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#### **Author**

Joel, Judith

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# Some Paipai Accounts of Food Gathering

JUDITH JOËL

**T**HE 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.<sup>1</sup>

In the following brief accounts, the Paipai describe some of these activities in their own language. Tuna, datil, piñon, 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provide some examples of discourse in what is still one of the least-known Yuman languages and (2) record some hitherto unpublished data on food gathering and food processing, using the terms of the Paipai and making the distinctions they make.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.

*kətu(-k)*<sup>2</sup> '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:

*məwar* 'pinol'. In addition to the pinol of dried tuna fruits, juniper berries, mesquite beans, acorns, and dried corn, *məwar* was also used once to refer to crushed charcoal (used in tattooing). Linguistic evidence suggests that *məwar* 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: *tɯwá:(-k)* and *tɯyéł*, both translated 'moler'. One consultant explained the difference between them by saying that *tɯwá:k* is used when the substance is dry, such as wheat being made into flour, while *tɯyéł* is used in the case of wet substances, such as maize when making nixtamal (tortilla dough). Moist acorn pulp, for example, is ground (*tɯyéł*) after first having been crushed (*kətuk*), soaked, leached, and squeezed to remove excess moisture. *tɯwá:k* is also used to describe the grinding of earth to make clay and occurs in a phrase meaning pulverized charcoal. In contrast to *kətuk*, both *tɯwá:k* and *tɯyéł* refer to fine grinding, the final process in a sequence.

Three other words in the same semantic area are *təcoq*, *təpak*, and *təlam*, all translated

'machucar'. The first word is used in referring to the pounding of fresh mescal leaves in a bed-rock 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 (*kətuk*) 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)* 'tatar', 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* 'tatar'. 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 lechuguilla 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.

*təʔol* '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*).

*šumwé:(-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

*tumwé*: 'to heat up [a cold child, cold coffee]').

*cašay* '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 \**ašay* 'be greasy'.)

*umiyá:v* 'hacer; cocinar'. This is a very general term used to describe making or fixing many things, food included. It is often used to mean preparing a meal: *cmac ʔumiyá:v* 'hice comida' (I fixed food).

*šumkwín* '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 *šumkwín*, it is first necessary that the seeds be ground fine, either dry (*tuwá:k*) or wet (*tiyéł*).

## 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.<sup>3</sup>

### *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.

<i>xtéhə</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>ya:k</i>	<i>kəmi:g</i> <sup>5</sup>
la-tuna	junto	y-las-trajo
the-tuna	one-gathers	one-brings-them-back

<i>tas</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>ñixáy</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>si:v</i> <sup>8</sup>	/
lo-pasan	el-caldo	lo-tome	
one-splits-them-open	the-juice	one-drinks	

*xté tásha Y*      *ñi?rú:bəm*      *ñi?sa?*  
 la-tuna-pasada      c.-se-seca      esa  
 the-opened-tuna      when-it-dries      this

*kətú*      *məwar yo:v*      *kəsce?mat?*  
 lo-machuca      hace-pinol      ollas-de-barro  
 one-pounds-it      one-makes-pinol      clay-pots

*poq<sup>10</sup>*      *cəwomə*      *ñi?sa?*  
 alli-lo-echan      lo-aguarda      esa  
 one-dumps-it-there      one-puts-it-away      this

*ñaxcú:rəm*      *məwar ma:v*  
 en-el-invierno      comen-el-pinol  
 in-the-winter      one-eats-the-pinol

*šəqi si:v<sup>11</sup>*      /      *ñuwák*  
 lo-echan-el-agua-y-lo-tomen      y-después  
 one-adds-water-and-drinks-it      and-also

*ñixáyya?*      *tə?ol*      *kəsce matl?ut<sup>12</sup>*  
 el-caldo      lo-cuesan      lo-echan-en-una-olla  
 the-juice      one-cooks-it      one-pours-it-into-a-pot

*?ut cəwok*      *ñi?sa?*      *ñaxcú:r*  
 lo-aguarda      esa      en-el-invierno  
 one-puts-it-away      this      in-the-winter

*si:v*      /      *ñapay ñi?sám bə?o:v*      *bywí:r*  
 lo-tomen      hasta-aquí-se-acabó      no-mas  
 one-drinks-it      that's-all-there-is      it's-finished

*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.

