab-a másmá hab wuḍ ?á:ga mo wuḍ ?áigojeḍkam ?ab ?úwí ?ámjeḍ kc ?íd hab ?e-?á?aga *céoj*.

4. Kc hab ?ép má:s mo ?im hab ?i há?ap ná:nko másmá ?ép ?e-hékaj ?i:da *céoj* ?ab né?okít ?ab kc ?ab há?icu júñ ?ab kc ?ab há?icu cégitoi ?ab.

Mat hébai héma pi o né?okik t héma hab o céi "pi ?o ?am hú wuḍ ?i si *céoj* hégai ?ab ?e-né?okí?ab." ?O héma hab o céi "hég ?o wuḍ si *céoj* ?ab ?e-né?okí ?ab," kc hab másmá ?ép ?e-hékaj ?i:da *céoj*.

Kc ?am há?icu hab júñ ?eḍ ?ép si ?e-hékaj, heg hékaj mat héma hab o céi "kut héḍai dó?ibio hégai ?áli matš cem wá:cu?" kut hab o céi ?i:da héma mo néid mat háscu hás ?e-jú: "hég ?at hab ?e-jú:, hég ?at ?am ?óidk ?i ?e-wá:cuhimk gḍ hú béi hégai ?áli." Kut héma hab ?ép o céi "kus hú wuḍ ?i si *céoj* hégai." ?O ?am há?icu si s-ta-

ʔé:bidam o ʔe-jú:, kut ʔi:da mat pi o ʂaʔi ʔé:biñ hab o ʔe-ʔá: mo wuɖ si *céoj*. ʔO héms ʔam háʔicu hab o jú: ʔi:da hémajkam s-ta-ʔé:bidama, kut hég hab ʔép o ʔe-ʔá: mo wuɖ si *céoj*. Kc ʔé:p mat héma pi o ʂaʔi ʔé:bidad g cikpan (cem ʔas háś másma s-wé:c wuɖ o cikpank) kc hab ʔe-ʔáʔaga mo wuɖ si *céoj*. ʔO héms héma o s-cu-dágiadamk. Heg hékaj mat hébai héma cem hékid o wóʔòkad c pi háʔicu gn hú o ʔi ʔe-táccuicudad k heg hab ʔe-ʔáʔaga mo pi wuɖ ʂaʔi si *céoj*, kutp héms héma ʔan o ñéid c hab o céi "ʔat o hébai g *céoj* gm hú g cikpan o ʔe-gá:gidad ʔo o cikpanad." ʔO hébai héma wuɖ o a cem géʔék kc o ge ʔóksgak kc ʔéɖa a g ʔe-jéʔé ʔo g ʔe-ʔó:g wé:m o dáhákad kc pi ʔam hú o ʔi ʔe-nákogad mat o ʔi wúʂańk o cikp, kut ʔéɖa a cem pi ʔan hú háʔicu wuɖ o hégaʔik mas heg hékaj ʔam o dáhák ha-wé:m. Kut héma ʔam o ñéid c hab o céi "ʔat o hébai g *céoj* o cikpanad c o dágiomad g ʔúwí," k héms hég ʂa ʔáliɖag c táccu mat ʔab ʔe-ʔó:g c ʔe-jéʔé wéco hab o cúʔigk, kc

ʔid hab wuɖ ʔága mo pi kói wuɖ *céoj* kc wuɖ aʂ kia ʔáli. Háʔap ʔo másma ʔép ʔe-hékaj ʔi:da *céoj*.

Kc ʔé:p mat hékid héma pi hékid háʔicu o ñéidad kc pi o tá:tkad g géwkogig kc g s-kóʔok ʔép pi o tá:tkad kc aʂ hab-a cem hékid hab o cécʔed mo wuɖ si *céoj* kc aʂ hab-a ʔi:da wé:s wuɖ aʂ cégitoi.

B. Mat hékid o múʔijk ʔi:da *céoj* kut hab o ʔe-ʔá: *céoj*. ʔp héms ʔam hébai háʔi o ʔe-wé:m cikpanad t héma ʔam o ha-ñéidad kc hab o céi "*céoj* ʔo ʔam ʔe-wé:m cikpan."

C. 1. *ʔe-céojcud*. Mat hébai héma wuɖ o ʔúwikad kc hab o cem ʔe-wúad mo wuɖ *céoj*. ʔp héms o *céoj*kaj ʔe-hi:kad kc cem hékid hab másma o ʔe-ʔéñgaɖajcid mo g *céoj* kc hab másma háʔicu ʔép o háś wúad mo g *céoj*. Kutp héms g *céoj* ʔam o ʔe-bó:lad kut ʔi:da ʔúwí mo cem hékid *céoj*kaj ʔe-ʔéñgaɖajc ʔam o ha-wé:m cícwí kut héma ʔam o ha-ñéidad c hab o céi "hégai ʔúwí ʔo cem ʔe-*céoj*cud m ʔam ha-wé:m cícwí hégam *céoj*."

2. *céojdag*. Mat hékid héma cem hékid hab o cécʔed mo wuɖ si *céoj* kut aʂ hab-a pi héɖai o má:ckad mas hú a wóho kutp héms ʔam a wóho hab cúʔig kutp héms héma o wé:majk ʔi:da mo hab

céc?e mo wuḍ si céoj kutp héms ?am há?icu si s-ta-?é:bidam há?icu há s o ?e-jú: tp héms g kí: méi k g ?áli ?am o ?e-kú:pac hég ?éḍa kí: kutp héms hab o céi ?i:da mo wé:maj ?i:da mo cem hékid hab céc?e mo wuḍ si céoj "óig ?am hab júñ g ?e-céojdag k o ?i wúṣad hégai ?áli," ?o ?atp héms hab o céi " ?i ?ant háhawa o néi g m-céojdag map cem hékid ?á?aga."

