AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF MAYO SPEAKING[1]

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1. In relation to 'the ethnography of speaking' Dell Hymes (1962) has suggested that potentially anthropology may contribute to our understanding of speech. He suggests (Hymes 1962:16) several underdeveloped intellectual areas including 'the gap between what is usually described in grammars, and what is usually described in ethnographies'. In the following paper we have assembled data on the ethnography of Mayo speaking which suggest important parameters of this gap. Our guide lines are those drawn by Hymes (1962:16), "The ethnography of speaking is concerned with the situations and uses, the patterns and functions of speaking as an activity in its own right."

Vocal language is only one of the codes of communication in which Mayos,[2] like other groups, symbolize their way of life and by which they adapt and perpetuate almost all other symbols. Mayos lean heavily on extralinguistic symbolic communication systems which substitute for and supplement language on certain occasions. The pre-Christian pasko and maso (deer) dancers do richly mimetic animal dances, conveying much about the bahavior of the animals they imitate and much about how they feel about the situations. Their dances are a regular and essential part of ceremonal life. The masked čapakobam·actors in the Easter ceremonies have a pantomime language which they use when masked for at that time vocal talking is strenuously tabooed among them. Colors and flowers each have paradigms of meaning, sometimes intertwining. Colored flowers and ribbons pinned on crosses continue to speak to passers-by in a silent constant voice about who, when, where and for what purpose a ceremony will

be held. A red flower on one's house cross the week before the 24th of June tells the community that someone in the house has a manda (a promise of service to the saint as a result of being cured from an illness) to serve for San Juan's nativity feast, and so on. A mesquite bower over a house cross says that someone in the house is dead and it is a period of danger. All these symbols have their own paradigms, as explicit in their way as words themselves as far as they go. Yet if one wants to know more about who in the house has a manda and why, he must resort to another code, language. Some gestures carry the burden of words even in everyday life, as the gestures for drinking and eating so common to Mexican people everywhere.

Vocal codes are probably the only communication code into which almost all other Mayo symbols may possibly be translated, though many items are customarily not talked, sung, or preached about. In one sense, language carries a heavier burden for Mayos than for some other peoples, because value for not showing facial emotions throws back upon the language some need to communicate the speaker's feeling about what has been or is being said. The value for being discreet (ʔauwi) penetrates Mayo life and may be a very important mechanism in helping them defend and maintain a separate society and culture. Verbal suffixes give attention to characterizing the emotional or feeling tone (mode, aspect) of the actor or speaker.

On the other hand, one may theorize that vocal codes may not have to bear so great a burden of communicative materials between people of Bánari village as in an urban environment since the homogeneity of this rural Mayo community is very great relative to an urban situation, though not so great relative to primitive peoples. A large fund of common understandings do not need extensive comment, and are in fact infrequently commented upon. Rather they are only cryptically referred to in the normal course of life. But when they are talked about, talking will always take a special form.

2.1. A number of styles of usage mark verbal communication. The following analysis points only to salient features of those styles, in order to obtain a general over-all picture of the finesse of the Mayo vocal communicative system. It should not be considered an exhaustive analysis of Mayo verbal styles, but an outline at most.

2.2. Chatting (ʔetehoim) or visiting or conversational Mayo is marked by a number of very common phrases, always begun by dios emčaniá, dios emčiókore, hačiseemáane? káčini, ʔemposu? katem kokore? ʔeʔe, kaa kokore, ʔemposu? ka kokore, and so on, which mean, hello, hello, whatcha doing?, nothing, how are you feeling?, fine, and you?, okay. A typical repeated phrase is your house is pretty. On leaving, one says talk goes on forever, it's been a nice visit, well, I must go now, and so on. Older people call younger people by the term naiye grandchild, and people with official community statuses

are addressed in conversation as ?in ?aye my mother or ?in ?acai my father, regardless of age. It would be thought crude to enter into talking about any specific matter without having exchanged such pleasantries beforehand, or to depart abruptly from the house of an acquaintance without the appropriate breaking away phrases. More formalized chats between fathers and children are called woi bahi nookim a few words of advice.

2.3. Formal speeches (hinabakam)[3] are characterized by address forms made to the public or a group in general, such as ?ayem mothers, ?ačaim fathers, and generally end in the phrase, thank you (dios em čiokore). If the hinabaka is addressed to a more limited group, the address form is made to them rather than the public in general, as the following: turi?usim + hika ?oreta tebwinake banseka# ?abehe?elata pahkorianake# yokot intok ?ahanake# kee kupteo te ama yeukanak um teopo bičaka# te kabe nakonake# wepulai benasi# kaabe nakonake# hukate horata ta tuisi hahasunake# haatapsunake# Okay boys, we are going to seize this old man. Tonight we will give a fiesta for him and tomorrow we will run him. We are going to leave early for the church. No one will come drunk. As if one (unit). No one will be drunk. We are going to run the old man, to fell him.