### ***bənat* (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.

*bənátha?*      *ñi?sa*      *tas*      *tərub*  
 el-datil      esa      lo-pasa      lo-seca  
 the-datil      this      one-opens-it      one-dries-it

*payəm mi:v<sup>13</sup>*      *tə?ol*      *ñixáy*  
 y-después      lo-cuesa      el-caldo  
 and-then-later      one-cooks-it      the-juice

*si:v*      /      *bənátha?*      *kúl?úlkha<sup>14</sup>*      *pa:ytəm*  
 lo-toma      el-datil      la-bola      todo  
 one-drinks      the-datil      the-pods (?)      all

*kíyá:t*      *kəmi:k*      *əmat xsó:l<sup>15</sup>*  
 los-corta      traje      en-hoyo  
 one-cuts-them      one-brings-back      into-a-pit

*sal poq<sup>16</sup>*      *ta?wirR*  
 lo-echa      lo-amontona  
 one-dumps-them      one-piles-them-up

*iwi:ləm cinú:c<sup>17</sup>*      *ñam xəməkəm<sup>18</sup>*  
 los-tapa-con-rama      a-los-tres-días  
 one-covers-them-with-branches      in-three-days

*?ši:tk*      *ñulmak*      *ñi?sa?*      *yo:k*  
 algunas      se-maduran      y-ese      los-agarra  
 some      ripen      and-these      one-takes-them

*ñá:k poq yok<sup>19</sup>*  
 lo-tiende-en-el-sol  
 one-puts-them-in-the-sun

*ñaxab<sup>20</sup>*  
 los-echa-en-el-sol-por-todo-el-día  
 one-leaves-them-in-the-sun-all-day

*ñamhəxka:yəm<sup>21</sup>*      *tas*      *ñá?payəm*  
 otro-día-lo-pasa      y-después  
 next-day-one-opens-them      and-then

*ñuc wí:r nəmak*<sup>22</sup>      *ñā?pay*    *ya:m*  
 los-deja-tapado      y-después    va  
 one-leaves-them-covered    and-then    one-goes

*xkáy ya:k*<sup>23</sup>      *kəmi:k*  
 a-juntar-mas      traer-mas  
 to-gather-more    to-bring-more

*poq*<sup>24</sup> *ñubəwík kunu*      *ñapay*    *wí:r*    /  
 así-lo-está-haciendo      después    se-acaba  
 this-is-what-they're-doing    and-then    they-finish

*ñi?sa Y*    *má:təwí:ulik*<sup>25</sup>      *bəti:nolík*  
 esa      tiene-mucha-cáscara    muy-grueso  
 this      has-a-lot-of-shell      very-thick

*ka?šitəm*<sup>26</sup>    *xəmal xuwák xəməkəm yok*<sup>27</sup>  
 luego      junto-dos-o-tres-sacos  
 right-away    one-gets-two-or-three-sacks

*Free translation.* 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 gather-

ing 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. *mat?a:nk*<sup>28</sup>    *treyntaseys*    *yu:həm*  
 el-año      treinta-y-seis    ese-tiempo  
 the-year      thirty-six      then

*yak ?natəpatc*<sup>29</sup>    *?niyá:m*      *əmətxwá:lhe*<sup>30</sup>  
 aquí-salimos      nos-fuimos    en-la-Sierra  
 we-left-here      we-went      into-the-Sierra

*sey ?niyá:m*<sup>31</sup>      *kxo ñuwá:y*<sup>32</sup>    /    *tiñá:btək*  
 hasta-allá-vamos    a-los-piñones    en-la-AM  
 we-go-there      to-the-piñons      in-the-AM

*?ntəpatc*    *ñáñitiñé:m*    *sey ?nakam*  
 salimos      en-la-tarde    allá-llegamos  
 we-left      in-the-PM    we-arrived-there

*xapu: íche*<sup>33</sup>      *mat ñi?sak*  
 Bajio-del-Toro, -hasta-allá    en-este-lugar  
 to-Bajio-del-Toro      in-this-place

*?yok*      *kxo ku:β*<sup>34</sup>      /    *ñā?nkam*  
 estabamos    piscando-piñón      c.-llegamos  
 we-were      picking-piñon      when-we-arrived

*ñā?šma:c*      *ñáñikiyé:k*  
 dormimos      otro-día-en-la-AM  
 when-we-slept    next-morning

*ñā?pay ñā?nama:nc*      *?ku:l*    *xukyeyw*  
 comenzamos      a-piscar    carga  
 [and-then]-when-we-began    to-pick    loads

*xəwakəm*    *ca?wam*      *bú:Ros*    *sah xú?kyéywíc*  
 dos      llevamos      burros    ese-lo-cargamos  
 two      we-carried    burros    these-we-loaded

