

Algonquian to which Day's publication so felicitously points.

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OTOMI PARABLES, FOLKTALES, AND JOKES.

Edited by H. Russell Bernard and Jesús Salinas Pedraza. IJAL Native American Texts Series, vol. 1, no. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976. Pp. vi + 120.

The editors present a collection of twenty Otomi texts in phonemic transcription, each with a literal and free translation into English. Tapes of the text material are stored in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. The parables and jokes referred to in the title are incorporated in the texts, all of which are narratives of some sort. There is no orientation note to tell us about the editors and their respective contributions. Is Jesús Salinas Pedraza an Otomi speaker? Did he supply the Otomi texts himself, or did he collect them from other Otomi speakers? What geographical area of Otomi do the texts represent? They are from the Mezquital Valley if we can judge from Bernard's previous publications. But there are local variations of Otomi even in the Mezquital, so that the town or municipality of the speaker would be relevant information.

The preface orients the reader to the orthography used in the phonemic transcription of the texts. It is basically an adaptation to the typewriter of the usual symbols. Unfortunately, the diacritics were omitted from the IPA equivalents for ts (ɕ), tš (č), š (š), ž (ž), and + (i). Also, the acute accent may have been omitted from the indication of high tone ́ (see discussion below). The adaptation to the typewriter uses consonant symbols for two of the vowel phonemes: v for the schwa ʌ and c for the low back vowel ɔ. The consonants v and c are not otherwise used in the Otomi orthography, so there is no ambiguity involved, but still the use of consonant symbols for vowels bothers me

aesthetically. However, a phoneme by any other name is still a phoneme and a vowel by some other symbol is still a vowel. The use of c as a vowel letter is particularly noticeable because, in the variety of Otomi represented in the texts, the stem-final vowel when non-final in the phrase is a nasalized low vowel and consequently is interpreted as an allophone of /ɔ/. In other parts of the Mezquital, the vowel is not nasalized and is grouped with the phoneme /a/. (The parallel vowel in State of Mexico Otomi is a front vowel, as it is in all of the dialects when in phrase-final position.) The unstressed vowel in several of the grammatical proclitics is also a low vowel, phonetically nasalized, and therefore grouped with /ɔ/. This vowel also corresponds to oral /a/ in other parts of the Mezquital. As far as I know, there is no contrast between the oral and nasalized vowels in these positions in any of the Otomi dialects.

The phonemic transcription of the Otomi is quite accurate as far as my knowledge of another dialect of Otomi allows me to judge. In most cases, I can read the transcription with understanding, having made the adjustments for orthography and having learned some of the specific traits of Mezquital Otomi. The editors are to be congratulated on a careful job of transcription. I found a few typographical errors in the Otomi, but they are rare.

The handling of phonemic tone in the texts reflects the uneven role of tone in the phonology and grammar of Otomi. Bernard states in the preface that native speakers who have been writing texts in this orthography omit the tone marks "because such markings are not needed by the native speakers." Certainly contrastive tone has much less of a functional load in Otomi than in other Otomanguean languages. And the importance of tone is different for different grammatical entities. The grammatical proclitics contain many minimal pairs which contrast high and low tones. On the other hand, tone is non-contrastive in syllables which follow the root. There are three tones that contrast on root syllables, but the segmental phonemes are often sufficient to identify the root, and the

minimal pairs that do exist are disambiguated by the context in most cases. (The practical orthography used by the Summer Institute of Linguistics writes tone only on the grammar proclitics.) In the texts edited by Bernard and Salinas, the rising tone on roots is written with double vowels and low tone with an underlined vowel. High tone is written with an accent over the vowel. There are, however, in the texts, any number of single vowels (as opposed to double), which do not have either an accent or an underline. Or, perhaps I have misinterpreted Bernard, and phonemic high tone is indicated by the absence of a diacritic on the single vowel, and the acute accent marks some sort of phrase stress. (He does not explain the unmarked vowels or the acute accents in the preface.) Probably the acute accents are those high tones which are reinforced by placement in the larger phonological unit, and thus more prominent phonetically, and recorded by Bernard in his transcription even though the marking is inconsistent with his phonemic system. The function of tone for distinguishing lexical items is weakened by the overlay of intonational pitch and modifications of tone in specific contexts by morphophonemic processes. As evidence of this fact, variant recordings of the same word can be cited. The following examples are taken from the text "The Story of a Day Laborer" (which is reproduced below): *woman* 'maéhñc (1), 'maehñc (2); *old woman* zí tiya (6), zí tiiya (23); *only* hccndc (6), hçndc (27); *chile sauce* nthccnt'í (6), nthccnt'í (27); *mouth* né (6), nee (27); *pant* di ñhaéni (6), ndj nhæni (28).

