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THE YAQUI DEER DANCE: A STUDY IN CULTURAL  
CHANGE

By CARLETON STAFFORD WILDER

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# THE YAQUI DEER DANCE: A STUDY IN CULTURAL CHANGE

BY CARLETON S. WILDER

## INTRODUCTION

This is a study of an aspect of Yaqui ceremonial life as observed in 1939-40 in Pascua, a settlement founded in Arizona by immigrant Yaquis from the tribal homeland in Sonora, Mexico.<sup>1</sup>

The deer dance was reported by Spicer as having been omitted during 1936-37 from many ceremonies at which it might have been held. Accounts of older Arizona Yaquis also indicated that the deer dance was losing elements of form and meaning. It was suggested that the position of the deer dance represented an adjustment of the culture of Pascua to a condition of decreased importance of the natural environment in Yaqui life. The conclusion was that the deer dance and its animal associations were no longer relevant to the economic life or to any other aspect of life in Pascua (Spicer, E. H., 1940 b).

The present study is an attempt to describe the form of the deer dance in Pascua in 1940 and the meanings still attached to it, to seek explanation of the causes related to the persistence of these meanings, and to inquire into the function of the deer dance in Yaqui culture of Pascua of the period.

I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Dr. and Mrs. Edward H. Spicer, both of whom have generously put at my disposal the results of their studies in Pascua.

I also wish to thank Dr. Emil W. Haury for making available funds and study collections of the Arizona State Museum, Prof. William Kurath for critical advice concerning the presentation of linguistic material, Mr. and Mrs. Jean B. Johnson for their assistance with Yaqui grammar, and Mr. David J. Jones and Mr. Donald J. Lehmer for photographic material.

## METHODS

Material was gathered with reference to a specific problem, but interpretation was made in terms of the whole context of Yaqui society

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<sup>1</sup> In "Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona," a description of pertinent historical information will be found, as well as a description and analysis of Arizona Yaqui culture and social organization of the period (Spicer, E. H., 1940 b).

and culture as observed in 1940. Several modes of attack were utilized:

1. An examination of available material, primarily the field notes and manuscript material of E. H. and R. B. Spicer, as a basis for understanding the problem in relation to other aspects of Yaqui culture.

2. An examination of available ethnographic material concerning selected tribes in the Southwest and in northern Mexico in order to establish the probable nature of aboriginal Yaqui religion.

3. The collection of material concerning the form of the deer dance. This included, besides descriptions of the dance and material culture aspects of the dance, the collection of a series of songs used in the performance. Inasmuch as the problem was to be an interpretation of culture in Pascua, the information was gathered there.

4. Interpretation and observation. This included interviews with certain types of individuals in Pascua for native attitudes concerning the dance as well as study of historical material. Observation was directed especially toward overt expressions of the relationship of the deer dance in Pascua to other ceremonial aspects of Yaqui culture.

5. A 2-day trip was made to Vicam Estación, Vicam Viejo, and Potam pueblos in the Rio Yaqui area. Portions of two deer dances were witnessed in Vicam Viejo. A complete dance was observed also at Guadalupe village near Phoenix, Ariz., and a portion of a deer dance was observed in Barrio Libre, near Tucson.

The material which presented the most difficulties in collecting was the deer songs. It was essential to the solution of the problem that the deer songs be collected in the form in which they are customarily sung, and in the order in which they occur in the dance.<sup>2</sup> The following procedure was followed in collecting the songs:

1. Four deer singers (*masobwikame*), with the musical instruments used in the dance, were taken to the recording studio of the Speech Department, University of Arizona. In one morning, 20 songs were recorded. By collecting this number it was assumed that material sufficiently representative to provide a reasonably accurate description of the form and content of the deer songs would be acquired. For the sake of clarity in the phonographic recordings, the voice of the

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<sup>2</sup>Both E. H. Spicer and Jean Johnson have collected deer songs in textual form. In both cases, these songs have been spoken, and do not reflect the form of the song when sung. They are essentially rationalizations, in Yaqui, of the deer songs. Valuable as these native interpretations are, my interest was in the formal presentation of the songs as well as in the meaning, as the form itself has meaning in reference to the dance and the concept of the dance. Stress accent in Yaqui shifts depending on context and has therefore not been indicated except in the transcription of the mechanically recorded texts of the deer songs (see p. 176). It may be said that in most Yaqui words there is greater stress on the first syllable although prominent exceptions occur in words adapted from Spanish.

chief deer singer was singled out, the microphone being so placed that the voices of the others and the instruments were kept in the background. Also, for the sake of economy of time and record space, each song was sung through once. The second and third repetitions which normally occur in the complete song during a dance were omitted.

2. A phonetic transcription was then made of each of the songs, from the phonographic recordings.

3. In a series of interviews, utilizing the chief deer singer (whose voice was recorded on the phonograph records), and an English-speaking, Arizona-born Yaqui informant who was not a deer singer, another phonetic transcription of the words of the songs was made. The phonograph recordings of the songs and the original transcription were constantly used during these interviews as checks on the accuracy of the informants. A translation, as literal as possible, was attempted at this time and general discussion of matters concerning the songs was encouraged in order to acquire context for further interpretation of the songs.

4. An intensive study of the songs and translations was made, using Yaqui texts, a Yaqui dictionary, and notes on grammar, all collected by the Spicers in 1936-37. Of inestimable help were the comments and short sketch of Yaqui grammar furnished by Jean Johnson.

5. A final review of the songs was made with the two informants, and several meetings were held with the English-speaking one alone. At this time, supplementary linguistic material was gathered in an attempt to clarify the meanings of the songs.

#### INFORMANTS

The principal informants utilized during the course of this study were:

<sup>3</sup> Juan Silvas (Jose Angel Alvarez), 40, single, no kin in Pascua, but ceremonial sponsorship relations with Pascuans. Speaks Yaqui, Spanish, Papago (?), English (?). Is chief deer singer at present. Matachin kovanau (director) at one fiesta in 1939 in Pascua, but present ceremonial activities are limited to participation in deer dance activities.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Acuña, 35, married, several children, kin and ceremonial relatives in Pascua. Speaks Yaqui, Spanish, English. Is member of fariseo and matachin societies, sings deer songs. Native of Arizona, educated in ranch schools. In cotton-picking season is weigh boss on a ranch. A progressive type of Yaqui who has compromised with his economic environment by living in Pascua only during the ceremonial season and spending the remainder of the year on the ranch where he is employed.

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<sup>3</sup> Informants who sang for phonograph recordings. All of them were paid for this performance.

<sup>3</sup> Juan Alvarez (Juan Maso), the maso, or deer dancer. 40, single, supports sister and her family. Ceremonial sponsorship relations in Pascua. Yaqui-Spanish speaking. Fariseo and matachin societies. Because of his activities in fariseo and matachin organizations, he was not able to dance the deer dance at Palm Sunday and Easter, 1940. A young boy was trained to take his place.

<sup>3</sup> Luis Robles, 30-35, married. Kin and ceremonial relatives in Pascua. Yaqui-Spanish speaking. Matachin society and deer dance singer.

Joe Dolores Romero, 20-25, married, one child. Ceremonial relatives and kin in Pascua. English, Yaqui, Spanish speaking. Caballero and matachin societies. Native of Arizona. Does not know deer songs. Aided in translation of them, together with Juan Silvas. Furnished a translation of most of the songs, which he wrote in English. (These translations are included with the deer songs as translation I.) An alert, willing, reliable informant. He was paid for formal interviews concerned with translation of the songs.

Lucas Chavez, age 60 plus. Widower, lives alone. No kin alive. No ceremonial relatives in Pascua. Reads and writes in Spanish. Speaks Yaqui. Participates as third maestro and/or temasti in church services. Formerly active in Yaqui political organization, now non-existent. Is village postmaster and mail carrier. Well versed in Yaqui-Catholic ritual as well as in aboriginal Yaqui customs and mythology. Both Spicer and Beals<sup>4</sup> have relied on this informant. Probably the best general informant in Pascua.

Information was gathered from numerous other individuals through casual conversation during the course of the study. An attempt was made to gather information relative to the meaning of the deer dance to representative persons of two general age groups, those under 25 and those over that age—preferably 40 or older. Five in the latter group were contacted, and seven in the former group.

## THE ETHNOGRAPHIC POSITION OF THE YAQUI

Since this study is devoted primarily to one aspect of culture—the religious—no attempt will be made to define the whole of Yaqui culture in relationship to that of its neighbors, but rather, the emphasis will be on the conceptual treatment of the deer among various groups of northern Mexico and Southwestern United States as described in published material.

As to the ethnographic position of the Yaqui, Beals states:

On the basis of greatest similarities and the general feeling of the culture of each area, in the last analysis the Cahita [Yaqui and Mayo] and the Tarahumare must be considered closest to the Southwest, while the other coast and Sierran peoples are closest to the Mexicans. [Beals, 1932 a, p. 146.]<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Informants who sang for phonograph recordings. All of them were paid for this performance.

<sup>4</sup> Beals, Ralph L., University of California at Los Angeles.

<sup>5</sup> This study was based on historical mention of characteristics of native peoples in Mexico. Beals has used these characteristics as culture traits and attempted a comparative analysis of the tribes of northern Mexico.



That the position of the Yaqui and Mayo is marginal is emphasized by the fact that in drawing the boundaries of the cultural provinces in northern Mexico, the Rio Yaqui constitutes the northern boundary of the Old Sinaloa Province, and the southern boundary of the Old Sonora Province (Beals, 1932 a, pp. 134-139).

The marginal nature of the Yaqui-Mayo group may best be brought out by citing the percentage figures derived by Beals, on which he has based his conclusions. The figures indicate the percentages of traits occurring mutually in the areas under consideration (*ibid.*, p. 145) :

63 percent of Old Sinaloa traits are found in the Southwest

56 percent of Old Sonora traits are found in the Southwest

59 percent of Southwest traits are found in Old Sinaloa

77 percent of Southwest traits are found in Old Sonora

Comparing percentages with Mexican cultural provinces and the provinces in which the Cahita are located, Beals notes :

The Southern Sierra region shows an unexpectedly low correlation with the Tepic-Culiacan area and Sinaloa and a surprisingly high correlation with the Sonoran province (in view of the geographical situation). The nomadic peoples show not only an understandably high relationship with the Southwest but a surprisingly high correlation with Sinaloa and Sonora as well, the relationship being closer than with the adjoining provinces, another suggestion of the intrusive nature of Cahita culture and perhaps the Cahita themselves. [*Ibid.*, p. 145.]

From all of this material, as Beals admits, few conclusions of definite nature can be made. The problem is a difficult one, as it is not a problem of defining culture areas, but rather one of defining variation in one large culture area. I would judge that Beals includes the Southwest area as it has been defined at the present as a cultural province of this larger area (*ibid.*, p. 145). Including the Southwestern area as a cultural province in the larger northern Mexico culture area, we can still find no definite line of demarcation between any of the provinces—a line such as separates the Plains area from the Southwest, or Northwest, for instance. In the absence of more detailed information concerning the cultures of not only northern Mexico, but also of the Southwest, it is safe to conclude that a basis for comparison exists between the Cahita and tribes both to the north and south of it, in the Southwest, and in Mexico as far south as the Jalisco-Tepic province.

In this discussion, comparisons will be limited primarily to the concepts concerning the deer.

Among the Huichol, considering one of the distinctly Mexican groups (which Beals has included in the southern Sierra province), the deer is an all-important mythological and religious figure. Huichol religion is essentially a system of nature worship (Zingg, 1938, p. 257).

. . . as soon as the seed corn sprouted [according to a myth], it cried like a little deer and then like a child. The mythology speaks of the deers[sic], which are killed for the parched corn ceremony for burning new corn-fields, as yielding both corn and peyote. The corn is taken from the sacred horns of the deer. One of the most interesting participations between corn and the deer is that the hungry and crying corn-children eat the deer-meat offered to the sacred god-disc in the cornfield (*ibid.*, p. 257).

More numerous than the identifications of corn with the deer, are those that identify the deer with peyote. In the first pilgrimage which was a hunt for the deer, Peyote, all the tracks of the deer were changed into peyotes. The religion requires that those little cacti be shot with an arrow as a deer is shot. This is actually done (*ibid.*, p. 258).

The importance of the deer in Huichol religion is further indicated by such features as the names of both classes of shamans, maSa<sup>2</sup> akame, maSa, 'deer' (*ibid.*, p. 206). A deer dance is given. Skins of deer are not used, although it is so commanded in mythology. The dance is one engaged in by both men and women. Its characteristic feature is the stamping of feet. The deer dance, as might be expected among the Huichol, is the same as the peyote dance (*ibid.*, pp. 400, 496). "The tail of the deer is one of its most sacred parts and is thought of as a feather to be used as a shaman's plume. It is as sacred as hawk or eagle feathers" (*ibid.*, p. 308).

Although Zingg makes no specific mention of association of the deer with flowers (it has, after all, ample floral association with corn and peyote), the conceptual treatment of flowers is considered in this discussion because of flower association of the deer among other groups, and because of their importance in Yaqui religion today (Spicer, E. H., 1940 b, e.g., pp. 254-255).

Flowers and beautiful green leaves adorn the outside altars during all ceremonies, as well as the altars of the god-houses. . . . Flowers, including a beautiful orchid, are used as a hyssop for sprinkling things and people in the Huichol baptism with sacred water . . . it is with the wet-season goddesses that flowers have the most intimate relationship. Thus they are associated with rain, growth, fertility, and increase. [Zingg, R. M., 1938, pp. 246-247].

The lack of direct association of the deer with flowers is best explained by the fact that the deer is a dry-season god (*ibid.*, p. 307), whereas flowers are primarily wet season in association.

Among the Tarahumare, native religious elements are obscured and in many instances have been replaced by the introduced Catholic elements of religion (Zingg, conversation, 1940). However, fiestas follow patterns of activity given by the supernatural, and the two dances which occur at fiestas were originally learned from animals. The rutuburi was taught by the turkey, and the yumari, traditionally the oldest dance, was learned from the deer (Lumholtz, 1902, vol. 1, p.

335). The yumari controls the sun and moon and causes them to attend the fiesta.

Among the Papago, the deer is included among those animals, birds, and insects endowed with both beneficial and harmful power. Deer sickness can be cured by the singing of deer songs, songs acquired through dreaming (Densmore, 1929, p. 90). The deer tail is important in curing and is considered as effective as those very rich offerings, eagle down and beads. Deer hunting is the most skilled of Papago crafts. Every step in the process of hunting is "given," i.e., has been acquired through supernatural contact in dreaming. The night prior to a deer hunt, songs are sung describing the deer and its habitat. Some of these songs are sung by the flowers on which the deer grazes, some by the deer itself (Underhill, 1938, pp. 53-56).

That the deer occupies a position more important than that of other animals is indicated by the position it occupies in the ceremonies of the Papago. In the Vikita, the "Prayer Stick" festival, the deer plays a conspicuous part.

Then came the first group. . . . Ahead of them walked a Sprinkler of Cornmeal, blessing the ground on which they would walk. Then came a little boy masked like the older singers and carrying a rod with a bluebird feather at the end. After him came the twelve young men, carrying a platform made of cactus ribs on which there might be a great image of a cloud or a mountain made of buckskin with small carved birds upon it; or perhaps a deer or a giant cornstalk (ibid., 1940, p. 53).

The Vikita follows another ceremony, called a deer dance by Underhill, which takes place in the autumn.

Its object was to work magic over all the crops which had been gathered and over the first deer of the season, to make them safe for eating during the winter. Hunters went out to look for the deer . . . . The deer tail was considered a magic property and was taken back . . . to be used in curing. [Ibid., p. 50.]

Among the Pueblos the information concerning the deer is not as detailed as among the Papago. At Zuni, the deer causes sickness (Parsons, 1939, p. 96). It can also cure and protect one's health. In order that a Zuni child may keep well and walk early, hairs from a deer are burned and the child held over the smoke; wax from the deer is placed in the ears of the child to give it good hearing. The Zuni believe the deer is never sick (ibid., p. 92).

The hunting of the deer receives ceremonial elaboration at Zuni also:

. . . the deer is stalked ritualistically; he is enticed with sacred esoteric songs, he is killed in prescribed manner, and when brought to the house is received as an honored guest and sent away with rich gifts to tell others of his tribe that he was well treated in his father's house. [Bunzel, 1932, p. 488.]

Control over the deer is ritualistically expressed also in the Rio Grande Pueblos. A deer dance is reported for Taos (Parsons, 1939, pp. 842-844), San Juan (Buttree, 1930, pp. 52-54; Parsons, 1939, p. 912), Cochiti (Parsons, 1939, p. 533), and Isleta (*ibid.*, 1932, p. 337).

In summary, it can be said that deer ceremonies occur throughout the combined northern Mexico-Southwestern culture area, and that these ceremonies differ according to the religious pattern of the various groups considered. In spite of the variation in the conceptual and ritual treatment of the deer in the various tribes, certain similarities are observable, and these similarities can be characterized as traits typical of this area. Since the cultures which have been considered in this comparison belong to the culture area to which the Yaquis belong, it is not improbable that the Yaqui deer ceremony has some elements in common with the deer ceremonies of the Huichol, Tarahumare, Papago, and Pueblos.

In Pascua we are dealing not only with an apparently non-Christian ceremony in a community in which the Catholic religion has obscured the aboriginal religion, but also we are dealing with a community in which the economic-geographic base is no longer that which it was formerly (or which it is today in the Rio Yaqui). As a result of this latter change, if aboriginal Yaqui religion was in part a reflection of the relationship of the Yaqui to their environment, this relationship no longer exists in Pascua today. Through comparison with other tribes of the same area, which have been affected less by change, we are able, through interpolation, to indicate some of the probable characteristics of the aboriginal deer dance in Yaqui culture.

From the material considered, it would seem that the deer is of particular importance among the Huichol, where he occupies the position of a deity. His position among the Tarahumare is not clear, apparently because of the influence of Christian religion. Among the Papago, the deer is important because of its value as a food animal and for curing. There is some indication through the accounts of its ritual treatment that other values are associated with it. The fact that in the Vikita ceremony the image may be that of either a deer or giant cornstalk may be significant. Among the Pueblos, the curative aspects of the deer concept are perhaps not as important as among the Papago; the deer ceremonies appear to be directed primarily at the control of the deer as a source of food. However, the aspects of curing and control of food supply are present among all groups considered.

