

13035

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DATE May 17, 19 66

Paul Raymond Turner  
Author

June 4, 1929  
Birth Date

Highland Chontal Grammar

Title of Dissertation

Anthropology  
Department or School

Ph.D.  
Degree

June, 1966  
Convocation

Permission is herewith granted to the University of Chicago to make copies of the above title, at its discretion, upon the request of individuals or institutions and at their expense.

5-26-66  
Date filmed

Number of pages

Paul R. Turner  
Signature of writer

Extensive Quotation or Further Reproduction of This Material by Persons or Agencies Other than the University of Chicago May Not Be Made without the Express Permission of the Writer.

SHORT TITLE: \_\_\_\_\_

OVERSIZED SHEETS



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HIGHLAND CHONTAL GRAMMAR

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY  
PAUL RAYMOND TURNER

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
JUNE, 1966

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The data presented in this thesis were collected during the years 1959-63 while a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Grateful acknowledgment is given to the Mexican Government for the opportunity to study a Mexican Indian language. Viola Waterhouse is mainly responsible for encouraging us to work among the Chontals and I owe a great deal to her for her help in the analysis of the data. I want to thank the people of San Matías Petacaltepec for sharing their language with us and especially Clemente Zárate, Abrám Martínez, and Martín Robles, who were our principal language helpers.<sup>1</sup>

The theory expressed in the presentation of the data was taught me by a number of associates in the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I want to thank particularly Robert Longacre,

---

<sup>1</sup>The Highland Chontal or Tequistlateco Indians live in the southeastern corner of the State of Oaxaca, Mexico. They number about 5,000 speakers and live in twenty mountain villages. The villages are all within one day's journey by horseback and range in population from less than thirty inhabitants (San Pedro Sosolotepec) to over 700 inhabitants (Santa María Ecatepec).

Highland Chontal has been classified as Hokan by specialists. The speakers of this language are more or less monolingual in proportion to their distance from, and access to, the Pan-American highway.

The only other closely related language is Lowland Chontal or Huamelulteco. Speakers of this language cluster around the two coastal towns of Huamelula and Astata and number around 5,000 people. (See Waterhouse, 1962, for an extensive bibliography on the history and culture of the Oaxaca Chontal Indians.)

Marvin Mayers, and Howard Law. Norman McQuown of the University of Chicago is most responsible for the empirical emphasis in the presentation of the data as well as instilling in me a respect for the data.

My study program was made possible by a number of men at the University of Chicago. I particularly want to thank Fred Eggan and David Schneider for their encouragement. The men who served on my thesis committee, Norman McQuown, Paul Friedrich, and Eric Hamp, deserve recognition and appreciation. Financial help was received through a University of Chicago Fellowship, a National Institute of Health Grant, a Title VI National Defense Education Act Award (LF 5-108), and a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

The concordance used in this thesis was made on an IBM 1410 Computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

My wife and daughter have been a source of constant help and encouragement in the writing of this thesis. Special thanks are due my wife who typed the final manuscript.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Chapter	
I. PHRASES.....	14
Introduction	
Single Centered	
Double Centered	
Relator-Axis	
II. CLAUSES.....	29
Introduction	
Intransitive	
Semi-transitive	
Transitive	
Ditransitive	
Stative	
Topic-Comment	
III. COLON.....	43
IV. WORDS.....	46
Introduction	
Verbs	
Nouns	
Pronouns	
Numerals	
Demonstratives	
V. STEMS.....	117
Introduction	
Verb	
Noun	
VI. PARTICLES.....	133

Chapter	Page
VII. SENTENCES.....	136
Introduction	
Non-complex	
Complex	
Compound	
VIII. PARAGRAPHS.....	151
IX. DISCOURSES.....	152
X. TEXTS.....	154
XI. LEXICON.....	240
WORKS CITED.....	335

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Consonants.....	4
2. Vowels.....	6
3. Non-past Subject Markers.....	47
4. Past Subject Markers.....	47
5. Object Markers.....	65
6. Object Markers.....	68
7. Aspect Morphemes and Their Combinatorial Allomorphs.....	73



## INTRODUCTION

### Method of Presentation

This study is primarily an attempt at observational adequacy of thirty-two texts within a tagmemic framework. These texts have been tape recorded and accompany the dissertation. Other data are used to supplement the taped texts and give a more complete picture of the language from the following sources: non-tape recorded texts from the IBM Concordance; a lexical file of over 3,000 entries; and, data that was elicited from Clemente Zárate in the process of writing this grammar.

An attempt has been made to make the description of the data as readable as possible. Linguistic controversy has been avoided and clarity of presentation has been given precedence over economy when there has been a conflict between the two.

The general approach used is the tagmemic model as developed in Grammar Discovery Procedures by Robert Longacre (1964) and in An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax by Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett (1962). The tagmeme, according to this theory, is a functional-structural unit in the grammatical hierarchy. Function applies to the role that a particular structure or set of structures plays in a

grammatical construction. The structure manifests the function and can vary in scope from a single morpheme to a complete utterance. It can apply to a single item, a class of items, a construction, or a set of constructions. The concept of the tagmeme, as used in this paper, is applicable up and down the entire range of the grammatical hierarchy.

For two tagmemes with internal structure (potentially more than one part) to be contrastive, they must have two differences, at least one of which applies to the nuclear elements and one may apply to the optional peripheral elements. All obligatory elements of a tagmeme are nuclear and most optional elements are peripheral.<sup>2</sup>

Levels in the grammatical hierarchy are postulated to make the data more manageable and because they reflect the actual structuring that is a primitive of all languages. The levels described in this paper are: stem, word, phrase, clause, colon, sentence, paragraph, and discourse. Generally, constructions on one level manifest tagmemes on the next level. Thus stems are parts of words, and words are parts of phrases, and the like.

Texts 1-32 have not been normalized in any conscious way. They thus contain what could be interpreted as mistakes of various kinds: false starts, stutters, omissions, contractions, and repetitions. An attempt is made to analyze

---

<sup>2</sup>An exception to the statement that all obligatory elements of a tagmeme are nuclear is the aspect tagmeme of verbs. The aspect tagmeme is considered to be peripheral because it is not essential to the analysis.

the language as it is spoken, whether the utterances are well-formed or not. Texts 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 22, 27, and 28 are texts in which there was interaction on the part of the language helper and me. These texts are more difficult to analyze and yet they represent much more faithfully the speaking habits of the Chontals than do the more easily analyzable texts. All of the taped texts have been transcribed not as I thought the speakers should talk, nor even as the speakers thought they should talk, but as they actually did talk. The faithfulness of my transcription can be checked by the accompanying tape. Texts 33-85 were not taped but transcribed by dictation. These texts are considered to be less reliable since they were normalized in the process of dictation and all suprasegmental phonological data are missing.

Analysis of the recorded texts was a process of determining what the phonological units were first, and then identifying the grammatical units that were isomorphic with the phonological units. When there was a discrepancy between the two types of units, analysis of the doubtful grammatical units was made on the basis of the less doubtful grammatical units.

### Phonemic System<sup>3</sup>

Highland Chontal (hereafter abbreviated as HC) has a

---

<sup>3</sup>For a more complete description of the phonemic system of HC, see Highland Chontal Phonemics (Turner: 1964).

phonological hierarchy comparable to its grammatical hierarchy. The phonological units which combine to define the phonological hierarchy consist of phonemes, syllables, words, phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, and discourses.

### Phonemes

HC consonants may be charted as follows:

TABLE 1  
CONSONANTS

CONTINUANTS						
	Central				Lateral	
Voiceless	f (N)	s N	š (N)	h (N)	W	ɬ
Voiced	m	n	y	ŋ	w	l
OBSTRUENTS						
Voiceless	f'	c'	č'	k'	ʔ	ɬ'
	p	t, c	č	k		
Voiced	b	d		g		

The major contrastive features are between continuants and obstruents on the vertical axis and between central and

lateral articulation types on the horizontal axis with a minor contrast between voicelessness and voicing. This chart is presented to illustrate the similarities and dissimilarities between HC consonants and Lowland Chontal consonants as described in earlier publications (Waterhouse and Morrison: 1950; Waterhouse:1962).

Perhaps a few words of explanation would clarify the use of the above symbols. /N/ has four allophones: (M), (N), ( $\tilde{N}$ ), and (Ń), which assimilate to the point of articulation of the following segment. /ɬ'/ represents a voiceless glottalized alveolar lateral affricate. /W/ and /w/ are voiceless and voiced non-syllabic high, close, back, slightly rounded vocoids that fill consonant slots in the syllable patterns. /y/ is a voiced non-syllabic high, close, front, unrounded vocoid that fills a consonant slot in the syllable patterns. /h/ is a voiceless vocoid that approximates the point of articulation of its contiguous syllabic vocoid and that patterns as a consonant in the syllable patterns. It freely varies to (x). Voiceless stops /p/, /t/, and /k/, are in limited fluctuation with their voiced counterparts.

HC consonants occur separately, in clusters of two, and rarely, in clusters of three.

Vowels do not occur in clusters and are described in the following chart:

TABLE 2  
VOWELS

Tongue Position:	<u>Vertical</u>	<u>Horizontal</u>		
		Front	Central	Back
	High	i		u
	Mid	e		o
	Low		a	

These vowels have their traditional phonetic values. /e/ and /a/ freely fluctuate before /y/. /u/ and /o/ have limited fluctuation possibilities.

In addition to the above listed consonant and vowel phonemes of HC, there are four phonemes used in words of Spanish origin: /ǎ/, /ř/, /ř̃/, and /b/.

Paralinguistic phenomena consist of syllabic nasals, nasalized vowels, and voice clearing.

### Syllables

Syllabic organization can be most simply defined by limiting the occurrence of vowels to one per syllable. A syllable is composed of one vowel as a nucleus with one to three consonants occurring in the onset position and with one or two consonants optionally occurring in the terminus position.

Syllable consonant-vowel patterns are: CV, CVC, CCV,

CCVC, CVCC, CCCV, CCCVC, and CCVCC. Syllables occurring word initial are CV and CVC. Syllables occurring word medially include all the possible consonant-vowel patterns given above. Syllables occurring word finally are CV, CVC, CCV, CVCC, and CCCVC.

### The Phonological Word

The phonological word in HC is composed of from one to seven syllables and has one primary degree of stress. The stressed syllable is the nuclear syllable and is longer than the other syllables in the word. The length is perceptibly on the vowel or spread over the vowel and a following vocoid continuant. Each word is a rhythm unit and is stressed on the penultimate syllable unless the stress is displaced because of the position of the word in a higher phonological unit. Displacement is to the final syllable.

The border between words is marked by a combination of features that include change from higher pitch to lower pitch and from lenis to fortis articulation plus tempo increase. One way that hesitation words can be identified is by their lack of lenisness at their termini plus rapid repetition of the segments. Some indications of word boundaries are: occurrences of the allophone ( $k^h$ ) of phoneme /k/; echo vocoids following glottal stop, and vocoids fading into voicelessness.

### The Phonological Phrase

The phonological phrase is composed of two or more words that are spoken without intervening pause. Open transition, characterized by the phoneme /h/, may occur between the words of a phonological phrase, or the phoneme /g/ may be prefixed to a non-initial word that begins with a vowel.

### The Phonological Clause

The phonological clause is composed of words or phrases with accompanying clause stress and has as its onset and terminus any combination of pauses except two long pauses. Clause stress falls on the penultimate or ultimate syllable of the clause final word and either displaces normal word stress or adds a feature of secondary stress to the word. Vowels at clause terminal positions often fade into voicelessness. Clauses can be divided into three classes according to the slots that they fill in a sentence.

Onset clauses begin with long pause and end with short pause and have the final syllable unstressed with non-rising intonation.

Continuative clauses begin and end with short pauses and have the final syllable unstressed with non-rising intonation.

Terminus clauses begin with short pauses and end with long pauses and have the final syllable stressed with rising intonation.



## The Phonological Sentence

The phonological sentence is composed of from one to four phonological clauses and predominantly has long pause at its onset and terminus with syllable final rising intonation and final vowel fading into voicelessness.

Statement sentences end on mid pitch with accompanying normal stress whereas interrogative sentences end on high pitch with abrupt pitch change.

Imperative sentences end on mid or high pitch with heavier stress than occurs on statement or interrogative sentences.

Sentences having coordinate constructions or balanced phonological sequences end in falling intonation with equal stress on the penultimate syllable of each sequence.

## The Phonological Paragraph

The phonological paragraph is composed of from one to almost any number of phonological sentences and has as its onset and/or terminus a combination of phonological features that include length, stress, pause, and intonation. These features accompany the grammatical words ?í l-i-hów-ba "and then" and the Spanish equivalent ?entónse.

The middle syllable in each word mentioned above has a lengthened nucleus with rising intonation and a heavier stress than that which occurs with these words when spoken

in isolation or when occurring in other slots in a paragraph. The final syllable is always given non-rising intonation in these words when they fill phonological boundary slots. Perceptible short or long pause also marks the onset and terminus of each paragraph. Paragraphs begin with indrawn breath either preceding or following the above words.

### The Phonological Utterance

Phonological utterances can be divided into two types: monologues and conversations. Monologues are composed of phonological paragraphs that have as their onset the following features: preparatory voice clearing, heavy inspiration of air, slow and deliberate tempo, and narrowed pitch range. These phonetic features accompany the grammatical word di-bá?a "there is" which functions as a stereotyped story beginning.

The terminus of a monologue consists of a rhetorical period marked by a running down process of extremely narrowed pitch range and voice decrescendo trailing into silence. These phonetic features accompany the phonological phrase má líya lé?a "that is all there is."

The body of a monologue consists of a speech chunk between the onset and the terminus described above and is characterized by an over-all constriction of prosodic features. This results in a type of speech delivery that suggests lack of personal emotional involvement on the part of the speaker.

Conversations may be composed of any phonological unit discussed thus far and have as boundaries a shift of speaker. Phonological features accompanying a conversation include a full pitch range, abrupt changes in tempo, over-loud and over-soft intensities, pharyngealization, and an increase in the use of the glottal stop.

### Morphophonemics

Nasals assimilate to the point of articulation of the following consonant as illustrated by the allomorphs of the focus marker morpheme -n:

- ex. 1      du-ná-n-le (22.21)<sup>4</sup>  
            they-play-music-let
- ex. 2      ?u-ná-m-ba (30.3)  
            they-played-music
- ex. 3      ?u-na-ŋ-wó?me (30.5)  
            they-played-music-there

This type of assimilation jumps over a glottal as in:

- ex. 4      di-mí-m-?me (32.3)  
            they-say-to-him

The final nasal of a morpheme fuses with initial /g/ of a following morpheme as illustrated by the occurrence of

---

<sup>4</sup>This reference (22.21) refers to the number of the text, (22), followed by the number of the sentence, (21), in which the example occurs. This system of numbering applies for texts 1-32. For texts 33-85, the second number in the parenthesis refers to the numerical order of one of the words in the example from the beginning of the text. Texts 33-85 constitute the balance of the IBM 1410 Concordance and do not accompany this paper.

the verb root šin "to see" plus the suffix -go "again":

- ex. 1      ṣ̌i-ŋo-na-bá (1.74)  
            saw-him-again

Voiced stops /b/ and /d/ become voiceless following voiceless consonants as illustrated by the allomorphs of the punctiliar aspect marker -ba:

- ex. 2      ʔi-ṣ̌ím-ba (1.2)  
            he-saw-him
- ex. 3      ʔay-m-i-ba-máy-s-pa (12.7)  
            not-it-does-result

by the allomorphs of the verb root de "to eat":

- ex. 4      ʔi-dé-ba (1.160)  
            he-ate-it
- ex. 5      ʔay-m-aɫ-te-ʔmá (1.36)  
            not-me-eat

Voiced stop /g/ is less predictable as illustrated by the allomorphs of the derivational verbal affix gay "on top of, facing":

- ex. 6      ʔi-guc-af-gáy-ba (6.49)  
            he-sat-on-top
- ex. 7      ʔi-bá-f'-kay-na-da (1.31)  
            he-hit-on-top-of-it-there

/ṣ̌/ becomes /c/ following /n/ as illustrated by the allomorphs of the animate marker: -ṣ̌i

- ex. 8      ʔogé-ṣ̌iʔ (7.15)  
            two (men)
- ex. 9      ʔa-fán-ci (7.15)  
            three (men)

/ṣ̌/ becomes /c/ following /ɫ/ and preceding a vowel as

illustrated by the allomorphs of the verb stem šan-ce "to look at":

ex. 1      ʔay-š<sup>h</sup>an-ce-wóʔma (26.34)  
I-went-to-look-at

ex. 2      ʔa<sub>1</sub>-can-cé-ba (26.4)  
we-looked-at-it

/l/ plus /š/ reduce to /s/ when they precede a consonant as illustrated by the allomorphs of the verb root šwi "to clean, clear":

ex. 3      ga-š<sup>h</sup>wí-laʔ (19.15)  
I-clean-it-let

ex. 4      ʔa-swi-k'ó-ʔme (19.19)  
we-clean-it

This phenomenon takes place even when the morpheme a<sub>1</sub>- "we, me" is implied but not present as illustrated by the allomorphs of the verb stem šwe-h-ʔme "to count":

ex. 5      š<sup>h</sup>we-h-ʔme-na-bá (24.58)  
(they)-counted-it

ex. 6      swe-h-ʔme-gó-ba (24.28)  
(we)-counted-it

## CHAPTER I

### PHRASES

#### Introduction

A phrase consists of (1) two or more words one of which must be the head, (2) one word which is potentially the head of a construction, or (3) a relator-axis construction.

There are three major types of phrases: single-centered, double-centered, and relator-axis.

#### Single Centered Phrases

Single centered phrases include verb, modified noun, possessed noun, numeral, demonstrative, and particle.

#### Verb Phrases

Tagmemics does not follow the traditional subject-predicate dichotomy of clauses. Verbs and their modifiers are handled as separate tagmemes on the clause level and are not treated as phrases unless the items in question have the distribution of a unit. That is, a verb and its modifiers do not constitute a phrase unless they occur contiguously.

There are three types of single-centered verb phrases: modal, auxiliary, and incorporated object.

The nuclear elements of the modal phrase consist of obligatory qualifier and main tagmemes. The qualifier tagmeme is manifested by modal-like verbs:

- ex. 1      Qual:di-ʔi-ʔma                      (Main:di-dalay-ʔe-ʔma)  
                  she-is-able-to-do-it                      she-will-speak
- (l-awak'wa) (46.110)  
                  the-child  
                  the child is able to speak

The main tagmeme is manifested by a native verb, as in the example above, or by a Spanish infinitive:

- ex. 2      (Qual:di-ʔi-ʔma                      Main:a-řeglař  
                  it-can-do-it                      to-settle
- (l-oł-ʔasunto) (36.292)  
                  the-your-matter  
                  your matter can be settled

by a double centered coordinate verb phrase:

- ex. 3      (Qual:ʔay-m-i-ʔi-yá)                      Main:ga-mane-yá  
                  it-can-not-do-it                      not-I-marry
- ma-la-denł-go-gó-ya (5.55)  
                  not-me-mix  
                  I cannot get married, it will not do for me.

The nuclear elements of an auxiliary phrase consist of obligatory auxiliary and main tagmemes. The auxiliary is occupied by the verb ʔe "to do":

- ex. 4      Aux:ʔal-ʔé-ba (Main:kumplír) (24.52)  
                  we-did-it                      to-complete  
                  we completed it
- ex. 5      (pwes tođo) (Aux:di-ʔe-la?)  
                  well all                      he-does-it-to-all
- Main:keřerř (73.90)  
                  to like  
                  Well, he liked them all.

The two verb phrases described above manifest predicate





The peripheral elements consist of optional demonstrative, quantifier, and qualifier tagmemes. The demonstrative tagmeme is manifested by a demonstrative word:

- ex. 1      Dem:ká      (Qual:l-ogwéna    H:l-iWála)    (11.22)  
                  this                    the-other      the-mountain  
                  this other mountain

or demonstrative phrase:

- ex. 2      Dem:má      ká?a (H:tíyo flóho)    (77.224)  
                  very this                    Lazy Uncle  
                  this very same Lazy Uncle

The quantifier tagmeme is manifested by particles:

- ex. 3      Quant:buláf'ka (H:gal-šáns)    (31.20)  
                  all                    the-man  
                  everyone

or by quantity nouns:

- ex. 4      Quant:?á-špe (H:?al-domí)    (24.64)  
                  much                    the-money

by numerals:

- ex. 5      Quant:?a-núli (H:g-ámac')    (24.5)  
                  one                    year

by numeral phrases:

- ex. 6      Quant:?a-núli ?o-géh siyéto (H:?al-dómi)    (24.25)  
                  one                    two                    hundred                    the-money  
                  one or two hundred pesos

The qualifier tagmeme is manifested by nouns:

- ex. 7      Qual:gal-c'é (H:g-i-b-eník')    (31.5)  
                  the-new                    his-work  
                  the new president

- ex. 8      Qual:lan-mál (H:lan-šán-úk')    (21.12)  
                  the-bad                    the-people

by person nouns:

- ex. 9      Qual:la-náške                    (H:šán-úk')    (31.7)  
                  the-offspring                    men  
                  the younger men

by qualifying particles:

- ex. 1 (H:l̥a-ʔáyi) Qual:mísmo (6.18)  
           the-father           same  
           the same priest

or by an embedded relator-axis clause:

- ex. 2 (Dem:kí) Qual:l̥-i-gwáy-da  
           this           who-he-arrives-there  
  
       (H:gál-šans) (6.73)  
           the-man  
       this one who has arrived

Modified noun phrases manifest the following clause level tagmemes: Subject (p. 30--2)<sup>5</sup>; Manner (p. 30--6); Object (p. 37--1); Temporal (p. 31--3); Locational (p. 31--7); and, Comment (p. 41--4).

#### Possessed Noun Phrases

The nuclear elements of a possessed noun phrase consist of obligatory possessed and optional possessor tagmemes. The possessed tagmeme is manifested by a possessed noun:

- ex. 3 Poss'd:l̥-i-bóhna (Poss'er:gal-késu  
           the-its-owner           the-cheese  
  
       Dem:káʔa) (1.94)  
           this  
       the cheese's owner

The possessor tagmeme is manifested by a non-possessed noun:

- ex. 4 (Poss'd:l̥-i-b-íšmi) Poss'er:kolipé (15.15)  
           the-its-bark           colipe  
       the bark of the colipe tree

---

<sup>5</sup>The reference (p. 30--2) refers to the page, 30, on which the example, 2, occurs.



manifested by a numeral:

ex. 1 (H:ʔa-núšans) Add:máh-ši (6.162)  
twenty five

or single centered numeral phrase:

ex. 2 (H:a-nušans) Add:g-imbamah nuli? (elicited)  
twenty ten one  
thirty-one

Numeral phrases can be subdivided into four types on the basis of the different type numerals that manifest the head slots.

Type I numeral phrase has a type II numeral (i.e. ten) as head with optional type I numeral (i.e. one to nine) as additive. Type I numeral phrase accounts for numbers from ten to nineteen:

ex. 3 H:imbámah Add:báygo (elicited)  
ten seven  
seventeen

Type II numeral phrase has a type III numeral (i.e. twenty) as head with optional type I numeral as multiplier and additive or an embedded type I numeral phrase as additive. Type II numeral phrase accounts for numbers from twenty to ninety-nine:

ex. 4 Mult:ogéh H:núšans Add:g-imbámah nuli (elicited)  
two twenty ten one  
fifty-one

Type III numeral phrase has a type IV numeral (i.e. hundred) as head with optional type I numeral as multiplier and additive or, an embedded type I or II numeral phrase as additive. Type III numeral phrase accounts for numbers from

one-hundred to nine-hundred-ninety-nine:

ex. 1      Mult:a-belah    H:mašnu (elicited)  
                           nine                    hundred

Type IV numeral phrase has a type IV numeral (i.e. thousand) as head with optional type I numeral as multiplier and additive, or embedded type I, II, or III numeral phrase as additive. Type IV numeral phrase accounts for numbers from one-thousand to nine-thousand:

ex. 2      Mult:ʔogéh    H:míl (24.60)  
                           two                    thousand

Native numeral phrases are seldom used today because they have been replaced by Spanish numbers. When native numeral phrases are used they manifest the quantifier tagmeme on the phrase level (p. 17--6).

## Demonstrative Phrases

The nuclear element of a demonstrative phrase consists of an obligatory head tagmeme manifested by a demonstrative word:

ex. 3      H:Ní (Quant:buláf'ka?) (6.93)  
                           these                    all  
                           all of them

The peripheral elements consist of optional quantifier and qualifier tagmemes. The quantifier tagmeme is manifested by a collective particle:

ex. 4      Quant:buláf'ka    (H:kí) (13.68)  
                           all                    this  
                           all these

The qualifier tagmeme is manifested by an intensifying



The nuclear elements of a repetitive verb phrase consist of two or more head tagmemes manifested by identical verbs:

- ex. 1      H:l-i-?wá-ba      H:l-i-?wá-ba (6.133)  
               where-it-went      where-it-went  
               where (the footprints) went

The function of a repetitive verb phrase is to emphasize the progressive aspect of the action involved in the predicate.

The nuclear elements of a coordinate verb phrase consist of two head tagmemes manifested by non-identical verbs:

- ex. 2      H:ga-mane-yá      H:ma-la-denlgo-gó-ya (5.55)  
               not-I-marry      not-me-mix  
               (I cannot) get married, it will not do for me.

#### Noun Phrases

Double centered noun phrases are subdivided into three types: coordinate, appositional, and repetitive.

The nuclear elements of a coordinate noun phrase consist of a potentially indefinite number of head tagmemes manifested by noun phrases.

- ex. 3      H:buláf'ka? gal-šáns, H:buláf'ka? l-agá-l-no?  
               all                    the-man                    all                    the-women  
               H:la-?úway (24.47)  
               the-boys

The peripheral element consists of an optional coordinating tagmeme manifested by a sequential particle:

- ex. 4      (H:ogé-ši l-i-suplénte)      Coord:ʔí  
               two                    the-his-helpers                    and  
               (H:ʔa-núli l-i-sekřetáriyo) (31.25)  
               the-his-secretary

Coordinate noun phrases manifest subject and object tagmemes on the clause level.

The nuclear elements of an appositional phrase consist of obligatory item and appositional tagmemes. The item may be manifested by a demonstrative:

- ex. 1      Item:pú?wa (App:sán matíyas) (26.1)  
                   there                   San Matías  
                   there in San Matías

or by a noun:

- ex. 2      Item:l-i-padřínu                   (App:mísmo  
                   the-his-god-father                   same  
                   la-?áyi? (6.30)  
                   the-father  
                   his god-father who was the priest

The appositional tagmeme functions as a clarifier of the item and is manifested by a noun:

- ex. 3      (Item:g-i-dúga?) App:gál-šmu (1.104)  
                   himself                   the-lion

or by a noun phrase: (see example 2 above)

Appositional phrases manifest clause level tagmemes of Location (ex. 1 above); Subject (ex. 2 above); and, Agent (ex. 3 above).

The nuclear elements of a repetitive phrase consist of two or more head tagmemes manifested by identical nouns:

- ex. 4      H:ʔámac'    H:ʔámac'    (24.22)  
                   year                   year  
                   yearly

#### Numeral Phrases

There are two types of double centered numeral phrases: sequence and repetitive.





relates the rest of the phrase (the axis) to the clause in which it occurs.

The nuclear elements of a relator-axis phrase consist of an obligatory relator tagmeme and an obligatory axis tagmeme. Relator-axis phrases may be divided into eight sub-types on the basis of the type of relator that introduces them: locational, comparison, approximation, temporal, agent, accompaniment, manner, and purpose.

Locational phrases consist of a relator filled by Spanish locational particles ʔásta "until" and déntřo "inside" and by an axis that is filled by a locational noun:

ex. 1      Relator:ʔásta    Axis:l-igúlwo    (7.26)  
                  until                    the-gully

ex. 2      Relator:déntřo    Axis:l-inʔnúwaʔ    (1.108)  
                  inside                    the-lake

Comparison phrases consist of a relator occupied by dó "like" or its Spanish equivalent kómo "like". The axis is occupied by a Spanish particle:

ex. 3      Relator:kómo    Axis:siyémpře    (1.107)  
                  like                    always

by a demonstrative:

ex. 4      Relator:dó    Axis:luʔwáʔ    (1.10)  
                  like                    there

or by a pronoun:

ex. 5      Relator:dó    Axis:ʔimáʔ    (13.12)  
                  like                    you

or by a double centered repetitive noun phrase:

ex. 6      Relator:dó    Axis:ʔúnšal ʔúnšal    (27.39)  
                  like                    pitch    pitch  
                  like pitch-pine

Approximation phrases consist of a relator manifested by dá "about". The axis is manifested by a noun phrase:

- ex. 1 Relator:dá Axis:ʔa-núli g-ámac' (6.5)  
           about one year
- ex. 2 Relator:dá Axis:diyés ʔó béynte pésu (13.66)  
           about ten or twenty pesos

Temporal phrases consist of a relator manifested by the Spanish temporal particle ʔásta "until" and by an axis manifested by a noun phrase:

- ex. 3 Relator:asta Axis:un anyo (85.137)  
           until one year

Agent phrases consist of a relator occupied by the Spanish particle póř "by". The axis is occupied by a noun:

- ex. 4 Relator:poř Axis:laŋ-ʔilaʔ (pwes hil-naʔa  
           by the-fleas well very-these  
           n-i-mu-k'i-ba) (51.120)  
           who-taught-him  
           He was taught it by those same fleas.

by a single centered possessed noun phrase:

- ex. 5 (du-li-h-ʔma) Relator:poř Axis:leʔa l-i-kwento  
           he-earns-it for just the-his-story  
           gal-šmu (72.372)  
           the-lion  
           He makes money through using the lion's tale.

or by a double centered appositional noun phrase:

- ex. 6 Relator:póř Axis:l-emáʔa, gal-múl'a (1.108)  
           by the-sky the-moon  
           by the moon in the sky

Accompaniment phrases consist of a relator occupied by the Spanish particle kón "with" and by an axis occupied by a noun phrase:



## CHAPTER II

### CLAUSES

#### Introduction

Tagmemics as developed by Longacre begins analysis of a language at the clause level and then works up and down from that level. Clauses are defined as constructions containing a predicate or predicate-like element. The predicate as the necessary element of a clause is emphasized so strongly in tagmemics that verbs and clauses can be profitably described at the same time although they are usually two levels apart in the grammatical hierarchy. (For a presentation of verbs and clauses together, see Merrifield, 1965).

There are six kinds of clauses in HC: Intransitive, Semi-transitive, Transitive, Ditransitive, Stative, and Topic-Comment.

#### Intransitive Clauses

The nuclear elements of an intransitive clause consist of an optional subject tagmeme that is in cross reference with the subject marker of an obligatory predicate tagmeme. The subject is occupied by a pronoun:



The temporal tagmeme is manifested by a time verb:

ex. 1 T:hów-ba (Pred:ʔe-bá-ma) (1.33)  
finished it-broke

by a temporal particle:

ex. 2 T:ʔaluwégo (P:báy-go-fi-ba S:kí) (6.92)  
right-away turned-around this  
Right away he turned around.

by a temporal noun phrase:

ex. 3 (pořke) T:a-fane g-amac' (Pred:ʔe-balay-da)  
because three the-year it-was-clear  
(40.473)  
Because it did not rain for three years,

by a relator-axis noun phrase:

ex. 4 (Pred:i-bane-go-ma) T:ʔasta čiya (68.714)  
it-remains until today  
It has stayed the same until the present time.

by a relator-axis clause:

ex. 5 (ʔí) T:di-húl-laʔ (19.15)  
and it-dry-let  
When it dries out,

The locational tagmeme may be filled by a demonstrative

word:

ex. 6 L:fáʔ (Pred:do-ʔwa-ná-ŋi) (32.30)  
here you-come  
come here

by a locational noun phrase:

ex. 7 (Pred:ga-ʔwa-ʔma) L:ʔogwena siyuđaađ (69.306)  
I-will-go another city  
I will go to another city.

by a relator-axis locational phrase:

ex. 8 (T:hów-b S:yá-ŋk' Pred:li-nul-ná-ba Man:řésiyo)  
finished we we-ran hard  
  
L:ʔásta l-i-gúlwo (7.26)  
until the-gully  
Then we ran hard to the gully.

by a relator-axis locational clause:

- ex. 1 (T:hów-ba S:gal-konéhu Pred:ʔi-cu-fáy-ba)  
 finished the-rabbit he-entered  
 L:bé l-a-gášʔ-uya l-ebašíl (5.16)  
 where it-stood the-bee's-wax  
 Then the rabbit entered where the tar baby was  
 standing,

The agent tagmeme is filled by a noun phrase:

- ex. 2 (Pred:mán-a S:l-i-gúʔu) Agent:g-i-dúgaʔ gál-šmu  
 full the-his-stomach himself the-lion  
 (1.104)  
 the lion's stomach was filled by himself

by a relator-axis phrase:

- ex. 3 Agent:poř al-golpe (Pred:i-cu-fay-ba) (55.186)  
 by the-blow he-entered  
 He entered by means of the blow.

or by a relator-axis clause:

- ex. 4 (Pred:ʔi-ca-l-we-na-ma L:deřečo l-aynagaʔ)  
 they-rose-up straight the-cornfield  
 Agent:poř l-i-gwana-k'e-ba g-i-ʔmama (82.171)  
 for when-he-denied-her his-mother  
 They flew straight off to the cornfield due to  
 his having refused to help his mother.

The purpose tagmeme is manifested by a relator-axis phrase:

- ex. 5 (ʔí) (T:ʔaluwégo S:l-agáʔno Pred:ʔi-ʔwá-na-ba)  
 and right-away the-woman she-went-away  
 Pur:pářa l-i-bima-yé (6.9)  
 for the-her-siblings  
 right away the woman ran away to find her relatives

or by a relator-axis clause:

- ex. 6 (T:kwándo Pred:l-i-gwáy-da) Pur:pářa  
 when when-he-arrived-there for  
 de-dé-Nm-ʔma (6.54)  
 he-will-ring-it  
 When he arrived there to ring the bell,



The accompaniment tagmeme is manifested by a relator-axis phrase:

- ex. 1      (?í) (T:kwándo l-al-gwáy-da                    l-emála)  
             and      when      when-our-arrival-there the-hill
- (?í) Acc:kón lan-sáto lusiya? (7.4)  
             and              with the-Santa Lucia  
             And when we arrived there at the hill with the  
             people from Santa Lucia,

Intransitive clauses can be classified into two main types: independent as opposed to relator-axis constructions.

The independent clause differs from the relator-axis clause in that the independent clause does not have a subordinating relator.

- ex. 2      Pred:gwáy-go-?ma S:gál-šmu (1.34)  
             arrive                      the-lion  
             The lion arrived.

The relator tagmeme of a relator-axis construction is manifested by a subordinating predicate prefix:

- ex. 3      R:l-      (Axis:i-gwáy-da                    gál-konéhu) (5.17)  
             when              he-arrived-there the-rabbit  
             When the rabbit arrived there,...

or the relator may be redundantly manifested by both a subordinating predicate prefix and a relator particle:

- ex. 4      R:kwándo R:l-      (Axis:i-gwáy-da) (8.17)  
             when              when              he-arrived-there

or by a subordinating predicate suffix:

- ex. 5      lí      čí      ga-gwáy-ci (12.9)  
             this today I-arrive-there-let  
             When I arrive there today,...

Any independent clause may manifest the axis of a relator-axis clause as illustrated in examples 3 and 4 above.

Independent clauses can be further subdivided into indicative versus subjunctive and affirmative versus negative.

Subjunctive clauses have predicates that are inflected by an aspect morpheme that expresses a command or wish:

- ex. 1      du-guc'-wáy-la?    ?al-dentró    (25.9)  
             you-sit-down-let the-inside  
             Sit down inside the house.

The second classification of clauses into affirmative and negative is on the basis of predicate prefixation. Affirmative clauses have predicates that are not prefixed by negative markers and are illustrated by every clause presented thus far.

Negative clauses have predicates that are prefixed by negative markers:

- ex. 2      haní? línka      ?ay-g-ay-gway-yú-ma    (1.63)  
             if      certainly not-I-arrive-here  
             If for some reason I do not come back,...

and the clause may contain a manner tagmeme occupied by a negative particle:

- ex. 3      Man:náda      (?ay-m-i-gwáy-ya)    (1.65)  
             nothing    not-he-arrive-will  
             He is not coming back.

Negative clauses do not show the diversity of occurrence that affirmative clauses do. An example of a negative indicative clause would be example 3 above. A negative relator-axis clause is illustrated in example 2. Negative independent subjunctive clauses do not occur in HC. Negative imperative predicates are used but they consist of a verb that is prefixed for non-past negation and suffixed by an indicative aspect marker:

- ex. 1      ay-m-a-štu-?ma (84.63)  
           not-you-mad-will  
           Do not get mad!

Independent and relator-axis clauses are fillers of the base tagmeme on the sentence level.

### Semi-transitive Clauses

The nuclear elements of a semi-transitive clause consist of an obligatory semi-transitive predicate tagmeme and optional subject and object tagmemes that are in cross-reference with the subject and object markers of the predicate. The semi-transitive clause contrasts with both the intransitive and transitive clauses. It differs from the intransitive clause in that an object tagmeme is cross-referenced to the predicate. It differs from the transitive clause in that the subject tagmeme has an inanimate referent.

The subject tagmeme is manifested by a noun phrase:

- ex. 2      S:laŋ-křus l-i-b-igunda?    Pred:di-ma-go-?ma  
           the-cross the-its-weight            it-kill-will-him  
  
           Obj:hesu-křisto (48.35)  
           Jesus Christ  
           The weight of the cross is about to kill  
           Jesus Christ.

The object tagmeme is manifested by a pronoun:

- ex. 3      (pwés) Obj:?f (Pred:la-štáf-ke) (21.2)  
           well            me            me-sick-got  
           Well, I am sick.

or by a noun:

- ex. 4      (Pred:di-má-h-la? Man:biyén biyén) Obj:lá-ha?  
           it-cook-let            well well            the-water  
           When the water has boiled well            (15.7)



- ex. 1      Obj:ʔa-núli ʔogéh siyéto ʔal-dómi  
                  one            two        hundred the-money  
                  (Pred:ʔe-bé-ba S:gal-núli gal-šáns) (24.25)  
                  he-took-it the-one the-man  
                  Each man took one or two hundred pesos.

The predicate tagmeme is filled by a transitive verb:

- ex. 2      Pred:ʔi-ším-ba (1.47)  
                  he-saw-him

The linear ordering of the nuclear elements discussed above is subject, predicate, and object, when word order is grammatically significant. There are several reasons why word order is relatively free in HC. (1) Transitive verbs have animate nouns as subjects so the subject and object tagmemes in example 1 above are clear even though they appear in reverse order. (2) The focus tagmeme helps to identify the object of the clause (see page 70).

The peripheral tagmemes of a transitive clause consist of the optional peripheral tagmemes discussed above for the intransitive clause plus an instrumental tagmeme. The instrumental tagmeme is manifested by a noun:

- ex. 3      (Pred:ga-gá-ʔm-oʔ Man:ʔiyá) Instr:g-áy-ʔay  
                  I-will-bite-you again                    my-teeth  
                  (5.35)  
                  I will also bite you with my teeth.

### Ditransitive Clauses

The nuclear elements of a ditransitive clause consist of optional subject, object, and recipient tagmemes and an obligatory predicate tagmeme. The subject and recipient tagmemes

are in cross-reference to the subject and recipient markers of the predicate.

The subject, object, and recipient tagmemes may be manifested by a demonstrative:

- ex. 1 (padřínu) S:ká?a (Pred:?a<sub>1</sub>-?é-bah fáлта) (6.136)  
 god-father this me-he-did wrong  
 God-father, this animal did me a wrong.

or by noun phrases:

- ex. 2 (Obj:<sub>1</sub>-a-wágaš) S:lun-sán matíya (Man:má  
 the-our-cows the-San Matías very  
 Pred:?a<sub>1</sub>-ma-?e-b-óŋa?) (27.3)  
 us-kill-(them)  
 The people from San Matías killed the cows that belong to us.

- ex. 3 (S:ká Pred:<sub>1</sub>-dé-?e-wo?ma) Obj:<sub>1</sub>-ay-búřo  
 this me-ate-(it) the-my-burro  
 ?a-núli (6.136)  
 one  
 This animal ate one of my burros.

- ex. 4 (S:gal-šans) Recip:<sub>1</sub>-i-ciki (Pred:?e-bi-?i-ba  
 the-man the-his-dog he-gave-it  
 Obj:g-ešgu) (41.31)  
 his-tortilla  
 The man gave his dog a tortilla.

The predicate is manifested by a ditransitive verb that expresses action performed on an object for a recipient:

- ex. 5 (pwés) Pred:ga-bí-?i-?ma (25.35)  
 well I-will-give-to-him  
 sure I will give her to him

The peripheral elements of a ditransitive clause that occur in the data are temporal, purpose, intensifier, and manner tagmemes.

Stative Clauses

The nuclear elements of a stative clause consist of optional predicate complement and subject tagmemes plus an obligatory predicate tagmeme. The predicate complement tagmeme is manifested by a semi-transitive verb:

- ex. 1 (S:ʔimaʔ) Comp:šway-d-oʔ (Pred:m-o-baʔa)  
 you full-you you-are  
 (65.298)  
 Your stomach is full.

or by a noun phrase:

- ex. 2 Comp:ʔa-gwéga g-i-b-úhšī (Pred:dí-ba S:gál-šans)  
 much his-strength it-is the-man  
 (6.38)  
 the man has a lot of strength

The subject tagmeme is occupied by a noun:

- ex. 3 S:gal-šans (Comp:čulo Pred:m-i-baʔa) (34.130)  
 the-man good he-is  
 The man is well off.

a demonstrative:

- ex. 4 (pwés) S:kí (Pred:g-o-bá Comp:l-agwé řofín,  
 well this is the-male Rofino  
 ʔí nómayʔ l-agwéʔ platón (28.15)  
 and certainly the-male Platón  
 Well, that would be Mr. Rofino and Mr. Platón.

or a pronoun:

- ex. 5 S:imaʔ (Pred:ay-l-o-baʔa Comp:g-o-šwe-h-ʔme-ba)  
 you not-it-is not-you-calculate  
 (65.257)  
 You don't look ahead.

The predicate is occupied by a verb that has the singular and plural roots baʔa "is", man "are", and very restricted suffixation possibilities. The subject markers of the predicate





The comment tagmeme is manifested by a noun prefixed with a factive morpheme:

- ex. 1 (pěra) (Topic:ʔiyá-ŋk') Comment:ʔa-konfóřme  
 but we agreement  
 (28.33)  
 but we are in agreement

by a noun prefixed with a direct address morpheme:

- ex. 2 Comment:nin̄k'-a-má (28.55)  
 we-ignorant  
 We are ignorant.

by a particle phrase:

- ex. 3 (ní m-a-swé-yi) Comment:ní náda (28.55)  
 not we-read not nothing  
 We do not read nor do anything.

by a negative particle and a noun, with the particle replacing the factive morpheme:

- ex. 4 (ʔí) Comment:ʔaʔí dúlu (1.69)  
 and not turkey  
 and it was not a turkey

by a relator-axis phrase:

- ex. 5 Comment:ʔásta áéntřo (1.105)  
 until inside  
 It was way inside.

or by a demonstrative phrase:

- ex. 6 Comment:má líya léʔa (1.169)  
 very this that-is-all  
 That is all there is.

No peripheral elements have been observed for the topic-comment clause. There are, however, additional peripheral tagmemes for the other clause types that have a non-adverbial function. Such elements have been called parenthesis tagmemes (Pickett:1960), and there are two types in HC: hesitation and repetition.

The hesitation tagmeme is manifested by the demonstrative kíya "this" and its Spanish equivalent, ?éste:

ex. 1 (Pred:di-bá?a), Hesitation:kíya,  
it-is this

(S:l-acól) (1.1)  
the-turtle

There was, uh, a turtle.

ex. 2 (Topic:?a-núli g-uftíne), Hesitation:?éste,  
one name this

(Comment:?a-marťín gonsáles) (7.16)  
Martín González

Uh, one man's name was Martín González,

The repetition tagmeme is manifested by a repetition of an immediately preceding tagmeme which translates it either into Chontal or Spanish:

ex. 3 (béynte síŋko) Repetition:?a-núšans máh-ši  
twenty-five twenty five

(gal-soldádo ?i-?wá-ba) (6.162)  
the-soldiers they-went

Twenty-five soldiers went.

Like the intransitive clauses, the other clauses can be classified as independent versus relator-axis. The independent clauses can also be further divided into affirmative versus negative; all but the stative clause and the topic-comment clause can be further classified as indicative versus subjunctive.

## CHAPTER III

### COLON

A clause is generally considered to contain only one predicate or predicate-like element. There are constructions in HC that contain more than one predicate and more than one subject. These constructions are not considered to be verb phrases since the two predicates may or may not occur contiguously and the predicate subject markers may be in cross-reference to two different subjects. These constructions are not considered to be sentences since they are combined without pause and without the presence of a sequential particle. There is also considerable co-occurrence restriction as to what verbs may fill the first predicate position. For these reasons, an intermediate level between clauses and sentences is posited: a colon level.

Colons may be divided into two types on the basis of the contrastive fillers of the first predicate position: desiderative and declarative. The nuclear elements of a desiderative colon consist of optional subject and object tagmemes and two obligatory predicate tagmemes. The subject tagmemes may be manifested by a pronoun and a noun phrase:

- ex. 1 (peřo) S<sub>1</sub>:?iya? (Pred<sub>1</sub>:?ay-bik'a  
 but I I-wish  
 Pred<sub>2</sub>:di-fil-go-le) S<sub>2</sub>:?enteřo lan-řan-uk'  
 they-play-let all the-people  
 (70.31)  
 but I want all the people to play

The first predicate is manifested by the verb or verb-like word bik'a "to like", and the second predicate is manifested by almost any other verb and more times than not is subjunctive in aspect:

- ex. 2 P<sub>1</sub>:?i-bík'a (S:l-amihkán) P<sub>2</sub>:de-mane-lá? (2.1)  
 he-wishes the-boy he-marries-let  
 the boy wants to get married

The nuclear elements of a declarative colon consist of optional subject and object tagmemes plus obligatory predicate tagmemes. The subject tagmemes do not occur together in the data, but this is probably due to a limited corpus. An example of a subject tagmeme being manifested by a noun is as follows:

- ex. 3 (?f nan) S<sub>1</sub>:l-o-?ogé-ři (Pred<sub>1</sub>:di-řim-bá  
 and the-two they-saw-it  
 Temporal:hów-ba Pred<sub>2</sub>:di-bú-n-i  
 finished they-dig  
 Loc:nelóhmay? (28.36)  
 in-the-middle  
 And when the two saw that they were digging  
 in the middle of the airstrip,

The first predicate is manifested predominantly by the verb root řim "to see", and the second predicate is manifested by an open ended list of verbs that are always indicative in aspect:



## CHAPTER IV

### WORDS

#### Introduction

Words are defined as potential stem-affix sequences. The words that occur in HC are: verbs, nouns, pronouns, numerals, and demonstratives. Particles do not have internal structure and are classified as roots.

#### Verbs

There are five kinds of verbs in HC: intransitive, semi-transitive, transitive, ditransitive, and stative.

