

## **Grammatical borrowing in Yaqui**

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### **1. Background\***

Yaqui, including Mayo, its major dialect, along with two other distinct languages of this family, Tarahumara and Guarijio, constitute the Taracahitan branch of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family.<sup>1</sup> Yaqui is spoken mainly in Mexico by more than 15,000 people living along the Yaqui River in the Central West part of the State of Sonora. Across the U.S.-Mexican border, in Pascua, Arizona, just south of Tucson, there is an estimated 1,000 speakers of this language. The Yaqui speakers presently in Arizona migrated to the U.S. at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The traditional Yaqui settlements in Mexico are eight small towns: Cócorit, Bácum, Tórim, Vícam, Pótam, Ráhum, Huirivis, and Belén; the first six were founded by Spaniards beginning in 1617, although the first Spanish contact goes back to 1523, when Diego de Guzmán tried to conquer this original, indigenous nation. Since then, Yaqui has been in continuous contact with Spanish.<sup>2</sup>

Nowadays, most Yaqui people speak Spanish, but with different degrees of competence. In such a contact situation, Yaqui is the minority or vernacular language, and Spanish (or English in the U.S.) the dominant language. The degree of bilingualism is typically asymmetrical. There are a few speakers, most of them elderly, who do not seem to understand or speak Spanish in Mexico, or English in the U.S., and who might be considered as monolingual in Yaqui.

The Yaqui are generally known as an indigenous group that has demonstrated strength, pride, and a demanding character throughout four hundred years of Spanish occupation. It has probably waged more military revolts against the Spanish or Mexican governments than any other group, particularly from 1608 till 1929. The Yaqui are also among the few native groups that do not allow others to photograph them or record their festivities.

Currently, the Yaqui language is spoken within a family context, during religious rituals and ceremonies, as well as in traditional government events. Most of the situations in which Yaqui is spoken take place among people belonging to the same ethnic group, but in other everyday activities, e.g., political, educational, or economic, the speakers make use of Spanish. From 1994 till now they have conducted a bilingual program in order to teach Yaqui in all elementary schools in the Yaqui area.

Most of the data considered for this paper are the results of Estrada's own field notes, while preparing a Yaqui-Spanish dictionary (Estrada et al. 2004), while preparing a language documentation archive (Estrada and Buitimea, in press),<sup>3</sup> and also while preparing a collection of several discourse genres, now in progress.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Phonology

The Yaqui sound system has five vowels, fifteen consonants, two of which are glides. In comparison with other Uto-Aztecan languages, the Yaqui phonological system is quite simple and it resembles the one from Spanish.<sup>5</sup> Vowels in Yaqui are the same as in Spanish: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/. The complexity of the system is found in long vowels, in their syllabic weight, and in their combination with the glottal stop. In the adaptation of loanwords, vowel lengthening replaces a stressed vowel from Spanish:

(1)	<i>boosio</i>	'goiter'	(Spanish <i>bocio</i> )
(2)	<i>faajam</i>	'belt, girdle'	(Spanish <i>faja</i> )
(3)	<i>kameeyo</i>	'camel'	(Spanish <i>camello</i> )
(4)	<i>serbeesa</i>	'beer'	(Spanish <i>cerveza</i> )
(5)	<i>taasa</i>	'cup'	(Spanish <i>taza</i> )

The Yaqui consonant system differs from the one in Spanish only in a few features: lack of the labiodental fricative /f/, lack of the dental stop /d/, presence of the labiovelar fricative /b<sup>w</sup>/, presence of the glide /w/ which also replaces the Spanish velar stop /g/, presence of an aspirated laryngeal fricative /h/ written by the Yaqui from Sonora as <j>, and finally the absence of the trill /r/ and the palatalized /ñ/. The phonological impact of some of those features in the adaptation of loanwords is illustrated immediately:<sup>6</sup>

(6)	<i>arorno</i>	'adornment'	(Spanish <i>adorno</i> )
(7)	<i>kape</i>	'coffee'	(Spanish <i>café</i> )
(8)	<i>kareta</i>	'cart'	(Spanish <i>carreta</i> )
(9)	<i>wolpo</i>	'gulf'	(Spanish <i>golfo</i> )

