

## **“Like this it stays in your hands”: Collaboration and Ethnopoetics**

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The responsibility that comes with knowledge in an oral tradition is the subject of a talk by Yoeme deer singer Miki Maaso, which we translate and discuss in this essay. How knowledge and responsibility are linked in ethnopoetics is our subject.

Projects that produce American Indian oral traditions as “oral literature”—as texts for ethnopoetic analysis, discussion, and appreciation—have been sponsored most frequently in institutions of “higher education” (colleges and universities) and conducted by individual scholars as a part of their own research agendas. These projects generally have proceeded from conception to publication through four phases: planning, performing/recording, transcribing/translating, and analyzing/writing. Community-based American Indian intellectuals have been most involved in the second phase, as performers, and in the third phase, as transcribers/translators, and most uninvolved in the first, as planners, and the last, as writers.

We understand “collaboration” as a process of working together cooperatively on projects. We recognize that in studies of oral traditions what have been called collaborations are highly variable endeavors. The field worker who buys an hour or two from a narrator may come away saying that he or she collaborated in the recording of an oral tradition. And from one perspective they did. More commonly and in our own usage, collaboration connotes a much more intricate sharing of the work of recording oral traditions as well as an aspiration to make that work less hierarchical than it has been in the past. Judging by our own experience, collaborations, even those that involve the same participants at different times, are never static processes. Goals—such as “equality”—may be invoked, but just what constitutes “equal” participation in a given project is determined not only by the roles and desires of the participants but also by the particular historical context within which they work.

A much more negative connotation of collaboration looms large in

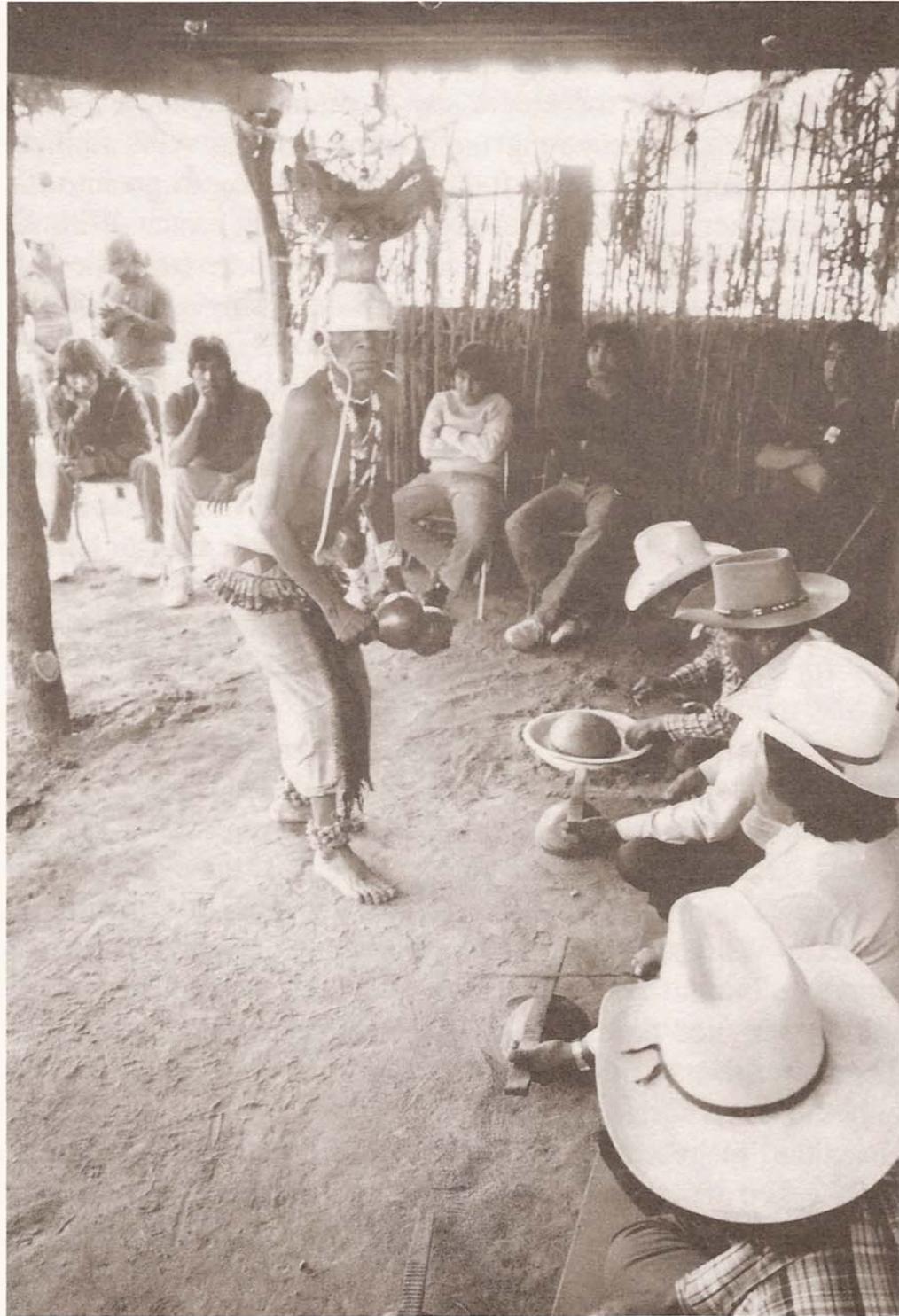
most particular historical contexts concerning American Indians. Collaboration in this sense is well expressed by a definition from the *American Heritage Dictionary*: “to cooperate treasonably, as with an enemy occupying one’s country.” Frances Karttunen’s *Between Worlds* (1994) is a very wide-ranging, careful study of a dozen such collaborative contexts. At the center of each is an individual torn between a desire to cooperate in a joint intellectual effort with someone from the “other side” and the recognition that such cooperation will constantly raise the issue of treason in the native community. Karttunen demonstrates in very specific ways that these “interpreters” throughout the world have acted as “bridges between their own worlds and another, unfamiliar one” (Karttunen 1994:xiv). The span to be bridged has frequently been opened and defined by paired roles: visitor/resident, colonist/native, ally/enemy, administrator/ward, investigator/informant, teacher/student, employer/employee, and so on.

Sorting through the ways in which these pairs are or are not equivalent with each other and with the roles the two of us assume in our own project is too large a subject for us here. What we acknowledge at the outset is a history of differential power relations between Indians and non-Indians in “collaborative” work that we renounce but cannot escape. This is a sense of collaboration we work vigorously not simply to resist but to transform.

In this essay we ask narrowly focused questions in relation to these large issues: what difference does it make when collaboration between community-based American Indian scholars and university-based non-native scholars extends through each of the four stages we have outlined above? What happens when Native Americans are involved as planners and writers, as well as performers and translators? We will address these questions together in this essay. Everything we have written we both have read, considered, and edited. Still, we have maintained our separate experiences and voices here. The original author of each section is identified as FM (Felipe Molina) or LE (Larry Evers). In addition, we use four asterisks as a marker to signal a shift between our voices.

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FM: I have become interested in the many aspects of the deer dance songs since I first worked with Larry Evers on the deer songs back in the 1970s. Since that time I have learned and studied many deer songs. The young boys I have worked with are now adults and some have continued to practice and participate in the village *pahkom* (ceremonies). It seems as if more and more young folks are interested in the deer songs all the time. I



Luis Maaso, deer dancer, performs to the deer singing of his brother Miki (third from right) in the *rama* (ceremonial shade structure) at Felipe S. Molina's home, Yoem Pueblo, Marana, Arizona, December 22, 1987. As he sings, Miki Maaso plays *hirukiam*, wood rasps held on a half gourd resonator. Two of his sons (first and second from right) also play *hirukiam* as they accompany Miki. Another son (fourth from the right) plays a water drum, a half gourd floating in a basin of water, as he too joins in the singing. Audience members visible behind the deer dancer are Yaqui men who are learning the arts of Yaqui deer singing and deer dancing. Photograph taken by David Burckhalter and included here with his permission.

continue to teach them if they are willing to learn with their good hearts.

The songs say and teach so much. It is really a remarkable way to learn and then teach. As the elders say in their sermons, a Yoeme must learn and then teach to the young the Yoeme truth as well as the elders' truth. This knowledge will make it easier for a person to go into the spirit world after his or her time is up here on this weeping earth. With all that I had already learned and a great desire to learn still more from the elder deer singers, I came up with an idea to hold a deer singers' conference. I brought this idea to Larry's attention. Larry also liked the idea. We dwelt on the idea for days. I even mentioned the singers I would invite to participate in such a conference. We made a list of them. We talked about this conference for many weeks. I imagined the many deer singers sitting in a big circle and talking about certain words and ideas that I wanted to learn more about. I was really excited about the whole thing.