*tiñá:btək*      *xukyeyw xuwák cakmi:g*  
 en-la-AM      trajimos-dos-cargas  
 in-the-AM      we-brought-two-loads

<i>ñátiñé:</i> y-en-la-tarde in-the-PM	<i>xokyeyw xuwáki</i> dos-cargas-también two-loads-also	<i>ñam tát'o:r</i> todos-los-días everyday	<i>i'i:b bātem</i> <sup>39</sup> un-palo-grueso a-thick-stick	<i>cíyá:w</i> agarramos we-take-it	<i>ñu<sup>2</sup>cpaqc</i> lo-garroteamos we-beat-it
<i>ñubyum</i> así thus	<i>cakāmi:g ?unú:k</i> trajimos-todo-el-tiempo we-were-bringing-back	<i>?ñecəY</i> nosotros we	<i>kxo kúl'úlkha</i> <sup>40</sup> la-piña the-pinecones	<i>ñacpaqcəm</i> c.-lo-garroteamos when-we-beat-them	<i>yé:cha Y<sup>41</sup></i> la-semilla the-seeds
<i>xopak</i> somos-cuatro are-four	<i>?ku:l sakyaw</i> piscamos por-eso we-pick therefore	<i>?té:olim</i> mucho a-lot	<i>yé:mik poq</i> se-caen-solo fall-out-by-themselves	<i>yé:cha Y</i> la-semilla the-seeds	<i>pa:ytəkə</i> todos all
<i>?ña:k</i> en-el-día in-a-day	<i>ciyumkc ku:l ña<sup>2</sup>unú:k</i> juntamos c.-estamos-piscando we-gather when-we're-picking		<i>poq</i> se-cae fall-out	<i>ñubəwi:rəm</i> c.-se-acaba when-it's-done	<i>kərubha</i> <sup>42</sup> los-secos the-dry-shells (?)
<i>ñam tát'o:r</i> todos-los-días everyday	<i>?ña:m bāmas xəwak</i> <sup>35</sup> a-los-veinte-días twenty-days		<i>ñi<sup>2</sup>sa oxiñ</i> esa lo-quitamos this we-remove	<i>poqc</i> tiramos throw-away	<i>payəm</i> y-después and-then
<i>ñi<sup>2</sup>ñubyum</i> en-esos-días then	<i>ñapay ?ši:lc</i> después tatemamos then we-roast	<i>ñuwak</i> y-después and-also	<i>yé:cha<sup>2</sup> həxpír</i> la-pura-semilla just-seeds	<i>pic</i> queda remain	<i>ñā<sup>2</sup>payəm</i> y-después and-then
<i>kxóha Y</i> el-piñón the-piñon	<i>ta<sup>2</sup>wircəm</i> lo-amontonamos we-pile-it-up	<i>ñuwak</i> y-después and-also	<i>ñisa Y</i> esa these	<i>yé:cha<sup>2</sup> ñáciyá:w</i> la-semilla c.-agarramos the-seeds when-we-take-them	<i>bande:xa</i> en-la-bandeja the-tray
<i>yé:mik</i> sola by-themselves	<i>kak</i> si-abre they-open	<i>ñisaciya:w</i> esa-agarramos these-we-take	<i>sa<sup>2</sup>l poq<sup>43</sup></i> echamos-allí we-dump-them-in-it	<i>xubsi:v<sup>44</sup></i> [no gloss] toss-up (?)	
<i>?ña:k</i> en-el-sol in-the-sun	<i>ilpa:c</i> lo-tendemos we-spread-them-out		<i>kəriyé:xəbkiyá:wa</i> <sup>45</sup> pa <sup>2</sup> que-se-limpia so-they-get-clean	<i>ñixəyu.</i> <sup>46</sup> c.-hace-viento when-there's-wind	
<i>ñi<sup>2</sup>sa Y niru:v</i> <sup>36</sup> c.-se-seca when-they-are-dry	<i>yé:mik bəlá:wik</i> <sup>37</sup> solo si-abren alone they-open (?)	<i>xanəm</i> bien well	<i>kašitəm</i> luegito right-away	<i>kəriyé:g</i> se-limpia they-get-clean	<i>yuso</i> pero but
<i>ñapayəm</i> después then	<i>ñi<sup>2</sup>sa ?ukwe:yk</i> ese volvemos these we-return	<i>xəlpu:l<sup>38</sup> əckwak</i> echar-en-una-redi to-put-into-a-redi	<i>xayú: ñitəməm</i> c.-no-hace-viento when-there's-no-wind	<i>kos kərye: teməm</i> no no-se-limpia not they-don't-get-clean	

