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EARLY SPANISH AND AZTEC LOAN WORDS IN THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF NORTHWEST MEXICO

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Introduction

The indigenous populations of northwest Mexico have been incorporating Spanish loans words into their languages for the past four centuries. If we can distinguish earlier loans from later ones, we can obtain some notion of the nature of the earliest cultural contact. In addition to the Spanish loans, we can identify a few from Aztec, words which must have been loaned by the Aztec workers who accompanied the first Spanish arrivals.

Except for Seri, all the languages under consideration belong to the Sonoran branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family. The Sonoran languages included in this study are: Papago, Névome (or Pima Bajo), Onavas, Mountain Pima, Northern Tepehuan, and Southeastern Tepehuan, which belong to the tightly knit Tepiman group; Eudeve, which belongs to the Opatan group; Tarahumara and Guarijio, the two closely related languages that make up the Tarahumaran group; Yaqui and Mayo, which are dialects of the Cahitan language; Tubar, which comprises a group by itself; and Cora and Huichol, the two languages that make up the Corachol group (Miller 1984). All of the Uto-Aztecan speaking peoples were (and are) horticulturists. The Seri, located on the shores of the Sea of Cortez, were hunters and gatherers. They are thought to be distant linguistic cousins of the Yuman speaking populations to the north.

Geographically, culturally, and historically, the area is a single unit, with two main zones: the coastal plains in the west, and the canyon and mountain country to the east. Spaniards first entered the area in 1533, and by the end of the 16th century had established missions (and
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in some cases mining enterprises) throughout all of the area, except in the far north among the Papago, where substantial contact dates from the middle of the 17th century (Spicer 1962). The canyon and mountain zone was subjected to less intense acculturation than the coastal zone, even though both areas were contacted at the same time.

Nature of the Borrowings

The Aztec loans are presumably early, since the models were available only in the beginning period. But distinguishing early Spanish borrowings from recent ones is not as easy, since the speakers of the indigenous languages continue to incorporate Spanish words right up to the present day. However, there are a number of guidelines that can help.

First, if the model is no longer in current use, the loan must be early. Second, if the loan reflects the phonology of 16th century rather than contemporary Spanish, it is also an early one. Third, if the word shows greater changes from the model, or irregular, unique, or not easily explained phonetic substitutions, it can probably (but with less assurance) be considered to be early; see Haugen (1950: 216) for a discussion. Fourth, if the borrowed word incorporates sounds or sound patterns of Spanish that are not part of the native phonological systems, it is probably not an early borrowing. Lastly, early loans tended to enter one language community, and then spread intertribally to others, while later ones tended to enter each language community separately, often with different communities selecting different models for borrowing; this is the weakest criterion, and in fact is useful only when used in conjunction with others.

There are a number of problems in determining age of a given loan, chief among them being the following: First, while the above criteria can be applied in some cases, there are many loans to which none can be applied. For example, _toro_ (#1) was probably borrowed early, and _hule_ (#2) more recently. But our guess is based on cultural criteria only; the phonetic shape in Spanish is such that they would give about the same results whether borrowed early or late. Second, the same Spanish model may have entered different communities at different times. We shall see some examples in which a given Spanish word seems to have entered the coastal communities at an early period, while the more remote communities to the east either invented calques or borrowed from Spanish (sometimes the same model, sometimes a different one) at a later date. And third, a word can be touched up or replaced by later generations of more fluent bilinguals.
The data is appended to the end of the paper, and is referred to by number. Included are all the loans I have discovered that seem to be early, along with some contrastive examples of more recent loans. Each set contains items with the same gloss, not necessarily items derived from the same Spanish model. Some of the languages show calques, or native words that have undergone a change in meaning. In this way we can tell if there have been multiple Spanish models, which aids us in distinguishing intertribal borrowings vs. those that have been borrowed separately by each of the communities; and in tracing the limits of intertribal borrowings.

Borrowings from Models no longer Current

There are four Aztec words that have a wide distribution: *teoo-pan* (#3) "church", *tooto-lin* (#4) "chicken", *teškal-li* (#5) "tortilla", and *tekipanoaa* (#6) "to work". Also Cora has borrowed *teneš-tli* (#7) "lime". The River Guarijío word appears that it could also be from Aztec, but from *temetla-tl* "stone for making metates", not a word with a likely gloss for "lime". (Aztec forms are from Karttunen 1983.)