Finally, after talking and thinking about it, we decided that such a conference was possible and that it was a great idea but that we weren't quite ready for it. Finding the money and organizing it would be a big job. We both had many other things to do. Maybe someday in the future it would be possible, but for now, we said back then, it was a little too much work. But it was definitely something we wanted to do.

Then one day I was casually browsing through some books at the University of Arizona Main Library when Joseph Wilder came by. Joseph is the Director of the Southwest Center at the University of Arizona. His father, Carleton Wilder, wrote a book about the Yaqui deer dance. Joe has had an interest in the Yaqui people for a long time. We greeted one another, and he invited me into his office. After we talked for a while, he asked me what projects Larry and I were doing. I mentioned the continuing work with the deer songs. "You and Larry are always making things happen," he said respectfully. Then he told me that he had some funding monies and asked if we wanted to work on a project. I was completely surprised and happy at the same time. Right away I mentioned to him my idea for a deer singers' conference. Joe was all for it. I thanked him and left his office feeling elated. I couldn't wait to run over to Larry's office and tell him the great news.

Larry and I talked over how we could best use the funding to make my conference idea happen. We concluded that we would not try to bring all of the many singers on my first list and talked now about whom we should actually invite. Finally we decided that we would go to Potam and talk with some people there about it before we decided. So we started planning and the project was underway.

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LE: The two of us have worked together on a number of projects during the last fifteen years. Some have resulted in publication: a videotape on the deer dance, *Seyewailo* (1978); books on two song genres, *Yaqui Deer Songs/Maso Bwikam* (1987) and *Wo'i Buikam: Coyote Songs* (1990); and a monograph on Yaqui history, "*Hiakim: the Yaqui Homeland*" (1992). Our common goal in these publications has been to reproduce texts that we hope will interest and serve both Yaqui and non-Yaqui audiences.

Felipe Molina has participated actively in all stages of these projects, though I initiated each. In the context of our work, then, the deer singers' conference was unique because Felipe took a lead role in the collaboration. He had the idea for the deer singers' conference, secured the funding, and took the lead in both conducting the conference and carrying it through to publication on audiotape and in print.

The conference was held December 21-25, 1987, at Yoem Pueblo, Marana, Arizona. The featured participants, who traveled from the Rio Yaqui area in Sonora to participate, were Luis Maaso, a deer dancer, and his brother Miki Maaso, a deer singer. Three of Miki Maaso's adult children—Julian, Cresencio, and Ramon—accompanied him in his deer singing. Guillermo Amarillas Flores from Potam served as their *moro*, or manager. About ten young deer singers (their ages ranged from 12-26) from Old Pascua and New Pascua, Yaqui communities in the Tucson area, as well as other residents from Yoem Pueblo, participated. Miki Maaso and his group talked, performed, and worked with interested members of the Yaqui communities almost every hour during the four day visit. Some of these sessions we recorded; some we did not. In one sense the conference could be said to have included all the interactions Miki Maaso and his group had with the Yaqui community from the time they arrived in Yoem Pueblo until they left on Christmas day. I think that is the way Miki Maaso thought of the conference. There were a number of more "bounded" performances. On December 22, Miki Maaso conducted a long afternoon session for a group of the younger Arizona singers. He began with a talk about deer singing and followed with the performance of a number of songs. His sons accompanied him in singing, and his brother, Luis, performed as deer dancer. We invited a number of non-Yaquis to this performance. These were mostly friends who have a long acquaintance with the Yaqui community but also included several acquaintances who happened to be visiting Tucson during the winter holidays. We have transcribed the text that we discuss later in this paper from that performance. The following day, December 23, the conference continued

with a closed session. Miki Maaso, Luis Maaso, and the others in their group met all day with Arizona Yaqui singers at the Yoem Pueblo community building. Though many things were discussed during this extended session, we recorded only the talk about the *maso me'ewa* ceremony, which is a special form of the deer dance sometimes performed on the anniversary of the death of a loved one, and Miki Maaso's versions of the songs associated with that ceremony. On the following afternoon, December 24, Miki Maaso took it upon himself to call the people of Yoem Pueblo together. He thanked them for hosting him and his group with a lengthy sermon and followed this with deer singing and dancing. By late afternoon, it had begun to snow, an unusual event in the lower Santa Cruz valley. We drove Miki Maaso and his group into Tucson where they had been invited to perform at a ceremony a family was sponsoring there. The group performed throughout the night for a large audience of Yaqui people from the Old Pascua community. At the request of the family sponsoring the ceremony we did not record any of the deer singing at Old Pascua that Christmas Eve and morning. The snow continued to fall during the night, and the deer dancer went out several times to "play" in the snow. About midday on Christmas, Joseph and Margaret Wilder drove an exhausted Miki Maaso and his group back to Sonora.

Thus far, we have published material recorded during the conference in several forms. We duplicated the tape recordings that we made on December 22 and 23 and gave copies to all the Yaqui participants. When we completed transcription and translation of the material recorded on December 22, we had copies spiral-bound and then circulated these for comment to many who were present, as well as to others in the Yaqui community and in the American Indian Studies Program at the University of Arizona. Subsequently, we published a revision of the complete transcription and translation of Miki Maaso's performance on December 22 as "The Elders' Truth: A Yaqui Sermon" in the *Journal of the Southwest* (Maaso et al. 1993). An audiocassette of the performance published there is available from the Southwest Center, University of Arizona. Not to be lost in this litany is the fact that the audiocassette includes the talk by Miki Maaso that we discuss and present later in this essay. Those who would like to listen to the Yaqui we transcribe and translate below should contact the Southwest Center at the University of Arizona for a copy.

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FM: "*Ala ini tua Yoem hoara!* / This is really a Yoeme home!" Miki said when our van drove into Yoem Pueblo in December, 1987. He was



Miki Maaso, deer singer (first on right), and Luis Maaso, deer dancer (fourth from right), pose with Miki's sons in front of Felipe S. Molina's home, Yoem Pueblo, Marana, Arizona, December 22, 1987. Photograph taken by David Burckhalter and included here with his permission.

very happy to arrive. When we parked in our yard, my mother came out to greet us. Usually the elder man of the house gives the formal greeting to visitors. I regretted that, since my grandfather had died, our household lacked an elder man to fill this role. Miki himself gave a formal speech to us at the house, and we all responded politely to his speech and welcomed him and his party in. My mother had prepared supper for them. I sensed that Miki and his sons were comfortable because the Yoeme language was being spoken in our house.

My house is small, but we managed to get everybody in and to find room for them to sleep. It was December and cold, so many were reluctant to go outside. Timothy Cruz, a young man who was staying with me at that time, worked hard to make Miki and the others comfortable. He had a big stereo and played Mexican music. Also, he rented Mexican videos to entertain our guests. We played the video we made of the Yaqui deer dance, *Seyewailo*, over and over at their request. Luis Maaso is the deer dancer on that videotape, and he and the others seemed to enjoy watching it very much.

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LE: I liked the conference idea when Felipe brought it up, but I was reluctant about it too. About that time I had taken on an administrative job in my department and was finding it more and more difficult to make time. I preferred some of the other project ideas Felipe and I had talked about pursuing, and I pushed in those directions: how about working on another genre of Yaqui verbal art, maybe stories? Or finding someone from another tribal background, say one of the Pueblos, to work with us on a comparative study? Or how about writing a novel together, an idea we had talked about for years? We had already worked together extensively on deer songs, and, for my part, I felt the work with deer songs had gone far enough. I was wary of pushing. Deer singing is a life's work for Felipe, but not for me. I remember saying that I was ready to work on something "new." Felipe and I talked through different ideas several times, but each time he returned to the conference. It was what he really wanted to do. I said, fine, but let's wait awhile on this one. Since my role in our continuing collaboration has usually included proposal writing and fund raising, I recognize that this suggestion was a kind of trump card. What pushed me into action on this project was the meeting between Felipe and Joseph Wilder in the University Library. The excitement and the eagerness have never been more visible to me than when Felipe came over after that

meeting: guess what, Larry, it's time for the deer singers' conference after all!

What motivated the conference project for Felipe seems very clear to me. It was an opportunity to learn more about the tradition in which he participates, and through his participation to contribute to its continuance in his community. What motivated my participation was a desire to support Felipe in work he felt was important. What I wanted from the project, my "research agenda," took shape within the framework Felipe established in initiating the project. To divide and assign motivations this way is too simple, for I am sure that as we have worked together over the years we have each internalized and assimilated the other's agenda. But the fact remains that if I had been the one doing the initiating I would have tried to start us on another kind of project.

Once Felipe had established the conference as the project, I began to think of it as a setting that might generate a community-based discourse on deer singing and its place in contemporary Yaqui culture, a subject that we had opened in our book *Yaqui Deer Songs* but had not adequately explored. During our planning discussions I tried to foreground this consideration with a number of questions: when and how are deer singers motivated to "explain," to talk about what they do? What form do these explanations take? How might such explanations be generated during this conference? These questions brought up a list of phrases and ideas that we had discussed and thought about together before. Finding out more about these became a part of our agenda.