#### Intransitive Verbs

The nuclear elements of an intransitive verb consist of an obligatory nucleus tagmeme and an obligatory subject marker tagmeme. The nucleus tagmeme is manifested by an intransitive root:

ex. 1        (sm:di-) nuc:ʔwá (1.19)  
              he            goes

or by an intransitive stem:

ex. 2        (sm:di-) nuc:yé-lo (def:go asp:yi) (1.57)  
              they            walk-together

The subject marker tagmeme is manifested by the following sets of first order prefixes (counting from the stem):

TABLE 3  
NON-PAST SUBJECT MARKERS

	Singular			Plural		
Person:	1	2	3	1	2	3
Class I	ga	do/du	di	a <sub>1</sub>	do <sub>1</sub>	di-di <sub>1</sub>
II	gi	day	di	li	duli	di
III	gu	do	du	lu	dulu/dolu	du
IV	ga	da	de	la	dola/dula	de

TABLE 4  
PAST SUBJECT MARKERS

	Singular			Plural		
Person:	1	2	3	1	2	3
Class I	ay	o	i	a <sub>1</sub>	o <sub>1</sub>	i/i <sub>1</sub>
II	ni	mi	i	li	oli	i
III	nu	mu	u	lu	ulu	u
IV	ne	me	e	la	ula	e

The person marker prefixes separated by diagonal lines fluctuate in their occurrences.

These person marker prefixes occur with verb roots or

and this is the basis for classifying the verbs into four verb classes:

ex. 1

Class I:        sm:do- nuc:šan-cé asp:∅ (1.6)  
                  you        look-around

Class II:       sm:dáy nuc:nu asp:la? (1.127)  
                  you        run        let

Class III:      sm:du nuc:Wé asp:∅ (1.14)  
                  it        smells

Class IV:       sm:de nuc:bó asp:∅ (6.2)  
                  she        bathes

There are instances when an intransitive verb does not have a person marker prefix:

ex. 2            nuc:nú fin:na asp:ba (6.9)  
                  ran-away  
                  she ran away

These occurrences are considered to be reduced minimum forms similar to the English went home for I went home.

In addition to the above sets of subject markers, there is a set of relational subject markers that occurs with all classes of intransitive verbs and has a function similar to that of a relative pronoun in English. Relational subject markers are used less frequently than the subject markers described above and are always preceded by either equational or temporal locational markers:

ex. 3            (equat:g-) sm:ayf- (nuc:gwá asp:ba) (25.15)  
                  is        what-I        said

The peripheral prefixal elements consist of optional temporal-negative, negative, and conditional tagmemes.



The temporal-negative tagmeme is a second order prefix that has a dual function of indicating tense and negation and is manifested by the following morphemes:

{m-} non-past negative (occurs only before non-past subject markers)

m- ~ ma- ~ ∅-

∅- occurs before first person singular prefixes:

ex. 1 (neg:ʔay) t-n:∅ (sm:ga nuc:mane asp:yá) (5.54)  
not I marry

ma- occurs before first person plural prefixes with /aʔa/ cluster reducing to /a/

ex. 2 (neg:ʔay) t-n:ma (sm:l nuc:gwa asp:yi) (36.28)  
not we say

m- occurs before all other person prefixes

ex. 3 (neg:ʔay) t-n:m (sm:i nuc:gway asp:ya) (1.65)  
not he arrives

{g-} past negative (occurs only before past subject markers, the third person plural form used is il-)

g- ~ g plus Class I past subject markers-

g- occurs with Class I verbs without change

ex. 4 (neg:ay) t-n:g (sm:i nuc:gway asp:aʔ) (68.702)  
not he arrived

g plus Class I past subject markers- occurs with all other classes of verbs under the following rules:

1. /l/ becomes /l/
2. /ll/ reduces to /l/
3. /lu/ or /lo/ becomes /m/ in second person

plural forms with /ŋ/ as a possible variant in Class II verb forms

4. /vowel<sub>1</sub> vowel<sub>2</sub>/ reduces to /vowel<sub>2</sub>/

The following paradigm of past negative allomorphs being added to a Class II set of subject markers illustrates the various rules involved:

<u>Person</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1	gay + ni → gay-ni	gaɫ + li → ga-li (rules 1,2)
2	go + mi → go-mi	goɫ + uli → go-mli, go-ŋli (rules 1, 2, 3)
3	gi + i → gi (rule 4)	giɫ + i → gil-i (rule 1)
ex. 1	(neg:ʔay) t-n:ga not	(sm:li nuc:báy asp:k') (6.170) me hit they did not hit me

These same rules apply to past negative allomorphs being added to sets of Class III and IV subject markers.

{c'} contrary-to-fact negative (occurs only before past subject markers)

c'-~c' plus Class I past subject markers-

These allomorphs have the same distributional restrictions as given above for the past negative morpheme.

ex. 2 (neg:ay) t-n:c'o (sm:mi nuc:nu asp:ʔma) (56.232)  
not you run  
if you had not run

The negative tagmeme is manifested by the following third order prefix:

{ay-} not

ex. 1      neg:ʔay (t-n:m sm:i nuc:gwá asp:∅) (14.3)  
               not                                    he        says

The conditional tagmeme is a second order prefix that functions as a subordinating relator and is manifested by the following morphemes:

{1-} temporal-locational (occurs only before past subject markers)

1-~1 plus Class I past subject markers-

These allomorphs have the same distributional restrictions as given above for the past negative morpheme.

ex. 2      cond:l      (sm:ay nuc:ce<sup>i</sup> asp:woʔma) (26.35)  
               when            I            went

{1-} attributive (occurs only before past subject markers)

1-~1 plus Class I past subject markers-

These allomorphs have the same distributional restrictions as given above for the past negative morpheme.

ex. 3      cond:l (sm:i nuc:gwáy asp:da) (6.73)  
               who    he        arrived  
               who arrived

{g-} equational (occurs only before past subject markers)

g-~g plus Class I past subject markers or relational subject markers-

g- occurs before Class I past subject markers  
       or before relational subject markers:

ex. 4      cond:g (sm:ay nuc:gway def:gó asp:ʔma) (25.12)  
               is        I            arrived  
               is why I arrived

ex. 1      cond:g (sm:ayf nuc:gwa' asp:ba) (25.15)  
               is        I                said  
 is what I said

g plus Class I past subject markers or relational subject markers- occurs before all other classes of verbs with the same restrictions as given above for the past negative morpheme:

ex. 2      cond:go- (sm:mi nuc:štu def:go asp:ʔma) (70.9)  
               is        you        angry  
 (What) is it that you are angry about?

{n-} relational

ex. 3      cond:n (sm:o nuc:ʔwa asp:ya) (72.35)  
               who    he        goes  
 whoever goes

{m-} customary

ex. 4      cond:m (sm:i nuc:deco asp:ʔma) (83.197)  
               when she eats

The customary morpheme emphasizes a temporary condition and functions secondarily as a temporal marker.

The co-occurrence restrictions for these three orders of prefixes are as follows: the third order negative tagmeme can not occur before any of the morphemes manifesting the conditional tagmeme. Of the morphemes manifesting the conditional tagmeme, the temporal-locational and attributive morpheme do not occur before relational subject markers. The equational morpheme can occur before either relational subject markers or regular subject markers. The relational morpheme can occur only before relational subject markers.

The peripheral suffixal elements consist of optional definite, locational, interaction, spacing, iterative, necessitative, finalitive, and habituitive tagmemes, plus an obligatory aspect tagmeme.

The definite tagmeme is a first order suffix that functions as an indicator of intent or certainty and is manifested by the morpheme:

{-go} "certainly"

ex. 1 (sm:ʔaɭ nuc:gway) def:go (asp:dá) (31.14)  
 we arrive certainly there  
 we will certainly arrive there

The locational tagmeme is a first order suffix that emphasizes the location where the action is taking place and is manifested by the following morphemes:

{-yu} "here"

-yu ~ -u

-yu occurs following a vowel

ex. 2 (sm:d- nuc:lɔ) loc:yu (asp:ŋká) (31.18)  
 you move here here-let  
 Come together here!

-u occurs following a consonant

ex. 3 (sm:ʔe nuc:foɭ) loc:ú (asp:ma) (31.20)  
 they gathered here

{-yo} "place"

ex. 4 (cond:l sm:o- nuc:gway) loc:yó (asp:da) (28.41)  
 when you arrive place there  
 when you arrived there at that place

The interaction tagmeme is a first order suffix that functions as an indicator of shared interaction or state of being and is manifested by the morpheme:

{-lo} interaction

- ex. 1 (sm:di nuc:yé) int:lo (def:go asp:yi) (1.57)  
 they go together

The spacing tagmeme is a second order suffix that indicates that the action of the verb takes place in a spaced sequence and is manifested by the following morpheme:

{-ol} "together"

-ol ~ -ol

-ol occurs following vowels

- ex. 2 (sm:di nuc:ye loc:yo) space:ol (79.137)  
 they went place together  
 (fin:na asp:ʔme)

each one went to his place

-ol occurs elsewhere

- ex. 3 (sm:e nuc:gaš) space:ol (asp:ba) (66.64)  
 they stood together

The iterative tagmeme has the function of indicating that the action of the verb has occurred again and is a second order suffix manifested by the morpheme:

{-gon} "again"

-gon ~ -go

-gon occurs before /l/ and /c/

- ex. 4 (sm:di nuc:gway) it:gon (asp:ci) (46.179)  
 he arrives again let  
 when he arrives again

-go occurs elsewhere

- ex. 5 (sm:ʔi nuc:gway def:go) it:gó (asp:na) (25.20)  
 he arrives certainly again  
 he definitely came again

The ambiguity that results from the definite and

iterative tagmemes occurring together is resolved by the fact that the iterative allomorph occurs only before morphemes beginning with a nasal.

The necessitative tagmeme is a second order suffix that occurs only with the subjunctive aspect markers and has the function of expressing need or obligation. This tagmeme is filled by the following morpheme:

{-wa} "have to"

ex. 1 (sm:ga nuc:šmay) nec:wa (asp:lá?) (6.123)  
 I sleep have-to let  
 I have to go to sleep.

The finalitive tagmeme is a third order suffix that expresses some measure of permanency or completeness and is manifested by the morpheme:

{-na} finalitive

-na ~ -n

-n occurs only following the necessitative tagmeme and before morphemes beginning with /l/ and /c/

ex. 2 (sm:ga nuc:ʔwa) nec:wa fin:n  
 I go have-to  
 (asp:lá?) (57.45)  
 let  
 I have to go.

-na occurs elsewhere

ex. 3 (cond:l- sm:i nuc:gway it:gó) fin:na  
 when he arrives again  
 (asp:da) (5.60)  
 there  
 when he arrives there again

The habitative marker tagmeme functions as an indicator of action that is customary or characteristic and is manifested by the fourth order suffix:

{-s} "always"

ex. 1 (sm:du nuc:We) hab:s (asp:ba) (45.187)  
           it smells always  
           it already stinks

The aspect tagmeme is a fifth order suffix and functions as a complex indicator of tense, aspect, mode, number, and movement. The aspect tagmeme is manifested by the following indicative morphemes:

{-wo?ma} completive movational singular

-wo?ma ~ -wo...?ma

-wo...?ma occurs with the finalitive tagmeme

ex. 2 (sm:ay nuc:?wa) asp:wo... (fin:na) ...?ma  
           I went there (41.229)

-wo?ma occurs elsewhere

ex. 3 (sm:?ay nuc:ce) asp:wó?ma (26.26)  
           I went there  
           I visited there

{-wo?me} completive movational plural

-wo?me ~ -wo...?me

These plural forms have the same distribution as the singular forms described above. The completive movational morpheme indicates that the action of the verb happened away from what the speaker considers to be home base.



ex. 1 (nuc:le-lo def:go) asp:wó?me (26.10)  
 went-together  
 we went there together

{-da} incompletive movational

ex. 2 (cond:l sm:i nuc:gwáy) asp:da (1.6)  
 when they arrive there  
 when they arrived there

The incompletive movational indicates that the action of the verb takes place away from what the speaker considers to be home base. With the verb nucleus can-ce "to look at", this morpheme functions as a hortatory morpheme:

ex. 3 (nuc:can-ce) asp:da (43.16)  
 look-at there  
 let's go look:

In addition to this movational emphasis, the morpheme -da when used with non-movational verb roots expresses a stative meaning:

ex. 4 (nuc:šwáy) asp:da (24.17)  
 full  
 it was full

{-na} continuative movational

-na ~ -ina

-na occurs following morphemes ending in vowels

ex. 5 (cond:l sm:i nuc:gway it:gó) asp:na (5.5)  
 when he arrives again there

-ina occurs following morphemes ending in  
 consonants

ex. 6 (cond:l sm:i nuc:gway) asp:ina (78.121)  
 when he arrives there

The continuative morpheme emphasizes the static state of the action of the verb without progression or completion.

{-ya} durative singular

-ya ~ -uya ~ -(a → e?)<sup>6</sup> ~ -e ~ -i ~ -a ~ -∅

-ya occurs following morphemes ending in /w/

ex. 1 (sm:du nuc:nów) asp:ya (14.21)  
he is-lying-down

-uya occurs following /ṣ/ or /c/

ex. 2 (sm:di nuc:guc) asp:uya (84.251)  
he is-sitting

-(a → e?) occurs with verb roots ending in  
/a?a/

ex. 3 (sm:di nuc:ha?) asp:e? (77.92)  
he shouts

-e occurs following verb stems ending in /fg/  
or /f'g/:

ex. 4 (sm:di nuc:ʔwá-f-g) asp:e (27.43)  
it goes-up  
it goes on the surface

-i occurs following verb stems ending in a  
/g/ that is not preceded by /f/ or /f'/:

ex. 5 (sm:di nuc:hó-g) asp:i (23.5)  
he is-crying

-a occurs after roots ending in /n/:

ex. 6 (nuc:mán) asp:a (1.106)  
full

-∅ occurs elsewhere

ex. 7 (sm:de nuc:bó) asp:∅ (6.2)  
she bathes

{-yi} durative plural

-yi ~ -lana?

---

<sup>6</sup>(a → e?) is to be read as /a/ becomes /e?/.

-lana? occurs with verb nuclei describing the  
position of an animate body

ex. 1 (sm:du nuc:na int:wo) asp:lana? (72.11)  
they are-lying-down together  
they are lying around

-yi occurs with other verb nuclei

ex. 2 (sm:di nuc:gwá) asp:yi (28.3)  
they say

The durative morpheme is actually a present tense indicator of action that is taking place now from the speaker's standpoint. The durative morpheme shows more irregularity in its allomorphs than any other aspect morpheme.

{k'} completive durative

-? ~ -k'

-? occurs following durative allomorphs -ya

and -a

ex. 3 (neg:?ay- t-n:g sm:i nuc:mef-ke) asp:yá? (1.154)  
not it fell  
it had not fallen

-k' occurs elsewhere

ex. 4 (neg:ay t-n:g sm:i nuc:cu-fay) asp:k' (45.68)  
not he enter-in  
he did not enter in

The completive durative morpheme expresses an action whose effects can be considered to be continuing. This morpheme is used in combination with a negative prefix to indicate a past tense negative idea.

{-ma} linear

-ma ~ -uma

-uma occurs following morphemes ending in  
consonants:

ex. 1 (sm:ʔi nuc:mu-l) asp:úma (7.7)  
they descended

-ma occurs elsewhere:

ex. 2 (sm:ʔi nuc:mané) asp:ma (7.31)  
they are-staying

The linear morpheme expresses action that has taken place or is continuing to happen. It is used with past subject markers and ties the past to the present.

{-ŋwa} progressive singular

-ŋwa ~ -iŋwa

-iŋwa occurs following morphemes ending in  
consonants:

ex. 3 (sm:di nuc:šmay) asp:iŋwa (8.26)  
he is-sleeping

-ŋwa occurs elsewhere:

ex. 4 (sm:di nuc:nú) asp:ŋwa (32.4)  
he is-running

The progressive morpheme focuses attention on the continuing aspect of the subject's action.

{-ya} future remote singular

ex. 5 (t-n:∅ sm:ga nuc:mane) asp:yá (5.55)  
not I will-marry  
I will not marry

{-yagu} future remote plural

ex. 6 (cond:g sm:o nuc:gwa) asp:yagú (25.34)  
is she will-say  
she is going to say

The future remote morpheme is used extensively with the

negative prefix to indicate an action that is not going to take place in the future or about which there is a measure of doubt.

{-wo} future singular

ex. 1 (sm:di nuc:gway) asp:wo (28.25)  
he will-arrive-now

{-gu} future plural

ex. 2 (sm:di nuc:gway) asp:gu (46.174)  
they will-arrive-now

The future morpheme is used almost exclusively with motivational verbs and expresses the idea of an action that is temporary in nature that will soon take place. This morpheme is not used in speaking of someone returning to his home but to a less permanent place.

{-no} future finalitive singular

ex. 3 (sm:d nuc:gway) asp:no (28.7)  
it will-arrive (here in our village)

The future finalitive expresses the idea of an action that is more permanent in nature than that of the future morpheme and is used by a speaker in reference to returning to his home if he were at that home. It would appear to be a contraction of the finalitive tagmeme na and the future singular morpheme wo, since the plural future finalitive counterpart is na plus gu.

ex. 4 (sm:a1 nuc:gway it:go) fin:na asp:gu (46.86)  
we arrive again definitely will  
we will arrive again

{-ba} punctiliar

ex. 1 (sm:ʔay nuc:gwá) asp:ba (13.21)  
           I                  said

The punctiliar morpheme is the most used aspect suffix in HC. It refers to a completed action and refers to something that the speaker considers to have just taken place. Sometimes it refers to an action that has not yet taken place but which the speaker considers to have taken place.

{-ʔma} incompletive singular

ex. 2 (sm:du nuc:wáy) asp:ʔma (20.2)  
           it                  will-pass

{-ʔme} incompletive plural

ex. 3 (sm:di nuc:balo pl:láy) asp:ʔme (25.33)  
           they          will-talk          together

The incompletive morpheme expresses action that will take place or has taken place but is regarded as being linear in nature. It is used mostly with non-past subject markers but when it is used with past subject markers, the resultant combination refers to a greater degree of remoteness than does the punctiliar morpheme.

The subjunctive morphemes manifesting the aspect tagmeme are:

{-laʔ} regular subjunctive singular

-laʔ ~ -laʔ

-laʔ occurs following voiceless segments and  
 the sequence /Nn/

ex. 4 (sm:di nuc:húl) asp:laʔ (19.15)  
           it          dry          let  
 when it dries

-la? occurs elsewhere

- ex. 1 (sm:du nuc:guc'-wáy) asp:la? (25.9)  
 you sit-down let  
 sit down

{-le} regular subjunctive plural

-le v -le

The distribution of the plural morpheme is the same as that given above for the singular morpheme.

- ex. 2 (sm:ʔaɩ nuc:ma-Nn) asp:lé (32.11)  
 we live let  
 let's live here

- ex. 3 (sm:la nuc:bo) asp:le (39.60)  
 we bathe let  
 let's bathe

The regular subjunctive morphemes express the idea of a command, a wish, or antecedent action that is considered to be non-movational.

{-ŋi} movational toward speaker subjunctive singular

- ex. 4 (sm:do nuc:ʔwa fin:ná) asp:ŋi (32.3)  
 you go here here  
 come here

{-ŋka} movational toward speaker subjunctive plural

- ex. 5 (sm:d nuc:lo loc:yu) asp:ŋká (31.18)  
 you move here here  
 you-all come here

{-ci} movational away from speaker subjunctive singular

- ex. 6 (sm:ga nuc:gway) asp:ci (12.9)  
 I arrive there-let  
 when I arrive there

{-ca} movational away from speaker subjunctive plural

- ex. 7 (sm:di nuc:gway) asp:ca (46.11)  
 they arrive there-let  
 when they arrive there

The movational subjunctive morphemes express the idea of a command, a wish, or antecedent action that is considered to take place away from a home base. In addition to this movational emphasis, the singular morphemes when used with third person subject markers having an inanimate referent, express a temporal meaning without movement:

ex. 1        (sm:di nuc:hów) asp:ci (19.16)  
               it        finish    let  
               when it is finished

The co-occurrence limitations of the suffixal elements of an intransitive verb are complicated because the suffixes not only interact with each other, but also with the differing sets of prefixal elements. Only a few observations will be made here because to attempt a more adequate explanation would involve extensive listing of the various possibilities. The relational subject markers limit a transitive verb to aspect suffixes only, as do also the past and remote past tense-negative prefixes. In the case of these latter two prefixes, the appropriate aspect suffixes are past durative and incomplete, respectively. The choice of a negative prefix rules out any type of movational aspect suffix as well as any subjunctive suffix. The choice of a past subject marker prefix as the beginning prefix of an intransitive verb eliminates the possibility of a subjunctive aspectual suffix.



## Semi-transitive Verbs

The nuclear elements of a semi-transitive verb consist of obligatory subject and object marker tagmemes plus an obligatory nucleus tagmeme. The subject marker tagmeme is manifested by either Class I and IV third person singular subject markers or the third person relational subject marker.

The object marker tagmeme is manifested by the following set of morphemes:

TABLE 5  
OBJECT MARKERS

Singular			
Person:	1	2	3
Class I and IV, respectively	aɫ-, la-	-oʔ	-∅
Plural			
Person:	1	2	3
Class I and IV	-oŋaʔ	-olwoʔ	-olaʔ

Object marker prefixes outrank subject marker prefixes. Subject marker prefixes are still considered to be obligatory but not occurring when an object marker prefix does occur.

The first person plural morpheme occurs with the first person singular morpheme and pluralizes it:

- ex. 1      om:l̄ (nuc:ma asp:ʔm) om:ónaʔ (27.43)  
             us            kill            will  
             we will die

The nucleus tagmeme is occupied by a verb root or stem that expresses impersonal action toward a goal:

- ex. 2      (sm:di) nuc:má (asp:ʔm om:oʔ) (9.2)  
             it            kill            will            you  
             you will die

- ex. 3      (sm:de) nuc:šťaf (asp:w om:óʔ) (15.1)  
             it            sick                            you  
             you are sick

The object marker tagmeme is translated into English as the subject and Waterhouse (1962) states that in Lowland Chontal the morphemes that elsewhere manifest object or recipient tagmeme, here manifest subject tagmeme. This analysis would not seem to apply to HC because of the presence of a subject marker tagmeme in the same word with an object marker tagmeme.

The peripheral prefixal elements consist of optional temporal-negative, negative, and conditional tagmemes. The temporal-negative and negative tagmemes have the same range of development for the semi-transitive verb as they did for the intransitive verb.

The conditional tagmeme has a somewhat different set of manifesting morphemes in the semi-transitive verb in that the equational morpheme g- and the relational morpheme n- are not used. This restriction of occurrence of the conditional tagmeme with semi-transitive verbs needs further study to see if this is an inherent limitation or due to a restricted corpus.

The peripheral suffixal elements consist of optional definite, locational, iterative, and finalitive tagmemes as described for the intransitive verbs. The plural tagmeme has a different manifesting morpheme and a slightly different meaning:

{-le} plurality of participants

ex. 1 (sm:di nuc:ma nec:wa) pl:le (40.261)  
           it       kill       have-to many  
           many are dying

No object marker occurs with the plural morpheme -le even though it is obvious from the context at times that a third person plural object is implied.

The aspect tagmeme has the following manifesting morphemes: incompletive movational, durative, punctiliar, incompletive, regular subjunctive, and movational away from speaker subjunctive. When these morphemes occur before object markers, the final vowel is dropped since the object markers begin with an initial vowel. These aspect morphemes minus their final vowels are called combinatorial allomorphs. For example, the incompletive movational morpheme -da has a combinatorial allomorph -d:

ex. 2 (sm:di nuc:ma) asp:d (om:o?) (65.172)  
           it       kill       there you  
           you will die there

The object marker tagmemes are the closing suffixes in a semi-transitive verb. Another closing suffix manifests the reflexive tagmeme:

{-oši?} reflexive singular

ex. 1 (sm:i nuc:ma-?a asp:b) (ref:oši?) (83.213)  
 she killed herself

### Transitive Verbs

The nuclear elements of a transitive verb consist of optional subject and object marker tagmemes plus an obligatory nucleus tagmeme. The subject marker tagmeme is manifested by the same set of prefixes as described above for the intransitive verbs.

The object marker tagmeme is manifested by the following set of morphemes:

TABLE 6  
OBJECT MARKERS

Singular			
Person	1	2	3
Class I, II, III, and IV respectively:	ał-, li-, lu-, la-	-o?	-ø
Plural			
Person:	1	2	3
Classes I, II, III, IV:	-oŋa?	-olwo?	-ola?

The plural object markers have allomorphs without initial /o/ that occur following the durative aspect marker.

- ex. 1 (sm:l nuc:ʔe focus:n) asp:í (om:ŋaʔ) (27.31)  
           me       does-it  
 they are mad at me

The plural object marker allomorphs with initial /o/ occur elsewhere:

- ex. 2 (sm:ga nuc:ma-ʔa asp:ʔm) om:ólaʔ (16.15)  
           I           will-kill           them

The nucleus tagmeme is manifested by a transitive stem as in the immediately preceding example or by a transitive root:

- ex. 3 (sm:ʔe) nuc:wé (asp:ba om:∅) (1.122)  
           he           looked-for           it

The peripheral prefixal elements consist of optional, negative marker, negative, and conditional tagmemes. These tagmemes are manifested by the same morphemes with the intransitive and semi-transitive verbs with the exception of the conditional tagmeme. The conditional tagmeme has the following additional morpheme:

{c'-} relational possessive

- ex. 1 cond:c' (sm:e nuc:bá asp:yk' om:∅) (30.14)  
           who    he    received    it  
 he who has received it (the money)

The peripheral suffixal elements consist of optional definite, locational, interaction, spacing, iterative, necessitative, finalitive, and habitative plus an obligatory aspect tagmeme. These peripheral elements have the same morpheme manifestation as discussed above for intransitive and semi-transitive verbs. There are two additional suffixes that occur with transitive verbs: the focus tagmeme and the repetition

tagmeme. The focus tagmeme is manifested by the following morpheme:

{-n} focus<sup>7</sup>

-n ~ -in

Nasals assimilate to the point of articulation of the following consonant:

ex. 1 (sm:dó nuc:ʔwa-ʔa) foc:n (asp:l om:∅) (6.149)  
 you take it  
 take it away (the animal)

ex. 2 (sm:ʔi nuc:ma-ʔa) foc:m (asp:ba om:∅) (6.58)  
 he killed him

ex. 3 (om:ʔa nuc:spáy-k'e) foc:η (asp:woʔma) (6.59)  
 me scared  
 it scared me

-in occurs following a consonant:

ex. 4 (sm:i nuc:fiη) focus:in (asp:i om:laʔ) (69.434)  
 she tied them

-n occurs following a vowel as illustrated in examples 1, 2, and 3 above.

<sup>7</sup>The focus tagmeme also occurs with intransitive verbs:

(sm:ʔi nuc:gwá) focus:m (asp:ba) (5.53)  
 he said

This occurrence presents the problem of explaining how an intransitive verb can signal an object being acted upon:

Obj:ʔiyáʔ Pred:ʔi-gwá-m-ba (5.53)  
 me he-said

The verb in the above example does remain intransitive as far as its inflection is concerned, since it is not prefixed by the object marker a- "me", to agree with the clause level object ʔiyáʔ "me". The resultant meaning, however, of affixing the focus tagmeme to an intransitive verb does appear to indicate a transitive type action. The focus tagmeme needs further study to clarify its functions.

The function of the focus tagmeme is to indicate which participant is being acted upon and is used predominantly in verbs that are inflected with third person subject and object markers. A verb so inflected tends to be ambiguous because of several factors. One reason is that third person singular object marker is always a zero morpheme. Another reason is that third person subject markers, as well as second person subject markers, are out-ranked by a first person object marker and never occur with it.

The focus tagmeme operates in the following ways: (1) when no clause level potential subject or object tagmeme is present in the clause being examined, then the action of the verb containing the focus tagmeme is being performed on the participant who is the topic of the paragraph:

ex. 1        (sm:ʔi nuc:mí) focus:m (asp:ba om:∅) (1.10)  
               he        said                                    to-him  
               the vulture said to the turtle

(2) when one clause level potential subject or object tagmeme is present in the clause being examined, then the action of the verb containing the focus tagmeme is being performed on what is interpreted to be an object tagmeme:

ex. 2        (nuc:mí) focus:m (asp:ba om:∅) (1-ácol) (1.74)  
               said                                    to-him the-turtle  
               he said to the turtle

(3) when both clause level potential subject and object tagmemes are present in the clause being examined, then the action of the verb containing the focus tagmeme is being performed on the tagmeme immediately following the verb:

ex. 1        (?al-fiskal) (sm:i nuc:mi) focus:m (asp:ba  
               the-agent            he            said

              om:∅) (gal-mučačo) (85.218)  
                   to-him the-boy  
               the agent said to the boy

The repetition tagmeme is a third order suffix that emphasizes the continuous repetition of the action of the verb on a plurality of objects and is manifested by the morpheme:

{-le} "repeatedly"

ex. 2        (sm:ga nuc:ma nec:wa) rep:le asp:la? (20.1)  
               I            kill            must            repeatedly let  
               I will kill lots of people

The remaining two peripheral tagmemes occurring with transitive verbs are the aspect and reflexive tagmemes. The aspect tagmeme is manifested by the same morphemes as described above for the intransitive verbs plus the additional allomorphs described for the semi-transitive verbs. In addition, there are combinatorial allomorphs for the following aspect morphemes: completive movational, incompletive movational, durative, future remote, and movational toward speaker subjunctive. The table on the following page lists all aspect morphemes that have combinatorial allomorphs:



TABLE 7  
ASPECT MORPHEMES AND THEIR COMBINATORIAL ALLOMORPHS

	Singular	Plural	Combinatorial
1. Completive movational	-wo?ma -wo...?ma	-wo?me -wo...?me	-wo?m -wo...?m
2. Incompletive movational	-da	-da	-d
3. Durative	-ya	-yi	-i, -ø*
4. Future remote	-ya	-yagu	-yag
5. Punctiliar	-ba	-ba	-b
6. Incompletive	-?ma	-?me	-?m
7. Regular subjunctive	-la? -la?	-le -le	-c*
8. Movational toward speaker subjunctive	-ŋi	-ŋka	-ŋk

An example of a transitive verb occurring with a combinatorial aspect morpheme is the following:

ex. 1 (sm:?ay nuc:má-?a) asp:wo?m (ola?) (6.105)  
I killed there them  
I went and killed them

The reflexive tagmeme has a more extensive development in the transitive verb than in the semi-transitive verb, having both a singular and plural morpheme:

{-oši?} reflexive singular

ex. 2 (sm:e nuc:mi asp:b) ref:oši? (72.13)  
he hid himself

\*The durative and regular subjunctive combinatorial allomorphs are irregular in that they are not formed by the loss of the final vowel of the aspect morpheme.

{-olci?} reflexive plural

- ex. 1 (sm:di nuc:mi asp:y) ref:olci? (68.131)  
 they say themselves  
 they are saying to themselves

Occurring with the reflexive tagmeme is an apparent aspect marker morpheme, š, that may function as a subjunctive singular indicator although the data are neither complete nor clear:

- ex. 2 (sm:dá nuc:mi) asp:š (ref:oši?) (27.46)  
 you hide yourself  
 if you hide yourself

#### Ditransitive Verbs

The nuclear elements of a ditransitive verb consist of optional subject and recipient marker tagmemes plus an obligatory nucleus tagmeme. The subject marker tagmeme is manifested by the same set of prefixes as described above for the intransitive verbs.

The recipient marker tagmeme is manifested by the same set of morphemes described above that manifest the object marker tagmeme of a transitive verb.

- ex. 3 rec:la (nuc:bi-?i asp:c) rec:óna? (24.20)  
 us give let  
 give it to us

The nucleus is manifested by ditransitive verb stems and possibly ditransitive verb roots. The question arises about possible roots manifesting ditransitive verb nuclei because some nuclei are difficult to break down into two or more meaningful parts. In the example given above, the



The nucleus is manifested by the unique verb root baʔa "is" and its suppletive plural form man "are":

ex. 1 (sm:di) nuc:báʔa (asp:∅ (1.1)  
           he           is  
           there is

ex. 2 (sm:diḷ) nuc:man (asp:aʔ) (51.11)  
           they           are  
           there are

The peripheral prefixal elements consist of optional negative and conditional tagmemes. The tense-negative marker is not used as described above for the other verbs but is replaced by the temporal-locational morpheme:

ex. 3 (neg:ʔay) cond:l (sm:o nuc:man asp:áʔ) (7.30)  
           not                   they are  
           they are not here

The only peripheral suffixal element that occurs is an obligatory aspect tagmeme that is manifested by the durative singular and plural morphemes and illustrated above.

### Nouns

The nuclear element of a noun consists of an obligatory nucleus tagmeme. The peripheral elements consist of optional limiter, possessor, combinatorial possessive, size, number, factive, desiderative, honorific, indefinite direct address, and relativizer tagmemes.

Nouns can be divided into four classes on the basis of the canonical form and isolability of the noun roots or stems manifesting the noun nuclei as well as contrastive peripheral elements.

## Class I Nouns

Class I noun nuclei begin with a consonant and can occur as free forms. They include all Spanish loan words as well as many native words.

ex. 1      dǘlu (1.61)  
            turkey

Class I nouns can be further subdivided into two types on the basis of differing morpheme manifestation of the limiter tagmeme.

The limiter tagmeme for Class Ia nouns, as for all four noun classes, functions both as a specifying delimiter and as a singular and plural marker. The limiter tagmeme for Class Ia nouns is manifested by the following prefixes: (all examples are elicited except where otherwise specified).

{gal-} the singular

gal- ~ ɿ-

gal- occurs as a first order prefix

ex. 2      lim:gál (nuc:šans) (6.89)  
            the              man

ɿ- occurs elsewhere

ex. 3      lim:ɿ (poss:aɿ nuc:kabáyo)  
            the              our              horse  
            our horse

{lan-} the plural

lan- ~ l-

lan- occurs as a first order prefix

ex. 4      lim:lan (nuc:šan num:úk') (24.19)  
            the              men

l- occurs elsewhere

- ex. 1     lim:l (poss:a<sub>1</sub> nuc:kabayó)  
           the       our       horses  
           our horses

The limiter tagmeme for Class Ib nouns is manifested  
 by the following first order prefixes:

{al-} the singular

al- ~ l-

al- occurs as a first order prefix

- ex. 2     lim:ʔál (nuc:ʔek) (6.115)  
           the       wood  
           the tree

l- occurs elsewhere

- ex. 3     lim:l (poss:a<sub>1</sub> nuc:ʔek)  
           the       our       wood  
           our tree

{gal-} the plural

gal- ~ ɿ-

gal- occurs as a first order prefix

- ex. 4     lim:gal (nuc:ʔek') (54.66)  
           the       wood  
           the kindling wood

ɿ- occurs elsewhere

- ex. 5     lim:ɿ (poss:a<sub>1</sub> nuc:ʔek')  
           the       our       wood  
           our kindling wood

Sometimes either of the singular morphemes are used with the  
 same noun as in:

- ex. 6     lim:ʔal (nuc:múniš')  
           the       lemon

- ex. 7     lim:gal (nuc:múniš')  
           the       lemon

The possessor tagmeme for Class Ia and Ib nouns is manifested by the following set of first order prefixes:

Singular	
First person	ay
Second person	o
Third person	i

The plural morpheme ɛ replaces /y/ in the first person singular morpheme to form the first person plural morpheme aɛ. The second and third person plural morphemes are formed by the suffixation of the plural morpheme to the respective singular morphemes: oɛ and iɛ.

- ex. 1      poss:ʔay (nuc:sapáto) (20.14)  
                 my                   shoe
- ex. 2      poss:ʔo (nuc:gwána) (15.1)  
                 your                   sickness
- ex. 3      poss:ʔi (nuc:gwána) (29.1)  
                 his                   sickness
- ex. 4      poss:aɛ (nuc:fay) (40.68)  
                 our                   excrement
- ex. 5      poss:oɛ (nuc:gwána)  
                 your (pl) sickness
- ex. 6      poss:iɛ (nuc:gwána)  
                 their                   sickness

The number tagmeme for all classes of nouns is manifested in a variety of ways that is difficult to summarize. No attempt is made to describe the morpheme manifesting the singular number. As in English, the singular for HC is best described as being covertly represented. The plural number morpheme is overtly represented in terms of changes in a basic

singular noun form. The plural morpheme for Class Ia nouns is described as:

(I) Change of limiter from gal- to lan- or laŋ- and:<sup>8</sup>

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate syllable with:

(1) No other changes (except  $\check{r}$  becomes  $\tilde{r}$ )

ex. 1      lim:gal nuc:bũro (6.125)  
            the          burro

ex. 2      lim:lan nuc:buřó (6.118)  
            the          burros

(2) Affricatization and glottalization of stem final consonant (plus change of /-o-/ to /-a/):

ex. 3      lim:gal nuc:námos  
            the          robber

ex. 4      lim:laŋ nuc:nam num:os → ac'  
            the          robbers

(3) Suffixation of /-ʔ/

ex. 5      lim:gal nuc:ʔařgóya  
            the          nose ring

ex. 6      lim:laŋ nuc:ʔařgoyá num:ʔ  
            the          nose rings

(4) Replacement of /-a/ by /-eʔ/

ex. 7      lim:gal nuc:k'úla  
            the          onion

ex. 8      lim:laŋ nuc:k'ul num:-a → -eʔ  
            the          onions

---

<sup>8</sup>There are examples in the elicited data of the limiter morpheme laŋ- occurring with nouns where the assimilation rule for nasals does not apply. Unfortunately these utterances have not been taped and cannot be checked at the time of the writing of this thesis.



## (5) Replacement of /-N-/ by /-Nnoɫ-/

- ex. 1      lim:gál nuc:wíNma?  
            the            straw mat
- ex. 2      lim:laŋ nuc:wi...má? num:-N → -Nnoɫ-  
            the            straw mats

## (6) Insertion of /-lo-/

- ex. 3      lim:gál nuc:k'wáɫ'a  
            the            bean tamale
- ex. 4      lim:laŋ nuc:k'wa...ɫ'a num:-lo-  
            the            bean tamales

## (7) Replacement of /-ʔ/ by /-we/

- ex. 5      lim:gál nuc:fo?  
            the            blind man
- ex. 6      lim:laŋ nuc:fo num:-ʔ → -we  
            the            blind men

## (8) Suffixation of /-ye/

- ex. 7      lim:gál nuc:gwi  
            the            hawk
- ex. 8      lim:laŋ nuc:gwi num:yé  
            the            hawks

## (9) Suffixation of /-ya/

- ex. 9      lim:gál nuc:l'e  
            the            fox
- ex. 10     lim:laŋ nuc:l'e num:yá  
            the            foxes

## (10) Suffixation of /-waʔ/

- ex. 11     lim:gál nuc:šmu  
            the            lion
- ex. 12     lim:laŋ nuc:šmu num:wá?  
            the            lions

## (B) No shift of accent and:

## (1) No other changes

ex. 1      lim:gal nuc:číbo  
            the          goat

ex. 2      lim:laŋ nuc:číbo  
            the          goats

(2) Suffixation of /-y/

ex. 3      lim:gal nuc:ʔáca  
            the          axe

ex. 4      lim:laŋ nuc:ʔáca num:y  
            the          axes

(3) Loss of /-ʔ/

ex. 5      lim:gal nuc:mac'áʔ  
            the          pineapple

ex. 6      lim:laŋ nuc:mac'á  
            the          pineapples

(4) Suffixation of /-ʔ/

ex. 7      lim:gal nuc:gelecína  
            the          chico zapote fruit

ex. 8      lim:laŋ nuc:gelecína num:ʔ  
            the          chico zapote fruit (plural)

plus replacement of /-ʔ-/ by /-ɿ-/

ex. 9      lim:gal nuc:ffʔno  
            the          old woman

ex. 10     lim:laŋ nuc:ff...no num:-ʔ...→...ɿ-  
            the          old women

(5) Infixation of /-ɿ-/

ex. 11     lim:gal nuc:cíki  
            the          dog

ex. 12     lim:lan nuc:cí...ki num:-ɿ-  
            the          dogs

(a) plus glottalization of stem final  
consonant

- ex. 1      lim:gal nuc:gúbuk  
            the          carrying net
- ex. 2      lim:laŋ nuc:gú...buk' num:-ɫ-  
            the          carrying nets
- (b) plus suffixation of /-k'/
- ex. 3      lim:gal nuc:lédon  
            the          rat
- ex. 4      lim:laŋ nuc:lé...toŋ num:-ɫ-...-k'  
            the          rats

(6) Replacement of /-ɫ/ by /-laʔ/

- ex. 5      lim:gál nuc:šk'wiɫ  
            the          gnat
- ex. 6      lim:laŋ nuc:šk'wí num:-ɫ → -laʔ  
            the          gnats

(II) No change of limiter and shift of accent from pen-

ultimate to ultimate syllable with:

(A) No other changes

- ex. 7      lim:gal nuc:gwiša  
            the          mountain sand
- ex. 8      lim:gal nuc:gwišá  
            the          mountain sand (plural)

(B) Suffixation of /-laʔ/

- ex. 9      lim:gal nuc:k'íya  
            the          three-month corn
- ex. 10     lim:gal nuc:k'íya num:láʔ  
            the          three-month corn (plural)

The plural morpheme for Class Ib nouns is described as:

(I) Change of limiter from al- to laŋ- or lan- and:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate  
syllable with:

## (1) Suffixation of /-y/

- ex. 1      lim:ʔal nuc:wálga  
            the          piece
- ex. 2      lim:laŋ nuc:walgá num:y  
            plus insertion of /-k'-/
- ex. 3      lim:ʔal nuc:dúba  
            the          tenate cooking pot
- ex. 4      lim:laŋ nuc:du...bá num:-k'-...-y

## (2) Change of stem initial consonant

- ex. 5      lim:ʔal nuc:šówde  
            the          church
- ex. 6      lim:laŋ num:š→c nuc:owdé  
            the                      churches

## (3) Insertion of /-ɫ-/ and suffixation of /-ʔ/

- ex. 6      lim:ʔal nuc:gúc'e  
            the          cooking pot
- ex. 7      lim:laŋ nuc:gu...c'é num:-ɫ-...-ʔ

## (4) Replacement of /-d-/ by /-ɫ'-/

- ex. 8      lim:ʔal nuc:húdi  
            the          water pot
- ex. 9      lim:laŋ nuc:hu...í num:-d- → ɫ'-

## (B) No shift of accent with:

## (1) No other changes

- ex. 10     lim:ʔal nuc:gášaš  
            the          wooden trunk
- ex. 11     lim:laŋ nuc:gášaš  
            the          wooden trunks

(2) Affricatization and glottalization of stem  
final consonant

- ex. 12     lim:ʔal nuc:cigiwíl  
            the          canasta basket

ex. 1      lim:lan nuc:cigiwíl'  
            the            canasta baskets

(3) Glottalization of stem final consonant plus:  
      suffixation of /-oɬ/

ex. 2      lim:ʔál nuc:Wik  
            the            fiesta

ex. 3      lim:láŋ nuc:Wik' num:oɬ  
            the            fiestas

(II) Change of limiter from al- to gal- and:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate  
      syllable with:

(1) No other changes

ex. 4      lim:ʔal nuc:šíla  
            the            pack saddle

ex. 5      lim:gal nuc:šilá  
            the            pack saddles

(2) Replacement of /-ʔ/ by /-y/

ex. 6      lim:ʔal nuc:bánaʔ  
            the            river

ex. 7      lim:gal nuc:baná num:-ʔ → -y  
            the            rivers

(3) Suffixation of /-ʔ/

ex. 8      lim:ʔal nuc:mésa  
            the            table

ex. 9      lim:laŋ nuc:mesá num:ʔ

(B) Shift of accent from ultimate to penultimate  
      syllable:

ex. 10     lim:ʔal nuc:lištó  
            the            hair ribbon

ex. 11     lim:gal nuc:lišto  
            the            hair ribbons

## (C) No shift of accent:

## (1) With no other changes

ex. 1      lim:ʔal nuc:behí  
            the          tarabundi tree

ex. 2      lim:gal nuc:behí  
            the          tarabundi trees

## (2) With glottalization of stem final consonant

ex. 3      lim:ʔal nuc:ʔék  
            the          wood (tree)

ex. 4      lim:gal nuc:ʔék'  
            the          wood (kindling wood) (plural)

plus infixation of /-ɿ-/

ex. 5      lim:ʔal nuc:gabúk  
            the          chile tree

ex. 6      lim:gal nuc:gal nuc:ga...buk' num:-ɿ-  
            the          chile trees

## Class II Nouns

Class II noun nuclei begin with a consonant and do not occur as free forms.

The limiter tagmeme is manifested by the following prefixes:

{la-} the singular

la- ~ ɿa- ~ l- ~ ɿ-

la- and ɿa- are first order prefixes whose distribution can be only described by listing the noun nuclei with which they occur.

ex. 7      lim:lá nuc:haʔ (15.7)  
            the          water

ex. 1      lim:l̥a nuc:bóhna  
            the          owner

l- ~ l̥- occur elsewhere; distribution is parallel to that given above for la- and l̥a-; that is, l- and l̥- occur with the same nouns that la- and l̥a- occur with respectively.

ex. 2      lim:l- (poss:i nuc:ha?) (77.68)  
            the          his      water  
his water

ex. 3      lim:l̥ (poss:i nuc:bóhna) (1.94)  
            the          its      owner  
its owner

{l̥a-} the plural

la- ~ l̥a- ~ l- ~ l̥-

The distribution of these plural allomorphs is the same as given above for the singular allomorphs. The plural morpheme is always the alternant form of the singular morpheme.

ex. 4      lim:la nuc:bóhna num:la?  
            the          owners

ex. 5      lim:l̥a nuc:ha num:-? → -y  
            the          waters

The possessor tagmeme is manifested by the same set of morphemes as given above for Class I nouns:

ex. 6      (lim:l) poss:ay (nuc:dáygi) (25.21)  
            the          my          word  
my word

The number tagmeme for Class II nouns is manifested by morphemes in the following way:

(I) Change of limiter from l̥a- to la- and:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate syllable with:

(1) No other changes

ex. 1      lim:la nuc:ʔáyi  
            the      father

ex. 2      lim:la nuc:ʔayí  
            the      fathers

(2) Suffixation of /-ye/

ex. 3      lim:la nuc:béno  
            the      wife

ex. 4      lim:la nuc:beno num:yé  
            the      wives

(B) Shift of accent from penultimate to antepenultimate syllable with suffixation of /-laʔ/:

ex. 5      lim:la nuc:bóhna  
            the      owner

ex. 6      lim:la nuc:bóhna num:laʔ  
            the      owners

(C) No shift of accent with glottalization of stem final consonant:

ex. 7      lim:la nuc:lúšluk  
            the      elbow

ex. 8      lim:la nuc:lúšluk'  
            the      elbows

(II) Change of limiter from la- to la- and:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate syllable with:

(1) No other changes

ex. 9      lim:la nuc:guštíla  
            the      rib



ex. 1     lim:l̥a nuc:guštilá  
          the        ribs

(2) Affricatization and glottalization of stem  
      final consonant plus suffixation of /-iʔ/

ex. 2     lim:lá nuc:šʔmas  
          the        ear

ex. 3     lim:l̥a nuc:šʔmac' num:iʔ  
          the        ears

(B) No shift of accent with replacement of /-o/ by  
      /-aylaʔ/

ex. 4     lim:l̥a nuc:biwo  
          the        hole

ex. 5     lim:l̥a nuc:biw num:-o → -áylaʔ

(III) No change of limiter with:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate  
      syllable with:

(1) No other changes

ex. 6     lim:lá nuc:ha  
          the        sea

ex. 7     lim:l̥a nuc:há  
          the        seas

(2) Suffixation of /-ʔ/

ex. 8     lim:l̥a nuc:máne  
          the        hand

ex. 9     lim:l̥a nuc:mané num:ʔ  
          the        hands

(3) Affricatization and glottalization of stem  
      final consonant plus suffixation of /-iʔ/

ex. 10    lim:lá nuc:ʔmis  
          the        foot

ex. 1      lim:la nuc:ʔmic' num:iʔ  
            the        feet

(4) Suffixation of /-la/

ex. 2      lim:lá nuc:šk'o  
            the        huipil

ex. 3      lim:la nuc:šk'o num:lá  
            the        huipils

(B) No shift of accent with:

(1) Insertion of /-l-/ and suffixation of /-ʔ/

ex. 4      lim:la nuc:beǵé  
            the        cheek

ex. 5      lim:la nuc:be...ǵé num:-l-...ʔ  
            the        cheeks

(2) Suffixation of /-laʔ/

ex. 6      lim:la nuc:húnak'  
            the        sin

ex. 7      lim:la nuc:hunák' num:laʔ  
            the        sins

### Class III Nouns

Class III noun nuclei begin with a vowel and may occur as free forms:

ex. 8      nuc:ʔunšál (27.39)  
            carbon

The limiter tagmeme is manifested by the following third order prefixes:

{1-} the singular

l- ~ l-

See the distribution given above for the Class II limiter tagmeme.

