

FOUR PAME TEXTS

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The following Pame¹ texts were recorded during field trips from 1943 to 1953, made under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Pame is spoken by small groups of Indians, most of whom live in the state of San Luis Potosí. By far the largest group, 2000 according to the 1960 census, live in and around Santa María Acapulco, located near the southeast border of the state, close to Querétaro. The following texts represent the dialect of this group.

The orthography of these texts has been adapted to Spanish and to available linotype. In these texts, small cap. E indicates /ε/, and K indicates back k. Lower case k indicates a palatalized /ky/. Raised n indicates nasalization of the vowel or vowel cluster preceding it and of any subsequent vowels in the word. However, a vowel or vowel cluster followed immediately by a nasal consonant is predictably nasalized, hence has not been marked with n.

The phonemic analysis of tone-stress differs slightly from that presented in the 1956 article. Falling tone-stress is now interpreted as high tone-stress occurring on the first member of a vowel cluster, followed by low tone-stress on the other vowel or vowels of the cluster;² as in /ndóòϕ'/, written here as ndóots' **your sandals**, /kotáòì/ cotáoi **your faces** (du.). Rising tone-stress, not mentioned in the phonemics article, is considered to be high tone-stress occurring on the second member of a vowel cluster and on any following vowel of the cluster; as in /ndòòϕ'/ ndóots' **his sandals**, /nàóí/ naói **they are smoldering** (du.). High tone-stress may occur on a single vowel, as in ettóts' **my sandals**. When it occurs on a vowel cluster it is marked with a high tone on each of the vowels; as in ndáón **he sings**, ndáóín **they sing** (du.). Low tone-stress is marked with a low tone on the vowel where the onset of stress begins; as in /nadò/ nadò **dog** /nadòì/ nadòì **dogs** (du.), /kotàòì/ cotàoi **their faces** (du.), /kibià/ quibià **outside**.

TEXT I. — THE OGRESS

This text, recorded in 1952 as told by Librado Gabriel Correa, 16 years old, tells about the origin of the **chamal** and **guapilla** (**huapilla**) plants. Parts of these plants are used for food during times of famine.³

This text contains certain features that remind one of the traditional observance of Holy Week among the Pames: (1) A fox skin stuffed with ashes is carried by the Tsocós, or Judas-devil-clown, at the rear of the religious processions and in the fiesta. (2) In the pageant of Holy Thursday, when the Tsocós walks around the Garden of Gethsemane looking for Jesús Nazareno, he picks up sticks, stones, or anything else, and smells of them. This text explains his purpose in smelling of these objects; he is trying to determine by the warmth of them how recently Jesus has passed that way.

PAME TEXT

1. Ne tsocuÉÉ dóá vóppEjE mantsá', càⁿ ndógn. 2. Dóá vaquqéjet ly'ík, va'àjot lónjEⁿEnt. 3. Vasépt que jòiⁿ vandòik. 4. Vatsé'k, vatsé'k pÉoc se copò liñjé'k riñjé'k ringyÉ' odógn càⁿt. 5. Vatsé'k y ramàⁿ lójuá'alt pÉoc se conjèon naddÉógn. 6. Copò pò lojuè'k y ngosáógn vánaont.

LITERAL TRANSLATION

1. The ogress walks she-carries basket, there-are-inside flowers. 2. She-walks-around she-finds children, she-talks-to-them she-pets-them. 3. She-tells-them that her-grandchildren. 4. She-leads-them, she-takes-them where there they-enter among flowers they-are-in-a-tight-place. 5. She-leads-them and repeatedly-goes she-brings-them where a cave cliff. 6. There she-puts-them-in and at-night

FREE TRANSLATION

An ogress went around with a basket of flowers, enticing children by petting them. She told them they were her grand-children. She led them to a place where they went in among a lot of flowers. She would lead them away to a cave in a cliff. There she would hide them and eat them at night.

7. Cojòⁿp va'èⁿje' ne chi-ly'í, connóⁿ, 8. se gyèt napò xiquè' masÉ'El mméjo, masÉ'El tsoçuÉE. 9. Mméjo, va'èⁿje' napò chi-ly'í, 10. "CanÉN quinqyaon, naán chiquè', vómba'ogñ maKèi maKèi." 11. "Lánnaon piñnyè', lajáa^s piñnyè'." 12. Cojòⁿp "kkájo't pò njóo y kàst', 13. majào tigyà'aik' nòⁿt mbantsÉp." 14. Cojòⁿp ndotájo't ne chi-ly'í, 15. ndotsáó' napò quinqjóí cojòⁿp mi'ía másoa'ats'. 16. Vajò na'uà, vajò re niá'p, saó' sanduÈ Kèi'. 17. Cojòⁿp ne chi-ly'í ndoppóí, va'àjodn' sots'á'o voppái namóo. 18. Vommán voppái manatsjào rinjàⁿ quinqyÈ' ngotoóts'; 19. si "ó, ngoméje', voppái manatsjào rinjàⁿ ne chi-ly'í. 20. Chi-ly'í cadé mbammán. 21. Comán "dovÉjE sots'á'o, comán pÉoc se ndotsjào rinjàⁿ. 22. Cojòⁿp nanjyágn sots'á'o.

she-eats-them. 7. Then, says, the little-child, he-awoke, 8. when just that elder old-woman was-there, old-woman ogress. 9. She was-there, says that little-child, 10. "What are you eating, mother chief? It-smells fragrant, fragrant." 11. "I-am-eating inner-organs; I-am-roasting inner-organs." 12. Then, "feel that your-brother and cover-him-up. 13. well you-two-lie-down-together that-not he-be-cold." 14. Then he felt around-for the little-child, 15. he felt his-abdomen then all split-open. 16. He was-without his-heart, he was-without the livers, only ashes there-were-inside. 17. Then the little-child was-frightened, he-asked-for a-fire-brand, he-commanded her-to-give-him. 18. He tells-it, she-commands-him to-do words inside his-sandal; 19. if not, his-hat, she-commands-him to-do words the little-child. 20. Little-child not did-not-want-to. 21. He-went, he carried fire-brand, he-went where he-did words. 22. Then he-left-it fire-brand. 23. When she-called-to-him the

One of the children tells how he awakened when just the old ogress was up. He asked her, "What are you eating, grandmother? It smells so sweet!" She replied, "I am eating and roasting vital organs." Then she said, "Feel around for your brother and cover him up, and lie down with him so he won't be cold." Then the child felt around and he felt the abdomen of the other child and found it was split wide open. He was without heart or liver; there were only ashes inside. The child became frightened and asked her to give him a fire-brand (on order to go out doors). He tells that she commanded him to do his business (defecate) in his shoe, or else in his hat, but the child did not want to. He went out carrying a fire-brand, went and did his business, and then left the fire-brand there.