The absence of commentary from community-based Native American intellectuals, "real Yaqui thinkers" in Felipe's phrase, haunts and undermines the burgeoning ethno-poetics movement. A "you perform, we interpret" division of labor is not only pervasive, but is frequently assumed to be inevitable. Moreover, the fact that when community-based American Indians do participate in ethno-poetic projects their contributions are rarely represented on title pages and in copyrights further bedevils the field. The inaugural volume in an ambitious new series on Native American literatures from the Smithsonian Institution, *On the Translation of Native American Literatures*, edited by Brian Swann, is unfortunately exemplary in this regard. The book collects articles on Native American poetics from some twenty-three authors. Not one is a Native American. This is an absence noted by the editor. He quotes Judith Berman on the subject in his introduction: "The meanings and uses of Native American literature can be very different to the Native Americans who make it than to the scholars that study it," she says. "The question must be raised whether we really want to confine the privilege of explaining native culture to those who have

mastered Western academic discourse” (1992:xix). I join a chorus (that I am sure includes the contributors to the Smithsonian collection) in answering quickly: “no.” But the challenge remains: when, where, and how will other kinds of explanations emerge? Where are the community-based “explainers”? How can we listen to them? What places can be created to make what they have to say available to more of us outside their communities who would listen? How can they be encouraged to author their own explanations?

I have used the phrase “community-based American Indian intellectuals” several times now. Let me comment briefly on what I am trying to get at with this identification, for it is a distinction that will raise very sensitive identity issues for some. I mean the phrase to be descriptive, not evaluative. What I am trying to describe are those “real Yaqui thinkers” whose intellectual authority is recognized within a Yaqui community. People in the community may or may not agree with what they say but they do recognize a “community-based intellectual” as a “real thinker” and as a member of the community. A “community-based American Indian intellectual” may well participate in other arenas as well. He or she may have an appointment at a university or community college or a school district. “Community-based” and “university-based” are not mutually exclusive in this distinction. Still, there are many American Indian intellectuals whose authority is recognized within higher education who are unrecognized, even unknown, in the tribal communities with whom they claim affiliation. The authority they claim as American Indian intellectuals is certainly real and valid, but it is significantly different from the authority of someone, like Miki Maaso or Felipe Molina, who is community-based. I understand that this opens a very complex issue, one that I am not able to pursue here. What, for example, is a “community” in this usage and how does “community” relate to family, clan, village, or the corporate entity known as tribe? What of the very real and vital urban Indian communities that exist in so many cities? What is an “intellectual” in this context? Are “real Yaqui thinkers” only those with a special, or even exotic, ritual knowledge? What other community knowledges are valued in this way?

In any case, I believe that Felipe proposed a “conference” as an activity familiar both within the mission of our sponsor, a university research center, and within his work in various school-based, bilingual, cultural programs. During our planning we worked together to redefine “conference” to suit our needs: the featured participants would be those recognized for their knowledge in the Yaqui world; the setting would be a *heka* (a shade house with one or more open sides, also called a *rama*, from Spanish, *ramada*; see Molina and Shaul 1993) at Felipe’s house, not on

campus or in a convention center or hotel; the language of the conference would be Yaqui, not English or Spanish; and the conference “proceedings” would be published in forms that were useful and readily available to Yaqui communities as well as academic communities. For us, that meant making audiotapes as well as printed versions published both in Yaqui and in English translation.

Although we redefined the setting considerably, Miki Maaso, the featured “visiting scholar,” was quick to remind us that in order to participate he must accomplish redefinitions of his own. Early in his talk, translated below, he stresses the unconventionality of the occasion: “like this, nobody said it to me nicely.” How one learns about deer singing, and how members of the community react to how one learns, became a major theme of his talk. “Nobody taught me,” he says repeatedly, “I just caught it on the blowing wind and put it together in my head.” Miki Maaso thus raised a set of issues for himself: what are “traditional” settings for the transmission of the special knowledge of deer singing in Yaqui culture, how does he as a singer relate to them, and how does an unconventional setting such as this “conference” figure in? Our previous work with Don Jesus Yoilo’i, a respected elder deer singer from Potam, touched on some of these questions. Don Jesus described his participation in sessions during which he and his peers gathered to practice the songs they had learned from elders. He called these occasions schools, *ehkuelam* (Evers and Molina 1987:65-66). From Don Jesus and other singers, we learned that an “apprenticeship” is common. Such an apprenticeship might include hanging around with a deer singers group, sitting with them during a ceremony, then being given a chance to sing during the early morning hours of a ceremony or at other “off” times, and eventually coming into a group as a water drummer or assistant (second or third position) rasper (Evers and Molina 1987:77). Miki Maaso acknowledges these opportunities but says they were not available to him. He heard the songs and more of the elders’ truth from singers at Pitaya Pueblo, “but those Yoeme elders did not teach me” (lines 157-169). He suggests that they in fact used a series of cautionary customs to keep him from the instruments of deer singing: “not just anyone can pick up these rasps.” “Like this,” he says, “they used to scare me.” Rather than the “schools” of Don Jesus or an apprenticeship process, Miki Maaso emphasizes a more individual source for his knowledge about deer singing. He locates this knowledge in a solitary, spiritual encounter with the powers that reside in the mountains surrounding the Rio Yaqui pueblos, in the *yo hoaram*, the enchanted homes, of the *huya ania*, the wilderness world.

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FM: Miki Maaso tells us that many people claim that he received his knowledge from the *yo ania*. However, he tells us that he received his knowledge from the freely blowing wind. To hear a statement like this is not uncommon in Yoeme communities. During the deer singers' conference, Miki Maaso was confident and comfortable with the audience listening to him. He felt they could understand him, so he wanted to convey what he had in his heart and mind.

Sometimes it is hard to bring up personal and spiritual thoughts to a group because many times the listeners are not ready for such information. When I myself have to talk about Yoeme culture, I am sometimes uncomfortable because people may not understand or accept the talk. I say this because Miki tells us that he received knowledge from the blowing wind. He says it this way to mean that it could come from the *yo ania*, the *huya ania*, or directly from God. He does not want to be more specific than that. He brings it up because he is comfortable with his audience, but even with this audience he does not want to be too specific.

The Yoeme spiritual worlds are still discussed and they have been written about to some extent. By now knowledge of them has reached many non-Yoeme people. I think Miki stressed this subject during the deer singers' conference to expose the young audience to what is out there for them. He doesn't go into detail about these worlds, but he does touch on them. When elders talk about certain people with special talents, they say, "*a miiki* / he is given it" or "*a mikwa* / he is being given it." These talents are received from those spiritual worlds and from God. Parents and elders talk to their children and friends about those spiritual worlds and point out that through the will of God or involvement with the spiritual worlds their children might receive some of these talents in their lifetimes.

It was good that Miki Maaso decided to share this personal information with the group because it teaches and helps the young people understand and to respect those aspects of Yoeme life, especially the spiritual worlds.

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LE: How are we to understand "*waa yo'ora lutu'uria* / the elders' truth"? And how does the truth that Miki Maaso has acquired and now discusses relate to it?

Reading the published literature on Yaqui culture I learn that the

elders' truth may be thought of as knowledge about living in the Yaqui world that, by virtue of being held in the memories of respected community members, is considered to be central. The role of the community looms large in the definition of this knowledge. Knowledge could only be considered to be "the elders' truth" if it is enacted in the community and recognized by the community. Edward H. Spicer writes that those who actively recognize the obligations of Yaqui religion and who submit themselves throughout their lives to fulfilling them are "said to have *lutu'uria*, to have demonstrated this highest of all human qualities" (1980:85). Acts in the world of Yaqui ceremonialism are a key element: "Whatever goodness of spirit one may have must be expressed in ceremonial labor if it is to be recognized and spoken of as *lutu'uria*" (Spicer 1980:95). *Lutu'uria* cannot be realized merely by having thoughts or dreams or visions of certain kinds.

There is then a sense in which the *pahko* becomes a kind of "proving ground." Not just anyone can pick up the deer singers' rasps. Whatever misgivings the community may have about an individual who does pick them up are quieted when that individual answers a sacred request and performs during a community *pahko*. Miki Maaso is quick to remind us of this in his discussion of the sources of his own knowledge about deer singing:

I continue to stand up with that,  
the sacred request that settles in my hands.

The *pahko* is a place where an opposition between knowledge gained in the towns and knowledge gained in the mountains is negotiated.

Certainly, as Miki Maaso describes it, his knowledge, his *lutu'uria*, has an oppositional quality. He is explicit in saying that it does not come from "the eight holy churches that sit side by side," that is, from the traditional religious centers of the eight Yaqui pueblos. Rather this knowledge comes from the mountains where another world exists that mirrors the one that occupies our everyday senses. Subsequent performance during the ceremonies in the towns will be the occasion for this knowledge to be recognized and validated. Service performed in the context of community-sanctioned ceremonialism marks Miki Maaso's knowledge as "*lutu'uria*."