{l-} the plural

l- ~ l-

See the distribution given above for the  
Class II limiter tagmeme.

The possessor tagmeme is a second order prefix manifested by the same set of morphemes as described above for Class I nouns. Class III noun nuclei change their beginning sequence /a/ or /ay/ to /i/ when possessed.

The combinatorial possessive tagmeme is manifested by the morpheme:

{b-} Class III combinatorial

ex. 1 (lim:l poss:ay) comb:b (nuc:iháwa?)  
the my clothing  
my clothing

The number tagmeme for Class III nouns is manifested in the following way:

(I) Change of limiter from l- to l- and:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate syllable with:

(1) Suffixation of /-wa?/

ex. 2 lim:l nuc:áynu  
the alligator

ex. 3 lim:l nuc:aynu num:wá?  
the alligators

(2) Suffixation of /-?/

ex. 4 lim:l nuc:óla  
the maguey bug

ex. 5 lim:l nuc:olá num:?  
the maguey bugs

(3) Insertion of /-l-/  

- ex. 18    lim:l nuc:oncíba?  
           the     sea turtle
- ex. 2     lim:l nuc:onci...bá? num:-l-  
           the     sea turtles

(4) Affricatization and glottalization of stem  
 final consonant

- ex. 3     lim:l nuc:émes  
           the     squash seed
- ex. 4     lim:l nuc:eméc'  
           the     squash seeds

(5) Loss of final /-ʔ/  

- ex. 5     lim:l nuc:ondáhl'a?  
           the     wingless beetle
- ex. 6     lim:l nuc:ondahl'á  
           the     wingless beetles

(6) Suffixation of /-ye/  

- ex. 7     lim:l nuc:ísna  
           the     drunk
- ex. 8     lim:l nuc:isna num:yé  
           the     drunks

(7) Replacement of /-ʔa/ by /-we/  

- ex. 9     lim:l nuc:ondáʔa  
           the     devil
- ex. 10    lim:l nuc:onda num:-ʔa → -wé  
           the     devils

(8) Replacement of /-a/ by /-ey/  

- ex. 11    lim:l nuc:aywála  
           the     horse
- ex. 12    lim:l nuc:aywal num:-a → -éy  
           the     horses

## (B) Shift of accent from ultimate to penultimate

ex. 1      lim:l̥ nuc:unděšf  
            the      wasp

ex. 2      lim:l̥ nuc:unděši  
            the      wasps

(C) Accent remaining on the penultimate syllable with:

(1) Suffixation of /-laʔ/

ex. 3      lim:l̥ nuc:úmla  
            the      biting taste

ex. 4      lim:l̥ nuc:umlá num:laʔ  
            the      biting tastes

(2) Glottalization of stem final consonant

ex. 5      lim:l̥ nuc:úšak  
            the      corncob

ex. 6      lim:l̥ nuc:úšak'  
            the      corncobs

(3) Loss of /-ʔ/

ex. 7      lim:l̥ nuc:eganiyaʔ  
            the      orphan

ex. 8      lim:l̥ nuc:eganiya  
            the      orphans

(D) Accent remaining on the ultimate syllable

ex. 9      lim:l̥ nuc:iškomúʔ  
            the      tasseled-out-corn

ex. 10     lim:l̥ nuc:iškomúʔ  
            the      tasseled-out-corn (plural)

(II) Change of limiter from l- to l̥- and:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate syllable with:

(1) Suffixation of /-li/

ex. 11     lim:l̥ nuc:iháwa  
            the      clothing



ex. 1      lim:l nuc:imé  
            the    vine

ex. 2      lim:l nuc:ime  
            the    vines

(2) Infixation of /-l-/ and suffixation of /-ʔ/

ex. 3      lim:l nuc:igudú  
            the    flower bud

ex. 4      lim:l nug:igú...du num:-l-...-ʔ  
            the    flower buds

(3) Replacement of /-yʔ/ by /-lgi/

ex. 5      lim:l nuc:ušawáyʔ  
            the    shade

ex. 6      lim:l nuc:ušawá num:-yʔ → -lgi  
            the    shade (plural)

(C) No shift of accent and:

(1) No other changes

ex. 7      lim:l nuc:ošʔmuláʔ  
            the    hand-basket

ex. 8      lim:l nuc:ošʔmuláʔ  
            the    hand-baskets

(2) Affricatization and glottalization of stem  
            final consonant

ex. 9      lim:l nuc:išánal  
            the    avocado

ex. 10     lim:l nuc:išánal'  
            the    avocados

(3) Infixation of /-lolo-/

ex. 11     lim:l nuc:ílyaʔ  
            the    village

ex. 12     lim:l nuc:i...lyaʔ num:-loló-  
            the    villages

(4) Suffixation of /-ʔ/

ex. 1      lim:l nuc:iŋomá  
            the    pochote tree (the silk cotton tree)

ex. 2      lim:l̥ nuc:iŋomá num:ʔ  
            the    pochote trees

(5) Replacement of /-ʔ/ by /-y/

ex. 3      lim:l nuc:inʔnuwáʔ  
            the    pool

ex. 4      lim:l̥ nuc:inʔnuwá num:-ʔ → -y  
            the    pools

(6) Suffixation of /-y/

ex. 5      lim:l nuc:ubehá  
            the    yellow oak

ex. 6      lim:l̥ nuc:ubehá num:y  
            the    yellow oaks

(III) No change of limiter and:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate  
syllable with:

(1) No other changes

ex. 7      lim:l nuc:enála  
            the    squash stem

ex. 8      lim:l nuc:enalá  
            the    squash stems

(2) Suffixation of /-y/

ex. 9      lim:l̥ nuc:emála  
            the    hill

ex. 10     lim:l̥ nuc:emalá num:y

(3) Suffixation of /-yaʔ/

ex. 11     lim:l̥ nuc:éne  
            the    hand grinding stone

ex. 12     lim:l̥ nuc:ene num:yáʔ  
            the    hand grinding stones

(4) Infixation of /-yoɫ-/



- ex. 1      lim:l nuc:imúk'o?  
            the    thicket
- ex. 2      lim:l nuc:imu...k'ó? num:-yoł-
- the    thickets

(5) Infixation of /-yi-/

- ex. 3      lim:l nuc:áf'iš  
            the    stomach girth
- ex. 4      lim:l nuc:af'i...š num:-yf-
- the    stomach girths

(B) No shift of accent with:

(1) Replacement of /-o/ by /-ayla/

- ex. 5      lim:l nuc:íwo  
            the    corn bin
- ex. 6      lim:l nuc:iw num:-o → -áyla  
            the    corn bins

(2) Affricatization and glottalization of stem  
final consonant

- ex. 7      lim:l nuc:ísał  
            the    wing
- ex. 8      lim:l nuc:ísał'  
            the    wings

#### Class IV Nouns

Class IV noun nuclei begin with a vowel and do not occur as free forms except when that vowel is /a/:

- ex. 9      ʔámac' (24.22)  
            year

The limiter tagmeme is manifested by the following third order prefixes:

- {1-} the singular  
1-~ł-

See the distribution given above for the Class  
II limiter tagmeme.

{l-} the plural  
l- ~ l-

See the distribution given above for the Class  
II limiter tagmeme

The possessor tagmeme is a second order prefix manifested by the same set of morphemes as described above for Class I, nouns with these exceptions: there is no third person singular possessive morpheme; the pluralizing morpheme is l instead of l̄; and, second person plural possessive forms alternate between ul- and unl-. The initial stem vowel of a Class IV noun changes when it occurs with all the possessor morphemes except first and second person plural morphemes according to the following rules:

/a/ becomes /e/

/ay/ becomes /i/

/o/ becomes /u/

- ex. 1      lim:l nuc:ámac'  
            the    ground, year
- ex. 2      lim:l nuc:émac'  
            his    years
- ex. 3      lim:l nuc:ayšmak'  
            the    animal spirit (or counterpart)
- ex. 4      lim:l nuc:išmak'  
            his    animal spirit
- ex. 5      lim:l nuc:ogwis  
            the    rope

ex. 1      lim:l nuc:ugwis  
            his    rope

The combinatorial possessive tagmeme is manifested by the following morphemes:

{n-} first person singular Class IV combinatorial

ex. 2      (lim:l poss:ay) comb:n (nuc:émac') (19.3)  
            the        my                            ground, year  
            my ground

{m-} second person singular Class IV combinatorial

ex. 3      (lim:l poss:o) comb:m (nuc:émac')  
            the        your                            ground  
            your ground

The number tagmeme for Class IV nouns is manifested by morphemes in the following way:

(I) Change of limiter from l- to l- and:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate syllable with:

(1) No other changes

ex. 4      lim:l nuc:aŋfúdo  
            the    calandria bird (type of lark)

ex. 5      lim:l nuc:aŋfudó  
            the    calandria birds

(2) Infixation of /-l-/ and suffixation of /-?/

ex. 6      lim:l nuc:eŋóne  
            the    knee

ex. 7      lim:l nuc:eŋo...né num:-l-...-?  
            the    knees

(3) Suffixation of /-?/

ex. 8      lim:l nuc:ancúh?ni  
            the    hard-shelled worm

ex. 9      lim:l nuc:ancuh?ní num:-?  
            the    hard-shelled worms

## (4) Loss of final /-ʔ/

- ex. 1      lim:l̥ nuc:oʔf'áneʔ  
            the      ear of corn
- ex. 2      lim:l̥ nuc:oʔf'ané  
            the      ears of corn

## (5) Replacement of /-ʔ-/ by /-l̥-/

- ex. 3      lim:l̥ nuc:agáʔnoʔ  
            the      woman
- ex. 4      lim:l̥ nuc:aga...nóʔ num:-ʔ- → -l̥-  
            the      women

## (B) Shift of accent from ultimate to penultimate syllable

- ex. 5      lim:l̥ nuc:acidéʔ  
            the      otate tree (poison oak)
- ex. 6      lim:l̥ nuc:ací...deʔ num:-l̥-  
            the      otate trees

## (C) No shift of accent with:

## (1) No other changes

- ex. 7      lim:l̥ nuc:aŋáše  
            the      sanguijuela worm (leech)
- ex. 8      lim:l̥ nuc:aŋáše  
            the      sanguijuela worms

## (2) Replacement of /-i/ by /-eʔ/

- ex. 9      lim:l̥ nuc:acilí  
            the      mojarra fish
- ex. 10     lim:l̥ nuc:acil num:-i → -eʔ  
            the      mojarra fish (plural)

## (3) Glottalization of stem final consonant

- ex. 11     lim:l̥ nuc:ašwášuk  
            the      chipilín tree
- ex. 12     lim:l̥ nuc:ašwášuk'  
            the      chipilín trees

plus suffixation of /-laʔ/

ex. 1      lim:l̥ nuc:áysʔmak  
            the     animal counterpart

ex. 2      lim:l̥ nuc:aysʔmák' num:laʔ  
            the     animal     counterparts

(4) Affricatization and glottalization of stem  
      final consonant

ex. 3      lim:l̥ nuc:ašéyʔnal̥  
            the     comejen bug (with wings)

ex. 4      lim:l̥ nuc:ašéyʔnal̥'  
            the     comejen bugs (with wings)

(5) Suffixation of /-yalaʔ/

ex. 5      lim:l̥ nuc:ókwi  
            the     thread

ex. 6      lim:l̥ nuc:okwi num:yálaʔ  
            the     threads

(6) Infixation of /-way-/ and loss of final /-ʔ/

ex. 7      lim:l̥ nuc:okwí-hmaʔ  
            the     spinning stick

ex. 8      lim:l̥ nuc:okwi...-hma num:-wáy-  
            the     spinning sticks

(7) Replacement of /-na/ by /-lay/

ex. 9      lim:l̥ nuc:afgwána  
            the     sick person

ex. 10     lim:l̥ nuc:afgwá num:-na → -lay  
            the     sick persons

(II) Change of article from l̥- to l̥- and:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate  
      syllable with:

(1) Loss of final /-ʔ/

ex. 11     lim:l̥ nuc:aŋk'wáyuʔ  
            the     hiedra plant (ivy)

ex. 1      lim:l̥ nuc:aŋk'wayú  
             the    hiedra plants (ivy)

(2) Replacement of final /-ʔ/ by /-y/

ex. 2      lim:l̥ nuc:aynágaʔ  
             the    cornfield

ex. 3      lim:l̥ nuc:aynagá num:-ʔ → -y  
             the    cornfields

(3) Replacement of final /-ʔ/ by /l̥'/

ex. 4      lim:l̥ nuc:aléwaʔ  
             the    gourd bowl

ex. 5      lim:l̥ nuc:alewá num:-ʔ → -l̥'  
             the    gourd bowls

(4) Suffixation of /-i/

ex. 6      lim:l̥ nuc:áhuł'  
             the    house

ex. 7      lim:l̥ nuc:ahul' num:f  
             the    houses

(B) Shift of accent from ultimate to penultimate  
 syllable

ex. 8      lim:l̥ nuc:aŋalí  
             the    river eel

ex. 9      lim:l̥ nuc:aŋáli  
             the    river eels

(C) Shift of accent from ultimate to antepenultimate  
 syllable

ex. 10     lim:l̥ nuc:abišú  
             the    round cooking pot

ex. 11     lim:l̥ nuc:ábišu  
             the    round cooking pots

(III) No change of article with:

(A) Shift of accent from penultimate to ultimate  
 syllable with:

## (1) No other changes

- ex. 1      lim:l nuc:ahúle  
            the      pear-shaped gourd
- ex. 2      lim:l nuc:ahulé  
            the      pear-shaped gourds

## (2) Suffixation of /-ay/

- ex. 3      lim:l nuc:áyday  
            the      cargo
- ex. 4      lim:l nuc:ayday num:áy  
            the      cargoes

(3) Infixation of /-ay/ plus affricatization and  
glottalization of stem final consonant

- ex. 5      lim:l nuc:áydaɭ  
            the      adobe wall
- ex. 6      lim:l nuc:ayd...áɭ' num:-ay-  
            the      adobe walls

## (B) No shift of accent with:

## (1) No other changes

- ex. 7      lim:l nuc:ó?we  
            the      salt (singular and plural)

(2) Affricatization of stem medial /-s-/ and in-  
fixation of /-wáɭ-/ plus loss of final /-ʔ/

- ex. 8      lim:l nuc:idúsmaʔ  
            the      molar tooth
- ex. 9      lim:l nuc:iduc...ma num:-wáɭ-  
            the      molar teeth

## (3) Replacement of /-h-/ by /-nól-/

- ex. 10     lim:l nuc:awé-hmaʔ  
            the      glass, mirror
- ex. 11     lim:l nuc:awe...-maʔ num:-h- → -nól-  
            the      glass (plural), mirrors

## (4) Infixation of /-wey-/

ex. 1      lim:l nuc:adé-hma?  
            the    iron tool

ex. 2      lim:l nuc:ade...-hma? num:-wéy-  
            the    iron tools

The size tagmeme for nouns of all classes is the following set of prefixes listed in their order of ascending size from smallest to largest:

Singular	Plural
1. laga- lag-	7. layga- layg-
2. lah-	8. layh-
3. la-	9. la-
4. al-	10. gal-
5. gal-	11. lan- lan-
6. galga- galg-	12. langa-

An example of a Class Ia noun occurring with these prefixes is as follows:

1. size:laga (nuc:kabáyo)	"the very small horse"
2. size:lah	"the small horse"
3. size:la	"the house peak"
4. size:ʔal	(cannot be used with animal nuclei)
5. size:gal	"the horse"
6. size:galga	"the many horses"
7. size:layga (nuc:kabayó)	"the very small horses"
8. size:layh	"the small horses"
9. size:la	"the medium sized horses"
10. size:gal	(cannot be used with animate nuclei marked for plural)



11. size:laŋ (nuc:kabayó) "the horses"

12. size:langa " " "the horses"

Notice that prefixes numbered 3, 4, and 10 do not apply to this noun. None of the nouns checked with the principal informant, Clemente Zárate, could take all of these possible prefixes. The semantic distinction between prefixes numbered 5 and 6 is not consistent and there seems at times to be no difference between numbers 11 and 12. Prefix numbered 6 indicates plural and yet there is a plural counterpart for this prefix, number 12. The informant's reaction to prefixes numbered 5 and 11 is that these are the normal prefixes that occur with the noun and possibly do not function as anything other than manifestations of the limiter tagmeme. The use of the other "non-normal" prefixes with this noun is what manifests the size tagmeme. Prefixes 1 and 6 are third order prefixes and are manifested by their combinatorial allomorphs lag- and gálg- respectively when they occur before a possessive tagmeme:

ex. 1 size:lag (poss:i nuc:ʔúmento) (24.57)  
           very small its interest  
           it's very small interest (on the money)

ex. 2 size:gálg (nuc:abimiʔ) (1.82)  
           the-big baby

Probably the plural forms, numbers 7 and 12, of these two prefixes can also occur before possessive tagmemes but they do not occur in the data.

I suspect that the size and number tagmemes were at one time used much more extensively than they are today and that

there might have been an interplay between the two sets of tagmemes to give precise distinctions that are not fully recognized today. The following paradigm would seem to indicate this interplay that once existed in a more extensive system:

la	béno	"the wife"
la	benoyé	"the wives" (2 or 3)
lan	benoyé	"the wives" (5 to 10)
la	beno <sub>l</sub> yé?	"the wives" (approximately 100)
lan	benó <sub>l</sub> ye?	"the wives" (all, no matter how many)

The informant was not sure of himself in this area of his language and gave conflicting statements about the various forms and meanings.

The factive tagmeme for Class I and II nouns is manifested by the following first order prefix:

{a-} "it is, they are"

ex. 1        (ní) fact:ʔa (nuc:šówde) (10.43)  
               not        it is        church  
               there is not a church

Class III and IV nouns do not have a factive tagmeme as such that is prefixed to their nuclei. Their nuclei do function in a factive sense, though, when they occupy the comment slot of a topic-comment clause:

ex. 2        (kómo) ʔayšmák'-la? (27.42)  
               like        animal counterparts  
               since they are animal counterparts

The desiderative tagmeme functions as an indicator of desire or measure of uncertainty and is manifested by a





ex. 1      dir:m (nuc:íNna)  
               you        pig  
               you, pig

{niŋk'-} first person plural

niŋk'- ~niŋk'i-

niŋk'i- occurs with Class I nouns

ex. 2      dir:niŋk'i (nuc:besindádo) (18.11)  
               we                    neighbors

niŋk'- occurs with all other classes of nouns

ex. 3      dir:niŋk' (nuc:a-mák'da) (28.6)  
               we                    ignorant  
               we ignorant ones

{uŋk'-} second person plural

uŋk'- ~uŋk'u-

uŋk'u- occurs with Class I nouns

ex. 4      dir:ʔuŋk'u (nuc:šanúk')  
               you                    people

uŋk'- occurs with all other classes of nouns

ex. 5      dir:uŋk' (nuc:ayšmak'-láʔ)  
               you                    animal counterparts

The direct reference tagmeme signals the referent of the speaker. It can also function as a means of complementing or insulting a person, depending on the noun with which it is used.

The relativizer tagmeme expresses a relationship between a person and an object or a state of being that can be translated by a relative pronoun. The relativizer is occupied by the following third order prefix which only occurs with the possessive tagmeme:

c'- "who, which, what"

ex. 1      rel:c' (poss:i1 comb:b nuc:énik') (24.62)  
               who            their            work  
               the village officials

### Pronouns

The nuclear element of a pronoun consists of an obligatory nucleus tagmeme manifested by the following two roots:

ex. 2      ?iyá? "I" (1.62)

ex. 3      ?imá? "you" (5.56)

The peripheral element consists of an optional number tagmeme that is manifested by the following suffix:

{-ηk'} plural

When this suffix is attached to the two roots listed above, the root final /-?/ is dropped:

ex. 4      nuc: ?iyá    num: ηk' (28.33)  
               we

ex. 5      nuc: ?imá    num: ηk' (28.27)  
               you-all

### Numerals

The nuclear element of a numeral consists of an obligatory nucleus tagmeme. The peripheral elements consist of optional limiter, possessive, combinatorial possessive, size, factive, direct address, animate marker, and measure tagmemes.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>The size tagmeme does occur with numerals but no examples occur in my text materials and the elicited data are too limited and uncertain to present.

Numerals may be classified into five types on the basis of their distribution on the phrase level.

Type I numerals may fill the additive slot of any numeral phrase. The nucleus of a Type I numeral is manifested by one of the following roots that account for the numbers from one to nine:

- ex. 1 (fact:?a) nuc:núli "one" (8.11)  
 ex. 2 nuc:?ogé? "two" (8.11)  
 ex. 3 (fact:?a) nuc:fáne? "three" (16.6)  
 ex. 4 (fact:?a) nuc:málbu "four" (24.17)  
 ex. 5 (fact:?a) nuc:máge "five" (24.17)  
 ex. 6 (fact:?a) nuc:gámcs'us "six" (56.93)  
 ex. 7 (fact:?a) nuc:gáyci "seven" (76.106)  
 ex. 8 (fact:?a) nuc:báygo "eight"  
 ex. 9 (fact:?a) nuc:béla "nine" (52.152)

All of the above numerals use Class I noun limiter prefixes and can be considered to be Class I numerals, except for ?ogé? "two", which uses a Class III noun limiter prefix and is considered to be a Class III numeral.

The limiter tagmeme for Class I numerals is manifested by the following morphemes:

{gal-} the (singular, used only with the number one)  
 gal- ~ l-

gal- occurs as a first order prefix

- ex. 10 lim:gal (nuc:núli) (24.25)  
           the           one  
           each

l- occurs elsewhere

ex. 1      lim:l (poss:ay nuc:núli?)  
             the            my            one  
             my one thing

lan- the (plural, used with all numbers except one)

ex. 2      lim:lan (nuc:fan anim:ci) (68.391)  
             the            three  
             the three (people)

The limiter tagmeme for the Class III numeral is manifested by the following second order prefix:

l- the

ex. 3      lim:l (nuc:oge?) (82.198)  
             the            two

The possessive tagmeme for Class I and III numerals does not occur without the limiter morpheme l- "the", and is manifested by the same set of possessive morphemes as described above for Class I and III nouns respectively.

The possessive combinatorial tagmeme for the Class III numeral is manifested by the same morpheme as described above for the Class III nouns:

ex. 4      (lim:l poss:ay) comb:b (nuc:óge?)  
             the            my                            two  
             my two (things)

The factive tagmeme occurs only with Class I numerals and is manifested by the same morpheme as described above for Class I nouns:

ex. 5      fact:ʔa (nuc:núli) (8.11)  
             it is            one

The direct address tagmeme has been observed to occur only with numerals "two" and "three" and is manifested by the







Demonstratives

Demonstratives function as referents to previously introduced substantives as well as having their usual demonstrative emphasis. The nuclear element of a demonstrative consists of an obligatory nucleus tagmeme. The peripheral element consists of an optional intensifier tagmeme.

The nucleus tagmeme is manifested by two types of demonstrative roots: animate roots that modify animate nouns or have animate references; and, inanimate roots that modify inanimate nouns or have inanimate references. Animate roots have singular and plural forms as follows:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>this</u> (proximal)	kíya (6.12)	níya (36.218)
<u>this</u> (distal)	ká?a (1.157)	ná?a (8.33)
<u>that</u> (distal)	kúwa? (79.212)	núwa? (36.269)

The distal demonstratives do not occur in isolation, but only when preceded by an intensifier tagmeme that will be discussed below.

Inanimate roots do not separate singular and plural forms:

<u>this</u> , <u>thus</u>	íya (15.5)
<u>here</u> (distal)	píya (4.12)
<u>here</u> (proximal)	fá?a (6.73)
<u>there</u> (distal)	pú?wa (13.60)
<u>there</u> (proximal)	íú?wa (50.24)
<u>this</u> (proximal)	tá?a (24.7)

The inanimate root íú?wa "there" (proximal) does not occur in

isolation, but only when preceded by the intensifier tagmeme.

The intensifier tagmeme is manifested by the following prefix:

{hi-} "right"  
 hi-~hił-

These allomorphs fluctuate in their distribution:

ex. 1 int:hi (nuc:l<sub>w</sub>á) (12.38)  
           right       there (proximal)

ex. 2 int:hił (nuc:kaʔa) (69.501)  
           right       these (distal)  
           these very ones

The intensifier tagmeme occurs with all of the above demonstratives except líya "this, thus".

## CHAPTER V

### STEMS

#### Introduction

The stem level is the lowest level in the grammatical hierarchy of HC. A stem is the shortest construction in HC that displays internal complexity. There are two types of stems: verb and noun.

#### Verb Stems

The nuclear elements of a verb stem consist of an obligatory core tagmeme plus either modifying or transitivity changing derivational tagmemes, or both.

The core tagmeme is manifested by a neutral, intransitive, semi-transitive, or transitive root. A neutral root is not marked for transitivity and occurs indiscriminately as either a noun or a verb root, or occurs only in combination with a derivational affix. The other roots have been described above.

The modifying derivational tagmeme alters the meaning of the core tagmeme without affecting its transitivity.<sup>10</sup> The

---

<sup>10</sup>An exception to this statement is the derivational morpheme k'o "to make contact with" as in di-balay-k'o-?m-o? "he will talk to you" (46.222).

following morphemes manifest the modifying derivational tagmeme:

{ci} "into, together"

ex. 1 (sm:ga) nuc:wán-ci (asp:ʔma om:∅) (4.16)  
 I mix-together will  
 core:wán der:ci  
 mix together

{cuf} "with, accompanying"

ex. 2 (sm:li) nuc:gwi-cuf (it:go fin:ná asp:yi om:∅)  
 we ask again it (25.37)  
 core:gwi der:cuf  
 ask with

{fay} "in"

ex. 3 (sm:ʔi) nuc:cu-fay (fin:ná asp:ba) (1.135)  
 he entered  
 core:cu der:fay  
 step in

{f'} "up"

f' ~ af'

af' occurs following a consonant

ex. 4 (sm:ʔi) nuc:bul-af' (asp:b om:ólaʔ) (8.32)  
 he picked-up them  
 core:bul der:af'  
 hold up

f' occurs elsewhere

ex. 5 (sm:di) nuc:ʔní-f' (asp:ya) (1.114)  
 he is-up-in  
 core:ʔni der:f'  
 to-be-in up

{f'e} "to, toward"

ex. 6 (sm:ʔi) nuc:sanún-f'e (it:go fin:na asp:ba om:∅)  
 he placed-ahead (8.18)  
 core:sanun der:f'e  
 place toward



{guf} "out of"

guf ~ ηuf

guf ~ ηuf have the same distribution as described above for the allomorphs of gay

ex. 1 (sm:ga) nuc:ga-ηuf (asp:ʔma) om:∅) (4.15)  
throw-out

core:ga der:ηuf  
throw out of

{ʔme} "ahead"

ex. 2 nuc:swe-h-ʔme (def:gó asp:ba om:∅) (24.28)  
calculated

core:swe der:h der:ʔme  
read ahead

{h} process marker

h ~ g ~ (n → Nn)

g occurs before vowels

ex. 3 (neg:ay t-n:m sm:o) nuc:gya-g (asp:a om:∅)  
not you understand it  
(77.311)

core:gya der:g  
hear

(n → Nn) occurs with morphemes ending in a nasal. Since nasals assimilate to the point of articulation of the following consonant, this morpheme represents all nasal possibilities.

ex. 4 (sm:di) nuc:fu-Nn (fin:ná asp:c om:o) (1.41)  
it fattens let you

core:fu der:Nn  
swell



h occurs elsewhere<sup>11</sup>

ex. 1 (sm:ʔi) nuc:f'á-h asp:ba om:∅ (6.124)  
 he climbed it

core:f'a der:h  
 climb

{in} "to, toward, edge"

in ~ i

i occurs before nasals

ex. 2 (sm:ʔi) nuc:dáli-gf-i (fin:na asp:ba om:∅) (1.137)  
 he met him

core:dali-gf der:i  
 meet toward

in occurs elsewhere

ex. 3 (sm:di) nuc:gway-in (asp:ca) (80.220)  
 they arrive there-let

core:gway der:in  
 arrive to

{ke} "over, off"

ex. 4 (sm:di) nuc:mef-ke (asp:wó) (1.142)  
 it fall-down will

core:mef der:ke  
 fall over

{k'ay} "in the midst of"

ex. 5 (cond:g rsm:of) nuc:ní-k'ay (def:go asp:ba)  
 you are-in (32.21)

core:ni der:k'ay  
 to-be-in in-the-midst-of

---

<sup>11</sup>An exception to this statement is di-dé-h-a "he is eating it" (1.115).

{k'o} "to make contact with"

ex. 1 (sm:d) nuc:áŋ-k'o (asp:yi om:∅) (11.10)  
they light (a fire)

core:aŋ der:k'o  
throw contact

{l} plural marker

l ~ le ~ li ~ le ~ lay

le occurs with the verb root štu "to be angry"

ex. 2 (sm:ʔi) nuc:štu-lé (asp:ma) (18.13)  
they got-angry

core:štu der:le  
angry

li occurs following verb roots ending in /y/  
or /w/

ex. 3 (sm:di) nuc:špáy-li-g (om:l) (9.2)  
it frightens-them

core:špay der:li der:g  
scare

le occurs with verb roots gaš "to stand" and  
gaŋo "to go down":

ex. 4 (sm:la) nuc:ŋo-le (fin:ná asp:ma) (7.23)  
we go-down

core:ŋo der:le  
go-down

lay occurs with the following verb roots or  
stems: balo "to talk"; guc "to sit"; šk'wal  
"to stoop"; naf'-go "to mount"; ba "to happen";  
and ga "to throw":

ex. 5 (sm:l) nuc:balo-láy (asp:ba) (24.15)  
we talked

core:balo der:lay  
talk

l occurs elsewhere

ex. 1 (sm:li) nuc:nu-l (asp:bá) (7.22)  
we ran

core:nu der:l  
to run

{lay} "over and over"

lay ~ ay ~ le

le occurs with the verb root ?wa "to go"

ex. 2 (sm:do) nuc:?wa-le (it:go fin:ná asp:?ma) (15.10)  
you walk-around

core:?wa der:le  
go over-and-over

ay occurs following verb roots ending in /l/

ex. 3 (cond:m om:al) nuc:fel-ay-h-mo-l'i (asp:?)  
me deceived (1.117)

core:fel der:ay der:h der:mo der:l'i  
to lie over-and-over to

lay occurs elsewhere

ex. 4 (sm:ga) nuc:šku-lay-guf (asp:?ma om:∅) (4.14)  
I squeeze-it-out will

core:šku der:lay der:guf  
twist over-and-over out-of

{may} "inside, settle"

may ~ mo

mo occurs with verbs having a plural subject

ex. 5 nuc:gus-mo-lay (fin:ná asp:ba) (26.1)  
sat-down-in

core:gus der:mo  
sit inside

may occurs elsewhere

ex. 1 (sm:ʔi) nuc:ba-máy (asp:da) (6.20)  
it resulted-in

core:ba der:may  
to-come-out settle

{mi} "into"

mi ~ ʔmi

ʔmi occurs following /y/

ex. 2 (sm:di) nuc:šwáy-ʔmi (asp:ʔma om:∅) (2.5)  
he meet-the-requirements will

core:šway der:ʔmi  
to-fill into

mi occurs elsewhere

ex. 3 nuc:k'e-h-mi (it:go fin:ná asp:ba om:∅) (14.6)  
poured-in again

core:k'e der:h der:mi  
to-pour into

{mo} "at, to"

mo ~ ʔmo

ʔmo occurs following /l/

ex. 4 nuc:fél-ʔmo-l'i (it:go focus:m asp:ba) (1.70)  
deceived-him again

core:fel der:ʔmo der:l'i  
to-lie to

mo occurs elsewhere

ex. 5 (cond:m om:ał) nuc:fel-ay-h-mo-l'í (asp:ʔ) (1.117)  
me me deceived

core:fel der:ay der:h der:mo  
to-lie over-and-over to

der:l'i

{nay} "back"

ex. 1 (sm:ʔi) nuc:gu-náy (fin:na asp:ba om:∅) (24.57)  
 they returned it

core:gu der:nay  
 to-give back

{ni} "down, away"

ex. 2 (sm:de) nuc:gaʔ-ni-ʔe (asp:ʔm rm:ólwoʔ) (28.48)  
 he ruin will you

core:gaʔ der:ni  
 throw down

{nuf} "to receive"

ex. 3 (cond:l sm:ala) nuc:be-núf (asp:ba om:∅) (28.19)  
 we accepted him

core:be der:nuf  
 to-give to-receive

{way} "down"

way ~ wo

wo occurs with verbs having plural subjects

ex. 4 (sm:i) nuc:guc'-wo-lay asp:ba (46.426)  
 they sat-down

core:guc' der:wo der:lay  
 sit down

way occurs elsewhere

ex. 5 (sm:du) nuc:guc'-wáy (asp:laʔ) (25.9)  
 you sit-down let

core:guc' der:way  
 to-sit down

{ya} "all, entire"

ex. 6 (sm:ʔal) nuc:des-mi-ya rep:lé asp:ba (24.46)  
 we fed-all them-again

core:des der:mi der:ya  
 to-eat into entire



- ex. 1 bo "to bathe" (bo-ʔe "to bathe someone") (68.654)  
k'e occurs with the following cores:
- ex. 2 špay "to be scared" (špay-k'e "to scare someone")  
(6.60)
- ex. 3 lan "to be firm" (lan-k'e "to make") (19.32)
- ex. 4 ma "to mature" (ma-k'e "to cook") (15.7)
- ex. 5 nša "to breathe" (nša-k'e "to cause to rest")  
(79.53)
- ex. 6 baŋ "to stay" (baŋ-k'e "to stay a place") (32.28)
- ex. 7 šʔay "to be sharp" (šʔay-k'e "to sharpen")  
(77.41)
- ex. 8 men "to fail to remember" (meŋ-k'e "to forget")  
(36.328)
- ex. 9 šna "to drink" (šna-k'e "to cause to be drunk  
up") (84.157)
- ex. 10 nu "to run" (nu-k'e "to leave behind") (48.266)  
ɭ'e occurs with cores ending in /ɭ/ and re-  
presents simultaneous affricatization and  
glottalization of that segment:
- ex. 11 foɭ "to gather" (fo-ɭ'e "to cause to gather")  
(24.57)  
ʔne occurs with the following cores:
- ex. 12 fen "to move" (fe-ʔne "to cause to move")  
(51.107)
- ex. 13 how "to be finished" (how-ʔne "to cause to  
finish") (28.21)
- ex. 14 šim "to see" (ši-ʔne "to find") (32.14)  
go occurs with the following cores
- ex. 15 šo "to laugh" (šo-go "to laugh at") (13.61)









## Affix Derived Stems

The nuclear element of an affix derived noun stem consists of an obligatory core tagmeme manifested by either a verb root or by a verb base. A verb base consists of a verb nucleus and its suffixes.

The peripheral elements consist of optional combinatorial, agentive, factive, and instrument tagmemes.

The combinatorial tagmeme precedes the core and is manifested by the respective vowel of the noun class to which the derived noun belongs.

ex. 1 (lim:l poss:i comb:b) nuc:igyá-hma (14.7)  
           the       his                   understanding

                  comb:i   core:gya   der:hma (Class III)  
                           to-hear   instrument

The agentive tagmeme precedes the core and functions as a nominalizer. It is manifested by the morpheme in "one who".

ex. 2 (indef:g) nuc:in-špay-k'á-le (6.57)  
                                  ghost

                  agent:in   core:špay-k'á-le  
                          one-who   scares-them-again

The factive tagmeme precedes the core and functions as a nominalizer. It is manifested by the morpheme á.

ex. 3       nuc:?a-def'-gi-yá? (1.9)  
                   a-carried-one

                  fact:?a   core:def'-gi-ya?  
                                  carried

The instrument tagmeme follows the core and is manifested by the morpheme hma? "instrument, state of being" and functions as a nominalizer.



## CHAPTER VI

### PARTICLES

Particles are roots that cannot be inflected and as such do not belong on the word level. They may be grouped together on the basis of their differing functions.

Pronominal particles include the following morphemes:

{nay} "who"

nay ~ ne ~ nayci ~ neci

These allomorphs fluctuate in their distribution.

- ex. 1      né (kiyá) "who it is" (13.19)
- ex. 2      nay (n-i-gway-?ma) "whoever arrived"
- ex. 3      nayci (kiya) "who it is" (79.274)
- ex. 4      neci (kiya) "who it is" (79.240)

There is some question about how this particle should be handled. It occurs almost always before the demonstrative kiya "this" (proximal) or before a verb that has been prefixed with the relative morpheme n-. This limited distribution would suggest that this particle may be a preclitic and not a free root. The function of the particle, though, is quite similar to the inanimate pronominal particle de "what", which is more clearly a free root in distribution.

ex. 1 dé "what" (1.16)

Conditional particles include the following morphemes:

ex. 2 háni "if" (25.42)

ex. 3 kwá "whether" (12.9)

Imperative particles include the following morphemes:

ex. 4 čá?a "come on" (9.12)

ex. 5 kwé?a "let's go" (25.3)

ex. 6 šínake "leave it alone" (84.242)

ex. 7 dóle "leave it as it is" (15.16)

Intensifying particles include the following morphemes:

ex. 8 má "very, truly"

má ~ máne

máne occurs clause or sentence final (16.2)

má occurs elsewhere (20.8)

ex. 9 ?ów "just" (6.56)

ex. 10 lé?a "that is all" (32.32)

etc. (the remaining intensifying particles  
appear in the lexicon)

Relator particles include the following morphemes:

ex. 11 ?ásta "until" (7.26)

ex. 12 dó "like" (27.39)

ex. 13 dá "about" (6.5)

etc.

Interjection particles include the following morphemes:

ex. 14 há "oh" (1.22)

ex. 15 né? "all right" (28.27)

ex. 1 hú "wow" (10.36)

etc.

Quantifier particles include the following morphemes:

ex. 2 šoŋga? "more" (1.164)

ex. 3 más "more" (18.2)

ex. 4 paŋka "little" (83.48)

etc.

Sequential particles include the following morphemes:

ex. 5 ?í "and" (1.2)

ex. 6 ?ó "or" (19.35)

ex. 7 pwés "well" (6.97)

etc.

Temporal particles include the following morphemes:

ex. 8 číya "now, today" (32.20)

ex. 9 cúNmicu "day before yesterday" (19.2)

ex. 10 ?aluwégo "right away" (6.58)

etc.

## CHAPTER VII

### SENTENCES

#### Introduction

Sentences may be manifested by any of the grammatical levels discussed thus far, and rank above the clause in the grammatical hierarchy. Sentences exhibit more closure than clauses do in that sentence level tagmemes may function as openers and closers of sentences. Sentences also have accompanying prosodic features of closure that clauses do not have.

HC sentences can be classified under four major types: non-complex, complex, compound, and fragments.

#### Non-complex Sentences

Non-complex sentences consist of one independent clause or less. Non-complex sentences can be classified in two cross-cutting ways: simple vs. particle; and, declarative vs. interrogative.

#### Declarative Simple Sentences

The nuclear element of a declarative simple sentence consists of an obligatory base. The base tagmeme is manifested



by an independent clause which may contain one or more embedded subordinate clauses:

ex. 1 Base: ?e-ná-ci-ŋo-l-na-ba púřo pedáso  
 he-sewed-it-together completely pieces  
 (1.44)  
 The lion sewed the shell together out of little pieces.

ex. 2 Base: l-i-hów-ba, ?u-yáy-na-ba l-acól (1.53)  
 when-it-finished he-passed-on the-turtle  
 And then the turtle passed on his way.

The peripheral elements of a declarative simple sentence consist of the following optional sentence level tagmemes: sequence, concluder, exclamation, emotional coloring, and vocative.

The sequence tagmeme is manifested by a sequential particle:

ex. 3 Seq: ?í (Base: l-i-hów-ba, má  
 and when-it-finished very  
 di-?wá-?a-n-i) (1.26)  
 he-goes-him-on  
 And then the vulture carried him on further.

The concluder tagmeme is manifested by the following two particles: ?untéřo "all"; and, the emphasis morpheme ?á?.

ex. 4 (Base: hów-ba ?ay-gwáy-?e l-ay-n-ehúl'  
 finished I-arrived-her the-my-house  
 Concl: ?untéřo (3.3)  
 all  
 Then I brought her to my house.

ex. 5 (Color: ?a-mehóř Base: ?i-řim-bá? ?al-?ábiyon)  
 better they-saw-it the-airplane  
 Concl: ?á? (28.39)

They had a change of heart about the airplane.

The exclamation tagmeme is manifested by an imperative particle:

- ex. 1 Exclamation:čá? (Base:ʔuntěro  
come on all  
de-nan-l'i-m) (11.27)  
they-do-customs-to-it  
They offer it all.

by an interjection particle:

- ex. 2 Exclamation:né? (Base:ʔimá-ŋk'  
okay you-all  
c'-ó1-cin-a) (28.27)  
you-all-who-see-it  
All right, you are the ones who did it.

The emotional coloring tagmeme is manifested by the particles goláʔ "may", and mehóř "better":

- ex. 3 Color:mehóř (Base:de-hák'-laʔ) Color:goláʔ  
better it-loses-him-let may  
(6.45)  
It would be better that he die.

The vocative tagmeme is manifested by a noun:

- ex. 4 Voc:m-áy-wil', (Base:du-Wé ga-fáy  
my-uncle it-smells the-excrement  
1-o-Wák) (1.14)  
the-your-head  
My uncle, your head smells awful.

### Interrogative Simple Sentences

The nuclear elements of an interrogative sentence consist of an optional introducer tagmeme plus an obligatory question base tagmeme.

The introducer tagmeme is manifested by one of the



ex. 1 Base:  $\text{pNp}$  (10.12)  
oh

### Interrogative Particle Sentences

The nuclear element of an interrogative particle sentence consists of an obligatory question base tagmeme and is accompanied by interrogative intonation.

The question base tagmeme is manifested by a particle:

ex. 2 QBase:  $\text{há}$  (1.15)  
OH?

### Complex Sentences

Complex sentences generally consist of two independent clauses joined by a connective tagmeme. There are five types of complex sentences: adversative, general condition, contrary-to-fact condition, action-purpose, and cause-effect.

#### Adversative Sentences

The nuclear elements of an adversative sentence consist of two obligatory statement tagmemes joined by an obligatory adversative connective tagmeme.

The first statement tagmeme is manifested by an independent clause:

ex. 3 St<sub>1</sub>:  $\text{hów-ba}$   $\text{?ay-gwa-ba}$   $\text{?al-tiyémpo}$  (Adv:  $\text{pér}$ )  
finished I-said the-time but

St<sub>2</sub>:  $\text{l-í-?i-ba}$   $\text{di-gwá-yi}$   $\text{šónga?}$   $\text{?il-cín-a}$   
when-it-happened they-say more they-see

$\text{řésiyo}$   $\text{l-agú-l-we?}$  (13.21)  
hard the-elders

That's the way it is now, but long ago the  
 ancients knew how to do things more than  
 we do.

by a desiderative colon:

ex. 1      St<sub>1</sub>:číya    ?ay-bik'a ga-šín-la? g-áy-?wa  
                   today I-want-it I-see-him my-child

(Adv:pěro St<sub>2</sub>:náda    ?ay-ga-šín-á  
                   but            nothing not-I-see-it

g-áy-?wa) (3.5)  
 my-child

Today I want to have a son but I have not had  
 any children.

or by a compound sentence:

ex. 2      (Seq:dó) St<sub>1</sub>:čí lé?i gi-štú-?ma řáto  
                   like            now just I-get-mad a-while

lé? ga-?e-?m-óh láyk'    (Adv:pěra  
           just I-get-jealous-at-you            but

St<sub>2</sub>:?ay-l-o-báh dínči (13.9)  
                   not-it-is trouble

It's like today, I get mad at you but nothing  
 will happen.

The second statement tagmeme is manifested by an inde-  
 pendent clause as illustrated in the second example above or  
 by a quotation sentence as illustrated in the first example  
 above.

The adversative tagmeme is manifested by pěro "but".

The only peripheral element occurring is the sequential  
 tagmeme manifested by do "like" in the second example above.

#### General Condition Sentence

The nuclear elements of a general condition sentence

consist of obligatory protasis and apodosis tagmemes plus an obligatory hypothesis tagmeme.

The protasis tagmeme is manifested by a phrase:

ex. 1 (Hypoth:há?ni) Pro:dó lí (Apod:né?) (1.145)  
 if like this all right  
 That is all right with me.

by an independent clause:

ex. 2 (Seq:pwés Hypoth:háni) Pro:línka?  
 well if certainly  
 do-me-h-k'áyk'-?ma l-ábik,  
 you-are-pressing-against-it the-rock  
 (Apod:?iyá? ?ay-?wá-ba l-i-bóhna  
 I I-go the-its-owner  
 ga-ho-k'i-ná (1.143)  
 I-call-him  
 If you will press against this rock, then I  
 will go to see the owner and call him.

by a desiderative colon:

ex. 3 (Hypoth:háni?) Pro:?o-bík'a l-te-h-ná-?ma  
 if you-want me-eat-up  
 (Seq:pwés Apod:ga-hó-k'i-wan-ci  
 well I-will-call-him  
 l-i-bohná dulú (1.61)  
 the-their-owner turkey  
 If you really want to eat me up, I will go  
 call the owner of the turkeys.

by an embedded compound sentence:

ex. 4 (Hypoth:háni?) Pro:línka? ?al-gól-i?,  
 if certainly me-it-delays  
 ?ay-ga-gway-ná-ma nów?na (Seq:pwés  
 not-I-arrive right away well  
 Apod:do-dé-h-a gal-késu (1.97)  
 you-eat-it-up the-cheese  
 If I should be late and I do not come back right  
 away, then go ahead and eat the cheese.



- ex. 1      Hypoth:hani? Pro:ay-c'-i-ni-k'o-m-?m-ola?  
             if                   he-had-not-put-them-on-them
- Apod:ay-m-i-ṣ̌in-ya      pạra c'-i-def-ge?  
                                           he-does-not-see-it for what-she-carries-it
- ḷ-aga?no? (51.125)  
                                           the-woman
- If he had not thrown fleas on them, the man would  
             never have seen the woman's sex organs.

### Action-Purpose Sentences

There are both declarative and interrogative action-purpose sentences.

### Declarative Action-Purpose Sentences

The nuclear elements of a declarative action-purpose sentence consist of obligatory action and purpose tagmemes joined by an obligatory connective tagmeme. The time of the action taking place in the action tagmeme is antecedent to the action of the purpose tagmeme.

The action and purpose tagmemes are manifested by independent clauses:

- ex. 2      Action:pwés ?untéřo ḷḷḷ ?él gobiyéřno  
                                           well all                   the government
- hów-b      m-u-ṣ̌ṃás-ba      Pur:pạ́ra  
                                           finished it-loosed-him      for
- di-gwáy-wo (28.25)  
                                           he-will-arrive
- It was the government who allowed him to come  
             here.

The connective tagmeme is occupied by pạ́ra "for" as illustrated above. The only peripheral element occurring is



the optional sequential tagmeme manifested by ʔí "and".

### Interrogative Action-Purpose Sentences

The nuclear elements of an interrogative action-purpose sentence consist of obligatory action and purpose tagmemes joined by an obligatory connective tagmeme. As in its declarative counterpart, the time of the action taking place in the action tagmeme is antecedent to the action of the purpose tagmeme.