Two widely spread borrowings from Spanish that no longer enjoy currency in the area *rabel* (#8) "violin" or "rebec" (an early bowed string instrument that was probably ancestral to the violin) and *tomín* (#9), a coin widely used in colonial Spanish America. The Papago word for "money" is from a different model, *real*, but is also a Spanish word no longer in use in northwest Mexico. The Mountain Guarijío word for "money", and the related words in the three Tarahumara dialects, is of interest. The word could be a borrowing from Névome *wainomi* "metal". On the other hand, it could be that the loan was in the other direction, and that initial Spanish /t/ was replaced by /n/ in Guarijío, with the element we- "big" being prefixed to it. Support for such an origin comes from a use of *nomí* (and *tomí* in River Guarijío) that reflects the old way of counting "pieces of eight" (#10), no longer current in local Spanish, but found in English "two bits", etc. (a practice which is also fading in Guarijío and Tarahumara, now that the Mexican centavo has become a casualty to inflation).

Also old is the borrowing from *cabra* (#11 and #12), since this word is not still used in local Spanish (though most, especially educated people know the word). *Cabra* has been borrowed into most of the languages with the meaning "sheep", not "goat". It was probably borrowed to cover both animals, with "goat" being replaced in most of the languages by a later borrowing from *chiva* (#12), the word for
"goat" that is universally used today in local Spanish. But the borrowing from *cabra* is still used in Mayo for both these animals, while borrowings from both *cabra* and *chiva* are found with the gloss "goat" in Yaqui.

**Borrowings Reflecting Sixteenth Century Pronunciation**

The 16th century pronunciation of Spanish "j" as [s] rather than [x] is reflected in the borrowings of naranjo (#13), navaja (#14), jarro (#15), jabón (#16) (except in Guarijío), and the borrowings of jueves (#42) by the dialects of Guarijío and Tarahumara. Contrast these with later borrowings that reflect Spanish [x]: cajón, caja (#17), and judío (#18).

The initial /h-/ in the Papago and Southeastern Tepehuan word for "jar" has two plausible explanations. Proto Sonoran *s* became Tepiman /h/. Thus the borrowing could be very early, before this change took place, or the words in this set are not borrowings from Spanish, but are, rather, cognates, with the word reconstructable back to Proto Sonoran times. The borrowing of jabón reflects two time periods, an early one in Papago, Mayo, and Yaqui, and a later one in Guarijío. The borrowing of jueves was likely an early one which was touched up or reborrowed with [h-] by later generations, except in the more remote eastern languages.

The early pronunciation of "ll" as [l] instead of [y] is reflected in the borrowings from silla (#19), cuchillo (#14), castellano (#20, and Névome #21), and the Onevas borrowing of novillo (#22). Later borrowings show the reflex of [y] in caballo (#23), membrillo (#24), cebolla (#25), and the Tubar borrowing of novillo (#22).

**Borrowings that Reflect Greater Phonetic Changes, Irregularities, Distortions, and Other Anomalies**

The models for two wide-spread borrowings are plural forms in Spanish: vacas (#26) and bueyes (#22). Because of the similarities across many of the languages, the forms likely were borrowed once from Spanish, then spread within the aboriginal communities. In Guarijío, the stress is on the third syllable, a syllable that does not exist in the Spanish model. In Guarijío, only the second or third syllable may be stressed. The forms were probably borrowed through Mayo, which has primary stress on the first syllable, with the third syllable often taking a
phonetic secondary stress. In order to fit the Guarijío canon, then, the primary and secondary stresses were reversed. Tarahumara originally had the same restriction on stress placement, but because of the loss of certain initial syllables (a recent, and probably posthispanic loss), initial stress is also found (Miller 1985). Vacas, which was probably borrowed through Guarijío, shows the same stress pattern, but for huyes, two of the three dialects show initial stress.