<i>payəm</i>	<i>ʔəkəriyé:g</i>	<i>ñácuwír</i>	<i>ñacəwír</i>	<i>ñapayəm</i>	<i>ña:k</i>	
y-después	lo-limpiamos	c.-acabamos	c.-acabamos	y-después	en-el-sol	
and-then	we-clean-them	when-we-finish	when-we-finish	and-then	in-the-sun	
<i>ʔxmál poqc<sup>47</sup></i>		<b>II.</b> <i>ñuwak</i>	<i>ʔəlpabc</i>	<i>ñisa Y</i>	<i>ʔñá:kíyák</i>	
echamos-en-el-saco		y-después	lo-tendemos	ese	está-en-el-sol	
we-pour-them-in-a-sack		and-then	we-spread-them	these	are-in-the-sun	
<i>ʔəxómáha<sup>48</sup></i>	<i>ñisa</i>	<i>iʔi:pá:y</i>	<i>ñaxab</i>	<i>ñáñíkíyé:k</i>	<i>tiñá:btulim</i>	
el-piñón-cocido	esa	juntar-leña	todo-el-día	en-la-AM	muy-temprano	
the-roasted-piñon	this	gather-firewood	all-day	next-morning	very-early	
<i>taʔwírc</i>	<i>tə:k xanəm<sup>49</sup></i>	<i>ñapay</i>	<i>aʔá:bc</i>	<i>yum</i>	<i>ña:cpakkəm<sup>52</sup></i>	
lo-amontonamos	mucha	después	lo-garroteamos	eso	c.-sale-el-sol	
we-pile-it-up	plenty	and-then	we-beat-them	then (?)	at-sunrise	
<i>ʔkxóhaʔ</i>	<i>kúlʔúlkha</i>	<i>icciya:w</i>	<i>ñubwicəm</i>	<i>ʔRru:yulik</i>	<i>sákiyá:wa<sup>53</sup></i>	
el-piñón	la-bolita	agarramos	así-lo-hacen	por-que-va-hacer-mucho-calor	one-does-thus because-it'll-get-very-hot	
the-piñon	the-cones	we-take-them				
<i>iwilhaʔ ca:v<sup>50</sup></i>	<i>poqc</i>		<i>ñuwak</i>	<i>kxókákšú:ha<sup>54</sup></i>	<i>ñiʔsa Y</i>	<i>ñáʔrRu:yəm</i>
arriba-la-rama	lo-echamos		y-después	la-piña-verde	esa	c.-hace-calor
on-top-of-the-brush	we-dump-them		and	the-green-cone	this	when-it's-hot
<i>ñáʔcuwír</i>	<i>ñapay</i>	<i>ñuʔlʔtu:mc<sup>51</sup></i>	<i>na:y wí:ulik<sup>55</sup></i>	<i>ñísákkíyá:w</i>	<i>ñátíñé:ulim</i>	
c.-acabamos	y-después	lo-prendimos-fuego	tiene-mucha-trementina	por-eso	muy-tarde	
when-we-finish	and-then	we-light-the-fire	it-has-a-lot-of-pitch	therefore	very-late	
<i>iwilha Y</i>	<i>ñíkwa:təm</i>	<i>pa:yəm</i>	<i>əxóha Y</i>	<i>šaqc</i>	<i>ñuwak</i>	<i>tiñá:btulim</i>
la-rama	c.-sí-arden	después	la-piña	lo-garrotean	y-después	muy-temprano
the-brush	when-it-burns	then	the-cones	one-beats-them	and	very-early
<i>ye:mək</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>ñikakəm</i>	<i>kosəm</i>	<i>ʔná:yha Y<sup>56</sup></i>		
solo	se-abre	c.-se-abre	pa'-que-la-trementina	so-that-the-pitch		
by-themselves	they-open	when-they-open				
<i>ñisaʔ</i>	<i>icciyá:w</i>	<i>qakwar</i>	<i>ʔpoqc</i>	<i>kos yechək</i>	<i>tublic tem</i>	<i>hubkiyá:wa<sup>57</sup></i>
esa	agarramos	afuera	lo-tiramos	no-se-pega-en-la-semilla		doesn't-stick-to-the-seeds
these	we-take	outside	we-toss-them			
<i>ñapayəm</i>	<i>iʔicciyá:w</i>	<i>aʔa:bc</i>	<i>ñiʔñubwik</i>	<i>ʔkxóhah</i>	<i>umiyá:b</i>	<i>kunú:k<sup>58</sup></i>
y-después	agarramos-un-palo	lo-garroteamos	así	la-piña	lo-trabajan	
and-then	we-take-a-stick	we-beat-them	that's-the-way	the-pinecone	they-prepare-it	