23. Se voppá'adn ne tsocuÉE, cojò^{np} njéós napò ne sonts'á'o.
 24. LÉbm voppá'adn ndajÉmp. 25. Cojò^{np} comán canòⁿ colèjign
 ndovèogn. 26. Ne snavèogn vajÉ^{nts'} vappé'e, 27. y vattsáo' vá
 mapáats'.

28. Y que ramáⁿ pjé ralèjign vaququéje lyi rilyjáígnk va'ajabmpt,
 29. va'ajabmpt mep ndonjòⁿ ndá ly'í ní'òⁿjin. 30. Cojò^{np} tsjèp,
 tsjaot tasó'ot ní'òⁿjin. 31. Y cadáat tsjèp ní'òⁿjin se vá limíⁿ vasà.
 32. Cadáat tsjèp ní'òⁿjin tassE'E. 33. LÉbm pò lo'uéiⁿ "ammàⁿ
 dóá va'ajodn'. 34. Vá"aily' snavèogn, vajÉ^{nts'} vappé'e vattsáo' vá
 mapáa, va'èⁿje' mba lipíi, vá colèjign.

35. Cojò^{np} nikèje re lats'íng, va'ajabmpt cjámbe ndonjòⁿ.
 36. Ndotsjéep que ní'òⁿjin. 37. Cojò^{np} ndondáixpt rik'E', 38. va'á-

ogress, then it-whistled that the fire-brand. 24. Always she-was-
 calling-to-him, she-became-lonely. 25. Then she-went to-see, going-
 along she-threw-something-at-him. 26. The her thing-she-threw
 she-picks-it-up, she-smells-of-it, 27. and she-felt-it still warm.
 28. And that repeatedly here-and-there going-along she-was-finding
 small birds, she-asks-them, 29. she-asks-them not they-saw one
 child he-passed-by. 30. Then they-tell-her at-time-of plowing
 he-passed-by. 31. And some tell-her he-passed-by when still
 there-is corn-on-the-cob. 32. Some tell-her had-passed-by harvest.
 33. Always that way-she-does she-goes walks-around she-asks.
 34. She-throws-down her-thing-to-throw, she-picks-it-up she-
 smells-of-it she-feels-it still warm, she-says maybe near, still going-
 along. 35. Then she-was-met the leaf-cutter-ants, she-asks them,
 had they seen-him? 36. They-told-her that he-passed-by. 37. Then

When the ogress called to him she heard only the whistle of the fire-brand.
 She kept calling to the child and grew lonely. Then she went to look and
 as she was going along she threw something at him. She went and picked
 it up, smelled of it, and found it still warm.

The ogress would go along here and there finding little birds and
 inquiring of them if they hadn't seen a child go by. Some told her he
 went by just at plowing time; others told her he passed by at the time
 of elotes (green corn-on-cob); others said he passed by at harvest time.
 Continually the ogress went around asking about him. She would throw
 her missile, pick it up, smell of it, find it warm, and think that the child
 was still going along somewhere near.

Then she met some ants and asked them if they had seen him. They
 told her that he had passed by. Then she liked their clothes and asked

jabmpt pEÉp pò vát'ein se vajàots' rik'È'. 39. Cojònp "dot"jéep que nguán vatsjào coljÉó', 40. tsjii, cojònp lich'ín l'ónjich' cotÉdn' mà^{nt}. 41. Cojòn se cotÉdn' nimia^{nt} y láquE, 42. néjigŋ yà calÉ stɪŋkjáa' rik'È'.

43. Cojònp va'ènje' tsocuÉE tsjèp que se mján rejòink pò lát'ein latsjàp rik'È' como ŋcjà'k e squijés rik'È'. 44. Cojònp va'ènje' que sí. 45. Ne squijés jòin comán "dotsjào re coljÉó' coⁿ "e tsocuÉE, 46. y re lats'ínk vaduàdⁿ tsjii re nguán, 47. vátjua'al para maⁿatsjàp rik'È'. 48. Cojònp "dotsjào "dottuigŋ. 49. Cojònp "doⁿts'á'o ningyÈ, comán contsaól'.

50. Cuando se comán contsaól' yà vattsáó' mba lajò'o lan'ònjich' cotÉdn' nimiaⁿ. 51. Tsjèp ásta majào naól'. 52. Cojònp ndotsjéep

she-liked their-clothes, 38. she-asks-them how that the-way-they-do that pretty their-clothes. 39. Then they-told-her that wood they-make barbecue-pit 40. they-gather-fire-wood, then they-jump, they-pass-over opposite-side they-go. 41. Then when they-have-gone over-opposite-side and returned, 42. it-comes-out now different their-clothes. 43. Then it-says ogress they-tell-her that when they-want-to they that they-will-do-that-way will-do-hers her-clothes like the striped-lizard his-clothes. 44. Then she-says that "Yes". 45. The striped-lizard he went he-made the pit with the ogress, 46. and the leaf-cutter-ants are-walking-around fire-wood-gathering the wood, 47. they-bring-it in-order-to they-are-going-to-make-her her-clothes. 48. Then they-made-it they-lit-it. 49. Then they-kindled fire; it-began, it-burned. 50. When it-began it-burned, now she-feels maybe she-will-be-able, she-will-cross-over opposite-side there-to-be. 51. They-tell-her until well it-burns. 52. Then they-told-her until the-time-will-come that they-will-see will-be-

them how they made their clothes so pretty. They told her they gathered wood, made a fire in a barbecue pit and jumped over the fire. When they had jumped over and back again their clothes had turned out different.