### 3. Nominal structures

There are two phenomena related to nominal structures that arise in elements borrowed into Yaqui. Following Matras and Sakel (2007), both involve the direct borrowing of morphemes (i.e., MAT), rather than remodeling of the structure (i.e., PAT). The first phenomenon is not a general one, since it applies randomly to a limited number of Spanish plural nouns. As shown in the examples (10) through (13), some nouns are borrowed as plural forms marked by *-s*; this suffix however, has lost his functional value in Yaqui due to semantic bleaching:

- |      |                 |          |                           |
|------|-----------------|----------|---------------------------|
| (10) | <i>aaso-s</i>   | ‘garlic’ | (Spanish <i>ajo</i> )     |
| (11) | <i>laabo-s</i>  | ‘nail’   | (Spanish <i>clavo</i> )   |
| (12) | <i>waeba-s</i>  | ‘guava’  | (Spanish <i>guayaba</i> ) |
| (13) | <i>ankele-s</i> | ‘angel’  | (Spanish <i>ángel</i> )   |

One possible explanation is that Yaqui adapts non-plural nouns from Spanish (e.g. *aasos* ‘garlic’ < Spanish *ajo*) as if they were plural or collective entities. Evidence for the semantic bleaching of the Spanish plural suffix is observed in example (14), where the lexical item *waka-s* ‘cow-PL’ is additionally pluralized by means of the Yaqui plural suffix *-im*:

- |      |                  |        |                        |
|------|------------------|--------|------------------------|
| (14) | <i>waka-s-im</i> | ‘cows’ | (Spanish <i>vaca</i> ) |
|------|------------------|--------|------------------------|

Examples of non plural or non collective nouns borrowed from Spanish but bearing the plural suffix *-im* from Yaqui are illustrated below, where due to morpho-phonological factors, *-im* sometimes reduces to *-m*:

- |      |                   |              |                            |
|------|-------------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| (15) | <i>kuchi'-im</i>  | ‘knife-PL’   | (Spanish <i>cuchillo</i> ) |
| (16) | <i>kajtiila-m</i> | ‘castle- PL’ | (Spanish <i>castillo</i> ) |
| (17) | <i>santo-m</i>    | ‘Saint- PL’  | (Spanish <i>santo</i> )    |
| (18) | <i>ornia-m</i>    | ‘stove-PL’   | (Spanish <i>hornilla</i> ) |

The following examples show that Spanish mass nouns are also adapted into Yaqui as plural nouns:

- |      |                      |                |                              |
|------|----------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| (19) | <i>aina-m</i>        | ‘flour- PL’    | (Spanish <i>harina</i> )     |
| (20) | <i>chicharoon-im</i> | ‘pig skin- PL’ | (Spanish <i>chicharrón</i> ) |
| (21) | <i>pan-im</i>        | ‘bread- PL’    | (Spanish <i>pan</i> )        |
| (22) | <i>aros-im</i>       | ‘rice- PL’     | (Spanish <i>arroz</i> )      |

The second phenomenon concerns the borrowing of the suffix *-ero* which derives agentive nouns. The suffix occurs in Yaqui as either *-eo*, *-e'o* or *-ero*; Dedrick and Casad (1999: 77) document the suffix as *-leo ~ -reo*, but they do not identify the suffix as originally from Spanish. Two examples from these authors are *kanoa-reo-m* 'boat-AGT-PL' (from Spanish *canoa* 'boat') and *kuču-leo* 'fish-AGT' (from Yaqui *kuchi* 'fish').

- |      |                   |                        |                               |
|------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (23) | <i>bantear-eo</i> | 'who carries the flag' | (Spanish <i>abanderado</i> )  |
| (24) | <i>apar-eo</i>    | 'who plays the harp'   | (Spanish <i>arpero</i> )      |
| (25) | <i>tampar-eo</i>  | 'who plays the drum'   | (Spanish <i>tamborilero</i> ) |
| (26) | <i>kapint-eo</i>  | 'carpenter'            | (Spanish <i>carpintero</i> )  |
| (27) | <i>labele-eo</i>  | 'who plays violin'     | (old Spanish <i>ravel</i> )   |
| (28) | <i>bak-e'o</i>    | 'cowboy'               | (Spanish <i>vaquero</i> )     |

Most of the time, the meaning of the loanword is maintained in Yaqui, although semantic extensions may be observed. For instance, the Spanish word *vacas* 'cow' in (14) is first borrowed as *wakas* 'cow', it then extends its meaning to 'meat'; later when the agentive suffix is added, it derives the noun *wakareo* meaning 'butcher, the person who sells meat'. A recent loanword from the same Spanish noun *vaca* is shown in (28), where the phoneme /b/ from Spanish is preserved in the derivation of the agentive noun 'cowboy' (or 'horseman').