In relating the Yaqui deer concept and ritual treatment of the deer to the concepts and treatments of other tribes in the area it is well to

remember that Beals has suggested that the Cahita are marginal to both the Southwestern tribes and those of Mexico. He has interpreted some of the elements of Yaqui-Mayo ceremony from this point of view (Beals, 1932 a and 1932 b; Parsons and Beals, 1934; Spicer, 1940 a). Likewise, in view of the marginal position of the Cahita, I would suggest, in inferring the nature of the aboriginal Yaqui deer dance, that not only the ritualistic treatment of the deer as found among the Pueblos and Papago be considered, but that the more deeply rooted religious significance of the deer, as found among the Huichol, be considered. In this connection, it is interesting to recall that Beals found a surprising correlation, statistically, between the culture traits of Sonora-Sinaloa (Yaqui-Mayo) and the Southern Sierra (Huichol).

### THE FIESTA PATTERN IN PASCUA WITH REFERENCE TO THE DEER DANCE

In order to understand the position of the deer dance in Pascua today it is necessary to present a brief description of the religious activities of Pascua, since it is in terms of this context of ceremonial activities that we must interpret the deer dance. In this chapter we will consider the principal types of ceremonies, the principal types of ceremonial participation, and the formal expression of the relationship of the various types of ceremonial participation as expressed in the procession.<sup>6</sup>

The importance of ceremonial activities in Pascua is indicated by the following statement:

. . . Forty-seven percent of the days of the year from July 1936 to July 1937 were occupied with ceremony of some kind, counting every day on which there was any ceremony at any time of day or night (including the Easter season but not including limosnas). There were fifty-one days on which there were services both in the morning and evening or throughout the day, thirty-three mornings, and thirty-nine evenings. [Spicer, MS. 1939, p. 37.]

The principal ceremonies are as follows (*ibid.*, pp. 33-44) :

Noncalendrical (household or personal) :

1. Baby funeral
2. Adult funeral
3. Novena
4. Cumpleaño
5. Fiesta de promesa
6. Baptism
7. Marriage

<sup>6</sup> Spicer, R. B., 1939—the source of factual material presented in this chapter concerning activities of ceremonial participants other than that of the deer dancer. My observations were limited to the deer dancer and his formal relationship to the other participants in ceremonies as exemplified in the procession and other aspects of the fiesta.

## Calendrical (church or group—impersonal) :

1. October novenas for the dead
2. May vespers for the Virgin
3. Morning service for fiesta
4. Evening service for fiesta
5. Vesper for fiesta
6. All-night fiesta
7. All-day fiesta

The noncalendrical observances are those related primarily to the individual, family, and household. The calendrical observances are those which are a matter of group concern, and as such are of a less personal nature. Celebrations of various Saints' days as well as the ceremonies of Lent are participated in by the entire group. Novenas appear under both classifications, as they are both a ceremonial manifestation of an individual household and a ceremonial concern of the entire village in the period prior to All Souls' Day, when the church formally acts in behalf of the dead of the entire village.

As might be expected, in a society in which ceremonial activities are of so much importance, participation on the part of individuals of the community tends to be organized. Expression of this organization is most common in the form of societies. Types of participants in Yaqui ceremonial activities are:

1. *Matachinis*.—A dance society, the members of which serve for life. Membership is determined through promise made to cure illness. The individual may promise himself, or his obligation to dance may be the result of promise made by members of his family at the time of his illness. Frequently, such promises are made during childhood, the individual participating actively as soon as he has reached a reasonable age. There is no age limit; participation may begin as early as five years. Membership is restricted to males. Patroness of this society is the Virgin Mary.

Membership may be acquired merely through the desire to dance, the most important function of this group. Unmarried members are expected to be much more faithful in fulfilling their duty by dancing than are married ones. Approximately seventy members in Pascua in 1936-37 (Spicer, MS. 1939, p. 18).

2. *Fariseos*.—A society which is dominant during Lent, supplanting the *matachinis* almost entirely during this time. Dancing is infrequent, and can be considered one of the less important activities of this group. Unlike the *matachinis*, this group functions as a police organization and is in effective control of village activities during the Lenten season. Membership may be by capture, i.e., eating with the members of the group, and because of misconduct of various sorts. Most members are acquired, however, through promise, as is true with the *matachinis*. Membership is for life. Participation in the activities of the *fariseos* takes precedence over participation with the *matachinis*, if a man is a member of both. The lower age limit appears to be about seven or eight years, as the duties of this group are much more arduous than those of the *matachinis*. The patron of this society is Jesus Cristo.

3. *Maestros*.—Currently there are five *maestros* in Pascua. Although not as closely organized as the above groups, the *maestro* group functions essen-

tially as a society. The maestros are leaders of the church services and it is up to them, or the maestro mayor, specifically, to see that services are held on the proper days, and that the church services in connection with private fiestas are conducted. Membership is through ability and desire to become a maestro, and also through promise to Jesus Cristo. All deities of the Christian religion are served by the members of this group.

4. *temastim*.—Closely allied to the maestros are the *temastim*, who serve as sacristans. They may be promised, or serve through choice. The duties of the *temastim* may be properly performed by a maestro, and a *temasti* may, upon mastery of the ritual (and having the ability to read) serve as a maestro. This is a male organization.

5. *kopariam* or *cantoras*.—A society of women who serve with the maestros as a group directly connected with the altar. They serve either through desire or vow. Their chief function is singing of chants in support of the maestros. If serving under vow, their patron is Jesus Cristo.

6. *kiostim*.—Group which takes care of the images and altar paraphernalia. The duties of this position may be fulfilled through vow to the Virgin.

7. *alpesim*.—Young girls, fulfilling a vow through service, working with the altar group.

8. *tenancim*.—Women, who through voluntary and temporary service, not through vow, carry the images of the Virgin in the various processions.

9. *Caballeros*.—Male group in the service of the Virgin of Guadalupe. They are closely identified in activities with the *fariseos* and their original function apparently was to serve as a check on the activities of the *fariseos* (whose ritualistic activities are in opposition to those of the Church). Service is through vow.

10. *Coyotes*.—These are the ritualistic manifestation of the warrior society. This group is of little importance in Pascua. Its members did not formally appear in 1936-37 at the time of the Spicers' study, but an attempted revival was observed during the past two years. The few members present in Pascua are old men, and the group suffers from lack of organization and a leader. In certain processions this group acts as an escort for the image of Christ. In others it has carried an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

11. *Pascalas*.—Important ceremonial roles are played by the *Pascalas*. They differ from those mentioned before, however, in that they are not organized in a society, but must be classed as individual participants in ceremonies. They function as ritualistic hosts at fiestas. Dancing is an important duty performed by them, but is not the only one. They do not serve through vow, although frequently, through rationalization, an attempt is made to link the *pascalas* with the church groups by identifying them as serving for Jesus Cristo.

12. *Maso*.—The deer, or deer dancer, is closely associated with the *pascalas*. Like them, he is not dedicated to perform for a deity, is not a member of an organization or society, and unlike the case of the *pascalas*, no attempt is made, through rationalization, to equate the *maso* with the Christian religion.

It is important to note in what formal respects the activities of the *maso* differ from the other types of ceremonial activities.

The majority of ceremonial participants in Pascua belong to an organized group, or society. The *maso* shares the individualistic characteristic of his role with but one other type of participant—the *pascala*.

TABLE 1.—*Comparison of ceremonial groups*

	Matachinis	Fariseos	Maestro-Cantora	Pascola	Maso
How organized.....	Society.....	Society.....	Society.....	Individual.....	Individual.
Patron deity.....	Virgin.....	Jesus.....	All deities.	None.....	None.
Promised?.....	Yes.....	Yes.....	Yes.....	No.....	No.
Affiliated with church?	Yes.....	Yes.....	Yes.....	No.....	No.
Ritually associated with church?	Yes.....	No.....	Yes.....	No.....	No.
Importance of dancing.	Important.....	Occasional.....	.....	Important.....	Important.
Dance native or Spanish.	Spanish.....	Native(?).....	.....	Both.....	Native.
Activities other than dancing?	Yes.....	Yes.....	.....	Yes.....	No.
Types of appearances:					
a. Seasonal.....	Except Lent.....	Lent.....	All year.....	All year.....	All year.
b. Ceremonial.....	Church services Saints' Days, Cumpleanos, Fiestas de promesa, Palm Sunday, Easter.	All ceremonies in Lent. At funerals of members throughout the year.	All ceremonies.	Children's funerals, Cumpleanos, Fiestas de promesa, Palm Sunday, Easter, Saints' Days.	One Saint's Day, Cumpleano (one), Fiesta de promesa (one), Palm Sunday, Easter.

The majority of participants take part in ceremonial activities because of a promise made to a deity. The maso and pascola are again distinct from the other participants in that they are not promised.

As opposed to the types of activities which are ritually associated with the church, the maso, together with the pascolas and fariseos, are non-church, or household, in ritual association.

The ritual importance of dancing is apparent in one type of church activity, that of the matachinis. (Dancing cannot be considered one of the more important aspects of fariseo participation.) The maso and pascolas have ritually important dances.

There seems to be no seasonal association of the deer dance, something again shared only with the pascolas. But as for frequency, the deer dance occupies a position by itself, rivaled in this respect only by the almost extinct coyote society dance.

The functional interrelation of various types of ceremonial activity is very clearly expressed formally in the procession, a feature of certain of the household fiestas. The procession is an important characteristic of the larger, pueblo fiestas also, but can be considered an elaboration of the basic household type of fiesta. The sequence of events in a household fiesta follows this order:

1. The fiesta starts as a private observance by the members of the household.
2. The fiesta is opened to the public in the afternoon following its start.
3. About sundown (the actual time varies greatly), the church officially enters the fiesta, the church participants coming from the church in formal procession to the household ramada where the fiesta is being given.
4. A ceremony of greeting is carried on by the householders and household participants upon arrival of the procession from the church. The householders



escort the church groups and their images to the household ramada, where for the remainder of the fiesta the village church and images are established.

5. Church services are carried on through the night in the sacred part of the household ramada, while food and entertainment are provided for the entire group of participants and spectators by the fiesteros and their representatives. The entertainment is in the form of pascola activity in the profane<sup>7</sup> part of the ramada. For the most part the pascola activities are not synchronized with the activities of the sacred side of the ramada.

6. In the morning, usually around 10 o'clock, the church group leaves, signifying the closing of the fiesta. A procession occurs again, it being essentially the reverse of the ceremonial arrival of the church group the evening before. Prior to leaving the household fiesta, a formal expression of gratitude and thanks to the various participants is made. This is immediately followed by the departure of the procession to the church, taking with it the images and paraphernalia of the church.

It is in the greeting of the church group, and the escorting of the images into the household ramada that we are most interested, as in this part of the procession the maso, if he is present, takes part. With the arrival of the matachinis who accompany the images of the Virgins at the altar set up in front of the ramada (encampamiento altar) and the placing of these church images on the altar, the householders, together with some of the maestro-cantora group which have preceded the others of the church group, go out to the encampamiento altar in the following manner (left to right):

fiesteros	maestros	pascolas <sup>8</sup>
and	and	and
fiesteras	cantoras	maso
		and
		tampaleo <sup>9</sup>

At the encampamiento altar, the sponsorship of the fiesta by the fiesteros is acknowledged formally by the alpesim who wave their banners over the pascolas and maso, and then the householders. The alpesim then turn the flags over to the women householders and the procession starts from the encampamiento altar to the ramada. The matachinis and the pascolas and maso all dance, the step of the pascolas and maso being a "curtsy step," first one foot and then the other being placed in back and the knee being bent at the same time. The pascolas and maso dance into the ramada and out three times, the pascolas howling like animals, preceding the images. On each side of the maso and pascola are the matachinis who likewise dance in and out three times, finally remaining outside the ramada. After the third

<sup>7</sup> The use of "sacred" and "profane" conforms to the use by Spicer, E. H., 1940 b, p. 184.

<sup>8</sup> Accompanying the pascolas and maso are their two moros. The moro yaut (head moro) is in charge of the pascolas. The moro in charge of the maso is known as maso moro.

<sup>9</sup> Tampaleo is the musician who plays the drum and flute (both at the same time) for the pascola dance.

time, the procession with the images has filed into the ramada and the images are placed on the altar. The pascolas and maso retire to the profane side of the ramada, and stand facing the altar. During this ceremony, the deer musicians are in the ramada, as their instruments cannot, by nature, be employed in a procession. They are singing during this time a procession song, "I don't want the flowers to move, but they constantly are moving."

After the completion of the ceremony of placing the images on the altar, the pascolas and maso retire to their respective places in the profane part of the ramada.

In the morning, at the completion of the fiesta, the images are danced out to the encampamiento altar again, the pascolas and maso leading the group, the pascolas howling like animals and all dancing to the music of the flute and drum as before. The images are formally transferred to the church group, and then the householders return with the household santo to the ramada, where it is placed on the altar. They are preceded by the maso and pascolas dancing and howling, and they again dance in and out three times before allowing the image to be brought in. None of the church group accompanies the fiesteros, maso, and pascolas, but remains at the encampamiento altar. Immediately after this, the maso and pascolas retire to return in ordinary daily dress for the thanking ceremony which occurs next, prior to the departure of the procession for the church.

The variation from this basic pattern of the fiesta is found in the pueblo fiestas. The variation is principally in the fact that a ramada, permanently located in one part of the church plaza takes the place of the household ramada. It is, in effect, the ramada for the village. It is divided into sacred and profane portions, and the fiesta which takes place in this ramada is of the same nature, but more elaborate than that which takes place in the household ramadas (figs. 17 and 18).

Also to be considered is the elaboration of the procession on the Saturday before Easter, at the ceremony of the Gloria.<sup>10</sup> Again, as in the usual fiesta and procession pattern, the deer dancer is closely associated with the pascolas. The deer's activities are limited to dancing during the Gloria. The pascolas and moro yaut actively assist those women who throw confetti and leaves at the attacking fariseos. The maso himself, however, does not throw flowers, but dances vigorously as his contribution to the defense against the attack of the fariseos. At this time he dances to the music of the maso-bwikame, who are seated at one side of the cleared space.

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<sup>10</sup> See Spicer, R. B., MS., 1939, pp. 85-151, for description and interpretation of the events of Holy Week.

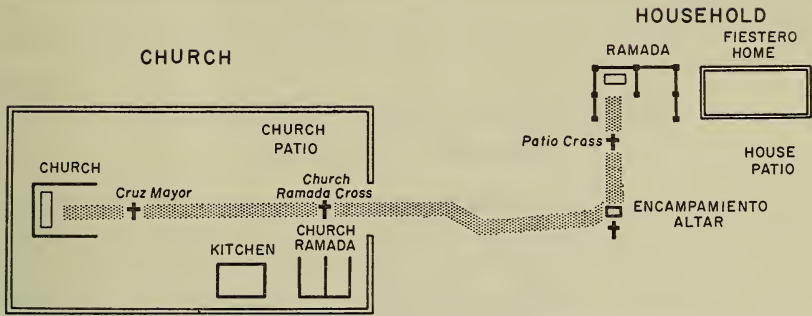


FIGURE 17.—The church and the household.

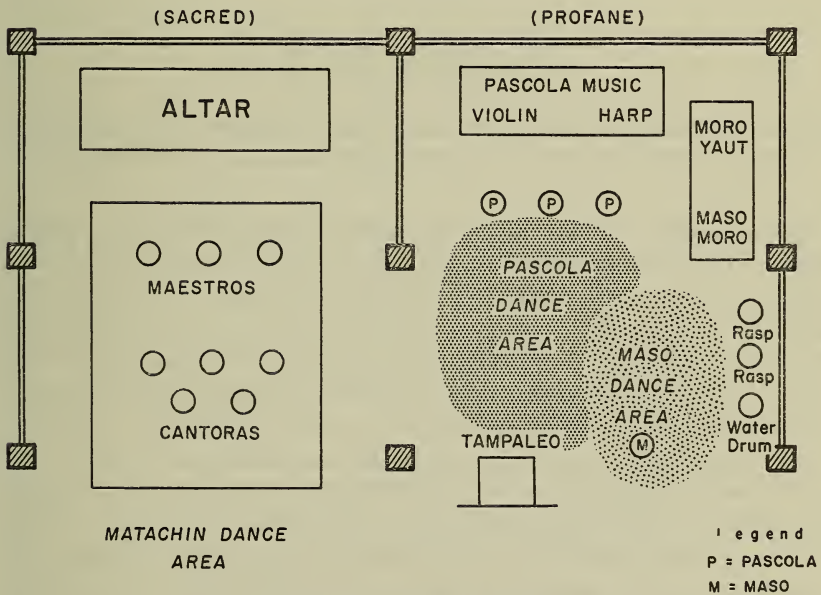


FIGURE 18.—Plan of ramada.

An example of a procession in which the maso takes part is shown on the following chart. This particular procession is to take the palms on Palm Sunday from a place near the pascola ramada to the church (pl. 39).

	x		x	
Matachinis	x		x	Matachinis
	x		x	
	x		x	
Y P P M Mm T				
Acolytes				
	x		x	
	x	alpesim	x	
Caballeros and Fariseos	x		x	Caballeros and Fariseos
	x	Table of Palms	x	
	x	(4 men carrying)	x	
	x		x	
	x	Figure of Christ the Nazarene	x	
	x		x	
	x	Figures of the three Marys	x	
	x		x	

CHART 1.—Example of procession in which maso takes part. (Y=moro yaut or pascola moro; P=pascola; M=maso; Mm=maso moro; T=tampaleo.)

In summary, the deer dance occurs both at household and pueblo fiestas. Of all the types of ceremonial activities considered, the deer dance is the one which appears at fiestas the least frequently. The deer dance is the only ceremonial activity which has no other form than that of a dance. The deer dance is set off from other activities also on the basis of lack of Spanish elements, something which even the pascola, basically a native performer, does not share with the maso.