Then, the story goes on, they tell her that if they wished they could make her clothes like those of the striped lizard. She said she would like that. The striped lizard went and made the barbecue pit with the ogress, and the ants gathered wood and brought it in order to make her clothes. Then they lit it and made a fire, and it began to burn.

When it began to burn she felt she could jump across it to the other side. They told her to wait until it got to burning better. Then they told her that when they saw the time was right they would tell her to jump

ásta se laquèjep rejòⁿk se lanjòⁿ lócjua't, 53. tsjèp labbái lan'òⁿ-jich'. 54. Cojòⁿp ndotsjàò ásta se ndonòⁿ se yà mi'íá cojuàò ringyÈ, 55. cojòⁿp comáⁿ mmá'i. 56. Ne tsocuÈÈ va'èⁿje' vaséépt, Cadé nojjó'o non'òⁿjich', locuás copáa. 57. Cuando se cómma'i coⁿÈ coljéó' cojòⁿp ndóddo'ogŋ nimiaⁿ quingyÈ' ningyÈ. 58. Ndóddo'ogŋ nimiaⁿ quingyÈ' ningyÈ, cojòⁿp comáⁿ líchjich' contsaó. 59. Comáⁿ líchjich', 60. ne ngocuáⁿp compjéogŋ nimiaⁿ ngol'uÈÈ nichjàò namÉo', 61. y ne ngotào compjéogŋ nimiaⁿ nichjàò ngots'à'.

right, 53. they-tell-her they-will-command-her she-should-pass-over. 54. Then she-did-it until that she-saw that now all good-place fires, 55. then she-went was-standing. 56. The ogress says she-tells-them, "Not I-am-able to-cross-over, truly hot-place." 57. When that she-stood-still its-mouth pit then they-pushed-her, she-went-to-be in fire. 58. They-pushed-her, she-went-to-be in fire, then she-began she-sizzled, she burned. 59. She-began she sizzled, 60. the her-brains burst, it-went-to hill it-became **chamal**, 61. and the her-eye burst-open it-went it-became **guapilla**.

across. Then she did so and waited until she saw that it was all full of flames, then she went and stood near it. The ogress told them, "I cannot jump over it, it is really hot." When she stood still at the edge of the pit then they pushed her into the fire. She began to sizzle and she was burned. Her brains burst open and went to the hills and became the **chamal** plant; her eye burst open and became the **guapilla**.

TEXT II. — THE FEAST OF THE DEAD

Text II recorded in 1950 as told by Liboria Morales (de Hernández), age about 26, describes the annual celebration of the last day of Tamale-month. During November, the "Month of Tamales", All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day are observed four times: first on the eve of Nov. 1st and 2nd, repeated the 8th and 9th, and again the 22nd and 23rd, repeated the 29th and 30th. Corn pudding and home-made cookies in shapes attractive to children—stars, birds, etc.—are offered to the spirits of the dead babies of the household on the eve of Nov. 1, 8, 22, and 29; **tamales** are made and offered to the spirits of the deceased adults on the eve of the 2nd, 9th, 23rd and 30th. The food is placed on

a shelf or box, beside lighted bees-wax candles, in a little booth of branches built near the house especially for this occasion.

The following text describes the observance of Nov. 30th, which forms the climax of a month of offerings to the dead.

PAME TEXT

1. *Cots'iq' quingyè'p nixÉts' njí'no chimmyó'*. 2. *Camàik nímbyaiⁿ, chiquè' catògɣ com'óos, (l'èⁿji'p napò chimmyó').*⁴ 3. *Se yà ndannóp nljÉⁿE cojòⁿp tsji', vát'eiⁿ xily'áⁿjan', dájap canàon lÉÉ, dájap pingyuáɣ.* 4. *Tsjèp bbái lavà'aily, l'àjo.* 5. *"Tavà'aily, quivíE nljÉⁿE, miÉc lal'èogɣc," l'èⁿji'.* 6. *Se n'áⁿji cojòⁿp lich'iq, dájap lijè chimmyó'.* 7. *L'èⁿji' tsÉgɣ, miÉc lómmin nímbyaiⁿ.*

8. *Ljónⁿts' químbyEⁿp xich'éjigɣ napò chimmyó'.* 9. *QuímbyEⁿp xich'éjigɣ cjáⁿts' xóot lambóo, químbyEⁿp vats'ójo.* 10. *Napò*

LITERAL TRANSLATION

1. Up-there inside church is-a-hard-or-heavy-object skull.
 2. Helper spirit, chief keeper village, (they-call-it that skull.)
 3. When already nearly tamales then they-bathe-it, way-they-do-it soap, just his-head person, just bone. 4. They-tell-it they-want-it-to it-will-bathe, they-address-it. 5. "Bathe, wait-for tamales, maybe they-will-give-you," they-say. 6. When they-tease-it then it-jumps-up-and-down, nothing-but only skull. 7. They-say it-is-angry, maybe it-has spirit.

8. They-place-it on-top-of table that skull. 9. On-top table they-place-soft-thing cloth black-(pl.), on-top they-set-it. 10. That

FREE TRANSLATION

Up there in the church there is a skull. "Sacristan, head guardian of the village," (is what they call the skull). When it is nearly *tamale-time* (that is, November) then they bathe it with soap, just the head of a person, just a skull. They tell it they want it to bathe. They speak to it and say, "Take a bath and wait for *tamales*, maybe they will give you some." When they tease it, it jumps up and down, just the skull by itself. They say it is angry, maybe it has a spirit.