The use of this derivational suffix is very productive within the language, since it is also used to derive agentive nouns from non-Spanish nouns and verbs, as demonstrated in:

- |      |                    |                  |                                  |
|------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
| (29) | <i>kuta-reo</i>    | 'woodcutter'     | (Yaqui <i>kuta</i> 'wood')       |
| (30) | <i>tajkai-reo</i>  | 'tortilla maker' | (Yaqui <i>tajkai</i> 'tortilla') |
| (31) | <i>bwik-reo</i>    | 'singer'         | (Yaqui <i>bwike</i> 'sing')      |
| (32) | <i>ji'ik-reo</i>   | 'dressmaker'     | (Yaqui <i>ji'ike</i> 'sew')      |
| (33) | <i>ji'ojte-reo</i> | 'writer'         | (Yaqui <i>ji'ojte</i> 'write')   |

#### 4. Verbal structures

The Yaqui verbal structure is barely affected as the result of contact, except for one case of direct loan of a morpheme (MAT): the verbalizer suffix *-oa*. This suffix, originally borrowed from Nahuatl, is used to derive finite verbs from Spanish infinitival forms. Some examples are presented below:

- |      |                    |                               |                            |
|------|--------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (34) | <i>abogar-oa</i>   | 'to advocate, argue in favor' | (Spanish <i>abogar</i> )   |
| (35) | <i>wantar-oa</i>   | 'to hold'                     | (Spanish <i>aguantar</i> ) |
| (36) | <i>kombilar-oa</i> | 'to mix'                      | (Spanish <i>combinar</i> ) |

- |      |                         |            |                          |
|------|-------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| (37) | <i>piar-<b>oa</b></i>   | ‘to lend’  | (Spanish <i>fiar</i> )   |
| (38) | <i>leiar-<b>oa</b></i>  | ‘to read’  | (Spanish <i>leer</i> )   |
| (39) | <i>passar-<b>oa</b></i> | ‘to pass’  | (Spanish <i>pasar</i> )  |
| (40) | <i>pensar-<b>oa</b></i> | ‘to think’ | (Spanish <i>pensar</i> ) |

The adaptation of Spanish verbs via the Nahuatl suffix *-oa*, is relatively new in Yaqui. Karttunen and Lockhart (1976: 32) mention that the *-oa* strategy (along with two related forms, *-uia* and *-ltia*) was generalized in Nahuatl around 1700. This process may have been expanded into Yaqui a bit late, since the grammar of Tomas Basilio, published by Buelna (1989),<sup>7</sup> only provides three verbal loans, none of them with the suffix *-oa* (and all involving the Yaqui verbalizer suffix *-te*): *capom-te* ‘to cut testicles’ < Spanish *capon*; *manso-te* ‘to tame’ < Spanish *manso* ‘tame’; and *compes-ec-te* or *pes-ec-te* ‘to confess’ < Spanish *confesar* plus *-ek* ‘to have’.

A slightly different explanation is provided by Dedrick and Casad (1999: 143), who argue that the suffix *-oa* may have been derived from the Yaqui verb *jooa* ‘to do, to make’ (*hooa* in Dedrick and Casad’s orthography). Later on their grammar, and mainly based on Karttunen (1984: 4), the authors recognize that some of the verbs borrowed from Spanish “were mediated through Nahuatl” (Dedrick and Casad 1999: 325-326). In addition to *jooa*, Estrada et al.’s Dictionary (2004) lists only four non-Spanish verbs ending in the suffix *-oa*, shown in (41)-(43). Rather than cases of morphological derivation through the suffix *-oa*, these verbs might be the case of a phonological coincidence:

- |      |                |   |
|------|----------------|---|
| (41) | <i>bamsoa</i>  | ‘to hang’   |
| (42) | <i>bo’ojoa</i> | ‘to walk’ (< <i>bo’o</i> ‘road’ and <i>jooa</i> ‘to do’, ‘to make’) |
| (43) | <i>jaboa</i>   | ‘to become full’  |

Examples showing the full adaptation of those verbs are provided in (44). As with any other verbal stems, tense-aspect-modal operators, as well as voice morphemes are properly added to these verbal loans. Furthermore, the Spanish loanwords taking the suffix *-oa* have been also expanded into other Uto-Aztecan languages: e.g. Huichol, e.g. *panchar-**oa*** ‘to iron’ (Chablé p.c.).<sup>8</sup>