The action and purpose tagmemes may be manifested by independent clauses:

ex. 1 (Seq:tóns) Action:ʔíma ʔaɫ-baʔné-h-maʔ  
then you me-block

(Con:páŕa) Pur:ʔaɫ-ma-ʔá-ʔm (5.13)  
for me-kill-will  
Have you stopped me to kill me?

or the action tagmeme may be manifested by a potential interrogative particle sentence:

ex. 2 Action:bé dé g-áfši (Con:pérř  
what medicine for

Pur:ʔay-g-o-šná-go-na-ya) (10.10)  
not-you-drink-it  
What pills should I take to stop drinking?

The interrogative action-purpose sentence has accompanying interrogative intonation. The connective tagmeme is manifested by paŕa "for" and the only peripheral element occurring is the sequential tagmeme manifested by entónses "then".

## Cause-Effect Sentences

The nuclear elements of a cause-effect sentence consist of obligatory cause and effect tagmemes joined by an obligatory connective tagmeme. The cause tagmeme states the reason that produces the result described in the effect tagmeme.

The cause tagmeme is manifested by an appositional phrase:

- ex. 1 (Con:póř) Cause:l-emá'a, gal-múl'a, (seq:ʔí  
           for                  the-sky the-moon                  and  
                                   Effect:déntřo l-in?núwa? ʔi-ʔwa-gí-? (1.108)  
                                           inside the-pool it-appears  
           Because of the moon in the sky there was a reflection in the pool.

or by an independent clause:

- ex. 2 Cause:d-cawe-ná-ma má l-eyWáy m wáta wáta,  
           it-rises                  very the-mist          little little  
                                   (Seq:ʔí ʔal-domí ma-lu-lí-h-yi) (11.46)  
                                           and the-money we-earn-it  
           Only mist rises and that is why we have no money.

The effect tagmeme is manifested by an independent clause as illustrated in example 2 above.

The connective tagmeme is manifested by póř éso "for that reason" as in the second example above, or by póř "for" as in the first example above. The connective tagmeme predominantly occurs between the cause and effect tagmemes. When the connective tagmeme is manifested by póř éso "for that reason", the cause tagmeme precedes the effect tagmeme.

Compound Sentences

Compound sentences consist of two or more independent clauses joined without a connective tagmeme. There are two kinds of compound sentences: quotation and series sequence.

## Quotation Sentences

Quotation sentences are either declarative or interrogative.

Declarative Quotation Sentences

The nuclear elements of a declarative quotation sentence consist of obligatory quotative and quoted tagmemes. The quotative tagmeme is manifested by clauses whose predicates are filled by a restricted list of verb roots: mi "to say, to tell"; gwa "to say, to think"; nes "to say"; ha?a "to shout"; and, dalay?e "to answer".

The quoted tagmeme is manifested by any declarative sentence type.

- ex. 1      Qtv: ?i-mí-ba,              Qtd: ?a-k'á (1.127)  
                  he-said-to-him              it-is-good  
 The lion replied, "It is good."
- ex. 2      Qtv: di-gwá-y    Qtd: 1-?é-wa-ca              g-aník'  
                  they-say              we-must-work-there              (28.37)  
 They said, "Let's work."
- ex. 3      Qtv: ma    kiya i-nes-go-na-ba,    Qtd: do-fi-Nn-la?  
                  very this he-said-again              you-tie-it-up  
                  1-o-cigi 1-o-kabayo 1-o-baston (69.416)  
                  your-dog your-horse your-walking-stick  
 This same one said again, "You tie up your dog,  
 your horse, and your walking stick!"

- ex. 1      Qtv:kwando l-i-ba-Nn-da      aluwego  
               when    his-having-stayed right-away
- i-ha?a-ba    mařiya, Qtd:hose, i-ba-Nn-da  
               she-shouted Marřa      Josė    he-stayed
- hesukřisto (64.154)  
               Jesus-Christ
- When he was born, Maria shouted right away,  
               "Jose, Jesus Christ has been born."
- ex. 2      Qtv:l-ogwena i-dalay?e-ma Qtd:mehoř l-ek'wa?  
               the-other he-answered      better her-pubic-
- area (55.88)
- The other devil answered, "Better try her pubic  
               area."

In order of frequency of usage, mi "to say", is used more than all the other verb roots combined.

### Interrogative Quotation Sentences

The nuclear elements of an interrogative quotation sentence consist of obligatory quotative and quoted tagmemes. The quotative tagmeme is manifested by three of the same verb roots that manifested the quotative tagmeme for the declarative type: mi "to say, to tell"; gwa "to say, to think"; and, nes "to say". In addition to these verb roots, the quotative tagmeme for the interrogative sentence is manifested by gwi-cuf "to ask", and gwis-?e "to ask". The quoted tagmeme is manifested by an interrogative sentence.

- ex. 3      Qtv:dáy-gwi-cuf-le Qtd:bé      dé    g-áfři  
               you-ask-let                    where what medicine
- pěř ?ay-g-o-řná-go-na-ya (10.10)  
               for not-you-drink-it-again
- Ask, "What pills should I take to stop drinking?"

- ex. 1      Qtv:di-how-la?      di-gwis-?e-?ma      Qtd:de  
                  finished-let-it      he-will-ask-him      what
- g-of-?e-s-pa      g-o-go<sub>1</sub>-go-b-o?      (83.43)  
                  you-did-it      it-detained-you
- Then he asks her, "What happened to you that you are so late?"

An exception to the quoted tagmeme being manifested by only an interrogative sentence is the following example which contains both a potential declarative and interrogative sentence:

- ex. 2      (Qtv:di-gwa)      Qtd:ay-nes-ba i      pe      g-o-ba?a  
                  he-says      I-said      and where it-is
- g-i-ba-may-da      l-aynaga? ?a?      (42.101)  
                  it-resulted-in-it      the-cornfield
- He said, "I answered, and where is my cornfield?"

#### Series Sequence Sentences

The nuclear elements of a series sequence sentence consist of two or more sequence tagmemes manifested by independent clauses which either follow each other logically or in time, or, one is a repetition of the other.

- ex. 3      Seq<sub>1</sub>:káda kín ?apárte      Seq<sub>2</sub>:?apárte  
                  each one is-apart      is-apart
- Seq<sub>3</sub>:?apárt      Seq<sub>4</sub>:?apár      (11.24)  
                  is-apart      is-apart
- Each one has to be offered something.
- ex. 4      Seq<sub>1</sub>:číya di-bul-af-gí-m-?me,      Seq<sub>2</sub>:ká  
                  now they-pick-it-up      this
- di-?no-f'í-m-?me      Seq<sub>3</sub>:ká  
                  they-hold-it-up      this
- di-?no-f'í-m-?me      (11.19)  
                  they-hold-it-up
- Then they pick it up and hold this up and that up.

## Sentence Fragments

Sentence fragments are unfinished sentences that are interrupted by the speaker himself:

ex. 1 háni má de-gáŋ-k'o-le kwalkéřa má  
if very they-tempt-him whatever very

ʔa-gwéga?... (13.10)

big  
But if they were to really do a lot...

or by someone else:

ex. 2 tówa g-idíne ʔi-gól-b dó ɭíya ʔi-ʔé...  
how-many day it-delayed like thus (14.14)  
How many days was it like that...



## CHAPTER IX

### DISCOURSES

#### Monologues

The nuclear element of a monologue consists of an obligatory body tagmeme manifested by one or more paragraphs without a shift of speaker.

The peripheral elements consist of optional opener and closer tagmemes. The opener tagmeme is manifested by the predicate di-bá?a "it is" (1.1).

The closer tagmeme is manifested by a demonstrative phrase:

- ex. 1      má    líya lé?a (1.161)  
             very this that-is-all  
             That is all there is.

by a temporal verb:

- ex. 2      hów-ba (6.183)  
             finished  
             That is all.

or by both a demonstrative phrase and a temporal verb:

- ex. 3      má    líya lé?a. hów-ba. (25.72, 73)  
             very this just finished  
             That is all. It is finished.

#### Conversations

The nuclear element of a conversation consists of an



obligatory body tagmeme manifested by one or more paragraphs in which there is a shift of speaker in a context of speaker-listener interaction:

ex. 1      PT: ǀNǀǀ  
              oh

AM: di-gwá ʔa-špé lan-šan-úk' dó ǀ  
      he-says lots the-people like this

      ʔi-go-b-óla?  
      it-happened-to-them  
They say that lots of people died like that.

PT: ǀNǀǀ (13.13-15)  
      Yes.

The paragraphs of a conversation tend to be much shorter than those of a monologue and are composed of a higher percentage of sentence particles and fragments.

CHAPTER X

TEXTS

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Text</u>
Clemente Zarate	1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 19, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32.
Abraham Martinez	2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28.

Eighty-five texts comprise the concordance used in writing this paper. These texts are numbered in the thesis and can be correlated to their alphabetical reference in the IBM Concordance according to the following key:

Thesis	IBM	Thesis	IBM
1	LT	15	IG
2	AL	16	IL
3	AY	17	LN
4	AH	18	L
5	CC	19	LY
6	CF	20	LD
7	C1	21	LX
8	CZ	22	L4
9	DA	23	LU
10	DL	24	MA
11	DN (a)	25	MC
12	DN (b)	26	M
13	DX, LS	27	SM
14	EM	28	TA

Thesis	IBM	Thesis	IBM
29	TL	58	L4
30	T1	59	L5
31	TN	60	LO
32	ZB	61	LW
33	AD	62	L6
34	AG	63	MT
35	CN	64	MJ
36	C2	65	MZ
37	DE	66	OG
38	GA	67	PD
39	G2	68	PE
40	GR	69	PS
41	GG	70	PI
42	GI	71	PM
43	GL	72	SA
44	GX	73	SN
45	GU	74	SE
46	IJ	75	SI
47	IX	76	SL
48	JC	77	TF
49	LB	78	T2
50	LE	79	T3
51	LG	80	TS
52	LM	81	TJ
53	LI	82	XA
54	LJ	83	XJ
55	LL	84	XN
56	L2	85	XM
57	L3		

## Text 1

- (1) di-bá'a, kíya, 1-acól. (2) ?í ?i-šim-ba  
 it-is this the-turtle and he-saw-him  
 Once upon a time there was a turtle. He saw a

1a-bodé. (3) mí-ba m-áy-wil', ?al-tef'-lá?. (4)  
 the-vulture said-to-him my-uncle me-carry-let  
 vulture. He said to the vulture, "Uncle, carry me!"

ga-šan-cá-da g-emála-y ?igúlwa-y.  
 I-look-around-there hills valleys  
 I want to see the hills and valleys."

- (5) ?í 1-i-hów-ba, 1-ácol ?i-def'-ki-m-bá,  
 and when-it-finished the-turtle he-was-being-carried  
 And then, the turtle was carried on farther by

?i-déf'-ba      l̄a-bodé.      (6)    l-i-gwáy-da  
 he-carried-him    the-vulture      when-he-arrived-there  
 the vulture.      When the turtle

?a-gúli?, l-i-gwáy-?e-na      l̄-ácol,      ?i-mi-m-bá,  
 far      when-he-arrived-him-there    the-turtle    he-said-to-him  
 arrived at a distant place, the vulture said to him, "Are

?a-máfka do-š̄an-cé.      (7)    ?i-mí-ba,      ?a-mafká  
 happy      you-look-around      he-said-to-him    happy  
 you happy at what you see?"    The turtle replied, "I like

ga-š̄an-cé      bi-layg-emála-y, bi-layg-egúlwa-y.  
 I-look-around    the-little-hills    the-little-valleys  
 to see the little hills and valleys."

(8) ?í hów-ba      ?u-yay-?e-m-bá,      má      di-?wá-?a-n-e  
 and finished    he-passed-him-on    very    he-goes-him-on  
 And then the vulture actually carried the turtle

l̄-acól.      (9)    ?a-def'-gi-yá?.      (10)    l-i-gwáy-?e-go-na-da  
 the-turtle      a-carried-one      when-he-arrived-him  
 on farther.    The turtle was a passenger.    When the vulture

dó      l̄u?wá?,      ?a-gúli?      wá-?a-go-na-ba,      ?i-mí-m-  
 again-there    like there      far      went-him-on      he-said-  
 carried him quite a ways farther on, he said to the turtle,

ba,      ?a-máfka da-š̄on-cé.      (11)    ?i-mí-ba  
 to-him    happy      you-look-around      he-said-to-him  
 "Are you happy at what you see?"      The turtle replied,

?a-máfka ga-š̄an-ce.      (12)    ?i-mí-ba,      bi-layg-igúlwa-y,  
 happy      I-look-around      he-said-to-him    the-little-valleys  
 "I like to look around."      The turtle said, "Especially the

bi-layg-emála-y.      (13)    hów-ba      ?u-yáy-?e-go-na-ba.  
 the-little-hills      finished    he-passed-him-on-again  
 little valleys and hills."    Then the vulture carried him

some more.

(14) l-i-hów-ba,      ?i-mí-ba,      m-áy-wil',  
 when-it-finished    he-said-to-him    my-uncle  
 And then the turtle said to him, "Uncle, your

du-wé      ga-fáy      l̄-o-wák.      (15)    ?i-mí-ba  
 it-smells    excrement    the-your-head      he-said-to-him  
 head smells awful."      The vulture said,

há. (16) dé g-of-gwa-bá. (17) ?i-mí-b ?á?i.  
 oh what is-you-said he-said-to-him no  
 "Oh? What did you say?" The turtle said, "Nothing."

(18) bi-layg-igúlwa-y, bi-layg-emála-y. (19) hów-ba má  
 the-little-valleys the-little-hills finished very  
 I like the little valleys and hills." Then he carried

di-?wá, di-?wá-?a-n-i. (20) hów-ba ?u-yáy-? ?u-yay-  
 he-goes he-goes-him-on finished hesitation he-passed-  
 the turtle on some more. Then the vulture took him to

?a-m-bá, gwáy-?e-go-na-da ?a-gúli?. (21) ?i-mí-b  
 him-on arrived-him-again-there far he-said-  
 a distant point. The turtle

m-áy-wil', du-Wé ga-fáy l-o-Wák.  
 to-him my-uncle it-smells excrement the-your-head  
 said, "Uncle, your head smells awful."

(22) ?i-mí-ba há. (23) dé g-of-gwá-pa. (24)  
 he-said-to-him oh what is-you-said  
 The vulture said, "Oh? What did you say?"

mí-ba ?á?i. (25) bi-layg-igúlwa-y, bi-layg-emála-y.  
 said-to-him no the-little-valleys the-little-hills.  
 The turtle said, "Nothing. I like the little valleys and hills."

(26) ?í l-i-hów-ba, má di-?wá-?a-n-i.  
 and when-it-finished very he-goes-him-on  
 And then the vulture carried him on farther.

(27) ?í hów-ba ?i-nés-go-na-ba. (28) l-i-nés-go-na-  
 and finished he-said-to-him-again when-he-said  
 And then the turtle said to him again, he said bad

ba la-dáygi?, l-i-mí-ba, m-áy-wil',  
 to-him-again the-word when-he-said-to-him my-uncle  
 words, he said, "Uncle, your head smells awful."

du-Wé ga-fáy l-o-Wák (29) ?ánda kabřón  
 it-smells excrement the-your-head walk goat  
 "Get out of

?i-mí-m-ba ?entónse ?al-mí-ba ga-dáygi má?  
 he-said-to-him then me-said-to word you  
 here you rascal!" the vulture said, "You have insulted me."

(30) ?í l-i-hów-ba?, ?e-šay-l'é-b l-i-špúla?  
 and when-it-finished he-twisted-it the-his-back  
 And then the vulture twisted his back and the

la-bóde, ?í l-ácol míf-ke-na-ma l-ámac'.  
 the-vulture and the-turtle fell-off the-ground  
 turtle fell to the ground.

(31) dí-ba dó ká gal-ředónde l-ábik, ?i-bá-f'-kay-na-  
 it-is like this the-round the-rock he-hit-on-top-of-  
 There was a round rock that the turtle struck.

da l-ácol (32) l-i-bá-f'-kay-na-da  
 it-there the-turtle when-he-hit-on-top-of-it  
 When the turtle struck the rock,

l-ábik, l-ácol, ?e-ba-ná-ma l-i-b-eléwa nul-ém, m-  
 the-rock the-turtle it-broke the-his-shell one-time  
 his shell broke into pieces.

i-yuláy-na-ba. (33) hów-ba ?i-cawe-ná-ma l-ácol,  
 it-happened-to-it finished he-arose the-turtle  
 Then the turtle stood up without

a-b-išik' de-gaš-oya, ?áy-l-o-ba l-i-b-élewa?, hów-ba  
 it-is-meat he-stands not-it-is the-his-shell finished  
 any shell since it was in pieces.

?e-bá-ma. (34) gwáy-go-?ma gál-šmu. (35) ?i-mí-ba  
 it-broke arrived-certainly the-lion he-said-  
 A lion came along and said, "I am going to

gál-šmu, ga-de-?m-ó?. (36) ?i-mí-ba, náda  
 to-him the-lion I-will-eat-you he-said-to-him nothing  
 eat you up." The turtle replied,

?ay-m-ał-te-?má. (37) haní? do-gwá ga-dé-?m-o?, pwés,  
 not-me-eat if you-say I-will-eat-you well  
 "No you are not going to eat me. If you want to eat me,

laŋ-k'e-n-lá?. (38) laŋ-k'e-n-l l-ay-b-elewá?. (39) la-  
 make-it-let make-it-let the-my-shell  
 then put my shell back together.

naŋ-k'i-n la-naŋ-k'i-na-lá?. (40) pwés, gál-šmu ?i-  
 hesitation me-sew-for-it-let well the-lion he-  
 Sew it together for me!" Well, the lion

dalayʔé-ma mí-ba . ga-láŋ-k'e-na-ʔm-óʔ. (41) pěro di-  
 answered said-to-him I-will-fix-up-you but it-  
 answered and said, "I will fix you up. But when

fu-Nn-ná-c-o, ga-de-h-na-ʔm-óʔ.  
 fattens-let-you I-will-eat-you-up  
 you get fat, I will eat you up."

(42) ʔí l-i-hów-ba, gál-šmu, ʔwíf'-na-ba  
 and when-it-finished the-lion gathered-together-it  
 And then the lion gathered the pieces of the tur-

l-i-b-elewáʔ, ʔé-n ʔe-náŋ-k'i-na-ba. (43) l-  
 the-his-shell hesitation he-put-him-into-place the-  
 tle's shell and put them into place. The

acól l-i-láŋ-k'e-na-b l-i-b-elewáʔ dó g-i-ʔík'.  
 turtle when-he-fixed-it-up the-his-shell like his-form  
 turtle had his shell fixed up like it used to look.

(44) ʔe-ná-ci-ŋo-l-na-ba púřo peďáso.  
 he-sewed-it-together completely pieces  
 The lion sewed the shell together out of little pieces.

(45) ʔí l-i-hów-ba, ʔu-yáy-na-ba l-acól,  
 and when-it-finished he-passed-on the-turtle  
 And then the turtle went on his way and the

ʔí gál-šmu ʔu-yáy-na-ba. (46) ʔi-mí-m-ba, ʔal-ʔóřa  
 and the-lion he-passed-on he-said-to-him the-time  
 lion went on his way. The lion said, "Whenever

bé l-ayf-dalay-f'áy-na-g-oʔ, ga-dé-h-na-ʔm-oʔ.  
 where where-I-meet-you I-will-eat-you-up  
 I meet you again, I am going to eat you up."

(47) ʔentónse, ʔi-ším-ba přiměřo, di-guc'-áf'-ya  
 then he-saw-him first he-sits-on-top-of  
 Well, the first time that the lion saw him, he

l-abóne. (48) di-de-h-á g-ebóne, l-acól.  
 the-cactus he-is-eating-it his-cactus the-turtle.  
 was sitting on a cactus. The turtle was eating the cactus.

(49) ʔí l-i-hów-ba, gál-šmu gwáy-go-ʔma,  
 and when-it-finished the-lion arrived-certainly  
 And then, the lion appeared and saw him.

?i-ším-ba. (50) ?i-mí-ba čí línka ga-de-h-na-  
 he-saw-him he-said-to-him now certainly I-will-eat-  
 He said to him, "Now I certainly will eat

?m-ó?. (51) ?i-mí-b ?áy-m-ał-te-?ma.  
 you-up he-said-to-him not-me-eat  
 you up." The turtle said, "You are not going to eat me up."

(52) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?e-bí-?i-m-ba g-ebóne,  
 and when-it-finished he-gave-to-him his-cactus  
 And then the turtle gave him some cactus and the

?i-dé-ba gál-šmu.  
 he-ate-it the-lion  
 lion ate it.

(53) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?u-yáy-na-ba l-acól.  
 and when-it-finished he-passed-on the-turtle  
 And then the turtle passed on his way.

(54) ?áy. te-gi-yá?  
 not to-be-eaten  
 He had not been eaten.

(55) l-i-hów-ba, ?i-ší-ŋo-na-ba l-acól.  
 when-it-finished he-saw-him-again the-turtle  
 And then the lion saw the turtle again.

(56) ?éste, dí d-šín-i-lah a-dulú. (57) d-šin-í  
 this hesitation he-sees-them turkeys he-sees  
 The turtle was taking care of some turkeys. He was

lan-dúlu di-yé-lo-go-yi ?a-špéla?. (58) ?i-mí-m-ba  
 the-turkeys they-go-together many he-said-to-him  
 taking care of some turkeys that were walking around. The

l-acól, čí línka ga-de-h-na-?m-ó?. (59) mí-ba  
 the-turtle now certainly I-will-eat-you-up said-to-him  
 lion said to the turtle, "Now I am going to eat you up." The

náda ?ay-m-ał-té-?ma. (60) pórke ?iyá? ?ał-guc-iŋ-k'í-  
 nothing not-me-eat because me me-sat  
 turtle replied, "No, you are not. I have been put here to

m-ba lan-dulú, ga-?é-h-la kwidááo. (61) haní?  
 the-turkeys I-am-doing-to-them care if  
 take care of these turkeys. If

?o-bík'a l-te-h-ná-?ma, pwés ga-hó-k'i-wa-n-ci l-i-bohná  
 you-want me-eat-up well I-will-call-him the-their-  
 you really want to eat me up, I will go call the owner of



dúlu. (62) ?í di-gway-ná-ŋi kíya, d-ší-na-?m-  
owner turkey and he-arrive-here-let this he-will-see-  
the turkeys. When he gets here and takes over again,

ola? l-i-dúlu, ?entónse, ?iyá? ?al-té-h-na-?ma.  
them the-his-turkeys then me me-eat-up  
then you can eat me up.

(63) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-mí-ba, haní?  
and when-it-finished he-said-to-him if  
Then he said to the lion, "If for some reason I

línka ?ay-ga-gway-yú-ma, pwés m-u-mle-?é-ma, go-dé-  
certainly I-not-arrive-here well it-makes-it-hungry you-  
do not come back and you are hungry, eat a turkey."

h-a g-o-dúlu. (64) ?u-yáy-na-ba l l-acól,  
eat-it your-turkey he-passed-on hesitation the-turtle  
The turtle went on his way and

?í gál-šmu ?i-bané-ma, ?i-guc-i-ŋay-b-ó lan-dulú.  
and the-lion he-remained he-sat-them the-turkeys.  
the lion stayed and watched the turkeys.

(65) ?í l-i-hów-ba, gál-šmu, ?í-ba  
and when-it-finished the-lion it-happened-it  
And then the lion became hungry because it was

menák'o, ?u-mle-?é-ma, ?igwá-ba náda ?ay-m-i-gwáy-  
noon it-made-him-hungry he-said nothing not-he-arrive-  
noon and he said, "He is not coming back so I had better

ya, pwés, ga-de-h-wá-la? g-ay-dulú. (66) ?i-cawé-ma gál-  
will well I-eat-it-let my-turkey he-arose the-  
eat a turkey." The lion arose

šmu, ?i-wów-ba. (67) golá? di-?nól-?ma gal-dúlu.  
lion he-chased-it may he-will-grab-it the-turkey  
and chased a turkey. He wanted to grab the turkey.

(68) ?í gal-dúlu ?i-yú-f'-gi-na-b ?i-yú-na-ba. (69) ?í  
and the-turkey he-jumped-up he-flew-away and  
And the turkey jumped up and flew away. And

?a?í dúlu, ?ów ga-bóde. (70) fé-l-?mo-l'i-go-m-ba lé  
not turkey just vulture deceived-him-again that-is-all  
the turkey turned out to be a vulture. The turtle fooled

gal-šmu.  
the-lion  
the lion again.

(71) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?u-yáy-na-ba hów-ba l-  
and when-it-finished he-passed-on finished the  
Then the turtle kept on his way.

ácol. (72) gwáy-na-da gúli c-fáy-na-ba l-imuk'ó?  
turtle arrived-there far entered the-thicket  
He entered a thicket far away.

(73) ?í l-i-hów-ba, dáli-guf-i-na-ba. ((74)  
and when-it-finished met-him  
Then the lion met him again.

ši-ŋo-na-bá, mí-m-ba l-ácol, čí l'inka ga-dé-  
saw-him-again said-to-him the-turtle now certainly I-will-  
When he saw him he said to the turtle, "Now I am certainly

h-na-?m-o?. (75) ?i-mí-ba, ?a?í m-al-té-?ma. (76)  
eat-you-up he-said-to-him no me-eat  
going to eat you up." The turtle said, "No, you are not.

ga-šin-á g-abimí?, l-guc-iŋ-k'i-m-bá. (77) háni? ?o-bík'a  
I-see-him baby me-sat if you-want  
I have been put here to take care of this baby. If you want

l-té-h-na-?ma, pwés, ga-hó-k'i-wa-n-ci g-i-?mamá?  
me-will-eat-up well I-will-call-her-there-let his-mother  
to eat me up, then I will go call his mother.

(78) pwés, dí di-gwáy-na-ŋi g-i-?máma?  
well hesitation she-arrive-here-let his-mother  
When his mother gets here then you can eat me up."

l-abími?, ?entóns ?il-té-h-na-?ma ?á?  
the-baby then me-will-eat-up

(79) ?í l-i-hów-ba, l-ácol ?u-yáy-na-b  
and when-it-finished the-turtle he-passed-on  
Then the turtle went on his way again and the

?iyá ?í gál-šmu guc-i-ŋé-ma l-abimí?. (80) ?i-mí-m-ba  
again and the-lion sat-him the-baby he-said-to-  
lion took care of the baby. The turtle

háni? ?ay-ga-gway-ná-ma m-u-mle-?é-ma pwés do-dé-  
him if not-I-arrive it-makes-it-hungry well you-  
said to him, "If I do not come back and you are hungry,

l abími?. (81) ?í l-ácol, ?u-yay-ná-ba hów-ba.  
eat-it-let baby and the-turtle he-passed-on finished  
eat the baby." Then the turtle went on his way.

(82) hów-ba gál-šmu ?í-ba menák'o ?i-mí-b gwá-ba,  
 finished the-lion it-happened noon hesitation said  
 Then when it was noon, the lion said to himself, "I am

u-mle-gó-ma, pwés mehóř ga-dé-h-wa-la? gálg-abimi?. (83)  
 it-is-hungry well better I-eat-it-let the-big-baby  
 hungry and I better eat up this big baby."

?i-cawé-ma gál-šmu gal-méhuł, ?i-bul-guf-bá. (84) kwándo  
 he-arose the-lion the-hammock he-picked-him-up when  
 The lion stood up near the hammock and picked up the baby.

l-e-dóm-ba gal-méhuł l-i-bul-guf-b  
 when-he-struck-it the-hammock when-he-picked-him-up  
 The lion struck the hammock when he picked up the baby and

ł-abími?, ?í bány g-oňwáfla? di-cu-k'ó píya. (85)  
 the-baby and just hornets they-are-inside here  
 there were many hornets inside the bundle that he thought

?i-dúf-ko-fi-b ?á-špe g-oňwáfla?. (86) gá-m-ba gál-šmu.  
 he-brought-out many hornets bit-him the-lion  
 was a baby. He stirred up the hornets. They stung the lion.

(87) gál-šmu l-i-gá-m-ba, l-i-yúf-gi-b  
 the-lion when-they-bit-him when-he-jumped-up  
 When they stung the lion he jumped up and down and

?i-há?a-ba, ?i-nú-ba, c-fáy-na-ba ł-imúk'o?  
 he-shouted he-ran entered the-thicket  
 shouted and ran away and entered a thicket.

(88) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?u-yáy-na-ba ł-acól.  
 and when-it-finished he-passed-on the-turtle  
 And then the turtle passed on his way again.

(89) hów-ba ?i-dáli-gf-go-na-ba. (90) di-guc-íNn-ya  
 finished he-met-him-again he-is-sitting  
 The lion met him again. The turtle was

l-in?nówa?. (91) ?i-mí-ba ?iyá? ga-?éh kwidádo gal-  
 the-pool he-said-to-him I I-do care the-  
 sitting at a pool. The turtle said, "I am taking care of

késu. (92) mí-ba gál-šmu, pěro náda šway-gó-da  
 cheese said-to-him the-lion but nothing filled  
 this cheese." The lion said, "I am filled up with your lies

?a-m-al-felay-mo-l'í? čí lřnka má ga-dé-h-na-?m-o?  
 not-me-lie-again now certainly very I-will-eat-you-up  
 and today I am going to eat you up."

(93) ?i-mí-ba, náda ?ay-m-ał-te-h-á. (94) pwés,  
 he-said-to-him nothing not-me-eat-up well  
 The turtle replied, "You are not going to eat me up."

dí-ba ı-i-bóhna gal-késu ká?a, ga-?áyh kwidádo. (95)  
 it-is the-its-owner the-cheese this I-do care  
 This cheese has an owner and I am taking care of it.

ga-lé-go-wa-n-ci. (96) ga-ho-k'i-wa-n-cí ı-i-  
 I-will-get-him-there-let I-will-call-him-there-let the-its-  
 I will go and get him. I will go call the owner and

bóhna, ga-gwáy-?e-na-ŋi fá?a, ?í di-hów-la?  
 owner I-will-arrive-him-here-let here and it-finish-let  
 when I bring him here, then you can eat me up."

?ał-te-h-na-?má. (97) hów-ba? gál? ?i-mí-m-ba  
 me-will-eat-up finished hesitation he-said-to-him  
 Then he said to the lion, "If I

gál-šmu, háni? ııŋka ?ał-gól-i?, ?ay-ga-gway-ná-ma  
 the-lion if certainly me-it-delays not-I-arrive  
 should be late and I do not come back right away, then

nów?na, pwés, do-dé-h-a gal-késu. (98) do-šná-ŋwa  
 right-away well you-eat-it-up the-cheese you-are-drinking-  
 go ahead and eat the cheese. First drink

tá lá-ha?, ?í gal-késu do-?wa-h-go-ná-?ma, do-  
 it this the-water and the-cheese you-will-approach-it you-  
 the water and then you can get at the cheese and eat it."

té-ŋwa. (99) ?i-mí-ba hów?na. (100) ı-ácol  
 are-eating-it he-said-to-him all-right the-turtle  
 The lion said, "All right." The turtle

?u-yáy-na-ba. (101) ?í-ba ?u-mle-?é-ma gál-šmu,  
 he-passed-on it-happened it-made-him-hungry the-lion  
 went on his way. When the lion got hungry he said, "I

?i-gwá-ba, ga-té-h-wa-la gal-kesú. (102) hów-ba k'o-h-  
 he-said I-will-eat-let the-cheese finished stooped-  
 ought to eat the cheese." Then he stooped

máy-ba ı-ín?nowa?, ?i-šná-ba lá-ha?. (103) ?i-gwá-ba  
 over the-pool he-drank-it the-water he-said  
 over the pool and began drinking the water. He said,

?oříta ga-?wá-h-go-?ma gal-késu.  
 in-a-little-while I-will-approach-it the-cheese  
 "It will not be long until I get to that cheese."

(104) ?í l-i-hów-ba, šná-ba lá-ha?, mán-a  
and when-it-finished drank-it the-water full  
And then the lion drank the water and filled up

l-i-gú?u g-i-dúga? gál-šmu. (105) ?í náda gal-  
the-his-stomach himself the-lion and nothing the-  
his stomach. But he still did

késu ?ay?-g-i-?wa-h-má?, ?ásta déntřo.  
cheese not-he-did-approach-it until inside  
not come close to the cheese, it was still inside.

(106) ?í l-i-hów-ba gál-šmu, mán-a g-i-gú?u,  
and when-it-finished the-lion full his-stomach  
Then the lion's stomach exploded by itself and

ndáf'-ba l-i-gú?u g-i-dugá?. ?í kí gal-késu  
exploded the-his-stomach himself and this the-cheese  
the cheese remained in the pool.

?i-bané-ma kómo siyémpře. (108) ?í kí ?a?í késu, pŕv  
it-remained like always and this not cheese for  
Actually there was no

l-emá?a, gal-múl'a, ?í déntřo l-in?núwa?, ?i-?wa-gí-?.  
the-sky the-moon and inside the-pool it-appears  
cheese but only the reflection of the moon in the pool.

(109) pwés tódo ?al-késu g-i-?ík'. (110) fél-?mi-m-ba  
well all the-cheese its-form lied-to-him  
The moon looked just like cheese. The turtle

mí-m-ba ká ?a-késu. (111) ?í l-in?núwa? ?á-špe  
said-to-him this it-is-cheese and the-pool much  
lied when he said, "This is cheese." And the pool was

náda ?ay-g-i-šná g-i-šný-k' g-i-hów-?ne-?ma lá-  
nothing hesitation not-he-drank-it not-he-finished-it the-  
still there because the lion could not finish drinking it

ha?. (112) ?í l-ácol ?u-yáy-na-ba.  
water and the-turtle he-passed-on  
up. And the turtle passed on his way again.

(113) l-i-hów-ba, ?i-dál-guf-go-na-ba. (114)  
when-it-finished he-met-him-again  
Then the lion met him again.

l-acól, di-?ní-f'-ya ?al-wóša, l-úba. (115) di-  
the-turtle he-is-up-in the-organ-cactus the-top he-  
The turtle was perched on top of a cactus He

dé-h-a gal-wóše l-i-ma-h-bá l-i-?ás.  
 is-eating-it the-organ-cactus the-it-was-ripe the-its-fruit  
 was eating the ripened fruit of the cactus plant.

(116) l-i-hów-ba, gál-šmu ?i-mí-ba, čí  
 when-it-finished the-lion he-said-to-him now  
 Then the lion said, "Today for sure I am going

líŋka ga-de-h-na-?m-ó?. (117) šwáy-go-da m-ał-felay-h-  
 certainly I-will-eat-you-up filled me-lied-to-  
 to eat you up. I am filled up with all

mo-l'í-?. (118) pwés, l-ácol dalay?é-ma ?i-mí-ba  
 again well the-turtle answered he-said-to-him  
 of your lies." Well, the turtle replied, "No, you are not

nađa ?ál-te-h-na-?ma. (119) pwés, do-de-góf-la gal-  
 nothing me-will-eat-up well you-taste-it-let the-  
 going to eat me up. Have a taste of this cactus."

wóše. (120) mí-ba, dé do-dé-?ma. (121) mí-  
 organ-cactus said-to-him what you-will-eat-it said-  
 The turtle said, "Do you want some?" The

ba ga-dé-?ma. (122) hów-ba ?e-wé-ba gal-wóše,  
 to-him I-will-eat-it finished he-hunted-it the-organ-cactus  
 lion replied, "I will eat some." Then the turtle looked for

l-i-má-h-ba, ?e-šnú-h-ba, g-i-dúga l-i-bíl'. (123) hów-ba  
 the-it-ripe he-peeled-it itself the-its-flesh finished  
 some ripened cactus fruit and peeled it. Then

?i-mí-ba čá do-špol-mi-lá?, ga-gá-h-mi-?i-?m  
 he-said-to-him come-on you-close-eyes-let I-will-throw-it-  
 the turtle said, "Close your eyes and I will toss it down

l-o-m-ehók'. (124) hów-ba? gál-šmu ?e-kwáf'-ba  
 in the-your-throat finished the-lion he-opened-it  
 your throat." Then the lion opened his mouth

l-í-go ?í ?i-špol-mi-ba l-i-?ú?, ?í-ga-h-  
 the-his-mouth and he-closed-eyes the-his-eyes he-threw-  
 and closed his eyes and the turtle tossed the fruit down

mi-?i-m-ba l-ehók' gal-wóše. (125) hów-ba  
 it-in the-his-throat the-organ-cactus finished  
 his throat. Then the

?i-de-bá. (126) ?i-mí-ba kiyá, dé ?á-k'a. (127)  
 he-ate-it he-said-to-him this what it-is-good  
 lion ate it. The turtle asked him, "Was it good?"

ʔi-mí-ba ʔa-k'a (128) mí-ba dé šónɡa?  
 he-said-to-him it-is-good said-to-him what more  
 The lion replied, "It is good." The turtle asked him, "Will

do-dé-ʔma. (129) mí-ba šónɡá? (130) hów-ba ʔe-  
 you-eat-it said-to-him more finished he-  
 you eat more?" The lion replied, "More." Then the

dú-h-go-na-ba ɭ-i-ʔás. (131) galg-ik'ášwi. (132) ɭ-  
 picked-it-off the-its-fruit the-big-green the  
 turtle picked some more fruit, the really green fruit, the

i-b-ídak' řésiyo. (133) ʔe-gá-h-mi-ʔi-m-ba ɭ-ehók'.  
 its-thorns hard he-threw-it-in the-his-throat  
 kind that had lots of thorns. He tossed it in his throat.

(134) mí-m-ba čá do-špól-mi-gon-la? ʔe-gá-h-mi-ʔi-  
 said-to-him come-on you-close-it-again-eyes he-threw-it-  
 The turtle said, "Close your eyes again," and he

m-ba ɭ-ehók' gal-šmú. (135) ʔi-yúf-gi-b, ʔi-háʔa-ba,  
 in the-his-throat the-lion he-jumped-up he-shouted  
 tossed it down his throat. The lion jumped and

ʔi-nu-ná-ba, ʔi-cu-fay-ná-ba ɭ-imuk'ó? (136) ʔí ɭ-áčol  
 he-ran-away he-entered the-thicket and the-turtle  
 shouted and ran and entered the thicket. The turtle

ʔu-yay-na-bá.  
 he-passed-on  
 passed on his way.

(137) ʔí ɭ-i-hów-ba, ʔi-dáli-gf-i-na-ba ɭ-acól  
 and when-it-finished he-met-him the-turtle  
 Then he met the turtle again.

ʔiyá. (138) šin-ím-ba du-mé-h-k'o ɭ-  
 again saw-him he-is-pressing-against-it the-  
 When he saw the turtle, he was pressing

abík. (139) ʔu-me-h-k'áy-k' ɭ-ábik řésiyo. (140)  
 rock he-is-pressing-against-it the-rock hard  
 against a rock. The turtle was pressing hard against it.

ʔi-mí-ba náda ʔay-m-aɭ-te-h-á. (141) pōřke ká  
 he-said-to-him nothing not-me-eat-up because this  
 The turtle said, "You are not going to eat me up. I have

ɭ-ábik ʔaɭ-boʔnó-m-ba ʔiyá? ni-móso. (142) nu-me-h-k'áyk'  
 the-rock me-placed me I-helper I-press-against-it  
 have been put in charge of this rock. I am pressing

l-abík haní? ká?a di-mef-ke-wó. (143) mí-m-ba  
 the-rock if this it-will-fall-over said-to-him  
 against this rock so that it will not fall." The turtle

gál-šmu, pwés, hání línka? do-me-h-k'áyk'-?ma  
 the-lion well if certainly you-are-pressing-against-it  
 said, "If you will press against this rock then I will go

l-ábik, ?iyá? ?ay-?wá-ba l-i-bóhna ga-ho-k'í-na. (144)  
 the-rock I I-go the-its-owner I-call-him-there  
 to see the owner and call him.

?í di-gway-ná-ŋi kíya, du-mé-h-k'ay-na-?m l-  
 and he-arrives-here-let this he-will-press-against-it the-  
 When he gets here then he can press against the rock and

abík, ?í ?al-te-h-ná-?ma. (145) ?i-mí-b há?ni dó  
 rock and me-will-eat-up he-said-to-him if like  
 you can eat me up." The lion said, "That is

lí né?. (146) hów-ba l-ácol ?u-yáy-na-ba.  
 this all-right finished the-turtle he-passed-on  
 all right with me." Then the turtle passed on his way.

(147) ?i-mí-m-ba gál-šmu lá?a, hání línka? ?ay-ga-  
 he-said-to-him the-lion if certainly not-I-  
 He said to the lion, "If I do not get back right away

gway-ná-ma, hów-ba šo-gay-d-ó?, pwés, dáy-nu-la?, ?ún gólpe  
 arrive finished tired-you well you-run-let a blow  
 and you are tired, run hard.

dáy-nu-la?. (148) do-há?a-li ?í do-fwíc-la?. (149)  
 you-run-let you-shout-let and you-whistle-let  
 Shout and whistle.

l-ábik di-méf-ge-wo.  
 the-rock it-will-fall-over  
 The rock will fall over."

(150) ?í l-i-hów-ba, l-ácol ?u-yáy-na-ba.  
 and when-it-finished the-turtle he-passed-on  
 And the turtle went on his way.

(151) l-u-yay-ná-ba, ?í gál-šmu šo-gáy-da ?í l-ábik  
 when-he-passed-on and the-lion tired-him and the-rock  
 When he had gone the lion was tired and he let loose

?ú-šmas-ba. (152) ?i-há?a-b, ?i-fwíc'-ba. (153) ?i-  
 he-released-it he-shouted he-whistled he  
 of the rock. He shouted and whistled. He





ʔún gólpe. (165) pwés, ɭ-ónaɭ de-bá-wo,  
 it-let a blow well the-cocoroso-nut it-will-break-it  
 The nut will break and you can eat

do-dé-ʔma. (166) hów-ba gál-šmu ɭ-ésway kí  
 you-will-eat-it finished the-lion the-his-testicles this  
 it." Then the lion placed his testicles

ʔní-f'i-ba ɭ-ábik, ʔí ʔogwéna ɭ-ábik ʔi-bul-áf'-ba,  
 picked-it-up the-rock and another the-rock he-picked-it-up  
 on one rock and picked up another rock and hit them.

ʔe-ganá-f'i-b ʔún gólpe. (167) ɭ-ésway gál-šmu  
 he-threw-it-on a blow the-his-testicles the-lion  
 The testicles were smashed

ʔe-ba-ná-ba, hów béf'-gi-na-b, ma-na-bá. (168) ʔi-  
 he-broke-it finished fell-over killed-him it-  
 and the lion fell over dead. That

hów-go-na-ba. (169) má ɭíya léʔa.  
 was-finished very this that-is-all  
 was the end. This is all there is.

## Text 2

(1) pwés číya, ʔi-bík'a ɭ-amihkán de-mane-láʔ. (2) di-  
 Well, today a boy wants to marry her. (2) He

le-go ɭ-ágaʔno, ʔi-haná-h-ba. (3) péřaʔ, la-bimá-ye ʔay-  
 wants to marry a woman that he loves. (3) But her relatives

mi-gwá-yi. (4) di-gwá-yi gołáʔ di-šwáy-ci ʔuntéřo máne,  
 disagree. (4) They say, "He should have everything that

ɭ-a-nanɭ-go-yá. (5) pwés lá gál-šans ʔay-l-o-báʔ kí ʔal-kánsó  
 he needs first." (5) But the man does not have the means to

pářa di-šwáy-ʔmi-ʔma. (6) ʔi-bík'a má bé ɭ-o-šway-go-yá.  
 meet the requirements. (6) He wants to marry now.

(7) pwés la-ʔáyi ní tampóko ʔay-mi-gwá-yi, ʔi-gwá-ba di-  
 (7) And the father disagrees also, he says, "Everything

šwáy-ci má ntéřo. (8) číya pwés, ʔay-m-í-ʔi-ya m-i-le-go-  
 should be taken care of. (8) Today, then, the boy cannot

yá-gu ɭ-áy-ʔwa. (9) má ɭí léʔa gá-gwa.  
 marry my daughter." (9) That is all there is I say.

## Text 3

(1) pwés číya hów-ba ?ay-le-gó-ba l-ay-fí?no?. (2) ní  
 (1) Well today I took my wife. (2) All

l-i-bimá-ye ntěro ?i-gya-h-gó-ba. (3) hów-ba ?ay-gwá-?e l-  
 her relatives heard about it. (3) Then I brought her to

ay-n-ehůl' ?untěro. (4) hów-b ?al-dés-mi, hów-ba la-bós-?me,  
 my house. (4) She has fed me and washed my clothes.

?untěro. (5) číya ?ay-bík'a ga-šín-la? g-áy-?wa péro náda  
 (5) Today I want to have a son but I have not

?ay-ga-šín-á g-áy-?wa. (6) pěra čí gwá-m-ba di-bá ?al-  
 had any children. (6) But now they say that there is

řeměd. (7) pwés, ga-ším-?ma čí g-áy-?wa. (8) má lí lé?a.  
 medicine for this. (7) Well I will have a son then. (8)

That is all there is.

## Text 4

(1) ?iyá ?ay-fá-ba l-áy-?mał. (2) ?a-gwéga? ?ay-fá-ba.  
 (1) I planted some maguey. (2) I planted a lot.

(3) dá ?ogé?, ?a-fáneh míl g-úši. (4) ?í ga-šwí-k'o?  
 (3) I planted about two or three thousand shoots. (4) And

?amac', ?amac'.  
 then I keep it clear of weeds for year after year.

(5) di-hów-la? di-dó-h-la?, pwés, ?iyá? ne-déf'-ba.  
 (5) When my maguey has matured, then I carry it away.

(6) hów-b ?i-dogól-ba l-áy-?mał'. (7) ?ay-ma-k'é-ba ?a-  
 (6) My maguey has ripened. (7) I cooked the maguey

núli g-ába l-áy-?mał, ne-mú-ba.  
 in an earth oven that I had made.

(8) l l di-hów-la?, ga-Wás-da. (9) ga-déf-?ma, ga-  
 (8) Then I uncover the maguey. (9) I carry it away

?wá-?a-?ma ?al-palénke. (10) ga-gwáy-?e-ci ?al-palénke,  
 to the still. (10) When I get it to the still,

ga-k'ál-da l-ay-kanówa ?í ga-laŋ-k'é-?ma l-ay-káhon.  
 I go and carve out a trough and fix up my vat.

(11) ga-déf-da l-áy-kanówa pára gá-de-go-?ma, ?í l-ay-káhon  
 (11) I go and carry my trough back that I am going to use in

pára ga-ná-h-mi-?ma l-ay-b-unšalí?. (12) di-dó-h-yo-?ma  
 mashing and get my vat ready in which to throw the mash. (12)

píya. (13) hów-ba ne-dé-ba, nám ?áy-?e-ba l-ay-kahón. (14)  
 It can ferment there. (13) I mashed it up and filled my vat.

ga-šku-lay-gúf-?ma. (15) 1-i-bagás ga-ga-ŋúf-?ma, ?ónlka  
 (14) I then squeeze out the mash. (15) I throw out half of

ga-?é-?ma, ?í má ?ónlka má kí mísimo, di-báne-wo. (16) ga-  
 the fiber and leave half in the vat. (16) I

de-go-ná-?ma dá ogéh kanówa, ga-wán-ci-?ma, ga-héh-l'e-na-  
 beat up about two troughs of mash and mix it all up with the

?ma.  
 mash in the vat.