An address form (?usim sons, nuhmeame sons-in-law, malam daughters, ?áčaim fathers, or whatever) and the form wepulai benasi, referring to the social unit, almost invariably occur in hinabakam. For wepulai benasi the terms siime all or everyone, ?iličiaku down to the littlest one, and a half dozen terms applying to the entire social unit, may be used. In some specific form the meaning, you, my relatives (or my people), all of you together, or perhaps better said, all of us, my people, united, is always conveyed in hinabakam.

Also attaching to the hinabaka style are elements of authority. The person who gives the hinabaka is frequently, though not always, a governor, head maestro (lay minister), head paskola (ceremonial dancer), or someone in relative authority with reference to the situation and/or group to which he is speaking even if temporarily. This is usually explicit in the form of the address terms in Mayo, hinabakam, but can also be situationally defined. If called upon to do so, lay persons usually explain various rituals with reference to the hinabakam which are given by the leaders of the social groups who perform the rituals.

In addition to an element of authority which can be seen in linguistic elements such as address terms directed to persons younger than speaker and frankly imperative or horatory verb forms frequent to this style of speech, there is frequently, though not essentially, a linguistic element in hinabaka style which links it with the conversational style, which in a sense is non-authoritarian and egalitarian in form and general content. Hinabakam nearly always end with the form dios em čiokore (thank you), or enči nebaesawe (I'm indebted to you), Mayo ways of saying thank you. A few hinabakam, those which are connected with the meeting of groups

from different villages, such as the paskome (the sponsors of the ceremony) of two villages, or of the paskolam greeting the paskome when they first arrive to a pasko (ceremony) village, and so on are characterized by a form which not only ends with thank you, but which begins with elements of the conversational style, also, e.g., visiting first group: dios emčania; Host: dios emčiokore; and so on. The exchange of greetings between the groups is an essential prerequisite to this type of hinabaka. The chatting style of beginning soon gives way to the more formal style of the hinabaka, however.

Many of the talks which parents give to children which are called ?etehoim chats appear to be characterized by more elements of the hinabaka style than the conversational one. What are said to be little heart-to-heart talks, so to speak, are really sermons, if one can weight the identification of linguistic segments by stylistic considerations as heavily as one weights the native definitions of those segments: wohi-bahi palabram one or two words (of advice). ?em mampo taawa it remains in your hands, it is your responsibility.

2.4. Letters (kartam) take the form of 'chatting' with the saluds, or wishes for good health, and so on characteristic of the chatting form. These are not just adjuncts to the main body of the letter, but the most important part of it, usually. Certainly, they cannot be dispensed with, as they cannot in conversation. If written to an individual a letter takes on some aspects of chatting style; if to a group or a village, it may sound much like a hinabaka in some respects. Following is an example of the latter.

heewi, ?ačaim, ?ika ne karta ?enčimme bitua, ?eme pueplom nau lopolai ?aman? omim aleaka # ?enčim tebotua pweplom si?imem nau lopola ?akem mabéte ?íka te botelita # ?inintok kaitintok# dios ?em čiokore ?utesia# Well, fathers, I have sent this letter; good health and greetings to all the people; all together receive this greeting. And that's all. Thank you very much.

Letters frequently end with the term kaita intok (or katintok) meaning nothing further (to say), and also with dios em čiokore, meaning thank you. These are kinds of linguistic terminal markers in chatting and hinabakam as well, from time to time. Oral accounts of narratives and myths frequently are marked with the kaita intok terminal phrase. It seems to function as a verbal period.

There is unusual emphasis in letters upon the health aspect (as in conversational greetings also). This is involved with the idea that good (or bad) or 'acts of the will' wishes for health, can act upon a person over great distances.