They place the skull on a table. They drape the table in black and set the skull on it. Down on the ground in front of the skull is a *petate*, and

chimmyó' màⁿ cotào conján' copó' càⁿ chimjyàⁿ, quéich' nljÉⁿ'E y ti'yáas con lanà^{ns} maígn' 11. Mi'íá mmàⁿ l'éts', con mjÉⁿ lómmin nincháil', con mjéóŋ móⁿji' mmàⁿ l'éts' maígn' cots'èⁿ. 12. Se cadé mbamjáŋ manal'èts' re nljÉⁿ'E, sondàl dóá va'É'ot re lÉEt, 13. por màⁿ manája vaséépt bbái manal'èts'. 14. L'èⁿji' l'èdnt vatóo^{nt}. 15. Se yà l'éts' cojò^{np} tsjáa^{ns} rímbyaiⁿ, cuás nímbyE^{np} nljÉⁿ'E l'èⁿji'. 16. Se yà voppáign' Kjé'i, l'èdnt lÉEt njàon. 17. Yà mba valjáigŋ rímbyaiⁿ'.

skull direction his-face down-there ground is-a-soft-object **petate**, are-on-it-hard-things **tamales** and bananas with citrus-fruit-(pl.). Also. 11. All they-go they-place-down, with **tortillas** has sugar, with stew squash they-go they-place-down also up-there. 12. When not they-want they-will-place-down the **tamales**, soldier walks he-goes-to-see-them the people, 13. by manner strong he-tells-them they-command they-are-going-to-place-them-down. 14. They-say they-give-them-to-them dead-(pl.). 15. When already they-place-them-down then they-play sacred-native-tunes, straight its-tune **tamales**, they-say. 16. When already they-finish, they-pick-them-up they-give-to-them people, they-eat-them. 17. Already probably they-leave sacred-native-tunes.

on it are **tamales** and bananas and some citrus fruit also. They go and offer everything up there (that is, inside the church, which is on a hill), including **tortillas** sweetened with native raw sugar, and cooked squash. When they do not want to donate the **tamales** a policeman goes around to see the people and compells them to offer food. They say they are giving it to the dead. When they have put down the offerings then they play sacred tunes and call it the music of the **tamales**. When they have finished playing they take up the food and give it out to the people, and they eat it. Then they stop playing; the music is over.

TEXT III. — CHI-GYO'I

Text III, recorded in 1952 as told by Cresenciano Mar, 28 years old, tells about what may be an aboriginal concept of Divinity. Chi-gyó'i is attributed super-human qualities of knowledge and strength. He also helps human beings to do great exploits. It is noted in the story that chi-gyó'i appears and helps the man at noon. Present day belief is that God is nearer and His help can be obtained by burning a candle made of bees-wax at the precise moment of midday.⁵

PAME TEXT

1. Ndoséep, "Jeóc' majào quigyóá quíkkaja-ndájo, 2. ni nginnyóⁿ'o coméjo pÉ stiŋkjáa'. 3. Jé n'íⁿ'a mméji ndá kuaáŋ; 4. ndo'uéogŋ cadá quikóts' chibbiájagŋ. 5. Ndojuíŋ ndá ŋgomjÉⁿ, ndojóoⁿ' ngomjÉⁿ quimbyò'p ŋgolju'í. 6. Copò lo'uéiⁿ n'íⁿ'a mméji con ndá kuaáŋ. 7. Jeóc' majào quíkkaja-ndájo pero n'íⁿ'a copò lotsjàò cáóts' se vammán. 8. Chón' vaddòà cadéogŋ. 9. Lajuá'a ne cadéogŋ quíkkaⁿ'o quimbyò'p ŋgolju'í, ⁿjèòⁿ ŋgomjÉⁿ manaó."

10. Cojòⁿp cojuá'a ne ntjóí. 11. Ndóttáⁿ'o manéí ndoccuèje. nincháól', con mjéóŋ móⁿ'ji mmàⁿ l'éts' maíŋ' cots'èⁿ. 12. Se cadé 13. Manéí contsuÉgŋ napò kuaáŋ, 14. ndovàjai' napò vanniⁿ'a, ndóttóⁿ. 15. Y cojòⁿ ndojuáíŋ napò ŋgomá'í páccas 16. y comán

LITERAL TRANSLATION

1. He-told-him you well you-walk-around you-touch-your-work, 2. not you-do-not-know your-dwelling how it-is-like. 3. You your-wife they-two-live one man; 4. he-gave-her once you-wear-on-feet leather. 5. She-burned one tortilla, she-placed tortilla under basket. 6. There she-does-that-way your-wife they-two-live with one man. 7. You well you-touch-your-work but your-wife there she-does whatever she-wants. 8. Now she-comes a-giver. 9. She-will-arrive the giver you-look-for underneath basket, it-is-inside tortilla burned.

10. Then she-arrived the woman. 11. He looked-for-it right-away he-found that tortilla underneath, 12. and so he-believed-it. 13. Right away he-became-angry that man, 14. he-beat-her that his-wife, he-killed-her. 15. And then he-left-it that his-animal ox

FREE TRANSLATION

Once a man was working. Another told him, "You are doing right going around working, but you do not know what is happening at home. Your wife has another man; he gave her leather for a pair of sandals. She burned a tortilla and put the tortilla down underneath in the basket. That's the way your wife is living with a man. You are working well but your wife is there doing whatever she wishes. Now she is coming to give you your lunch; when she arrives look down in the bottom of the basket for a burned tortilla."

Then the woman arrived. He looked and right away found the tortilla underneath, and so he believed it all. Immediately he got angry, hit his wife and killed her. Then he left his ox and went off wandering. Then

móo^{nt} con'òda. 17. Cojòìⁿ comáⁿ cobá'o nimìàⁿ. 18. Yà se cobá'o nimìan nikèje "dá lÉE, va'àjabmp pÉop pò mmàⁿ. 19. Ndoséep, jòìⁿ móo^{nt} cuás dóá pÉop se manamáⁿ. 20. Laquèje seniá' ngol'ájo pÉop se jòìⁿ mmàⁿ.

21. Comáⁿ cojuá'al cadá col'òs mméjo ndá chi-gyó'i. 22. Cojò^{np} xínyi'o ndo'uàjabmp, "Caⁿén totsjào quigyóá tóttà'o ngol'ájo." 23. Cojòìⁿ ndoséep, "Quimíáⁿ conján' quíppyajo' vómma'aigñk cadá nl'òs, quigyàjodn' jeóc'." 24. Cojòìⁿ comáⁿ napò lÉE, 25. cojuá'al ndo'uàjodn' ne ngol'ájo si laKé. 26. NdatÈo' cojuá'a napò químmijo napò chi-gyó'i. 27. Va'àjabmp canén ngol'ájo manábbo. 28. Ndoséep, bbái maⁿatsjào cadá cotsjá'. 29. Va'èⁿje' napò chi-gyó'i, 30. "Se lábboc' chíppya státsEdn nguánj no ni'éìⁿ;

16. and he-went-away nothing he-walked-around. 17. So he-went-away far to-be-there. 18. Already when far he-had-gone he-encountered a person, he-asks where he-is-going. 19. He-told-him he nothing truly he-is-walking-around wherever he-is-going-to-go. 20. He will-find any-kind work wherever he-goes.