(17) di-hów-la? di-dó-h-la? ?al-tepáči, ?ay-laŋ-k'é-  
 (17) When the mash has fermented, I fix up my cooking

ba 1-ay-n-ebíšu. (18) ?ay-dál-ba lay-?órno. (19) ?ay-?é-  
 pots. (18) I plastered my oven. (19) I got

ba ?a-malbú? 1-ay-n-ebíšu gi-bá-?a-go-?ma, ?í 1-ay-n-emégey  
 ready four cooking pots for extracting the mezcal, and four

?a-malbú?, ?í 1-ay-balánsa ?a-malbú?, 1-ay-hú-l-ti? ?a-malbú?,  
 distilling pots, and four distilling dippers, and four water

1-ay-botéya ?a-malbú? pára ga-š?áy-k'o-?e-?ma l-ay-b-ihá-  
 jars, and four bottles for the mezcal that will be distilling

?ma 1 di-bá-ŋi.  
 into them.

(20) hów-ba, ?ay-šá-f'i-ba. (21) ni-bá-?a-ba tódo hów-  
 (20) Then I put it on to cook. (21) I extracted all

ba. (22) ?i-bá-ma l-ay-b-ihá-?ma 1 ni-bá-?a-ba. (23) dá ?a-  
 of it. (22) My mezcal was extracted. (23) About

fáne? ?a-málbuh baříl ?i-bá-ma. (24) hów-ba ?ay-?wá-?a-ba.  
 three or four barrels were extracted. (24) Then I took it

(25) wamelúlu ?áy-gu-h-wó-?ma l-ay-b-ihá-?ma 1. (26) ?áy?  
 away. (25) I sold it in Huamelula. (26)

pí hów-ba, ?ay-?wá-?a-na-ba ntěro l-ay-b-ihá-?mał ?ay-gu-h-  
Then, I took all my mezcal and sold it there.

wo-ná-?ma. (27) hów-ba  
(27) That is all.

## Text 5

(1) di-bá?a ?a-núli gal-šáns ?i-fá-ba l-al'áne. (2) m-i-  
(1) There once was a man who planted some beans. (2) And

gwáy-da tempráno, ?i-té-ba, hów-ba gal-konéhu řés ?i-té-ba  
when he arrived at his bean patch early in the morning, a

?a-gwéga? l-al'áne. (3) m-i-gway-gó-na, l-ogwéna g-idíne  
rabbit had eaten a lot of his beans. (3) And when he arrived

tempráno, ?i-té-go-na-ba gal-konéhu l-al'áne. (4) ?á-špe  
there the next morning, the rabbit had eaten his beans again.

wélta di-?áyh l-i-fálta gal-konéhu di-dé-ha l-al'áne gal-  
(4) The rabbit kept on doing wrong by eating the man's beans.

šáns.

(5) ?í l-i-hów-b l-i-gway-gó-na, ?i-té-go-na-ba l-al'áne  
(5) And again he arrived at his bean patch and again the

gal-konéhu.  
rabbit had eaten some more.

(6) l-i-hów-ba gál-šáns ?i-gwá-ba, číya ga-bo?nó-?ma  
(6) Then the man said, "Today I am going to make a helper

gal-móso, di-?noł-ín-na-?me gal-konéhu.  
who will seize this rabbit."

(7) l-i-hów-ba gál-šáns ?i-laŋ-k'e-bá gal-móso. (8)  
(7) Then the man made his helper. (8)

?i-dáł-ba ?ebašíl. (9) ?i-?é-ba dó gal-šáns.  
He made it out of bees' wax. (9) He made it look like a man.

(10) l-i-hów-b ?e-gáš-k'o-ba l-el'áne. (11) l-e-gáš-  
(10) Then he placed it in his bean patch. (11) When

k'o-ba l-el'áne ?í l-i-gway-gó-na li-búgi? gal-konéhu pára  
he placed it in his bean patch and the rabbit came again at

di-de-go-ná-?ma l-al'áne, pwés ?i-mí-ba, ?ánda kabřón nęgro.  
night to eat the beans, he said, "Get out of here, you black

(12) dé ?íma de-čo-bá?. (13) tóns ?íma ?al-ba?né-h-ma? pára  
Bascal. (12) What are you doing here? (13) Have you stopped

?al-ma-?á-?m. (14) ?i-mí-ba do-?wáy-go-wa-la?. (15) gu-  
me to kill me?" (14) The rabbit said, "Wait a minute. (15)

ndáf'-?m-o ga-máne. (16) hów-ba gal-konéhu ?i-cu-fáy-ba bé  
I will hit you." (16) Then the rabbit entered where the

l-a-gaš-?úya l-ebašíl, l-i-bo?nó-m-ba gal-móso. (17) l-i-  
tar baby was standing. (17) When

gwáy-da gal-konéhu ?e-ga?-ní-b la-máne, ?e-linú-m-ba ga-máne.  
the rabbit got there, he hit the tar baby with his hand and

gal-móso. (18) l-i-bí-Nm-ba ga-máne, ?i-dal-i-ņe-ná-ma l-i-  
it stuck. (18) When he hit the tar baby with his hand, his

máne.  
hand was stuck to the tar baby.

(19) l-i-hów-ba ?i-mí-ba do-?wáy-go-wa-la?. (20) di-  
(19) Then the rabbit said, "Wait a minute. (20) I

bá l-ogwéna l-ay-máne ?iyá. (23) ?e-de-bá. (24) l-ogwéna  
have another hand." (23) He hit him. (24) When he

l-i-máne l-e-ga?-ní-ba, ?i-dal-i-ņe-ná-ma ?owk'wá?.  
hit him with his other hand, it was stuck too.

(25) l-i-hów-ba ?i-mí-ba do-?wáy-go-wa-la?. (26) di-bá  
(25) Then he said, "Wait a minute. (26) I also

l-áy-?mis ?iyá. (27) l-í-?mis ?i-bá-ba gá-?mis. (28) l-í-  
have feet." (27) He kicked him with his foot. (28) His

?mis dal-í-ņe-na-ma líya. (29) mí-ba do-?wáy-go-wa-la?.  
foot also was stuck. (29) He said, "Wait a minute.

(30) di-bá l-ogwéna l-áy-?mis ?iyá gwáy-go-da. (31) hów-ba  
(30) I have another foot that I can kick you with." (31)

?i-bá-ba g-í-?mis l-ogwéna l-í-?mis ?iyá. (32) dal-í-ņe-  
Then he kicked him with his other foot. (32) That foot

na-ma ?owk'wá?. (33) hów-ba ?i-dal-i-ņe-ná-ma? l-i-máne l-  
was stuck also. (33) Both his hands and his feet were stuck.

l-?míc-i?. (34) ?i-mí-ba do-?wáy-go-wa-la?. (35) di-bá  
(34) He said, "Wait a minute. (35) I have

l-áy-go, l-áy-ʔayʔ, ga-gá-ʔm-oʔ ʔiyá g-áy-ʔay.  
a mouth with teeth in it, I can also bite you."

(36) l-i-hów-ba ʔi-gá-ba. (37) l-i-gá-ba, l-i-gá-m-ba  
(36) Then he bit him. (37) When he bit the black

gal-négřo, dal-i-ŋe-ná-ma l-í-goʔ ʔiyá l-i-ʔáyʔ. (38) dal-  
tar baby, his mouth and teeth were stuck. (38) He

i-ŋe-ná-ma nul-émma. (39) ʔay-l-o-báh módoʔ pářa di-nu-ná-  
was completely stuck. (39) There was no way for him to

ʔma gal-konéhu. (40) l-i-gwáy-da l-i-bóhna g-al'áne  
run away. (40) When the owner of the bean patch came

tempřáno, gal-konéhu ʔi-ʔnoł-i-na-yáʔ. (41) ʔi-dal-i-ŋe-  
in the morning, the rabbit was stuck fast. (41) The bees'

ná-ma l-ebášil kí l-i-boʔno-m-bá. (42) gal-móso hów-ba ʔi-  
wax that he had placed had the rabbit stuck. (42) The helper

ʔnół-na-ba. (43) ʔi-dal-iNn-ná-ba l-i-máne, l-i-ʔmíc'-iʔ,  
had seized the rabbit. (43) The rabbit's hands, feet, and

l-í-goʔ.  
mouth were stuck.

(44) l-i-hów-ba kí, mí-m-ba ʔógweci ʔímaʔ n-al-té-ʔe-  
(44) Then the owner said, "So you are the one who has

ba l-ay-n-el'áne. (45) ʔóřa sí n-o-k'áył-ge-na-ma čí do-  
been eating my beans. (45) Now you have been caught and you

ʔná-h-ce-ʔma l-o-fálta.  
will pay for your sins."

(46) ʔí l-i-hów-ba ʔi-ʔnoł-i-ná-ba gal-konéhu, ʔi-  
(46) Then he grabbed the rabbit and put him in his

ʔni-h-mí-m-ba gal-gubúk. (47) di-ʔní-h-mi-m-ba gal-gubúk  
carrying net. (47) He put him into his net and

ʔi-mí-m-ba čí do-ʔwáy-go-wa-łaʔ. (48) dá-mane-ʔma  
said, "Wait a minute. (48) You are going to marry."

(49) l-i-hów-baʔ ʔi-ʔwá-ʔ-m-ba dó lúʔwa, húŋ-k'i-ŋ-woʔme  
(49) Then he took him over there and hung him from a

ʔal-ʔék.  
tree

(50) ?í l-i-hów-ba pára di-ma-k'é-ni l-inu-gá-ha?, di-  
 (50) Then he got ready to cook some water to scald the

ba-f'í-m-?me góla? kí gal-konéhu.  
 rabbit.

(51) l-i-hów-ba, ?i-gway-gó-?ma gal-koyóte. (52) gál-koy  
 (51) Then the coyote appeared. (52) The rabbit

gal-koyóte mí-m-ba, mí-ba m-áy-wil', pwés, dá-mane-la? ?imá?  
 said to him, "Uncle, you should get married.

(53) ?iyá? ?i-gwá-m-ba da-mané-?ma. (54) mí-ba náda ?íya?  
 (53) I was told that I would marry. (54) But I cannot get

?ay-ga-mane-yá pórke kíya, ?iyáh na-?wá. (55) ?ay-m-i-?i-  
 married because I am too small. (55) I cannot get

yá ga-mane-yá ma-la-denl-go-gó-ya. (56) ?imá? ?uη-gwéga?,  
 married, it will not do for me. (56) Since you are big,

pwés, dá-mane-la numáy? ?imá?, de-dénl-go-go-?m-o?. (57)  
 you should get married because it will be good for you." (57)

mí-m-ba gal-koyóte čá du-gus-may-yú-ηi gal-gubúk ?íya gi-  
 He said to the coyote, "Come on and get into the net and I

bá-na-wo. (58) hów-ba gal-konéhu ?e-gwáy-l-na-ba gal-gúbuk,  
 will get out." (58) Then the rabbit loosened the net and

?i-ba-ná-ma. (59) ?í gal-koyóte kí cu-fáy-ba gal-gúbuk, ?i-  
 got out. (59) The coyote got into the net.

?ní-h-may-ba. (60) kwándo l-i-gway-gó-na-da gál-šans, l-i-  
 (60) When the owner of the bean patch arrived,

gway-gó-na l-i-bóhna g-al'áne kíya, gólá dé-mane-?ma kiyá  
 the one who was going to marry the rabbit, he was bringing

gal-koyóte, gal-konéhu, ?i-?wa-?wá-ni l-inu-gá-ha?, mí-m-  
 hot water with him and said, "So, Mister rabbit, you have

ba tónse guη-konéhu di-do-h-w-ó? ?í-b ?uη-gwéga?. (61) hów-  
 grown up and become a big one." (61) Then

b ?i-bá-f'í-m-ba g-inu-gá-ha?. (62) hów-b ?i-?wolóf'-ge-  
 he threw the hot water on the coyote. (62) Then the coyote

ba řésiyo. (63) ?i-c'ál-ge-na-ma gal-gúbuk, ?i-nu-ná-ba,  
 twisted and turned. (63) The net broke and the coyote ran



?i-cu-fay-ná-ba gal-háša. (64) l-i-cu-fay-ná-ba gal-háša  
away and entered a patch of bamboo. (64) When he entered

hów-b ?i-giŋ-k'ó-m-ba g-úŋa ?esté, ředónæ. (65) ?i-?níš-  
the bamboo patch, he set a circle on fire. (65) The bamboo

lay-go-ba řésiyo gal-háša, ?u-ndaláf'-ge-ba. (66) há?a-ba  
crackled and roared. (66) The man

gal-šáns ?á? ?i-mí-ba, de-mané ?á? gal-konéhu. (67) di-?é  
shouted, "The rabbit is getting married. (67) It is

h-f'e ?á?. (68) ?níš-ley-h-ma? řésiyo. (69) de-mané dón  
the celebration. (68) It crackles a lot. (69) Mister rabbit

konéhu. (70) má lí lé?a.  
is getting married." (70) That is all there is.

## Text 6

(1) di-bá?a ?a-núli l-aga?no?. (2) de-bó ?al-baná?.  
(1) There once was a woman. (2) She bathed at the

(3) ?í l-i-hów-ba, kwándo l-i-gwáy-?ma l-i-b-igyá-hma?,  
river. (3) And when she came to her senses, she had

?i-gulá?a-ba ?al-dóngay? l-umoš-abík' bé l-unce-há?. (4)  
climbed up to where there was a cave in the soft rock. (4)

pí di-?ní-k'ó l-aga?no?.  
There the woman stayed.

(5) ?í l-i-hów-ba ?i-bá-Nm-ba l-aga?no?, ?í-ba dá ?a-  
(5) She stayed there for about a year.

núli g-ámac'.

(6) l-i-hów-ba, déf-ba l-aga?no l-í-iwa ?a-núli bo?no-  
(6) Then she became pregnant and gave birth to a child.

ba. (7) ?í l-i-bá-Nn-da l-a?wák'wa kíya, ?í-ba kíya, dá  
(7) And after the child was born about four or five

?a-málpu máke l-émac'.  
years passed.

(8) ?í l-i-hów-ba, l-aga?no? l-i-ším-ba l-egúwe?, ?i-  
(8) And after the woman had found her lover, she ran

nu-ná-ba. (9) ?i-?wá-ba ?al-kámpo, ?í ?aluwégo 1-agá?no  
away. (9) When he went out to the field to work, the

?i-?wá-na-ba pára 1-i-bima-yé, nú-na-ba.  
woman ran away to her relatives.

(10) ?í 1-i-hów-ba, 1-i-gway-ná-?ma 1-agá?no, lé-h-ma  
(10) And when the woman arrived, she had a child with

1-i-?iwá. (11) ?i-dó-h-ba 1-a?wák'wa.  
her. (11) The child was grown up.

(12) ?í 1-i-hów-ba, 1-a?wák'wa kíya, ?e-gaŋ-k'ó-m-ba  
(12) And then she put her child in school to study.

?al-skwéla, ?i-muše-gó-m-ba. (13) kwándo di-mušé-h-ma ?al-  
(13) And when he studied at

skwéla ?í 1-i-kompanyéřo di-fule-yí. (14) de-de-na-lá? 1-  
school, he fought with his companions. (14) He beat up on

1-i-kompanyéřo, du-li-h-na-lá?. (15) ?ásta abéses m-í-?i-?m  
his companions. (15) Sometimes he even killed

di-má-?a-na-la? 1-i-kompanyeřó?. (16) Wáy-ba g-i-fwěřsa  
them. (16) This boy was a

řésiyo gal-mučáču.  
strong one.

(17) ?í 1-i-hów-ba, ?e-bo-?i-m-bá. (18) 1a-?áyi mísmo  
(17) And then he was baptized. (18) The priest

?i-?é-ba g-i-padrínó. (19) bul-áf'-gi-m-ba kí 1-a?wák'wa.  
himself became his god-father. (19) The priest was the one

(20) péřo ?i-ba-máy-da ?a-katóřse fwěřsa řésiyo, níh náyci  
who became his god-parent. (20) But the boy grew up into a

n-o-li-h-yá. (21) ?i-búhři gal-mučáču du-li-h-ná-la? buláf'ka?  
superman who could not be beaten. (21) The boy was so strong

1-i-f'ás-mučáču.  
that he beat all his companions.

(22) ?í 1-i-hów-ba 1-i-padrínu mí-ba, pwés ?í číya, do-  
(22) And then his god-father said, "I better raise this

láy-cu ga-lay-cuf-go-?má. (23) ?ága 1-gwe-k'é-?ma ?iyá?  
boy. (23) Maybe he will obey me.

(24) di-we-h-gó-?ma šōnga? l-ay-mandááo, dé layf-mí-ya, l-  
 (24) Maybe he will follow what I tell him to do.

ayf-gušé-?e-ya. (25) šōnga l-gwe-k'é-?ma ?iyá?. (26) ?imá?  
 (25) He will obey me more. (26) He

má? ná ?ay-m-i-gwe-k'e-w-ó?, ?ay-m-i-wé-h-ma wéno?, l-áy-  
 will not obey you nor does my church child follow anyone

?wah šowde?. (27) pwés čí mehōř ga-lay-cuf-go-ná-?ma ?iyá?.  
 well at all. (27) It would be better for me to raise him.

(28) ?ága l-gwe-k'é-?ma. (29) ?áy dó-le m-í m-i-?e-go-ná-ya,  
 (28) Maybe he will obey me. (29) He should stop beating

m-i-ma-?a-yag-óla? l-i-bimá-ye, m-e-de-yag-óla?.  
 and killing his companions."

(30) ?í l-i-hów-ba, lay-cuf-gó-ba l-i-padrínu mísmo  
 (30) Then the priest became the god-father of the

la-?áyi?  
 boy.

(31) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?í má ?išpík' di-mušé-h-ma ?al-  
 (31) And the boy continued on studying at school.

skwéla. (32) ?í má ?išpík' l-i-móáo di-fúle-yi l-i-kompanyěřo  
 (32) But he did not change his ways and continued

?í du-lí-h-na-la?. (33) m-u-ndáf'-na-?m-ola? ga-máne gal-  
 to beat up on his friends. (33) When he hit them with his

núli mák'ka di-?é-ŋwa. (34) di-má-ŋwa gál gal-mučáču.  
 hand he knocked them unconscious. (34) The victim would die.

(35) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-dó-h-ba gal-mučáču, ?í-ba béynte  
 (35) And when the boy was twenty-five years old, no one

sínko ?ányo l-émac', ?í ?í náda m-u-li-gi-n-í. (36) špík g-  
 could beat him. (36) His strength

i-fwěřsa. (37) kwalkěřah šáns dé m-i-ške-k'ó-?me, siyémpře  
 was the same. (37) Whoever he hit would die.

di-má-?a-na-la?. (38) ?a-gwéga g-i-b-úhši dí-ba gál-šans.  
 (38) This man was mighty strong.

(39) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-mí-m-ba, mí-ba l-í-f'ac-a-?áyi  
 (39) Then the priest said to a fellow priest, "Scare

čá, do-špáy-k'e-la?. (40) ká? ?ay-l-o-báh módo pára de-hak'-  
this boy for me! (40) There seems to be no way to get

má. (41) gal-šáns golá? de-hák'-la?. (42) Wáy-ba g-i-b-úhši.  
rid of this man. (41) I wish he were dead. (42) He is too

(43) ká? la-wé-?e-η-a g-al-fálta. (44) Wáy-ba g-i-fwěrsa.  
strong. (43) He causes me trouble. (44) He is too strong.

(45) mehóř de-hák'-la? golá?. (46) pwés mí-ba li-f'ac-a-  
(45) It would be better that he die." (46) So he said to

?áyi čá du-guc-af-gáy-ci ?al-kampanářiyo, ?í dí-?i-la? médiya  
his fellow priest, "Sit on top of the belfrey and when it

nóče, dí-?i-la? nolóhmay? g-i-búgi?, ga-mí-?ma, kíya, l-áy-  
is midnight I will say to my church child, "Go ring the

?wah šówde?, čá, do-?wá-la? da-de-Nn-cí. (47) ?al-?óra ?i-  
bell! (47) It is twelve

?wa-h-go-bá nolóhmay? g-i-bugi?, ?á lás dóse dé lá nóče.  
o'clock midnight.

(48) da-dé-Nn-ci gal-kampána.  
(48) Go ring the bell!"

(49) ?í l-i-hów-ba, la-?áyi ?i-cawé-ma, ?i-guc-af-gáy-  
(49) Then the priest rose up and sat up on top of the

ba ?al-kampanářiyo fá ?al-dongáy?.  
belfrey way up in the air.

(50) ?í l-i-hów-ba l-í-?i-ba nolóhmay? g-i-bugi?, kíya  
(50) Then when it was midnight, the god-father priest

gal-padríno la-?áyi mí-ba l-í-i-?wah šówde?, čá da-de-Nn-cí.  
of the boy said to his church child, "Go ring the bell!"

(51) ?i-?wá-h-go-ba ?al-?óra, ?á lás dóse dé lá nóče. (52)  
(51) Twelve o'clock midnight has come. (52)

čá da-dé-Nn-ci ?al-?óra. (53) ?i-?wá-ba gal-mučáču. (54)  
"Go ring out the time!" (53) The boy went. (54)

kwándo l-i-gwáy-da pára de-dé-Nm-?ma, luwégo la-?áyi? ?i-  
When he got there to ring the bell, immediately the priest

wolóf-ke-ba, ?i-špáy-k'é-m-ba gál gal-mučáču kíya?, l-i-wenáf-  
thrashed around and scared the boy and when he looked up

ba tá ?al-dóngay?, di-guc-áf-ya 1a-?ayí?. (56) hów-go-na-ba  
there was the priest sitting in the belfrey. (56) He had

?al-g-i-b-iháwa? ?ów g-úmi. (57) ?i-gwá-ba ká ?ów g-in-špay-  
put on nothing but black clothes. (57) The boy said, "This

k'á-le. (58) ?aluwégo ?e-šál-ba ?a-núli l-i-máne ?ú-nag-m-  
is a ghost." (58) Immediately he reached out a hand and

ba k 1a-?áyi?, mák' g-i-?e-m-bá. (59) ?i-má-?a-m-ba hów-ba  
banged the priest and knocked him out. (59) He killed the

1a-?áhi?.  
priest.

(60) ?í l-i-hów-ba, lí ?u-yí-?i-wo?ma 1-i-padrínu, ?i-  
(60) Then he went and told his god-father, he said,

mí-ba, padrínu, a-spáy-k'e-ŋ-wo?ma. (61) náda ?al-kampanářiyo  
"God-father, something scared me. (61) That belfrey has

di-bá?a, dí-ba kíya, 1-onda?á. (62) di-guc-áf-ya gal-kampáno  
a devil in it. (62) He was sitting on top of

fá ?al-dongáy?.  
the bell.

(63) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ne-šál-ba ?a-núli l-ay-máne, nu-  
(63) Then I took one of my arms and banged him to the

nagú-ba 1-amác'. (64) ?i-má-ba nul-émma.  
ground. (64) He died."

(65) ?í l-i-hów-ba 1a-?áyi ?i-šwél-go-ba ?i-gwá-ba  
(65) Then the priest was sad and said, "Why the rascal,

náda gal-mahaděra, hów-b 1-má-?e-ba 1-ay-f'ac'-a-?ayí?.  
he has killed my fellow priest.

(66) ?í číya, pwés la-wé-?meh módo ?ogwéna ?iyá.  
(66) Today I will have to look for another way to kill him."

(67) hów-ba líya, ?i-mí-m-ba, číya, do-?wá-?a-?ma ?al-  
(67) Then he said to the boy, "Take this letter.

kárta. (68) ?ay-laŋ-k'e-bá. (69) do-?wa-lá?. (70) ?i-mú-  
(68) I have prepared it. (69) Take it and go!" (70)

ba ?al-?infiyěrno. (71) ?e-ga-h-mí-m-ba fá?a, ?al-?ógay 1-  
He went to hell. (71) He was let down into the lower part

ámác' déntřo, l-ogwéna g-idíne. (72) kwándo l-e-de-h-máy-  
of the earth where another life goes on. (72) When he reached

da, ?i-gú-ba ?al-kárta, ?i-mí-ba l-ondá?a, pwés tay-gway-?é-  
there, he gave the letter to the devil saying, "I have brought

?ma l-o-kárta l-u-mé-ba l-ay-padrínu. (73) ?í-?al-kárta  
you the letter that my god-father sent." (73) The letter

?i-šwe-guf-ím-ba, líya di-gwá, ?al-kárta di-gušé, ?i-mí-m-  
was read and it said, "This one who has arrived cannot be

ba, kí l-i-gwáy-da gál-šans, pwés náda fá?a ?ay-l-o-báh  
taken care of here on the earth.

módo pára lu-lí-h-?me kíya. (74) Wáy-ba g-i-fwéřsa řésiyo.  
(74) He is too strong.

(75) pwés méhoř čí pí dol-hów-?ne-yo-le nul-éma, dol-má-?a-  
(75) I want him to be gotten rid of there, kill him once and

le píya. (76) hów-ba ne-gá-h-mi-ba píya, pwés pí di-how-yo-  
for all. (76) I have lowered him there so that he can be

lá?. (77) náda ?ay-m-i-gwáy-go-na-wo fá?a pórke Wáy-ba ?a-  
finished off. (77) I do not want him coming back because he

gwé g-i-fálta ?í-?e-ba, ?i-ma-?a-b-ólah šan-úk'. (78) ní  
has committed too many crimes in killing people. (78) And

m-u-li-gi-n-í. (79) Wáy-ba g-i-fwéřsa.  
we cannot take care of him. (79) He is too strong."

(80) pwés l-i-hów-ba, l-ondá?a ?i-cawé-ma. (81) ?i-  
(80) Then the devil stood up. (81) He

ho-k'i-na-b-óla? l-i-náške buláf'ka?, ?i-gway-na-?mé. (82)  
called all of his offspring and they came. (82)

?ónlka ?íl-b-ega-lá?, ?ónlka ?íl-bo. (83) ?e-fó-l'e-na-b-  
Some of them had horns and some had tails. (83) He gathered

ola? l-i-náške, buláf'ka? l-ondá?a ?i-gway-ná-?me. (84) ?i-  
together all of his offspring. (84) He

mi-b-óla? pwés číya luwégo dol-nól-le ká gál-šans l-i-gwáy-  
said to them, "Now grab this man who has come.

?ma. (85) dol-ma-?a-lé, ?ó dol-té-le. (86) pórke ká hów-b  
(85) Kill him or eat him! (86) Because he has

?u-mé-m-ba ?a-gwé g-i-fálta féla l-ámac' l-o-?é-ba. (87)  
been sent here for the crimes that he did on earth. (87)

ʔay-l-o-báh móáo pára di-ʔno-l'í-m-ʔme, ʔay-l-o-báʔa pára  
There is no way of handling him up there since they cannot

di-ʔé-ʔme kastigář. (88) ʔá ʔa-gwéga g-i-fwěrsa, du-li-h-  
seize him nor punish him. (88) He is too strong, and wins

na-laʔ lá lan-šan-úk'.  
out over the people."

(89) ʔí l-i-hów-ba, l-ondáʔa ʔi-gušé-ba, ʔi-mí-ba, čá  
(89) Then the devil ordered, "Seize this man right

luwégo dol-nól-le kí gál-šans l-i-gwáy-ʔma. (90) dol-ma-  
away who has arrived. (90) Kill him

ʔa-lé, ʔó dol-té-le.  
or eat him!"

(91) ʔí l-i-hów-b cow-lí-ma Ní l-i-náške l-ondáʔa, luwégo  
(91) Then the offspring of the devil grabbed the man.

ʔi-ʔnoł-áf'-ba gal-šáns. (92) l-i-ʔnól-ba, ʔaluwégo báy-go-  
(92) When they grabbed him, right

fi-ba kí, ʔe-šal-áf'-b-olaʔ ʔa-núli ʔa-núli, ʔe-gaʔ-ni-b-  
away he turned around and picked each one up and threw them

ólaʔ l-ámac', ʔú-nagu-b-olaʔ, ʔi-šim-b-ólaʔ dó hí-pi la-molʔó.  
down to the ground, treating them like they were lizards.

(93) ʔu-lí-h-na-b-olaʔ Ní buláf'kaʔ.  
(93) He won out over them all.

(94) ʔí l-i-hów-ba ʔi-cawé-ma gál-řey kí g-ondáʔa n-o-  
(94) Then the king of the devils who orders all the rest

gušé-ba, ʔu-ndáf'-ba ga-máne. (95) ʔásta l-ámac' ʔi-fén-  
got hit by a hand. (95) The ground shook all

a, ʔíʔ ʔu-ná-ʔa-ba l-ámac' tá fáʔa. (96) ʔu-ná-ʔa-ba stá  
the way up to the top of the ground. (96) The ground rumbled

ʔi-fén-a.  
until it shook.

(97) ʔí l-i-hów-ba, ʔi-f'á-h-na-ma kí gal-katórře fwěrsa  
(97) Then superman climbed back to earth and said

ʔi-guláʔa-na-ba l-i-padřínu ʔi-mí-ba, pwés dó-ta l-al-hów-  
to his god-father, "This is what happened.

- go-wo?ma. (98) pãdřínu, kwándo l-i-hów-ba l-ay-gú-ba ?al-  
(98) God-father, when I gave him the letter he
- kárta, šwe-guf-bá. (99) ?i-hó-k'i-b-ola? l-i-náške, ?e-fo-  
read it. (99) The devil called together all of
- l'e-na-b-óla? buláf'ka? (100) ?i-mí-ba ?í číya, pwés ká l-i-  
his offspring. He said to them, "Now eat
- gwáy-?ma gál-šans, dol-te-lé. (101) hów-b fá ?e-ga-h-mí-m-  
this man who has come. (101) He has been lowered
- ba, fá di-how-yó-?ma. (102) náda pú?wa ?al-dongay? l-ámac'  
here to die. (102) They cannot take care of him
- ?ay-l-o-báh módo pára du-li-gi-m-?mé ká di-?noł-im-?mé. (103)  
nor find any way to seize him." (103)
- ?í číya, pwés fá?a, ?í ká kíya, ?nół-ba. (104) pěro náda ?ay-  
Today they found a way to seize him. (104) But they could
- g-i-lú-li-gi?, ?i-?wa-na-bá. (105) kwándo l-i-gula?a-ná-ba,  
not win over him and he went away. (105) When he climbed
- mí-ba, pãdřínu hów-ba ?éste, n ?ay-má-?a-wo?m-ola? l-ondá-we.  
up to earth he said, "God-father, I went and killed the devils.
- (106) ne-ga-náy-o-l'i-wo?m-ola? dó hí-pi la-mól'o. (107)  
(106) I threw them down like lizards. (107)
- hów-ba l-u-gušé-ba kíya, nu-ndáf'-ba ga-máne, ?i-fén-a l-  
The one who was in command got hit by my fist and even the
- ámac' ?astá?. (108) pwés dó tá l-al-e-?e-wó?m, ?i-mi-bá.  
earth shook. (108) That is what happened to me," he said.
- (109) hów-ba gal-pãdřín ?i-šwel-gó-ma, ?i-gwá-ba náda ?ay-  
(109) Then the god-father was sad and said, "There is not
- l-o-báh módo ?ógwes pára ká lu-li-h-?mé. (110) pwés ?í číya,  
any way to beat this fellow. (110) Today I
- ?ogwénah módo la-wé-?me ?iyá. (111) ?i-gušé-gó-m-ba, ?i-  
will have to look for another way. (111) He ordered the
- ?wá-ba. (112) dí-ba l-iWála, ?i-mí-m-ba, do-?wá-la? l do-  
boy to go on an errand. (112) There was a nearby mountain
- des-mi-c-óla? lan-buřó. (113) ?i-f'a-k'e-b-óla? l-iWála.  
and he said, "Go and feed the burros!" (113) He took them



(114) ?i-mí-m-ba háni? ?u-múy-da, pwés do-šmáj píya. (115)  
up the hill. (114) The god-father said, "If it is late, sleep

di-bá ?ál-?ek, do-f'á-gi ?imá? ?al-dóŋgay?, ?í l-o-búlo do-  
there. (115) There are trees there and you can climb one

fi-ŋí-la ɫ-ámáç', pé gal-bahák', di-de-có-?me ?á? né? ɫík'ay.  
while you tie your burros to eat grass during the night.

(116) ?í-ba g-idíne da-gwayɫ-ná-la?, ?í do-dés-mi-go-na-la?.

(116) When it is daytime, feed your burros some more.

(117) ?áni ?u-mlé-?e-ma, pwés do-?wa-ná-ma.

(117) If you get hungry, come back here again."

(118) l-i-hów-ba, gál-šans, kíya, dés-mi-wo?m-ola? lan-

(118) Then the man went and fed the burros in the mountain.

búro ɫ-iWála. (119) ?í lí-?i l-i-ši-ŋó-ba ?i-muf-k'ó-ba

(119) And when he saw them again it was

(120) kwándo l-i-muf-k'ó-ba ?i-gwá-ba náda ga-šmáj-?ma  
dark. (120) When it got dark he said, "I cannot sleep

pórke ?i-gwá-ba ɫ-ay-padrín do-šmáj. (121) do-f'á-gi ?ál-  
on the ground because my god-father said, 'Sleep. (121)

?ek ?al-dóŋgay?, do-šmáj píya. (122) ?í tempráno do-?wa-ná-  
Climb a tree and sleep there. (122) And in the morning,

ma. (123) pwés mehóř ?i-gwá-ba, čí ?ú ?i-muf-k'ó-ba, ga-  
come back.'" (123) He said, "It is late today, I better

šmáj-wa-ɫá?. (124) ?i-f'á-h-ba ?ál-?ek ?al-dóŋgay?, ?i-šmáj-  
sleep." (124) He climbed a tree and slept.

ba. (125) ?í kwándo l-í-?i-ba l-í-?i-ba g-idíne, hów-ba  
(125) And when it was day, one of his burros had been

ɫ-i-búro ?i-dé-?e-m-ba núli. (126) ?i-dé-?e-na-ba. (127)  
eaten. (126) It was eaten. (127)

?i-dé ?i-te-h-wó?ma gal-tígrí.  
A tiger had eaten it.

(128) ?í l-i-hów-ba ?i-gwá-ba, čí l-aɫ-te-?e-gó-ba ká

(128) Then he said, "Today one of my burros has been

ɫ-ay-búlo ?a-núli. (129) čí ɫ-dalé-da ɫ-ay-padríno. (130)

eaten. (129) My god-father is going to scold me.

bwéna cí, di-gwá-m-?me. (131) dé bé g-of-ce-?-wó?ma gal-  
(130) He will say, 'Good day. (131) What happened to one

búro, ?a-núli ?ay-m-e-hak'-e-wó?ma. (132) pwés čí gal-tígři  
of your burros, you were not to lose any.' (132) Today I

ni-we-h-bá. (133) pé l-i-?wá-ba l-i-?wá-ba lí-?mis, ?i-we-h-  
will hunt the tiger." (133) He followed the footprints of

bá. (134) ?ásta l-i-gwáy-da bé l-únce-ha? l-éhuł' gal-tígři,  
the tiger. (134) When he got to the tiger's den, it was all

du-ná-k'ay-na-ba. (135) hów-ba ?e-šál-wo?ma gal-tígři kíya,  
sprawled out. (135) Then he brought that tiger to his

?i-gwáy-?e-da l-i-padrínu bé l-éjuł l-o-bá?a. (136) mí-b  
god-father's house. (136) He said,

padřínu ká?a ?al-?é-bah fálta ká l-dé-?e-wo?ma l-ay-búro  
"God-father, this is it that wronged me by eating my burro.

(137) pwés, ne-we-wo-ná-?ma, ?ay-ših-wo-ná-?ma. (138) ?ay-  
(137) Then I hunted it and found it. (138) I

?nól-wo-na-?ma. (139) ká ne-šál ?ay-gway-?é-?ma. (140) gal-  
went and seized it. (139) I brought it here on a lasso. (140)

danyěro ká?a n-al-dé-?e-wo-ba l-ay-búlu hí?wa l-i-búgi?.(141)  
This is the rascal that ate my burro last night. (141)

pwés čí, ?ay-fi-?é-ba ?a-lásu. (142) ká ?ay-gway-?é-?ma.  
Today I tied it with a lasso. (142) I brought it here.

(143) dó doł-cín-le ?imá-ŋk' dé g-ol-é-?e-yagu. (144) pwés,  
(143) You can see what you want to do with it." (144) Well,

hów-ba la-?áyi náda ?i-špay-g-úma. (145) ?i-mí-ba náda, ?a-  
the priest was afraid. (145) He said, "That is

gwéga g-íneha kí, dé g-o-me-šál-go-wó?ma kí. (146) mehóř  
a big animal, where did you find it? (146) You

dó-?wa dó-?wa-?a-n-l da-gana-cí kíya l-ága. (147) pára kíya,  
better take it and leave it somewhere. (147) That kind

?iŋk'á fá de-wé-y a-g-i-fálta kíya. (148) pórke kí ?óyak'  
of an animal will cause trouble here. (148) That is a mean

g-ága l-o-le-go-wó?ma. (149) ?aluwégo do-?wá-?a-n-l da-  
animal that you brought. (149) Immediately take it and

gana-cí.  
leave it somewhere!"

(150) ?í l-i-hów-ba, gal-katǒřse fwěřsa ?i-bay-ná-ma.

(150) Then superman returned.

(151) ?i-bay-?e-ná-ma kí gal-tígre, ?e-ga-ŋ-wo-ná-?ma bé?lí?

(151) He took that tiger back where he had found him in the

lé l-e-ša-l'e-wó?ma l-iWála.

mountain.

(152) ?í l-i-hów-ba kwándo l-i-gway-ná-?ma, ?i-gwá-ba

(152) Then when he returned, the priest said, "There

la-?áyi, náda ?ay-l-o-báh módo pářa ká? lu-li-h-?mé. (153)

is no way to beat this fellow. (153)

Wáy-ba ?a-gwé g-i-fwěřsa kwán timás l-inéha? ?u-li-h-wó?ma,  
Think of the strength that he has when he can win over an

?i-?noł-wó?ma, ?i-gway-?é-?ma fá?a l-áhuł'. (154) ?í náda

animal and bring it to the house here. (154) There is

?ay-l-o-bá?a módo pářa ká du-li-gé-wo. (155) pwés ?í číya,

no way to beat him.

(155) Today we will

gúše-go-?me. (156) ?i-mi-m-b-óla?, ?e-fo-l'e-m-b-óla? ?éste,  
order something." (156) He said to twenty-five soldiers that

béynte síŋko soldááo, mi-m-b-óla?, čá dol-má-?a-ca. (157)

he had gathered together, "Go and kill superman!" (157)

ká gal-katǒřse fwěřsa dol-má-?a-ca. (158) náda ?a-gwége g-

Go and kill that superman!

(158) He has committed

i-fálda l-o-?é-ba. (159) pwés ?ay-l-o-báh módo ká?a pářa

too many crimes.

(159) There is no way to win over him.

lu-lí-h-?me. (160) pwés mehǒř dol-má-?a-le. (161) hów-ba

(160) It would be better if you killed him." (161)

lan-soldááo yé-ba. (162) béynte síŋko, ?a-núšans máh-ši gal-

The soldiers went. (162) Twenty-five soldiers went.

soldááo ?i-?wá-ba. (163) kwándo l-i-gwáy-da, ?e-gana-f'í-

(163) When they arrived there, they

ba g-ade-hmá?. (164) ?í kwándo l-i-bay-go-fí-ba gal-katǒřse

shot at him. (164) And when superman turned around, he

fwěřsa, ?i-noł-af'-b-óla? ?a-núli ?a-núli Níya?, ?ú-nagu-b-  
picked up each one of them and dashed them to the ground.

ola? l-ámac'. (165) mák'ka mák'ka g-i-?e-b-óla?. (166)  
 (165) He knocked them all senseless. (166)

ntěro ?i-ma-?a-b-óla? Ní lan-núšans máh-ši lan-soldádo.  
 He killed all of those twenty-five soldiers.

(167) buláf'ka? ?i-ma-?a-na-b-óla?.  
 (167) He killed them all.

(168) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-?wa-ná-ma ?u-yí-?i-ba l-i-padřín  
 (168) Then he returned and told his god-father, "This is

?i-mí-ba dó tá l-al-e-?e-bá. (169) lan-soldádo kí golá' l-  
 what happened to me. (169) The soldiers wanted to

ma-?a-dá. (170) li-bá-ba g-adě-hma?, ?í náda ?ay-ga-li-  
 kill me there. (170) They shot at me but they could not

báy-k'.  
 hit me.

(171) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?ay-?noł-af'-b-óla? ?a-núli ?a-núli  
 (171) Then I picked up each one and dashed them to the

ne-šal-áf'-ba, nú-nagu-b-ola? l-ámac'. (172) pedás ?i-b-  
 ground. (172) I made pieces

óla?, ?i-yulay-b-óla?. (173) ?entěro ?ay-ma-?a-b-óla? Níya?.  
 out of them. (173) I killed all of them."

(174) ?í l-i-hów-ba pwés, ?i-mí-ba dó tá l-al-é-?e-wo?ma.  
 (174) Then he said, "That is what happened to me."

(175) hów-ba la-?áyi ?i-šwel-gó-ma ?i-gwá-ba náda ?ay-l-o-  
 (175) Then the priest was sad and said, "There is just no

báh módó pářa du-li-gé-wo ká?a l-áy-?wa šówde?. (176) ?a-  
 way to win over this church child of mine. (176) He

gwéga g-i-fálta hów-ba la-wé-?e-go-na-ba há?a. (177) k'áyl-  
 has gone and caused me a great deal of trouble. (177) Now

ge-go-na-ma čí l-na-h-čí-ma ?a-gwégah domí. (178) ?í číya,  
 we are going to have to pay lots of money. (178) Today

?ogwénah módó la-wé-?me ?iyá.  
 we will try something else."

(179) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-laŋ-k'é-m-ba l-éhuł' ?i-?ná  
 (179) Then superman built a house and the priest bought a

?a-m-ba l-i-mačete, ?a-gwéga? ?a-gwégah mačete, ?i-dógi,  
machete for him that was so big and long that no one else

nih náy n-o-níf'-ya líya. (180) hów-ba ?i-?é-m-ba ?entřegār  
could use it. (180) Then he gave it to him

?i-mí-m-ba tá dō-?e-go-l g-aník'. (181) ?i-laŋ-k'é-m-ba  
and said, "Use this to work with!" (181) Superman built  
l-éhuł'.  
his house.

(182) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-šwáy-da l-i-?óřa gal-katōřse  
(182) Then when his time was come, superman died all

fwěřsa, ?i-ma-ná-ba g-i-dúga?. (183) ?a-gwéga? g-i-fálta  
by himself. (183) He sure caused a

l-i-?é-ba kwándo l-i-bá-Nn-da kí gal-šáns. (184) hów-ba.  
lot of trouble when he was born. (184) That is all.

## Text 7

(1) ?iyá-ŋk' ?ál kwátřo dé nobiyémbře ?al-e-wo-ná-?me  
(1) On the fourth of November we went to work on our

g-aník' l-al-karíl. (2) lu-nás-wo-ná-?me. (3) ?a-swif'-  
boundary marker path. (2) We went to clean it. (3) We went

wo-ná-?me l-al-paráhe, tódo. (4) ?í kwándo l-al-gwáy-da l-  
to clear it. (4) And when we got there at

emála, ?í kón lan-sánto lusíya?, du-nás-?me ?il-kaříl támbiyen  
the mountain we found that people from Santa Lucía were doing

píya. (5) de-gáŋ-?e-?e-ma l-emála. (6) l-emála l-emála  
the same. (5) They want to take away our mountain. (6)

?il-bík'a li-ba-?e-c-óŋa? l-al-ámac' yá-ŋk'.  
Mountain by mountain they want to take away our land.

(7) ?í l-i-hów-ba l-al-gulá?a-ba píya, swíf-ba l-al-  
(7) Then when we had climbed up we began to clean our

paráhe, ?í lan-sánto lusíya? ?i-mu-l-úma, ?aluwégo l-ba?ne-  
piece of ground and right away these other people came down

b-óŋa?. (8) l-al-ba?ne-b-óŋa?, ?al-mi-b-óŋa?, dol-bay-li-  
and blocked us. (8) They blocked our path and said, "Go

ná-ŋka. (9) ?ay-m-ol-?é-?me g-aník' šongá?. (10) má fáh  
back! (9) Do not work anymore here. (10) This is

g-éma. (11) ?iyá-ŋk' ?al-bay-li-ná-ma tambiyén.  
far enough. (11) We will go back, too."

(12) pwés, l-i-hów-ba, náda. (13) ?aluwégo ?i-štu-lé-  
(12) Well, nothing could be worked out. (13) Immediately

ma. (14) la-gana-f'i-b-óna? g-adé-hma?. (15) ?al-ma-?a-b-  
they got mad. (14) They shot at us. (15) They killed

óna?, ?ogé-ši?, áf, ?ogé-ši?, ?a-fán-ci l-al-can-úk' ?al-  
two, no, three people of ours.

ma-?a-b-óna?. (16) ?a-núli g-uftíne, ?éste, ?á-martín  
(16) The first one that they killed was

gonsáles, gál-příméro l-i-má-?a-ba. (17) ?í gal-segúndo l-  
Martín González. (17) The second one

i-má-?a-ba, g-uftíne, ?éste, mařgaríto rodríges.  
that they killed was Margarito Rodriguez.

(18) ?í l-i-hów-ba, l-ogwéna ?iyá ?i-bá-ba g-adé-hma?,  
(18) Then another one that they hit was Luis Jiménez.

?i-má-?a-ba, luwís himénes g-uftíne. (19) ?í l-i-b-ílya?  
(19) His former town

kí g-i-?wa-yó-ma dě santiyágo tekolotepé. (20) ?e-bo-ší g-  
was Santiago Tekolotepéc. (20) He left

i-b-ílya? pú?wa?, ?i-šwé-Nm-b-oši? l-al-b-ílya? sán matíyas  
there and came and lived in our town of San Matías.

pí g-o-bá?a. (21) hówk'wa ?i-ma-?a-bá gal-šáns kíya.  
(21) They killed him also.

(22) ?í l-i-hów-ba, yá-ŋk' li-nu-l-bá. (23) lá-ŋo-le-  
(22) Then we ran. (23) We ran

ná-ma l-emála l-emála. (24) ?í li-wi-k'i-b-óna? g-adé-hma?,  
down the mountains. (24) And they shot after us with

la-gana-f'i-b-óna? g-adé-hma?, gal-bála ká mán di-hów-gi l-  
bullets whining over our backs.

a-spúla?. (25) l-ál-Wak' ?ónka di-yéf'-yi.  
(25) Some of the bullets zipped by our heads.

(26) hów-b yá-ŋk' li-nu-l-ná-ba řésiyo ?ásta l-igúlwo.  
(26) Then we ran hard to the gully.

(27) ɫ-gwáy-na-da l-igúlwo, yá-ŋk' ?aɫ-f'a-h-ná-ba pára l-  
 (27) When we reached the gulley, we climbed up the hill for

aɫ-b-ílya?. (28) ɫ-gulá?a-na-ba l-aɫ-b-ílya? sán matíyas,  
 our village. (28) When we reached our village of San Matías,

pwés, l-aɫ-cán-uk' la-wé-la?. (29) ?a-fán-ci hów-ba ?e-  
 we looked to see who was missing. (29) Three of our men were

hak'-b-óla?. (30) ?ay-l-o-man-á?. (31) hów-ba ?i-mané-ma  
 lost. (30) They were not present. (31) They were

lu?wa ?al-gíyay? dél kaříl. (32) má lí lé?a.  
 left over on the boundary line. (32) That is all there is.

## Text 8

(1) di-bá?a ?a-núli gal-šáns. (2) ?e-ba-wó?ma ?a-  
 (1) There once was a man. (2) He went to extract

kuWá. (3) ?i-bul-í-ŋwa ɫi-háča, gwáy-go-na-?ma.  
 honey. (3) He came carrying his axe.