<i>xáspúypáymha</i> Y <sup>59</sup> III. <i>ago:sto kínze o bé:nte</i> los-Indios en-agosto-quince-o-veinte the-Indians August-15-or-20	<i>kxókákha</i> Y <sup>66</sup> c.-sí-abre-la-piña the open-pinecones	<i>ñi'sa'</i> esa for-them	<i>áxóhah</i> el-piñón the-piñon
<i>ñi'sam yak niyá:m</i> ese-día de-aquí-van then they-depart-here	<i>sey yok</i> estaban-allá they-are-there	<i>nəkəpa:k i'i:m</i> se-suben con-un-palo they-climb with-a-stick	<i>šaqc payəm</i> lo-pegan y-después they-hit-them and-then
<i>septyembre kators</i> septiembre-catorce September-14	<i>yu:hym ñukwe:yk nəkab</i> <sup>60</sup> ese-día volvieron-a-venir then they-return-again	<i>yé:chaY ma:tək poq</i> <sup>67</sup> la-semilla se-caen-al-suelo the-seed falls-to-the-ground	<i>ñi'sa' ciyu:mck</i> eso lo-juntan this they-collect
<i>ñi'sam kxocakmi:k</i> en-ese trajeron-piñón then they-bring-piñon	<i>kuwí:k ña'pay</i> a-vender y-después to-sell and-then	<i>xəmal poq</i> lo-echan-en-el-saco they-dump-in-a-sack	<i>ñulyo:k pá:haY</i> algunos la-gente some the-people
<i>icmac tərš'a:t</i> comida compraron food they-buy	<i>cawam</i> <sup>61</sup> pa'-llevarla to-carry	<i>ñi'sey yok</i> allá-estaban yonder-they-are	<i>ñate:k</i> c.-son-muchos when-they-are-many
<i>ʔcmáçah ma:v</i> la-comida lo-comen the-food they-eat	<i>ña'pay</i> y-después and-then	<i>ciyá:w</i> lo-juntan they-collect	<i>ñuwák pá:haY</i> y-después la-gente and the-people
<i>təkwe:yk terscá:c</i> <sup>62</sup> vuelven-a-trabajar they-return-to-work	<i>ñiyok</i> c.-estaban when-they-are (-there)	<i>ñicpa:y</i> si-son-pocos when-they're-few	<i>xəmal šitəm ʔnña:k</i> un-saco en-el-día one-sack in-a-day
<i>septyé:mbre buwí:r</i> septiembre se-acaba September ends	<i>do:s tre:s yu:həm</i> <sup>63</sup> el-día-dos-o-tres the-second-or-third	<i>ciyá:w</i> lo-juntan they-collect	<i>kxoye:c šubhə'</i> el-grano crudo the-seed raw
<i>ʔnəkab bó:cka</i> <sup>64</sup> vuelven-a-venir they-come-home	<i>seyʔñapayəm</i> <sup>65</sup> allá-estaban there-and	<i>kxóhaY</i> el-piñón the piñon	<i>cankəmi:k</i> c.-lo-traen when-they-bring-it-back
<i>ñi'sam pa:ytaçə</i> ese-tiempo todos now all	<i>kak buwí:r</i> se-abren-todos finish-opening	<i>wukwé:yk šumwe:k</i> vuelven-a tostar they-again toast-it	<i>pu:c</i> lo-echan they-dump-them
<i>tuwí:k bo:c</i> la-mitad-se-vinieron half-come-home	<i>tuwí:k</i> y-la-mitad and-half	<i>sey pitc</i> quedaron-allá stay-there	<i>ñicəwír</i> c.-se-acaban when-they-finish
			<i>ña'payəm</i> y-después and-then



<i>sey kápitchaY</i>	<i>pa:ytaka</i>
los-que-se-quedaron-allá	todos
those-who-stayed-there	all

<i>bo:c nakab</i>	<i>ñubəwík</i>
se-vienen	así-lo-hacen
they-come-home	that's-how

<i>umiyá:v kunu:c</i>	<i>ʔəxohəʔ</i>
lo-están-haciendo	del-piñón
they're-preparing	the-piñón

*Free translation.* (Part I) In the year 1936 we left and went to the Sierra, to the piñon groves. In the morning we left, and in the evening we got there, to Bajío del Toro. That's where we were, picking piñon. 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 piñons 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 piñon. 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 piñon.