Because of the loss of vowels in certain noninitial syllables, the Te-piman languages allow noninitial consonant clustering in native words. But the remaining Uto-Aztecan languages do not, for the most part, have clusters as part of their prehispanic phonology, and we find that most clusters are either simplified or are broken with an inserted vowel. Some loans, however, retain the cluster, and are undoubtedly more recent: plátano (#27), plato (#28), sandía (#29), pistola (#30). But it would be rash to claim that all loans that do not retain the cluster are old. Thus membrillo (#24), which is probably not old (guessing from cultural evidence), does not maintain the cluster in Mountain Guarijío, but it is retained in the other languages.

Those loans with clusters in the model that seem most clearly to be old are cabra (#11 and #12), trigo (#21), naranjo (#13), durazno (#31), and cruz (#32). The borrowing of cabra has already been suggested to be old on other grounds. The consonant cluster in trigo is split in Papago and Mountain Guarijío, and furthermore initial /t-/ is replaced with /p-/. This is a very particular distortion which likely took place once, and then spread by borrowing within the indigenous communities. The fact that the other languages, including the ones located between Guarijío and Papago, do not show this distortion may indicate the earlier borrowing was touched up by later generations of bilinguals. The consonant cluster in naranjo and durazno has been simplified in most of the languages, and further the loans show similar anomalies across languages that would indicate they were spread by intertribal borrowings (Southeastern Tepehuan, Cora, and Huichol excepted). The model for “orange” (which, on other grounds has been suggested as an old loan) appears to be naranjo “orange tree”, rather than the expected naranja. Two dialects of Guarijío and Tarahumara have a preglottalized consonant in the borrowing from durazno; the other dialects, which lack it, have recently lost the glottal stop in this environment (notice a similarly preglottalized consonant in the borrowing from Aztec tootol-in, #4). The cluster in cruz has the same interpolated vowel in all the languages, an indication that it may have been spread by intertribal borrowing.

Three words that show variable treatment of the consonant clus-
ter across languages are: *manzana* (#33), *diablo* (#34), and *arpa* (#35). Nothing can be said about the first of these, but the remaining two are probably old. In Guarajio, “devil” not only has the cluster split, but there are other anomalies which suggest that it is old; in fact the speakers do not recognize it as a loan. The word in Papago and Mountain Pima is probably also old. But in other languages, the original “bl” cluster is maintained, and the borrowing is either new, a reborrowing, or a touch up by more fluent bilinguals. The word for “harp” shows some anomalous features in one of the Guarajio dialects, but the cluster is retained in all other cases. One suspects, however, that it is an old loan touched up, since the harp was probably introduced along with the violin, and both are now well entrenched in the ceremonial life of most of the indigenous peoples of northwest Mexico.

The “dr” cluster is simplified in all of the languages to [l] or [r] in *padre* (#36), *compadre* (#37), and *comadre* (#38) (but notice that “mp” is retained in all the borrowings of *compadre*); we can probably state that the loans are not recent, but we would be unjustified in claiming this is evidence that they are old.

Several of the days of the week have consonant clusters in the Spanish model, namely *martes* (#40), *miércoles* (#41), *viernes* (#43), and *domingo* (#45). It is unlikely that the days of the week would be borrowed one at a time. That is, it is unlikely, unless they were coined from native material, and then the coinages were replaced by borrowings. The evidence from Eastern Tarahumara indicates that just this process may have occurred; “middle day” is used for “Wednesday”, “the fourth day” competes with a borrowing for “Thursday”, and the remaining days are borrowings which may have replaced coinages. (The word for “week” in all the Tarahumara dialects is *tardili* “the count”; cp. also “week” in Cora *it’éeri*, “the counting”.) Evidence has already been given that “Thursday” is probably an old borrowing, which means the replacement is probably taking place from another dialect of Tarahumara, rather than from a new borrowing.

The treatment of the clusters in the days of the week in other languages may also indicate a replacement of earlier loans, in which some of the days of the week were either reborrowed or touched up by later generations of more fluent bilinguals. Of the day names with consonant clusters in the model, *domingo* is the one that displays simplification of the cluster in the most languages; it is possible that this could be the earliest borrowing, since if any day name could be borrowed without the others, “Sunday” would be the most likely.

The distortions in the borrowings from *Dios* (#46) probably reflect an early borrowing. Many of the Uto-Aztecan languages have an
[r] or [l] for the Spanish "d", in spite of the fact that these sounds are rare in initial position in nonborrowed words.