2.5. Oral history, myths and legends (misterios, kwentam) take a form frequently prefaced by a vague time reference (bingwatu long ago or haktiempota in that time) though not invariably. Verbs are always marked by grammatical forms which specify the nature of the source of the information. Examples: tewa (gossip or tales)

it is said (one person says); ha?ani they say with authority; huneli hiawa (ka tewa) not just gossip. A highly specific geographical local in the Mayo country is almost always specified for the action in origin myths and even in Biblical myths. Typical time references are bingwatuko (long ago), haktiempota (in that time), ?eni taapo (now, these days), hak taapo (in those days), batnaktakai (in the beginning), etc. Some kinds of narrative are sacred, private to small Mayo groups. They are told by old people to children in the home though there are probably other more formal occasions when they are told. Some such myths are referred to in the hinabakam of the paskolas, for example, in the hinabakam and rituals of the church groups and of the pariserom and so on. It is to such materials that much of the most meaningful of Mayo symbolism ultimately relate. The origin of the world at an earlier time, when the crocodile came out of the mocikawi river, the time before corn was brought to the Mayos and when all men ate acorns — these things are said to have happened before Christ, even before the flood and the time of Noah. This earlier world was destroyed in a wide-spread catastrophe and the present world was recreated by God. Another such myth, much more central, is that of the Christ Child and the Three Kings, which justifies the Mayo system of the governors throughout the year, explains the seasonal dominance of the pariserom (sodality which rules during Lent), and the importance of the resurrection of the Christ Child as a reaffirmation of his power, identified with that of the Mayo secular government. Also such a myth is that of the escape of San Juan (the image), and the whole narrative account of the Burning of the Little Children (the church images, which we know took place only in 1926).[4] Those who are skeptical of the supernatural content of these myths still respect them highly. Thus, though Mayos seem to have a clear idea which stories precede which, when one does inquire as to relative chronology between mythical materials (e.g. animal creation stories of the first world, destruction of the first world, Noah and the flood, birth and life and death of the Christ Child, martyrdom of San Juan and the ?ili?usim, images) there are customarily no linguistic markers in the narratives as they are normally told separately which would place them in absolute or relative time except to say that they are in past time or in that (other)time as contrasted to present time, (hak taapo/tiempota/ wasuktiam vs. ?eni taapo/ tiempota/ wasuktiam) or bingwa vs. ka bingwa long, long ago vs. not too long ago. Only occasionally someone may also add, 'before the flood' or 'before Christ's time' or some such additional information about place in time. It is our definite impression that Mayo narrative style is as a rule much more careful about the specification of geographic location than time location, however.

It is tempting to generalize, and might be valid, to say that the myth of San Juan has almost the authority of the far earlier creation myths even though it happened recently, and that the geographical

location of this myth, like all others, has positively everything to do with its significance and its intense immediacy. San Juan's place is the Bánari Way of the Cross. In the same way, the geographical location of the pursuing of Christ before the crucifixion by the pariserom is specified, in the mesquite forest, and the crucifixion is specified to have taken place in the cottonwoods, of the Mayo River. They chased him through the desert and killed him by the river. This information has everything to do with the significance of the myth to a Mayo and justifies the use of specific leaves and flowers in rituals. Yet the myth may be related with none but the vaguest reference to time. Thus it is easy to see how Mayos seem to feel it with renewed immediacy as the whole cycle is re-enacted each ceremonial year.

2.6. While men and women use different terms for some of the same relatives (woman speaking, ʔin hapči; man speaking, ʔin ʔačai, etc.) and are addressed by relatives differently, the same does not seem to apply to either male santos or church officials addressed by terms similar to kin terms. Of course, female santos do not present much opportunity for contrastive analysis, since they are called our mother, ʔitom ʔaye, and in Mayo kin terms children call their mother by one term and she calls them all by one term. Male santos, however, are called ʔitom ʔačai by both the men and the women of the pueblo, that is, women do not call them ʔitom hapči, as one might expect from the kin terms. Women also call those who have public office (tekia) by the term ʔin ʔačai, rather than by a term parallel to the kinship terms. Thus, while special address terms for female speakers exist in the nuclear family and formerly to a wider list of relatives, they are not extended into the religious and community spheres.

Women are not supposed to know many of the words connected with the čapakoba rituals (ceremonial clowns).[5] They should never discuss some of the words for the male organs, especially with men. The words are considered bad. Men discuss these things only among themselves. Expression of the need to urinate is not considered similarly, and is commonly heard in mixed company without embarrassment. Yoreme means man who speaks Mayo and is not used to refer to a woman, although a hispanicized form invented by mestizos, yoremita, is sometimes laughingly employed — male-female symbolism is widespread in Mayo culture apart from linguistic symbolism. There are direction, color, distinctive ways of performing rituals (baptism, death knell, matačin dancing, seating patterns in church and paskola dancing, etc.), right-left, dark-light symbolisms all of which tie into the male-female dichotomy in Mayo symbolism.