- |       |              |   |                                 |
|-------|--------------|---|---------------------------------|
| (44a) | <i>jumak</i> | <i>jente-<b>ta</b></i>                    | <i>alborotar-<b>oa</b>-k...</i> |
|       | perhaps      | people-ACC                                | uphold-VBLZ-PFV                 |
|       |              | ‘quizás (eso) alborotó a la gente...’     |                                 |
|       |              | ‘perhaps (the fact) uphold the people...’ |                                 |

- (44b) *junaman bea te desarmar-**oa**-wa-k...*  
 there then 1PL disarmed-VBLZ-PASS-PFV  
 ‘allá entonces fuimos desarmados...’  
 ‘We were then disarmed...’

### 5. Other parts of speech

Besides the cases commented before, most Spanish lexical influence is found in the category of ‘other parts of speech’, especially numerals, function words, discourse markers, vocatives and idioms. Here, we find both, elements taken over directly from Spanish, i.e. MAT, and elements remodeling the Yaqui structure, i.e. PAT. In fact, this last category opens the discussion on when lexical and grammatical borrowing ends and code-switching begins.

The numeral system in Yaqui is vigesimal (base 20), and evenly involves basic, derived and compound items. The basic numerals, 1-6, are *senu* or *wepul*, *woi*, *baji*, *naiki*, *mamni*, *busani*; nine is *batani*. The next three are derived: *woobusani* ‘seven’, *wojnaiki* ‘eight’, and *wojmamni* ‘ten’. Numbers from 10 through 20 are compound nouns: all take the stem for ten as the first part of the compound plus the adverbial locative element *ama* ~ *aman* ‘there’ followed by the cardinal number, e.g. *wojmamni aman senu* ‘eleven’. Above 20, the numerals take the word *takaa* ‘body’ (i.e. 20 fingers) as the basic unit, e.g. *senutakaa* ‘twenty’. The rest of the system gets more complex as in *woumamni bajisi aman mammitakaa* ‘seven hundred’. For this reason, numbers above ten are often borrowed from Spanish.

The most common function word borrowed from Spanish is the conjunction *o* ‘or’:

- (45) a. *ume tomt-i kateme achai-m-ta-ka o*  
 DEM-PL born-ADJVZ walk.PL-NMLZ father-PL-ACC-SUB or  
  
*mala-m-ta-ka...*  
 mother-PL-ACC-SUB  
 ‘Those youngsters from today, their fathers or mothers...’
- (45) b. *o ankeliito-m-ta-k-uni kaa aet ju’unea-tek*  
 or angels-PL-ACC-SUB-also NEG 3SG.OBL know-COND  
 ‘Or when the children didn’t understand...’
- (45) c. *o jiba yo’ota bea au nattemai-ne*  
 or always elder-ACC then 3SG.DAT ask-FUT

‘Or they always will ask to/for an elder...’

Another common borrowed subordinator is *pos ~ poj* ‘well’, ‘then’, ‘so’ (< Sp. *pues*). Such discourse particles correspond to what Mushin (2001) considers a hesitation word. That is, *pos* communicates an act of hesitation, where the speaker gives place to a suspension of opinion or action, an act of doubt or vacillation when the speaker or narrator looks for a brief moment to think on what it follows or on what was just said. The clause in (46a) is a good evidence to show the adaptation of this discourse particle into the Yaqui grammatical system, since the second position enclitic subject pronoun =*ne* is attached at the end of *poj*. In (46c), *pos* appears in second position, immediately following (*bwe*)*ta* ‘but’.

(46) a. *Poj... inepo jewi im naa weye...*  
 well 1SG.NOM yes LOC DIR go.SG.HAB  
 ‘Well..., I live here...’

(46) b. *Poj ne kaa in=ejkuela-k kaita*  
 so 1SG.NOM NEG 1SG.NOM=school-have NEG

*ejtudio-ta ne jippue-k...*  
 studies-ACC 1SG.NOM have-PFV  
 ‘so..., I haven’t had school, no studies I had...’

(46) c. *Ta pos kaa itepo a=kulpa-k...*  
 but then NEG 1PL.NOM 3SG.ACC=guilt-PFV  
 ‘But we are not guilty...’