The borrowing from soldado (#47) replaces the "ld" cluster with another nonnative cluster, [nt] or [nd]. The fact that this may be an old borrowing, then, is not from the specific treatment of the cluster, but rather that the treatment is the same in most of the languages, which points to intertribal borrowing; the initial syllable has [a] in the southern languages, [o] in the others, which may indicate two points of entry.

The Mountain Guarijío word for lime (#7) incorporates a nominal prefix, ih-, which is no longer productive. This is not a sure sign of an early borrowing, because the prefix has come to be used with more recent borrowings as a way to preserve the Spanish stress placement while still avoiding the nonallowable initial stress (e.g. ihpuéblo "town", ihgríngo "gringo"). But in at least one case, perhaps two, "lime" is an Aztec borrowing in other languages, which suggests that ihkári may also be old.

Discussion

The semantic domains reflected in the early borrowings form a consistent pattern. There are religious terms, including "God" (#46), "devil"; (#34), "church" (#3), "cross" (#32), and perhaps also "soldier" (#47). There is direct evidence for only some of the days of the week (#39-45), with the strongest evidence being found for "Sunday". Also early was the concept of "work" (#6), along with the commodity to pay for it, namely "money" (#9). There is direct evidence only for these animals: "cow" (#35), "ox" (#21), "sheep" (#11), "goat" (#12), and "chicken" (#4). There is no direct evidence for "pig" or "horse", but "saddle" (#19) gives indirect evidence for the horse. Only three plant names can be shown to be early: "wheat" (#21), "peach" (#31), and "orange" (#13); other plants may have very well been introduced early, but the evidence indicates that at least some, such as "banana", were late introductions. A new food type, "tortilla" (#5), was introduced, probably along with a material important in its production, "lime" (#7). "Violin" (#8), and probably "harp" (#35) were introduced into the aboriginal ceremonial life. At least two material objects, "knife" (#14) and "soap" (#16), were early introductions.

There are several early loans that seem to have spread through intertribal borrowing, but there is no clear case of a single loan that spread to all of the languages in this fashion. If fact, one can often draw isoglosses between those languages that participate in a given loan and
those that do not. A full discussion and analysis of this phenomena will form the topic of a separate paper, but a few observations are in order. The central or focal area was along the coast among the Cahi­tan speaking peoples. In a number of cases the most northern groups, particularly the Papago, do not participate in the borrowings: taškal-li (#5), rabel (#8), tomin (#9), and vacas (#26). The Seri do not participate in teoo-pan-tli (#3), rabel (#8), naranj(o) (#13), and vacas (#26). The more isolated Guarijío and Tarahumara sometimes do not participate in taškal-li (#5), tekipanoaa (#6), and cabra (#11). The more southern groups, particularly the Huichol and Cora, do not participate in tootol-in (#4), taskal-li (#5), tekipanoaa (#6), rabel (#8), naranjo (#13), and bueyes (#22).

The data

I am pleased to acknowledge and thank the several colleagues who supplied much of the data by filling out a rather lengthy questionnaire for languages with which they have conducted, or are currently conducting field work; this paper would not have been possible without their help. In some cases the orthography has been changed so that the writing is uniform across languages. The language abbreviations and sources are:

Pg (Papago): Saxton, Saxton and Enos, 1983.
Nv (Névome or Pima Bajo): Pennington, 1979.
On (Onavas): Hale, ms.; Pennington, 1980 (forms marked H. and P., respectively).
MP (Mountain Pima): DeWolf, ms.
Eu (Eudeve): Pennington, 1981.
CT (Central Tarahumara, Samachique) and WT (Western Tarahumara, Rocoroibo): Don Burgess, Questionnaire; Burgess and Velasquillo, 1970.
MG (Mountain Guarijío) and RG (River Guarijío): Author’s field notes.
Yq (Yaqui): Mirna Castro, Questionnaire; Johnson, 1962 (marked J.).
My (Mayo): Ray Freeze, Questionnaire.
1. toro/bull: Pg, toolo; Nv, haibani; MP, toor; ET, irólo; CT, toro; 
    WT, roló; MG, toló; RG, toró; Yq, waká o?óu (o?óu = “male”); 
    toóro (J.); Tb, toró; NT, turu; SeT, túur; Cr, túuru?u; Hu, tuuru 
    (MPV); Sr, ši:x k-óí?a ktam (ktam = “male”); to:ro; (< toro)
2. hule/rubber (for making huaraches): Pg, uuli; MP, húhul; CT, 
    úlí; WT, úli; MG, rurí; Yq, hoólim; SeT, ¿uuli; Cr, húre?e; 
    (< hule)
3. iglesia/church: Pg, čiópi; Nv, teopura; On, tióp (H.); MP, 
    tóo?op; Eu, tiópa; ET, teýópa; CT, ri?obá; WT, re?obá; MG, 
    te?opá; RG, tiopá; Yq, téopo; My, tio?po; Tb, teó-t; NT, kiupe, 
    kiupa; SeT, čióp; Cr, t'eyyu (SF t’eyüüp*a); Hu, teyeupáni, te-
    yeupánii “templo cristiano”; Sr, an ikatómaeK “inside sun-
    day/week”; (< Az. teoo-pan-tli “church, temple”): teoo- “god”, 
    -pan “on”)
4. gallo, gallina/chicken: Nv, totori; On, tootol (H.); totor (P.); Eu, 
    bedéko; ET, totolí, rotorí, otolí, toli; CT, toli; WT, o?toli; MG, 
    to?tori; RG, totorí; Yq, tótoí; My, to?tori; Tb, kakayá; NT, tako-
    ko; SeT, kíglíí “gallo”; takáarui?i “gallina”; Cr, t’akwáara?i; 
    Hu, váakáana; Sr, tó:tar; (< Az. tootol-in “turkey, chicken”)
5. tortilla: Pg, cimait; On, tascal (H.); MP, tímíč; Eu, táskari; CT, 
    rímé; WT, remé; MG, teméi; RG, takari; Yq, táska?im; táhkä?i 
    (J.); My, taskari; Tb, tasekalí-t, tasa?kalí-t; NT, taskali; SeT, tím-
    kalí; Cr, hámue?i; Hu, paapáa; Sr, ?átaskar; (< Az. taškal-li)
6. trabajar/work: Pg, čikpan, čipkan; Nv, tuspan; On, tikpano (H.); 
    MP, tikpán-; Eu, tékirwa (noun); ET, nočá-; CT, nöčami; WT, 
    nočáwa; MG, inóca-ni; RG, tekipána-ni; Yq, tekipanoáne; tékil 
    “trabajo” (J.); My, tekipanwa; Tb, tekipa-, tekipaná-; SeT, tu-
    huána?a; Cr, t?imware?e “he is working”; Hu, ¿úsimaayáa, 
    ¿úsimaayáa (v.), tíaavácu, tíaavácu (n.); Sr, -a:-tikpan (-a:-, cau-
    sative); (< Az, tekipanoa “to work”)
7. cal/lime: Nv, aimuhidaga; On, a?imhidak (P.); Eu, atzót; ET, kari, 
    kali; CT, Káli; WT, káli; MG, ihkári; RG, te?metí; My, kali(m); 
    NT, hod matte; SeT, mataí (= “ashes”); Cr, t’énéestíi?i; Hu, 
    nasíi; Sr, ka:l; (< cal; Az. teneš-tli; perh. Az. temetla-tl “stone 
    for making metates”)
8. violín/violin: Pg, wiolín; MP, laawéer; ET, rabéri; CT, rabéli; WT,
rabéli; MG, yawéla; RG, yawéra; Yq, laáben; SeT, lavéeer; Cr, sî?îcî?eme “thing that one slides back and forth”; Hu, şavéeri; Sr, ?aenx “what’s played” (one-string violin); (< violín (or Eng. vionin?); rabel “rebéc”)

9. dinero/money: Pg, lial; Nv, wainomi “metal ya limpio”; MP, réal; ET, wenomi “dînero, metal”; CT, winomi; WT, enomi; MG, wenomí; RG, tomí; Yq, tómi; My, tomí; Tb, tomín, tominí; NT, tuninssi; SeT, tûumiñ; Cr, túmin; mëeru?u (archaic) “coins”; Hu, tunini (MPV); Sr, tom; ?o:ro “dollar”; xo:la “money” (archaic); (< real; tomín)

