

A SPECIMEN OF OLDER PIMA BAJO

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Presented here is a selection of sentences from the *Confessionario en Lengua Pima* as transcribed by Smith (1862). This material is presented as speech events (pairs of questions and answers) that could have actually happened during a confession. The topic is the Third Commandment, which has to do with the observation of the Sabbath. The questions are of the type that a man might have been asked.

An older variety of Pima Bajo (Sonora, Mexico), as opposed to Pima Alta or Piman (Pima and Papago dialects), is known to us through the *Arte de la Lengua Pima o ... Nevome*, which is also transcribed in Smith (1862). The *Arte* is accompanied in the same manuscript by a *Doctrina* and the *Confessionario*. A manuscript *Vocabulario* existed as a companion volume to the *Arte*. Benz (ca. 1796) may be a copy of this *Vocabulario*. Pennington (1979) has transcribed this *Vocabulario*. He (1979:xix) attributes these materials to Baltasar de Loaysa (1608 to 1692). This would date our oldest record of Pima Bajo between 1650 and 1670, considerably earlier than most of the previous suggestions about the material's age. Presumably the *Sermons in the Pima Language* (Moyano, n.d.) belong to this tradition, which centered around the town of Ónavas. Previous work on Pima Bajo was done by the first missionary in Ónavas, Fr. Francisco Oliñano, who worked there from 1621 to 1647.

A record of the last stages of Pima Bajo in Ónavas is found in Hale (1964, 1979). An accurate English translation of Smith (1862) is Thorn (1978), and a grammatical synopsis of the early material is Shaul (1979).

Although a historical synthesis has not yet been attempted,

a number of archaic features have been noted in Nevome. Among these are the following.

- (1) /p t k/ exist as voiceless and voiced allophones; in Piman these differences have become phonemic.
- (2) /t d/ has been palatalized to /č ʃ/ before the vowels /i ɨ u/.
- (3) /n/ has not palatalized before /i ɨ/.
- (4) stem-final vowels have not been reduced to voiceless /ɨ/.

Undoubtedly, there are perhaps other features of Nevome that are conservative.

An explanation of the phonemes of Nevome (interpreted from the original orthography), abbreviations used in textual analysis, and references cited are given below. Notes to Smith's transcribed Spanish translation (given along with an English translation) follow the text.

Orthography and Suggested Phonemic Interpretation

Each grouping represents a phoneme. Vowels are as in Spanish, except for /ɨ/, which is an unrounded high central vowel. Consonants are similar to Spanish: stops are unaspirated and vary in voicing. Other distinctions are noted beside individual items.¹

¹ Pennington (1979:3) notes that 'Presumably, the apostrophes in words such as *a'agui* indicate contractions... However, the compiler of the vocabulary was not consistent in the use of the symbol; it might also have been used to indicate a glottal.'

<i>Orthography</i>	<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<a>	/a/	
<p b>	/p - b/	
<c k qu g>	/k - g/	
<t d>	/t - d/	
<e>	/ʔ/	Low frequency.
<h j gu>	/h/	
<i>	/i/	
<l>	/l/	Spanish loans only.
<m>	/m/	
<n>	/n/	
<o>	/o/	
<r>	/r/	Tap or allophone of <i>rh</i> .
<rh>	/ɽ/ or /d/	Retroflex, alveolar (?).
<s>	/s/	
<u v>	/u/ or /i/	
<v b>	/w - bilabial v/	
<x>	/ʃ/	Retroflex.

Abbreviations

<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Example</i>
APL	applicative	-ta (with verbs)
AUX	auxiliary	(various)
CAUS	causative	-ta (with nouns)
COND	conditional	-na
IMPERF	imperfective aspect	-ca(da)
LOC	locative	(various)
NEG	negative	pim(a)
Q	question	n-
s.o.	someone/who?	hucudoí
s.t.	something/what?	haitu

Bibliography on Pima Bajo

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TERCER MANDAMIENTO
Third Commandment

- 1 N'api doming'-ab' fiest-ab' vpu teop'-vrha vapcu?**
Q-AUX Sunday-LOC feast-LOC also church-in enter

¿Por ventura los domingos y fiestas entras en la Iglesia?
Do you go into the Church on Sundays and holidays?

- 2 N'api doming'-ab' fiest-ab' vpu humosuri Misa nuidda?**
Q-AUX Sunday-LOC feast-LOC also always Mass hear

¿Por ventura los domingos y fiestas siempre oyes Misa?
Do you always hear Mass on Sundays and holidays?

- 3a Huquio pim' ap'ta teip'-vra vapcu?**
how many NEG AUX church-in enter?

¿Cuántas veces no entraste en la Iglesia?
How many times did you not go into the Church?

- 3b Pim'-huquio. - Pima muiho.**
NEG so many NEG many

No muchas.
Not many (times).

Huquio an't'igui teip'-vrha vapcu.
so many AUX church-in enter

Algunas veces no he entrado en la Iglesia.
Sometimes I have not entered the Church.²

- 3c Humosuri teop'-vrha an'-igui vapcu; pim' an-iguido s'paparhumu.**
always church-in AUX enter NEG AUX-when be slow (?)

Siempre entro en la Iglesia. No hago falta.
I always go to Church; I have never been slow.

² The Nevome text clearly states that "so many (times that is, most of the time), I have gone into the Church", thus negating Smith's Spanish translation.

4 N'api doming-'aba, fiest-'aba vpu humosuri

Q-AUX Sunday-LOC feast-LOC also always

m-'arri-cada Teop-'vrha vapqui-ta-ni?

your-charges church-in enter-APL-COND

¿Mandas que los tuyos, y que estan á tu cargo, entren en la Iglesia?