(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 piñon to sell, and they bought food to take back to the groves. They were up there, eating these provisions. They start working (at the piñon) 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 piñon.

#### *sña:w* (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.

<i>sñá:wha?</i> la-bellota the-bitter-acorn	<i>ñi?sa?</i> <i>?nñuwá:y</i> esa van-a-las-bellotas this one-goes-to-the-groves	<i>matxsol</i> <sup>71</sup> <i>əwí:r</i> <i>?ca:v</i> <i>mátha?</i> hoyo acabamos arriba en-la-tierra pit we-finish on-top on-the-ground
<i>cakmi:g</i> lo-trajeron one-brings-them-back	<i>ñi?sa?</i> <i>ukweyk</i> esa lo-vuelven these one-returns-them	<i>?kamal</i> <i>tum?oq</i> <sup>72</sup> <i>ñacəwír</i> un-saco lo-tendemos c.-acabamos a-sack we-stretch-across (?) when-we-finish
<i>təqərye:c</i> a-limpiar to-clean-them	<i>kúkúl?úlkha</i> <sup>68</sup> <i>?xpi:k</i> la-bolita en-el-metate the-acorns on-a-metate	<i>payəm</i> <i>?sñá:w</i> <i>məwá:rha?</i> <i>wamsahpoq</i> <sup>73</sup> y-después la-bellota el-pinol allí-lo-echamos and-then the-acorns the-pinol we-put-it-there
<i>?ckwak</i> lo-echan one-puts-them	<i>?talame</i> <i>ñacəwír</i> lo-machucan c.-lo-acaban one-pounds when-we-finish	<i>ñá?wí:r</i> <i>?xah</i> <i>ñúlu?útc</i> <i>?unu:cəm</i> <sup>74</sup> c.-acabo agua lo-echamos-allí when-I-finish water we-keep-pouring-it-there
<i>?nñá:k</i> <i>əpoqc</i> <i>ñá:k</i> <i>ñaxab</i> <sup>69</sup> en-el-sol lo-echamos todo-el-día in-the-sun we-dump-them all-day		<i>ñá?payəm</i> <i>ká?lxáchaY</i> <i>cpa:g</i> <i>ñúbuwírəm</i> <sup>75</sup> y-después lo-amargo c.-sale-todo and-then the-bitterness when-it's-all-gone
<i>ñáñikyé:k</i> <i>təqərye:c</i> <i>sáqha?</i> otro-día lo-limpiamos la-cáscara next-day we-clean-them the-shells		<i>ñá?payəm</i> <i>?ciya:w</i> <i>?ləsik</i> <sup>76</sup> <i>?cəwírR</i> y-después agarramos colar acabamos and-then we-take-it we-squeeze-it we-finish
<i>uxi:nc</i> <i>ñá?cəwír</i> <i>nñá:k</i> lo-quitamos c.-acabamos en-el-sol we-remove when-we-finish in-the-sun		<i>ñá?payəm</i> <i>?əxpi:g</i> <i>?tiyélc</i> y-después en-metate lo-molimos and-then on-a-metate we-grind-it
<i>nəlpə:c</i> <i>rú:vhubkiyá:wa</i> <i>ñirubəm</i> lo-tendemos pa'que-se-seca c.-se-secan we-spread-them to-get-dry when-they're-dry		<i>ñá?cəwír</i> <i>ñá?payəm</i> <i>kəscéhal</i> c.-acabamos y-después en-la-olla when-we-finish and-then in-the-jar
<i>?ciya:w</i> <i>xəmal</i> <i>poqc</i> lo-agarramos echamos-en-el-saco we-take-them pour-them-in-a-sack		<i>?laq</i> <sup>77</sup> <i>payəm</i> <i>šumkwinc</i> lo-echamos y-después hacer-atol we-pour-it and-then to-make-mush
<i>ñubwik</i> <i>ñá?yok</i> <sup>70</sup> <i>ñá?payəm</i> <i>sñá:wha?</i> c.-estamos-haciendo-así y-después la-bellota when-we're-doing-thus (?) and-then the-acorns		<i>šumkwinc</i> <i>ñá?cəwír</i> <i>pay</i> <i>?ma:vc</i> c.-acabamos-de-hacer-atol después-comemos when-we-finish-making-mush then-we-eat
<i>ñi?sah</i> <i>tuwá:k</i> <i>wí:r</i> <i>ñá?payəm</i> esa lo-molimos c.-acabamos después these we-grind-them finish and-then		<i>sñá:whə</i> <i>icmac</i> <i>xánoli</i> <sup>78</sup> la-bellota es-muy-buena-comida the-bitter-acorn is-very-good-food