(4) l-i-hów-ba gal-konéhu, ?i-ní-f'-ba ?al-sapáto ?i-  
 (4) And then the rabbit came along and put a shoe

šanú-n-f'e-ba l-áne. (5) ?í gál-šans l-i-ším-ba, ?i-gwá-ba  
 on the road. (5) When the man saw it he said, "I

náda, ?ay-ga-ni-f'-yá. (6) háni? golá líŋka ?óge?, pwés  
 am not going to pick it up. (6) Now, if there were two,

ga-ní-f'-?ma, tá ga-déf'-?ma. (7) ?í náda, má di-?wá-ŋwa.  
 then I would pick it up and carry it." (7) So he went on.

(8) hów-ba gal-konéhu ɫ-imísmo ?al-sapáto ?i-ní-f'-go-ná-ba,  
 (8) Then the rabbit took the same shoe and put it on the

?i-šanú-n-f'e-go-wo-na-?ma pára l-áne ɫ lu?wá ?al-dongáy? pé  
 road up ahead of where the man was passing.

l-o-cé-na-ba gal-šáns.

(9) l-i-hów-ba, l-i-ši-ŋó-na-ba gál-šans, ?i-gwá-ba  
 (9) Then the man saw the shoe again and said, "So

?ógweci, tá ?i-ši-ŋó-na-ba ?al-sapáto ?í ?ogwéna. (10) ?í  
 there are two shoes. (10) I

lú?wa ?al-?ógay ?ay-ším-ba ?a-núli. (11) ?í tá ?iyá ?a-  
saw one below. (11) And here there

núli, ?í-ba ?ogé?. (12) pwés mehóř ga-déf'-wa-lá?. (13)  
is another one making two. (12) I better pick it up. (13)

tá ga-nif'-wá-la?, ?í l-ogwéna ?i ga-ni-f'-ná-da. (14) di-  
I will pick this up and the other one, too. (14) Since

?i-?m-óla? ?óge?, ga-déf'-?m-ola?.  
there are two, I will take them."

(15) l-i-hów-ba gál-šans, ?i-bo?nó-ba l-i-háča ?i-  
(15) Then the man put his axe down and turned around

šanú-ba, ?i-báy-go-na-ma. (16) ?i-gwá-ba ga-níf'-wa-ci ?al-  
and went back. (16) He said, "I will go pick up

sapáto l-ogwéna. (17) ?í kwándo l-i-gwáy-da, ?ay-l-o-bá?a.  
the other shoe." (17) And when he got there, there was nothing.

(18) má l-í mímso ?a-núli ?i-šanú-n-f'e-go-na-ba l-áne pé l-  
(18) The rabbit had used the same shoe to put in his path

o-ce-na-bá.  
where he was heading.

(19) l-i-hów-ba gál-šans, l-i-gway-ná-da, de-wé-y l-i-  
(19) When the man returned he looked for his axe and

?áca bé? ?ay-l-o-bá?a, pé l-i-bo?no-?e-bá. (20) hów-ba gal-  
it was not where he had laid it down. (20) The rabbit

konéhu ?i-níf'-na-ba luwégo gal-?áca. (21) ?u-yáy-na-ba.  
had picked up the axe right away. (21) He went away.

(22) gal-šans ?e-wé-ba řésiyo l-i-háča, náda ?ay-g-i-šin-á?.  
(22) The man looked all over for his axe and did not find it.

(23) l-i-hów-ba, gal-konéhu ?i-?ni-ná-ba gal-háča. (24)  
(23) Then the rabbit went on his way with the axe. (24)

mí-m-ba číya, pwés, l-ayf-mi-yág-o?, day-bá-?e-ci l-i-?áy  
God said to him, "Now, I am going to tell you what to do. Go

gal-šmú. (25) ?i-mí-ba, pwés, gi-bá-?a-da. (26) gál-šmu  
knock out the lion's teeth." (25) The rabbit said, "I will."

di-šmay-ířwa. (27) ?u-na-wáy-na-ba pé l-i-luwář l-o-bá?a.  
(26) The lion was sleeping. (27) He was stretched out in



(28) ?í gal-konéhu ?i-gwáy-da. (29) d-šmáj. (30) ?í ?e-  
his place. (28) The rabbit arrived there: (29) The lion

gana-f'í-ba háca ?ún gólpe, méřo l-í-go. (31) ?i-ba-lú-ma  
was sleeping. (30) He hit him right in the mouth with the

l-i-?áy. (32) l-i-?áy hów-ba ?i-bul-af'-b-óla?, ?i-déf-ba  
axe. (31) His teeth came out. (32) The rabbit picked up

gal-konéhu. (33) gwá-ba ná?a ga-mu-h-d-óla?. (34) ?iyá?  
the teeth. (33) He said, "I will go and show these. (34)

nu-lí-h-ba gal-gwégah šáns. (35) má lí lé?a.  
I have just beaten a big man." (35) That is all there is.

## Text 9

(1) pwés čí bík'a di-nāŋ-k'e-le g-ehúł'. (2) ?í ?ónka  
(1) Today someone wants to build a house. (2) And some

di-špáy-li-g-i-l, di-mí-m-ba, náda, di-má-?m-o?. (3) pwés  
people are scared, they say, "You will die." (3) They

mí-m-ba, dá-nan-l'i-l ?untěřo, máne ?ay-l-o-bá g-ó-?i-yag-  
say, "Do the customs for everything and nothing will happen

o?. (4) dá má? ?a-špé lán-šan-uk' de-weloŋ-ín-c-o? ?ó,  
to you. (4) Nothing will happen even if lots of people look

do-des-mi-c-óla? ?ó day-Wé-la?, ?ay-l-o-báh dínci. (5) pwés  
at you, or if you feed them, or if you smoke. (5) Just

lé dá-nan-l'i-l káda ?iskína. (6) lelóhmay? dá-ga-h-mi-la?  
do the customs for each corner. (6) In the middle of the house

ł-abí?eh dúlu, ?ó ?íba. (7) pwés ?áy-l-o-ba g-o-?i-yag-ó  
put a turkey egg or flower. (7) Nothing will happen to you

máne. (8) ntěřo, ntěřo, dá-nan-l'i-l. (9) do-šná-la, ?ó  
then. (8) Do the customs for everything. (9) Now you can

day-Wé-la?, ntěřo ?ay-l-o-báh dínci máne. (10) ?o-m-inága?,  
drink or smoke and nothing will happen. (10) Do the customs

dínci, ?untěřo dá-nan-l'i-l-la?. (11) do-bí-?e-ci ł-íba?, ł-  
for your cornfield and everything. (11) Burn flowers and

abíʔe, ntěro, ʔáy-l-o-ba. (12) čáʔa do-dé-ʔma g-o-k'éWa.  
eggs and nothing will happen. (12) Now you can eat your corn."

(13) má 1f léʔa.  
(13) That is all.

Text 10<sup>12</sup>

(1) AM: di-láy-h-ʔm pwés ʔáy . . . (2) PT: . . . ʔay-m-  
(1) AM: To dislike, well . . . (2) PT: . . . to not

i-šná-go-na-ya. (3) AM: pwés gal-pastí di-léy-h-ʔm l-ihá-ʔmał.  
drink. (3) AM: Pills will make you dislike mezcal.

(4) hániʔ ʔay-l-o-báh pastí, ʔay-m-í-ʔi-ya m-i-léy-h-ya l-  
(4) If you do not have pills, you cannot dislike mezcal.

ihá-ʔmał. (5) PT: di-gú-g-i, ʔéste, dí di-gu-g-in-í laŋ-  
(5) PT: Do they sell these pills?

pastíyas. (6) AM: ʔNŋ. (7) PT: bé měro. (8) AM: pwés pé  
(6) AM: Yes (7) PT: Where? (8) AM: In

tewántepe ʔó salína krús. (9) PT: ʔNŋ. (10) AM: dáy-gwi-cuf-  
Tehuantepec or Salina Kruz. (9) PT: Oh. (10) AM: Ask,

le bé dé g-áfši pěr ʔay-g-o-šná-go-na-ya. (11) lan-pastí  
"What pills should I take to stop drinking?" (11) They will

di-bú-l'i-ʔm. (12) PT: ʔNŋ. (13) AM: pwés háni hów-b ʔo-  
give you the pills. (12) PY: Oh. (13) AM: But if you take

nuk'-b-ól, ʔí ʔí ʔašpé l-isná-ye dí di-ʔé-ns komprométeř,  
the pills and lots of your drunken friends force you to

do-šna-gón-l, di-má-ʔm-oʔ. (14) PT: ʔ. (15) AM: fřúta, dé-g-o-  
drink again, you will die. (14) PT: Oh. (15) AM: How can

ʔe g-u-šmás-yaʔ. (16) ʔay-m-í-ʔi-ya g-u-šmás-ya. (17) PT:  
you get free? (16) You cannot get free from drinking. (17)

pěro hániʔ ʔi-bík'a, ʔéste, ʔa-nul-emma. (18) AM: háni m  
PT: But what if you want to once and for all? (18) AM: You

---

<sup>12</sup>The initials AM and PT used in these texts refer to the utterances of Abrám Martínez and Paul Turner.

ní tampóko ?ay-m-í-?i-ya m-u-šmās-ya l-ihá-?mał máne. (19)  
cannot get free from drinking mezcal. (19)

PT: ?ay-m-í-?i-ya. (20) AM: ?ay-m-í-?i-ya. (21) PT: ?í  
PT: You cannot? (20) AM: You cannot. (21) PT: What

lan-pastíyas dé g-i-sírve. (22) AM: pwés lan-pastí sírvře  
good are the pills? (22) AM: The pills are to keep

?ay-m-o-šna-go-ná-yay, ?ay-m-i-gwi-gó-ŋwa ł-il-unšá-hma?  
you from wanting to drink more mezcal.

(23) péřa ?ay-m-i-gwá-yi, kóm ?il-bík'a l-ihá-?mał. (24)  
(23) But the people will not take them because they like mezcal.

?í komále ?ó púy? ?amígo, pú?wa ?i-gwáy-da famíliya, cémay?  
(24) When your compadre or friend or member of your family

?a-lítřo ?í . . . (25) más přiměřo ?al-mé?e, di-how-gó-?ma  
comes and a bottle goes . . . (25) First cigarettes, then

l-ihá-?mał. (26) pwés kóm dó lí núli?. (27) ?í di-gwáy-go-  
mezcal. (26) That is the way it goes. (27) Then some

na-ŋ di-gway-go-ná-ŋka ní, báy-go-fi-go-na-?ma. (28) má  
more mezcal when they come again. (28) They

núl šnay-?i-go-na-?m-óla?, ?ó di-des-mi-?m-óla?. (29) PT:  
give them some more to drink or feed them. (29) PT:

ŋNŋ. (30) AM: di-fi-?e-na-?m-óla? l-ěšgu, yé-na-ba. (31)  
Oh. (30) AM: Then they tie up their tortillas and go. (31)

má ?a-núli. (32) kóm má dó ł di-šín-ya ?a-čúlo. (33) ?í  
That is what happens. (32) They like it that way. (33) And

čí ?ay-m-o-šna-gó-ŋwa ?í č'íš do-ba-Nn-ná-?ma. (34) má ná  
now if they do not drink, everything is quiet. (34) They

di-šín ?á?ih mehóř. (35) mehóř di-šná-ci pwá l-i-komále,  
dislike it that way. (35) It is better to drink there with

púwa? . . . (36) ?ún dí di-šná-n-ła?, ?ó dós díya, hú čá?a  
a compadre . . . (36) Let him drink for a day or two; now

l-i-b-eník' di-?wá-na-?ma. (37) di-šín-a má ?a-máfga?, pwá  
they can really go off to work. (37) They are happy when

di-šów-da, púwa du-nák'-da, púwa?, ?i-tářa pwá. (38) PT:  
people dance here and sing there and have a guitar. (38) PT:

ḡNḡ. (39) AM: di-šín-a ʔa-máfga. (40) péřa dó ʔi-táʔa, (41) Oh. (39) AM: They are happy that way. (40) But like this,

PT: ḡNḡ. AM: m-ó-gwa, di-gwá-yi ʔáyh čúlo. (42) PT: ḡNḡ. (41) PT: Oh. AM: like you want, they do not like it. (42) PT:

(43) AM: di-gwá-yi ní ʔa-šówde, ní, ní, ʔá-Wik'. (44) má Oh. (43) AM: They say there would be no church nor fiesta.

ʔay-l-o-bá W, ní dínci g-o-ʔe-h-f'é-n-yagu. (45) č'íš, di- (44) There would be nothing to celebrate. (45) There would

gway-ní-ŋka, di-gwá-ʔme l-é-wa-la ʔál-Wi. (46) di-gwáy-in-be no entertainment when they come and want to celebrate. (46)

ca, č'íš. (47) PT: ḡNḡ. (48) dó ʔal-domíŋko, gway-in-a, Everything would be quiet. (47) PT: Oh. (48) AM: It would be

di-f'il-k'i-n-ílaʔ. (49) ʔay-l-o-bá má. like Sunday when all they do is play. (49) That will not do.

## Text 11

(1) PT: kómo číya gá-gwa ʔáʔi. (2) AM: ḡʔḡ. (3) pwés, (1) PT: I don't think so today. (2) AM: No. (3) It

l-í-ʔi-ba di-bá l-il-kostúmbře de-nán-li l-iWála ʔuntéřoʔ. used to be that they did the customs on each mountain.

(4) di-bá l pwésto di-bá č ʔí čí gu-ná-ba, gwáy-na-d sapotitlá. (4) But now they sold the formulas to the town of Zapotitlán.

(5) sapotitlá de-nan-li-ná-yi, di-gwí-ŋwa diyářiyo l-ágwi. (5) Zapotitlán does the customs and it rains there daily.

(6) ʔí ʔiyá-ŋk', bé g-o-medé-go. (7) ʔáy-l-o-b m-e-nán-l'i- (6) But we have been left without rain. (7) We do not do the

go-na-yi. (8) de-nan-l'í-n-s-ba lé, di-baʔnó-ya ʔa-mónto customs. (8) They do some customs here, like piling up

mónto. (9) péřa ʔay-g-il-cín-aʔ dé g-á-gwi-ya kwalkéřa g-things. (9) But they do not know what to call the mountains.

iWála. (10) má nó más de-lu-k'ú-yi, d-áŋ-k'o-yi g-úŋa. (11) (10) All they do is pile up things and burn them. (11)

má lí léʔa. (12) ʔáy-l-o-b šóŋgaʔ m-e-nán-l'i kwalkéřa g- That is all. (12) They have no other customs nor ways of

iWála m-i-?noWáys-yi. (13) tó 1-o-gwá-ba 1-i1-b-igyá-hma?.  
remembering the mountains. (13) They do what they want.

(14) má 1í lá?. (15) PT: ?í ko1tá? dé g-i-?í-ba. (16) dé  
(14) That is all. (15) PT: And what did they use to do? (16)

g-i-?é-ba ko1tá?. (17) AM: pwés kó1ta kómo de-nán-1'i-na-  
What did they use to do? (17) AM: They used to do the customs

yi káda řáya. (18) ba?nó-na-yi káda řáya. (19) číya di-  
by rows. (18) They put down each row. (19) Then they

bul-af-gí-m-?me, ká di-?no-f'í-m-?me, ká di-?no-f'í-m-?me.  
pick it up and hold this up and that up.

(20) ká ?a-núli g-i-bóhna? dó híka čí há? ?e-ba?nó-m-ba, ká  
(20) Each row is meant for some god, like what is placed

?a-núli g-i-bohná?. (21) núli g-i-bóhna dó hí-ka dé di-  
today has a god that it is meant for. (21) Each item is

?no-f'í-m-?me. (22) ?í ká 1-ogwéna 1-iWála ká di-?no-f'í-  
held up to a god. (22) This mountain is offered something.

m-?me. (23) 1ogwéna g-i-Wála di-?no-f'í-m-?me. (24) káda  
(23) That mountain is offered something. (24) Each

kín ?apárte, ?apárte, ?apárt, ?apář. (25) hú di-?wá-?ma dó  
one has to be offered something. (25) The people have

hí-ta ?untěro di-mán-a. (26) di-mán dá fán-ci lan-dúlu.  
to take lots of things with them to sacrifice. (26) They

(27) čá? ?untěro de-nan-1'í-m. (28) hów-b ?i-gya-h-ná-ba  
bring about three turkeys. (27) They offer it all. (28)

1-iWála (29) ?untěro 1-ináyla?, di-nán-k'e-na-yi tó hi-tá?a.  
The mountain receives it all. (29) The water-ways receive

(30) těro di-géh 1-ináyla? ?untěro?. (31) pwés, čá?a di-gwi-  
the offerings. (30) All the water-ways hear about it. (31)

ná-ŋi, ?untěro di-gwi-ná-?ma. (32) pwés 1-í-?i-ba ?iyá-ŋk'  
Now it will rain. (32) It used to be that we

n? ntěra ?iyá-ŋk' ?áy-m ?ay-1-o-bá m-o-gwá-ya ?u-méma. (33) di-  
never had any times of going without food. (33)

bá ?al'áne di-bá panéla di-bá ?áwa di-bá góšak' di-bá?a . . .  
We had beans and sugar and squash and corn and . . .

(34) ?ay-l-o-bá?a říko řés sán matí l-i-?í-ba. (35) ?a-  
 (34) There were no really rich people in San Matías. (35)

gwéga? wágaš, ?a-gwéga? l-i-?í-ba píya. (36) cíla? g-ahúl'-i  
 But they had lots of cattle a long time ago. (36) They had

dó hi-ná?a. (37) péra čí ?ay-l-o-bá. (38) dú, dú, lag-il-  
 big houses like these. (37) But they do not today. (38)

ehúl'-i. (39) ?ay-l-o-bá ?al-domí. (40) PT: ŋ. (41) AM: ?ay-  
 They have just little ones. (39) They don't have money. (40)

l-o-bá?a. (42) ?í čí sapotitlá l-i-gu-h-ná-ba, hú pú g-o-  
 PT: Oh. (41) AM: There is none. (42) But today it rains at

gwi-ná-b lí-?i l-i-wála. (43) PT: ŋ. (44) AM: lé?i ?áy póko  
 Zapotitlán because they bought the formulas. (43) PT: Oh.

gwi-ná-ba. (45) ?a-pořtí. (46) d-cawe-ná-ma má l-eyWáy m  
 (44) AM: It only rains a little today. (45) We just have a

wáta wáta, ?í pórř ?éso ?ay-l-o-bá čá ?al-domí ma-lu-lí-h-yi.  
 little mountain pass. (46) Only mist rises and that is why

(47) PT: ŋNŋ. (48) AM: ?ay-l-o-bá?a. (49) siŋkwénta siyén pés  
 we have no money. (47) PT: Oh. (48) AM: There is none. (49)

do-?na-gó-?ma kwalkěře, pára más ?ay-l-o-bá?a. (50) PT: ŋNŋ.  
 You might have 50 or 100 pesos to buy something but no more.

(50) PT: Oh.

## Text 12

(1) PT: péro dé péra? ?ay-l-o-mán-a? lan-šán-úk' ?a-říko

(1) PT: But why aren't there rich people in San Matías

sán Matíyas číya. (2) AM: pwés kómo ?ay-l-ó-b g-o-lí-h-go-  
 today? (2) AM: Because there is no way to make

n-yagu. (3) PT: ŋ. (4) AM: ?ay-l-ó-b g-o-lí-h-go-yagu. (5)  
 money. (3) PT: Oh. (4) AM: There is no way to earn money.

?ay-m-i-gwi-gó-ŋwa. (6) di-fá-n-i ?a-gwég. (7) ?iyá-ŋk'  
 (5) It does not rain. (6) They sow a lot. (7) We sow about

?al-fá-yi ?óčo nuwébe ?alúm, l-é-yi g-ánik', pěrř ?ay-m-i-  
 eight or nine measures and we work hard but nothing comes

ba-máy-s-pa. (8) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (9) AM:  $\text{?a-núli pedás dō hí-ta l-iŋóma}$   
of it. (8) PT: Oh. (9) AM: For example, that land by the

l-ay-mu-k'í- $\text{?m-o}$ , lí čí ga-gwáy-ci, kwá gwí-ba  $\text{?ó ?á?i}$ . (10)  
Pochotle river that I showed you, I doubt that it has rained

$\text{?ó hów-b ?i-huĭ-ná-ba}$ . (11) nó más pwá l-ílya?, (12) PT:  $\dot{m}$ .  
when I get back. (10) It may be dried up. (11) Just the

AM:  $\text{?i-pwá má měro l-ílya?}$ ,  $\text{?í fá Wál-g-óli}$ , g-éma l-ali-  
village, (12) PT: Oh. AM: just the village and the pine

bas-nuf'-yé- $\text{?m}$  g-aywála, pí di-ba-máy-da. (13) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (14)  
mountain where my horse got hit will yield anything. (13) PT:

AM:  $\text{pěra má fá ?al-?óhga náá}$ . (15) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (16) AM: líŋka  
Oh. (14) AM: But the flat land will not yield anything. (15)

$\text{?al-gáši ?i-ba-máy-da}$ . (17)  $\dot{m}N\dot{m}$ . (18) AM:  $\text{pěř, dé gal-}$   
PT: Oh. (16) AM: Chile will grow. (17) PT: Oh. (18) AM: But

$\text{gáš do-dé-?ma}$ . (19)  $\text{?ów g-úmla kíya}$ . (20) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (21) AM:  
can you eat chile? (19) It burns. (20) PT: Oh. (21) AM:

l-aynéga g-o-bá?a. (22) PT:  $\dot{m}N\dot{m}$ . (23) AM:  $\dot{m}?$ . (24)  $\text{?í dé}$   
Corn is what we eat. (22) PT: Oh. (23) AM: Yes. (24) And

$\text{g-o-?é m-o-lí-h dō ĭ ?al-domí}$ . (25) nááa  $\text{?ay-m-í-? m-o-lí-}$   
how can you earn money that way? (25) You cannot earn money.

h-ya. (26) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (27)  $\dot{m}$ . (28)  $\text{pěro koĭtá? šónga?}$ . (29)  
(26) PT: Oh. (27) Oh. (28) But it used to rain more?

AM:  $\text{?á l-í-?i-ba šongá?}$ . (30) PT:  $\text{šónga? ?i-gwí-ba koĭtá?}$ .  
(29) AM: It used to rain more. (30) PT: It used to rain more?

(31) AM:  $\text{?á šónga di-gwí}$ . (32)  $\text{?ay-m-i-šal-íc}$ . (33) diyáři  
(31) AM: Yes, it used to rain more. (32) It didn't stop. (33)

dó lá montánya. (34) dō čí l-í- $\text{?i-ba g-idíne}$ , di-gwí. (35)  
It rained daily like it does in the mountains. (34) It would

$\text{?untěro ?á lá ?á lá ?úno}$ ,  $\text{?ó lás dós}$ ,  $\text{?ó lás třés}$ , d-á- $\text{ŋe-}$   
be raining today. (35) It would rain at one, two, or three

na-wo lá-ha?, lík'ay. (36) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (37) AM: l-áynega du-wáy-  
o'clock and all night. (36) PT: Oh. (37) AM: Cornfields

ba čúlo čúlo. (38) dō  $\text{?ál-?ek hi-luwá de-gaš-úya}$ . (39)  
would really grow. (38) They would grow like that tree there.

ní dūda n di-bá-wo 1-i-b-iškómoc ?áw g-ó?f'an . . .  
 (39) And there would be corn tasseled out with huge ears of . . .

## Text 13

- (1) PT: péřo gá-gwa, ?éste, nó más, ?á ?éste ?á kí ?a-  
 (1) PT: But I say that that belief is not true because
- mént ?a-mentířa pórke hów-ba ?a1-?é-ba haláyk'. (2) má fán-  
 people have gotten mad at me. (2) Three
- ci ?a-malú-ši. (3) AM: ꞥNꞥ. (4) PT: hów-ba. (5) AM: hów-ba.  
 or four people have. (3) AM: Yes. (4) PT: They have. (5)
- (6) PT: ?í ?ay-l-o-bá?a dínci, má ?iřpík' ?í ni-máf'i?  
 AM: They have. (6) PT: But nothing has happened to me.
- ?iyá?. (7) AM: ?á, kómo nómay? l di-řtu-lé-yi. (8) PT:  
 (7) AM: Yes, but they just got mad. (8) PT:
- máyci. (9) AM: dó čí lé?i gi-řtú-?ma řáto lé? ga-?e-?m-óh  
 That's right. (9) AM: It's like today, I get mad at you
- láyk', péřa ?ay-l-o-báh dínci. (10) háni má de-gán-k'o-le  
 but nothing will happen. (10) But if they were to
- kwalkéřa má ?agwéga? . . . (11) dó l-í-?i-b di-gwá-y l lan-  
 really do a lot . . . (11) They say that the ancients
- ?antíwo g-agú-l-w di-gwá-y ?il-cín-a řés. (12) čí lé? ?o-  
 really knew how to do a lot more. (12) For example,
- dále-gf-ba gál-řans dó ?imá? čí mi-bá-ma, ?í ?ay-gway-gó-  
 you come out of your house today and I meet you and do not
- ?ma, ?ál ?ay-ga-nón, ?í lé dú di-?wá-?m, di-k'willi-cúf-?ma  
 speak to you, I would probably stumble and die as I passed by.
- nul-emma, di-má-?ma. (13) PT: ꞥNꞥ. (14) AM: di-gwá ?a-řpé  
 (13) PT: Oh. (14) AM: They say that
- lan-řan-úk' dó 1 ?i-go-b-óla?. (15) PT: ꞥNꞥ. (16) AM: péřa  
 lots of people died that way. (15) PT: Oh. (16) AM: But
- čí ?ay-l-o-bá?a. (17) PT: ꞥNꞥ. (18) AM: ?abés ?á di-núm-?ma  
 not today. (17) PT: Oh. (18) AM: At times they speak
- ?abés ?á du-wáy-?ma. (19) ?ay-m-i-?é-n-i kwénta né kiyá há.  
 to you and at times they don't. (19) They don't get upset.



(20) PT: ḡNḡ. (21) AM: hów-ba ʔay-gwá-ba ʔal-tiyémpo pěr l-f-  
 (20) PT: Oh. (21) AM: That's the way it is now but long ago

ʔi-ba di-gwá-yi šōḡgaʔ ʔil-cín-a řésiyo l-agú-l-weʔ. (22)  
 the ancients knew how to do things more than we do. (22)

PT: ḡNḡ. (23) AM: ḡḡʔ. (24) PT: ḡNḡ. (25) AM: pwés  
 PT: Oh. (23) AM: Yes. (24) PT: Oh. (25) AM: They

di-gwá-yi nuwébe dí di-ʔwáy-go-le nuwébe lan-šsan-úk', léʔ  
 say that nine people used to fast nine days without even

nuwébe dí láʔ núli g=ídíne, ní přéba l-ášgu. (27) léʔ pūr  
 a taste of food. (27) They would

ʔayún léʔ pūr ʔayún. (28) ʔí čí léʔ du-múy-ci, ʔó lá siyéte  
 do nothing but fast. (28) And in the afternoon or in seven

díya, hów-b ʔo-gwáy-da ʔal-panteyón. (29) PT: ḡNḡ. (30) AM:  
 days, you would be dead. (29) PT: Oh. (30) AM:

di-gwá-yi dó l-il-módo máne. (31) PT: ḡNḡ. (32) AM: pěr čí  
 They say that's what they did. (31) PT: Oh. (32) AM: But

ʔáʔi. (33) PT: ḡʔḡ. (34) AM: ḡʔḡ. (35) PT: ḡNḡ. (36) AM: nó  
 not today. (33) PT: No. (34) AM: No. (35) PT: Oh. (36) AM:

más l-agá-l ʔay-m-u-muf-é-laʔ, ní k-o-ma-b-ólaʔ. (37) pěra  
 The only thing today is that women die in childbirth. (37)

kwalkéřa ʔáʔi mál . . . (38) ḡʔḡ. (39) PT: má ʔéste díl-man-  
 But nothing else . . . (38) No. (39) PT: Are there men of

áʔ lán l-ónši sán matiyas číya. (40) AM: ʔá di-báʔa. (41)  
 wisdom in San Matías today? (40) AM: Sure there is.

PT: néci kíya. (42) AM: l-áweh pořfířiyó. (43) PT: kíya  
 (41) PT: Who is it? (42) AM: Mister Porfirio. (43) PT: Is

ʔónši. (44) AM: ʔaAá. (45) unintelligible. (46) AM:  
 he a wise man? (45) unintelligible. (46) AM:

pwés di-ši-ḡuf-i dó hi-tá ʔal-héʔ ʔa-líbřo dínci de-we-ná-  
 He can divine through books or paper.

ʔma. (47) di-má-ʔm-oʔ, ʔay-m-i-má-ya, ʔó di-ʔé-n-i g-i-gwána,  
 (47) He can tell you whether you will die or who can

ʔó di-ʔé-n-ih břúho, ntěřo. (48) PT: ḡNḡ. (49) AM: dó líya  
 make other people sick or who does witchcraft. (48) PT: Oh.

(50) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (51) AM: sán lořénso, sán migél, sánto tomás,  
(49) That is true. (50) PT: Oh. (51) AM: They come from San

. . . (52) PT:  $\dot{m}\dot{m}$ . (53) ?entónse kíya  $\dot{1}$ -ónši. (54) AM:  
Lorénso, San Miguel, Santo Tomás, . . . (52) PT: Oh. (53)

$\dot{m}\dot{N}\dot{m}$ . (55) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (56) di-?na-cé-?ma lan-šan-úk'. (57)  
So he is a wise man. (54) AM: Yes. (55) PT: Oh. (56) Do

AM: má di-?na-h-cé-ni  $\dot{1}$ -agwé?. (58) ?a-pés ?a-nul-emma.  
people pay him? (57) AM: Sure, they pay the old man. (58)

They pay him a peso each time he divines.

(59) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (60) AM: dó hí-ta ší-řuf háni pwés ?i-špáy-g-i,  
(59) PT: Oh. (60) AM: He can tell whether you were frightened,

(61) PT:  $\dot{m}\dot{N}\dot{m}$ . AM: ší-řuf-na-la bé  $\dot{1}$ -i-špay-h-yó-b má fá  $\dot{1}$ -  
(61) PT: Oh. AM: and whether you were frightened here at

éhu $\dot{1}$ ', ?ó pú?wa  $\dot{1}$ -ínaga? ?ó gwéñah láào mef-ge-yó-ma, ?ó  $\dot{1}$ -  
the house or there in the cornfield or maybe you fell some-

$\dot{1}$  ní kwá sán migél, kandelářiya, ?u-nli-k'o-wó?ma, ?i-šo-  
where like San Miguel, Candelária, or maybe you slipped and

gó-m-ba, pwés, ?i-špáy-h-b, klářo di-šin-á-la?, dós pésu.  
they laughed at you, well, he can tell you and you pay two pesos.

(62) PT:  $\dot{m}\dot{N}\dot{m}$ . (63) AM: ?í lé? di-ho-k'i-ná-ce ?í šálga  $\dot{1}$ -  
(62) PT: Oh. (63) AM: All they do is call him and when the

$\dot{1}$ -gwána, pwés hów-ba ?u-lí-h-ba. (64) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (65) AM: čá  
illness is gone, he has earned his money. (64) PT: Oh. (65)

$\dot{1}$ -ogwéna ?áy? dó  $\dot{1}$ íya. (66)  $\dot{1}$ -idíne dú-li-g-i dá diyés ?ó  
AM: That is the way he does it. (66) In one day he earns

béynte pésu. (67) PT:  $\dot{m}$ . (68) AM: buláf'ka kí di-gwáy-?e-na-  
about ten or twenty pesos. (67) PT: Oh. (68) AM: They all

da  $\dot{1}$ -késu, di-gwáy-?e-na b-řík', ?ó ?édu, dó  $\dot{1}$ íya. (69) PT:  
bring him cheese, or meat, or fish to pay their bills. (69)

?á ?entónse hi-kíya gá ?éste, . . . (70) AM: di-ší-řuf-i.  
PT: Then he is, this . . . (70) AM: He divines.

(71) PT: dí du-li-g-í gal-šáns. (72) AM: Aá du-li-g-í. (73)  
(71) PT: The man earns money? (72) AM: Yes, he does. (73)

PT: ḡNḡ. (74) AM: pēra čá hów-ba di-do-g-íḡwa, ?ay-m-i-š-i-  
 PT: Oh. (74) AM: But he is getting too old now and cannot

ḡuf-gó-ḡwa. (75) pēra todabí dí di-?wám-gi-ni ná bišú?ni,  
 divine so well. (75) But they still come from Tlacolulita

ná sán migelíto, sán lořenso, sapotitlá, tá sán Wán, sán  
 or San Miguelito, or San Lorenzo, or Zapotitlán, or San Juan,

migél, kandaláriya, sánto tomás, sánto domíngo, ?untéřo?  
 or San Miguel, or Candalária, or Santo Tomás, or Santo Domingo.

(76) PT: ḡNḡ. (77) AM: sán páblo, (78) PT: ḡNḡ. AM: ntéřo  
 (76) PT: Oh. (77) AM: San Pablo, (78) PT: Oh. AM: they

kí šin-á. (79) PT: ḡNḡ.  
 come from, he knows a lot. (79) PT: Oh.

## Text 14

(1) pwés, dí-b ḡ-i-bíma sómwel. (2) di-mí la-wé-da,  
 (1) Well, he has a brother, Somwel. (2) Somwel said,

li-gwí-cuf-da ḡ-ay-fí?no?. (3) číya má ga-le-gó-?m-o?, ?ay-  
 "Let's go look for a wife for me. (3) Let's see if her

m-i-gwá la-?áyi ?ó la-?máma. (4) pwés hów-ba ?i-šná-ba.  
 father and mother will let me marry her." (4) Then they drank.

(5) ?u-?i-m-b-ól ḡ la-?áyi la-?mám ?u-?i-m-b-óla?. (6) hów-  
 (5) They gave some mezcal to the father and mother. (6) They

b ḡ-i-šná-ba, hów bay-go-fi-go-ná-ba ?a-lítřo, k'e-h-mi-go-  
 drank and drank some more and then poured some mezcal for

ná-ba ?al-kóph miliyán ?u-?í-m-ba. (7) ?i-šná-b ?og-ém fan-  
 Emiliano and gave it to him. (7) He drank two or three

ém, hów-ba mis-gó-ba ḡ-i-b-igyá-hma nul-ém. (8) ?i-?wa-ná-  
 cups and became completely crazy. (8) He went to

ma, di-gway-ná-?ma fán ḡ-i-wóhma?, hów-b dí-?i ḡóko nul-ém.  
 where that level spot is and became completely crazy.

(9) di-gá-y ?áb ?á-?ek, di-gá-y ?ábik', ?í dí di-yóš-gi ?a-  
 (9) He bit wood and rocks and pulled out grass with his

bahá?, mák'o ḡ-i-ko. (10) tíne ḡ-i-bowóško. (11) ?i-báh  
 mouth. (10) He frothed at the mouth. (11)

lóko dé ?úna bés máne. (12) PT: ṃ. (13) AM: má líya lé?a. (14)  
He went completely crazy. (12) PT: Oh. (13) AM: That is all.

PT: tówa g-idíne ?i-gól-b dó líya ?i-?é . . . (15) AM: dá  
(14) PT: How many days was it like that . . . (15) AM: It

?ún semán ?i-gól-ba. (16) PT: ṃ. (17) AM: ṃNṃ. (18) gafúle?  
lasted about a week. (16) PT: Oh. (17) AM: Yes. (18) He

?i-gway-ná-?ma l-i-b-igyá-h-ma?. (19) PT: ní ?ay-g-i-dés-  
barely got his senses back. (19) PT: Did he eat?

ma?. (20) AM: ní ?ay-m-i-dés-ma ní préb. (21) má l-i-b-  
(20) AM: He didn't even taste food. (21) He just

igyá-hma? du-nów-ya lé dó tá?a. (22) díb du-yí-ṽ wén péra  
laid there out of his mind. (22) He talked but what

di-bálay, hów-b ?i-mis-gó-ba l-i-b-igyá-hm. (23) ?ogwéna,  
he said didn't make sense. (23) He kept

?ogwéna, l-o-gwá-ba. (24) PT: dé? ?óra ?i-?é-ba dó líya.  
saying crazy things. (24) PT: When did this happen?

(25) AM: kín sábe ?ay-g-ay-šín-á? dé ?óra. (26) PT: gołta?.  
(25) AM: I don't know when it happened. (26) PT: Long ago?

(27) AM: gołta?. (28) dí-?wa dá dós třés ?ányo. (29) PT:  
(27) AM: Long ago. (28) It must be about two or three years.

má lí léha. (30) AM: ṃNṃ.  
ago. (29) PT: Is that all there is to it? (30) AM: Yes.

## Text 15

(1) haní? ?ogwána de-štaf-w-ó?, de-gaṇ-k'ó-w-o ṽ-inú?,  
(1) If you are sick and have a fever, bathe yourself

pwés da-bó-go-la? ṽ-inu-g-a-há?. (2) ?a-fřésko lí di-?í-  
in hot water. (2) That is good for

ṽwa l-aṽ-kwěřpo, du-yáy-h-ma? ?al-gwána. (3) hání? di-dés-  
our bodies and will heal the disease. (3) If your stomach

ma l-o-gú?u, pwés do-šná-la? gal-múniš. (4) di-bane-gó-ma  
aches, drink some lemon juice. (4) That will take

lí l-i-dés-ma l-aṽ-gú?u líya. (5) ?i-b-ěfši líya. (6) di-  
care of your stomach ache. (5) That is medicine. (6)

?i-gó-ŋwa ?al-gwána, du-yáy-h-ma. (7) háni? línka, de-štáf-  
That will heal the disease. (7) If you are sick or

w-o?, ?o-gwána, ?ó ?a-pásma, pwés, l-i-béla-h múniš do-ma-k'é-  
have rheumatism, take some lemon leaves and cook them in

la? lá-ha?, ?ínu?, ?ínu? dú-mule-l, d-šá-f'i-la l-úŋa, di-  
boiling water, putting them in a pot over the fire to

má-h-la? biyén biyén lá-ha?, ?í tú du-fiŋ-k'í-l i-béla-h  
cook, then, apply some of the leaves and water to your

múniš řewélto lá-ha?, ?í tantíto de-bá-h-la? tíbiya, da-bó-  
body, and when it has cooled off, wash your feet and hands

h-go-l l-o-?mi-cí?, ?í l-o-máne?. (8) lí du-yáy-h-?ma ?al-  
in water. (8) That will heal your

gwána, di-šál-go-na-?m-ó?. (9) di-?i-na-?m-ó?. (10) do-  
disease and you will get well. (9) You will get well. (10)

?wa-le-go-ná-?ma ?ún baliyénte ?ún bíbo. (11) há?ni línka?,  
You will walk around again as healthy as ever. (11) If your

di-múf-?ma l-ó-Wak', pwés, do-fiŋ-k'í-lá? l-áfši. (12) di-bá?a  
head is dizzy, apply some medicine to it. (12) There

l-i-béla-k'ék'. (13) di-bá l-íba-g-iŋf'awáysnu, pwés, kí  
is a type of leaf. (13) It is called Flower of Cordoncillo,

di-bá-?a-na-?ma l-ínu?. (14) di-šál-me-ná-?ma ?al-gwána.  
that will take care of the fever. (14) It will heal the disease.

(15) háni línka, de-gaŋ-k'ó-w-o l-ínu? tódo l-o-kwěřpo lá?a,  
(15) If you have a fever all over your body, and it is

púřo ?ínu? ?ínu?, ?entónse, ?éste, dá da-bo-gó-la? l-i-b-  
burning up, then bathe yourself with the bark of the Colipe

íšmi kolipé. (16) do-ma-k'é-la?, ?ó má dóle ?ik'ášwi. (17)  
tree. (16) First cook it, or use it raw. (17)

do-dúf-?mi-la? lá-ha?, ?í di-du-gúf-la?, dí-?i-la? ?unšáli  
Put it in the water and let the water suck out its juice

lá-ha?, ?í do-š?u-gó-la gal-dínin, ?í tempráno da-bo-gó-?ma  
until the water is red, then put it out to cool and in the

l ?entéřo l-o-kwěřpo. (18) da-bo-gó-la? ?a-fan-emma, líya  
morning bathe your body. (18) Wash yourself three times

l-áfši, yáyga ?al-gwána di-?í-ŋwa. (19) šál-go-na-?m-o?.  
and you will be healed. (19) You will get well.

(20) háni? ?o-m-éhok' ?íya di-bá?a. (21) ?al-gwána líya  
 (20) There is medicine for a cold. (21) If the disease

?ay-m-i-gwá m-u-yáy-ya, pwés, l-o-mísmo di-bá? ?al-?ék'.  
 won't go away, well, there is an herb for that, too.

(22) di-bá ?ál-?ek líya do-cí-h-?ma. (23) do-cí-h-?ma do-  
 (22) There is an herb that you can chew. (23) You chew the

cí-h-?ma l-i-b-íšmi, pwés, l-áhok' lí di-bane-gó-ma, du-  
 bark of it and your cold will get better and go away.

yáy-h-ma. (24) tambiyén líya ?a-čúlo g-áfši, lí di-šál-me-  
 (24) That is also good medicine and will cure

na-?m-o?. (25) di-?i-ná-?m-o?, líya. (26) du-yáy-?e l-  
 you. (25) That will make you well. (26) That will

ahók'. (27) háni? líŋka?, ?o-gwána ?ay-m-i-gwá m-i-?i-yág-  
 take care of your cold. (27) If you have a disease that

o, pwés, do-šná-?ma ?éste, ?ál ?ál-benéno g-áfši.  
 will not be healed, then drink the poisonous medicine.

(28) di-bá? g-uftíne kóřdoba lá ?al-?ék'. (29) lí do-šna-  
 (28) The name of it is Cordoba. (29) Drink it.

lá?. (30) lag-úWay dúda?a di-dac-ké-ŋi ?a-fan-émma, dac-i-  
 (30) Put three drops of the sap into a glass of water,

ŋáy-ci l lagá-ha? nolóhmay? ?al-báso lá-ha?, di-dac-i-ŋáy-  
 carefully drop three drops of the sap into a glass of water,

ci l-úWay lá?a ?a-fan-émma, ?í do-šná-la?. (31) ?í fwěra  
 and then you can drink it. (31) That will

di-?Wás-guf-iŋwa lí, ?al-gwána di-?é-ŋwa, límpiya di-?é-  
 clean out your system and get rid of your disease because

ŋwa l-ał-kwěřpo, lí tambiyén du-yáy-h-ma ?al-gwána. (32)  
 it takes care of any kind of sickness or disease. (32)

má lí lé?a. (33) PT: ŋNŋ.  
 That is all. (33) PT: Oh.

## Text 16

(1) pwés čí l-agá?no golá? du-múf-?ma. (2) kíya náda  
 (1) There is a woman who should give birth. (2) But

?i-báh semáno ?ay-g-u-múf-i máne. (3) ?á-špe g-áfši ?á-špe  
a week has gone by without success. (3) They gave her all

šnay-?i-ná-ba ?untěro, náda. (4) hów-pa i-ho-k'í-m-ba 1-  
kinds of medicine with no results. (4) Then they called

ónši, ši-?né-m-ba 1-i-gú?u, bay-?e-ná-ba, ?a-núli ?i-bá-Nn-  
a wise man who examined her stomach and turned the baby

da ?í ?a-núli ma-yó-ba 1-i-gú?u.

around so that one was born and the other died in her womb.

(5) hów-ba, di-gwá 1-ónši čí má di-bá-Nn-na-da. (6)

(5) The wise man had said that the baby would be born.

?í ?í-ba ?óge? ?a-fáne? g-idíne náda. (7) hów-ba ?e-šal-  
(6) But several days passed without any success. (7) Then

f'é-m-ba 1-f-?wa. (8) 1-e-šal-f'é-m-ba, ?i-má-ba nul-emma  
the child was pulled out. (8) When the child was pulled out,

1-agá?no? (9) 1-i-má-ba, hów-ba ?i-bá-ma dó 1-ugwiyále  
the woman died. (9) When she died, there came out intestines

benádo. (10) ?i-gwá-ba čí ?ogwéci 1-ay-fí?no? má ?ay-g-i-  
like those of a deer. (10) Her husband said, "My wife didn't

má-k' lé?a, li-loco-gó-m-ba. (11) li-loco-gó-m-ba číya, di-  
just die, someone did evil to her. (11) There are many bad

mán-a lan-mál lan-šan-úk'. (12) čí ga-?wa-ná-?ma ?ogwénah  
people and they did evil to her. (12) I'm going away.

ládo máne. (13) ?ay-ga-bá-Nn-go-na-ya máne. (14) má fáh  
(13) I'm not going to stay here. (14) I've

?éma 1-ay-bá-Nm-ba. (15) čí ga-ma-?a-?m-óla? máne lan-šan-  
had enough here. (15) I'm going to kill all the bad

úk', bé 1-al-?é-ba má?ne g-i-gwána 1-ay-fí?no?. (16) gi-  
people who made my wife sick. (16) I

gwa-ná-wo ?a-nul-emma ?ogwénah ládo, ?uŋk'a-ná-?m-oši?. (17)  
am going away from here once and for all. (17)

ga-ma-1'e-?m-óla? tówa 1-o-mán-a? fá 1-ílya?. (18) těro  
I will first kill all the bad people here in this village.

hów-?ne-?m-óla?. (19) má 1í lé?a.

(18) I will finish them all off." (19) That is all.

## Text 17

(1) PT: dé ?entěro lan-šan-úk' lan-šan-úk lán ?é?e  
 (1) PT: Do all the people in San Matías like the

?entěro lan-šan-úk' sán matíyas ?il-bík'á m l? ?éste, la-  
 priests, or do some of them dislike the priests?

?áyi?, ?ó ?ónlka? ?ay-g-il-bík'a. (2) AM: ?il-bík'á. (3)  
 (2) AM: They like them.

PT: má ?entěro. (4) AM: ?entěř ?il-bík'a máne. (5) PT: ?í  
 (3) PT: All the people? (4) AM: All the people like them.

?il-bík'a lan-testígos ?ó ?á?i. (6) AM: ?ay-g-il-bík'a.  
 (5) PT: And do they like the Jehovah Witnesses? (6) AM:

(7) PT: dé pěra? ?ay-g-il-bík'a. (8) AM: pwés ?ay-m-i-gwá-  
 They don't like them. (7) PT: Why not? (8) AM: They don't

yi máne. (9) pwés ?a-núli ?ogé-š l-o-gwá-ba máne. (10) dá  
 want to follow them. (9) Maybe one or two would. (10) Or

má séys ?ó siyete l-o-gwá-ba. (11) pěra buláf'ka? ?ay-m-i-  
 maybe six or seven would follow them. (11) But the majority

gwá-yi máne. (12) hów-pa ?il-iwégi má l-andiyós. (13) ?al-  
 would not. (12) They have believed in God. (13) They

kostúmbře má ?il-iwégi?. (14) di-?é-h-f'e-yi ?untěř di-šaw-  
 have accepted their customs. (14) They celebrate fiestas and

ín-i. (15) PT: dé c'-i-?ík' ?éste, c'-í, dé g-o-gwá-ba, c'-í  
 dance. (15) PT: What kind of beliefs do the Jehovah Witnesses

c'-i-we-hmá? hił-níya?. (16) AM: c'-il-iwégi má gal-?áyi?  
 have? (16) AM: What do they believe about

(17) PT: c'-il-iwégi?, c'-il-iwégi lán lan-testígos. (18)  
 God? (17) PT: What beliefs do the Jehovah Witnesses follow?

AM: n? ní gal-?áyi méy hesukříst di-gwá-yi li-wé-h-le l-i-  
 (18) AM: They don't even believe in Christ, they say, "We

dáy-gi?, ?a-núli l l-andiyós. (19) pára ní lan-katolíko,  
 follow the word of the one God." (19) But Catholics say,

di-gwá-yi l-?áy sán matíya, ?a-bírhen maříya, l-?á sán migél,  
 "Saint Mattheas, the Virgin Mary, Saint Michael, and, Saint



senyóř santiyágo, ?untéř ?al-?áyi mané-ma ní g-o-bá l-andiyós-  
James have all been left to be gods."

la?. (20) péra ní l-o-yá-?a-ba ?a-mentířa ?á?ih línka? (21)  
(20) But the Jehovah Witness' doctrine is a lie. (21)

PT: ꞑ. (22) AM: pwés, kómo ?il-bík'a ?a-špéla? g-il-?amígo  
PT: Oh. (22) AM: They only want to have converts so that

?a-špelá?, kíya di-wé-h-le di-naŋ-k'o-n-íla?. (23) PT: ꞑ.  
they can talk to each other. (23) PT: Oh.