2.7.1. Liohnoka prayer is sacred talk, like alabanzas, deer songs, and paskola songs; these are grouped together by Mayos as a type of language which is memorized and of which every single part is sacred and invariable. It is always the same and prayers, like the

other forms mentioned with them, are restricted as to the appropriate time and place for their use, a certain social context and purpose. The full rosary is said by the paskome each Sunday during the konti (Sunday service), for example. The Hail Mary is said to protect against harmful or evil forces and to cure certain conditions. It is repeated many times to cure sterility in a woman, for example. The Credo is said by the paskome in front of the church cross on arriving at the church. The Credo and also Our Father are said by pariserom on different occasions. The prayers of the Rosary are some of the main Mayo prayers, though there are others that are used. The sign of the cross is said for a penance and also as a charm against witchcraft. They are often said in Spanish, though most people thought they ought to be done in Mayo. Some claimed that for some rituals the prayers were effective only in Mayo, 'because the dead cannot understand Spanish'.

The Mass of the Dead is frequently read by the maestro in connection with ceremonies throughout the year. It is given in Latin. The prayers which the maestro reads for the dead on All Souls, and several dozen other such rituals, are read from a small book which he carries with him and which only maestros are said to know fully. This body of knowledge, in Spanish, Latin, and Mayo, is all classified as liohnoka prayer.

The maestro also reads the names of the dead of each family at many house ceremonies through the year. These lists of names are kept in books (balem) by an older person in each household, these balem are also placed on the altar at ceremonies 'because the dead like the ceremonies'.

That body of literature classified as prayer, then, is dominantly but not exclusively associated with the maestro and the church. It is also connected with the household and crisis rites, with individual curing and preservation from fear of sickness, individual forgiveness, and certain prayers and literature classed as prayers are associated with certain of the social divisions formed in the society throughout the year, as well as with different varieties of supernatural power and meanings.

2.7.2. Alabanzas — the hymns (alabansam) that are sung by the women singers and the temasti mol (head sacristan) (at Homecarit, though none of the temastim at Bánari sang the alabanzam much of the time we were in Bánari) — are sacred literature also. They have invariable words like all of the speech characterized as liohnoka, and, excepting the rosary, they are considered esoteric knowledge possessed by the singers (cantoras), and the temastim. They are always sung by individuals in those statuses. That is to say there is no congregational singing. Certain alabanzam are connected with certain rituals and times. They often seem to be used like prayers. Many alabanzas are in Mayo as well as Latin.

2.7.3. Deer songs (maso bwikiam) are sung in the dance ramada in connection with the festivities held there during every major church pasko (fiesta). They are usually, though not invariably, present at a house pasko also. In this part of their roles they seem to be exclusively entertainers, for which they are generally paid and fed royally. The esoteric literature of which their memories are the repositories is in this context used as entertainment for the crowds at the ceremony.

This is only a part, and probably a less important part, that this literature plays in Mayo life, however. The sacredness of the deer songs is emphasized by everyone who speaks of them. The words have power, like the words of prayers. Indeed they are prayers. Mayos phrase it in terms much like this. Those who know these songs will not repeat them to just anyone just anytime. The texts are difficult to collect. This intense sacredness of the songs derives from their use in curing. In one ritual, a cure for rabies, the deer singers sing all night over a patient and go through a number of rituals with him, climaxing at dawn, then ruturn with him to his home, to be feasted by his family. Some women know deer literature, though we were not able to ascertain whether women participate in curing associated with the songs. It appears highly likely that they may be used by midwives, for example.

The following maso bwiki (deer song) is one of the ones used at the climax of the rabbit blood (tabutaohbo) cure for rabies.[6]

Basic stanza (sung six times)

1. besáte námuriúriútine námuriútine
   now we cloud is going to break cloud is going to break
2. besáte námuriúriútine námuriútine
   now we cloud is going to break cloud is going to break
3. besáte námuriúriútine námuriútine
   now we cloud is going to break cloud is going to break

Concluding stanza

4. ʔiyimĭnsu séye wáilo máiyačelu
   yonder place name dawn
5. bétukuni hiká?a tóloko namuta
   under this light blue cloud
6. tólobaúula hikáwi yumako
   gray with water top when it has reached
7. hiká?a báihewa yukuta káiya čó?ila
   this mist will rain sparkling
8. kómsa yumako besáte
   bottom until it has reached now we
9. námuriúriútine námuriútine
   cloud is going to break cloud is going to break
10. besáte námuriúriútine námuriútine
    now we cloud is going to break cloud is going to break

Now we are going to make thunder. (Now it is going to thunder.) Yonder in seyewailo, under the light of dawn, this light blue cloud is filling up, gray with water. When it has reached the top of the sky it will rain mist until it reaches the bottom. Now we are going to make thunder. Now we are going to make thunder.