The deer dance, in form, has more characteristics in common with the pascola activities than with any others. Ritually, when the deer is present at a fiesta, deer and pascola are in close association. Both pertain to the household of the fiestero, and their activities take place in that part of the ramada in which church activities do not take place. (In pueblo fiestas, the maso and pascola are identified ritually with the pueblo at large, who are the fiesteros—again in contrast to the other participating groups, those of the church.) The identification of these performers with the household or pueblo, in contrast to the church, is clearly indicated in the procession itself. The procession

is led by the matachinis;<sup>11</sup> then follow the pascolas and maso, forming a distinct group, having its own music. The pascolas and maso dance, facing first the matachinis and then the church groups which follow carrying the images. They are the representatives of those giving the fiesta, and they escort the church groups to the fiesta and away from it.

## THE DEER DANCE

### COSTUME OF THE MASO<sup>12</sup>

When dancing, the maso wears a stuffed deer head (awam, 'antlers'). This head may or may not be a real deer's head. The one in use in Pascua at the present time apparently is not genuine. The nature of the skin used could not be determined. It has glass eyes, and the head was shaped around a small pair of antlers. Ears have been added, and are tied to the lower part of the antlers so that they remain in a lifelike position. There is no bone framework for this head. When in use for ceremonies, the antlers are wound with red silk ribbon, and a large bow of the same material is placed on the head, between the antlers.

As a foundation for the deer head, the head of the dancer is wrapped in a large white cloth, of large neckerchief size. This is folded in triangular manner, the fold itself coming about halfway down on the forehead of the dancer. The sides of the cloth are carried around the head twice and tied in a knot in back. It covers the entire top of the head. Sometimes a short flat stick is inserted vertically through the knot. A small loop attached to the back of the deer head is placed around the knot. The circular bottom of the deer head (representing the upper part of the neck of the animal) then rests well forward on the dancer's head. To secure the deer head firmly, a rawhide strip which is attached to one side of the deer head is passed under the chin of the dancer and through a small opening in the ring forming the bottom of the deer head. This strip is pulled tight and secured

<sup>11</sup> It is with the matachinis that the pascola-maso group is most closely identified in the processions. The pascola-maso group dance between the church groups and matachinis, facing first one and then the other (see plate 39). It is the matachinis, pascolas, and maso who dance in and out of the church or ramada three times before the church groups enter. The possible nature of the relationship between the maso, in particular, and the matachinis will be considered later.

Another basis of division is apparent in the fiesta activities other than the processions. During the fiesta proper, in a pueblo fiesta, the matachinis, angelitas (very young girls participating through promise), and some of the maestro-cantora group return to the church after the procession. Remaining at the ramada with the image (on Easter, 1940, it was an image of the Christ Child) were the remainder of the maestro-cantora group, the angelitos (very young boys participating through promise), the caballeros, fariseos, and the pascola-maso group. This division of participants crosscuts the formal association of participants as observed in the procession.

<sup>12</sup> Compare with Montell, 1938, pp. 153-159, for costume and instruments collected in Tlaxcala and Yucatán.

by looping the strip under itself once. The tightened strip passes from under the chin in a vertical line in front of the ear to the deer head. The head is thus securely fastened in two places, under the chin and at the back of the head by means of the knotted cloth.

The maso, like the pascola, wears nothing above the waist. It must be noted, however, that one pascola who appeared at a household fiesta on the Friday before Palm Sunday wore a red neckerchief diagonally across his chest, passing over his left shoulder and looped under his right armpit. The maso on Palm Sunday and Easter at Pascua was similarly dressed in this respect. However, none of the pascolas wore a red neckerchief at these fiestas, and the maso at other dances observed did not wear one, but was uncovered above the waist. It is usual for both pascola and maso to have a string of black and white beads with a mother-of-pearl cross hung around the neck.

The maso wears trousers which are rolled up at the bottom about halfway up the calf of the leg. (In many cases this exposes the legs of winter-length underwear, which are not rolled up out of the way.)

Over the trousers is worn a folded, fringed rebozo, tied securely around the waist and hanging to just below the knees. This overlaps several inches in front, allowing free leg movement for the dancer. In all cases observed, this skirt has been a dark blue-green color.

Around the waist, over the skirt, is worn a heavy leather belt, called the rijutiam, from which are hung on strips of rawhide numerous deer-hoof rattles. The rawhide strips are inserted in the belt as close together as possible so that the deer hoofs are always touching and give the appearance of being bunched and standing out.

Around the ankles and extending up to the base of the rolled-up trouser legs, are strips of cocoons sewn on rawhide and wrapped around the legs. These are called teneboim. The cocoons have been opened, cleaned out and cured so that they resemble a soft white leather. In each cocoon are placed several pieces of gravel, and the entire cocoon is closed by sewing it onto the rawhide strip. According to Densmore, the cocoons are *Rothschildia jorulla* (Densmore, 1932, p. 156).

In each hand, when dancing, the maso holds a gourd rattle (aiyam). Although not necessarily, according to informants, these gourd rattles are usually of different shape. That which is to be used in the right hand is somewhat elongated, and that which is to be used in the left hand is spherical in shape. The relationship between form and function is direct in this case. The elongated one has, relatively, a shorter transverse diameter, and is better suited to the purpose of beating out the rhythm of the music. This is done by revolving the rattle, emphasizing by rapidity the first half of the circle described by the

rattle when it is used. In this way, the advantage of the short axis is utilized, as the gravel within does not have to travel so far in order to produce the desired effect, nor does the rattle have to be moved as forcibly as would be the case if it were more spherical in shape. In order to distinguish readily between the two rattles, the handles are colored differently. One has a solid blue handle, the other red.<sup>13</sup> Both gourds used in Pascua are painted a bright red. The rattles are made in the following manner: the top is cut off a gourd and a small hole cut in the bottom. A wooden handle is sharpened and pressed firmly through the entire gourd and through the hole in the bottom. Gravel is put in the gourd. A cap of gourd shell already on the handle is held to the gourd and handle with gum.

The maso dances barefoot. Although he removes his headdress during the fiesta whenever he is not dancing, at no time does he put on shoes or sandals (see pl. 40 for costume of maso.)

#### MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The maso dances to the music of a set of instruments which are used for no other dance in Pascua. These are a water drum and two sets of rasping sticks.

The water drum consists of a large half-gourd which is floated, inverted, in a pan of water. The drummer steadies the gourd with his left hand, touching it lightly with his fingers, or holding to a string attached to the gourd. With his right hand he beats the gourd with a supple stick which is wrapped in cornhusks and tied by a spiraling cord. The native term for the drum is bakubaji, and for the stick, bajiponia ("water drum" and "water hitter").

The rasping instrument consists of three parts. The rasping stick itself is a narrow stick having a series of notches extending across it for almost its entire length. These are close together, resembling the arrangement of teeth on a saw. The two specimens of rasps which are in the collection of the University of Arizona are apparently made from mesquite, a very hard, dense wood. The rasp is called jirukia and means "teeth in a row." A much smaller, slender stick is used to rub across the notched stick. This is made from the same type of wood. It is, in effect, a heavy twig which has been peeled, smoothed, and rubbed until it has a satin finish. The Yaqui term for this is jirukia aso.la, "little jirukia." The right-hand extremity of the jirukia is rested on a bweja, or half-gourd, somewhat similar to but not as large as the half-gourd used for the water drum. This gourd is likewise inverted, but rests directly on the ground. The

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<sup>13</sup> See pl. 40. The handle of the right-hand gourd is carved to differentiate it from the left-hand gourd. Notice also the flower painted on one of the gourds.

player holds the left-hand extremity of the rasp loosely in the palm of his hand, controlling it sufficiently by his thumb and fingers to keep it from sliding off the half-gourd. The small stick is moved with a wrist motion rapidly over the rasp during singing by the players (see pls. 41 and 42).

Music is furnished for the deer dance by the players of the rasp and water drum. They kneel in front of their instruments or vary their position by sitting with legs crossed in front of them and sing the various deer songs as they play the instruments. The chief singer, who hums the pitch before each song and who leads the singing of each song, sits in the center, playing a rasp. The two others sit on either side of him, there being no particular order apparently, although in most of the dances observed the water drum player sat at the left of the chief singer, and the other rasp player sat at his right. A good deer singer is one who sings with much gusto, and can make his song carry over the combined noise of the rasps, water drum, maso gourd rattles, rustling of the teneboim of the maso, pounding of his feet, as well as over the various accompanying musical sounds of the pascola dance which is performed at the same time as the deer dance.

TABLE 2.—*Description of deer dance*

Musicians	Deer dancer		
	Position	Dance action	Gourd manipulation
Singers begin slow scraping of rasps. Water drum tapped slowly.	In front of deersingers, in forward part of ramada.	Puts on deer head and takes gourd rattles in hand.	Shakes gourds briskly as he picks them up. Signal that maso is ready for dance.
Rasp action becomes faster; water drum tempo increases. Pitch of song hummed by chief singer.	In front of singers, facing them.		Gourds not moved, held in each hand, pointed down.
First singing of basic stanza of deer song.		Both knees bent, left foot slightly forward. Arms extended forward holding gourds horizontally toward singers. No foot motion.	Gourds vibrated rapidly with wrist and lower arm motion in series of downward jerks, resulting in continuous rattling.
Pause between first repetition of basic stanza. No singing, but rasps and drum continue at fast tempo.			Each singer saluted by three downward jerks of the gourds in unison as above. No break in continuity of rattling of gourds.
Basic stanza sung for second time.		No foot motion. Position similar to above, but becomes more erect in posture. Lifts head to look both to right and left once. Gourds held higher and closer to body.	Rattle in left hand rotated in small circle, counter-clockwise. Motion of forearm, but principally wrist. Right hand rattle beats out rhythm and keeps time with words of songs. Is rotated in larger circle or moved in series of rapid up and back motions across right side of body of dancer. Results in a churning sound.



TABLE 2.—Description of deer dance—Continued

Musicians	Deer dancer		
	Position	Dance action	Gourd manipulation
Basic stanza sung for third time.	Moves in limited area of ramada, in front of singers.	Foot motion begins. Step consists of rapid toe-heel shuffle on one foot, with pointing or resting of ball of other foot on ground, lightly momentarily touching the ground. Foot action shifted every four to six beats.	
Basic stanza repeated varying number of times with pauses in singing between each stanza. Rasps and drum continue.			
Concluding stanza sung. (Coinciding with singing of the word <i>betukun</i> , or in position where it would normally occur.)	Faces singers (in front of singers).	Turns around to right, returning to face singers.	Arms dropped to side, and extended outward. Gourds vertical, pointed to ground and vibrated rapidly, primarily with wrist motion.
Song ends with return to words and music of basic stanza.		Dances in front of singers, facing them.	Returns to churning motion of gourds.
Entire song (basic and concluding stanzas) sung twice more.	Moves in limited area in ramada, faces singers each time concluding stanza is sung.	Dances; does not vary shuffle and pointing step. Turns completely around at each concluding stanza.	Churning of gourds throughout. No special treatment as at beginning of song. Rattle below knees when turning for concluding stanza.
End of entire song (after it has been repeated three times.)	Faces singers.	Stops dancing. Puts left foot forward about eight inches, and immediately draws it back.	Holds gourd rattles pointed to ground; does not move them. Arms at side.
		Removes deer head.	Places gourd rattles with deer head in front of singers.
	Stands near singers with arms crossed.		

To supplement the preceding description of the deer dance, an account of the dance as witnessed at a household fiesta is presented.

DEER DANCE AT THE ACUÑA CUMPLEAÑO,  
FEBRUARY 24-25, 1940

The celebration followed the typical fiesta pattern, with private, family observances ending shortly after noon on Saturday, February 24. Early in the afternoon, two *pascolas* began dancing in the dance ramada. By 7:15 p.m. the deer singers had taken their places and the third *pascola* had arrived.<sup>14</sup> The maso appeared at 7:25 p.m.

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that a frequent excuse for not having a deer dance at a fiesta is that a deer dance cannot properly be given unless three *pascolas* are present. At Palm Sunday fiesta in 1940, only two *pascolas* were present, as was true of the Guadalupe Day fiesta, Guadalupe village, 1939. At the Acuña fiesta, however, a special trip was made to a point 20 miles away to secure an unwilling *pascola* to make a third. Another frequent excuse for not having a deer dance at a household fiesta is the cost involved. A parallel situation is reported by Toor in the Rio Yaqui country (Toor, 1937 b, p. 58).

The maso came out from the house directly into the ramada, the singers singing, "Now you are coming out to play in this flower water."<sup>15</sup> The maso moro, who accompanied him, led him directly across the profane portion of the ramada to the altar where both kneeled and crossed themselves, repeating a prayer. As this was going on the head pascola gave an imitation of a deer dance, dancing with his mask on the side of his face. The maso returned to the secular portion of the ramada, forcing the pascola away, and began dancing alone to another song which was sung immediately.<sup>16</sup> A third song followed, in rapid succession, and the maso continued dancing. This third song was "Now let's wake up, little brother, and not be tired anymore."<sup>17</sup>

Upon the completion of this song the dancing stopped and there was no more activity in the way of dancing in the ramada until after the procession from the church arrived.

The maso removed his deer headdress and placed it with his gourd rattles on the ground in front of the deer singers. He stood almost motionless, with arms crossed in front of him in front of the deer singers. This is the usual position for the maso when not dancing. It is customary for the maso not to speak, acting the part of an animal, even when not in full costume.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> "Flower water" refers not only to the mythological spring around which the deer dances, but also specifically to the water of the water drum in the ramada, which is being played while the deer dances in front of it.

<sup>16</sup> In all other instances observed, the maso and maso moro go from the altar to the patio cross where they send off cohetes (sky rockets). This is apparently an announcement, as it is so used for announcing processions and the beginning of pascola dances. Cohetes are also released by these same performers at the sunrise ceremony at fiestas which take place all night; also during the procession in a child's funeral.

<sup>17</sup> It is customary to sing each deer song through three times if there are three pascolas present, two times if two pascolas present. Also, each complete dance consists of the maso dancing once with each pascola present. For example: while the song is sung three times, the maso dances with Pascola A. After a brief pause, while the rasps and drum continue, the maso dances with Pascola B, while the song is sung three times. The process is then repeated with Pascola C. In the occasion being described no pascola danced with the maso. Each of the three songs sung in rapid succession was sung but once.

This mode of entrance differs from that observed on Palm Sunday, 1940, in Pascua. At this time the maso came from the rear of the ramada (in the church plaza) and, led by the maso moro, stopped in front of the deer singers who were playing their instruments and singing. The maso shook his rattles before the singers several times, then turned and went to the altar in the sacred portion of the ramada. Maso and moro then went to the cross in front of the ramada, crossed themselves and set off Chinese firecrackers (said to be the equivalent of cohetes). On return to the profane part of the ramada, one pascola was dancing to the music of the drum and flute (pascola music), another was imitating a deer dance in front of the deer singers. The maso moro led the maso across in front of the dancing pascola, forced the one imitating the maso away and the maso finished the dance. He then danced with the second pascola for one complete dance (the song sung through twice).

<sup>18</sup> Spicer, E. H. and R. B., 1936-37, field notes. If the maso talked he would be nicknamed "laughing deer" (informant, Lucas Chavez).

In 1940 in all observed instances the maso has not talked. However, at Guadalupe, Vicam Viejo, and Pascua the maso handed cigarettes to members of the crowd—a custom

With the arrival of the procession from the church, the maso and pascolas accompanied the householders, who carried lighted candles, to the encampamiento altar, being in the rear of the group. On the return to the ramada with the images, the maso and pascolas danced ahead, frequently turning and dancing back to the group with the images. With the matachinis they danced into the sacred part of the ramada and back again three times. When the images were deposited on the altar, the maso stood at one side, in the profane part of the ramada. During this period of activity, the deer singers remained in their usual place, singing one of the procession songs, "I don't want the flowers to move, but they constantly are moving."

The activities in the profane side of the ramada settled down into definite form, a form having no relationship to the services being conducted sporadically in the sacred portion of the ramada. This form consisted of each pascola dancing once to the accompaniment of the music from the harp and violin, and after an indefinite pause and rest period, each pascola dancing to the music of the drum and flute. It was with the drum and flute dance of the pascolas that the deer dance also occurred. Several times during the next few hours, the pascolas would encroach on the territory reserved to the maso, but would retreat when the maso moved in their direction. This was the only variation during the singing of the next four deer songs. These songs were:

1. "When the fresh night comes, you fly up from a mesquite branch, *cukuli potela*."
2. "Well, brother, so this is the flower deer. Shake your hoof, move your horns, rustle your *teneboim*, little brother."
3. "You come with the dust storm, enchanted deer, running ahead of it."
4. (An unidentified song.)

During the singing of the next song interplay between the maso and pascolas began. The song was, "Those look like mountain doves yonder, going rapidly toward the flower water. They will come away from the water slowly, side by side." The interplay consisted of

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of the pascolas. Both at Pascua and Guadalupe the maso took a drink of wine from a bottle proffered by someone in the audience—an interesting departure from his usual aloofness.

On Palm Sunday in 1937, as well as in 1940, there was more activity on the part of the maso and pascolas than in the *Acuña* fiesta being described above. Immediately after the introductory dance of the maso, the pascolas displayed much interest in him, approaching him slowly only to retreat at the slightest movement of the maso in their direction. The pascolas then threw dust on each other (see Appendix 3), making much point of getting dust in the crotch. Thus prepared, they moved slowly toward the maso, each one making several attempts to catch him—attempts which resulted in the disappointing catching of someone in the crowd. Finally one pascola caught the maso by backing toward him. In 1940 this ended in the pascolas holding the arm of the maso, addressing him as *maso ilici* (fawn), pointing out the place he was to occupy in the ramada, and promptly forgetting him. No further dramatizations took place after that.

one pascola dancing closer and closer to the maso as he danced. The maso took recognition of the pascola's proximity by stopping in the midst of his dance and lunging toward him. The pascola did not go away, however, and continued dancing at the heels of the maso. Just before termination of the dance with the first pascola, the maso collapsed doing a split, but quickly recovered and finished in good order. One of the pascolas clumsily imitated the maso and had to be helped to his feet again.