21. He-went he-arrived a house there-lives one little-old-man. 22. Then next-morning he-asked-him, what you-are-doing you-walk-around you-are-looking-for work? 23. Then he-told-him, you-go down-there you-see there-stand some houses, you-ask you. 24. Then he-went-away that person, 25. he-arrived he-asked-for the work if he-would-use-him. 26. Late he-arrived that his-house that little-old-man. 27. He-asks-him what work they-will-give-him. 28. He-told-him they-command-him to-make a clearing. 29. He-says that little-old-man, 30. When they-will-give-you metal chopper wood don't you-do-it-that-way; 31. that I I-give-you that-one the

he went far away, and when he had gone a long way he met a man who asked him where he was going. He told him he was really just travelling around, not going any place in particular; he would find some kind of work where he was going.

He arrived at a house where lived a little old man. Next morning he asked him, "What are you doing travelling around looking for work?" Then he told him, "Go down there where you see some houses and ask for work." Then the man went and when he got there he asked for work, if they would hire him. Late in the afternoon that little old man arrived at the house, and asked him what work they were going to give him. He told him they wanted him to clear a piece of land. The little old man said, "If they give you an ax, don't do it with that; use the one I am

31. napò cá láppoc' najòìⁿ ne qui'éìⁿ." 32. Cojòìⁿ ndoccuáji' napò lÉÉ, 33. cadép ndotàjich' napò státsE'Edn nguáñ. 34. NdovÉjE napò naljéx, napò ne najéx napò chi-gyó'i, 35. y comáⁿ catájan-ndájo. 36. Cadép lojjó'o móo^{nt} ásta mmá'i cónjoⁿ' 37. cojuá'al comáⁿ ndotéo^{nt}. 38. Cojuá'a chi-gyó'i, "CanÉⁿ totsjàò, cjámba tojjó'o quikkaja-ndájo," va'èⁿje' napò lÉÉ. 39. Cojòⁿp ndoséep, cadép lojjó'o móo^{nt}. 40. "Cojòìⁿ tangàò't, cossóejigñk, cá va-cáttajo náttajo." 41. Para ch'é^m cosáp jòìⁿ ndovàjaign re nguáñ nammáign'. 42. Manéi comáⁿ napò chi-gyó'i.

43. Cojòìⁿ ndoséep ndatÈò' tsocuÈt ladàjodn' ne ngol'ájo, canÉn manábbo para xínyi'o. 44. Cojuá'a. "Yà novvaign' ne tasá', chón' canÉn manavváik." 45. Y cojòìⁿ ndoséep, "Para ríppiaⁿa tómmiⁿ

you-do-it-that-way. 32. Then he-believed that person, 33. not he-received that chopper wood. 34. He-carried that knife, that the his-knife that little-old-man, 35. and he-went-away to-work. 36. Not he-is-able not-at-all until it-stands-up sun 37. he-arrived-over-there he-went he-felled-them. 38. He-arrived little-old-man, what you-are-doing, are-you-able to-work?, he-says that person. 39. Then he-told-him, not he-is-able not-at-all. 40. Then rest, eat, I am-going-a-toucher my-work. 41. By a little while he he-cut-them-down the trees he-finished. 42. Right-away he-left that little-old-man.

43. Then he-told-him late again he-should-ask-for the work, what they-will-give-him for next-morning. 44. He-arrived. Already I-finished the clearing, now what you-are-going-to-command-me? 45. And then they-told-him, for tomorrow you-have-to you-will-

going to give you." So the man took his advice and he didn't accept the ax. He took with him the knife of the little old man and went off to work. He wasn't able to do it at all, until noon he began to fell the trees. The little old man arrived and asked, "What are you doing? Are you able to work?" Then he told him he couldn't do it at all. "Then you rest and eat; I am going to work." In a little while he had finished cutting down the trees. The little old man left immediately.

Then he told him to ask again that afternoon for work, whatever they would give him for the morrow. He arrived and said, "I have finished the clearing of the land; now what are you going to have me do?" And then they told him, "For tomorrow you have to get fire-wood." Then the man left and went to the home of that little old man. Then the latter

manasi nguán." 46. Comán napò chi-lÉE, nimiaⁿ napò se químmijo napò se xiquè'. 47. Cojòìⁿ cojuá'a ndo'uàjabmp, "CanÉn ngol'ájo manábboc' ríppiaⁿa." 48. Ndoséep, bbái nasi nguán. 49. Y cojòìⁿ xínyi'o comán tsoçuÈt catája-ndájo "apò lÉE. 50. NdovÉjE napò chíppya státsE'Edn nguán. 51. Comán cojuà'al, comán ndotsÉ'Edn nguán. 52. Cadép lojjó'o ásta cojuá'a napò chi-gyó'i mmá'i cónjoⁿ. 53. Laséep que langàò' ssóejignk' y jòìⁿ maⁿ-casi re nguán. 54. Mientras que jòìⁿ ssóejign napò lÉE nammàign'. 55. Cossóejign napò lÉE, jòìⁿncjà' nammàign' ndosui nguán. 56. Ndoséep napò lÉE, ndatÈo' tsoçuÈt ladàjodn'canÉn ngol'ájo manábboc'. 57. Ndotsjéep que bbái manáttaⁿo páccas. 58. Comán chi-lÉE cojuà'al químmijo tsoçuÈt chi-gyó'i. 59. Ndo'uàjabmp, "CanÉn

cut-firewood wood. 46. He-left that little person, he-went-to that which his-house that elder. 47. Then he-arrived he-asked-him, what work they-will-give-you tomorrow? 48. He-told-him they-command-him to-cut-firewood wood. 49. And then next-morning he-went again a-worker that person. 50. He-carried that metal chopper wood. 51. He-left he-arrived-over-there, he-began he-chopped wood. 52. Not he-is-able until he-arrived that little-old-man it-stand-up sun. 53. He-will-tell-him that he-should-rest he-should-eat and he-goes-a-cutter-of-firewood wood. 54. While he-is-eating that person he-finished. 55. He-ate that person, he also finished he-cut-firewood wood. 56. He-told-him that person, late again he-should-ask-for what work they-will-give-him.