*pákuríyákhaY*<sup>79</sup> *ñubucxpír ma:v*<sup>80</sup> *ñísákíyá:w*  
 gente-de-antes comen-puro-de-eso por-eso  
 the-ancestors ate-only-this therefore

*pákuríyákhaY saY niyó:m*<sup>81</sup> *ciyúmkolic*  
 gente-de-antes cuando-hay lo-junta-mucho  
 the-ancestors when-there-are they-gather-a-lot

*sñá:w šúmkwínhaY ña?Rəru:y*  
 la-bellota, -el-atol c.-está-caliente  
 the-bitter-acorn-mush when-it's-hot

*xay ñusopa:k pay*  
 se-hace-como-agua c.-está-frío y-después  
 it's-watery when-it's-cold then

*əwíR matkuryut sñá:whaY*  
 se-hace-duro antes la-bellota  
 it's-hard long-ago the-bitter-acorn

*əpállolim yu:c*<sup>82</sup> *yúso vam kos pal tem*<sup>83</sup>  
 se-da-mucho pero ahora-no-se-da  
 it-bore-abundantly but now-it-doesn't-bear

*mat'a:nk té:wulim ñuwa:m*  
 muchos-años lleva- (que-no-se-dan)  
 many-years it's-been (?)

*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.



Paipai informants, Santa Catarina, Baja California Norte: upper, Joséfina Ochurte; lower, Priciliana Flores. Photographs by Ralph Michelson, 1975.

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].

*Indiana University Southeast  
New Albany, Indiana*

### 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'.  
Sentence juncture was sometimes obvious from the manner of dictation. Where this is the case, end of sentence is marked by a slash (/).  
Stress accent is indicated only where it contrasts with unstressed syllables in the same word. Thus, stress is not marked in monosyllabic words, nor in words all of whose syllables are stressed. When a word which appears to be monosyllabic has a stress mark, this means that it has a syllabic consonant (e.g., in *xte* 'tuna', the *x* is syllabic). Stress is also not marked when the only other vocalic in the word is schwa (ə), since this vowel is never stressed.  
*R* stands for voiceless r; in a sequence with r, it stands for the voiceless part of a trill; *u* stands for the vowel of 'could'; *ɨ* stands for the lower high front vowel of 'itch'; *c* stands for the affricate of 'church'; *Y* is a voiceless, lenis, noisy spirant which occurs only in the subject case suffix.
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 ʔ. 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. *ñixáy* '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 *šəqi*, 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 después'. Roughly, they can be distinguished as follows: *mi:v* 'next, later, after that'; *ñuwák* 'besides, in addition'. Probably carrying more grammatical or stylistic than semantic weight are *ñáʔpay*, *ñáʔpayəm*, and *payəm*, which can be translated as 'and then; and; now'.
14. *kulʔulk* 'bola', probably the plump seed pod.