The pascolas then danced to the music of the harp and violin again. The next deer dance was to the tune of the song, "Where are you lying calling, rotted stick?" The maso had to clear a space to dance in. During the dance with the second pascola, one of the other pascolas, with mask on side of face, crept in close to the flank of the maso and howled like a dog. The maso stopped immediately, peered around and then cautiously continued his dance. The pascola imitating a dog danced in back of him. Before the dance ended the maso fell twice again, but recovered each time.

During the pause between the dance with the second pascola and the third one, the maso stepped over to one pascola and pretended to suckle him with the deer head dress. The maso stepped away almost immediately and the other two pascolas rushed to take his place, clutching at the nipple of the pascola the maso had just left. The play between the pascolas continued, the maso returning to his usual place and paying no attention.<sup>19</sup> The pascolas soon tired of their play and the final part of that dance continued, the maso dancing with the third pascola.<sup>20</sup>

The next deer dance occurred after several hours, and was danced to the song, "You, enchanted ground squirrel, sound like a big animal up there in the corner (rincon) of the canyon."

This was followed by the dawn service. The family giving the fiesta went out in a group to the patio cross and performed devotions. They were followed by the pascolas and maso and their respective moros. Each individual released two cohetes and then returned to

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<sup>19</sup> An almost identical performance was witnessed at the fiesta at Guadalupe village. Another favorite bit of side play by the maso is to step gently on the toe of a pascola and keep his foot on the pascola's for several seconds. The pascola's protestations and howls of grief serve to bring the other pascolas who anxiously push away the maso's foot only to find that they too are caught. The maso will then walk away, leaving the three pascolas motionless, in apparent grief over their predicament. It takes them quite some time, in typical clown fashion, to find that their tormentor has left them and that they can move their feet again. During this time there is usually much pleading and calling of the maso to extricate them. He does not comply with their requests.

Also see Toor (1937 b, pp. 62-63) for description of a game of the pascolas and maso in Sonora.

<sup>20</sup> At Guadalupe, December 1939, the deer threw and spat water at the pascolas and crowd. Playing with water did not occur in Pascua in 1940 at the deer dances. See Appendixes 1 and 2.

the ramada. From then until about 10:30 a.m. four songs were sung, and the maso danced four more times. Two of the songs were not recognized. One was, "Where are you blossoming, mountain melon (sakobali)?" The other was one of the procession songs, "What tree without doubt is burdened with blossoms? Flower stick has many blossoms [referring to the rasps]."

The preparations for the procession from the house to church began just before 10:30 a.m. The maso and pascolas led the procession of householders out from the ramada to the encampamiento altar which had been erected beyond the patio cross. The custodianship of the images was transferred from the householders to the church participants, and the householders and their representatives, the pascolas and maso, were waved over by the fariseo bantaleo (flagbearer), and by the alpesim. This fiesta took place during Lent. The householders then returned to the ramada with the household santo, preceded by the pascolas, howling, and the maso. Pascolas and maso danced into the ramada and out again three times and the image was then placed, without further ceremony, on the household ramada altar. Pascolas and maso immediately retired to remove their costumes. They appeared shortly afterward in ordinary dress to take part in the ceremony at the encampamiento altar in which the participants were thanked by the fiesteros. Relative position of participants is indicated in the following diagram:



The family remained in place at either side of the altar and the others moved around in counterclockwise manner three times, shaking hands with the fiesteros. At the conclusion the procession formed to return to the church. The maso (not in costume) joined this procession, going with the fariseo group of which he was a member. The deer singers and pascolas did not accompany the procession.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> This same type of final ceremony takes place on Easter about 2:00 p.m. The maso, deer singers, and pascolas did not participate in the thanking ceremony in 1940. (The church groups act as the fiesteros in this instance.) The maso moro was the only one of the deer-pascola group to participate.

THE GLORIA  
(HOLY SATURDAY MORNING)

An activity of the maso which has special ritual significance is the role he plays in the Gloria, the climax of the ceremonial activities of Holy Week (fig. 19). As observed in 1940, the deer singers, two

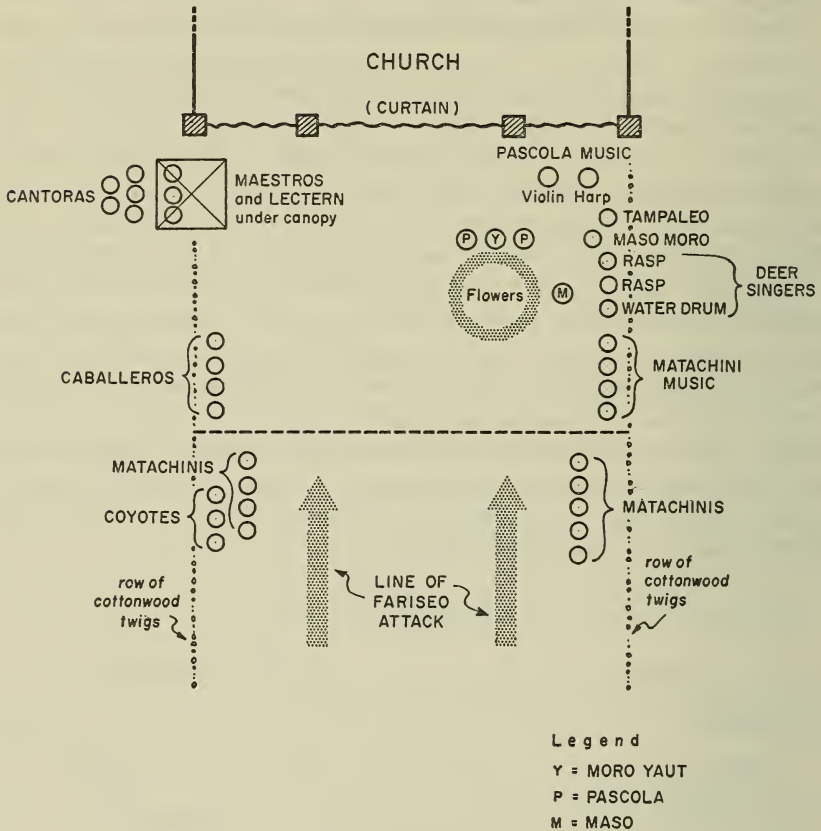


FIGURE 19.—Position of the maso at the Gloria.

pascolas<sup>22</sup> and maso came from the fariseo shed and took their positions about 10:30 a.m. Directly in front of the pascolas, and to one side of the maso was a large canvas spread on the ground. On it was a large pile of cottonwood leaves and confetti. These represented flowers. The position of the maso and pascolas, inside a line of ashes, i.e., between the ash line and the church, indicates that they are considered "good" forces, as opposed to the "evil" forces, the fariseos. The ash line can be considered the boundary of the church. The

<sup>22</sup> The third pascola had also served as a fariseo during Holy Week. For the Gloria he participated as a fariseo.

position of the matachinis, outside the ash line remains unexplained, although it is certain that it does not imply association with forces opposed to the church.

With each attack on the church by the fariseos, the pascolas and pascola moro throw handfuls of flowers at the invaders. It is these flowers which successfully repel the attackers. The maso does not throw flowers, but dances to the tune of "flower songs," the same as used in processions. During the first two attacks, the song to which the maso danced was "What tree is burdened with flowers." For the final attack, the song was, "I don't want the flowers to move, but they are constantly moving."

The pascolas not only throw flowers at this time, but they also dance to the music of the drum and flute, with masks on their faces. (When they throw the flowers, the masks are on the side of their heads.)

The appearance of the maso at the Gloria is of especial interest, as it definitely places him formally with the church groups for this one ceremony, even though he is the one ceremonial performer who is never promised to a diety. (Attempts are made to equate the pascola performance with service for Jesus Cristo.) It also becomes apparent that the maso is where he is at the Gloria, not only because of his usual formal proximity to his close associates—the pascolas—but because he is identified with flowers. In this ceremony so closely related to flowers, the maso apparently performs because of his association with flowers.

In summarizing the dances observed in 1940, a basic similarity is apparent in all of the performances. The dance is, in its essence, repetitious and without direct meaning to other ritual aspects of the fiesta except in a few specific instances. These are:

1. Processions. At the time of processions, the maso participates formally in association with the pascolas, as a fiestero representative.

2. At the *Gloria*, once a year, the maso, again with the pascolas, becomes identified with the church groups in a very general way, as one of the participants who is a "good" force as opposed to "evil."

The performance has elements of drama in it, but elements only. In all of the dances witnessed, a limited amount of dramatic activity between the pascolas and the maso, in the nature of low comedy, occurs. This usually happens when the pascolas encroach upon the dancing area of the maso. As a result, the deer strikes back and with his magical powers easily succeeds in befuddling the clowning pascolas. The nature of this action between the maso and pascolas is such as to indicate that it is a fragment, perhaps of an old dramatic presentation, which has particular entertainment value even though removed from its original context.

## THE DEER SONGS

## INTRODUCTION

Twenty songs, gathered from deer song singers at Pascua, were recorded. Emphasis throughout the process of collection and analysis was on acquiring the meaning of the songs.<sup>23</sup> In the following presentation, in addition to the translations offered, there is included additional commentary in the form of explanatory notes derived from the discussions and comments of the singers and informants at the time of translation.

Each song is divided into a basic and a concluding stanza. The basic stanza is repeated, with rests, ad. lib., from four to seven times. The concluding stanza is then sung once. This entire process is repeated three times in actual practice to constitute the complete rendition of the song.

Immediately following each song are two translations. The first, designated by roman numeral I, is a modern native translation as written by one of my Yaqui informants (not a deer singer).<sup>24</sup> The second translation, designated by roman numeral II, is a free translation of my own, and is offered as incorporating all or most of the ideas specifically mentioned in the song, something which is not always included in the native translation.

## SONGS 1 TO 20

## SONG ONE

*Basic stanza* (sung five times)

- |    |                  |                                     |  |                 |
|----|------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| 1. | séwa<br>(flower) | malíci<br>(fawn)                    | yé.usuwéyekai<br>(you are about to come out) | ?ímsu<br>(this) |
| 2. |                  | séwabá.mpo<br>(in the flower water) | yéyewe<br>(you play)                         |                 |

*Concluding stanza*

- |    |                       |                                     |  |                 |
|----|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| 3. | ?iyimínsu<br>(yonder) | séye wáilo<br>(place name)          | séwatebácipo<br>(in the flower patio)        |                 |
| 4. |                       | séwabá.mpo<br>(in the flower water) | yéyewe<br>(you play)                         |                 |
| 5. | séwa<br>(flower)      | malíci<br>(fawn)                    | yé.usuwéyekai<br>(you are about to come out) | ?ímsu<br>(this) |
| 6. |                       | séwabá.mpo<br>(in the flower water) | yéyewe<br>(you play)                         |                 |

<sup>23</sup> In order to make comparable the linguistic material collected among the Yaqui in Arizona and the data being collected by Mr. and Mrs. Johnson among the Yaqui in Sonora, the material has been rewritten according to the scheme of phonetic transcription used by Johnson (1962) with the following exceptions: the symbol (c) is used instead of Johnson's (č) and vowel length is indicated by (.). The departure from use of the International Phonetic Alphabet facilitates the use of this material among Spanish-speaking peoples. Stress accent has been preserved as recorded from the songs.

<sup>24</sup> Joe D. Romero. See "Informants," p. 152.



*Translation*

I. Little deer come out and play in this flower water. You live over there where the sun rises in the place where the flowers grow. Come and play in the flower water.

II. Little flower deer, you are about to come out in order to play in this flower water.

Yonder in séye wáilo in the flower patio you are playing in the flower water. Flower fawn, you are about to come out in order to play in the flower water.

*Explanatory Notes*

Line 1: malfci, 'fawn', is máso, 'deer', plus 'ilfci, 'little one'.

wéye is a verbal stem meaning 'to move'.

kai, a verbal suffix, means 'in order to'.

Line 3: 'iyimínsu in modern speech is 'iminsu.

séye wáilo is a place name, various designations being given. 'In the midst of the flowers', 'home of the deer', 'home of all the animals' are some of the variations. Its location is in the east. As to the position of séye wáilo in aboriginal mythology of the Yaqui, we can only guess. It is apparently a mythical place and is used in connection with animals as supernaturals.

tebáci is used in referring to the patio of a house, where the household cross stands.

*SONG TWO*

*Basic stanza* (sung five times)

1.	kiáne (I am only)	pá'aku (distant)	sákobali (type of melon)
2.	sewáme (which is flowering)		kiáne (I am only)
3.	tóiyó cícibela náikímne wiwílo (sending out vines in all directions)		jáksa (where)
4.	wéyekai (you are)	pá'aku (distant)	sákobali (type of melon)
5.	sewáme (which is flowering)		kiáne (I am only)
6.	tóiyó cícibela náikímne wiwílo (sending out vines in all directions)		

*Concluding stanza*

7.	'iyimínsu (yonder)	séye wáilo (place name)	máiyacélu (dawn)	bétukuni (below)
8.	tóloko namúta (light blue cloud)		tólo baú'ula (gray with water)	jikáwi (top)
9.	yumáko when it has reached)	jíka (this)	báijewa (mist)	yúkuta (will rain)
10.	séwabwía (flower ground)		káiya có'ila (sparkling)	kómsa (bottom)
11.	yumáko (when it has reached)	jáksa (where)	wéjekai (you are)	pá'aku (distant)
12.	sákobali (type of melon)	sewáme (which flowers)		kiáne (I am only)
13.	tóiyó cícivéla náikimne wiwílo (sending out vines in all directions)			

*Translation*

I. I am just a mountain watermelon blooming. I grow vines in all directions. Where are you blooming, mountain watermelon? I grow vines in all directions. Over there where the deer lives below the dawn you go up in the sky, light blue cloud. You go slowly up, white cloud. When it reaches the top you rain like mist, and, sparkling, come down on the flower ground.

II. I am just a sákobali flowering out in the monte. I am just sending out a mass of vines in every direction. Where are you flowering out in the monte, sákobali? I am just sending out a mass of vines in all directions.

Yonder in séye wáilo, below the dawn, a light blue cloud is building up (becoming gray with water?) until it goes as high as it can. This will fall (rain), a sparkling mist when it has reached the flower ground. Where are you flowering, sákobali, out in the monte? I am just sending out a mass of vines in all directions.

*Explanatory Notes*

- Line 1: kiáne is kia, 'no more,' plus ne 'I,' verbal suffix.  
pa?aku was translated as 'out in the monte.' It is indefinite and the central meaning is 'place away from this immediate vicinity,' or 'distant.' Monte in the Rio Yaqui region is used to refer to the flat desert country which surrounds the villages. Similar to the English expression, 'the bush.'  
sákobali was translated as 'horse melon,' a small, hard melon which is found in the foothills and desert of the Yaqui country. Melon is sákubai or sákobai. li is a diminutive suffix.
- Line 2: sewáme consists of séwa, 'flower,' plus me, suffix meaning 'that which is.'
- Line 3: tóiyó cícibela náikimne wiwílo. There are two ideas expressed in this phrase: (1) náikimne means 'I divide.' Its root is náiki, 'Four,' and implies the four directions. (2) cícibela with its reduplication indicates a meaning akin to that of náikimne. Cici as a root occurs in the word for berries, cíciam, and in the word for bat, cícial. Central meaning of this root appears to be 'spreading' or 'darting' in many directions.  
wiwílo was translated as 'vines,' and no translation was given for tóiyó. It was thought best to give a free translation for the entire phrase as complete analysis of its components is not possible with the amount of material available at this time.
- Line 7: máiyacélu is translated as 'the place where the sun comes up.' This is direct, specific reference to the east and the eastern sky at sunrise. Modern form is macilia.  
bétukuni, literally, 'place underneath' or 'towards underneath.'
- Line 8: tóloko, translated 'light blue,' is derived from tolo, 'white' or 'gray.'  
namúta, námu, 'cloud,' plus ta, nominal suffix.  
baú?la describes the building up of a thunderhead. It is probable that the báu refers to water, b.a.m. Such a meaning, describing the acquisition of water in cloud form, would balance the thought of the song, which describes the falling of the rain as the next action.

## Lines

8 and 9: jikáwi yumáko is balanced by kómsa yumáko (lines 10 and 11). jjikáwi can be satisfactorily translated as 'top.' yumáko consists of yúmak, past tense of the verb 'to be able,' plus o as a verbal suffix meaning 'when.' llegar (Spanish), 'to arrive' was given as a translation for yumáko.

Line 10: káiya có?ila, best translated as 'sparkling,' contains the ideas of reflecting light as a mirror, and translucence.

## Lines 10

and 11: kómsa yumáko, the opposite of jikáwi yumáko.

## SONG THREE

## Basic stanza

(sung twice)

- |    |                           |                               |                               |                             |
|----|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | besáte<br>(now we)        | yételamte<br>(we sleepy ones) | súla<br>(tired)               | búsanete<br>(let's wake up) |
| 2. | sáila<br>(little brother) | besáte<br>(now we)            | yételamte<br>(we sleepy ones) | súla<br>(tired)             |
| 3. |                           | búsanete<br>(let's wake up)   | sáila<br>(little brother)     |                             |

(sung twice)

- |    |                               |                               |                             |                             |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 4. | ?ábwe<br>(well)               | sáila<br>(little brother)     | ?ábwe<br>(well)             | náute<br>(we together)      |
| 5. | yételamte<br>(we sleepy ones) | súla<br>(tired)               | búsanete<br>(let's wake up) | sáila<br>(little brother)   |
| 6. | besáte<br>(now we)            | yételamte<br>(we sleepy ones) | súla<br>(tired)             | búsanete<br>(let's wake up) |
| 7. |                               | sáila<br>(little brother)     |                             |                             |

(sung once)

- |     |                           |                               |                               |                             |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 8.  | besáte<br>(now we)        | yételamte<br>(we sleepy ones) | súla<br>(tired)               | búsanete<br>(let's wake up) |
| 9.  | sáila<br>(little brother) | besáte<br>(now we)            | yételamte<br>(we sleepy ones) | súla<br>(tired)             |
| 10. |                           | búsanete<br>(let's wake up)   | sáila<br>(little brother)     |                             |

## Concluding stanza

- |     |                           |                               |                                       |                             |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 11. | ?iyimínsu<br>(yonder)     | séye wáilo<br>(place name)    | séwatebácipo<br>(in the flower patio) |                             |
| 12. | besáte<br>(now we)        | yételamte<br>(we sleepy ones) | súla<br>(tired)                       | búsanete<br>(let's wake up) |
| 13. | sáila<br>(little brother) | besáte<br>(now we)            | yételamte<br>(we sleepy ones)         | súla<br>(tired)             |
| 14. |                           | búsanete<br>(let's wake up)   | sáila<br>(little brother)             |                             |

## Translation

I. They tell the venado not to sleep and to wake up and play. Well, brother, well, let's go play and not sleep any more.

II. Now let's all of us sleepy ones wake up, little brother. Well, little brother, well, let's all of us sleepy ones wake up together, little brother.