57. They-told-him that they-command him-to-look-for cow. 58. He-left little person he-arrived-over-there his-house again little-old-man. 59. He-asked-him, what work they-gave-you?

arrived and asked him, "What work are they going to give you tomorrow?" He told him, "They want me to get fire-wood." So next morning the man went to work again, and took with him the ax. He got there and began to chop wood. He was not able to do it at all until the little old man arrived at noon. He tells him to rest and eat while he goes to get the fire-wood. While that person was eating, he finished. That person ate, and the little old man also at the same time finished getting fire-wood. He told that person that again that afternoon he should ask what work they were going to give him.

They told him that they wanted him to hunt for the cow. That man arrived again at the home of the little old man. He asked him, "What

ngol'ájo ndobóoc'." 60. "Ríppiaⁿa bbáík va-cáttaⁿo páccas." 61. "Ríppiaⁿa se manávva caóc láppoc' ne ngoljuèⁿ qui'éiⁿ quikáⁿaṅ ne páccas. 62. Napò páccas lílyjeiⁿ. 63. Conjáⁿo quimbyEⁿp ngocuáṅ y cojòⁿp quivíEt napò páccas. 64. Quijyoⁿt ngonjéóⁿ, qui'èⁿje', serro comadre, 65. y cojòⁿp laccáji' quikáⁿaṅ." 66. Comáⁿ napò lÉE xinyi'o, ndoccuáji' pò ndo'uèⁿje', 67. ndováⁿat ne páccas. 68. Cojòⁿp ndoccuáji', ndocuáⁿaṅ ndotsi', comáⁿ cáttiṅ.

69. Cojuá'a tsocuÈt ndo'uàjodn' canÈn ngol'ájo manábbo. 70. Ndotsjéep xinyi'o bbái manáttoⁿ napò páccas. 71. Cojòⁿ comáⁿ tsocuÈt cottòṅ ne lÉE cojuá'al copò quimmijo chi-gyó'i. 72. CanÈn ngol'ájo ndobóo. 73. "Ríppiaⁿa bbái nóttoⁿ ne páccas." 74. Cojòⁿp

60. Tomorrow they-command-me to-go a-looker-for cow. 61. Tomorrow when you-will-go I-will-give-you the rope that-way-you-do-it you-grab-it the cow. 62. That cow it-is-cross. 63. You-climb on-top-of tree and then you-wait-for that cow. 64. You-name-call its-name, you-say Serro Comadre, 65. and then it-will-believe/obey you-grab-it. 66. He-left that person next-morning, he-believed/obeyed that he-said, 67. he-called the cow. 68. Then it-obeyed, he-grabbed-it he-led-it, he-went-to-surrender-it-up.

69. He-arrived again he-asked, what work they-are-going-to-give-him. 70. They-told-him next-morning they-command him-to-kill that cow. 71. Then he-left again he-returned-home the person he-arrived-over-there there his-house little-old-man. 72. What work they-gave-him? 73. Tomorrow they-command me-to-kill the cow. 74. Then says that little-old-man, when they-will-give-you the

work did they give you?" "Tomorrow they want me to look for the cow." "Tomorrow when you go I will give you the rope with which you are to catch the cow. That cow is bad-tempered. Climb a tree and wait for the cow. Call it by name, say "serro comadre", and then it will obey you and you can catch it." The man went next morning, and he did what the little old man had said; he called the cow. Then it obeyed him; he caught it, led it away, and went and turned it over to the owner.

When he arrived he asked again what work they were going to give him. They told him that next morning they wanted him to kill the cow. Then the man went home again and arrived at the home of the little old man. What work had they given him? "Tomorrow they want me to kill the cow." Then the little old man said, "When they give you the knife

va'ènje' napò chi-gyó'i, "Se lábboc' ne naljéx cadé nikájich'. 75. Cá láppoc' caóc tajéx, najòin quivyÉjE qui'éin quikko." 76. Xínyi'o comán ne LÉE, cojuá'a, ndobái ndóttóⁿ napò páccas. 77. Cadép lojjó'o móo^{nt} ásta cojuá'a napò chi-gyó'i. 78. Jòin ndojó'o ndóttóⁿ con chi-naljéx ngocuán. 79. Cojò^{np} ndóttuemp napò LÉE. 80. Cojòin comán ndojuéet napò páccas, 81. comán ndottsèich' re páccas. 82. Comán níggyo't cojò^{np} va'ènje' re páccas, "Ay compadre". 83. LÉbm pò va'ènje' ásta nammàign' ndottsèich'. 84. Cojò^{np} ndóttuin rapò sottsèich'. 85. Bbái nanàon, cadé mbamáñ móo^{nt}, 86. mi'ía ndóttuin.

87. Cojòin va'ajodn' canÉn manabbái tsoeuÈt. 88. Ndotsjéep yá móo^{nt}, ndaljógn' ngol'ájo. 89. Comán cottòin cojuá'a químmijo

knife not you-take-it. 75. I I-will-give-you my my-knife, that-one you-will-carry that-way-you-will-do-it kill-it. 76. Next-morning he-left the person, he-arrived they-commanded he-killed-it that cow. 77. Not he-is-able not-at-all until he-arrived that little-old-man. 78. He he-was-able he-killed-it with little knife wooden. 79. Then he-turned-it-over-to-him that person. 80. Then he-began he-cut-up that meat, 81. he-began he-fried-in-deep-fat that meat. 82. It-began it-bubbled then it-says the meat, Oh, compadre. 83. Always that it-says until he-finished he-fried-it. 84. Then he-delivered-up those fried-pieces-of-meat. 85. They-command-him-to-eat-it, not he-wanted not-at-all, 86. everything he-delivered-up.