The words of the deer songs also suggest they are concerned with weather control and the dead, though this may all relate mainly to health, which is the impression one gets from informant accounts. Their use and function are strikingly similar to those of the Catholic prayers.

2.7.4. Paskola songs—paskola sonim (tunes) — like maso bwikiam deer songs, are sacred. They are sung only at certain times and places, and are believed to have certain effects on the universes of nature and man. Their words are invariable and though they are sometimes known and sung by people other than paskolam, the paskolam are the main repositories of this more or less esoteric body of literature. The text of one paskola song which is said to imitate a young man courting the girls was said to relate to the romancing of young people at the pasko. This is in line with the fertility symbolism which always seems to appear regarding the paskolam.

tósale	nabómpo	ne	sáwali	wĭkit #
white	prickly pear in	I	yellow	bird
?ĭmi ne	tubúkteka,	?ĭmi ne	yéhtek #	
here I	bounce	here I	alight	
?ĭmi ne	tubúkteka,	wáam ne	yéhtek #	
here I	bounce	there I	alight	
ká	?in túrééwi	ka ne	?áma	póna#
not	my liking	not I	that	nibble
?in túréewi	hĭba ne	?áma	póna	
my liking	just I	that	nibble	
?in túréewi	hĭba ne	?áma	póna	
my liking	just I	that	nibble	

I'm a yellow bird in a white prickly pear, bouncing here, lighting here, bouncing here, lighting there. If it's not to my liking, I don't nibble it; just what I like I nibble.

Most paskola tunes seem to relate, at least overtly, to the animals of the forest, with the myths and powers of which the paskola is so familiar. Paskola songs may be distinguished from deer songs in terms of symbolic content, usage, and tradition. In linguistic form they are nearly identical relative to all other linguistic styles. The paskolam use irony and allegory to comment on current events and the structure of Mayo society. It might be assumed that some paskola songs contain threads of comment on Mayo social problems and current events.

3. Though approximately one-fourth to one-third of the Mayos in the lower Mayo River area below Camalobo are monolingual to the extent that they have great difficulty with even the simplest Spanish, bilingualism is valued highly by Mayos as utilitarian. Also monolingualism is not restricted to older generations. When a person is bilingual, Spanish is a secular language and Mayo is a sacred one. Mayo is spoken more often on ceremonial and religious occasions than Spanish. Most business transactions are made in Spanish, excluding those which are a part of traditional Mayo culture, such as money exchange (in ceremonial transactions) or barter between households, or 'paying' paskome and native specialists.[7]

Most of the Mayo church and pueblo leadership is bilingual, in greater proportion than the general population. The ability to be at ease with strangers, with mestizos and foreigners, is valued in leaders and they can only do this if they know Spanish as well as Mayo. According to the ideal pattern, they must also be able to give excellent hinabakam, however, and this requires eloquence in Mayo, as well. Failing to get this all in one person, there may be a division of communicative labor among the officials. Some, however, seem to be quite proficient in both languages.

As for third languages, some Latin is known and used by maestom, temastim, and cantoras, entirely as a ritual language. Interest in learning English is widespread among adults. Almost every family has an English grammar in paperback which they look at from time to time. The job possibilities are greatly enhanced for English speakers in the area. Nevertheless, no Mayo whom we knew from Bánari had a knowledge of English which even approached minimal requirements for utility in communication.

Though a great majority of Bánari Mayos speak some Spanish, Mayo is the language of the childhood of almost all of those who are now adults and Mayo is the principle language of the home for the children who are now growing up, in all but a very few homes. In some Mayo homes children are punished (however limited such effect might be) for speaking Spanish at home, particularly for calling parents, grand-parents and siblings by Spanish kin terms. They are expected to learn Spanish at school, so people will not think they are 'fools', as one informant explained, but to speak Mayo at home. There is, indeed, a strong and explicit identification between being a Mayo and speaking the Mayo language. Yoreme originally meant man who speaks Mayo. Yorememem is the Mayo word for themselves.

4. Yoremnoka (the Mayo language) is to the Mayos a sacred and powerful language for the following reasons:

The dead cannot hear any other language when the rituals are

read which they are supposed to hear.