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FM: *Waka uhwanta*, the sacred request, is an important Yoeme custom. Miki Maaso dwells on it in his sermon. The noun *uhwani* is closely related to the verb *bwaana*, to cry or to weep. The sacred request is an essential part of every *pahko*. The *waka uhwanta* is made by the sponsors, who are called *pahkome*. They approach the ceremonial groups they need for the *pahko*. Usually this is the church group and the deer dance group. Formal speeches are given and other customs follow. For example, to request the services of the deer group, the *pahkome* go to the *moro ya'ut*, the lead manager. After he agrees that he will get the necessary performers together for a deer dance, the *moro ya'ut* accepts a lighted cigarette from the *pahkome*. This seals the agreement. The *moro ya'ut* then carries the sacred request to the various performers taking along cigarettes provided by the *pahkome*. Once accepted, this agreement cannot be broken. This is the way we approached Miki Maaso about participating in our conference.

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LE: Our use of traditional customs when we approached Miki Maaso is one reason that he chooses to respond to our conference as a *pahko*. He goes to some length to note that he is participating in response to a sacred request and comments on how hard it was for the sponsors of the event, us, to deliver that request. He regards and treats us, self-described “project directors,” as the *pahkome*, the sponsors of a *pahko*. In positioning himself to “lecture” at the conference, he takes a place in the *heka*, just as he would for deer singing during a *pahko*, seated on mats facing the area in which the deer dances take place. Perhaps more importantly, he chooses to use the Yaqui sermon, *hinavaka*, as the genre in which to talk about deer singing. Throughout he emphasizes that the elders’ truth is not easy, that it is not just a matter of talk. It may be easy to talk about, he says, but it is hard to live. Talk must be lived to be “truth,” and living the truth is not easy. Spicer writes, “the harsh disciplines of Yaqui religious life are inextricably connected in Yaqui thought with the hard times of ordinary life and regarded as the essence of the Yaqui lot in the universe” (1980:312).

“Saving” or “preserving” oral traditions “for future generations” is easily the most frequently cited goal in ethnopoetic projects launched from institutions of higher education. But, as a rhetoric, it has frequently been used to enable goals very highly distanced from any context for community-based learning.

Felipe's most constant institutional affiliation during the years I have known him has been with the schools and more specifically with bilingual, multi-cultural projects in the schools. He links "study" and "explanation" with teaching and sees the schools as a place for the perpetuation of Yaqui culture through formal education. A major reason that he is motivated to bring Yaqui oral traditions into print and onto electronic media is so that they can be used in the schools. I think it likely that many other community-based Native Americans who speak their languages, who are knowledgeable about their cultures, and who are willing and able to enter the dialogue on how their cultures are explained are similarly situated in the schools. Thus, we advocates of ethno poetics who sit in our English, anthropology, or linguistics departments at universities and wait for American Indian peoples to walk in and begin a dialogue are likely to continue to talk to ourselves. Significant numbers of American Indian people are hard at work in the schools, trying to bring their traditions into print and onto electronic tape, thinking about the issues of cross-cultural communication that arise when they do so. Community-based bilingual or "cultural" programs—in community schools, in tribal cultural affairs offices, or in community museums—are neglected opportunities for those who would like to find common ground on which to develop cross-cultural explanations.

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FM: How do we know a sermon is a sermon? Well, first of all it is sacred. God and all the saints are mentioned, then the ancestors, and so on, usually at the beginning of the sermon. Miki Maaso, however, does this to close out his talk (lines 393 and following). Maybe he did not begin in the traditional way because we threw him off by rushing in and telling him what to do, or perhaps it was because this was a new situation for him. I know he was wondering, "what am I supposed to do? This isn't a *pahko*, but it's sort of like one. . . ." He had to figure out how to make his words and ideas fit the occasion.

Also, we know that this is a sermon because it is not ordinary language or speech. It sounds different: the tone changes, the rhythm is more abrupt, not harsh, but measured. Also, it contains much of the elders' truth, the Yoeme truth, and goodness, which is the same as truth. The Yoeme say *tu'uwata nooka*, "talking about goodness," in reference to the content. A sermon can include nothing bad, no insults, but only goodness.

The Yoeme say that it is hard for one who is *ka bwe'um hiapsek* ("not having big heart") to give a sermon. Speakers are said to be *ka*

*bwe'um hiapsek* when the voice is unsteady or the volume is inconsistent. The speech used in a sermon should be very pleasing to hear.

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LE: Muriel Thayer Painter writes that sermons or ritual speeches are a part of almost all Yaqui ceremonies, and that they are “thought of as general instruction for the people in ancient Yaqui spiritual and religious beliefs and moral codes, as well as explanations of the meanings of the ceremonies” (1986:112). A *hinavaka* is a formal speech delivered on a wide variety of Yaqui occasions: baptisms, weddings, wakes, and all village *pahkom*. In English, Yaquis refer to a *hinavaka* as a sermon. The sermon is usually delivered by elders who have particular roles in the ceremonies. Deer singers, for example, give a sermon at a prescribed time during each ceremony they perform. This time is early in the morning, an hour or two before dawn. They may talk about the difficulty of accepting the sacred request to participate in the ceremony, about how they made it through the long night, and about the thanks they have for the sponsors of the ceremony. Painter writes that Yaqui sermons “are delivered in a formal, authoritative tone and with dignified demeanor. All are, or are by tradition expected to be, couched in the Yaqui language. . . . When an informant quotes from a sermon or speech, his conversational, informal manner changes, and he speaks in a loud and measured tone” (1986:113).

The particular “sermon” we are considering here was delivered at what we called a “conference,” so a comparison with the “lecture,” the genre most closely associated with a conference, is useful. Erving Goffman writes that “a lecture is an institutionalized extended holding of the floor in which one speaker imparts his views on a subject, these thoughts comprising what can be called his ‘text.’ The style is typically serious and slightly impersonal, the controlling intent being to generate calmly considered understanding, not mere entertainment, emotional impact, or immediate action” (1983:165). In a lecture, as in a Yaqui sermon, evidence of a “high style” is desirable: elegance of language, and other aspects of “expressive” writing allow the audience, as Goffman puts it, “to feel that its producer has lent himself fully to this particular occasion of communication” (189). “Truth” is an issue as well: “constituent statements presumably take their warrant from their role in attesting to the truth, truth appearing as something to be cultivated and developed from a distance, coolly, as an end in itself” (165). A key difference between the aim of a lecture in higher education and a sermon in Yaqui culture, then, is where truth is located. A truth without heart, one held only in the head, is no truth at all in Yaqui

culture.

\*\*\*\*

FM: The common phrase “like this it stays in your hands” is usually said right at the end of a formal speech, a sermon, or general advice. It means that the talk contained good information and knowledge, that it was related to others, and that it can now be used to benefit oneself or others while they are here on earth.

In a sermon when the elder speaks in a formal voice, he talks about different aspects of Yoeme work or ritual. The sermon contains information or knowledge that has been passed down from one generation to another. Connections are made to ancient Yoeme truths and to modern Christianity. The one who gives the sermon relates to the audience why it is important to carry on the Yoeme traditions and the Yoeme truth. In one part of the sermon the sermon-giver will say that all adults have the responsibility to teach the little angels (children) the Yoeme truth because when adults die, they are asked up in heaven if they did their duty on earth. The sermon also explains why a person on earth may be required to serve the community and God in song, prayer, or dancing. So like this the sermon continues, and towards the end the following words are always said:

Inia velekika itom achai Hesu Krihtota mampo taawak  
 itom ae Maria Santisimata mampo taawak  
 wame si'ime santorata mampo taawak  
 si'ime anhelesim mampo taawak  
 Aet chukula inia velekika enchim mampo taawak  
 Tua Dios emchiokoe u'utteasiavu

This much in our father Jesus Christ's hands stayed  
 in our mother the most Holy Mary's hands stayed  
 in all the saints' hands stayed  
 in all the angels' hands stayed  
 After that, this much in your hands stayed  
 True God will bless you strongly.

When these words are said, the person receiving the knowledge is given blessings to receive the help of divine forces to work with the duty that has been given to him or her. It is now the hearer's responsibility to use the knowledge for personal benefit and also for the benefit of others, especially children and the people who are in need.

\*\*\*\*

We have shown how the involvement of community-based American Indian intellectuals in the crucial initiating/planning stage affected the collaborative project we have described. As usual, much more remains to be said. We look forward to developing more extended commentary on the role of audience: how various audiences, Yaqui and non-Yaqui, have responded to our work and other ethno poetic scholarship like it.