(24) AM: péra ?iyá-ŋk' ?á?i. (25) hów-ba li-wé-h-ba máne.  
(24) AM: But we will not change. (25) We are true believers.

(26) ?ay-m-í-?i-ya ma-la-del-núf-ya gal-kostúmbře. (27) PT:  
(26) We can't let go of our customs. (27) PT:

ꞑNꞑ. (28) AM: dó líya. (29) PT: ꞑNꞑ.  
Yes. (28) AM: That is all. (29) PT: Yes.

## Text 18

(1) ?í dú-li-g-i ?a-gwéga? ?al-dómi. (2) más wan-cu-ná-  
(1) They earn a lot of money. (2) They get ahead

yi. (3) dí-pa l-úhši ?aywála, di-bí . . . (4) yá-ŋk' bé g-  
more. (3) They have mules and . . . (4) But what do

ó-bi. (5) ?al-?áyi ?il-ba?no-?e-b-óŋa? dó hí-ta čí. (6)  
we have? (5) Our fathers left us what we have. (6)

?íma? dó ?íma? m-ay-?áy l-ba?nó-?e-n-l ?untéřo, má?nta ?a-  
Like you were my father and left me everything, lights,

lús, ?al-hé?e, ká?a ?a-dómi, (7) PT: ꞑNꞑ. AM: di-má-n-c-  
books, and money, (7) PT: Yes. AM: then you die

o?, ?í hów-ba ?i-šna-go-ná-ba, ?e-hak'-e-ná-ba ?untéřo. (8)  
and your son drinks it all up. (8)

PT: ꞑNꞑ. (9) ?í čí ?ay-l-ó-b, di-daway-gó-yi. (10) PT: ꞑNꞑ.  
PT: Yes. (9) With nothing left they have to be hired hands.

(11) AM: ?í ?iyá-ŋk' nomáy niŋk'i-?esindááo ?ogwéna g-ís.  
(10) PT: Yes. (11) AM: My father and I are from another

(12) dó číya l-ay-?wa-yó-ma fá ?ay-gwáy-? ni-?esindááo, gidé?  
village. (12) For example, it would be like my just coming

?ay-gwáy-?ma. (13) ?í pára más gu-wáy-na-la?, (14) PT: ?N?m.  
to a new village. (13) And if I got ahead, (14) PT: Yes.

AM: ?i-štu-lé-ma, di-gwá-yi má ?al-má-Nn-?e 1-awé ?estéba.  
AM: they would get mad, but they said, "Let Mr. Stephen stay."

(15) PT: ?N?m. (16) AM: pwés kómo ?áy-1-o-b g-al-fálta ?áy-  
(15) PT: Yes. (16) AM: They said that because we have done

1-o-b. (17) má g-il-dúga? di-ma-na-b-óla?. (18) PT: ?N?m.  
no wrong. (17) They died by themselves, we had nothing to

(19) AM: má 1íya. (20) PT: ?m. (21) AM: má 1í di-bá la-  
do with it. (18) PT: Yes. (19) AM: That is all. (20) PT:

dáygi?. (22) PT: aq.  
Oh. (21) That is all there is to it. (22) PT: Oh.

## Text 19

(1) ?iyá tempráno ?ay-?wá-ba ga-šwí-da 1-imuk'ó?.  
(1) I went early to clear a thicket.

(2) hów-ba ?íya cúNmicu fáne? ne-deh-mé-ci. (3) 1-ay-n-  
(2) Three days ago I walked down through it. (3) I saw

émac' ?ay-šiq-wó?ma čúlo. (4) di-bá 1-imuk'ó?. (5) pwés má ga-  
that my ground looked good. (4) It is grown up in weeds. (5)

?wá-?a-wa-1, ga-šwi-wa-cí. (6) 1-fí-?e-la n-éšgu, dí-?i-  
I have to go and clear it. (6) My tortillas have been fixed

ci menáko, ?iyá ga-decó-da, du-mle-gó-wo. (7) hów-ba ?iyá?  
for me and when it is noon and I am hungry I will eat. (7)

?ay-?wá-ba. (8) ?í-ba menák'o pwés, ga-decó-?ma.  
I am going. (8) When it is noon I will eat.

(9) ?í di-hów-la? ga-šwi-go-ná-?ma 1-ay-b-imuk'ó?.  
(9) Then I begin again to clear my thicket.

(10) ?í-ba púwa gal-?óřa, ga-bay-ná-wo, ?u-nacuf-ná-?ma.  
(10) When the sun starts to go down I will dismiss my helpers

(11) ?í ga-deh-may-ná-ci, hów-p ?u-múy-da. (12) ?ay-?wa-  
and return. (11) I will come down since it is late. (12)

ná-ba má ga-?wá-?wa. (13) mówgi di-hów 1-ay-?óřa, ?ay-  
I am going home. (13) Tomorrow when the sun is up I

?wa-go-ná-ba. (14) ga-šwi-gó-na.  
will go again. (14) I will clear some more.

(15) di-hów-la? ga-šwí-la? núli núli l-áy l-ay-n-  
(15) When I have finished clearing my thicket and the  
ešwíya?, ?í di-húl-la?, di-gwáy-ci gal-?ábřil, ga-bí-?e-da.  
brush is dried out and April comes, I will go and burn it.

(16) ?í di-hów-ci di-bí-ci, ?í di-gwí-ŋi l-á-gwi, fá-da  
(16) And when it has been burned and it has rained; I  
l-aynagá?. (17) fá-da.  
will sow my field. (17) I will go and sow it.

(18) ?í di-hów-la? de-néf'-?ma l-aynága?, ?í di-hów-  
(18) And when the corn is up we will go and hoe it.

la? ?a-swi-k'ó-da. (19) ?a-swi-k'ó-?me l-aynagá?.  
(19) We will hoe the cornfield.

(20) ?í di-hów-la? di-dó-h-?ma kí l-aynága?, ?í di-húl-  
(20) And when the corn is grown and matured, and the

?ma, di-?ás-?ma gal-?áwa, di-?ás-?ma sandíya, di-?ás-?ma  
squash, watermelon, beans, or what have you, we will eat it.

kwalkěra pí ?ál'áne, ?al-té-?me.

(21) ?í di-hów-la? la-fo-l'e-ná-?me. (22) ?i-?ás-pa l-  
(21) Then we will gather it together. (22) We will pick

al'áne la-dú-h-da, ?í du-ná-?me. (23) l-wé-h-?me l-kuštaláy.  
the ripened beans and thrash them out. (23) We will put them

(24) ?í di-hów-la?, gal-?áwa la-fo-l'é-da ?a-mónton  
into bags. (24) Then we will gather the squash into

mónton, l-é-?e-da gal-?áwa. (25) ?í ?al-téf-da l-té-?me.  
piles. (25) We will carry and eat it.

(26) ?í di-hów-la?, ?a-snú-da l-aynagá?. (27) la-fo-  
(26) Then we will pick the corn. (27) We will

l'é-?me l-o?f'áne?, ?a-mónton l-é-?e-?me. (28) ?al-déf-da.  
gather the corn into piles. (28) We will carry

(29) cá?we-?me g-al-b-iwál-ey dá ?ogé-ši? ?a-fán-ci ?al-déf-  
it. (29) We will ask for about two or three horses to carry

da 1-al-u?fáne. (30) 1-dak'wi-d-óla? ní 1-aywál-ey. (31)  
our beans. (30) We will pile the beans on the horses.

1-gwáy-?e-gu fá 1-ílya? ?ónka, ?í ?ónka pú?wa 1-wé-?e-da.  
(31) We will bring half of the beans to the village here and

(32) 1-laŋ-k'é-da 1-íwo, c'ú-h-mi-da pú?wa, di-máne-gu  
keep half there. (32) We will make a crib there and put half

?onká?. (33) ?í ?ónka fá 1-gwáy-?e-gu 1-ílya?, ?al-té-?me  
of them in it. (33) The other half we will bring to the

g-al-gásto ?entéřo ?él kwařésma. (34) ?í háni? ?a-špéla?  
village and eat during the winter. (34) And if we have a

?i-bá-ma, pwés ?ónka ?al-gú-h-?me. (35) dá má ?a-núli ?ógeh  
lot, we will sell some. (35) We will sell a

kwařtíya, ?ó sóbře ?al-na-gó-?me g-al-á?i. (36) kwalkéřa dé  
couple of quarts or buy bread with it. (36) We will buy

g-al-hána-h-ya-gu. (37) hów-ba.  
whatever we want with it. (37) That is all.

## Text 20

(1) pwés čí ?i-gó-ba, ga-má ga-ma-wa-le-lá?. (2) dú 1-  
(1) Today he said, "I will murder some people. (2) My

ay-húnak' du-wáy-?ma. (3) ?i-gwá-přa, 1-aywála ?ó ga-gúf-  
sins will then pass from me." (3) He said, "I will offer a

ci ?ogwénah lááo. (4) pwés gu-lí-h-?ma g-ay-domí tambiyén.  
horse for sale somewhere else. (4) I will earn money also.

(5) du-wáy-?ma 1-ay-húnak'. (6) ?ó ?íNna ga-gú-h-da gwénah  
(5) My sins will pass from me. (6) Maybe I will sell a hog

a-lááo. (7) ?ó ?a-wágaš ga-gú-h-da. (8) má ?a-núli 1íya.  
somewhere. (7) Or I will sell a cow somewhere. (8) It is

(9) gu-lí-h-l šónga? ?ay-dómi, šónga? gu-wáy-1 šónga? . . .  
the same thing. (9) I will earn more money, I will pass

(10) ?ó ga-nanci-c-óla? ?a-číbo, ga-wa-?c-óla? tá ?al-?ógay,  
more . . . (10) Or I will steal goats and take them down

gu-lí-h-da míl ?ó dós míl 1-ay-domí. (11) du-wáy-?ma 1-ay-  
below and earn a couple thousand pesos. (11) All of my

hūnak' ?untěro? (12) ?ó ?a-cána ga-gú-h-da. (13) ?ó ?abí?e  
sins will pass. (12) Or I will sell a chicken. (13) Or I

cána, ga-nance-h-?m-óla? ?orřita. (14) gu-lí-h-?ma l-áy l-  
will steal eggs soon. (14) I will earn money

ay-wélto, ga-dé-?ma ?untěro l-ay-b-ihawá-li, ?ay-k'éhi, ?ó  
and bring back clothing or huaraches, or I will buy shoes

?ay-sapáto ga-ba?nó-?ma. (15) má lí lé?a gá-gwa.  
to put on." (15) That is all there is I say.

## Text 21

(1) PT: čá. (2) AM: pwés, ?í la-štáf-k-e. (3) kolá?  
(1) PT: Go ahead! (2) AM: Well, I am sick. (3) I

l-?í-n-la g-áfši. (3) kyá l-?é-n-a g-ay-gwána.  
need medicine. (3) I need to have my disease healed.

(4) ?í hów-ba náda ?áy?-?m-i g-áfši. (5) ?i-ho-k'í-m-  
(4) But medicine didn't help. (5) So they called

ba l-ónši, d-?é-na-ba g-áfši. (6) ?al-?i-ná-ba. (7) ga-  
a wise man and he gave me medicine. (6) I got well. (7)

?wa-le-gó-ŋwa ?untěř ?á?. (8) ga-?é-ŋwa g-ánik'.  
Now I can walk around again. (8) Now I can work.

(9) ?í hów-ba, bay-go-ná-ma l-ay-gwána. (10) má lí ?a-  
(9) Then my disease came back again. (10) That same

núli. (11) ní ga-?e-go-ná-?ma g-ánik', ní ga-k'é-da, ní ga-  
disease. (11) I cannot work nor carry water nor clean my

?wicó-da. (12) pwés di-mán lan-mál lan-šan-úk'. (13) ?ay-  
fields. (12) That's because there are evil people. (13)

m-í-?i-ya m-o-?é-ya g-aník'. (14) dó líya l-il-módo níya?  
You can't work because of them. (14) That is their way of

(15) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?ay-m-i-gwá m-al-cál-go-ya. (16)  
life. (15) My disease would not leave me. (16)

?á-špe řemédiyo, náda, ?e-wé-m-ba, náda ?ay-m-i-šal-go-gó-  
They looked for all kinds of remedies for me but nothing

h-ma? l-ay-gwána.  
would deliver me from my sickness.

(17) l-i-hów-ba, hó-k'i-go-na-ba l-ónši, du-nacaf'-gí-  
 (17) Finally they called a wise man who divined what

m-ba, ?a-fúle? l-?íná-ba. (18) má lí lé?a.  
 had happened to me and I got well at last. (18) That is all.

## Text 22

(1) pwés, l-f-?i-ba di-gwá-yi, ?éy ?áy l-f-ba di-gwá-  
 (1) The people in our village have always said, "We

yi, l-ándiyos g-o-bá lí li-wé-h-le l-i-dáygi?. (2) ?í pára  
 follow God's word." (2) But the

lan-banhél ?i-gwá-ba, ?áy l-i-dáygi l-andiyós. (3) ?á?ih  
 evangelicals said, "That is not God's word. (3) It is

čúlo. (4) duli-we-h-ná-le má hesukřisto ?a-núli l-andiyós duli-  
 not right. (4) You should follow the one god Jesus Christ."

wé-h-le. (5) péra níya? ?á?i konfóřme sán matíya. (6)  
 (5) But the people in San Matías do not agree.

?i-gwá-ba má li-wé-h-le g-ał-?áyí?. (7) pwés la-?áy du-yá?  
 (6) They said, "We will follow our own God." (7) The priest

?i-gwá-ba ?á?ih čúlo líya pára duli-wé-h-le ?él banhéliyo.  
 said, "It's not good for you to follow the teachings of the

(8) duli-wé-h-le g-ał-?áy, g-o-bá más ?a-mehóř. (9) dł-é-  
 evangelicals. (8) Follow God, that is much better. (9)

?e-le g-áník', dł-é-?e-le . . . (10) . . . g-o-bá ?al-čúlo.  
 Work and do . . . (10) . . . that is better.

(11) di-des-mi-?m-ólwo?, ?untéřo di-gú g-ał-?áy, l-i-báš  
 (11) God feeds you and gives you everything through his

líya l-i-dáygi?. (12) pwés, má lí lé?a. (13) PT: m. (14)  
 blessed word." (12) That is all. (13) PT: Oh. (14)

dé g-i-b-eník' gal-kúřa. (15) AM: pwés kómo dú-?i lan-šan-  
 What does the priest do? (15) AM: He teaches the people.

úk'. (16) dú-?i lan-šan-úk' ?untéřo dé l-oł-?é-yagu. (17)  
 (16) He tells them what to do. (17)

?ay-m-oli-wé-h-?me banhéliyo, ní nááé. (18) PT: ǫNǫ. (19)  
 He tells them, "Don't follow the teachings of the evangelicals."

AM: ʔaʔfʔi mehōř lfiya. (20) má duli-wé-h-le l-i-dáygi l-andiyós.  
 (18) PT: Oh. (19) AM: "It is not good. (20) Follow only the

(21) dul-ʔe-h-f'é-le, du-ná-n-le, di-šaw-ín-le, ʔuntéřo?  
 word of God. (21) Celebrate your fiestas and dance."

(22) PT: ɸNɸ. (23) AM: lí g-o-báʔa. (24) PT: ɸNɸ. (25) di-  
 (22) PT: Oh. (23) AM: That is it. (24) PT: Oh. (25) Does

báʔa šōnga l-i-b-énik' gal-kúra. (26) AM: ʔáʔi. (27) PT:  
 the priest say anything more? (26) AM: No. (27) PT:

má kí léʔa. (28) AM: má k'í léʔa. (29) PT: du-bu-ʔí-  
 That is all? (28) AM: That is all. (29) PT: Does he bap-

ʔma . . . (30) AM: . . . l-a-ʔúway ʔuntéřo. (31) PT: ɸNɸ.  
 tize . . . (30) AM: . . . all the children. (31) PT: Oh.

(32) AM: má lí léʔa.

{32} AM: That is all.

## Text 23

(1) PT: čá. (2) AM: pwés číya ʔay-m-i-gwá l-agáʔno  
 (1) PT: Go ahead! (2) AM: There is a woman who can't

m-u-muf-yáʔ. (3) ʔá-špe řemédiyo ʔi-šnáy-ʔi-na-ba kwalkéřa  
 give birth. (3) They gave her all kinds of medicine to

náda ʔay-m-i-gwá máʔ m m-i-baʔnó-ya l-í-ʔwa. (4) gál-šans  
 take but she still couldn't give birth to her child. (4)

di-šwél-ʔma ʔuntéřoʔ. (5) di-hó-g-i ʔuntéřoʔ l-unšá-hmaʔ.  
 Her husband is sad. (5) He is grief stricken.

(6) l-i-nášge di-wós-ʔme máʔ ntéřoʔ. (7) čí de-wé-y g-ónši  
 (6) His children are all sad. (7) He looks for a

ʔáʔ. (8) bé g-o-ši-ʔné-ya. (9) pwés, ʔe-ším-ba l-ónši, ši-  
 wise man. (8) But where can you find one? (9) He found one

ʔné-m-ba l-i-gúʔu ʔuntéřoʔ. (10) pwés, báy-ʔe-na-ba l-í-ʔwa,  
 who diagnosed the trouble with her womb. (10) He turned the

ná-ba l-i-deřěču, číyaʔ di-bá-ʔn di-ba-Nn-ná-da l-í-ʔwa.  
 baby around like it should be and now the child will be born.

(11) má lí léʔa.

(11) That is all.

## Text 24

(1) ?iyá la-bi-?í-m-ba ?al-domí, ?ún mayordómo pára  
 (1) They gave me the money to be the head of a fiesta

?al-béynte kwátřo dé febréro. (2) ?ay-búl-ba. (3) ?i-gwá-  
 for the 24th of February. (2) I was agreeable. (3) The

ba l-agú-l-we?, da-bé-la? tá?a a-limósna. (4) pára l-o-  
 elders said, "Take this money. (4) You will use

gway-gó-yah tiyémpo do-?e-h-f'é-?ma ?al-Wík' tá?a. (5) g-  
 this money to celebrate next year's fiesta. (5) You

l-?áyi da-gaš-i-ňáy-la?, ?í patrón sán matíyas ?a-núli g-  
 will celebrate the fiesta of our village god Saint Matthias.

ámac'.  
 for one year."

(6) pwés l-i-hów-ba ?íya? ?ay-mí-ba, ?ay-mi-b-óla?, ga-  
 (6) Then I said, "I will do it.

bá-Nm-?ma. (7) pwés la-wé-?e-l g-ay-kompanyéro náy n-al-  
 (7) But find a partner for me who will help

má-Nn-yagu lá?, pwés, lá-be-?me ?al-domí tá?a. (8) di-muš-  
 me and then we will take this money. (8) But

káy-ci cí g-ay-kompanyéro přiméro. (9) pwés náda ?íyáy-l-o-  
 find a partner for me first. (9) I don't have any

ba g-ayf-gwá-ba. (10) pwés, hów-ba l-agú-l mí-ba, čá dula-  
 objections." (10) Then the elders said, "Let's look

wé-le l-ogwéna ?iyá. (11) ká hów-ba ?a-núli muš-káy-da, ?í  
 for someone. (11) We have found one and now we need

?a-núli ?iyá. (12) hów-ba ?e-we-bá. (13) hów-b ?i-ším-ba,  
 one more." (12) They looked for one. (13) They found

pwés mí-ba ?al-mučáču ká de-bé-?ma. (14) ?i-b-óla? ?ogé-  
 one and said, "This boy will be agreeable. (14) Now that

ši?, di-búl-le tá ?a-limósna.  
 we have two, they will be agreeable and take this money."

(15) l-i-hów-ba, l-ay-kompanyéro l-balo-láy-ba, ?i-  
 (15) Then my partner said to me, "Come on, let's take

mí-ba čá ná la-búl-le tá ?a-limósna, médiyo. (16) pwés bul-  
 the money and do it." (16) We picked



áf'-ba, swe-h-?mé-ba ?al-domí. (17) šwáy-da ?ál ?a-málbu,  
up the money and counted it. (17) There were four or five

?a-máge mašnú?. (18) 1-fí-?e-ba 1-a1-bá?yu, 1-wá-?a-ba 1-  
hundred dollars. (18) We tied it up in our handkerchief and

al-áhu1'. (19) kwándo 1-a1-gway-?é-da 1-ul-áhu1', pwés, ?i1-  
took it home. (19) When we got home, there were people

éη-k'e lan-šan-úk'. (20) ?i-gwá-ba la-bi-?i-c-óηa? g-a1-  
following us. (20) They said, "Give us some money!"

médiyo. (21) pwés ?a1-mi-b-óla? háni? dula-bé-?me pwés,  
(21) We said to them, "Remember that you have to

pěro do1-ni-f'í-?me lag-í lag-i-?uménto ?álgo tambiyén. (22)  
repay the interest on this money also. (22)

tá de-do-f'í-n-i ?ámac' ?ámac' wéno g-a1-cín-a dé c'-i-?ík'  
You know how this money grows year after year because of

tá?a ?al-domí. (23) pór ?éso di-gwéf'-g-e.  
the interest. (23) That is why it increases."

(24) pwés 1-i-hów-ba, da-bi-?i-b-óla?. (25) ?a-núli  
(24) Then you give it to them. (25) Each man

?ogéh siyénto ?al-dómi ?e-bé-ba ?ál gal-núli gal-šáns.  
received one or two hundred pesos.

(26) 1-i-hów-ba 1f ?al-dómi hów-ba núli?, ?i1-laη-k'é-  
(26) Then when the money was all given out, we made

ba 1-a1-lísta, 1-i1-b-uftíne pára ne-bé-ba ?al-domí, tóWa  
a list of the people who had received the money and how

lá?a gal-núli 1 1-e-be-gó-ba.  
much each had gotten.

(27) hów-ba ?al-domí gu-ná-ba núli?, hów-ba kwándo 1-í-  
(27) When we had loaned out all the money and when the

?wa 1-í 1-i-gwáy-da ?al-přiměro belasiyón, ?iyá-ηk' la-we-  
fiesta was about a week away, we went and bought a cow and

wó?me gal-wágaš, 1-má-?a-ba. (28) ?a1-def-wó?me gal-kwéte,  
killed it. (28) We went and bought rockets

?í 1-ná-ba gal-mé?e, ?í 1-ná-ba 1-ihá-?ma1, pára ?ál-Wik'  
and cigarettes and mezcal for the fiesta, all the things

swe-h-?me-gó-ba dé 1-o-?e-h-f'i-gó-ya.  
that we needed for the celebration.

(29) ?í l-i-hów-ba líya, ?e-de-ŋáy-da ?él přiměro  
 (29) Then the first notice of the fiesta was rung

belasiyón, ?al-Wík' ?íma.  
 out on the church bell.

(30) ?í l-i-hów-ba líya, ?al-bi-?e-wó?me l-al-kwéte,  
 (30) Then we set off our rockets near the church

m-i-šme-wó?me pú?wa? bé g-al-?áyi l-o-bá?a ?al-šówde?  
 where God is inside.

(31) ?í l-i-hów-ba ?i-bá-ma ?al-přosesiyón, nuni-gí-m-  
 (31) Then the people came out of the church and made a

ba. (32) ?i-šwé-m-ba la-náha?, ?i-bá-ma g-al-?áyi?, l-bí-  
 procession through town. (32) They read the Mass and God

?e-go-na-ba l-al-kwéte ?í tiyémpo, l-bí-?e-ba kámaŋa.  
 came out of the church and we set off the rockets and fireworks.

(33) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?we-gi-ná-ba g-al-?áyi, hów-ba g-  
 (33) Then they took God back in the church and finished

a-nahá?. (34) ?u-ná-m-ba. (35) hów-ba ?al-le-go-b-óla?  
 the Mass. (34) The band played. (35) Then we brought the

l-áhuł', ?a-snay-?i-wo?m-óla? ?a-núli ?a-núli tása g-il-  
 people to the house and gave each one some coffee and

káfe, ?í ?a-núli l-il-é?i. (36) ?í ?al-ni-?i-wo?m-óla? l-  
 bread. (36) We gave them some cigar-

íl l-il-mé?e, l-il-b-ihá-?mał. (37) hów-ba ?u-múy-da l-  
 ettes and mezcal. (37) When it was late

idíne líya, pwés ?í-?wa-yi-ná-ma. (38) laŋ-músik kí yo-ná-  
 afternoon, they went away. (38) The band came.

ma. (39) m-i-gway-ná-?me ?al-munisípiyo, pwés ?i-?wá-yo-li-  
 (39) When they arrived at the village square, they

na-ba.  
 dispersed.

(40) l-i-hów-ba l-i-šwáy-da ?ál-Wík' kwándo l-i-gwáy-  
 (40) When the day before the fiesta came, we were

da l-idíne, ?al-bispéŋa, hów-ba yá-ŋk' ?a-lísto m-al-man-á?  
 ready to celebrate the fiesta.

pářa ?al-?e-h-f'é-?me ?ál-Wík'. (41) ?í-ba ?ál ?al-bíspeřa,  
(41) When the evening came,

maytínes, tódo ?i-šwé-m-ba pí ?al-šówde? (42) ?í ?al-bí-  
they had Mass at the church for the eve of Maytines. (42)

?e-ba l-ał-kwéte. (43) ?al-bí-?e-ba ?al-kámařa, tódo. (44)  
We shot off our rockets. (43) We burned up our fireworks.

píya la-nan-l'í-ba ?al-Wík'.  
(44) That is how we kept the fiesta.

(45) pwés l-i-hów-ba, ?u-ná-m-ba l-ík'ay l-i-bugí?. (46)  
(45) Then the band played all night. (46)

?al-des-mi-ya-lé-ba ?iyá-ŋk' ?al-ma-k'é-ba l-íha-g-ířik'.  
We fed the people with the stew that we had cooked.

(47) ?i-decó-m-ba buláf'ka? gal-šáns, buláf'ka? l-agá-l-no?,  
(47) All the men, women, and children ate.

l-a?úway. (48) ?í l-í-?i-ba g-ídine líya ?al-wé Wík', ?él  
(48) Then when it was the day of the big fiesta,

díya béynte kwátřo ?á l-í-?i-ba g-ídine, pwés, ?i-šwe-go-na-bá.  
the 24th of February, they had Mass again.

(49) ?i-báh mísa tódo pú?wa g-ał-?áyi ?al-šówde?. (50) hów-ba  
(49) They had Mass there at the church where God is. (50)

ga-nahá?.  
Then the Mass was over.

(51) l-i-hów-ba ?al-le-go-go-na-b-óla? l-áhuł', ?iyá-ŋk'  
(51) Then we took the people to our house and we

?al-dés-mi-go-wo-na-?m-ola? lan-šan-úk', lan-musikó?, l-agú-  
fed the men, the band members, the elders, the boys, and the

ł-we?, ?í l-a?úway, ?agá-l-no?, buláf'ka?, tóWa lá? n-i-gwáy-  
women, all who came to the house.

da l-áhuł'.

(52) ?í l-i-hów-ba líya, ?al-mi-b-óla?, pwés hów-ba ?á?  
(52) Then we said to them, "We have finished our job

tá ?iyá-ŋk' ?al-?é-ba kumplíř l-áł l-ał-Wík'. (53) pwés ?í  
in handling the fiesta. (53) We are

číya lu-yáy-?e-na-?me l-ał-kwénta ?á?. (54) hów-ba ?i-šwáy-  
going to turn in our accounts. (54) The money is

na-da ?ál ?al-domí. (55) de-foł-ná-ma buláf'ka? bé l-ala-  
all here. (55) All the people are here to whom

bi-?i-b-oŋa? nul-ámac'. (56) čá lu-yáy-?e-na-?me l-ał-  
we gave money last year. (56) Let's get our accounts

kwénta. (57) hów-ba la-fo-ł'é-na-ba buláf'ka?, ?í lag-i-  
settled. (57) We have gathered everything together and

?úmento hów-ba ?i-gu-náy-na-ba.  
have the money with the interest."

(58) hów-ba, la-dó-?e-na-b-óla? ?al-mésa, l-agú-ł šwe-  
(58) Then we put the money on the table and the elders

h-?me-na-bá. (59) ?i-šwáy-na-da ?al-domí píya. (60) dá  
counted it. (59) The money was all there. (60) There

?a-núlih míl, ?ogéh míl ?i-šwáy-da ?al-domí. (61) lu-yáy-  
was about one or two thousand pesos. (61) We turned

?e-na-ba.  
it all in.

(62) hów-ba, ?i-bul-af'-ná-ba l-agú-ł-we, ?i-šwe-h-  
(62) Then the elders picked it up and the officials

?mí-ba c'-il-b-énik', ?i-mí-ba, pwés číya, dula-we-gón-le  
counted it and said, "All right, it's time to look for

?iyá ?a-c'éh mayořdómo, tá du-yáy-go-na-?ma ?al-domí, tá?a.  
another person to receive this money.

(63) di-bul-go-ná-le. (64) pórke l-o-gway-gó-ma tá di-?é-  
(63) They need to take this money. (64) We have to find

h-f'e-go-na-?me ?iyá, ?í ?al-dómi di-gwéf'-?ma, tá di-?í-?ma  
people to take charge of the fiesta for next year and to

?á-špe ?al-domí.  
be in charge of this money so that it continues to grow."

(65) ?í l-i-hów-ba, lan-šan-úk' c'-íl c'-il-b-énik' l-  
(65) Then the men, the officials, and the elders

agú-ł-we? ?éf ?e-we-go-na-bá gal-c'é gal-mayořdómo, ?e-bi-  
appointed another person to be in charge of the fiesta and

?i-na-bá. (66) ?i-búl-go-na-ba lí ?al-domí.  
gave the money to him. (66) He took the responsibility.

(67) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-bul-áf'-ba Níya? ?i-mi-m-b-óla?  
 (67) Then when the new men received the money, they

dula-búl-le tá ?al-domí. (68) hów-ba ?i-bul-áf'-b ay-muš-  
 were told, "Take this responsibility." (68) They took

kay-na-d-óla? lan-c'éh mayořdómo?, pwés, ?u-ná-m-ba ?úna  
 the job and became the new men who would be in charge of

diyána. (69) ?iyá-ŋk' ?al-bí-?e-ba l-al-kwéte, ?níš-lay-  
 the fiesta and then the band played a number. (69) We

go-ba řésiyo. (70) hów-ba yá-ŋk' lu-yáy-?e-na-ba l-al-kwénta,  
 shot off some rockets that really exploded. (70) We were

la-ga-ŋuf-i-na-b-óŋa?. (71) hów-ba.  
 free from all our responsibilities. (71) That is all.

## Text 25

(1) di-bá?a ?a-núli gal-šáns. (2) l-í-?iwa ?i-dó-h-ba.  
 (1) There once was a man. (2) His son was grown.

(3) ?i-mí-ba, kwé?a lé-ba la-wé-da fi?nó?. (4) lé-ba l-  
 (3) His father said, "Let's go look for a wife for you. (4)

naŋ-k'ó-da. (5) hów-ba? yé-ba. (6) l-i-gwáy-da l-éhuł'  
 Let's go talk to someone." (5) They went. (6) When they

gál-šáns, ?i-mí-ba dé ?o-bá-ŋi-ya?. (7) mí-ba má ?a-bá-ŋi-  
 arrived at the man's house, he said, "Are you home?" (7) The

ya?. (8) do-wé?, do-?wá-ŋi, d-c-fay-ú-ŋi l-áhuł'. (9) du-  
 man responded, "Yes, I'm home. (8) Come on in the house. (9)

guc'-wáy-la? ?al-dentró. (10) fáni ?al-siyénto ?i-škwá-hma?.  
 Sit down inside. (10) There is a seat empty somewhere."

(11) hów-ba gal-šáns guc'-wáy-ba. (12) ?i-mí-ba ?iyá? tá  
 (11) The man sat down. (12) He said, "I'm going

g-ay-gway-gó-?ma. (13) dé nibáNnya? da-bí-?i-?ma g-i-fí?no  
 to tell you why I came. (13) Can you give my son a wife?

l-áy-?wa. (14) pwés tá g-a-dáygi?, ?ay-g-ay-gway-go-gó-?ma.  
 (14) That is why I came.

(15) tá g-áyf g-ayf-mi-b-ó?, tá g-ayf-gwá-ba.  
 (15) That is what I have to say to you.

(16) ?ay-gwáy-?ma bé l-u-lugář l-o-bãŋ-a?, ?ay-?noWays-b-ó?  
 (16) When I got near your house I thought of you."

(17) pwés ?i-mí-ba, háni? dó lé, pwés do-?wa-go-ná-ma l-ogwénah  
 (17) Well the other man said, "All right, come again another

a-wélta. (18) di-gwis-f'é-wa-le l-agá?no? dé g-o-gwa-yá.  
 (18) The girl has to be asked to see what she will

(19) hów-ba gal-šáns, ?i-?wá-na-ba. (20) l-ogwénah wélta  
 say." (19) The man went on his way. (20) He came again

?i-gway-go-gó-na. (21) ?ay-mí-ba, dé ?á dí-?i-?ma l-ay-  
 another time. (21) I said, "Can you do what I asked

dáygi dó l-ay-?wa-gó-ma ?al-priměro, l-ay-ni-gwi-cuf-úma.  
 you to do the first time I came?"

(22) mí-m-ba, pwés, ?ay-l-o-bá?ah dínci? (23) do-?wa-go-  
 (22) He said, "There is nothing to worry about. (23) Come

ná-ma l-ogwénah a-wélta, náda todabiya di-šwél-go-wa l-  
 again another time. The girl still has to think it over.

agá?no?. (25) cĩŋ-wa-le dé g-o-gwa-yá. (26) do-?wa-go-ná-  
 (25) We will see what she says. (26) Come again

ma.  
 another time."

(27) l-i-hów-ba, ?i-?wa-ná-ba gal-šáns. (28) l-i-?wa-  
 (27) Then the man went on his way. (28) He went

ná-ba, hów-ba? gway-go-gó-na, l-ogwénah a-wélta. (29) ?i-mí-  
 and came again. (29) He said,

ba, dé? c'-i-hów-h-ma? ?á? l-al-dáygi?. (30) di-?í-?ma ?ó ?ay-  
 "What have you decided? (30) Is it possible or

m-í-?i-ya. (31) hów-ba, ?i-mí-m-ba, pwés, dí-?i-?ma. (32)  
 not? (31) Then the man replied, "It is all right. (32)

l-ogwénah a-wélta di-?wá-ma l-ú-?uwa howk'wá?. (33) di-balo-  
 Next time bring your son. (33) The two

láy-?me. (34) cím-?me dé g-o-gwa-yagú. (35) háni? lĩŋka  
 of them can talk together. (34) Let's see what they say.

?i-haná-h-ba má ?i-bík'a řěsiyo, pwés ga-bí-?i-?ma, di-lé-  
 (35) If he really loves her I will give her to him and he

go-?ma.  
 can take her."

(36) l-i-hów-ba l-ogwénah a-wélta, ?wá-go-na-ba gal-šáns,  
 (36) The next time the man came he brought his son

le-go-bá ?á? l-í-?iwah ?ómbře. (37) kwándo di-gwáy-da, mí-  
 with him. (37) When they arrived, he

m-ba, dé l-gway-go-ná-?me, li-gwi-cuf-go-ná-yi l-al-dáygi?  
 said, "We have come again to ask you about that matter.

(38) dí-?i-?ma dó l-ali-gwi-cuf-úma fá?a l-áhuł' ?ó ?ay-m-  
 (38) Can you do what I asked you to do here in the house

í-?iya. (39) pwés tá g-al-gway-gó-?me ?iyá-ŋk'.  
 or not? (39) That is why we have come."

(40) l-i-hów-ba mi-m-b-óla?, dí-?i-?ma. (41) háni? dó  
 (40) Then he said to them, "It is all right." (41) "If

lé pwés, ?i-mí-ba, l-ogwénah sábadó, pwés li-bá-?a-gu, l-wá-  
 that is so," the other one replied, "then we will come and

?a-?me l-al-áhuł'. (42) hów-ba ?i-mí-m-ba háni dó líya  
 take her next Saturday." (42) He continued, "Since it is

pwés, dí du-yáy-la l-impénya nul-émma da-be-nuf-lá?. (43)  
 all right, accept the gifts that we have brought." (43)

?i-ni-?í-m-ba ?al-mé?e, ?e-bí-?i-m-ba l-á?i. (44) l-ihá-  
 He gave the father cigarettes and bread. (44) He gave

?mał ?u-wa-?í-m-ba la-?áyi. (45) ?a-čokoláte, ?á?i, ?entěro,  
 mezcal to the father. (45) The father of the girl

?e-be-núf-p la-?áyi?. (46) hów-ba, yé-na-ba. (47) l-  
 accepted everything including chocolate and bread. (46) The

ogwénah sábadó l-i-?í-ba, ?i-ma-k'o-l'é-ba. (48) gal-mučáču  
 man and his boy left. (47) The next Saturday they spent

?á?, g-i-?áyi, g-i-?máma?, ?i-ma-k'é-ba gal-teWá?  
 cooking. (48) The boy, his father, and his mother cooked food.

(49) l-i-hów-ba ?i-yé-go-na-ba ?á?. (50) déf-ba l-  
 (49) Then they went back again. (50) They took

ihawa-lí?, buláf'ka?. (51) l-i-gwáy-da g-i-?máma?, ?i-  
 the clothing and things with them. (51) When his mother

bo?no-?í-ba l-awác'. (52) ?e-dé-h-ba, ?i-bo?no-?í-m-ba  
 got there she groomed the girl. (52) She dressed the girl

l-i-b-ihawa-lí? . (53) hów-ba ?i-mí-m-ba, kwé háni?, lé-ba  
and put on her clothing. (53) Then the people said, "Let's

la-gan-á, l-wá-?a-ba l-ahú!'.  
accompany the girl to her new home."

(54) l-i-hów-ba, ?i-cowlí-ma ?á? la-?máma, la-?áyi?.

(54) Then the girl's mother and father got up.

(55) ?i-?wá-?a-ba ?á? l-í-l-wa ?e-gaŋ-wó?me ?á?. (56) ?i-  
(55) They took their daughter to her new home. (56) She

le-gó-ba ?á?. (57) le-gó-m-ba hów-ba. (58) ?e-gaŋ-wó?me  
was married. (57) She was married now. (58) They left

?á l-éhu! bē gal-mučáču l-o-bá?a. (59) l-i-gwáy-da píya,  
her at the house where the boy was. (59) When they arrived

?i-bo?nó-m-ba l-áhu!'. (60) bo?nó-m-ba l-ášgu, l gal-  
there, the house was ready. (60) They were served tortillas

teWá? ?í l-áš?e?. (61) ?i-šná-ba la-?áyi, la-?máma?, l-i-  
and food and atole. (61) The father, mother, and relatives

bimá-ye. (62) buláf'ka? di-yé-yi. (63) hów-b ?e-gan-iŋ-wó?me  
ate. (62) They all went along. (63) They went to leave

l-a-gá?no?. (64) ?i-šk'ay-?í-m-ba, ?i-mí-m-ba, líŋka m-i-we-  
the girl. (64) They left her with these words, "Be sure

h-go-wá-da ?al-mandádo fá?a, dé du-guše-?e-n-yág-o?, l-o-  
and do what they tell you to do here and work hard.

mi-n-yág-o?. (65) ?a-tempřáno do-cawé-ma, do-cí-la?, do-  
(65) Get up early and grind corn and cook

ma-k'é-l l-áš?e?. (66) do-wa-?í-la? l-o-m-egúwe, do-wa-?í-  
atole. (66) Serve the food to your husband and

la? g-o-?máma g-o-?áyi?. (67) ?óge? l-o-máne dá do-gu-go-  
your new mother and father. (67) Work hard with what you

lá?. (68) pwés, ?o-gya-h-wá-da, ?ó do-cawé-ma tempřáno, do-  
have. (68) You have heard that we have told you to get up

ma-k'é-la?, pórke gal-mučáču kí ?i-b-eník', ?i-mandádo, di-  
early because your man has his work and has to get up early

?wa-ná-?ma tempřáno, di-?e-gó-na g-aník'. (69) ?i-gway-  
to get it done. (69) When he

ná-?ma l-umúy-hma?, hów-ba ?o-ma-k'é-na-ba l-ěšgu, hów-b  
gets home in the evening, you should have his tortillas



?o-ma-k'é-na-ba l-i-téWa?, tódo. (70) do-šma-h-mí-n-la?,  
and food cooked for him. (70) Feed him his supper

da-bí-?i-n-l g-ěšgu. (71) day-wé-h-go-la? ?al-mandádo, tá?a  
and give him his tortillas. (71) Obey what they tell you

g-ál tá?a g-ál g-ál-guše-?e-b-ó?, tá? g-ál-mi-b-ó?. (72)  
to do here, that is what we are trying to tell you." (72)

má líya lé?a. (73) hów-ba.  
That is all. (73) It is finished.

## Text 26

(1) pwés ?iyá-ŋk' kwándo l-al-o-ná-ma pú?wa sán matíyas,  
(1) When we got together there in San Matías we got

gus-mo-lay-ná-ba ?al-?abiyón, ?al-wa-?a-m-óŋa?. (2) ?i-  
into the plane and it took us away. (2) It

cawe-ná-ma, l-i-hów-bay, ?i-bay-go-ná-ma, ?e-bi-?i-wó?ma  
climbed up and turned around and made a pass over the

bwélta l-iWála, pára l-ílya? c'-i-de-yá?. (3) ?wá-f'-go-na-  
mountain that is right by the village. (3) The airplane

ba ?al-?abiyón tá?a má ?al-kámpo ?al-dongáy?.  
passed close by the fields below.

(4) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-?wa-f'-ná-ba l-ílya? sán matíya,  
(4) Then it passed over the village of San Matías, and

?al-can-cé-ba, l-wena-gó-ba. (5) čúlo l-ilyá?. (6) ?a-  
we looked at it as we went by. (5) It looked pretty. (6)

maf'ká?. (7) ?í lé-yi. (8) lé-yi, ?al-gwáy-?me fá?  
It was fun. (7) And on we went. (8) We kept on our way

mítla.  
until we came to Mitla.

(9) ?í l-i-hów-ba, má lé-yi, lu-ya-láy-ba ?ásta waháka.  
(9) Then we went on our way to Oaxaca.

(10) waháka pú?wa le-lo-go-wó?me. (11) ?al-na-wó?me g-ál-  
(10) We looked around in Oaxaca. (11) We bought the

kósa bé l-al-hana-h-bá, la-we-wó?me. (12) def-wó?me  
things that we wanted. (12) We bought

k-al-téwa l-al-te-h-yagú. (13) ?í ?al-na-h-wó?me g-al-  
our food to eat. (13) And we bought the things

?iŋkárgo. (14) ?iyá? ?ay-def'-wó?ma ?a-mé?e, ?ay-def'-wó?ma  
that had been ordered. (14) I brought back cigarettes and

?a-hú-l-ti?. (15) ?í ?ótrá kósa gá g-al-hé?e, kwadérno l-  
water jars. (15) Oh, and I also bought a notebook.

def'-wó?me. (16) silíndřo def'-wó?me. (17) hów-ba ?al-gway-  
(16) We brought back a harmonica. (17) Then we

ná-?me ?iyá mítla.  
came back to Mitla.

(18) ?í di-hów-la? ?iyá?, móngwi gu-yay-ná-?ma. (19)  
(18) And tomorrow I go back home. (19)

ga-?wa-ná-?ma l-ay-b-ílya?. (20) ga-?wo-go-ná-?ma ?al-  
I am going back to my village. (20) I will get in the bus

kářo ga-gus-may-ná-?ma tá?a ?ásta banah-b-úhši. (21) banah-  
and ride it to Tequisistlán. (21) When

b-úhši ga-gway-ná-ci, lú?wa ga-f'a-ná-da l-áy-?mis, ga-?wá-na.  
I get to Tequisistlán, I will start climbing by foot.

(22) ga-?wa-ŋ-wa-l-ná-da. (23) ?al-bána, ?al-bána lú?wa  
(22) I will keep crossing the river. (23) I will cross from

ga-?wa-h-ná-da ?a-ládo, ?ásta ga-gulá?a-n-la l-ay-b-ílya?,  
one side of the river to the other until I reach my village,

?én ?entóns í ga-gwáy-ná-ci, ga-mí-?ma, ?a-fáf'ka? čúlo pé  
and when I arrive there I will say, "It sure is pretty where

l-ayf-ce-wó?ma pu?wá l-i-loló-lya? gal-siyudáá. (24) ?ay-  
I went with those big cities. (24) I

šan-ce-wó?ma g-ílya? mítla dé c'-i-?ík'. (25) ?entéřo ?ay-  
saw what the village of Mitla is like. (25) I saw every-

?wa-le-go-wó?ma l-ilyá?. (26) ?í waháka ?ay-ce-wó?ma, ?í  
thing in that village. (26) And I went to Oaxaca and

tlakolúla. (27) ?ay-šan-ce-wó?ma g-i-loló-lya?. (28) ?a-  
Tlakolula. (27) I looked at those villages. (28) They

čúlo l-i-loló-lya?, ?a-cílah siyudáá. (29) ?a-cíla g-ahúl'-i  
are big cities that are beautiful. (29) They have big

di-bá'a. (30) di-bá'a 'a-gwéga' g-iháwa-li, di-bá'a 'agwégah  
buildings. (30) They have lots of clothing and fruit.

fřúta, 'a-gwéga di-bá'a. (31) waháka, dé lá c'-o-bík'a  
(31) In Oaxaca you can buy what-

lá l-óf-de-h-a. (32) di-bá tódo 'i-šwey-yá'. (33) 'a-  
ever you want to eat. (32) It has everything. (33) Life

gwéh máf'ka řésiyo 'ogwecí pú'wa. (34) gidé? 'í 'ay-šan-ce-  
is gay there. (34) I just got back

wó'ma 'ál l-i-loló-lyá? dé c'-i-'í'k'. (35) pwés dó tá l-  
from seeing what those cities are like. (35) That is the

ay-ce-wó'ma 'iyá'. (36) hów-ba.  
way I saw it. (36) That is all.

## Text 27

(1) pwés l-í-'i-ba di-gwá-yi g-ał-'áy sán matiya  
(1) A long time ago they claim that San Matías

šonga 'a-nawál. (2) g-ał-'áy s lořéns 'u-li-gi-na-bá.  
was more powerful. (2) He beat San Lorenzo.

(3) přiměro 'i-hów-fe-gwan sá lořénsu, 'i-gwá-ba l-a-wágaš  
(3) It started with the people of the village of San

lun-sán matiya má 'ał-ma-'e-b-óŋa'. (4) péřa 'áy 'ay-g-i-  
Lorenzo who said, "San Matías' people killed our cattle." (4)

'-má y lan-sán matiya. (5) má m'ismu l-il-cáns má pí sá lořénso.  
But it wasn't us. (5) One of their own men did it.

(6) 'í l-i-hów-ba, 'i-štu-lé-ma má Ní lun-sán lořénso.  
(6) Then the people from San Lorenzo got mad.

(7) 'i-gwá-ba, čí la-ga-ni-'e-d-óla'. (8) lós třés dí, hów-  
(7) They said, "Let's go destroy them. (8) In three days,

b l-gulá'a-ba kwá sán matiya. (9) PT: há di-gwá-yi. (10) AM:  
let's go over to San Matías." (9) PT: Oh, they said that?

hów-ba l-gulá'a-ba sán matí, l-ma-'a-d-óla? 'untěro toWá  
(10) AM: "When we get there, let's kill them all and throw

'al-šówde? la-ga-ni-'é-da 'untěra, 'a-pláya l-'é-da.  
their church down and make the place like a beach."