Yaqui makes use of several strategies to express conditional clauses. However, the Spanish marker *si* ‘if’ is commonly used in this type of constructions. As in Spanish, the particle *si* usually introduces the protasis clause:

(47) a. *si nee a=mabett-ne-’u...*  
 if 1SG.ACC 3SG.ACC=accept-FUT-NMLZ  
 ‘If I were accepted...’

(47) b. *junama bea ne economia-ta bea ne*  
 there then 1SG.NOM economics-ACC then 1SG.NOM

*nattemae-k si ama aayu-k o kaa ama aayu-k.*  
 ask-PFV if there exist-PFV or NEG there exist-PFV  
 ‘(And) there, then, I asked if there was economics or not.’

In Spanish, the comparative conjunction *komo* ‘than’ (< Sp. *como*) has more than one function, one to express similarity, another to express comparison. Yaqui uses the suffix *-su* for the first function as in (48a), and the postposition *benasi* for the second one, as in (48b):

(48) a. *joan wikia-ta wi~wikosa-su-k.*  
 John string-ACC RDP~belt-MOD-PFV  
 ‘John used a rope like a belt.’

(48) b. *aapo ousi tu’i-si tekipan-oa em=usi-ta*  
 3SG.NOM INT good-MOD work.PRS-VBLZ 2SG.GEN=son-ACC

*benasi.*  
 COMP  
 ‘He works as well as your son.’

When *komo* occurs as a loanword, it resembles a comparison particle, but it also functions as an evidential marker expressing a greater degree of certainty. In the following examples *komo* might be translated into English as ‘more or less’, ‘as’, ‘like about’, or ‘like’:

(49) a. *tekipanoa-reo-tu-kan komo todo el tiempo, jewi!*  
 work-AGT-COP-SUB like all DET time, yes  
 ‘(It was a good) worker like all the time, yes!’

(49) b. *binwatu komo setentai ocho wasukte...*  
 time\_ago like seventy eight years  
 ‘(I was born) like about seventy eight years ago...’

(49) c. *junumbea ne komo junak tiempo-po kaa*  
 then then 1SG.NOM like moment time-LOC NEG

*ejkuela-wa...*  
 school-PASS  
 ‘Then, about that period there was no school...’

- (49) d. *komo iane eme inim neu aane*  
 like now 2PL.NOM here 1SG.DAT exist.HAB

*into=t nau=aane.*  
 and=1PL.NOM together=exist.HAB  
 ‘as now that you are here with me and we are together...’

Another borrowed particle is the Spanish temporal preposition *hasta* ‘up to’ as a locative, limitative particle illustrated in (50a-b), and *hasta que* ‘until’ as a temporal, limitative marker in (50c). Although the preposition *hasta* has in Mexican Spanish two possible meanings, *till* and *when*, the second one has not yet been documented in Yaqui:

- (50) a. *jeka-po chaasime asta junumian* “Ten  
 wind-LOC hang-go.SG.PRS till there today mouth

*Jawee-po”.*  
 open-LOC  
 ‘It went rolling down up in the air till what is today the “open mouth” mountain.’

- (50) b. *asta Merida-wi pino-m ja’awe-ka’a-po lutula.*  
 till Merida-DIR pine-PL be-PFV-LOC right  
 ‘till Merida, right there where the pines are.’

- (50) c. *asta ke n-a=bwise-k.*  
 until that 1SG.NOM-3SG:ACC=get-PFV  
 ‘until the time I got it.’

Contrary to what has been documented by Lindenfeld (1971, 1982) very few cases of the Spanish subordinator *que* have been found in our database which is mainly based on oral discourse materials, except for one speaker, Agripina Amarillas, which makes an extensive use of this loanword:

- (51) *Jiokot te a=pasa-roa-k ke*  
 not-good 1PL.NOM 3SG.ACC=spend-VBLZ-PFV SUB

*te traje-ta ama wo’ota-tua-wa-k munim jitasa*  
 1PL.NOM dish-ACC LOC throw-CAUS-IMPRS-PFV beans that

*joona-po jo’o-wa-me*

oven-LOC make-IMPRS-REL

'We spend it so bad that we were forced to throw away the beans on the oven that were prepared by somebody...'