In concluding, we want to join others who have called for involvement of American Indian intellectuals in all stages of university-based projects that focus on Indian communities. Peter Whitely, for example, has recently issued a passionate call for such involvement in “The End of Anthropology (at Hopi)?” (1993). How can we make research on American Indian traditions something more than “a bourgeois language game about the oppressed?” Whitely asks. In answer he turns to a speech delivered on January 23, 1991, by Vernon Masayesva, chair of the Hopi Tribe, at Northern Arizona University titled “Native Peoples and the University Community.” In this talk, Vernon Masayesva proposes “involving Indian people in formulating research questions.” He predicts that “any university-sponsored project, regardless of how noble its aim might be, will surely fail if consultation with Indian tribes is not part of the planning process from the project’s inception.” Whitely, Masayesva, and others during the last two decades have issued the calls. What remains in very short supply are responses. Reports on action, what has happened when community-based American Indian intellectuals were involved in all stages of research projects conducted in their communities, are few and far between. This is what we have begun to provide here.

Waa Yo’ora Lutu’uria

Miki Maaso

Yoem Pueblo  
12/22/87

transcribed, translated, and annotated by  
Felipe S. Molina and Larry Evers

Miki Maaso (MM):

a pos empo vea ameu vicha a teuwane  
uka lutu’uriata in nokaka’u

vempinto kaivu tua ne hikkaine  
 nepo vea enchi tehwa bwe kia vea emowa teuwane empo vea

Felipe Molina (FM):

heewi  
 nian hia ori . . .  
 bwe nianta pensaroa  
 empo witti a teuwane heewi  
 uka lutu'uriata ameu a teuwane  
 wate enchi hikkaine  
 wate into revereveti a hikkaine ta 10  
 ka si'imek hikkaine  
 ta chukula ni vea im vea empo gravaroa  
 num vea epo si'imek teuwane  
 nepo vea chukula veana  
 ringo noku vicha yechane  
 vempo'im na makak  
 vempo vea a nokne  
 nuen vea nuen hia . . .  
 tu'isi witti yeu simnetea

MM:

heewi 20

FM:

empu vea kia witti a weiyane Yoem nokpo  
 nuen vea a hu'ueiyane

MM:

heewi

pues uusim itepo  
 inim te hokame itepo  
 vahikai  
 waka **woi vahi** lutu'uriata ket inen kechia  
 eme a waata  
 into wa enchim hiapsi  
 enchim mamni sentidom ket inen ket eme 30  
 a waata kechia eme inika waka  
 lutu'uriata polove erensiata hakwosa iat  
 tiempopo  
 waka yo'ora lutu'uriata eme waata  
**eme aet hiapsek**

eme aet hiapseka na kuakte  
 into eme aet hiapseka yeu matchu  
 into eme aet hiapseka to'ote

si'imeta eme aet pasaroa waka severiata

si'imeta  
 hi'ibwapewamta va'ahipewamta 40

kotpewamta yeetem si'imeta eme aet pasaroa  
 ta eme inika ta'avae a waka woi vahi lutu'uriata waka  
 yo'ora lutu'uriata hakwosa vea tiempopo

ite huni ka  
 itepo huni ka huname yo'oram itepo ka am ta'a  
 into inepo ka am ta'aeme san si  
 waka woik vahik lutu'uriata ket inim wame maso

**bwikleom huevenakai**

inim bwiapo emou kom yaaha  
 inim bwiapo emo mak na kuakte 50  
 wawatekai achaim

hunaman itom  
 hiak vatwe vetana avo emou kom yaaha  
**waka uhwanta** weiyakai inim wain emou kom yaaha  
 inim wain vicha rehte

ta waka inika polove erensiata inika a hu'uneiyakai  
 inena hu'uneiyakai emou inim kom yaaha  
 eme intoket hunaitwelichi  
 eme a hikkahak waka nokta  
 eme amet a mammattek 60  
 ta eme tua a hu'uneiyavaeka

hunaman in hoara solarpo  
 ket neu yahak **inime achaim** tua ne wok hiawak  
 haksa in katekapo

into haksa in na weyepo  
 tua net cha'aka waka  
 pasota wokita yak  
 aet tatavuhtek

iansu ket inim oora weye wa enchim uhwani into wa  
 inen enchim teuwaka'u into inen enchim ne  
 hikkaevae'u

inimi'i enchim  
 pweplopo inimi'i enchim na kuahktepo 70

waka woi vahi lutu'uriata  
 eme a hu'uneiyavae  
 ne huni kechia inepo kechia  
 waka yo'ora lutu'uriata  
 haksa chea inepo waka yo'ora lutu'uriata chea tu'ik  
 inepo teune

- ta inepo kechia  
 neu ka eteowak ini'i  
 komo ian enchim eteho  
 inian kave newa teuwak into inian kave tulisnia newa teuwak  
     waka woi vahi lutu'uriata  
 haisa ina ta'ane'u 80  
 ka newa teuwak  
 tane  
 aam hikkahak ala waka hiawata ne hikkahak como emo venasia  
 ta inena bwikne into im wami into ineni ti kave neu hiak  
 porke hunak wa yo'ora lutu'uria  
 hunak tiempopo nakwan  
 yo'oriwan ini'i inim vo'okame  
     itom hoka'apo  
**wa karpeta yo'oriwan**  
 into wame hirukiam inim to'okame 90  
     woika vahika inim to'okame  
 ka kia have huni amet mammamtetuawuan  
 porke hunak wa yo'ora inika naken  
 hunait mamtekatek haivu kia  
 noki ama aune  
 ka kia have huni aet mamtene  
     hakuvo weyekai  
 tua ama aune . . .
- inika itom waka hirukiata tovoktako aet mamtekatek  
**wa ka bwe'um hiapsekame**  
**tenku aniapo** vea a vitne inika'a  
 itom inim polove lutu'uriata 100  
 inian a teuwasuk
- e achai  
 e nuhmeela  
 kat aet mamma iniachi  
 nim vo'okamtachi
- hiovukun hune ka kotne ti hiune  
 porke ni wa yo  
 yo ania  
 inian lutu'uria katek  
 inian vempo a naksuk 110
- yo ania ini'i**  
 ka kia huni have aet mammane  
 inian a teuwak huname wame yo'ora  
     inim bwan bwiapo na kuaktisukame  
 ne huni ka am ta'ak

into vempo huni ka ne mahtak  
 poke inian neu hiusuk  
 inika ne mahau tetewasuk  
 ka ian emo venasia in emo vicha a teuwa venasia  
     kave inewa teuwak  
 into ke in achaitakai  
 into wa chea in sai yo' o takai huni'i 120  
 ka inian newa teuwak  
 kave ne mahtak  
 ne kia waka hekata chasisimemta hunaka inepo  
 inepo a bwisek  
 into in kovapo namyak  
 into wa Dios humak hunen hia  
 into wa hua ania vetana wa  
 yo ania humaku' u into wa  
 huna humak hunen hia yo hoara humak  
 inika humak ne makak 130  
 huntukson inepo  
 waka hekata . . . .  
 vem hikka vem bwiksuka' u into vem hikkaisuka' u  
     chea vatnataka vem hikkaika' u hunaka lutu' uriata  
     in kovapo taawak in mamni sentirompo taawak  
 hunuen na hu' uneiyak  
 ka iniani  
 enou vicha  
 ina teuwa kave inewa teuwak  
 inian ket eme aet mammattene  
 ma inepo nim kateka emou vicha a teuwa ho  
 tulimaisine emou vicha kateka a teuwa 140  
 ta ini itom hakwo . . . yo' oriwa nakwa  
 tua wa maso bwikreo yo' owe ka amau vicha  
     ye **viiva** mimika  
 into wa sewundo ka amau vicha  
     ye viiva mimika  
 into wa chea ultimou katekame huni ka  
     ye amau vicha viiva mimika  
 into wa vaa hiponreo huni' i into ka au  
     viiva netanwa  
 into ka amau vicha nooka  
 into wa maso bwikreo yo' owe huni ka amau  
     vicha nooka  
 iyimin kaveta yopna  
 amau vicha kaveta yopna  
 intoke tua ka nooka huni' i 150  
 anaka a nokria waka hua aniapo waka  
     **sea yolemta**  
 hunaka nokria ala