Yonder in séye wáilo in the flower patio, now we sleepy ones, let's wake up, little brother.

*Explanatory Notes*

This song presented difficulties in translation to my informants, although the central idea, as expressed in the native translation, was readily apparent. Of all the songs recorded, this was sung in the fastest tempo, the water drum being particularly noticeable because of increased tempo and greater volume of sound. Much distortion appeared in the words as sung.

Line 1: yéte lamte was first translated as 'sleepy'. yejte?a is given as 'sleepy head'. l as a substitute for glottal stop occurs in other songs in this series also. Addition of m indicates pluralization, and the enclitic te is 'we'.

súla búsanete was translated as one word, and then separate meanings given for the two parts indicated.

Line 2: sáila is a kinship and address term for a younger brother. sái, 'brother', plus la, diminutive.

*SONG FOUR*

*Basic stanza* (sung seven times)

1.	túkabálita (fresh night)	yúmako (when it has arrived)	jikáwi (up)
2.	cá?atu (you fly)	cukúli pótela (name of bird)	cukúli pótela (name of bird)

*Concluding stanza*

3.	?iyimínsu (yonder)	séye wáilo (place name)	máiyacélu (dawn)	béya (light)
4.	vétukun (under)	júnamánsu (over there in that place)	jú.pa (mesquite)	
5.	bakúli (branch)	jikáwi (up)	cá?atu (you fly)	cukúli pótela (name of bird)
6.	jikáwi (up)	cá?atu (you fly)	cukúli pótela (name of bird)	

*Translation*

I. When night comes, you fly up, black-colored bird. Yonder where you live under the light of dawn, over there in that place you fly up from a mesquite branch.

II. When the fresh night comes, you fly up from a mesquite branch, cukúli pótela.

Yonder in séye wáilo, under the light of dawn, over there in that place you fly up from a mesquite branch, cukúli pótela.

*Explanatory Notes*

Line 2: cukúli pótela. cúkui, 'black', plus li, diminutive. The terminal *i* of cúkui is absorbed in the process. Final meaning, 'a little black' or 'gray'. No specific meaning given for pótela. Meaning of entire phrase cukúli pótela is a bird which flies only at night, perhaps a nighthawk.

Line 4: júnamánsu, 'over there in that place', is a compound containing júna, 'that' and amán, 'there'.

## SONG FIVE

*Basic stanza* (sung six times)

1.	jáksa (where)	bó.ka (lying)	kú.si (whistling)	kúta (stick)	moéla (old)
2.	wána?e (over there)	bó.ka (lying)	kú.si (whistling)	kúta (stick)	moéla (old)
3.	jáksa (where)	bó.ka (lying)	kú.si (whistling)	kúta (stick)	moéla (old)
4.	wána?e (over there)	bó.ka (lying)	kú.si (whistling)	kúta (stick)	moéla (old)

*Concluding stanza*

5.	?iyimínsu (yonder)	séye wáilo (place name)	júyatanáisukuni (in the midst of the monte)		
6.	junámansu (over there in that place)	bó.ka (lying)	kú.si (whistling)		
7.	kúta (stick)	moéla (old)	wána?e (over there)	bó.ka (lying)	kú.si (whistling)
8.		kúta (stick)		moéla (old)	

*Translation*

I. Yonder where you live in the midst of the forest you lie whistling, old stick. Over there in that (place) you lie whistling, old stick.

II. Where are you lying whistling, rotted stick? Over there you are lying whistling, old stick.

Yonder in séye wáilo, in the midst of the monte, over there in that place you are lying whistling, rotted old stick. Over there you are lying whistling, rotted old stick.

*Explanatory Notes*

Line 1: bó.ka from bo?o, 'to lie down'.

kú.si, 'whistling'. "whistling" as a translation does not describe the noise being made in this case. According to my informants the noise is a scratching noise such as would be made by wood-borers while working. The word kú.si describes the sound made by a flute, kusfa, hence is a whistle. In this song however, the sound coming from the stick is not a whistle, but a rasping, scraping noise made by insects in the stick. This noise is a language which is understood by the animals and natural objects, and is the special language of the monte. Just as the whistle (kú.si) of the pascola flute (kusfa) is a signal for the people to gather for a portion of a fiesta, so the scratching noise (kú.si) of the rotted stick (kúta moéla) is a signal for gathering together. The reference is to the noise which the rasping sticks make and to which the maso dances. moéla means old in a limited sense. Specifically, it refers to a dead stick (kúta moéla) which has become riddled with insects.

Line 5: júyatanáisukuni. júya may refer to grove or forest. It is thought better to give it the translation monte as the reference is to the heavy desert thickets of thorny shrubs, small gnarled trees and

various cactus forms typical of the Sonoran desert. ta can be translated 'of' in this example. náisu refers to 'middle' or 'midst'. kúni means 'towards' or 'place'.

### SONG SIX

#### Basic stanza (sung six times)

1.	sénu (one)	júyapo (in a tree)	sénu (one)	kútapo (in a stick)
2.	jabésa (who)	kuku riúriúti (breaking of sticks)		jíyawa (sound)
3.	sénu (one)	júyapo (in a tree)	sénu (one)	kútapo (in a stick)
4.	jabésa (who)	kuku riúriúti (breaking of sticks)		jíyawa (sound)

#### Concluding stanza

5.	?iyimínsu (yonder)	séye wáilo (place name)	júyatanáisukuni (in the midst of the monte)	
6.	káu.ne (you do not have)	nelebenásia (like me)	tólo (gray)	wiúla (long)
7.	takáwalekai (body)		sénu (one)	júyapo (in a tree)
8.	sénu (one)	kútapo (in a stick)	jabésa (who)	kuku riúriúti (breaking of sticks)
9.			jíyawa (sound)	

#### Translation

I. In one tree, in one stick, who is making the rattling sound? Yonder where you live in the midst of the forest, you don't have a gray, long body like mine.

II. In a stick, in a tree, who is making the sound of breaking wood?

Yonder in séye wáilo in the midst of the monte (the whip snake says), you do not have a long gray body like mine. In a stick in a tree, who is making the breaking-wood sound?

#### Explanatory Notes

Line 1: There is some latitude in the translation of júya, 'branch', 'tree', or collectively, 'monte' being given.

Line 2: kuku riúriúti. Reduplication appears in verbs, denoting continued action. kuku is apparently related to kúta, kú.si, kusia—all having to do with sticks. In definition of the word kuku riúriúti it was indicated that this sound applied only to wood. riúti means 'break'. The entire word could be translated as 'breaking sticks over and over again'.

Lines 6

and 7: The entire translation of this section must be considered tentative, as káu.ne does not appear to be correctly translated. Translation is lacking for several portions of the remainder of the text. In line 7, takáwalekai might be broken down in different manner, takáwa (which also occurs for 'body'), and lekai, the e being a neutral vowel in this instance. As a verbal suffix, kai means 'in order to'.

## SONG SEVEN

*Basic stanza* (sung six times)

1.	jíta (what)	júya (tree)	séwa (flowers)	só'ila (is bent)	má.ci (obviously)
2.	seyá (flower)	kúta (stick)	séwa (flowers)	só'ila (is bent)	má.ci (obviously)
3.	jíta (what)	júya (tree)	séwa (flowers)	só'ila (is bent)	má.ci (obviously)
4.	seyá (flower)	kúta (stick)	séwa (flowers)	só'ila (is bent)	má.ci (obviously)

*Concluding stanza*

5.	?iyimínsu (yonder)	séye wáilo (place name)	se wáilo (place name)	sániluápo (in the sagebrush)	
6.	naísukuni (midst)	wóto bóli (flower name)	séwa (flowers)	só'ila (is bent)	má.ci (obviously)
7.	seyá (flower)	kúta (stick)	séwa (flowers)	só'ila (is bent)	má.ci (obviously)

*Translation*

I. What tree looks pretty with many blossoms? Flower stick has many pretty blossoms. Yonder where you live in the midst of the sagebrush, where the wótobóli flowers bloom pretty.

II. What tree is definitely bent over, burdened with flowers? The flower stick (rasp) is clearly bent over with many flowers.

Yonder in séye wáilo in the midst of the sage brush, the wóto bóli is clearly bending down with blossoms. Flower stick is obviously burdened with flowers.

*Explanatory Notes*

Line 1: so'ila means 'bent over'. Compare with ?inépo só'isó'itíwéye, 'I am running very fast', describing running bent low.

séwa. Singular form but plural translation. Apparently a matter of literary style in the deer songs.

Line 2: séya kúta, 'flower stick'. séwa, 'flower', appears in this form (séya) in several instances in the deer songs when referring specifically to the deer, the home of the deer, or paraphernalia associated with the deer dance. This form of séwa appears to be a preserved old form.

*Concluding*

*stanza:* My informant (who also sang the songs for the recordings) departed from the recorded words in this portion of the song, as he did in the previous song, Song Six. Upon hearing the recording, he insisted that he had sung the song incorrectly and repeated the words which appear in the song above.

SONG EIGHT<sup>25</sup>*Basic stanza* (sung five times)

1.	tówala (dust)	jé.ka (wind)	máke (with)	yó'ó (enchanted)	máisole (deer)
2.	tówala (dust)	jé.ka (wind)	máke (with)	yó'ó (enchanted)	máisole (deer)

<sup>25</sup> A satisfactory transcription of this song could not be made from the recording, nor was it possible to get a satisfactory translation from my informants—a translation which followed the form on the record. The song as presented is a fragment of the whole song. A concluding stanza is part of the song, but has not been transcribed.

- |    |           |                     |                   |           |                    |                   |
|----|-----------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 3. | ke<br>(?) | yóʔo<br>(enchanted) | máisoie<br>(deer) | ke<br>(?) | yó.<br>(enchanted) | máisoie<br>(deer) |
| 4. |           | yó.jiyáusime<br>(?) |                   |           |                    |                   |

*Translation*

- I. You run with the dust storm, scared deer, making sacred noise ahead.  
 II. You run ahead of the dust storm, enchanted deer, making much noise.

*Explanatory Notes*

This proved to be one of the more difficult songs to transcribe from the recordings. Especially was this true because of the mixture of voices and speed of the singing.

Line 1: yóʔo is 'sacred' and 'old', i.e. 'enchanted'.

Line 4: yó. jiyáusime has not been given definite translation. Tentatively, the yo. can be identified with yoi, 'big', 'beautiful'. The i has become assimilated in the contracted form of jiyawa, 'sound', jiyau. síme would then be the verb, meaning 'to go ahead'.

*SONG NINE*

*Basic stanza* (sung four times)

- |    |                                   |                           |                               |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | ʔábwe<br>(well)                   | sáila<br>(little brother) | ʔini.kún<br>(so here you are) |
| 2. | séya<br>(flower)                  | yoleme<br>(deer)          | sáila<br>(little brother)     |
| 3. | líofotamyó.wa<br>(move and shake) | sáila<br>(little brother) | ʔáwasum<br>(antlers)          |
| 4. | líofotamyó.wa<br>(move and shake) | sáila<br>(little brother) |                               |

*Concluding stanza*

- |    |                                   |                           |                                   |                                       |                         |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 5. | kátikun<br>(why not)              | seyá<br>(flower)          | yoléme<br>(deer)                  | sutu<br>(hoof)                        | púliem<br>(cleaned-out) |
| 6. | líofotamyó.wa<br>(move and shake) | sáila<br>(little brother) | kátikun<br>(why not)              |                                       |                         |
| 7. | seyá<br>(flower)                  | yoléme<br>(deer)          | tenebólim<br>(têneboim)           | sí.osí.otamyó.wa<br>(move and rustle) |                         |
| 8. | sáila<br>(little brother)         | ʔawasum<br>(antlers)      | líofotamyó.wa<br>(move and shake) |                                       |                         |
| 9. | sáila<br>(little brother)         |                           |                                   |                                       |                         |

*Translation*

I. Well, brother, so this is the flower deer, brother. Move and shake your horns, brother. Why don't you move, flower deer, and shake your hoofs?

II. Well, little brother, so here you are, flower deer! Shake your antlers, little brother. Shake your antlers, little brother.

Why don't you shake your rijútiam (belt of deer-hoof rattles), flower deer? Why don't you rustle your têneboim (cocoon ankle rattles), little brother, flower deer? Shake your antlers, little brother.



## Explanatory Notes

- Line 2: séya, 'flower', is a form of séwa, occurring as in Song Seven in direct reference to the deer or his associated objects. séya appears to be an archaic form of séwa.  
séya yoléme, 'flower deer' or 'flower Yaqui'.<sup>28</sup> yoléme or yoréme is a term applied to Yaquis by themselves. We have in this song direct reference to the deer in the person of the deer dancer (máso). In everyday speech, the deer dancer is called máso, 'the deer', indicating the direct association of the dancer himself with the deer. The native term for "dancer" is not applied to the deer dancer.  
?áwasum. ?awa means 'antler'. The usual form of plural would be awa plus m or im. sum can perhaps be explained as a variation of the regular plural ending.
- Line 3: Ifofiótamyó.wa indicates the use of reduplication verbally to indicate continued action. Ifofió can also be applied to the movement of trees in the wind, 'swaying'. ta is a verbal suffix making an intransitive verb transitive. m can be considered a pluralizing element. yo.wa, 'move'.
- Line 5: sutu púliem is a descriptive, metaphorical term, applied to the deer-hoof rattles which are worn in a belt around the deer dancer. sutu means 'nail' or 'hoof'. púliem means 'picked' or 'cleaned out'. This refers to the hoof rattles themselves as they have been scraped, cleaned, and prepared for use in the belt (rijútiam) which the dancer wears.
- Line 7: ténebolim, a variation of the common form téneboim, cocoons filled with gravel and strung together on rawhide. These are then wrapped around the ankles of deer and pascola dancers. sí.os.lo varies from lí.olí.o as it is descriptive of motion of different objects.

## SONG TEN

## Basic stanza (sung four times)

- |    |                            |                            |   |
|----|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| 1. | ?imésu<br>(these)          | káupo<br>(in the mountain) | ?ómo?okólim<br>(kind of dove)                     |
| 2. | bénakai<br>(appears to be) | ?imínsu<br>(yonder)        | séwabáubicaka<br>(going towards the flower water) |
| 3. | báijika<br>(three)         | tólo<br>(gray)             | múlliliti<br>(bobbing ?)                          |
| 4. | báijika<br>(three)         | tólo<br>(gray)             | jépela.<br>(side by side)                         |
|    |                            |                            | ká.tema<br>(go)                                   |
|    |                            |                            | ká.tema<br>(go)                                   |

## Concluding stanza

- |     |   |   |                            |
|-----|---|---|----------------------------|
| 5.  | ?iyimínsu<br>(yonder)                             | séye wáilo<br>(place name)                        | máiyacelu<br>(dawn)        |
| 6.  | séwabáubicaka<br>(going towards the flower water) | báijika<br>(three)                                |                            |
| 7.  | tólo<br>(gray)                                    | múlliliti<br>(bobbing ?)                          | ká.tema<br>(go)            |
| 8.  | káupo<br>(in the mountain)                        | ?ómo?okólim<br>(kind of dove)                     | bénakai<br>(appears to be) |
| 9.  | ?imínsu<br>(yonder)                               | séwabáubicaka<br>(going towards the flower water) | báijika<br>(three)         |
| 10. | múlliliti<br>(bobbing ?)                          | ká.tema<br>(go)                                   | tólo<br>(gray)             |
| 11. |   | jépela.<br>(side by side ?)                       | ká.tema<br>(go)            |

<sup>28</sup> Johnson (1962) reports séya yoléme as the name of a flower which grows in the Rio Yaqui region.

*Translation*

I. These look like mountain doves. These three doves are hurrying, going on foot towards the flower water to drink. Yonder where they live, towards the east, yonder towards the flower water the three doves go and drink.

II. These look like 'omó'okolim over there on the mountain. With three gray heads bobbing rapidly, they walk forward to the flower water. Then the three gray heads move away, walking slowly side by side.

Yonder in séye wáilo, under the dawn, there three gray heads bobbing towards the flower water, and then coming away slowly side by side.

*Explanatory Notes*

Line 1: kau, 'mountain' or 'hill', is a contraction of káwi.

Line 2: séwabáubicaka includes ba.m, 'water', in one of its compounded forms and bíca, 'front', 'in front of'. ka (?).

Line 3: ká.tema. ka.te means 'walking'. ma, meaning not known.

*SONG ELEVEN**Basic stanza* (sung four times)

1.	?empo (you)	yó'okaukwácita (enchanted mountain ground squirrel)	benásia (like)
2.	yó.po (in big thing)	benásia (like)	jíyawa (sound)
3.	?empo (you)	yó'okauwácita (enchanted mountain ground squirrel)	benásia (like)
4.	yó.po (in big thing)	benásia (like)	jíyawa (sound)
5.	?empo (you)	yó'okaukwácita (enchanted mountain ground squirrel)	benásia (like)
6.	yó.po (in big thing)	benásia (like)	jíyawa (sound)

*Concluding stanza*

7.	?iyimínsu (yonder)	séye wáilo (place name)	máiyacelu (dawn)	béya (light)
8.	bétukuni (under)	júna mánsu (over there in that place)		yó.ta (big ?)
9.	kóvi.kun (head of canyon)	yó.po (in big thing)	benásia (like)	jíyawa (sound)
10.	?empo (you)	yó'okaukwácita (enchanted mountain ground squirrel)		benásia (like)
11.	yó.po (in big thing)	benásia (like)		jíyawa (sound)

*Translation*

I. You, like a big mountain ground squirrel, sound like a big thing. Yonder where you live in the east, over there in that place under the mountain canyon, you sound like a big thing.