This brings me to some remarks about the adequacy of an essentially linear phonology, independent of grammar, for representing a language in writing. Bernard apparently accepts the Trager-Smith model which views phonology as a sequence of phonemes, including juncture phonemes, in the same string as segmental phonemes. He writes no punctuation except word space and the slash or sequence number that indicates pause. (Occasionally he inserts a sequence number, he says, even when there was no pause, in order to facilitate the reference to the trans-

lation.) Yet the unnaturalness of the restriction to a linear sequence of phonemes is evident in the way that intonation shows up in the supposedly phonemic transcription of pitch and duration in the texts. I have already mentioned the use of the acute accent for the more prominent high tones, and that prominence is at least partially due to intonation. The intonation is also reflected in the writing of expressive or emphatic length of vowel. For instance, in "The Story of the Day Laborer" (reproduced below), when the man's mother tells him that she was not given anything to eat, the word for *nothing* is recorded as ó'thóóó in sequence 23, and ó'thóó in sequence 27, as opposed to the nonemphatic form ó'thó in sequence 9. Note that the low tone of the nonemphatic form parallels a high tone in the emphatic form, accompanied by expressive length (three moras in the first case and two in the second). The accent marking the high intonation also serves to distinguish the long vowel from the rising tone, which is marked in the orthography by a double vowel. Another instance of variant recordings for normal and expressive intonation is the word *yes*, hcc in sequence 5, but hccccc in sequence 21. A phonemic transcription based on word phonology is not enough to record the pertinent information signaled by phonetic stream of speech.

I advocate the writing of Native American texts with punctuation. The use of punctuation would systematically handle at least some of the expressive and intonational uses of pitch and length. It would require more knowledge of the language by the one who is transcribing it. Yet it is misleading to give more importance to the actual pauses in a tape-recorded text than to the potential pauses that the grammatical structure would allow, or to the grammatical junctures which do not admit a pause but nevertheless have other effects on the finer phonetics in the neighborhood of the juncture (such as a drop in general pitch of the voice, etc.). Especially in these days when linguistic theory emphasizes the unity of grammar and phonology and when sociolinguistic policy advocates

full recognition of minority languages, it seems wrong to deprive the transcription of the native language of its rightful punctuation. Bernard has been successful in teaching native speakers to write the language phonemically (except for tone). Probably he can teach them to punctuate the sentences also. I recognize that punctuation is on a different level of psychological awareness than the phonemic spelling of words, because I too have watched native speakers of Otomi try to write their language. They use word space in unpredictable ways and use punctuation sparingly and inconsistently. (Even Spanish speakers with limited education write with little punctuation.) However, speakers can be made aware of the linguistic realities presented by punctuation. And texts written with proper punctuation are much easier to read and much less like a secret document to be decoded.

Otomi texts have the characteristic that the same incident is often mentioned twice: once as a preview to the action and then again in summing it up. I believe that is what is happening in 29 and 31. The preview and the summing up serve often as the boundary features of a paragraph. Discourse studies can reveal the devices a language exploits for giving cohesion to the units larger than a sentence, which constitute the paragraphs and other structured units of the discourse. Such larger units can be indicated by paragraph format and the like. Though the transcription of texts can be done fairly early in phonemic script and with a good degree of accuracy, the linguist's goal should not stop with a phonemic transcription, but should aim toward a fuller treatment of sentence, paragraph, and larger units in the discourse structure of the text. This is especially true if the language is destined to become a written means of communication. Another feature of Otomi texts is that direct conversation is often incorporated into a narrative without any transition or quotation phrases. The sequences 24, 25, and 26 gave Bernard some problems in translation, because these sequences come in the dialogue between the man and his mother, and one would normally

interpret them as referring either to the man or to his mother. But I have often heard Otomies insert quotes from someone else as they are speaking with someone. In spoken Otomi, there is often a change in voice quality or some other feature to cue the hearer to the fact that somebody is being quoted. Unfortunately, this does not normally show up in the phonemic transcription. The problem sequences here are better understood, I believe, if they are considered to be a quote of the rebellious words of the man's wife as she talked about why she was not going to feed her mother-in-law as she had been instructed.

In reproducing the text, I have attempted to supply the punctuation. I was guided in this by the literal and free translations furnished by Bernard. I also brought into play my knowledge of State of Mexico Otomi. I supply a new, semiliteral translation for the text, which reinterprets sequences 24, 25, and 26 as a quote within a quote, and corrects the translation of a couple of words: *né* is *mouth*, not *nose*; *dénthi* is *whip*, not *lazy one* (cf. *dchñei lazy*). The typographical error in the Otomi of sequence 28 is corrected to *nzv* (from *nev*). I have regularly separated by a word space the article *rə* where it had been written together with the preceding word. Phonetically it is a clitic and sometimes attaches itself to the preceding word, but grammatically it groups with the following noun or noun phrase. Bernard and Salinas write it sometimes free and sometimes as bound to the preceding word.