15. *amat xsó:l*, basin dug in the ground; *mat* 'earth'. Compare *so(:)l* 'one opens [door, beer bottle]', and *cisó:l* 'cause a wound by biting'.
16. *sal* 'into that'.
17. *iwi:l* 'shrub; brush; branches'.
18. *ñam*, *ñam* 'day'; *xamuk* 'three'.
19. *ñá:k* 'in the sun'; *yok* 'several are (located), several are (sedentary)'.
20. Possibly *ñaxa: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. *ñamhaxka:y* 'next day'; *xká(:)y* 'another'.
22. *namak* 'los deja' (one leaves them; one keeps them).
23. *ya:k* 'gather, collect'.
24. *poq* 'dump' (i.e., dump the additional datil fruits on the pile).
25. *ma:t* 'body; flesh'; *wi*: 'has, possesses'; *-ulik*, *-olik*, intensive suffix.
26. *kaʔšitəm* 'right away; in a short time'.
27. *xamal* 'saco', or *xamal tsil* 'saco roñoso', is used for the large burlap bag. The smaller cloth sack (from flour or rice) is *xamal ñimšáp* 'saco blanco'. *xuwák* 'two'; *xamuk* 'three'.
28. *matʔa:nk*, *matʔa:m*, *matʔa:mk* 'year'.
29. *yak* 'here'.
30. *matxwa:l* 'sierra' < *mat* 'land; place of', *xwa:l* '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.
31. *sey* 'there; yonder'.
32. Cf. *ñuwá* 'house' (literally, 'someone's place').
33. *xapu:*, a Paipai placename. Virtually all place-names for camp sites in Paipai contain the element *xa* 'water'. Bajío del Toro is the Spanish name for the same site. *ic*, probably *?ic* 'they say' (here, 'they call it'); *-he*, suffix complex 'thither'.
34. *ku:l* 'pick' (literally 'climb [e.g., tree]').
35. *bamas* 'ten'; *xəwak* 'two'. (There is considerable variation in the way the word for 'two' was recorded.)
36. *ñiʔsaY* 'they; these'; *niru:v* 'when they are, get dry'.
37. Not clear from context whether this is 'si abren' (if they open) or 'si abren' (indeed they open).
38. *xəlpu(:)*, a large carrying bag made by netting; the Paipai word for a small carrying bag is *xəlkwa*.
39. *iʔi:* 'stick; wood; firewood'; *bəte(:)* 'large; fat'.
40. *kuʔulk* 'bola', here refers to the cone.
41. *ye:c*, a generic term, 'seed'.
42. *kərub* 'dry ones; dry parts'. Here probably refers to the shells since the passage which follows indicates that after removing and throwing these away, only seeds remain.
43. *saʔlpoq* < *sal-ʔpoq*; *sal* 'into that, into there'.
44. *xuʔsi:v*, probably 'winnow'.
45. *kəriyé:(-k)*, 'be, get clean'; *-xuʔkiyá:wa* 'in order to, so that'.
46. From *xayú:* 'wind; wind blows'.
47. The first part of the text ends here. Now the narrator goes back to describe in detail what she summarized earlier.
48. *ma(-k)* 'be ready; be cooked; be ripe'.
49. *te:k* 'many; much'; *xanəm* 'good; real'.
50. *ca:v* 'on top; on'.
51. *ñuʔʔtu:mc* < *ñul-ʔtu:mc* 'we light fire'.
52. *ñá:* 'sun'; *cpak* 'it comes out'.
53. *?Ru:y*, *?Rru:y* 'be hot' (of weather); *-ulik*, intensive suffix; *sákiyá:wa* 'because; therefore'.
54. *kxo* 'pinecone'; *kak* 'open'; *šu:* 'green'.
55. *na:y*, *?na:y* 'trementina' (pitch, gum).
56. *kosəm* 'not'.
57. *kos* 'not'; *yečək* 'to, at the seed'; *tublic* 'stick'; *tem* 'not'; *hubkiyá:wa* 'so that'.
58. *umiyá:b* 'make; fix; prepare'.
59. *xaspuypaym*, term used by Paipai to refer to Indians in contrast to non-Indians. This looks like a phrase word containing the verb theme *xaspuy* 'one bathes'.
- This concludes the second part of the text.
60. *ñukwe:yk* 'they go or come back'; *nəkab* 'they come, they arrive'.

61. That is, they bought food to take back to the groves.
62. *terscá:c* 'they work, labor'.
63. *yu:həm* 'then'.
64. *bo:c* 'several go on foot', but in combination with certain other verbs, it gives the sense of 'home': *bo:c n̄yá:m* 'they went home'; *bo:c n̄iyú:* '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 n̄a?payəm* '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:tək* 'to the ground'. One would expect a short vowel here: *mat*, *əmat* 'ground'.
68. *kukul?ulk* here refers to the acorn minus cap. Compare this form with *kul?ulk* 'bola', referring to pinecone and datil seed pods.
69. *n̄a:k* 'in the sun?'
70. This phrase is not clear: *n̄ubwik*, probably 'do thus'; *n̄a?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. *ɬym?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 *?kəmal*, since the Paipai word for burlap sack is *xəmal*.
73. *poq* 'dump; pour'; *sah* probably either 'this' or 'there'; *wam-* unidentifiable.
74. *n̄ul-* 'into, down here'; *u?útc* 'we pour (liquid)'; *?unu:c* 'we keep doing'.
75. *cpa:k* 'one goes out'; *n̄úbuwírəm* 'when finished'.
76. *?lasik*, 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 *?ut*, for liquids.
78. *icmac* 'food'; *xánoli* 'is very good'.
79. *pa* 'person, people'; *kur* '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. *n̄ub-* 'of this'; *xpír* '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'; *n̄iyó:m* 'when they were (existing)'; but more likely the phrase refers to bitter acorns.
82. *əpal*, *pal* 'fruit; bear fruit'; *-oli*, intensive suffix; *myu:c* 'keep on; always'.
83. *vam* 'now; nowadays'; *kos . . . tem* 'no; not'; *pal* 'bear fruit'.

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