II. You, like an enchanted *kaukwáci*, make a noise as if it were coming from a big animal.

Yonder in *séye wáilo*, under the dawn, over there in that place, in the head of the canyon, you make a sound which is like that of a big animal.

*Explanatory Notes*

Line 1: *yó'okaukwácita*. The entire meaning of this song is somewhat obscured by the lack of complete meaning of the form, *yo'ó*. This word means 'big', but also carries with it a connotation of 'sacred', 'revered', and 'old', 'enchanted'. Johnson has indicated that there are two forms, *yo'ó* and *yóí*, with different meanings. In recording these songs it was not realized that such a distinction was semantic, with the result that the true meaning of the form as it appears in the songs is not necessarily correctly indicated in the translations. *kaukwácita* consists of *kau*, 'mountain' and *kwáci*, 'ground squirrel'.

Line 2: *yó.po*. Literal translation is 'in big'. The meaning is 'in a big thing'.

SONG TWELVE

*Basic stanza* (sung five times)

1.	<i>séwa</i> (flower)	<i>malitaka</i> (with the body of a fawn)	<i>có'í</i> (cholla)
2.	<i>sewáta</i> (flower?)	<i>bétukun</i> (under)	<i>wéyekai</i> (you stand in order to)
3.	<i>?áwa</i> (antlers)	<i>jilúki</i> (rub)	<i>káila</i> (bend)
4.	<i>?áwa</i> (antlers)		<i>jilúki</i> (rub)

*Concluding stanza*

5.	<i>?iyimínsu</i> (yonder)	<i>séye wáilo</i> (place name)	<i>ma'yacelu</i> (dawn)
6.	<i>béya</i> (light)	<i>bétukuni</i> (under)	<i>có'í</i> (cholla)
7.	<i>bétukun</i> (under)	<i>wéyekai</i> (you stand in order to)	<i>?áwa</i> (antlers)
8.	<i>jilúki</i> (rub)	<i>káila</i> (bend)	<i>móbela</i> (turn over)
9.	<i>séwa</i> (flower)	<i>malitaka</i> (with the body of a fawn)	<i>có'í</i> (cholla)
10.	<i>sewáta</i> (flower?)	<i>bétukun</i> (under)	<i>wéyekai</i> (you stand in order to)
11.	<i>?áwa</i> (antlers)	<i>jilúki</i> (rub)	<i>káila</i> (bend)
12.		<i>?áwa</i> (antlers)	<i>móbela</i> (turn over)
			<i>jilúki</i> (rub)

*Translation*

I. Under the dripping of cholla juice you are standing, flower fawn. You are standing and bending your horns to rub. Yonder where you live under the mountain, over there in that place under the dripping of cholla juice, you stand and rub your horns.

II. Flower having the body of a fawn, under the cholla flower you stand, bending and turning your antlers in order to rub (them).

Yonder in séye wáilo under the light of dawn, under a cholla flower you stand in order to rub your antlers. Flower fawn, under the cholla flower you stand, bending and turning your antlers in order to rub them.

*Explanatory Notes*

Line 1: malitaka is maso, 'deer', plus ilfci, 'little one', plus táki, 'body'—'flower with the body of a fawn'. Although association of the deer and flowers is apparent in almost all of these songs, this is an instance of the deer being specifically identified as a flower. có'i, 'cholla', a type of arborescent cactus.

*SONG THIRTEEN*

*Basic stanza (sung six times)*

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

*Concluding stanza*

4.	?iyimínsu (yonder)	séye wáilo (place name)	máiyacelu (dawn)	
5.	bétukuni (under)	jiká?a (this)	tóloko (light blue)	namuta (cloud)
6.	tólobaú.la (gray with water)	jikáwi (top)	yumako (when it has reached)	
7.	jiká?a (this)	báijewa (mist)	yukuta (will rain)	káiya có?ila (sparkling)
8.	kómsa (bottom)	yumako (until it has reached)	besáte (now we)	
9.	námuriúriútine (cloud is going to break)	námuriútine (cloud is going to break)		
10.	besáte (now we)	námuriúriútine (cloud is going to break)	námuriútine (cloud is going to break)	

*Translation*

I. No complete translation given.

II. Now we are going to make thunder. (Now it is going to thunder.)

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

*Explanatory Notes*

Line 1: besáte, 'now'. The usual form for 'now' is iani. nāmuriúritine and nāmuriútime, translated as 'we are going to make thunder', or 'it is going to thunder', has the literal meaning of 'the cloud is going to break' (implying a noise when breaking). nāmu, 'cloud'; riúriúti, 'break'; ne, denoting future abilitative action.

This song is sung, so it is said, in the morning about dawn, when the water used in the water drum is thrown up "to make rain." The pascola drummer beats his drum, imitating thunder, when the water is thrown.

*SONG FOURTEEN*

*Basic stanza* (sung five times)

1.	séwatane (I flowers)	ká.yo (not want)	wáleka (moving)	séwatamme (they flowers)
2.	yó.sime (want to move)	séwatane (I flowers)	ká.yo (not want)	wáleka (moving)
3.	séwatamme (they flowers)		yó.sime (want to move)	séwatane (I flowers)
4.	ká.yo (not want)	wáleka (moving)	séwatamme (they flowers)	yó.sime (want to move)

*Concluding stanza*

5.	?iyimínsu (yonder)		séye wáilo (place name)	máiyacelu (dawn)
6.	séwa bó?opo (in the flower path)		séwatane (I flowers)	ká.yo (not want)
7.	wáleka (moving)	séwatamme (they flowers)	yó.sime (want to move)	séwatane (I flowers)
8.	ká.yo (not want)	wáleka (moving)	séwatamme (they flowers)	yó.sime (want to move)

*Translation*

I. This flower I do not want to move, but I keep on moving it. Yonder under the light of dawn on the flower path they are always moving the flower.

II. I do not want the flowers to be moving, but they keep on moving just the same.

Over there in séye wáilo, under the dawn, I do not want the flowers to be moving, but in the flower path they keep on moving just the same.

*Explanatory Notes*

This song is a procession song "because it has flowers in it," according to the informants. Song Seven can also be used for processions for the same reason—it is a flower song.

Functionally, this song is closely related to present-day Yaqui culture. The words of this song are the thoughts of a dead person when he sees the flower

headaddresses of the matachín dancers moving in the procession. He, as a person at rest, is opposed to motion, but the flowers worn in the procession and the flowers in the path in the place under the dawn are constantly in motion.

### SONG FIFTEEN

#### Basic stanza (sung six times)

1.	?itom (our)	yó?owa (father)	?itom (us)	tó?osi.me (is leaving)
2.	?itom (our)	yó?owa (father)	?itom (us)	tó?osi.ka (has left)
3.	?itom (our)	yó?owa (father)	?itom (us)	tó?osi.me (is leaving)

#### Concluding stanza

4.	?iyimnsu (yonder)	séye wáilo (place name)	sánto kalbário (Sacred Calvary)	
5.	bíca (towards)	?itom (us)	tó?osi.me (is leaving)	?itom (our)
6.	yó?owa (father)	?itom (us)	tó?osi.me (is leaving)	?itom (our)
7.	yó?owa (father)	?itom (us)	tó?osi.ka (has left)	

#### Translation

I. Our father is leaving us, our father has gone from us. Yonder towards the light of dawn, towards the Saint Calvary, our father is leaving us.

II. Our Father is leaving us. Our Father has left us. Our Father is leaving us.

Over there in séye wáilo, toward Sacred Calvary, our Father is leaving us. Our Father has left us.

#### Explanatory Notes

This song, as is true of the preceding one, is closely related to modern Yaqui ritual and ceremony. It is sung at the conclusion of festivities in a household or village ramada when the saint is being removed from the sacred portion of the ramada to be carried in procession to its residence, the church. Sacred Calvary is interpreted as being the home of the saints, so in this one song we have definite association of some of the Christian deities with that mythical place in which all activities sung about in the deer songs have parallel occurrences. As this song is being sung, the patron deity in the sacred portion of the ramada is being taken to its home, the village church. In the mythical place under the dawn, this saint is leaving for his home, the home of all the saints. From this rather simple song we cannot escape the implication that not only have the various activities sung about in the deer songs taken place also in séye wáilo, but that the activities are drawing to a close over there in the east just as they are drawing to a close in the dance ramada in the village.

An alternative interpretation is possible: Our Father is leaving us to go to Sacred Calvary. The patron of the fiesta, and of the deer, is going back to the place under the dawn.

SONG SIXTEEN

Basic stanza (sung five times)

1.	ʔábwe (well)	sáila (little brother)	ʔíkasu (this)	tolíta (name of rodent)	
2.	méʔe (kill)	sáewa (they want us to)	sáila (little brother)	ʔíkasu (this)	
3.	tolíta (name of rodent)	méʔe (kill)	sáewa (they want us to)	sáila (little brother)	
4.	kúta (arrow)	wikóla (bow)	méʔe (kill)	sáewa (they want us to)	sáila (little brother)

Concluding stanza

5.	saisámola (?)	ye.jtémta (sit)	waiwónola (?)	kibá.kemta (enter door)
6.	ʔíkate (this)	tolíta (name of rodent)	méʔe (kill)	sáewa (they want us to)
7.	sáila (little brother)	kúta (arrow)	wikóla (bow)	méʔe (kill)
8.		sáewa (they want us to)		sáila (little brother)

Translation

I. Well, brother, they want us to kill this beaver. Well, brother, they want us to kill this beaver. They want us to kill the beaver with the bow and arrow.

II. Well, little brother, they want us to kill this tóli. They want us to kill this tóli with a bow and arrow.

Alert (with hair standing out on end ?), they wait. Seeking cover, they plunge into their homes. They want us to kill this tóli. With bow and arrow they want us to kill it.

Explanatory Notes

Line 1: tolíta, is tóli plus ta. A tóli, or tóri, is a large rodent common to the Rio Yaqui country. Johnson reports it as still being an important food animal. The translation 'beaver' is incorrect. It was given by an informant who has lived all his life in Arizona.

Line 5: saisámola ye.jtémta This phrase presented some difficulties in translation and it has not been possible to break down the first portion of the phrase to derive specific meaning. ye.jtémta is a common verb (yé.jte) meaning 'to sit' or to be motionless. This phrase has been given the free translation 'hair standing on end', implying alertness.

waiwónola kibá.kemta likewise can be given no literal translation. It describes the seeking of cover, as one might do when afraid. kibá.k was said to mean 'to go through a door', but apparently is not a word in common use. The chief deer singer who recorded these songs felt that the word was highly specialized, and referred only to a tóli, describing its entrance into its home. The translation of tóli as 'beaver' stems from the interpretation of kibá.kemta as referring to water (ba.), kibá., 'water house'. (káʔa is the usual Yaqui word for house, and is the one in common use.)

## SONG SEVENTEEN

*Basic stanza* (sung five times)

1.	jákxa (where)	wéyeka (you are standing)	jéka (wind)	báso (grass)
2.	moéla (dry)	tólobalilíti (gray and shaking)	jéka (wind)	báso (grass)
3.	moéla (dry)	jákxa (where)	wéyeka (you are standing)	jéka (wind)
4.	báso (grass)	moéla (dry)	tólobalilíti (gray and shaking)	jé.ka (wind)
5.		báso (grass)		moéla (dry)

*Concluding stanza*

6.	júya mánsu (there in the monte)	séye wáilo (place name)		máiyacelu (dawn)	
7.	bétukuni (under)	jiká?a (this)	tóloko (light blue)	namúta (cloud)	
8.	tólobaú.la (gray with water)		jikáwi (top)	yúmako (when it reaches)	
9.	?iká?a (this)	báijewa (mist)	yúkuta (will rain)	séwabwíawi (flower ground)	
10.	kafya có?ila (sparkling)	kómsa (bottom)	yúmako (when reaches)	kfane (I am only)	
11.	jákxa (where)	wéyeka (stand)	jé.ka (wind)	báso (grass)	moéla (old)
12.	tólobalilíti (gray and shaking)	jé.ka (wind)	báso (grass)	moéla (old)	

*Translation*

I. Where are you standing among the wind, old grass, shaking in the dust storm, old grass? Over there towards the east under the dawn, with the gray cloud going straight up. With the clear sparkling mist rain when it reaches the flower ground. Where are you standing among the wind, old grass?

II. Where are you shaking in the wind (which comes before the rain), dry grass?

Over there in the monte in séye wáilo, under the dawn, when this light blue cloud builds up, becoming gray with water, a mist will fall. It will fall sparkling, reflecting light, until it reaches the flower ground. Where are you standing, shaking in the wind, dry grass?

*Explanatory Notes*

Lines 1

and 2: báso moéla, 'dry grass'. Compare with kúta moéla (Song Five), 'rotted stick'.



Line 2: *tólobalilíti*. Verb showing the use of reduplication for continued repeated action, 'shaking'. *tólobalilíti* and *tolobaúla* may be more closely identified in meaning with "water" than has been indicated in the translations.

Line 6: *júya mánsu*. Should be *junamansu*, 'over there in that place'.

Line 10: *kíane*, 'I am no more than', 'I am only' is undoubtedly a mistake on the part of the informant. It occurs in the recording of this song, however. Inasmuch as the concluding stanza of this song is the same as that of Song Two, the introduction of this word can be explained on the basis of the similarity of the two songs. *Kíane* is an introductory word in Song Two, and occurs alternately with *jáksa*.

### SONG EIGHTEEN

*Basic stanza* (sung six times)

1.	<i>ʔábwe</i> (well)	<i>sáila</i> (little brother)	<i>ʔakúnsa</i> (where)	<i>ʔaki</i> (pitahaya)
2.	<i>síyalita</i> (green)	<i>bíca</i> (see)	<i>sáila</i> (little brother)	<i>séwakámta</i> (flowering)
3.	<i>wéyekámta</i> (standing)		<i>bíca</i> (see)	<i>sáila</i> (little brother)

*Concluding stanza*

4.	<i>ʔiyimínsu</i> (yonder)	<i>séye wáilo</i> (place name)	<i>mafíyatcelu</i> (dawn)
5.	<i>bétukuni</i> (under)	<i>júnamánsu</i> (over there in that place)	<i>ʔabíca</i> (see it)
6.	<i>sáila</i> (little brother)	<i>séwakámta</i> (flowering)	<i>wéyekámta</i> (standing)
7.		<i>bíca</i> (see)	<i>sáila</i> (little brother)

### Translation

I. Well, brother, where do you see a green cactus, brother? Do you see with flowers, brother? Yonder toward the light of dawn, over there I see one, with flowers, brother.

II. Well, brother, where do you see the green pitahaya with its flowers standing up on it?

Over there, in *séye wáilo*, under the light of dawn, I see one, little brother, with flowers standing up straight on it, little brother.

### Explanatory Notes

Line 2: *séwakámta* is a gerund form. Free translation is 'It is having many flowers'. *séwa*, 'flower'; *ka*, gerund suffix, 'ing'; *m*, pluralizing form; *ta*, necessary because of the intransitive verb *bíca*, 'see'.

Line 3: *wéyekámta* can be analyzed in the same manner.

Line 5: *júnamánsu ʔabíca* means 'over there in that place [I] see one'. *a* is direct object meaning 'it' or 'one'.

## SONG NINETEEN

*Basic stanza* (sung five times)

1.	káu (mountain)	mayóa (side)	káu (mountain)	mayóa (side)	júsali (light brown)
2.	mayóa (slope)	sisf'iti (are moving)	jé.ka (wind)	máke (with)	káu (mountain)
3.	mayóa (side)	káu (mountain)	mayóa (side)	káu (mountain)	mayóa (side)
4.	júsali (light brown)	mayóa (slope)	sisf'iti (moving)	jé.ka (wind)	
5.	máke (with)		káu (mountain)	mayóa (side)	

*Concluding stanza*

6.	?iyiminsu (yonder)		máiyacélu (dawn)		betukuni (under)
7.	?ikásu (this)	macíwa (morning)	jé.kata (wind)		kómsa (bottom)
8.	yumako (when it has reached)		juná?a (that)		séwajé.ka (flower wind)
9.	máke (with)	káu (mountain)	mayóa (side)	káu (mountain)	mayóa (side)
10.	káu (mountain)	mayóa (side)		júsali (light brown)	mayóa (slope)
11.	sisf'iti (moving)	jéka (wind)	máke (with)	káu (mountain)	mayóa (side)

*Translation*

I. Mountain side, mountain side, with the drizzling light brown dust storm, mountain side, mountain side. Yonder under the light of dawn, when the east wind comes, with that flower wind blowing, mountain side, mountain side.

II. Mountain side, mountain side, light brown slope you are moving with the wind. Mountain side, mountain side, light brown slope you are moving with the wind.

Over there, under the dawn, when this east (morning) wind comes it brings with it that flower wind, oh, mountain side. Mountain side, light brown slope moving with the wind.

*Explanatory Notes*

A dust storm is apparently implied in the words of this song, but because of the lack of specific reference to "dust" and imperfect understanding of *sisf'iti* it was thought best to retain the more literal translation.

Line 2: *sisf'iti* verb describing the sifting down of dust particles during a dust storm. My informant's translation of 'drizzling', i.e. 'gently raining dust', has much to recommend it.

Line 7: *macíwa*, 'morning', is apparently synonymous with 'east'. Contrast with *máiyacélu* and the modern form *macília* for 'dawn'.

It is interesting to note that this song has been a favorite of my English-speaking informant, but prior to the recording of this song he gave the meaning of kau mayóa as 'my home is in the mountain', confusing this with kau majóa? or some such similar expression. This informant speaks Yaqui fluently and is an active participant, culturally, in Pascua.