10. “25 centavos”, “50 centavos”; “75 centavos” (“two bits”, etc.); ET, okwá wenomí, naó wenomí; WT, oká enomí, naó enomí, usáni enomí; MG, woká nomí, naó nomí, pusáni nomí; RG, woká tomí, naó tomí, pusáni tomí

11. borrego/sheep: Pg, kaawal; On, kavar (P.); MP, káawilý; Eu, boerreio; ET, bo?wá (= “lana”); CT, bo?wá; WT, bo?á; MG, po?á (= “lana”); Yq, b?ála; My, kabara; NT, kaniro marade; kanniro marade “ganado menor”; SeT, kásnír; Cr, kán?a?a; Hu, muşáa “borrego, lana”; Sr, ka:r; (< cabra; borrego; carnero)

12. chiva/goat: Pg, siwat; MP, šiwikilý; ET, čiba, čibá; CT, čibá; WT, čibá; MG, číwá; Yq, kabáa; čiba (J.); My, kabra-; NT, číbito; SeT, kárvaš; Cr, káuura, číivu; Hu, káap-fraa; Sr, sáeato; (< chiva; cabra; chivito)

13. naranja,-o/orange (tree): Pg, nal?; MP, naláso; ET, naláso; na?lási; CT, nalási; WT, naráso; MG, naláso; RG, naláso; Yq, naáso, na?áso; NT, guggur hukoli; hukoli dud “naranjo”; SeT, naránska; Cr, maráanka; Hu, naráakaşi, naráakáşi; Sr, sa?maës (also “fruit”); (< naranjo)

14. navaja/knife: Pg, nawa?; MP, nawañ; ET, lipigá; CT, piyá; WT, rehpigá (<rehpú- “to cut”); MG, na?wáso; RG, nawáso; Yq, nabá?a; My, ku?im (stem ku?); SeT, ku?ír “cuchillo”; Cr, náwaa; Hu, naaváa “cuchillo”; Sr, ae:nim (aslo “metal”); (< navaja; cuchillo)

15. jarro/jar: Pg, ha?a; Yq, sáalo (J.); My, saaro; SeT, ha?áa “cooking pot”; Cr, ša?ari, háarru; liméeta “botella”; (< jarro)

16. jabón/soap: Pg, nawañ; MP, šawoni; CT, šawan; MG, abóni; Yq, sáabon; Cr, sápun; (< jabón)

17. cajón/coffin, box: Pg, kahon; My, kaaha; Cr, kahún, káha; Hu, kaakúuni; (< cajón, caja)

18. judío/jew: Pg, tuulkó; Yq, hurásim (J.) “Fariseos”; My, huroso; SeT, hudíos; Cr, huríyú; (< turco; judío)

19. silla de montar/saddle: Pg, siil; Nv, sira “silla”; ET, péla; My,
sila; Tb, síá-t; SeT, šiir; Cr, šiira; Hu, šiira; Sr, ši:r; (< silla)

20. **Blanco (Mexican)/White man:** On, duukam (H.); MP, dúukam; ET, oli, yoli; CT, oli; čáboči “beard”; WT, yoli; MG, yori; RG, yori; Yq, yóri, yói; My, yori; Tb, yolí-t; SeT, náavat; Cr, náapwéih; Sr, kóksar “outsider”, especially Mexican; (< castellano)

21. **trigo/wheat:** Pg, pilkani, Nv, tirikko, kastura; MP, títíg, télíg; ET, tulio; CT, turíyo; WT, ri?ligó; MG, pirikó; RG, tirigo; Yq, tiíkom; My, tiriskom; Tb, tligó; NT, tuligo; SeT, tiriik; Cr, Tríigu; Sr, káštaš “castilian aeaš”; (< trigo; castellano)

22. **buey/ox:** Pg, woiwis; On, novido (P.); Eu, boides; ET, bóisi; CT, bóisi; WT, oosí; MG, wo?isí; RG, oisí; Yq, bweésí; My, bweesi; Tb, novió; NT, boyissi; SeT, buíaš; Cr, púuye; Hu, púysi; Sr, i:yas; (< bueyes, novillo)