The sacred speeches, hinabakam, in which the officials, maestrom, paskolam and other ceremonial participants give the basic rational or ceremonial activities at the time of their inceptions or conclusions are and must be given in eloquent Yoremnoka.

The deer songs, maso bwikiam, are in this language, an old form of it, some of the words of which are now so archaic that no one can now translate them into modern Mayo some say, but it is generally agreed that they are never sung lightly or on just any occasion, for they are very powerful. They are used in curing as well as for entertainment at ceremonies.

The myths and teachings of the old, ʔetehoim, or chats, can only be told with their full meaning in this language, for to translate them into Spanish or any other language would be to rob them of the power which they have in Yoremnoka. The hinabakam and maso bwikiam have even greater sanctity and are considered absolutely Mayo and untranslatable in spirit.

Such myths include the story of the cricket and the lion, the crucifixion of Christ, the murder of the Christ Child by the soldiers of Herod, the killing of the monster bird, Noah and the ark,[8] and the myths of the exploits of Banari San Juan, Our Father's and Our Mother's travels on the Fuerte River before the birth of the Christ Child, and so on. All these stories have their own Mayo twists and uniquely Mayo meanings.

The Credo, Our Father, Hail Mary, the Salve, The Gloria, and the Sign of the Cross, when said in Yoremnoka have particular magical potency, to such an extent it is difficult to collect the texts because repeating the words in any context is a powerful thing. Special uses are, for example, repeating the Hail Mary as a remedy for sterility in women, and for protection against witchcraft.

Yoremnoka is a symbol of solidarity to Mayos. This is fairly clearly stated and recognized by all. Yoreme Mayo man is a word which people repeatedly defined as man who speaks Mayo. Sometimes it is even stressed that he does not speak Spanish. Yoremnoka provides a medium of secret communication which all Mayos recognize and most value highly. The flattery of outsiders trying to learn the language is met with both satisfaction and apprehension. Mayos show satisfaction in that they are proud that even a non-Mayo can recognize the power of the language to bring wisdom and good health to the speaker. This must be why they are learning it (unless they are thought to be Mexican spies). But there is also apprehension that Mayo secrets will be violated if the new speaker gets the knowledge without the significance. No one is felt to be fully Mayo without some knowledge of Yoremnoka. It is said that 'No one can know everything', that there are so many songs, prayers, myths, and so much esoteric knowledge that it has to be divided among

specialists. And it is emphasized that in order to begin to tap any one of these vast stores of Mayo knowledge one must speak the sacred language well.

In conclusion we note that a complete ethnography of Mayo speaking must include at least both analysis of styles of verbal symbolism as well as consideration of bilingualism and the function of the Mayo language as a sacred symbol of Mayo ethnic unity as versus mestizos and other non-Mayos. In terms of styles of verbal symbolism we have pointed toward parameters such as chatting, formal speeches, and letters as well as oral history, different types of praying, and language use as based upon the sex of the speaker. These parameters prove useful both for the analyst focusing upon Mayo language use and for Mayos themselves discussing their own use of the Mayo language. Whether these same parameters prove useful in other ethnographies of speaking remains to be examined.

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NOTES

1. This study is based on a year's field research among the Mayo Indians of Navajoa and Huatabampo municipios, Sonora, Mexico, in 1960-61. Financing was provided by Social Science Research Council and Public Health Service, Institutes of Mental Health. I am grateful to Mary Foster for reading this paper and commenting on it.

2. There were approximately 45,000 Mayo speakers in 1961 living on the Mayo River in Sonora. Several thousand more live on the Fuerte River in Sinaloa.

3. Painter, et. al. (1955) is an example of a long hinabaka, or sermon. Spicer (1954) discusses the importance and forms of formal Yaqui speeches in Potam, pp. 160-166. Yaqui is a dialect closely related to Mayo.

4. See Lynne and Ross Crumrine, Monograph on the Mayo Indians (in progress), and Charles Erasmus (1961:276-277 and 1967: 99-100) for discussions of the burning of Mayo churches.

5. For an extended discussion of Čapakoba ritual see Ross Crumrine (1968).

6. We were not able to obtain this text in full from the informant. He described what it said and gave phrases from it so that we were able to identify it as this Yaqui song (Wilder 1963:188). The Mayo deer songs are largely the same as those in Wilder's (1963) collection.

7. For an extended discussion of Mayo ceremonial exchange see Lynne Crumrine (1966).

8. See Giddings (1959) for the Yaqui versions of many of these myths.