## SONG TWENTY

*Basic stanza* (sung seven times)

1.	sewáne (I flowers)	wéyekai (in order to stand)	sewáne (I flowers)
2.	bó.sime (am crawling)	se wáilo (place name)	watemáli (name of an insect)
3.	sewáne (I flowers)	wéyekai (in order to stand)	sewáne (I flowers)
4.	bó.sime (am crawling)	se wáilo (place name)	watemáli (name of an insect)

*Concluding stanza*

5.	?iyiminsu (yonder)	júyatanáisukuni (in the midst of the monte)	sénu (one)
6.	kúta (stick)	bakúlia (branch)	jikáune (I up)
7.	wésime (am climbing)	sewáne (I flowers)	wéyekai (in order to stand)
8.	sewáne (I flowers)	bó.sime (am crawling)	se wáilo (place name)
9.		watemáli (name of an insect)	

*Translation*

I. I am standing in the flowers. I am crawling in the flowers to my home. Yonder in the midst of the bushes on one branch I am crawling up, I am crawling up. I am standing in the flowers, I am crawling in the flowers.

II. In order to be in the flowers, I, se wáilo watemáli, am crawling to the flowers.

Over there, in the midst of the monte, I am climbing up, I am crawling up part of a branch. In order to be in the flowers, I am crawling up, climbing up the flowers.

*Explanatory Notes*

It was not possible to follow the recording of this song and make an effective transcription for my informants to check. The singer who recorded the song on the phonograph was not available for translation, and the informant who sang and translated all of the preceding songs except Song Nineteen was not familiar with this song.

Line 2: se wáilo watemáli. watemáli is a "stick bug", an insect apparently associated with flowers. The insect is from the mythical place, se wáilo.

DISCUSSION OF THE DEER SONGS<sup>27</sup>

That this collection of 20 deer songs is a representative collection and includes those songs conventionally sung during a deer dance is attested to by observation of three deer dances subsequent to the recording of the songs. The following songs are those necessary to any deer dance. The order is that in which these songs were sung at the dances witnessed in Pascua in 1940.

1. Song One, "Flower fawn, you are about to come out to play in this flower water." (Introductory song.)

2. Song Three, "Now, let's all of us wake up, little brother." (This song occurs as either second or third in the series.)

3. Song Fourteen, "I don't want the flowers to move, but they are always moving;" or Song Seven, "What tree is bent over, burdened with flowers? The flower stick has many flowers." Both of these are "flower songs" and are proper for use with processions, an activity not of itself a part of the deer dance proper. One of these songs is sung on the arrival of the procession at the dance ramada.

4. An indeterminate number of songs, as for example, any or all of the songs recorded except those already mentioned and Song Fifteen.

5. Song Fifteen, "Now our Father is leaving us, now our Father is gone," sung after the *santo* has been taken from the dance ramada and the procession is about to leave.<sup>28</sup>

From the above it can be seen that there are four songs which occurred in every dance witnessed at Pascua in 1940. Most of the songs collected, some 15, belong to group 4.<sup>29</sup> These songs appear in no definite order in relation to each other. Not all of them are sung during the performance of any one dance, and at least five songs not recorded have been used at Pascua at the observed deer dances. The deer songs recorded do not represent the total number of deer songs, native estimates running from 30 to 70.

## FORM

A Yaqui deer song may be said to consist of a basic stanza which is sung from four to seven times (apparently the number of repetitions is based partly on the length of the basic stanza, although other considerations can affect this pattern of repetition also). A final stanza which consists of a variation in the words of the basic stanza, affecting in part the tune of the song, is then sung once. An integral part of the concluding stanza is the restatement of the theme of the basic stanza, which results in a return to the words and tune of the basic stanza as the final part of the concluding stanza.

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<sup>27</sup> Song Eight has been omitted from this discussion because of the incomplete nature of its translation.

<sup>28</sup> This was not sung at the *Acuña cumpleaños*, the fiesta previously described.

<sup>29</sup> Song Seven, as an alternative processional song is not considered in this group.

This basic division of each deer song is, in effect, the reflection in form of a fundamental division in the meaning of the song. The basic stanza is a statement concerning this world. The variation in the concluding stanza relates the meaning of the song as expressed in the basic stanza to an indefinite mythical place in the East. Thus, the structural duality is paralleled by difference in meaning. Two of the songs (Nine and Sixteen) do not conform entirely to this pattern; a concluding stanza is present in each but the content of the concluding stanzas does not relate to the place in the East.

That the notion of the use of balancing and opposing structural elements is not only characteristic of the outward form of the entire deer song, but also of the internal structure of the song is evident in a number of songs collected. Balancing-opposing thought constructions are contained in the following songs:

*Question-answer:*

Song Seven: "What tree has many flowers? Flower stick has many flowers."

Song Five: "Where are you lying whistling, old stick? . . . "Over there you are lying whistling, old stick."

Song Two: "I am just a flowering sakobali . . . Where are you, flowering sakobali?"

*Opposed types of movement:*

Song Ten: "Three gray heads moving rapidly will go to the flower water . . . Three gray heads moving slowly (walking side by side) go away from the flower water."

Song Sixteen: "Alert . . . they are motionless (sit) . . . Afraid . . . they seek cover (go into a hole)."

Song Two, Song Thirteen, Song Seventeen: ". . . this cloud builds up until it reaches the top and falls. . . . until it reaches the bottom."

*Negative-positive:*

Song Fourteen: "I don't want the flowers to move, but the flowers are always moving."

In some of the above songs, form has been used to emphasize content. In one example this becomes a rhyme (Song Sixteen):

Song Fourteen: séwatane ká.yo wáleka  
séwatamme yó.sime

"I don't want the flowers to move, but the flowers are always moving."

Song Ten: báijika tólo múliliti kátema  
báijika tólo jépela. kátema

"Three gray heads rapidly go. . . . three gray heads slowly go away."

Song Sixteen: sái sámola yé.jtemta  
wái wónola kibá.kemta

"Alert, not moving. . . . Afraid, running for cover."

CONTENT

Even a brief examination of the deer songs in the order presented shows that they do not form a series of episodes in a connected story.

Although many of the songs have certain characteristics in common, it can be said that these characteristics do not include a sequential and meaningful interrelation of the songs. When we consider the dancing of the maso and recall that it is not a dance of free interpretation (except in a most limited way) and that regardless of the song being sung, his dance does not vary, it must be concluded that the deer songs have very limited meaning, even within the context of the deer dance itself. It is safe to conclude that the deer songs, as used in the deer dance at the present time, are for the most part songs to which the maso dances, and nothing more.

This does not imply, of course, that no meaning can be attached to the songs themselves. They constitute a portion of the body of Yaqui folklore, and the subject matter of these songs is meaningful in itself, regardless of the present relationship of the songs to the deer dance, or of both dance and songs to their social context.

One of the most striking features of the deer songs is the recurring reference to flowers. Twelve of the nineteen songs under consideration have some reference to flowers.

*Reference to Flowers in Deer Songs*

Song One-----	séwa malíci, 'flower fawn'
	séwa ba.m, 'flower water'
	séwa tebáci, 'flower patio'
Song Two-----	sákobali sewáme, 'flowering sakobali'
	séwa bwía, 'flower ground or country'
Song Three-----	séwa tebáci, 'flower patio'
Song Seven-----	júya séwa só'ila 'tree bent with flowers'
	séya kúta, 'flower stick (rasp)'
Song Nine-----	séya yoléme, 'flower deer' (also name of a flower)
Song Ten-----	séwa baubicaka, 'going towards flower water'
Song Twelve-----	séwa malitáka, 'flower with appearance of a fawn'
	có'i sewáta, 'cholla flower'
Song Fourteen-----	séwa bó'opo 'in the flower path' and general reference to flowers in motion
Song Seventeen-----	séwa bwíawi, 'flower country'
Song Eighteen-----	áki siyalíta . . . sewaka, 'green pitahaya flowering'
Song Nineteen-----	sewajé.ka, 'flower wind'
Song Twenty-----	general reference to standing and crawling in the flowers

The most important concept apparent from the above quotations is that the deer is identified as being a flower, in Song Nine a specific flower. Also, many things which are associated with the deer tend to have a flower association. The home of the deer is the "flower country." The deer plays in a "flower patio," drinks from "flower water." The water in which the drum floats, and to the drumbeats

of which the deer dances, is "flower water," and the rasping sticks to which the deer likewise dances are "flower sticks."

The mention of clouds forming and rain falling in the concluding stanzas of Song Two, Song Thirteen, and Song Seven, as well as the entire theme of Song Thirteen indicates an association of the deer with the making of rain. This association is more clearly seen when we realize that one of the principal musical instruments to which the deer dances is the water drum containing "flower water"—a definite "water" association if not rain.

Concluding stanza in Song Two, Song Thirteen, Song Seven:

"Yonder in séye wáilo, under the light of dawn, this light blue cloud is filling up, gray with water. When it has reached the top of the sky, this will rain a sparkling mist until it reaches the bottom."

Theme of Song Thirteen:

"Now we are going to make thunder."

The use of the kinship term, saila, little or younger brother, is indicative of the type of relationship established between the deer and the Yaqui. This is used in four songs, and in all but one of these the term is addressed directly to the deer.

*Principal Subject Matter of Songs*

Song Twenty-----	Crawling insect
Song Eleven-----	Ground squirrel
Song Ten-----	Doves
Song Four-----	Bird (probably whippoorwill)
Song Six-----	Snake (whip snake)
Song Sixteen-----	Rodent (unidentified)
Song Seventeen-----	Dry grass ("six weeks grass")
Song Five-----	Dry stick (rotted)
Song Two-----	Melon
Song Eighteen-----	Pitahaya
Song Thirteen-----	Clouds, thunder
Song Nineteen-----	Mountainside
Song One, Song Three, Song Nine, Song Twelve	Deer
Song Seven, Song Four- teen -----	Flowers
Song Fifteen-----	A deity

From the above examples we can infer much concerning the nature of the deer songs. Four of the songs are directly concerned with the deer, six of the songs deal with the fauna of the deer's habitat, four have reference to the flora of his habitat, one has specific reference to rain and nothing else, one refers to the geography of the region, and three have specific modern religious connotations. Of these last

three, two are "flower songs" and therefore have meaning in reference to the deer as well as to present-day Yaqui religion.

Special mention must be made of two of the songs, largely because of the difference in content as compared with the usual song. Song Thirteen, "Now it is going to thunder," is said to be sung early in the morning, when the "flower water" to which the deer has been dancing is thrown up into the air and the drum is beaten to imitate thunder. This song is one of the remaining ones that still have dramatic meaning today. The other one, which does not conform to the usual pattern in that it does not in the concluding stanza relate the activity to the mythical place under the light of dawn, is Song Sixteen, "They want us to kill this *toli* with bow and arrow." It is interesting to note that in this song the word *sáila* is used, indicating perhaps that the deer has power to help in the hunt, power over other animals. This song is the only song having to do with killing and hunting. It also is strongly suggestive of an incident in a dramatic representation—a characteristic of several other songs—but no other song supplements the meaning of this one.

#### SUMMARY

The deer songs have been considered apart from the dance in regard to their form and content. The interpretation of the content has been based primarily upon the translations of the words of the songs and general discussions by the chief deer singer. From the material available in these songs some generalizations are possible.

Considering the order in which the songs are sung it can be stated that introductory songs definitely can be identified. Following the two introductory songs (or three in the case of the *Acuña* fiesta) are any number of songs in no set order. The closing song is one related to a closing phase of the fiesta, the procession of the church participants away from the *ramada*. Whereas the beginning of the deer dance is not related to the church activities directly, its closing is determined by them. In part, then, the deer dance relies on activities apart from it for its form.

The form of the songs is distinctive—a bipartite form in which the action taking place in the world of reality is duplicated through song in a supernatural world. A literary style consisting of balancing and opposing elements of structure and meaning is apparent in the songs. As would be expected, archaic word forms are preserved in the songs. Two examples are *séye wáilo*, a place name, and *séya*, old form of *séwa*, "flower."

The content of the songs, in the absence of supporting mythological data to provide contextual interpretative material, provides a point



of departure for the study of aboriginal Yaqui religious concepts. (That these songs may be considered essentially aboriginal is indicated by the occurrence of but two Spanish words, Santo Calvario, in but 1 of the 20 songs.) It is perhaps surprising that only four of the songs are "deer" songs, in that they are about the animal himself. The deer dance, judging from the content of the songs, is not only a ceremony for the exercise of magical control over the deer, but is a ceremony for control of nature through the medium of the deer. For example: a song is sung which states that thunder is going to be made (this has been accompanied by a little drama in the past in Pascua, involving the singing of Song Thirteen, the beating of the pascola drum, and the throwing of the water from the water drum). The song relates the thunder to the mythical place in the East where clouds bring rain which falls as a mist (the same words are used with "flower ground" or "flower country" in the songs concerning plants; in other words, we have identification of the mythical place in the East with the "flower country"). The direct causal relationship between rain and flowers is explicit in these songs. Flowers are a manifestation of rain.

To relate the deer to flowers is not difficult, a concept not unique, as among the Huichol the deer is identical with peyote. "Flower fawn," "flower with the body of a fawn," and séya yoléme (the name of a specific flower) are names applied to the deer in the songs. The deer is also associated with the "flower water" and "flower patio" of the mythical place in the East (the same place where the songs indicate the rain falls on the "flower ground"). The deer as he performs his dance in the ramada dances to the beat of the gourd which floats in "flower water" and to the rasping of séya kútam, sticks "obviously overburdened with flowers." Thus, through his flower association, the deer is conceptualized as being closely connected with rain.

The fact that all of the songs are not rain, flower, or deer songs does not affect the validity of the above reasoning. We know that the deer dance has elements of drama in its performance today and that in the past the deer and pascolas acted out various dramas.<sup>30</sup> Knowing that there are aspects to the deer dance other than that of a rain ceremony we might reasonably expect these aspects to be reflected in the form and content of the songs, even as the rain ceremony aspect is reflected in the form and content of certain of the songs collected. As examples of variation in form with variation in content Song Nine and Song Sixteen can be considered. Neither in the concluding stanza relates the action of the basic stanza to the mythical

<sup>30</sup> See Appendixes 1 and 2, Refugio Savala's accounts; also Toor, 1937 b, pp. 62-63.

place in the East. Song Sixteen speaks of killing "this toli." This is the only song dealing directly with killing or hunting. This variation in form and content would seem to indicate that the original context of this song was different from that of the deer-rain-flower songs. Song Nine shares with Song Sixteen the distinction of not following the formal pattern of meaning of the basic and concluding stanzas. From the words of this song it can be seen that the song is addressed directly to the maso as he dances in front of the singers and musicians for direct reference is made to the costume of the maso. It is in this song that we have the deer directly associated with the flower, séya yoléme. It is a song in which drama is explicit.

### VARIATION IN FORM AND MEANING

From the variation in content of the songs, we may infer that the form of the deer ceremony in the past was variable.

Accounts of informants indicate that dramatic presentations were once a part of the deer ceremony in Pascua. The killing of the deer and the making of rain are dramatic performances which have been observed in Pascua within recent years.<sup>31</sup>

A resident of neighboring Barrio Libre who is a deer singer and occasionally participates as a matachini in Pascua, states that the deer dancers of the present do not perform the body movements nor handle the rattles in the style of former years. He described the former dancers as being more lifelike in imitating a deer's movements.<sup>32</sup>

Many informants report that the deer dance was held more frequently in the past in Pascua.<sup>33</sup> Informants tend to predict a deer dance for a scheduled ceremony, only to have the prediction prove to be false. In 1936-37 we know that the deer dance was held only four times. It was not held more frequently in Pascua in 1940. Information from the Rio Yaqui region from the one source which covers more than the period of time of the Easter ceremonies is that the deer dancer appears at practically every fiesta in Vicam and Vicam station. It is specifically reported as being present at the funeral of a child (Johnson, 1962), a type of ceremony at which the deer dance does not occur in Pascua.

Past meanings associated with the deer may be inferred from the meanings reported from other tribes of the Southwest-northern

<sup>31</sup> Even members of the younger generation are acquainted with these performances. Appendixes 1 and 2 are accounts of dramas enacted by pascolas and maso. Toor (1937 b, p. 63) describes a dramatic performance related to her in one of the Yaqui villages in Sonora.

<sup>32</sup> Informant, Leonardo Alvarez, 1940.

<sup>33</sup> Informants, Lucas Chavez and Frank Acuña, 1940. Also Spicer, E. H. and R. B., 1936-37.

Mexico culture area. Sacredness of the deer varies from deification among the Huichol to appearance of the deer in nonsecular ceremonies among the Pueblos. (A meaning common to all groups is the association of curing with the aid of the deer.) Curing by means of the deer's tail is reported in recent times by Toor (1937 b, p. 55) among the Yaqui in Sonora. It is reported that the deer's tail is considered an important cure-all, and is kept in individual homes in the Sonora villages.

Past meanings may be assumed to be discoverable in the deer songs since these are regarded as being of some antiquity by Pascuans, and the subject matter obviously relates to the past environment of the Arizona Yaquis. The importance of flowers overshadows that of the deer in the songs. Numerically, the word for flower appears in 12 of the songs (many times in some of these), whereas the songs explicitly about the deer are limited to 4. The songs tell of the "flower fawn," "flower person," "flower Yaqui," and "flower with the appearance of a fawn." From these examples it is apparent that the deer was meaningful because of his association, and even identity, with flowers.

Again, through the medium of the deer songs, we see that flowers and deer were considered a manifestation of rain.

At the present time in Pascua the deer dance is meaningful because of the cultural importance of dancing.<sup>34</sup> Several informants have pointed out one of the residents of Pascua, who is a deer dancer, as being the champion deer dancer of the world. They take great pride in this.<sup>35</sup> However, the deer dance is perhaps the least popular of the forms of dance. Young men have been observed in the early morning hours of a fiesta practicing the pascola dance steps, but not those of the deer dancer.

The deer dance is performed only at major fiestas in Pascua at the present, and is closely associated with the most popular performer of the fiesta, the pascola. The fragments of drama in the form of comedy participated in by the pascola and maso are obviously enjoyed by the crowd.