- porke inian katek  
 inian a teuwasuk wame yo'ora lutu'uria  
 inian a tookokok ta inepo ka am  
     vichak  
 inian waka hekata waka vuitemta  
 inen ne amet a hikkahak  
 hunamani  
 pitaya pweplopo  
 inen ket ne amet a hikkahak 160  
 ta huname yo'ora kokosuk  
 Jose Maria Hapachituka'u  
 intuchi wa Galavis  
 ket inian a teuwak intuchi ket wa senu yoeme  
 Luis Chone'elateame  
 Aldamasteame ket inian teuwak  
 tua inian in mampo a tosiika huna'a  
 tua huname kechia hu'ubwela au haptak  
     ta ian wame . . . chea yo'ora lutu'uria inian a  
     hikkahak  
 ta huname yoem yo'owe ka ne mahtak  
 huntuksam inepo vea hunaitchi 170  
 yeu sikapo vea inepo vea inika'a  
 waka bwikata haisa ina natene'u  
 ta huname ka ne tehwak  
 ta hunaka waka hekata  
     waka chasisimemta polovesi ina mavetakapo amani  
 hunaka lutu'uria  
 ta ne . . . ta inepo huni ka hunea . . .  
 ta ne waka polove waka erenciata  
 neu toosakawakamta  
 wame pahkom  
  
 o chea malatune 180  
 o chea achalitune  
 chea ito venasia polovetune  
 hunaimak ne kiktesime  
 waka uhbwanta in mampo yehteko  
  
 tua ne hunaka hiokoleka ne na weye  
 ubwanta  
 weiyamta  
 polovesia waka vatorata  
 santorata  
 wohnaiki pwepplom santa iglesiam 190  
     vellekatana hokame  
 into waka vihperam yumako  
 wame bwere pahkom

inen tam mavetak  
 inen te amet paso wakte  
 tua inia veeki tiempo weye  
 inen ne amet ne  
 ka tu'ik  
 into waka tu'ik  
 inen ne amet a vitchime  
 inen ne a hu'uneiyak inepo 200  
 eme ket inen a pasaroane inimi'i  
 tua polovesimachi  
 tua ka aou pappewasimachi  
 ta ket eme inian a inene  
 tua chea vatnatakai apo señor Díos achai o'ola  
 tua inika'a ka emou chupane  
 ta inian machi wa . . .  
 Díos Señor achai o'ola apo enchim aniane  
 enchim takaa into waka enchim hiawai  
 tua kave emou omtine 210  
 tua kave emou waka huenak pensaroane  
 porke ka tu'i  
 porke hunama ka ye ania  
 wa ubwanta itom mampo yechakame  
 ka ye ania  
 waka ko'okoata ama aukapo  
 ka ye ania  
 chewa polove  
 inen ubwanta hosuk  
 ian into te aman kechia 220  
 wa **ili hittoata** vetchivo te aman a makne  
 polovesi ko'okoe  
 aman ta vikne  
 ti kave eu hiaka eu hahaptene  
 hunaka enchi tu'ika weamau ala  
 wa tui servisio en mampo yehtene  
 tua hunak empo  
 hunama vo'oka petensiapo vo'oka vea  
 ili vaa emo mimikaka  
 o wana 230  
 ka pappeaka vo'oka huni empo yehteka vea  
 empo pensaroane  
 si'imeta pensaroane  
  
 ne wana tu'ika weamau  
 into ke have huni waka ubwanta in mampo yechane  
 hiva empo pensaroane  
 e'e ta ket Díos ket apo enchi aniane  
 into wa hua aniapo wa yoeme

huna ket wa sea yoleme ket enchi aniane	
huna ket ito vetchivo	240
santik iglesiam	
wohnaiki pweplo santik iglesiam hooka	
wam hua aniapo	
kaupo	
haksa ha'ani	
wam pocho'oku	
chea yo aniapo	
hunama hooka	
hunama si'ime ayuk	
wa enchim inim itou nattemai'u	250
into wa enchim neu nattemai'u	
inian a hu'ueniyaka ket eme	
vichau vicha ket eme at tekipanoane	
inepo kechia	
ket emo venasi ne ket	
inian a ta'apean	
ta inepo ka inian a makwak	
into ne ka inian a hu'ueiyak	
inian a hu'ueiyaka	
wame enchim	260
chikti mammi sentidom	
hikau tahtahti tonnuatuaka vellekatana	
eme aet mammatteka aet paso waktine	
into eme aet kupteka totene	
aet remtisakane	
aet emou temaine	
eme chea uusim	
ka yo'owe	
inen enchim mampo taawane wa lutu'uria	
enchim sentidompo inen ket eme a mammattene	270
enchim mampusiam enchim nunubwa vetana	
vatan vetana waka mamni sentidota haisa eme a hippue	
hunum katek wa enchim wa enchim mampusiampo	
natekai vatan vetana ayuk	
nu wa enchim sentidompo katek	
mamni sentidom ti katin hihia wame yo'ora inian na	
kuaktisukame	
tua inian eme a hu'ueiyaka	
aet yeu matchusakane	
aet kuptisakane	
nuhmeelam inim hokame	
into waka sewa yolemta	280

waka nokta

inen ket eme a waata  
 into ket inen ket eme a hu'uneiavae  
 iniet chukula kechia  
**waka kanaria** naate  
 inika huni ka ne mahtasuk  
 inika si'imeta ka ne tehwasuka  
 polovesi ne im katek  
 polovesi te inim hooka  
 in usimmake

290

vahimmake inim ne katek  
 inepo am usek inime'e emo venasia  
 como haisa enchim yoemiam  
 yoemiamtukapo amani  
 inien nam uusek  
 ta inime huni ne  
 waka woi vahi lutu'uriata ka teuwak  
 ta ket vempo ket haisa auka  
     polovesi ket inim kechia  
 waka inika'a  
 kaveta au yumao  
 kaveta au pappeo'u  
 ket inen kechia  
 netwelisi ket humak a makwak  
 wa yo ania humak ke inen ket a  
 waka . . . inen ket

300

inien ne  
 aet  
 vem na kuaktinepo huma inien a makwak  
     kechia vempo humaku'u  
 ta tuasu tu'i kechia  
 ket halekisia ket  
     au hapsakane  
 ta inepo ne im aane  
 wa Diosta taewaim ne mikau  
 inepo ne waka tui lutu'uriata ket  
     inepo wam in hoara solarpo  
 in na kuaktepo inen ne am tehwane inepo

310

tua inien ket eme a hu'ueiyane  
 into inien eme am hu'ueiyane  
 inime in uusim  
 emo venasi uusim  
 inim emo vicha hokame  
 vaataponamta

320

Julian

iyim neu katekame into  
Cresencio

wannavo neu katekame into  
Ramon

nen ket eme a hu'uneiyane  
inime waka hua aniata  
vichau vicha eteho  
yo aniata  
kaupo aukamta 330

waka yo'ora lutu'uriata kaupo  
vem na kuaktisukapo  
waka kutata  
waka huyata  
kauta tetata va'ata si'imeta  
inen a eteho waka yoawata aet  
na weesuka'u

wame yoawam  
haksa sene'ekapo nau yahaka  
waka va'ata vem haiwa'u  
inen ket a eteho 340  
inian natwelisi a ta'a  
huntuksan ama na vuhti achaim  
wa woi vahi lutu'uria

waka kanariata  
enchim hikkaivaepo amani  
into inen enchim a ta'avaepo amani

hakkuvotana yeuwa sikapo  
into hakkuvotana yeuwa weye'u  
into haksa orapo yeuwa weye'u

inen eme a hikkaivae waka si'imeta  
nokta 350

nen eme a waata  
into inien eme a hikkaivaeka  
nim wakim vicha  
waka woi vahi lutu'uriata net hikkaivaeka  
ket avo vicha eme ne nunuk  
avo vicha te paso waktek  
chikti im yoremiammake mochalanawi  
nim te yeu yahak  
enchim hoara solarpo 360

ta inen ket te waka woi vahi lutu'uriata  
 haksa chea inepo a teune waka  
 chea yo'ora lutu'uriata  
 ven aet na kuaktisuka'u  
 huname kave

polove  
 tolochiataka hehheka  
 hakun tiempopo luutek huname'e  
 waka see'eta veletchik  
 huni te hakam vitne  
**tua te kantelammak am haiwaka huni'i**

kantela taimachiriamake haiwaka huni'i 370

te kaveta te hak vitne  
 ta inen in mampo taawak wa lutu'uria  
 wa woh naiki pweplom santik iglesiam vellekatana  
 in tekipanoane'u  
 ka in mampo a sutohak vempo  
 wa hiawai wa vem teuwaka'u  
 inen ket in kovapo taawak  
 huna  
 hunatuka'u wa woh naiki pweplo santik iglesiam  
 vellekatana

inepo a teuwasuk  
 into inepo aet hikkubwawa 380

into inepo aet ta'ewa  
 inian ket eme a hu'uneiyanne  
 nuhmeelam inim hokame  
 ni wa woi vahi lutu'uria  
 inen ket chea vatnaataka

señor itom achai Diosta  
 vatan vetana mampo tawak  
 into wa intom aye María santísima  
 vatan vetana mampo tawak  
 aet chukula ket inen enchim mampo tauwak 390  
 eme inen ne aet nok hikkahak achaim  
 nuhmelam yeu tahtia wa woi vahi lutu'uriata

FM:

heewi

MM:

tua su tu'i

## The Elders' Truth

Miki Maaso

Yoem Pueblo

12/22/87

transcribed, translated, and annotated  
by Felipe Molina and Larry Evers

Miki Maaso (MM):

Well, you will speak the truth that  
I have spoken to them.  
They really will not understand me.  
I will tell you. Well, so you will be able to tell them.