Ré 'Mede rc Maemapa

1. "Iivvv! Aa Mariya purísima, sin pekádo kósebiida!" eeng rc 'maéhñc, 'ná. 2. "Ki dee, 'maehñc!" 3. "Ki dee, dcme!" Eeng rc zí maemapa, zí lñívhv, bi zvv rc ngu, 'ná. 4. "Ha šké 'wĩngc ma mama?" 5. "Hcc, nũbyae ha ri wadi bi nt'oošĩ." 6. Ha hcncdc rc ndc nthccnt'ĩ šc tccmpc rc né, parc di ñháeni rc zí tiya, 'ná. 7. "Ha šc t'ñ'ł'ł, mama?" 'ná. 8. Ha nu'łc, šc ti huhae, huhae, huhae, 9. pa ke dc t'aeaembi šc nũni, ha ó'tho, 'ná. 10. Ha nú'łc rc 'maehñc (eembĩ rc ts'ixwae) go šc ntitho, 'ná. 11. "Gc ntsaaye, dcme? Ya xani

ri zı mfıdı. O gi nt'ooši?" 12. "Hınc, hın dı nekc nt'ooši, 13. yaa štć tsii ma zı sei." 14. Aa, ndełmı, ge dc tsaaya 'mı. 15. Bi ntsaaya rc zı ñ'vhy ha rc mfıdı, 16. yaa špc zabi rc 'maefı. 17. 'nep+ bi má, nguu nz±ngc n'la šúdi, nz+ngc yóhó šúdi, 18. i bi nuupyae rc ñ'vhy c, 19. zopyae rc mama, 'ná. 20. "Mama, mama, ha gı núhu?" 21. "Hcc ccc." 22. "Há bi t'á'c ri zı nt'ooši má ndee?" 23. "Hınc, ó'thóó," engc zı tiya, 'ná. 24. "Nde kúnke gı eeng gc úmbc, 25. bí nde naangi, gı umbc rc zı hñuni, 26. ndé te gc paeı?" 27. Hınc, ó'thóó, hçndc ndc nthcncnt'ı bi góskc má nee, 28. ndı nhaeni de ngc nzv ri zı 'maefı." 29. 'M+, nú'm+ naangi 'm+, énc, eeng rc ñ'vhy, 'ná. 30. "Naangi, 'máehñc, naangi." 31. Bi naangc rc ñ'vhy, 32. gćk rc ndc dcnthı, 33. šckc suurra, bi úmbc rc 'máehñc.

The Story of the Day Worker

1. "Eee! Purest Ave María, conceived without sin!" the woman cried. 2. "Good afternoon, woman!" 3. "Good afternoon, husband!" The working man asked as he returned home, 4. "Did you feed my mother?" 5. "Yes, she is just finishing eating." 6. And it was really only that she had rubbed chile sauce on her mouth so that the old lady would pant, so they say. 7. "Did they feed you, mother?" he says. 8. And she just pants and pants, so that one would think she had eaten, when in fact she hadn't had a thing, so they say. 11. "Will you rest, husband? There is your bed. Or will you have supper?" 12. "No. I don't want supper, 13. I have already drunk my pulque." 14. O, then, he will rest then. 15. The man rested on his bed, 16. he was tired from his work. 17. Then time passed, (and) about one A.M. or two A.M. 18. the man woke up 19. (and) he woke up his mother, so they say. 20. "Mother, mother, are you awake?" 21. "Yes." 22. "Did they give you anything to eat last night?" 23. "No, nothing," says the old lady, so they say. 24. "Why do you think I'm going to give to her? 25. Why should I get up and give her something to eat? 26. Why should I do anything?" 27. No, nothing. She only rubbed my mouth with the old chile sauce 28. so I would be panting when you got

home from work." 29. Then he got up, (and) the man said, so they say, 30. "Get up, woman, get up!" 31. The man got up, 32. grabbed a whip, 33. (and) he really gave his wife a whipping.

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COYOTE WAS GOING THERE: INDIAN LITERATURE OF THE OREGON COUNTRY. By Jarold Ramsey. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977. Pp. xxxix + 295. \$14.95.

In this volume, Ramsey has collected some 100-odd English versions of Indian legends from the Northwest Coast, the Oregon Plateau, and the Great Basin. Most of them, as the title suggests, are coyote stories; most have appeared before in scholarly journals and monographs. The stated purpose of the collection is to make the texts available "to the general public as literature." The volume is expressly aimed at "the Northwesterner interested in Indian arts" and "the young Oregon Indian trying to repossess his cultural heritage." Since the stories themselves are reproduced with minimal redaction and emendation from papers by Boas, Gatschet, Fractenberg, Phinney, Hymes, and Jacobs, I will confine my comments to the book's "Introduction" and *raison d'être*.

Ramsey states in the opening pages that his concerns are literary rather than ethnographic, arguing that native Oregonian texts "make very good sense to general audiences with a minimum of footnoting" (p. xix) and urging the reader "to discover *for himself* how richly imaginative and expressive they are" [emphasis mine]. This is, I suppose, a legitimate, if somewhat unfair, request. After all, a person can read and enjoy such masterpieces of English literature as *King Lear* or *Alice in Wonderland* without detailed exegeses; a reader can "make sense" of haiku verses without full accounts of Japanese poetic conventions. *Reading and making sense of*