Vocative expressions are also among those elements borrowed commonly from Spanish. Such elements occur with certain frequency in creative or poetic texts. Some of the vocatives are: *no* 'no', 'not' <Sp. *no*; *aai!* 'oh!' <Sp. *¡ay!*; *aa!* 'oh!' <Sp. *¡ah!*:

(52) a. *in(to)-te-m-emo=waa-ek?* *No!*  
and-1PL.NOM-LIG-RFLX=sister-HAVE no  
'...and they sisters among them? No!'

(52) b. *¡Aai!* *¡Semalulukut* *kaa* *ko'okosi* *yaapo* *maisi* *empo*  
hey hummingbird NEG fragile look like 2SG.NOM

*emo* *yoa'e!*

RFLX tremulous.IMP

'Hey! Hummingbird you don't look fragile when you move yourself (your wings) tremulous!'

(52) c. *–Aa!* *Bwe'ituk* *te* *kaabe-ta-mak* *etejo-machi!*...  
oh because 1PL.NOM none-ACC-COM talk-seem  
'Oh! Because we are not (sure) to whom he seems to be talking with!'

(52) d. *Ah!* *Caramba, neu* *eela* *kaate* *ume*  
ah great 1SG.DAT behind be.PL.PRS DEM.PL

*yo-im.*

yorí-PL

'Oh! Great, the Mexicans are near me!'

Furthermore, in a small collection of procedural discourses, where the preparation of distinct foods is described, the particle *ori* appears as a hesitation word.<sup>9</sup> Such word has been probably borrowed from the Spanish temporal conjunction *ora*. The alternative forms in Yaqui *ori* and *orita* seem to be motivated by their position within the sentence –first or last. Unfortunately, there is no way to demonstrate at this time that *ori* ~ *orita* are truly Spanish loans. Examples are provided in (53):

- (53) a. *Ori, Loma Wamochil-po into ket*  
 mmhm Loma Guamúchil-LOC and also
- pa~pajko-ria-wa...*  
 RDP~~festivity-APPL-IMPRS  
 ‘and, mmhm, in Loma de Guamúchil (the festivities) are also celebrated’

- (53) b. *muuni-m ota-k-a-me o kesum-k-a-me...*  
 beans-PL bone-HAVE-a-NMLZ or cheese-HAVE-a-NMLZ
- paapa-m wakas-ek-a-me orita..., ala!*  
 potatoes-PL meat-HAVE-a-NMLZ mmhm yes  
 ‘Beans with bone or cheese... potatoes with meat, mmhm, yes...’

The vocative words borrowed from Spanish and illustrated within this section are quite common in Yaqui narratives, although their occurrence varies according to the speaker or the discourse type. Every individual speaker will give a distinct communicative force to the discourse according to their own personal choice or attitude, that is, according to the pragmatic context; all of the vocatives are fully adapted into the phonology of Yaqui.

## 6. Constituent order

Yaqui’s constituent order has received, in general, little or minimal influence from Spanish. However, the conjunction *komo* illustrated before in (49) seems to have introduced a change in the constituent order within comparative clauses involving the Yaqui postposition *benasi*. The example in (54) illustrates *benasi* before the adjective *teebe* ‘tall’, which is the usual position for *komo* in Spanish:<sup>10</sup>

- (54) *aapo nee benasi teebe.*  
 3SG.NOM 1SG.ACC COMP high  
 ‘He is as taller as I am.’

In contrast with the position of *benasi* in (54), examples in (55) illustrate the regular postnominal order of *benasi*:

- (55) a. *Ket-kea ili ito aet womta-la-ta benasi...*  
 also-only DIM RFLX 3SG.DIR scare-ADJVZ-ACC COMP  
 ‘Like if we were scared a little bit (towards) ourselves...’

- (55) b. *Tua te wepul mampusiam-po benasi...*  
 true 1PL.NOM one finger-PL-LOC COMP  
 ‘In fact there was like about only one small amount...’ (lit. like about a finger)

The order of *benasi* in examples in (55), which is the usual position of the conjunction *como* in Spanish, also demonstrates the influence of this language in introducing a change in the word order (PAT) of Yaqui:

- (56) ***Benasi*** *t=a ta'a-pea.*  
 COMP 1PL.NOM=3SG.ACC know-DES  
 ‘Like when we want to know it (the sun).’

A comparative clause where the postposition *betchi'ibo* is in the word order position considered to be the original from Yaqui is given in (57):

- (57) *Jume kuchum che'a su~sua-k-an nee betchi'ibo.*  
 DEM.PL fish.PL more RDP~think-ST-PASC 1SG.ACC POSTP  
 ‘The fish were smarter than me.’