Among the younger generation, the deer is not an animal with which most are well acquainted.<sup>36</sup> The absence of understanding extends to

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<sup>34</sup> In one instance a young man who had worked day and night for 4 days in Holy Week as a caballero performed an arduous matachini dance with the first appearance of the matachinis after the Gloria. He did this of his own volition (and because he was a matachini as well as a caballero).

<sup>35</sup> Informants, Juan Silvas, Angel Acuña, and Frank Acuña.

<sup>36</sup> For example, Joe D. Romero (see "Informants," p. 152). He has never seen a deer, has never hunted, and none of his associates hunt. He has never been in the mountains around Tucson, except in the nearby foothills on wood-gathering expeditions.

the ceremony itself. At the Acuña fiesta a young boy of about 16 inquired into my purpose in attending the fiesta. When told it was to hear the deer songs, he volunteered:

That's something I have wondered about. There are lots of things happening here that I don't know about. Some of these men [indicating the performers] know all about it—the old things. But most of us don't know.

Among the older generation the deer dance is somewhat more meaningful. One informant, Lucas Chavez (Spicer, MS., 1936-37), says that the water used in the water drum is *agua bendita* (holy water) because it has been sung to during the deer dance. The singing of the deer singers is not considered comparable to the singing of Mexicans at a dance, but is like that of one who sings as if making a vow. For this reason the water is blessed, and it is beneficial to women if they are drenched by the water when the *pascola* throws it at a fiesta, as it insures fertility. It is considered peculiar behavior for women in the audience to run away to keep from getting wet.

One of the deer singers, informant Frank Acuña (Spicer, MS., 1936-37), says the deer songs are like prayers. Another, informant Angel Acuña, a deer singer also, in explaining the meaning of the processional song "I don't want the flowers to move" (Song Fourteen), said that the flowers mentioned in this song were the same as those which the *matachinis* wore in their headdress. The flowers moving in the flower path, as mentioned in the song, were also interpreted as being *matachin* flowers.

It is the consensus in Pascua in 1940 that the deer dance is meaningful as a traditional part of Yaqui culture. It is considered entertaining and interesting because of the technical skill of the dancer and the fragmentary comedy enacted with the *pascolas*.

There are, in addition, specialized meanings, not part of this consensus, ranging from almost complete ignorance as to any meanings of the deer dance to detailed interpretation of specialized concepts, particularly those in the deer songs.

Among those to whom the deer ceremony has a more definite set of associations and meanings, it is still partly sacred in character. Sacredness is derived from two sources: the traditional nature of the ceremony as an expression of "true" Yaqui culture, and the identification of the ceremony as a flower ceremony, which links it closely with the formal and conceptual aspects of modern Yaqui religion.

The appearance of the deer dancer at the major ceremony of the year at Pascua, Easter, has particular significance. Here the flower deer joins with the *matachinis* and others whose flowers are used to destroy the *Fariseos*. Its appearance at the fiestas of Palm Sunday

and San Ignacio, patron saint of the village, must be attributed primarily to the fact that these are also major pueblo fiestas.

The appearance of the deer dancer at the Acuña fiesta may most readily be explained in terms of the meanings of the deer to members of this household. It is a family of deer singers, and in addition, this family bends every effort to make their fiesta the biggest social event of the ceremonial season in Pascua. Quite probably they equate their fiesta in magnitude and importance with the pueblo fiestas by seeing that the deer dancer performs.

### CONCLUSIONS

The deer dance among the Arizona Yaqui is undergoing change. Residents of Pascua report changes within the immediate past, and accounts from the Yaqui homeland reflect noticeable differences between the Sonora and Arizona Yaqui deer dance ceremonies. Analysis of the deer songs inferentially indicates changes from more ancient form and meanings, and comparison with other tribes offers contrast with traits common to the Southwest-northern Mexico culture area.

Change has been in the nature of a loss of meaning related to the deer dance ceremony. Traits presumably once a part of the complex, but no longer characteristic of the deer dance as observed in 1940 in Pascua include:

- Dramatic performances (related to killing the deer and making rain)
- A more freely interpretative form of the dance
- Frequent performances, and performances at many different types of ceremonies
- Deer a deity
- Curing concept related to the deer
- Deer-rain association
- Deer ceremonially meaningful because of Yaqui environment

The persistence of meanings attached to the deer dance in Pascua may be attributed to:

- The association of the deer with meanings now attached to flowers
- Recognition of the deer dance ceremony as an activity within the Yaqui tradition, and therefore a desirable part of major pueblo fiestas

The deer as a representation of a sacred entity no longer exists, but sacredness of the songs to which the deer dances, derived from their flower association, imparts sacred meanings to the deer ceremony because of the culturally important concept of flowers in Arizona Yaqui religion. However, the flowers are considered to be culturally sacred because of the meanings attached to flower symbols used in Arizona Yaqui religious activities other than the deer dance.

APPENDIX 1<sup>37</sup>

## THE DEER HUNT

*Part 1*

The ground is prepared green brush is planted to give the scene of a forest it is played by the pasco oholas and the deer singers and dancer.

The hunter has two sons he sends the oldest to his neighbor to barrow the instrument with which they will perform the Satyrical songs for the hunting dance.

"Go into the forest to the camp where my friend is and give him this canteen of sweet water and tell him this is from the stream in the border of which we are camping, so he may also taste it, after he has tasted the water tell him that I sent thee to barrow the "Hee-Rookeee-Jum"

The boy is so coward he is almost crying because he is afraid to go into the forest because he knows that coyotes are abundant finally he departs when he arrives he salute in a way of respect "Dee-os-enchee anee-ah" "atchae" and when he is received he begins to tell the old men these things: "My father thy friend hast the need of this errand and to thee sent me, this canteen of water contains the sweetwater from the stream that flows near by our camp my father doth desire that thou should taste it so that thou mayest know that we are in a choice country and this one thing he also did, my father desire that thou mayest let him know if by any chance in thine family is there a girl that I could take in marriage" The old man answers him smiling.

*Part 2*

"There are three girls in my family which I also desire to give in marriage but tell thy father to come hither and select the one he like most for thee"

The boy return to his father and merryly explains everything the old men had told him but his father did not send him for this purpose and he get so angry and whip the boy and when the younger was sent he does the same thing in the last. Their father goes and explain everything and barrow from the old men the "Hee-rookee-jum" when he bring them he and his two sons begin to sing a spring song when their father says these words: "the cool eastern wind bring the spring blossom perfume to the shanty where I live" the two boys leave the "Hee-rooKee-jum" and looke around and sense the wind, in the meantime the man in charge of the deer dance steal them and their father again whip and make them find them this happen until at last the singing is finished and the "Hee-rookee-jum" are taken back to its owner. In preparing for the hunt they gather up some spicy weeds and burn them and with it they fume up their body all over so the deer wont sense them. The father and his older son dressed in full hunt costume arch and arrows and a skullful dog "pochee" which help them in the search of the game.

*Part 3*

The hunt begin in the Ramada where the deer and the "pasco,oholas" dance the deer is chased out into the patio, the man in charge of the deer dance is with the deer and it hides behind him everytime the deer is found it sounds the

<sup>37</sup> Appendixes 1-3 consist of accounts written by Refugio Savala, a 26-year-old Yaqui. These accounts are part of the material collected in Pascua by Dr. John H. Provinse in 1935-36.

rattles and run in this the boy is frightened and also run away throwing his bow and arrow and hat away then his father whip him and make him find the things he has lost the dog runs about and bark the hunter will shoot any person who happen to be near, in the ground the hunters dig and water is found after a great deal of search and the deer is found and killed. Sometimes the hunters carry the game on their shoulders and sometimes a burra carry it into the Ramada they get the skin and they go into the wood and find tanning post this also a "pasco,ohola" who stands among crowd the pascohola cut the post when it is falling and some one is near him it happens that he or she gets a hard slap in the face the other "pasco, ohola" to tan the skin he puts it in the pan of water and wet it is thrown upon the back of the "pasco,ohola" who act as the post and it is done even when it is cold in winter now when it is made into a good pelt the pascoholas begin to peddle it after the measurement is figured out it is bought with liquour all the water that the "pasco,ohola" drink during the deer hunt is pure liquour.

REFUGIO SAVALA

## APPENDIX 2

### THE RAIN

In the morning the "pasco, ohola" barrow the drum from "Tampaleo" begin to rumble with it striking lightly the beams of "ramada" with it. This is to produce the noise of the Thunder and the "pasco, ohola" make the lightnings with the tongue sticking it out, after this is done the three "pasco, oholas" get all the gourd cups of the deer singers and get the water on the big pan which is also the deer singers' instrument now The "pasco, ohola" will throw the cup of water on anyone who happens to be near just like the Rain, many people run away and the "pasco, ohola chase them far out of "Rama" sometimes people who fall sleep near the dance are awakened with the last heaviest shower which is the big pan of water it is said that it is good luck to get soaked by this play Rain but the majority run away for shelter specially in winter.

After the rain again the pan of water is filled and the dance continues for a short time with same funny deers songs which the "pasco, cholas" dance. When the deer hunt is going to be dance it is began after "The Rain."

REFUGIO SAVALA

## APPENDIX 3

### THE DEER HUNTER

#### *Part 1*

The deer hunter has a very peculiar method of working out the plan of the hunt. Since this method is not performed with a gun, the hunter goes into the forest and set the traps. This trap are also the indian method. a rope of mezcal fibers which is the color of the earth, and long enough to reach the top of a big tree near the lakes where the path of the deer is visible, there in the middle of the path a round hole is dug deep enough to bury the rope and four stake are driven deep to hold the rope the one stake that holds the key has a fork where on the rope pass and the rope has a little wooden knob which is hooked to the fork of the stake the long rods that goes in the center is another key which locks the little knob on the rope from the four stake the three other rods lay on top of the key rod so the knot lock of the rope lay loose in a round

coil the stake of the fork holds down with the rope a very strong limb which bent down. hooked with the rope to the stake now when the deer step on either one of the four center rods this bent limb throws the laso on the deer's leg that some times it hold it without touching the ground with the leg where the rope has caught it.

When the deer hunter has all his traps set in the evening he and two others begin to sing the song of the deer hunter which in composition is very beautiful sometimes the singing last all night the hunter or rather trapper, leave at dawn and find his prey on the trap alive and he slay it with a knife which he thrusts on the deer's collar. Thus the blood is drained and the meat is good to eat and in this manner the skin is not damaged, now to carry his game on the shoulder one of the hind legs is tied on one of deer's horns because this is the way it will not squeeze the carrier's neck or shoulders. If one would try to tie the legs together and carry it on the shoulder it would squeeze the blood out of it, if one would try to carry it with loose body it would roll off the shoulder.

### Part 2

The deer hunter sometimes use the arch and arrow or gun but when they want it just for food, they also sing some hunt songs before they go and they bathe early in the morning or evening previous to the hunt and when they leave they burn some weeds and covered with a blanket fume their body so the deer cannot scent them with in a close distance, the deer has a very keen perception for humans, for this reason a deer hunter must be clean. The trapper also uses the same method for the hunt when he goes to set the trap he also bathe and fume his body and above all, everything that the trap is made is carefully rubbed with some green weeds and tree leaves so that no trace of human odor is left where the trap is.

The deer trapper also make a living out of his trade he tans all the skins and probably his wife is also a good tanner and may be good maker of skin jackets which is a demand in the Yaqui country people who work this are always making more money because even women wear the deer skin outfit or at least the trapper sells the tanned skin to those who work it in fancy styles and when they go into the "Yorim" they sell the skin on a good price no matter what quantity Mexican "Talabarteros" usually preffer the Yaqui deer skins.

There are people who stay in the wilderness all the year or part of the year merely trapping and hunting deers, in season of progeny only bucks are slain in order to preserve the game.

REFUGIO SAVALA

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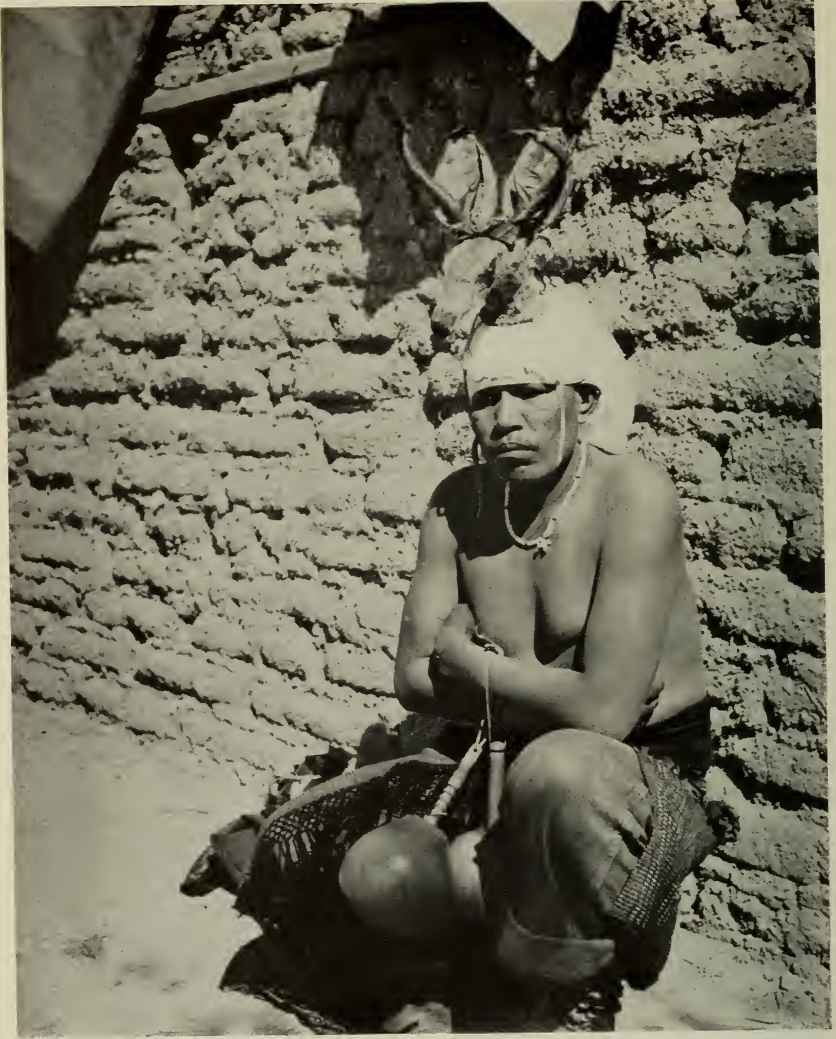
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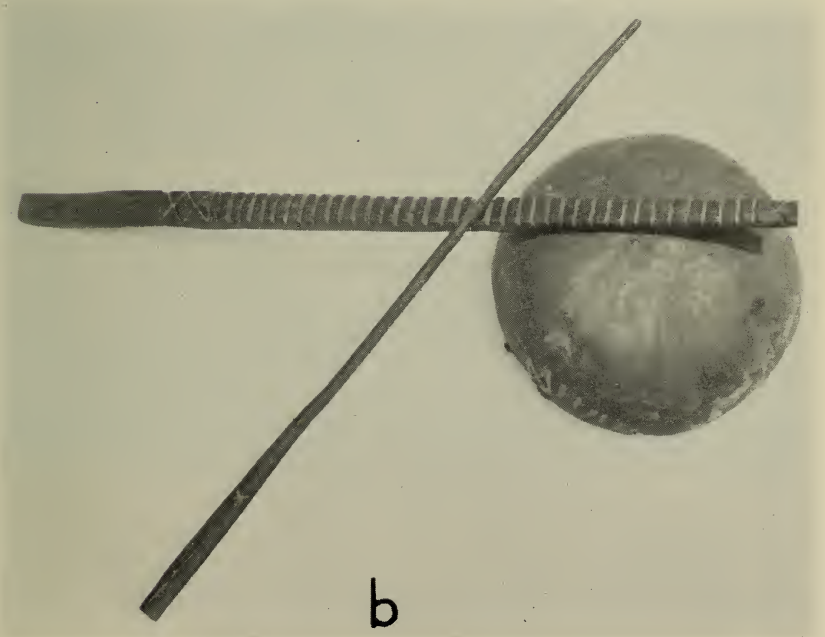
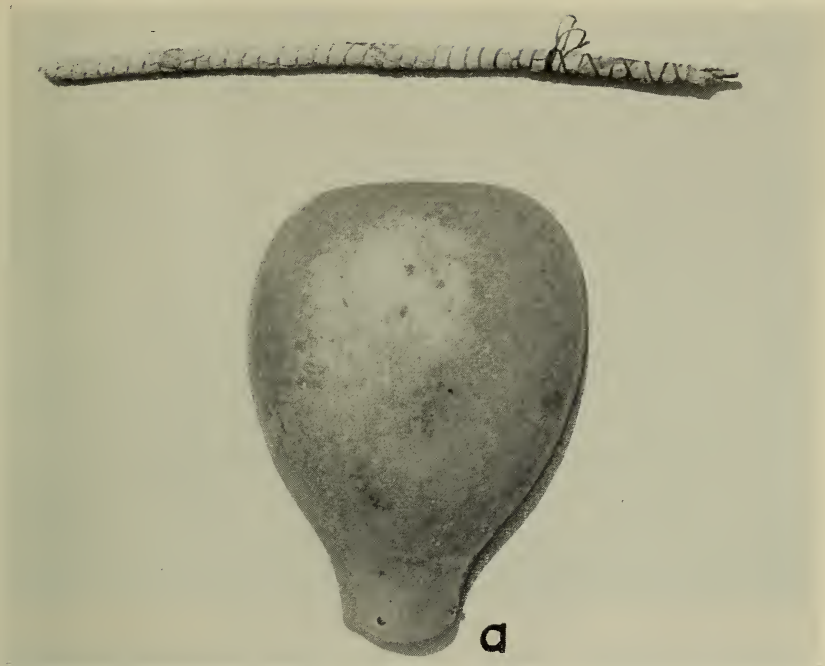
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*a, b*, The procession, Palm Sunday, 1937.



The maso.



*a*, Water drum. *b*, Rasping stick and resonator.



a



b

a, Ramada scene. b, The ramada.