87. Then he-asks what they-are-going-to-command again. 88. They-told-him now nothing it-is-all-gone work. 89. He-went home he-arrived his-house little-old-man. 90. What they-are-going-

do not take it. I will give you my knife; take that to kill it with." Next morning the man left, and he got there and they told him to kill the cow. He wasn't able to do it until that little old man arrived. The little old man was able to kill it with a little wooden knife. Then he turned it over to the man, so he began cutting the cow up in pieces. Then he began to cook the pieces of meat in deep fat. When it began to bubble the meat said, "Ay, compadre". It was always saying that until he finished cooking it. Then he gave the meat back to the owner. They wanted him to eat some but he didn't want it at all. He turned it all over to them.

Then he asked what more they were going to have him do. They told him now there was nothing more, there was no more work. He went home and arrived at the house of the little old man. "What are they

chi-gyó'i. 90. "CanÉn manabbáik'." 91. "Yà móo^{nt}, ndaljógn ngol'ájo." 92. "Y pÉÉp ni'éin nandⁿ napò sottsèich'." 93. "Cuando "iggyo't, Ay compadre, va'èⁿje' napò sottsèich'." 94. Y cojòin "do'óo' napò chiquè'. 95. Cojòⁿp ndoséep, "Napò se va'èⁿje', Ay compadre, napò jeóc' màlc'. 96. Napò ne ndotsjàotc' jeóc' níkkoⁿ n'ín'a y napò nichjào páccas. 97. Napò ne ngonjéóⁿ' Serro Comadre, 98. pero napò màlc' y qui'èⁿje' níkkoⁿ n'ín'a. 99. Cadé mba ttòⁿ móo^{nt}, mméjo. 100. Quimiyá't quíkkE cand^{nc}' n'ín'a, lÉbm mméjo. 101. Napò màlc' ne níkkoⁿ. 102. Niñyòⁿ mba n'ín'a ne níkkoⁿ, pero móo^{nt}, jòin mméjo." 103. Ndoccuáji' coccuÈ napò lÉE, comán cottòinj. 104. Asta Gyós, cojuá'a ndonòⁿ mméjo lÉbm ne vánín'a; 105. cadé pÉoc lóttòⁿ móo^{nt}.

to-command-you? 91. Now nothing it-is-all-used-up work. 92. And how you-did see that fried-meat? 93. When it-bubbled, Oh, compadre, it-says that fried-meat. 94. And then he-heard that head-man. 95. Then he-told-him, that which says, Oh, compadre, that your comadre. 96. That the they-did-to-you, you you-killed your-wife and that she-became cow. 97. That the its-name Serro Comadre, 98. but that your-comadre and you-say you-killed your-wife. 99. Not she-died not-at-all, she-lives. 100. Go you-return you-one-who-sees your-wife, always she-lives. 101. That your-comadre the you-killed. 102. You-saw as-though your-wife the you-killed, but not-at-all, she-lives. 103. He-believed-him he-returned that person, he-went home. 104. Until God, he-arrived he-saw-her she-lives always his-wife; 105. not where he-kills-her not-at-all.

going to have you do?" "Nothing more, the work is all done." "And what did you notice about that cooked meat?" "When it boiled, the meat said, 'Ay, compadre.'" And so the little old man heard it; then he told him, "That which was saying 'Ay, compadre', that was your comadre. That is the one that made you (think) you killed your wife, and then she (the comadre) turned into a cow. That is the one that has the name Serro Comadre, but that is your comadre, and you thought you killed your wife. She has not died at all, she is living. Go back and see your wife, she is still living. That comadre of yours is the one you killed. You thought you saw that it was your wife whom you killed, but it wasn't; she is living." The man believed him and returned. Honest to God, he arrived and found his wife still living. He had never killed her at all.

TEXT IV. — THE THUNDERS

This was recorded in 1953 as told by Juana Montero (de Rodríguez), age 32. It tells of making and offering to the Thunders the large ceremonial tamales called *ncjuá'a*, or *bolimes*. This is done to prevent lightning from striking any important building which has just been built or repaired. The Pames tell us that the Thunders are dead witch-doctors up in the sky.

PAME TEXT

1. *Cadémba mjánáccjua'a talógn móo^{nt}; pura ncjuá'a lá^{do} chóⁿ' vatsjào.* 2. *Se yà nappàign' ndottui nixÉts', paign' ngodyòs- ngocuán, ndotsjào ncjuá'a.* 3. *Valík vatsjào, bÉjE, cots'èⁿ vátjao^{nt}.* 4. *Vátta'al ndatÈo', cojòⁿp l'é'e quingyÈ' likàs pÉoc se vañcjào't re vatóo^{nt}.* 5. *Vómma'aigñk re mbÉ, lómminⁿ ribíEt cojuàⁿch',*

LITERAL TRANSLATION

1. Not they-want-to-put-into-*bolimes* chicken not-at-all; nothing-but *bolimes* eggs now they-make. 2. When already they-finished-an-action they-completed church, also his-house (cf. free form: *ngodèos*) - wood, they-made *bolimes*. 3. Many-(people) make-them, they-carry-them, up-there they-take-them-up. 4. They-carry-it-in-a-procession late, then they-set-them-down in porch-shelter where that they-rest-them the (pl.) dead-ones. 5. They-are-standing the beds, it-has their-beds up-high-off-the-ground,

FREE TRANSLATION

They don't want to inclose a chicken inside a big ceremonial tamale at all any more; they make nothing but big ceremonial tamales of eggs these days. When they completed the church, and also when they completed the courthouse, they made big ceremonial tamales. Many people make them and carry them up there (that is, to the village center, on top of the hill. Late in the afternoon they carry them around in a procession, then they set them down in the porch shelter where they rest the corpses (that is, in the outer-most part of the church, where the body is laid during a funeral service). The shelves are standing there—it has shelves up high off the ground—and there they place the big ceremonial tamales.

copò l'éts' re ηcjuá'a. 6. Copò ni-co'uáa' ntjói mba mmàⁿ móo^{nt} se njàon ηcjuá'a. 7. Pura rikuaánt re mà^{nt}, màaⁿ njàon re ηcjuá'a.