23. **caballo/horse:** Pg, kawayu; On, kavajo (P.); MP, kaw; Eu, kaváduki; ET, kwávi; CT, kawé, káo; WT, gawé; MG, kawáí; RG, kawáí; Yq, kabáí, kábá?i; My, kaba?i; Tb, kawiyó; NT, kavayo; SeT, kavái; Cr, kawahyu?u; Hu, kaváaya, kaaváaya; Sr, ka:y; (< caballo)

24. **membrillo/quince:** MP, membreíy; WT, membreíyo; MG, meurúrio; (< membreillo)

25. **cebolla/onion:** Pg, siwol; MP, šewóoy; CT, sibóya; WT, sebóya; rehčú (also “wild onion”); MG, sehčú (also “wild onion”); Yq, sébora; My, sebooya; SeT, hótkos; Cr, sebóoya; Hu, uyuri (MPV); Sr, ?ae?ae k-kon “plant that stinks”; (< cebolla)

26. **vaca/cow:** Pg, haiwani; Nv, haibani, vakass; On, haivan “carne” (H.); MP, wáakis; BT, wási; CT, wáasi; WT, akasí; MG, waga­sí; RG, wakás; Yq, waakás; My, waakasi (also “meat”); Tb, wakačí; NT, vakass; SeT, váak; Cr, wáaka; Hu, vaakášii, váakašii; Sr, ši:x k-oí:a “thing that cries”; ?ae:n (older term); (< vaca[s])

27. **plátano/banana:** Pg, howij (also “yucca banana”); MP, plátano; CT, plátano; WT, plátano; MG, latáno; RG, lantánasi; My, platano; SeT, karúum; Hu, šána?a; Sr, kaarúu; Sr, šonx i-tást k-mis “what resembles šonx itást”; (< plátano)

28. **plato/plate:** Pg, hoas-ba?a (“basket-jar”); MP, plaat; CT, piláto; WT, biráto; MG, ihpeláto; RG, pehtóri; Yq, puá?ato; pú?ato (J.); My, plato; SeT, plaat hóosía?a; Cr, túsua?a, pláatu; Hu, rakirii (MPV); Sr, ?ankašípx (older word); ix iti i-k-o?:it “thing on which one eats with” (newer word); (< plato)

29. **sandía/watermelon:** Pg, gípi miloni; MP, šandií; CT, sanríia; WT, a?lú; MG, a?rú; RG, a?rú; Yq, sákopai; My, sakobari; Tb, wiporowó-l; SeT, sandìas; Cr, pínìii; Hu, piinìisi; Sr, maerón; (< sandía; melón)
30. arma/gun: Pg, gaat; CT, ra?néla “thundering noise”; WT, ra?éla; MG, atá; RG, atá; Yq, wiko?i; SeT, karavín “rifle”; pistóol “pistol”; cp. gáat “bow”, Cr, karavín “rifle”; pistóola “pistol”; Sr, aenm?-ñá:ñí “metal bow”; (< carabina; pistola)

31. durazno/peach (tree): Pg, jula~an, nula~; MP, dáršin (“fruit” in general); ET, túlusi, túrasi; CT, túrasi; WT, ru?lási; MG, tu?lasi; RG, tulasí; Yq, ruéna (< ruedas “wheels” and rural Spanish for dried fruit); SeT, turáasno; Cr, túaraa; (< durazno; ruedas)

32. Santa Cruz/cross: Pg, kots; MP, kurš; ET, kúlusi, gúlusi, gúlsí; CT, kúrusi; WT, gurusí; MG, kúrusí; Yq, kús; NT, kúrusí; SeT, kúrusú; Cr, kúru?u; Sr, ?áe?ae ?asó:ñ “crossed sticks”; (< cruz)

33. manzana,-o/apple (tree): Pg, manisáana; MP, mansáan ?íibar (mansáan = manzano); ET, máltisi; CT, máltisi; WT, mártisi; MG, mártisi; Yq, mártisi; SeT, mártisi; Cr, mártisi; Hu, maritici (MPV); (< martes)