Felipe Molina (FM):

Yes  
like this says . . .  
well, like this we are thinking.  
You will say it straight, yes?  
The truth, you will say it to them.  
Some will understand you  
and some will understand pieces but  
will not understand it all. 10  
But later this here that you are recording,  
all you will say, will be there.  
Later I will  
put it in the English language  
when I give it to them.  
They will read it.  
Like that, like that says.  
They say it will come out good, straight.

MM:

Yes. 20

FM:

You will just give it straight in the Yoeme language.  
Like that you will know it.

MM:

Yes.

Well, children, we,  
 the ones who are sitting here, we,  
 three,  
 the **two or three** truths, also, like this, also,  
 you want it.  
 And your heart,  
 your five senses, also, like this, also,  
 you want it, you also want this  
 truth, the poor inheritance, from somewhere in the past  
 at that time.

30

You want the elders' truth.

**Your heart is in it.**

You walk about with your hearts in it,  
 and you get up in the morning with your hearts in it,  
 and you go to bed with your hearts in it.

You suffer everything in it, the cold,

everything,  
 the hunger, the thirst,  
 the sleeplessness, drowsiness, you suffer everything in it.  
 But you want to know this, the two or three truths, the  
 elders' truth. Somewhere in the past at that time,  
 we did not even,  
 we did not even, we did not even know those elders,  
 and I did not know them.

40

At least you,

the two or three truths, also here,

**many deer singers**

arrive here on this land to you.

They walk about here on this land with you.

Some fathers,

50

over there, from our

Yaqui River, arrive here to you.

Carrying **the sacred request** they arrive here to you,  
 come over here.

But knowing this, the poor inheritance,  
 like this, knowing, they arrive down here to you.

And you also, exactly,

you heard it, the talk

you understood it from them.

But you really wanted to know it.

60

Over there at my home place

**these fathers** also came to me, really sought me out

where I was sitting  
 and where I was walking around.  
 Really they made the  
 steps after me,  
 they sweated for it.  
 And now the hour of your sacred request is happening, and,  
 like this is what you said, like this is what you wanted  
 to hear.

Here in your  
 village, here where you walk around, 70  
 the two or three truths,  
 you want to know it.  
 I also, also I, also,  
 the elders' truth,  
 where am I going to find the best of  
 the elders' truth?

But I, also,  
 To me, this was not told.  
 Like, the way you are talking now,  
 like this, nobody said it to me, and like this nobody said  
 it to me nicely, the two or three truths. 80

How I could have learned it,  
 and how I could have known it?  
 Didn't say it to me,  
 but I  
 heard them, at least I heard the sound like you.  
 But nobody said to me, "sing it like this, and in this way."  
 Because then the elders' truth  
 then, in that time, it was cherished.  
 It was respected, this, that is lying here  
 where we are sitting,

**the carpet was respected.**  
 And the raspers lying here, 90  
 the two or three lying here,  
 not just anybody could lay hands on them,  
 because the elder valued this then.  
 If someone laid hands on these, already  
 there would be talk.  
 Not just anybody could lay hands on it,  
 walking in from somewhere,  
 really there would be . . . .

If someone picks up our rasper, lays hands on it,  
 if he is **one who does not have the big heart**  
**in the dream world** he will see this,  
 our poor truth here. 100  
 Like this it was said,

“no, father,  
no, young man,  
don’t touch this,  
that is lying here.

“You might not sleep,” would say,  
“because this is the enchanted,  
enchanted world.”  
Like this truth sits.  
Like this they valued it,

110

**this is the enchanted world.**

Not just anyone can handle it.  
Like this, the elders said it. Like this,  
    the ones who walked around on this weeping earth  
I did not even know them,  
and they did not even teach it to me.  
Because they used to talk  
to me like this, they used to scare me,  
not like now, to you the way I am saying it to you.

    Nobody said it to me,  
and not even my father,  
and moreover not even my older brother,

120

said it to me like this.

Nobody taught me.  
I just, on the blowing wind, I . . .

I caught it  
and put it together in my head.

And maybe God says this,  
and from the wilderness world,  
the enchanted world, and maybe the . . .  
maybe that, like that, the enchanted home says, maybe,  
maybe, it gave me this,

130

and then I

I, the wind . . .

What they heard, what they have sung, what they have heard,  
    what they have heard in the beginning, that truth  
    stayed in my head and in my five senses.

Like that I knew it.

Not like this,  
the way I am saying it  
to you, nobody said it to me.

Like this, you should pay attention to it,  
do you see? I am sitting here saying it to you.

Beautifully, I am sitting here saying it to you.

140

But in the past our . . . this was respected.

Really, the elder deer singer did not give **cigarettes**  
to those behind him.  
And the second singer did not give cigarettes  
to those behind him.  
And the last one who sits with us did not give  
cigarettes to those behind him.  
And the water drummer also, cigarettes were not requested  
from him,  
and he could not talk to those behind.  
And also the elder deer singer could not even talk  
to those behind.  
He doesn't answer anybody behind, here.  
He doesn't answer anybody behind him,  
and does not even really talk at all. 150  
Yes, they talk for it, for the wilderness world,  
**the flower person.**  
For that, they talk.  
Because like this it sits.  
Like this, they said it, the elders' truth.  
Like this, they left it when they died, but I did not  
seek them.  
Like this, the wind, the one that is blowing,  
Like this, I heard it from them,  
over there,  
in Pitaya Pueblo.  
Like that I heard it from them, 160  
but those elders have died:  
Jose Maria Hapachituka'u,  
and also, that Galavis,  
like this also he said it, and again also that one Yoeme,  
the one who is called Luis Chone'ela,  
the one who is called Aldamas also said it like this,  
really like this that one left it in my hands.  
Really, they stood up to it in recent times,  
but now the . . . more of elders' truth, they heard it  
like this,  
But those Yoeme elders did not teach me.  
That is why I, on that 170  
which happened, I, this,  
the songs, how I should begin?  
But they did not tell me.  
But the swirling wind,  
is how I received it poorly.  
That truth,  
but I . . . but I do not even know . . .  
but I, the poor inheritance  
that was left to me,

the *pahkom*,

or perhaps it could be a mother, 180  
 or perhaps it could be a father,  
 perhaps like us they could be poor.  
 I continue to stand up with that,  
 the sacred request that settles in my hands.

Really I walk about, I pity him  
 the one who carries  
 the sacred request.  
 Poorly, the baptized ones,  
 the saints, 190  
 the Eight Pueblos, holy churches,  
     the ones that are sitting side-by-side,

when the vespers occur,  
 those large *pahkom*,  
 like this we are accepting them.  
 Like this we make our steps on them.  
 Really it has been for this much time.  
 Like this I, on it, I . . .  
 the bad  
 and the good.  
 Like this I continue to see it on them.  
 Like this, I learned it. 200

You also like this will experience this here.  
 Really it is pitiful.  
 Really it is a burden.  
 But you also like this will feel it.  
 Really in the very beginning He, the lord God, old father,  
 really he will not create it this way for you  
 but like this it is the . . .  
 Lord God, old father, He will help you.

Your body and your sound,  
 really nobody will get angry with you. 210  
 Really nobody will have evil thoughts about you.  
 Because it is bad,  
 because there it does not help us,  
 the sacred request, the one that was placed in our hands,  
 does not help us.

The sickness that is there,  
 it does not help us.  
 Even the poorest  
 like this made the sacred request  
 and we, also, over there 220  
**as a little medicine** we will go and give it to him.  
 He is pitifully sick.

“Let’s go over there and see him,”  
 nobody will be standing there and saying that to you  
 of course, when you are well and walking around. Then  
 the good fortune will settle in your hands  
 then you will really,  
 while lying there in your suffering, lying there will  
 give yourself a little water,  
 or there, 230  
 lying there without any energy, you will get up.  
 You will think,  
 you will think about everything.

When I walk about there in good health,  
 “anybody could place the sacred request in my hands,”  
 you will be thinking.  
 No, but God himself also will help you,  
 and the person in the wilderness world,  
 that one also, the flower person, also, will help you  
 that one also is for us. 240

The holy churches  
 the Eight Pueblos, the holy churches that are sitting  
 there in the wilderness world  
 in the mountains  
 wherever  
 there in the desert  
 in the most enchanted world  
 they are sitting there.  
 Everything is there.

What you are asking here from us 250  
 and what you are asking from me.  
 Knowing it in this way you also  
 will go forward and you also will work on it.

I also  
 also like you, I also  
 would have liked to learn it in this way,  
 but I was not given it like this,  
 and I did not learn it like this.  
 Knowing it like this 260

with all  
 your five senses,  
 all the way to the top, giving it parts side by side,  
 you will think about it and make steps on it.  
 And you will lie down with it in the evening  
 and it will continue to open your eyes.  
 You will question yourself about it.  
 You are very young,

not old.

Like this the truth will stay in your hands.

In your senses like this you will study it.