8. Dóája' co'uáa lattòⁿjily' re riquéon, cojò^{np} landⁿ locjuà't vaquéje manatsjào ne ηgocjuá'a. 9. Ránjoⁿ lándò yà vatàⁿ, cojò^{np} massÈ^{nt} rapò lándò. 10. Cojò^{np} co'uáa lammádn' va'èi ri'yáaⁿl', cojò^{np} ladèò' quingyÈ^p ne nkkòⁿjily', máccua'a. 11. Yà lammàign' lamméjel' majào lamào't xilyjuáⁿ. 12. Lanjèò^{nts}' ηgotóe' ηgots'ué', lanjéóⁿl' napò ηgotóe' ηgocjuá'a, la'èiⁿ lamèon.

13. Se yà mana'l'é'e ljéet. 14. Re cajót re vét'eⁱⁿ ljéet re ηcjuá'a. 15. Yà mássoa'at l'é'e. 16. L'èⁿji' re noÉ^{nt} re l'édnt rapò.

there they-place-them-on the **bolimes**. 6. There nobody woman (possibility particle) goes not-at-all where they-are-eating **bolimes**. 7. Nothing-but men the they-go, they-go they-eat the **bolimes**.

8. Ahead anyone will-grind-up the **nixtamal** (or boiled corn), then she-will-see it-equals is-enough is-going-to-make the **bolime**. 9. Three eggs already they-are-ripe (or cooked well done), then they-are-shelled those eggs. 10. Then anyone will-rub-with **chile** reddish-colored, then she-will-put-them-in inside the **masa** (or corn dough), made-into-**bolime**. 11. Already she-will-finish she-will-cover-it well she-will-wrap-it corn-husks. 12. She will-set-on big clay-pot, she'll-put-inside is that big **bolime**, she-will-do-it-that-way she-will-cook-it. 13.

13. When already they-are-going- to-put-down-(hard things onto the ground) they-cut-into-pieces. 14. The witchdoctors the they-do-that-way they-cut-into-pieces the **bolimes**. 15. Already split-up-they-are they-set-them-down. 16. They-say the thunders

No woman goes there at all when they are eating the ceremonial tamales. Only men are the ones who go, they go and eat the ceremonial tamales.

First one will grind up the boiled corn (like big hominy), then one will see how much it takes to make the big ceremonial tamale. Three hard-boiled eggs are then shelled. Then one rubs them with red chile (**chile ancho**), then puts them inside the corn dough, made into a ceremonial tamale. Now when she finishes she will cover it well, wrapping it with corn husks. She'll put on a big clay pot, she'll put that big tamale inside; that is the way she will cook it.

When they are about to place them down as offerings they cut them up. The witch-doctors are the ones who cut up the ceremonial tamales. When they have been split up they lay them down as offerings. They say

17. QuingyE-mÈjEp ngosáon vat'eiⁿ Kjé'i; 18. ne cajó jòiⁿ ne váqqe'i vá'edⁿt re cá'aja'l'ájapt. 19. Dájap rikyuaánt njàon. 20. Maaⁿ l'àjabmp ne cajó, cojòⁿp vá'ednt. 21. Si mémba màaⁿ l'àjodn' cadémba ts'aó.

the they-give-to-them those. 17. Middle night they-do-that-way they-gather-them-up; 18. the witch-doctor he the he-gathers-them-up he-gives-to-them the touchers-of-their-work. 19. Nothing-but men they-eat-them. 20. They-go they-ask-him the witch-doctor, then he-gives-to-them. 21. If not they-go they-ask-for not-(emphatic) they-taste-it.

the thunders are the ones to whom they are giving them. In the middle of the night they gather them up; the witch-doctor is the one who gathers them up and gives them to the workmen. Only men eat them. They go and ask the witch-doctor, then he gives them some. If they don't go and ask, they don't taste them.

NOTES

¹At least three published articles give more information about the Pames: Antonio de la Maza, "La nación pame", Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística 63: 2495-575. (1947); Lorna F. Gibson, "El sistema de parentesco pame", Yan II: 1, 77-82. (1954); and Lorna F. Gibson, "Pame (Otomi) Phonemics and Morphophonemics", IJAL XXII: 242-65 (1956).

²It should be made clear that u is not a vowel phoneme of Pame; it represents the semi-vowel /w/. The u is used also with q to represent /k/ in the sequences qui, que, quE. (The vowel u of the 1954 kinship paper is now interpreted as /o/.)

The total inventory of segmental phonemes as used in this paper follows: p, t, k, or c/qu, K, b, d, g, ts, ch, s, x, ', j, m, n, ŋ, l, ly, r, v/u, y, i, e, E, a, and o. Of these, the ones which differ from the phonemic symbols and have not been explained above or in the text are: c for /k/ in sequences ca, co; ts for /tʃ/, ch for /ç/, x for /š/, j for /h/, ' for /ʔ/, ly for /lʔ/, and v for /w/ when it occurs in word-initial or intervocalic position.

³The authors have eaten the **tamales de chamal** which the Pames make. The Indians travel far hunting for the plant, the leaves of which grow like those of a fern but have sharp-pointed tips and are a dark green color. They look for the plants that have a tan, velvety-covered growth just above the ground, the size of a person's head. This is broken open to find the hundreds of nut-like balls which are gathered and taken home.

In the evening the family sit around cracking the hard shells of the

nuts with their teeth, and the cook with a knife splits the round, white meat into several pieces. After thorough boiling, the poison water is poured off, and the cooked **chamal** is ground into **masa** on the **metate**. Then the **masa** is shaped into **tamales** of solid **chamal**, wrapped in corn husks and cooked again in a big clay pot. Served hot the **tamale de chamal** tastes like very solid meat loaf and is very filling. However, the nutritive content is questionable, and a diet in famine time of nothing but **chamales** for 3 weeks causes temporary paralysis of the lower limbs.

⁴The words in parentheses are reconstructed text which I failed to record.

⁵A candle made of goat tallow is burned in the night when one prays to the devil for help.

⁶**Bolime**, we have been told, is the Spanish word for the big, ceremonial **tamale**. It may be a regional term unknown in other parts of Mexico, as we cannot find it in the **Diccionario de Mejicanismos** by Francisco J. Santamaría (1959).