[CEO] *man, boy, male*

A. 1. A *man* or *boy* is a human being who is the opposite of a *woman* or *girl*, and it [the term] is also [applied to the stage of life] when he emerges from his adolescent boyhood.

2. If a woman has a child, one might ask, "What did you have?" And she might say, "I had a *boy*." This means that she had a child of the opposite sex from a girl.

3. If a female animal has an offspring, one might ask, "What did your pet (e.g., horse, dog, etcetera) have?" And the owner might answer, "it had a *male* offspring." This, likewise, means that it [the offspring] was the opposite to a female —i.e., that it was *male* as opposed to *female*.

4. Furthermore, it appears that this word *ceoj* is used in other ways —e.g., in reference to speech, deed, and thought.

If ever someone is without [male] speech, one might say, "That person is not *very much a man* in terms of speech." Or, one might say, "That person is *very much a man* in terms of speech." This is another way in which *ceoj* [actually, the expression *si ceoj* 'very much a man'] can be used.

It can also be used in reference to deeds. For example, one might say, "Who saved that child that was about to drown?" A witness to the event in question might say, "That one did it. He dove in right after it and got the child." And one might then say, moreover, "He is a *real man*." Or, for example, when something frightening happens, a person who did not become afraid might be said to be a *real man*. And also, if one is not afraid of work (however demanding the work might be), he is said to be *very much a man*. Or, consider someone who is conscientious. When someone always lies around and has no ambition, that person is said not to be a *real man*. One might see him and say, "A *man* would seek employment for himself and would work." Or consider the case of a person who, despite being an adult and married, nonetheless just stays with his parents and is not able to get out and work, and it is not [otherwise] necessary for him to

stay with his parents. A person seeing this might say, "A *man* would work and take care of his wife." And if that person has a child and still wants to remain under [the protection] of his parents, this means that he is not yet a *man* and is still a child. This is another way *ceoj* is used.

And when someone never feels anything, such as fatigue or pain and always says he is a *real man*, this is in terms of thought (or mental state).

B. When there are many of these [entities called] *man* they are referred to as *men*. For example, if several are working together, one might remark, "*Men* are working together."

C. 1. 'E-CEOJCUD *to act like a male*. Whenever there is a woman or girl who acts like a man or boy. For example, if she cuts her hair like a man or boy and dresses like a man or boy, and in other respects acts like a man or boy. For example, if boys are playing ball and this girl who always dresses like a boy is playing with them, one might see them and remark, "That girl is trying to act like a boy and play with boys."

2. CEOJDAG *manhood, manliness*. Whenever someone claims to be a *real man* and no one really knows whether this is true, and if someone is with this person when something dangerous happens, say a house is on fire with a child trapped inside, the companion might say, "Go on and prove your *manhood* and get the child out." Or one might say, "Now I'll get to see your *manhood* that you are always talking about."

CEOJ (taken from notes by William Pilcher from San Angelo): Ceoj 'o wuɖ ha'icu doakam o hemajkam c ba'ic 'i ge'ej mo hi g 'uwi c 'ep ba'ic 'i sɔwɔɖ ñeok c 'ep ba'ic 'i s-gegokig c 'ep ba'ic 'i s-taɖaŋ 'an 'e-kotwa'an c 'ep ba'ic 'i ge'ě koa c 'ep ba'ic 'i s-kawk c s-'eɖastk c 'ab 'ep ge wihà. [The *male* is an animal or human that is bigger than the female, has a deeper voice, greater stature (height), broader shoulders, larger forehead, is stronger and is spartan, and has a penis.]

CEOJ (from note taken from Luke Preston): Mac 'an 'oiyopo k ha'i hi wuɖ 'u'uwɪ, c 'a:cim wuɖ *cecoj*. [Of those of us who go about, some are women and some are *men*.]

III. Etymological notes

A. Piman:

Bascom: 221. *tiodi 'man, attractive', NT tʲiódʲi, ST tʲiody, UP čioj, LP čooj [sic]. Hale *et al.* (Onavas): tūod (tūtūod) hombre. Pennington: Macho. Varon. *tuoti* plural. *tutuoti*; Varonil. *pcaivurh tuotihipuitcama* [sic].

B. Other Uto-Aztecan:

Miller: 273d man *tiho. Pg cioʒ (sg.), cécioʒ (pl.) 'male'; ST tió'n; Tr rihóy; Vr tihoyé, tihyé. ... Hale (Sonoran): *tʰoyl *man*. Voegelin and Voegelin (Hopi): tiyo (~tó-ti-m) *boy, youth (plural)*. Grimes (Huichol): *tévi* persona, indígena. ... Mult teü. térii. ...

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Resumen

El lingüista Kenneth Hale propone un modelo para la elaboración de diccionarios enciclopédicos monolingües en las lenguas indígenas de las Américas, en este caso particular, las yutoaztecas. Sugiere que los miembros de las comunidades indígenas podrían tomar parte en tales proyectos, y que se debería buscar la manera de entrenarlos. Además nota que se debería buscar los fondos necesarios para llevar a cabo las investigaciones. Para dar una idea de lo que podría ser un diccionario enciclopédico, proporciona ejemplos tomados de materiales léxicos bilingües y monolingües para el pápago.