Do you order that yours and those in your charge go to Church?

5 Huquio pim-ap'ta misa nuhi?

how many NEG-AUX Mass heard

¿Cuántas veces no oiste misa?

How many times did you not hear Mass?

6 N-'apt' iquido coi misa natoa-ca Teop-'vrha urhu vusa?

Q-AUX sometimes not yet Mass finish-IMPERF church-in LOC(?) back to exit

¿Por ventura en alguna ocasion te has salido de la Iglesia antes de acabar la misa?

Have you on some occasion left the Church before the Mass was finished?

7 N'api Teop'-vra Padre misa ha(b)-buada aigo

Q-AUX church-in priest Mass thus-do elsewhere

muhida hohoqui vui aspu musi?

many old women toward or

¿En la Iglesia, estando el Padre diciendo misa, miras a otra parte, ó á las mugeres?

In Church, (when) the Father is saying (doing) Mass, do you (look) elsewhere or at the married women?

8 N'api Teop'-vra Padre misa ha(b)-buada s-apua ton'-aba cux-ca?

Q-AUX church-in priest Mass thus-do very-good knee-on bend-IMPERF

¿En la Iglesia, cuando el Padre dice misa, te hincas bien de rodillas?

In Church, when the Father says Mass, do you kneel well?

- 9 Aspumusi posa daibua? Aspumusi posa titibi?**
or but sitting or but playing?

Aspumusi posa huhumatcama vumatu nuocu?
or but people with speak

¿O quizás te estás sentado, ó quizás juegas, ó te estás hablando, ó conversando con la gente?

Or do you (remain) sitting, or do you play, or do you talk or converse with the other people?

- 10a N'-ap'ta doming'-aba, fiest'-aba vpu haitu açida?**
Q-AUX Sunday-LOC feast-LOC also s.t. make

¿Por ventura en domingo, ó fiesta, has hecho alguna cosa?
On Sunday or a holiday did you make some object?

- 10b Hait' an't'igui ha(b)-pu(a)da.**
s.t. AUX thus-do

He hecho algo.
I made something.

- 10c N'-ap'ta sicoa?**
Q-AUX weeded

¿Por ventura has tlaspanado?
Have you weeded?

- 11 N'-ap'ta mu- husi tugisi?**
Q-AUX your-field cleaned

¿Por ventura limpiaste tu sembrado?
Have you cleaned your field (on the Sabbath)?

- 12 N'-ap'ta juju-ta?**
Q-AUX arrows-CAUS

¿Has por ventura hecho flechas?
Have you made arrows?

- 13 N'-ap'ta gat-ta?**
Q-AUX bow-CAUS

¿Has hecho arco?
Have you made a bow?

- 14 N'-ap'ta baica-ta?**
Q-AUX ditch-CAUS

¿Has hecho acequia para regar?
Have you made a ditch to irrigate?

- 15 N'-ap' babi buy ohasi-ta?**
Q-AUX bean(s) toward plot-CAUS

¿Has hecho eras para frijol?
Have you made a plot for beans?

- 16 N'-ap'ta vuica-ta?**
Q-AUX digging stick-CAUS

¿Has hecho coa para tlaspanar?
Have you made a *coa* (digging stick) for weeding?

- 17 N'-ap' sigui uriraca moi-cada?**
Q-AUX deer skin moist-IMPERF

¿Has ablandado cueros de venado?
Have you softened the skin of a deer?

- 18 N'-ap'ta huhu humai-ta?**
Q-AUX arrows feather-CAUS

¿Has puesto plumas en las flechas?
Have you put feathers on arrows?

- 19 N'-ap'ta qui-ta?**
Q-AUX house-CAUS

¿Has hecho casa?
Have you made a house?

- 20 N'-ap'ta haitu toabada?**
Q-AUX s.t. carry

¿Por ventura has acarreado alguna cosa?
Have you carried anything?

- 21a N'-ap'ta gupio haitu (h)asi-tu? ario aspumusi?**
Q-AUX many s.t. thus-do short while or

¿Has trabajado largo tiempo? ¿quizás breve?
Have you worked a long time? A short time?

- 21b Pim' an't'igui gupio haitu (h)asi-tu;**
NEG AUX many s.t. thus-do

ario an't'igui natoa; ario an't'igui daquitoa.³
short while AUX finished short while AUX ceased

No trabajé largo tiempo; en breve lo acabé; en breve lo dejé.

I did not work for a long time; I finished it before long; I stopped it before long.

- 22a N'-ap'ta hucudoí doming'-aba, fiest'-aba vpu haitu apsi dunitu?**

Q-AUX s.o. Sunday-LOC feast-LOC also s.t. or do

¿Por ventura, hiciste trabajar á alguno en domingo, ó fiesta?

Did you work for someone on Sunday or a holiday?

- 22b Pim' hucudoí an't'igui haitu apsi dunitu.**
NEG s.o. AUX s.t. or do

A ninguno he hecho trabajar.
I have not done work for anyone.

³ The Nevome text states "do many things" instead of "a long while".

Resumen

Se presenta en este trabajo una selección de pequeños textos, tomados del *Confessionario en lengua pima*, según la transcripción de Buckingham Smith (1862). Dicho *Confessionario*, junto con otros manuscritos en pima bajo, se atribuye a Baltasar de Loaysa (1608-1692). De ser así, como lo hace notar el autor de este trabajo, estos textos serían los testimonios más antiguos en pima bajo.