270

On the side where you carry your fingers,

on the right side, you see how you have your five senses?

it is in your . . . your fingers.

It starts, it is there on your right side.

That is in your senses.

Five senses, remember? This is how those elders used to talk

about it, the ones who used to walk about like this.

Really, like this you should know it.

On it you continue to awaken in the morning.

On it you continue to reach the evening.

You young men who are sitting here.

And the flower person,

280

the talk,

like this, also, you want it,

and also like this you also want to know it.

On this also later,

when the *kanaria* begins . . .

not even this was I taught.

They never told me all these things.

Pitifully I sit here.

Pitifully we sit here

with my children

290

with the three I sit here.

These, I fathered these, like you

the same way your people . . .

you became people in this way

like this I fathered them.

But even these I

have not told the two or three truths.

But also they also for whatever reason

are also here pitifully.

This one,

even though nobody could attain it,

300

even though nobody had the energy for it,

also, like this, also

maybe what was given to me was also given evenly to them.

Maybe the enchanted world also like this, also, it . . .

the . . . like this, also,

like this, I

on it,

where they will move about, like this, there they were

also given it, maybe.  
 But really good, also  
 also little by little they will also continue 310  
 to stand up to it.

But I, I am here.  
 When God gives me the days,  
 I, I, the good truth, also  
 I, there in my home place,  
 where I move around, like this I will tell them, I

really, like this, you will know it.  
 And like this you will know them.  
 These are my children,  
 children like you,  
 here the ones who are sitting facing you:  
 the one who plays the water, 320  
 Julian,

and here the one that is sitting next to me,  
 Cresencio,

and the one that is sitting on the other side of me,  
 Ramon.  
 Like this you also will know it.  
 These are the ones that are bringing forward  
 the talk about the wilderness world,  
 the enchanted world 330  
 that is in the mountains,  
 the elders' truth in the mountains,  
 where they used to move about.  
 The stick,  
 the plants,  
 the mountains, the rocks, the water, everything  
 like this they talk about it, where the animal  
 used to walk about.

The animals,  
 where they came together at a spring,  
 they searched for the water.  
 Like this also they talk about it. 340  
 Like this they all know it equally.  
 And that is why from there on, fathers,  
 the two or three truths,

the *kanaria*,  
 because you want to hear  
 and because you want to know it, like this

where it came from,  
and where it is coming from,  
and what time it comes out,

like this you want to hear everything. 350  
The talk,  
like this, you want it,  
and like this you want to hear it.  
From here on  
you want to hear the two or three truths from me.  
That is why you invited me here.  
We made our steps over here.  
With all my children grouped together  
we arrived here,  
here in your home place. 360  
But like this, also, we, the two or three truths,  
    where am I going to find it,  
    more of the elders' truth,  
what they walked around with?  
They are not here.

Poor,  
they are blowing as dust.  
They passed away in the past.  
They are grains of sand,  
we will not even see them anywhere.  
**Really we will be looking for them with candles.**  
Even looking for them with candlelight, 370  
    we will not see anyone anywhere.  
But like this the truth stayed in my hands.  
The Eight Pueblo Holy Churches side-by-side  
in which I work,  
they did not leave it in my hand.  
The sound, what they said,  
like this also stayed in my head.  
That,  
that which is in the Eight Pueblo Holy Churches  
    that are side-by-side,  
I have said it.  
And I am pointed at for it 380  
and I am known because of it.  
Like this also you will know it,  
young men who are sitting here,  
this the two or three truths.  
Like this, also, more in the beginning,  
Lord, Our Father,  
it stayed in God's right hand,

and in Our Mother Mary's most holy  
right hand it stayed,  
and later like this also it stayed in your hands.  
Did you hear me talk about it like this, fathers,  
young men, throughout, the two or three truths?

390

FM:

Yes.

MM:

Really it is good.

### Line Notes

A note on the transcription: We transcribed this performance from audiotapes we made with the assistance of John Crouch. Copies of the tapes are available to readers of this translation from the Southwest Center, University of Arizona, Tucson. Roosters, barking dogs, children at play, trucks and farm machinery, adults buzzing in the kitchen, not to mention airplanes overhead, will all be apparent to those who listen to the audiotapes, but we did not try to represent any of these sounds in this transcription and translation.

During the last twenty years, an extraordinary amount of scholarly attention has been devoted to the challenges posed by transcribing oral performances into print form. Brian Swann's collection, *On the Translation of Native American Literatures* (1992), provides a representative selection of this work. The necessity of "truth-in-packaging" seems to be a lesson to be learned from all of it. We should not assume that the practices of various transcribers and translators are all the same. Scholars must try to be self-aware and to describe their own practices as clearly as possible.

Our practice in transcribing Miki Maaso's talk is as follows. We transcribe his speech into lines because we think that method better represents the rhythm of his talk than paragraphs, and we think it results in a more readable translation. A line break indicates a pause on the tape. Longer pauses receive a double line break. What we heard as we listened to the tapes is what we set down on the printed page. Our ears were our guides. We listened to the tapes several times, together and individually. In some places it was a tough call for us. We felt the transcribing could go

more than one way. Was that really a pause or not? Longer line or new line? Playing questions like these out has led some to stopwatches, computers, and other electronic devices to validate their decisions (see, for example, Sherzer 1992). That kind of science is not our interest in this project. We listened, listened again, made a decision, and went on. In any case, each new line is represented flush left. If the transcribed line runs beyond the right margin, we indent and complete the line. Thus the line numbers that we provide for convenience of reference count only those lines starting flush left. Ellipses indicate suspended or incomplete statements.

- 27    **woi vahi**: literally, two three; two or three, in the sense of several.
- 34    **eme aet hiapsek**: Your heart is in it. Painter notes that “Hiapsi means the heart of a living person and the soul of a dead one” (1986:87) and that “complete fulfillment of an obligation with consequent divine favor cannot be accomplished without faith, love, and devotion. This is more important than carrying out correctly the details of the ritual. *Tu’i hiapsimak* (with good heart) and *chikti hiapsimak* (with whole heart) are phrases often heard in sermons and among the people” (97).
- 47    **maso bwikleom huevenakai**: many deer singers. The reference is to the deer singers from the Yaqui villages in Sonora who come frequently to the Yaqui villages in southern Arizona to perform at various ceremonies.
- 53    **waka uhwanta**: the sacred request. From the noun *uhwani*: sacred request (and the verb, *bwaana*: to cry or to weep). A special request that is made by the sponsors of a *pahko*, who are called the *pahkome*, to the church group (*maehtom*, *kopariam*, *temahtim*, *matachinim*) or the deer dance group (*moro*, deer singers, deer dancer, *pahkolam*, and their respective musicians). Formal speeches are given as a part of the request and other customs followed.
- 62    **inime achaim**: these fathers. The reference is to the sponsors of this event: Larry Evers, Joseph Wilder, and particularly Felipe Molina and Ignacio Amarillas Sombra, who walked all around the Vicam-Potam area looking for Miki Maaso in order to give him the sacred request to come to southern Arizona.

- 89 **wa karpeta yo'oriwan:** the carpet was respected. Traditionally the deer singers put down a *hipetam*, a mat woven from *carrizo* (a native cane, *arundo donax*). It is now common for singers to sit on a small rug or blanket as they perform. Miki Maaso uses *karpeta*, from the Spanish *carpeta*, to refer to this space, which is reserved only for the deer dancer, singers, and their helpers.
- 98 **wa ka bwe'um hiapsekame tenku aniapo:** one who does not have the big heart in the dream world. FM: In order to pick up the deer singers' instruments, a person must have the power, the ability. Otherwise bad dreams or sickness could result. Many singers have dreams that test their courage. Perhaps a big snake or other large animals threaten them. If they are brave and do not fear what appears to them, they will gain the power to sing or dance the deer songs.
- 111 **yo ania ini'i:** this is the enchanted world. The enchanted world and the enchanted homes are places in the wilderness world that surrounds the Yoeme villages. They are a source of knowledge and power. The deer singers' instruments, the raspers and other instruments, contain the powers from the enchanted world. No one outside the deer group should handle them. See *Yaqui Deer Songs* (Evers and Molina 1987) regarding the enchanted world, wilderness world, and dream world.
- 142 **viiva:** cigarette. During a *pahko*, the sponsors are expected to provide cigarettes for the *pahkolam* to distribute to the audience. It is thought that when people smoke together there is a feeling of unity, of agreement and harmony. Miki Maaso explains that it is not the proper role for the deer singers to give out these cigarettes. During the *pahko*, they should not chat and banter with the audience the way the *pahkolam* do, but rather should only talk for the wilderness world and the flower person.
- 151 **sea yolemta:** the flower person, the deer.
- 221 **ili hittoata:** little medicine.
- 285 **waka kanaria:** the *Kanaria*. The reference is to the deer songs that Miki Maaso and his sons will perform when he completes this

sermon. See Maaso et al. 1993 for a transcription and translation of those songs.

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