34. diablo/devil: Pg, jiawul; MP, díawil≤; ET, liáblo; CT, riábili; WT, remónisi; MG, yawalósi; Yq, bébe hé?erí; NT, diavoro; SeT, ha?oók; diavur “mythological evil figure”; tóovogli-vík “visible temper”; Cr, tiyáaru?u; Sr, táear; yáblo (newer word); (< diabolo [and diablos?]; demonio)

35. arpa/harp: WT, árpa; MG, árpa; RG, a?rápa; Yq, áapa; aápero “arpero”; Cr, áarpa; (< arpa)

36. sacerdote/priest: MP, paalY; ET, ba?lé; CT, balé; WT, balé; MG, paré; Yq, páare (J.); My, paare; NT, pare; SeT, paalY; Cr, pwaari; Sr, pa:r; (< padre)

37. compadre: Pg, kompal; CT, ompáli; WT, ompáli; MG, kemparí; Yq, komporí, kompáy; SeT, kumpáalY; Cr, kumpwáari; Sr, komparí; (< compadre)

38. comadre: Pg, komal; CT, komáro-wa; WT, komáli; MG, komári; Yq, komári; SeT, kummáalY; Cr, kumwáari; Sr, komárí; (< comadre)

39. lunes/Monday: Pg, luunas; MP, luñís; ET, luñesi; CT, luñasi; WT, runé-či; MG, luné-či; RG, luné-či; Yq, lúne; SeT, luñisí; Cr, luñíni; Hu, kríñeci (MPV); Sr, lo:nes; (< lunes; -či in G. and T. = locative postposition)

40. martes/Tuesday: Pg, maáltis; MP, mártisí; ET, máltisi; CT, mártisi; WT, máta-či; MG, maté-či; RG, maté-či; Yq, maåtes; SeT, máartis; Cr, máarti; Hu, maritici (MPV); (< martes)

41. miércoles/Wednesday: Pg, mialklos; MP, miérlkoliš; ET, náspasi “the middle”; CT, miérkoli; WT, miékkli-či, miékuri-či; MG, mekóla-či; RG, mekóra-či; Yq, miékoles; SeT, miárlkoliš; Cr, miérkuli; Hu, mierikurirri (MPV); (< miécoles)

42. jueves/Thursday: Pg, huiwis; MP, huéewiš; ET, naolái “4th
day”; suwe-či; CT, huébasi; WT, suwé-či (-či = locative postposition); MG, suwė-či; RG, suebė-či; Yq, huébe; SeT, hoívis; Cr, wéevi; Hu, beeberri (MPV); (< jueves)

43. viernes/Friday: Pg, wialos; MP, wiérniš; CT, biérnisi; WT, yani-či (perh < ya aniwi “day before yesterday”); MG, wiené-či; RG, wiané-či; Yq, bieénes; SeT, viárnis; Cr, viéni; Hu, pienirri (MPV); (< viernes)

44. sábado/Saturday: Pg, šaawai; MP, šáaw; ET, sábato, sábalo; CT, sawará-či; MG, sawalá-či; RG, sawara-či; Yq, sábala; SeT, sáapat; Cr, sáaba; Hu, raawati (MPV); Sr, ša:yo; (< sábado)

45. domingo/Sunday: Pg, domig; MP, domk; ET, oméa-či; CT, oméa-či; WT, romíko-č, romínko-č; cf. oméga-či “fiesta day”; MG, tomigó-č; RG, domiko-či; Yq, lomíngo; loomínko (J.); SeT, tumínku-ta?m (-ta?m “on”); Cr, tumíinku (archaic), domingo, Hu, tuumikuti (MPV); Sr, ikatómaek, (< domingo)

46. Dios/God: Pg, jioś; Nv, dios; MP, d'ooš; ET, liósí; CT, riósí; WT, riósí; MG, riosi; RG, riosi; Yq, dió, riós, áčai; My, diosi; NT, diossi; SeT, dios; hič-čáat “our father” (also “sun”); Cr, dióh, diós; Hu, kaakáiyáari; Sr, yo:š; (< Dios)

47. soldado/soldier: Pg, sontal; Nv, kita himudama; ET, sontálusi; CT, sontársi; WT, sontáro; NT, sandaro; SeT, sandáaruš; Cr, šántáaru?u; Hu, kuyá, kuuyáa; Sr, santá:r; (< soldado)

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