## 7. Conclusions

After four hundred years of Spanish influence on the Yaqui language and culture, the language shows few cases of grammatical borrowing. Language contact between Yaqui and Spanish is strong at the lexical level, but almost nil in the grammar. Yaqui has adopted a Nahuatl morphological strategy, – the suffix *-oa-* to adapt Spanish verbs, and the Spanish derivational suffix *-ero*, adapted as *-e'o*, *-eo* or *-ero-* to derive agentive nouns. Most of the loanwords are discourse particles: conjunctions or subordinating elements. Some of them used as hesitative, hortative or vocative particles, which are typically used at the discourse level. Most of the borrowings are MAT-loans.

One last interesting contact phenomenon, which can be taken as a true instance of code-switching rather than of borrowing, is the usage of multimorphemic elements. That is, expressions (idioms) which include more than one word. Instances of code-switching are frequently used to give communicative force at the discourse, but they can vary according to both the topic and the speaker. Estrada, Morúa and Álvarez (2005) have illustrated some cases where Spanish expressions are used in narrative texts as a way of introducing communicative force. Good examples of code-switching are the following:

- (58) a. *Pero no es igual, ian taji bea ne inim weama.*  
 now DIR then 1SG.NOM here be-PRS  
 ‘... but it is not the same, I’m still around’
- (58) b. *Si nesio... ju’u yoi jodido!*  
 INT necio DET yori jodido<sup>11</sup>  
 ‘How stubborn... the damn white-man!’
- (58) c. *soldado a huevo...*  
 soldado a huevo  
 ‘forced to be a soldier...’
- (58) d. *Bwe tua nee chingo-k ommme...!*  
 but INT 1SG.ACC chingar-PFV man  
 ‘But, in fact, I fuck myself!’

#### Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ADJVZ	adjectivizer
AGT	agentive
APPL	applicative
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COMP	comparative
COND	conditional
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DES	desiderative
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
IMPRS	impersonal
INT	intensive
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRS	present

PASC	past continuous
POSTP	postposition
RDP	reduplication
RFLX	reflexive
REL	relativizer
SG	singular
ST	stative
SUB	subordinator
VBLZ	verbalizer

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<sup>1</sup> There are several articles dealing with the influence of Spanish on the structure of Yaqui: Dozier (1964), Johnson (1943), Lindenfeld (1982); two are mainly dealing with the Yaqui from Arizona (U.S.) only Johnson's study deals with the Yaqui spoken in Sonora (Mexico).

<sup>2</sup> ISO 639-3: yaq.

<sup>3</sup> Crescencio Buitimea Valenzuela, who has coauthored several studies with Estrada, is a native speaker of Yaqui born in Vicam, Sonora. He is now preparing a Handbook dictionary of the Yaqui language and several books for teaching the language.

<sup>4</sup> Estrada and Silva (2006) deal with some properties of the Pascolas's discourse, a kind of religious discourse, which is used among the Yaqui in their festivities. The Pascola is a Yaqui man who performs the role of an anti-religious person, a clown. We want to express our gratitude to Manuel Carlos Silva Encinas for his generous guidance and for sharing with us his discourse materials in Yaqui.

<sup>5</sup> The similarities among the phonological inventory of Yaqui and Spanish is due to a mere coincidence. See Voegelin, Voegelin and Hale (1962) as well as Whorf (1935) for studies on the reconstruction of Proto-Uto-Aztecan. Throughout this work we are using the orthography approved by the Yaqui from Sonora, Mexico.

<sup>6</sup> Escalante (1988) provided a brief account about the adaptation of loanwords into the Yaqui from Pascua. Estrada (2005) presented a detailed analysis of the phonological adaptation of Spanish loanwords into Yaqui.

<sup>7</sup> Tomas Basilio's grammar, deals with Tehuelco, an extinct Cahitan dialect.

<sup>8</sup> Chablé's field notes are centered on the Huichol variety spoken at La Palmita, municipality of Mezquitic, Jalisco. Chablé is working on her Master thesis.

<sup>9</sup> A procedural discourse has been described as an activity-oriented discourse, where a series of activities, which are done by somebody, are described in a chronological order.

<sup>10</sup> Although Lindenfeld (1971: 8-9) however, has considered those constructions as native from Yaqui.

<sup>11</sup> In Spanish: '¡Qué necio... el yori jodido!'

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