(10) pwés hów-ba góla sán matí ?i-cawé-ma, ?u-?í-m-ba  
 (10) Then our God San Matías stood up and told the

lá mǎř, lá mǎř l-i-cawé-ma, ?i-mí-ba má ?a-fóřmal ní dó lí,  
 God of the sea about it and he said, "If that's true, then

lós třés díya, sá lořénso la-ga-ní-?e-da ?a-nul-emma nomáy?  
 let's take care of the village of San Lorenzo once and for all.

(11) l-il-cówde? di-bí-da ?a-nul-emma, ?a-pláya dí-?i-da.  
 (11) Let's burn up their church and make a beach of their town."

(12) pwés čí l-i-gwáy-?ma lós třés dí, ?u-ná-m-ba l-iškwáfley  
 (12) In three days lightening struck their church and knocked

?í ?al-šówde?, pedás. (13) ?í g-al-?áyí, lánsas típo g-o-  
 it into pieces. (14) And San Lorenzo himself was

bécu nelóhmay g-íya?. (14) PT: ŋ. (15) AM: má lí lé?a.  
 sent sprawling in the middle of the village. (14) PT: Oh.

(16) PT: ŋNŋ. (17) dé ?óřa l-i-?é-ba dó líya. (18) AM:  
 (15) AM: That is all. (16) PT: Oh. (17) When did that happen?

pwés ?ásta l-í-?i-ba. (19) PT: ŋNŋ. (20) AM: l-í-?i-ba.  
 (18) AM: A long time ago. (19) PT: Yes. (20) AM: A long

(21) PT: číya kolta?. (22) AM: á gólta? číya. (23) PT:  
 time ago. (21) PT: Long ago? (22) AM: A long time ago.

ŋ. (24) ?entónses, ?éste, ?al-šówde? ?e-ga?-ní-ya? ?e-gá?-n  
 (23) PT: Oh. (24) Then the church was thrown down?

?e-ga?-ní-ba. (25) AM: aAá. (26) pedás dó hí-ta?, nul-  
 (25) AM: Yes. (26) It was broken into

emma ?i-yu-láy-b ?é ?a-pólbo. (27) PT: á. (28) ?iškafláy?  
 pieces and bits. (27) PT: Oh. (28) Lightning

?i-?é-ba. (29) AM: á ?iškwáfley? (30) PT: ?iškwáf . . .  
 did it? (29) AM: Yes, lightning. (30) PT: Light- . . .

(31) AM: g-al-?áy sán matí ?i-cawé-ma ?i-mí-ba dó l-?e-n-í-  
 (31) AM: San Matías stood up and said, "How can I handle

ňah láyk', ?í čí déh módo. (32) ?u-í-m-ba g-al-?áy sán  
 this attitude of theirs?" (32) The God of the Sea told

matí, mí-b, pwés ?imá? ga-dó-k'i-?m-o ?ówk'a. (33) pwés  
 San Matías, "I will help you." (33) That

kómo ?a-núli sán matía ?al-már, (34) PT: ṽNṽ. AM: ?í sán  
is because the God of the Sea is also Saint Matthias, (34)

matíyas, pwés má ?a-núli dó famíliya. (35) PT: ṽNṽ. (36)  
PT: Yes. AM: and they are like brothers. (35) PT: Yes.

AM: pwés čí ?i-mí-ba, ?a-nul-emma la-ga-ní-?e-le sán lořenso.  
(36) AM: The God of the Sea said, "Let's take care of San

(37) PT: ṽNṽ. (38) AM: pwés čí dé? di-?wa-yó-ma l-iškwáflay,  
Lorenzo. (37) PT: Yes. (38) AM: Lightning flashed from

dé? di-?wa-yó-ma, pwés l-e-ga-h-mí-m-ba nelóhmay?, pedás  
all directions and struck in the middle of the town and made

yu-láy-ba. (38) nul-emma Wá-ṽay-na-da. (39) kó-?oli nul-  
pieces out of it. (38) It struck like fire. (39) Wood

emma má-h-ba dó ká?a dó ?únšal ?únšal dó ?í-ta ?í-ba (40)  
was scorched like carbon. (40)

PT: ṽ. . . . (41) PT: ṽ. (42) AM: kómo ?ayšmák'-la?. (43)  
PT: Oh. . . . (41) PT: Oh. (42) AM: That is because the

kí dé di-?wá-f-g-e bí bíbo l-iškwáflay, dó ší-ta čí l-ni-k'o-  
Gods have animal counterparts. (43) Thunder bolts of light-

lána? ?í du-ná-n-le, wélta l-ma-?m-óṽa?. (44) PT: ṽNṽ.  
ning could strike here and if it did, we would die. (44)

(45) AM: ?ay-m-í-?i-ya ?ay-m-ał-cín-yagu bé g-ó-?wa-yo-ya.  
PT: Yes. (45) AM: We wouldn't know where it came from.

(46) ?ó dá má dá-mi-š-oši? ?ábik, ?ó kwalkéřa, (47) PT: ṽNṽ.  
(46) And if you try to hide yourself under a rock, (47) PT:

AM: ?í m-i-gway-gó-ma l-o-b-igyá-h, hów-b ma-b-ó?. PT: ṽNṽ.  
Yes. AM: and lightning strikes, it will knock you senseless.

(48) AM: di-šin-im-?m-ól, hów-ba di-bul-af-gí-m-?m-o?, hów-  
PT: Yes. (48) AM: When they find you and pick you up, you

b nu-ná-ma škwáflay. (49) PT: ṽNṽ. (50) AM: dó líya. (51)  
have been struck by lightning. (49) PT: Yes. (50) That is

PT: ṽ. . . . (52) AM: l-ayšmak'-lá?. (53) ?ogé-ši, ?a-fán-  
the way it is. (51) PT: Oh. . . . (52) AM: Those animal

ci, ?a-malúh-ši di-mán l-ayšmák'-l. (54) dó hí-kwa di-céw  
counterparts! (53) There are a number of them. (54) Thunder

kwé ?é-dum, pwá di-céw, pwá di-céw, ředónde. (55) dú-nšamu-  
clouds come up all around from here and there. (55) It gets

?ma. (56) PT: ꞑ. (57) AM: číya tá di-?wa-yó-m škwáflay té  
cloudy. (56) PT: Oh. (57) AM: And then lightning flashes

de-gaŋ-k'ó-?ma té má de-Wili-g-íŋwa dó tá? di-?í-ŋwa. (58)  
all around like this. (58)

PT: ꞑNm. (59) AM: ?í bé má c'-i-féřsa kí ?e-ga-Nm-gón-łe,  
PT: Yes. (59) AM: And the bolts that are really strong cause

nul-emma t-Wacay-gó-?ma kí. (60) PT: ꞑ. (61) AM: dó łíya.  
the damage. (60) PT: Oh. (61) AM: That is

the way it is.

## Text 28

(1) . . . šaŋ-wáy-ci ?al-b-íłya? nomáy? de-denł-go-gó-  
(1)". . . it would be better for our village and enhance

?ma. (2) PT: mNm. (3) AM: dó łí di-gwá-yi. (4) ?a-mehóř.  
it." (2) PT: Yes. (3) AM: That is what they said. (4) "It

(5) PT: ꞑ. (6) AM: dé ?úna bés níŋk'-a-mák'da, ?ay-l-o-  
would be better." (5) PT: Oh. (6) AM: "We are ignorant people

bá ł-áyne?, ?ay-l-o-bá?. (7) čí nómay? šaŋ-wáy-ci ?al-kámpo,  
and need someone from the outside. (7) When the airstrip is

d-gwáy-no ?al-?ábiyon, dí-gway . . . (8) di-gwáy golá? n  
done and the airplane comes . . . (8) Maybe more foreigners

?ogwéna d-gway-ú-ŋi ?iyá?. (9) PT: ꞑNm. (10) AM: dó łí  
will come." (9) PT: Yes. (10) AM: That is

di-gwá-yi. (11) PT: ꞑ. (12) AM: Nm. (13) PT: ꞑ. (14)  
what they said. (11) PT: Oh. (12) AM: Yes. (13) PT: Oh.

?í ?ónłka ?á?i konfóřme, ?ó ?onłká? ?a-kón . . . (15) AM:  
(14) And were some not in agreement or were some . . . (15)

pwés, kí g-o-bá ł-agwéh řofín, ?í nómay? ł-agwéh platón.  
AM: Mr. Platón and Mr. Rofino were not in agreement.

(16) di-mí náda ?á?ih konfóřme. (17) ?ay-m-i-?i-yá.  
(16) They said, "We disagree. (17) It can't be allowed."

(18) n di-mí, ɫ-ágweh platón, né n-e-be-núf-ba kí gal-gríngo  
 (18) Mr. Platón said, "Who gave this American permission

pára di-bá-Nm-?ma. (19) pwés di-mí, ?i-dalay?é-ma g-ay-  
 to live here?" (19) My father answered, "We gave him

?áy ná di-mí, pwés ?iyá-ŋk' ɫ-ala-be-núf-ba. (20) ɫ-á?  
 permission to stay here. (20) Mr.

miliyáno ?í ɫ-awé? křesénsiyo, ɫ-agwéh řekářdo ɫ-ula-be-  
 Emeliano, Mr. Cresencio, and Mr. Ricardo gave him permission."

núf-ba. (21) ?i-mí-b há wén, háni ?ula-be-núf-a pwés ?ol-  
 (21) Platón said, "If you were the ones who did it

cím-ba ?al-?óřa dé g-o-?é-ba pwés dol-hów-?ne-?me. (22)  
 then you will suffer the consequences." (22)

mí-ba dé g-o-?é-ya. (23) PT: ɰNɰ. (24) AM: ?ay-ɫ-o-bá  
 They said, "What could we do?" (23) PT: Yes. (24) AM: "Nothing

ní dé g-aɫ-?e-m-b-óna?. (25) pwés ?untéřo ɫúɫ ?él gobiyéřno  
 can happen to us. (25) It was the government who

hów-b m-u-šmás-ba pářa di-gwáy-wo. (26) PT: ɰ. (27) AM:  
 allowed him to come here." (26) PT: Oh. (27) AM:

pwés ?i-gwá-ba né?, ?imá-ŋk' c'-ól-cin-a. (28) PT: ɰNɰ.  
 Platón said, "All right, you are the ones who did it." (28)

(29) AM: dó ɫ dí-gwa ɫ-awé platón. (30) PT: ɰNɰ. (31) AM: ?í  
 PT: Yes. (29) AM: That is what Mr. Platón said. (30) PT:

má? ay-m-aɫ-?é-yagu g-ánik'. (32) mí-m-ba háni? dol-?é-da  
 Yes. (31) AM: "And we won't work on the airstrip." (32) He

g-ánik' háni kwé. (33) péřa ?iyá-ŋk' ?a-konfóřme ɫ-?é-da g-  
 said, "If you want to go to work, go ahead." (33) But all

ánik' buláf'ka lan-šan-úk'. (34) ?í ?a-špéla? ní ?a-cúygay?  
 the rest of us were in agreement to work. (34) And the young-

ní ?a-cíla? di-gwá-y, ɫ-?é-da g-ánik'. (35) PT: ɰNɰ. (36)  
 sters and older people said, "Let's work." (35) PT: Yes. (36)

AM: ?í nán ɫ-o-?ogé-ši di-šim-bá hów-ba di-bú-n-i nelóhmay?,  
 AM: And when those two saw that we had the job half done, then

?óřa sí yé-ba?. (37) di-gwá-y ɫ-?é-wa-ca g-ánik'. (38) PT: ɰ.  
 they went to work. (37) They said, "Let's work." (38) PT: Yes.

- (39) AM: ?a-mehóř ?i-šim-bá ?al-?ábiyon ?á?. (40) PT: ǂNǂ.  
 (39) AM: They had a change of heart about the airplane. (40)
- (41) AM: pěr l-o-gway-yó-da di-gwá-y ?á?ih konfóřme. (42) PT:  
 PT: Yes. (41) AM: But when you first came they said, "Nothing  
 ǂNǂ. (43) AM: pěřo buláf'ka ?a-konfóřme. (44) PT: ǂNǂ. (45)  
 doing." (42) PT: Yes. (43) AM: But the rest were willing.
- AM: ?ást di-hów-?ne-ba. (46) PT: ?í gal-sényoř řofino dé g-  
 (44) PT: Yes. (45) AM: They wanted to finish it. (46) PT:  
 o-gwá-ba. (47) AM: pwés di-gwá kómo ?ay-g-ał-cín-a niŋk'-a-  
 And what did Mr. Rofino say? (47) AM: He said it because we  
 mák'da. (48) di-gwá-m-ba de-ga?-ni-?e-?m-ólwo? lé kíya. (49)  
 are ignorant ones. (48) He said, "That American will ruin you."  
 PT: ǂNǂ. (50) AM: ey-m-ula-be-núf-?me. (51) kí di-bá?a  
 (49) PT: Yes. (50) AM: "Don't accept him. (51) He has some  
 kwalkéřa, ?a-mínis, ?ó ?a-dómi di-bá-?a-na-?ma. (52) kí ł-  
 reason for coming here, maybe to look for minerals or money.  
 cin-á?. (53) PT: ǂNǂ. (54) AM: pwés kómo ?ay-g-ał-cín-a.  
 (52) He's a shrewd one." (53) PT: Yes. (54) AM: That's be-  
 (55) di-gwá niŋk'-a-má, ní m-a-swé-yi ní náda. (56) pwés  
 cause we don't know. (55) They say, "We are ignorant and  
 ?ówk'a de-bin-ł'í-ba ga-dáyg. (57) pěřa čí ?á?i, ?a-čúlo.  
 don't read or do anything." (56) He said bad things too.  
 (57) But things are different now.

## Text 29

(1)di-bá ?a-núli gal-šáns, de-štáf-g-e ?i-gwána.  
 (1)There is a man who is sick with a disease.

(2) l-i-hów-ba, ?u-nši-k'í-ba l-i-gwána řésiyo. (3)  
 (2) Then his sickness got worse. (3)

de-štáf-g-e.  
 He was really ill.

(4) hów-ba, náda ?ay-g-i-šal-?má?, ?i-má-na-ba.  
 (4) He did not recover, and died.



(5) hów-ba l-i-má-ba, pwés, ?e-deŋ-k'e-ŋ-wó?me l-edé-hma?  
 (5) When he died, they rang the church bell.

(6) l-i-hów-ba, ?i-bu-?e-ŋ-wó?me l-éhuł' pářa ?á?, de-  
 (6) Then they dug his grave to bury him in.

mi-na-dá. (7) hów-ba ?i-bu-?e-ŋ-wó?me l-éhuł', gwáy-na-  
 (7) Then when they had his grave dug, the people

?me lan-šan-úk' pé l-éhuł' la-míswa l-o-nów-ya l-i-ma-yó-ba.  
 came to the house where the corpse was lying.

(8) l-i-hów-ba, ?i-gwáy-da laŋ-kantóř, lan-musikó?,  
 (8) Then the church singers and band came and sang

?i-šwé-m-ba la-nahá?. (9) mí-ba pwés, lé-ba l-?wé-h-na-da  
 Mass. (9) They said, "Let's go bury the

?al-kwérpo. (10) hów-p má-na-ba. (11) pwés, ?e-foł-úma  
 body. (10) He has passed away." (11) His relatives

?a-špé l-i-bima-yé.  
 all gathered together.

(12) l-i-hów-ba, ?i-?wá-?a-na-ba. (13) gal-šáns ?wá-  
 (12) Then they took the body away. (13) They took it

?a-na-ba ?al-panteyón. (14) dí-?wa di-šwé-n-i, du-ná-yi  
 to the cemetery. (14) As they went they sang Mass

lan-musikó?. (15) l-i-gway-?e-ná-da ?al-panteyón, pwés,  
 and the band played. (15) When they got the corpse to the

?wé-gi-na-ba gal-šáns. (16) ?e-mú-na-ba. (17) hów-ba  
 cemetery, they buried it. (16) They put it away. (17)

?e-de-ná-ba. (18) hów-ba.  
 Then they filled up the grave. (18) That is the end.

## Text 30

(1) ǃNǃ. (2) l-i-?i-ba ?ál třés dé máyo. (3) ?u-ná-  
 (1) Yes. (2) This is what happens on the third of May.

m-ba ?al-bispéřa, lík'ay. (4) ?u-ná-m-ba bé l-éhuł' gal-  
 (3) They play music all night the eve before the fiesta.

mayořdómo.  
 (4) The band plays the music at the house of the fiesta leader.

(5) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-f'a-gi-η-wó?me ɿ-iWála, ?u-na-  
 (5) Then they climb the mountain and play music there.

η-wó?me. (6) ?u-na-η-wó?me, ?í ?i-bi-?e-η-wó?me ?al-kwéte.  
 (6) They play music and set off their rockets.

(7) ?i-šlay-gó-ba ɿ-iWála, ?u-ná-m-ba.  
 (7) The rockets explode and music is played.

(8) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-bo?no-η-wó?me ɿ-iba-k'ék' ?í ?i-  
 (8) Then they spread out the wood resin and kill the

ma-?a-η-wó?me gal-dúlu.  
 turkey.

(9) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-?wa-yi-ná-ma. (10) ?i-gway-i-  
 (9) Then they come back. (10) They come

ná-?me l-ílya?, ?u-na-gó-na-ba, ?u-ná-ba lan-musikó?.  
 back to the village and the band plays again.

(11) ?í l-i-hów-ba, ?i-bá-ma gal-přosesiýón, nuni-gi-  
 (11) Then the procession goes through the town.

m-bá. (12) l-i-hów-ba ga-nahá l-i-šwé-m-ba, ?i-?wa-yí-ba  
 (12) When the Mass is over, the people go to the

l-éhuɿ' gal-mayořdómo. (13) ?i-deco-η-wó?me.  
 house of the fiesta leader. (13) They eat there.

(14) l-i-hów-ba l-i-decó-m-ba, ?í ?u-yáy-?e-na-ba l-i-  
 (14) When they have eaten, the ones who had borrowed

kwénta, ?al-domí c'-e-báy-k' pářa ?al-Wík'. (15) ɿ-i-?imósna-  
 fiesta money pay their bills. (15) They gather

a-domí g-al-?áyi?, de-f'o-ɿ'é?. (16) de-ga-h-mí-n-i ɿ-i-  
 the offerings of money together. (16) People give money

?imósna.  
 as an offering.

(17) l-i-hów-ba, ?u-yay-?e-ná-ba l-i-kwénta gal-mayořdómo,  
 (17) Then the fiesta leader settled his accounts and

?e-wé-na-ba gal-c'éhmayořdómo. (18) gal-c'éhmayořdómo bu-  
 they looked for a new leader. (18) The new fiesta leader

ɿ-i-na-bá ?al-domí, ɿíya, ?i-búl-na-ba. (19) ɿ-ogwéna g-  
 was given the money and he took it. (19) Next year

ámac' ?iyá, di-?e-h-f'e-ná-?ma, kíya. (20) di-?e-h-f'e-ná-  
he will be the one to lead the fiesta. (20) He will lead

?ma ?al-Wík', ?ál třés dé máyo. (21) hów-ba.  
the celebration for the third of May fiesta. (21) That is all.

## Text 31

(1) ?ál třés dé nobiyémbře. (2) yá-ŋk' ?al-?e-wo-ná-  
(1) That is what happens on the third of November. (2)

?me-g-aník' l-ál l-al-b-éne lú?wa l-al-besíno dé kandeláriya.  
We go to work on the road that leads to Candelaria.

(3) l-al-gway-ná-?me nolóhmay? g-áne, pwé c'-i-b-eník' ?e-  
(3) When we get about half way back to our village, the

fo-l'e-b-óla? lan-šsan-úk'. (4) ?i-mi-b-óla? ?ol-cin-á má  
president gathers the people together. (4) He says, "You

?al-kostúmbře. (5) dula-wé-na ?á? gal-c'é g-i-b-eník'.  
know our custom. (5) It is time to choose a new president.

(6) dula-wé-na g-al-?máma g-al-?áyi?. (7) ?óřita pú?wa  
(6) It is time to choose a new female and male God. (7)

?ol-gway-gó-da ?al-munsípiyo, de-fól-wo lan-šsan-úk', la-  
Go to the village square and there the men, boys, and

náške šsan-úk', ?í l-agú-l-we?. (8) dula-wé-na gal-  
elders will come together. (8) Go there and pick

kompanyéřo.  
the officials."

(9) pwés, l-i-hów-ba, ni-?i-m-b-óla? g-il-mé?e buláf'ka  
(9) Then he gave them their cigarettes.

lan-šsan-úk'. (10) ?i-Wé-ba. (11) ?u-?i-go-na-b-óla?,  
(10) They smoked. (11) He said to them again,

?i-mi-m-b-óla?, ?ol-gway-gó-da pú?wa. (12) dula-wé-na gal-  
"Go there to the village square. (12) Go choose your

kompanyéřo ?óřita.  
officials in a little while."

(13) pwés, l-i-hów-ba, ?a-fan-émma ?u-?i-m-b-óla?  
(13) Then he told them this three times.

la-dáygi?. (14) hów-ba, mí-ba, ?aɫ-gway-go-dá.  
 (14) Then we said, "We will be there."

(15) ɫ-i-hów-ba, ?aɫ-é-?e-go-na-ba g-aník', má lé-yi.  
 (15) Then we began to work again on the road.

(16) ɫ-wa-?a-ná-yi ɫ-aɫ-b-éne. (17) n-aɫ-gwáy-na-da ɫ-  
 (16) We were cleaning along our road. (17) When we arrived

ílya?, pwés, há?a-go-na-ba c'-i-b-eník'. (18) gwá-ba, d-lo-  
 at the village limits, the president shouted again. (18)

yu-ŋká ?á?, dola-we-ná-?me ?á gal-kompanyéřo. (19) pwés,  
 "Come together and choose your new officials." (19) So

yá-ŋk' lé lé-ba ?al-munsípiyo. (20) ɫ-aɫ-gwáy-da, ?e-foɫ-  
 we went to the village square. (20) All the people gathered

ú-ma buláf'ka gal-šáns. (21) ?i-mi-m-b-óla?, čá ?á? dula-  
 there. (21) The president said to them,

wé-n-ɫe gal-kompanyéřo.  
 "Choose your officials!"

(22) ?í, ?í ɫ-i-hów-ba, ɫ-agú-ɫ-we? ?e-we-na-bá. (23)  
 (22) Then the elders chose the officials. (23)

?e-we-na-bá c'-i-b-eník'. (24) ?i-f'a-h-na-bá gal-?lkálde,  
 They chose the new president. (24) They elected an alcalde

how-f'e-go-na-bá.  
 first.

(25) ?í ɫ-i-hów-ba, ?e-we-?e-na-bá ?ogé-ši ɫ-i-suplénte,  
 (25) Then they chose two helpers and a secretary for

?í ?a-núli ɫ-i-sekřetářiyo.  
 him.

(26) ?í ɫ-i-hów-ba, ?e-we-na-bá ?él ?ahénte přiměřo  
 (26) Then they chose the new president.

munsipál. (27) f'a-gi-na-bá. (28) ?í kón ɫ-i-segúndo  
 (27) They elected him. (28) They chose a helper

?ahénte ?i-f'a-gi-ná-ba, ?í, ?í ɫ-i-sekřetářiyo. (29) ɫ-  
 for him and a secretary. (29) When

ɫ-sekřetářiyo hów-b ?i-f'a-gi-ná-ba, ?i-f'a-k'e-ná-ba,  
 they had elected his secretary, they elected a leader of

ʔéste, 1-i-mayóř. (30) f'a-gi-ná-ba gal-řehidóř, Wés dé  
the police. (30) They elected a registrar and judge

kabíldo. (31) i-f'a-gi-na-b-ólaʔ. (32) hów-ba f'a-gi-  
of community. (31) They elected them all. (32) Then they

na-b-ólaʔ lá oŋ-fiskál ʔoge-šíʔ.  
elected two fiscal officials.

(33) ʔí hów-b Níyaʔ, ʔi-f'a-gi-na-b-ólaʔ lan-Wés dé

(33) Then when they were through with that, they elected

mandádo ʔoge-šíʔ. (34) ʔí ʔi-f'a-gi-na-bá ʔ ʔa-núli gal-  
two judges of projects. (34) Then they elected a leader

mayořdómo. (35) gal-mayořdómo dé séřa, dél pářa g-al-ʔáyiʔ  
for a fiesta. (35) This was the leader of the fiesta of

1-i-Wík' sán matíya. (36) má lí léʔa.

San Matías and he would be in charge of making the candles.

(36) That is all there is.

## Text 32

(1) di-bá ʔa-núli gal-šáns, g-uftíne, Wán, Wán kón

(1) There was a man called John, John of the Ashes.

1-abíʔ, ʔí ʔí dón Wán senísa. (2) ʔí ʔówk'wa 1-ídine kíya

(2) Day and night he would

di-ʔní-k'o 1-abíʔ. (3) di-ho-k'i-ná-ʔme, di-mí-m-ʔme,  
be lying in ashes. (3) People would call him and say,

do-ʔwa-ná-ŋi fá 1-ahúl'. (4) di-ʔwa-ná-ʔma ʔún řatíto 1-  
"Come on here to the house." (4) And he would go and

áhul', di-bá-Nn-da, ʔí kwándo hów-ba ʔi-decó-ba, pí  
stay for just a short while and after he had eaten he

des-mí-m-ba, ʔí ʔaluwégo má di-nú-ŋwa. (5) ʔi-ʔwá-na-ba  
would run away. (5) Right away he

ʔaluwégo. (6) 1-ábiʔ di-ʔni-k'áy-na-da ʔadéntřo.  
would leave. (6) He would go and lie among the ashes.

(7) ʔí di-hów-laʔ, di-ho-k'i-go-ná-ʔme. (8) di-mí-m-ʔme

(7) Then they would call him again. (8) They

Wán, Wán senísa, do-wé?, do-?wa-ná-ŋi. (9) fá l-ájul'  
would say, "John of the Ashes, come here.. (9) Live here

do-ba-Nn-na-lá?. (10) ?ay-mo-bá-Nm-?ma pú?wa ?ogwénah ládo.  
in a house. (10) Don't live there on the other side

(11) pwés fáni l-áhuł' ?i-škwá-hma?, do-wé?, ?al-ma-Nn-lé.  
(11) There is room for you here, come and live here with us."

(12) ?í náda kí di-hów-la? di-?wa-ná-?ma. (13) ?ún řáto  
(12) But he would still leave. (13) He would

di-bá-Nn-da l-éhuł', ?íd ?í di-hów-la? ?aluwégo ?i-?wá-na-  
just stay in the house for a little while and then he would

ba, má di-nú-ŋwa, d-?ni-k'áy-na-da l-ábi? bé gal-montón l-  
run and lie in a pile of ashes.

o-bá?a. (14) tódo lós díyas pí g-o-ši-?né-m-ba. (15) Wán  
(14) That is where you would find him day after

senísa di-?ní-k'o l-ábi déntřo.

day. (15) John of the Ashes would be in the ashes.

(16) ?í di-hów-la?, di-lé-go-na-da. (17) di-mí-m-?me,  
(16) Then they would come and get him. (17) They would

do-wé, lé-na-ba l-ahúł'.  
say, "Come on to the house."

(18) ?í di-hów-la?, di-le-go-ná-da lá fwěřsa di-?wa-  
(18) Then they would take him by force and when he

ná-?ma l-éhuł', ?í di-gwáy-ci, di-bá-Nn-na-da lé? ?ún řáto.  
he got there he would just stay a while.

(19) ?í lé? di-hów-la? di-decó-la?, di-des-mi-ná-le  
(19) Then after he had eaten, after they had fed him,

pí, ?í ?aluwégo má di-nú-ŋwa, ?i-?wá-na-ba l-ábi di-?ni-k'áy-  
he would run away for the ash pile and lie in it.

na-da ?iyá.

(20) ?í l-i-hów-ba, l-i-hów-ba, náda dó léh núli l-i-  
(20) Then when it was clear that that was his way of

módo m-í-?ay, pwés, ?i-mí-m-ba číya, dé má péřa? pí g-of-  
life, they said to him, "Why do you lie in the ashes?"

?é-ba l-ábi? pí. (21) dé g-of-?ní-k'ay-go-ba pí. (22) šóŋga?  
(21) Why do you live in the ashes? (22) Is

ʔa-mehóř. (23) ʔó pí g-o-báʔ l-o-m-éhuł', píya. (24) pwés  
that better? (23) Or is that where your house is?" (24)

mí-ba náda ʔiyáʔ ʔay-bík'a máne. (25) fáʔ ʔay-lugář. (26)  
He replied, "I just like it. (25) This is my place.

hów-ba ʔiyáʔ lá, ʔiyá l-ʔi-gó-h-ma máne, ga-ʔní-k'ay-ʔma  
(26) I've gotten accustomed to it, lying in these ashes.

l-ábiʔ. (27) dó táh núli ʔówk'wa l-idíne ʔiyáʔ. (28) fá  
(27) Day or night I am here. (28) This

g-ayf-báŋ-k'e-yo-go-ba l-ay-lugář.  
is where I live, this is my place."

(29) ʔí l-i-hów-ba, ʔi-mí-ba, náda ʔáy dó lé m-o-ʔé-  
(29) Then they said to him, "Don't do that, it is not

ʔma, ʔáʔih čúlo g-o-módo líya. (30) pwés mehóř do-bá-Nn-  
nice to do what you do. (30) It would be better

na-l l-áhuł', fáʔ do-ʔwa-ná-ŋi. (31) ʔí náda, kí di-le-go-  
for you to come and live in a house." (31) They would

ná-da di-ʔwa-ná-ʔma ʔá lá fwéřsa l-éhuł', di-ba-Nn-na-dá.  
take him by force to a house and he would stay there.

(32) ʔí di-hów-laʔ, léʔa di-hów-laʔ pí di-decó-n-laʔ,  
(32) Then when he had eaten, right away he would

ʔaluwégo má di-nú-ŋwa. (33) ʔi-ʔwá-na-ba l-éhuł', ʔíya pé  
run away. (33) He would leave for his house

l-ábi gal-mónton, di-gwáy-ci, de-ʔní-k'ay-na-ʔma déntřo píya.  
in the pile of ashes and when he got there, he would crawl in.

(34) ʔí ʔówk'wah núli, dó léh núli, l-idíne, buláf'kaʔ pí  
(34) That is what he did all the time and that is where

g-óʔ g-o-ši-ʔné-m-ba. (35) Wán, di-ʔní-k'o l-ábi déntřo.  
you would find him. (35) John would be in the ashes.

(36) dó léh núli kí g-i-bá-Nm-ʔma. (37) má lí léʔa.  
(36) That was the way he lived. (37) That is all there is.

## CHAPTER XI

### LEXICON

- á hesitation form; (13.1)<sup>13</sup>
- a "a"; Sp.; (27.9)
- a "at"; Sp.; (12.35)
- â "yes"; particle; (27.29)
- a- "it is"; factive marker; (25.7)
- a- "not"; negative marker; third order verbal prefix;  
(1.92); contraction of ay-
- a- "me"; allomorph of aɬ-; (6.60); occurs before verb  
nuclei beginning with s
- a- First person plural past subject marker; (6.170); com-  
binatorial allomorph of aɬ-; occurs with negative,  
temporal-locational, attributive, and equational  
morphemes
- a- First person plural possessive marker occurring with

---

<sup>13</sup>Word initial morphemes that begin with glottal stop are filed under their initial vowel in the lexicon and the glottal stop is not entered because I am not certain of its phonemic status in this position. Word final morphemes that have variants ending in glottal stop or /h/ are not filed separately in the lexicon because these variants are suspected of indicating the boundaries of phonological units such as the word, phrase, and the like, and need further study.



Class I nouns; (7.24); allomorph of al-; occurs before nouns beginning with /š/

-a Indicative durative singular aspect marker; (1.104); allomorph of -ya; occurs following morphemes ending in nasals, or laterals, or /h/

a → e? Indicative durative singular aspect marker; (77.92); allomorph of -ya; occurs with verb roots ending in /-a?a/

-a → -e? Pluralizing replacive nominal suffix; (see p. 80--8)

-a → -ey Pluralizing replacive nominal suffix; (see p. 92--12)

ḁḁá "yes"; particle; (13.44)

áb hesitation form; (14.9)

aba "oven in the ground"; Class IV noun root; (4.7)

abi? "ashes"; Class IV noun root; (32.1)

abí?e "egg"; Class IV noun root; (9.11)

abik "rock"; Class IV noun root; (1.144)

abik' "rocks"; Class IV noun root; (14.9); plural of abik

abimi? "baby"; Class IV noun root; (1.80)

abišu "round cooking pot"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 102--10)

abóne "cactus fruit"; Class IV noun root; (1.47)

ábřil "April"; Sp.; (19.15)

abés "at times"; Sp.; (13.18); contraction of abéses

abéses "at times"; Sp.; (6.15); from avecés

ábíyon "airplane"; Sp.; (28.39); from avión

- acide? "the otate tree (poison oak)"; Class IV noun root;  
(see p. 100--5)
- acili "mojarra fish"; Class IV noun root; (p. 100--9)
- acol "turtle"; Class IV noun root; (1.1)
- ade-hma? "iron tool"; Class IV noun stem; (6.163)
- adéntřo "inside"; Sp.; (32.6)
- af "up"; derivational verbal affix; (1.163); variant of af'  
áf hesitation form; (7.15)
- afswana "sick person"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 101--9)
- áfši "medicine"; Class IV noun root; (10.10)
- afúle? "hardly"; particle; (21.17)
- af' "up"; derivational affix; (8.32); allomorph of f'
- af'is "stomach girth"; Class III noun root; (see p. 97--3)
- ága "maybe"; particle; (6.23)
- aga "animal"; Class IV noun root; (6.146)
- agá?no "woman"; Class IV noun root; (6.1)
- agá-ł "women"; Class IV noun stem; (13.36); contraction  
of agá-ł-no?
- agú-ł "old men"; Class IV noun stem; (24.10); variant of  
agú-ł-we?
- agú-ł-w "old men"; Class IV noun stem; (13.11); variant  
of agú-ł-we?
- agú-ł-we? "old men"; Class IV noun stem; (24.3)
- agwé? "man"; Class IV noun root; (28.20)
- á? "man"; (28.20); contraction of agwé?
- á? Intensifying particle; non-translatable; (21.7)

- á?i "bread"; Class IV noun root; (25.43)
- á?i "not"; negative factive particle; (28.57)
- a?í?i "not"; negative factive particle; (22.19); variant  
of á?i
- a?wák'wa "small child"; Class IV noun root; (6.7)
- ahénte "agent"; Sp.; (31.26)
- ahok' "cough, cold"; Class IV noun root; (15.26)
- ahúle "pear-shaped gourd"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 103--1)
- áhuł' "house"; Class IV noun root; (24.51)
- a-kon- unfinished word; (28.14)
- ál hesitation form; (13.12)
- al "the"; Sp.; (7.1)
- al- Size marker of the fourth degree; (see p. 104); singular  
form; first order nominal prefix
- al- First person plural possessive marker used with Class  
IV nouns; (7.6)
- al- "the"; singular limiter occurring with Class Ib nouns;  
(6.3)
- ala- First person singular recipient marker occurring with  
Class IV verbs; (24.55)
- alewa? "gourd bowl"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 102--4)
- álgo "some"; Sp.; (24.21)
- alúm "dry measurement"; Sp. from almúd; (12.7); approxi-  
mately 4 quarts
- aluwégo "right away"; Sp.; (6.58); from luego

- aɫ- First person plural possessive nominal prefix; (40.68);  
occurs with Class I, II, and III nouns
- aɫ- First person plural non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class I verbs; (19.35)
- aɫ- First person plural past subject marker occurring with  
Class I verbs; (24.21)
- aɫ- First person singular object or recipient morpheme  
occurring with Class I verbs; (5.13); (6.65)
- aɫ'áne "beans"; Class IV noun root; (5.1)
- amac' "land, year"; Class IV noun; (4.4)
- a-ment hesitation form; (13.1)
- amígo "friend"; Sp.; (10.24)
- amihkán "boy"; Class IV noun root; (2.1)
- ancuh?ni "hard-shelled worm"; Class IV noun root; (see  
p. 99--8)
- ánda "walk"; Sp.; (1.29)
- andiyós "god"; Class IV noun root; (17.18); Sp. from dios
- ane "road"; Class IV noun root; (8.4)
- áni "if"; conditional particle; (6.117); contraction of háni
- anik' "work"; Class IV noun root; (12.7)
- anyo "year"; Sp.; (85.137); from año
- aŋ "to throw, leave"; Class IV transitive verb root; (11.10);  
contraction of gan
- aŋali "river eel"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 102--8)
- aŋaše "sanguijuela worm (leech)"; Class IV noun root;  
(see p. 100--7)

aṅfúdo "calandria bird (type of lark)"; Class IV noun root;  
(see p. 99--4)

aṅk'wayu? "hiedra plant (ivy)"; Class IV noun root; (see  
p. 101--11)

ǎq "oh"; particle; (18.22)

apárĥ "apart"; Sp.; (11.24); contraction of apárĥte

apárĥt "apart"; Sp.; (11.24); contraction of apárĥte

apárĥte "apart"; Sp.; (11.24)

ást "until"; Sp.; (28.45); contraction of ásta

ásta "until"; Sp. from hasta; (1.105)

ašey?nał "comejen bug"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 101--3)

ášgu "tortilla"; Class IV noun root; (13.26)

áš'e "atole"; Class IV noun root; (25.65)

ášpe "many, much"; unclassified noun root; (5.4)

ašwašuk "chipilín tree"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 100--11)

aw "just"; particle; (12.39); variant of ow

awac' "girl"; Class IV noun root; (25.51)

awak'wa "child"; Class IV noun root; (46.110); variant  
of a?wák'wa

awé "man"; Class IV noun root; (18.14); contraction of  
agwe?

awé? "man"; (28.20); contraction of agwé?

awe-hma? "mirror, glass"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 103--10)

ay "over and over"; derivational verbal affix; (1.117);

allomorph of lay; occurs following verb roots

ending in /l/

- ay "there is, are"; Sp.; (11.44); from hay
- áy "not"; negative factive particle; (1.54); contraction  
of a?i
- áy hesitation form; (10.1)
- ay- Third person plural past subject marker occurring with  
Class I verbs; (24.68); alternant of i-
- ay- First person singular past subject marker used with Class  
I verbs; (24.2)
- ay- First person possessive marker; (1.38); nominal prefix
- ay- "not"; negative marker; third order verbal prefix;  
(1.36)
- ay- Pluralizing nominal infix; (see p. 103--6)
- ay Pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 103--4)
- aydał "adobe wall"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 103--5)
- ayday "cargo"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 103--3)
- ayf- First person singular relational subject marker;  
first order verbal prefix; (8.24)
- áy? stutter; (4.26)
- áy-m hesitation form; (11.32)
- aynagá? "cornfield"; Class IV noun root; (19.16)
- aynéga "cornfield"; Class IV noun root; (12.21); variant  
of aynagá?
- áyne? "foreigner"; Class IV noun root; (28.6)
- aynu "alligator"; Class III noun root; (see p. 91--2)
- ayšmák'-la? "animal counterparts"; Class IV noun stem;  
(27.42)

- ayún "fasting"; Sp.; (13.27); contraction of ayuno
- aywal "horse"; Class III noun root; (19.30); plural root  
of aywala
- aywala "horse"; Class III noun root; (18.3)
- Āā "yes"; particle; (13.72)
- b "to be"; Class I stative verb root; (12.4); contraction  
of ba?a
- b- Combinatorial possessive morpheme of Class III nouns;  
(15.5)
- b Indicative punctiliar aspect morpheme; (1.21); con-  
traction of -ba
- b Combinatorial punctiliar aspect marker; (6.92); alter-  
nates with ba; occurs before suffixal object and  
recipient markers
- ba "to be"; Class I stative verb root; (1.31); contraction  
of ba?a
- ba "to come out"; Class I intransitive verb root; (16.9)
- ba "throw at"; Class II transitive verb root; (6.170)
- ba "cool off"; Class IV neutral root; (15.7)
- ba "to break"; Class IV intransitive verb root; (1.33)
- ba Indicative punctiliar aspect morpheme; (13.21)
- ba-f'i "pour on"; Class of verb undetermined; transitive  
verb stem; (5.50)
- ba?a "to be"; Class I stative verb root; (1.1)
- ba?ne "to block"; Class I transitive verb root; (5.13)

- baʔno "to make, put on"; Class I transitive verb root;  
(18.5); fluctuates with boʔno
- báʔyu "handkerchief"; Class Ib noun root; (24.18); possibly  
from pañuelo; Sp.
- bahák' "grass"; Class Ia noun root; (6.115)
- balay "to talk"; Class I intransitive singular verb root;  
(14.22)
- balay "to be clear, to not rain"; Class IV intransitive  
verb root; (40.473)
- balo "to talk"; Class I intransitive plural verb root;  
(24.15)
- bana "river"; Class Ib noun root; (26.23); variant of  
banaʔ
- banaʔ "river"; Class Ib noun root; (6.2)
- banah-b-uši "Tequisistlán"; Chontal proper name; (26.21)
- bane "to remain"; Class I intransitive root; (15.4)
- baŋ "to live, to be"; Class I intransitive verb root; (25.16)
- báŋay "nothing, just"; intensifying particle; (1.84);  
variant of báŋayʔ
- báŋayʔ "nothing, just"; intensifying particle; (1.84)
- baříl "barrel"; Sp.; Class Ib noun root; (4.23); from  
barril
- bas "to trip"; Class II ditransitive root; (12.11)
- bastón "walking stick"; Sp.; (69.416)
- baš "blessing, holiness"; Class of noun undetermined;  
(22.11)



- baš-?ne "to bless"; Class I transitive verb stem; (53.44)
- bay "to take, receive"; Class IV transitive verb root;  
(30.14); allomorph of be; occurs before -k'
- bay "turn"; Class I intransitive verb root; (6.164)
- bay Indicative punctiliar aspect marker; (26.2); variant  
of -ba
- báygo "seven"; Class I numeral; (elicited)
- bé "where"; locational particle; (24.55); fluctuates with  
pé
- be "to take, receive"; Class IV transitive verb root; (24.25)
- becu "fallen"; Class of verb undetermined; intransitive  
root; (27.13)
- bef' "to fall over"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.167)
- bege "cheek"; Class II noun root; (see p. 90--4)
- behí "tarabundi tree"; Class Ib noun root; (see p. 86--1)
- bela "leaf"; Class of noun root undetermined; (15.7)
- bela? "nine"; Class Ia numeral; (elicited)
- beno "wife"; Class II noun root; (see p. 88--3)
- bi "to be"; Class I stative verb root; (18.3); variant  
of ba?a
- bi "to burn"; Class I intransitive verb root; (27.11)
- bi- Meaning undetermined; Archaic form; (1.12)
- bi-?i "give to"; Class IV ditransitive verb stem; (1.52)
- bik'a "to want, like"; Class I defective transitive verb root;  
(1.61); Non-past subject markers do not occur with  
this verb, nor is it suffixed in any way. A direct  
address morpheme m- "you" (sg) can be prefixed to the root.

- bil' "flesh"; Class II noun root; (1.122)
- bima "sibling"; Class II noun root; (14.1)
- bin-l'i "to accompany"; Class IV transitive verb stem;  
(28.56)
- bi-Nm "to hit"; Class I transitive verb stem; (5.18)
- bišú'ni "Tlacolulita"; Chontal proper name of a town; (13.65)
- biwo "hole"; Class II noun root; (see p. 89--2)
- biyén "well"; particle; (15.7); from bien
- bo "to take a bath"; Class IV intransitive verb root; (6.2)
- bo "tail"; Class II noun root; (6.82)
- bode "vulture"; Class of noun root undetermined; (1.2)
- bo-?i "to bathe, baptize"; Class IV ditransitive verb stem;  
(6.17)
- bo?no "to make, put on"; Class I transitive verb root;  
(25.59); fluctuates with ba?no
- bohna "owner"; Class II noun root; (1.94)
- bos-?me "to wash for"; Class IV transitive verb stem; (3.4)
- boteya "bottle"; Sp.; (4.19); from botella
- bowoško "spittle"; Class II noun root; (14.9)
- břúho "sorcerer"; Class Ia noun; (13.47); Sp. from brujo
- bu "to dig"; Class I transitive verb root; (29.6)
- bugi? "night"; Class II noun root; (6.50)
- bu-?i "to baptize"; Class IV ditransitive verb stem; (22.29);  
variant of bo-?i
- bul "grasp, hold"; Class I transitive verb root; (24.16)
- buláf'ka? "all"; particle; (17.11)

- bulo "burro"; Class Ia noun root; (6.115); fluctuates with  
buño,
- bu-l'i "give round object to"; Class I ditransitive stem;  
(1.159)
- buño "burro"; Class Ia noun root; (6.131); fluctuates with  
buño; bulo
- buño "burro"; Class Ia noun root; (6.112); fluctuates with  
buño, bulo
- bwélta "turn"; Sp.; (26.2); from vuelta
- bwéna "good"; (6.130); from Sp. bueno
- bagas "fiber"; Class I noun root; (4.15); of undetermined  
Spanish origin
- bala "lead shot"; Class Ia noun root; (7.24); from Sp.  
bala
- balansa "metal dippers used in making mezcal"; Class of noun  
undetermined; (4.19)
- baliyente "vigorous one"; Sp. from valiente; (15.10)
- banhel "evangelicals"; Class Ia noun root; (22.2); con-  
traction of banhéliko; Sp. from evangelico
- banheliyo "evangelical doctrine"; (22.7); Sp. from evangelio
- baso "glass"; Class Ib noun root; (15.30); from Sp. vaso
- belasiyon "watch, wait"; Class Ib noun root; (24.29); Sp.  
from velación
- benado "deer"; Sp. from venado; (16.9)
- beneno "poison"; Class Ib noun root; Sp. from veneno; (15.27)
- bes "time"; Sp. from vez; (14.11)
- besindado "neighbor"; Class I noun root; (18.11); Sp.

- besino "neighbor"; Class I noun root; (31.2); Sp. from vecino
- béynte "twenty"; Sp. from veinte; (6.162)
- bí "healthy, alive"; Sp.; (27.43); contraction of bíbo
- bíbo "healthy, alive"; Sp. from vivo; (15.10)
- biřhen "virgin"; Sp. from virgen; (17.19)
- bispéřa "day before a fiesta"; Sp. from víspera; (30.3)
- c Indicative completive durative aspect marker; (12.32);  
variant of -?
- c Combinatorial allomorph of regular subjunctive aspect  
marker; (1.41); occurs before suffixal object and  
recipient markers
- ca Subjunctive motivational away from speaker plural aspect  
marker; (46.11)
- ca?we "ask for"; Class I transitive verb root; (19.29);  
occurs following /ɭ/ and is an allomorph of ša?we
- cana "chicken"; Class Ia noun root; (20.12)
- cance "to look at"; Class I intransitive motivational verb  
stem; (26.4); occurs following /ɭ/ and is an  
allomorph of šance
- cans "man"; Class Ia noun root; (27.5); allomorph of  
šans; occurs following /ɭ/
- can-uk' "men, people"; Class Ia pluralized noun root; (7.28);  
occurs following /ɭ/ and alternates with šan-uk'
- cawe "to rise up"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.33)
- ce "to go"; Class I intransitive motivational verb root; (26.35)

- ce Subjunctive motivational away from speaker singular aspect marker; (13.63); variant of -ci
- cémay? "to be gone"; particle; (10.24)
- cew "to rise up"; Class I intransitive verb root; (27.54); contraction of cawe
- c-fay "to enter"; Class I intransitive verb stem; (1.72); contraction of cu-fay
- ci "into, together"; derivational verbal affix; (4.16)
- cí fusion of /s/ of bwénas "good" and /d/ of día "day"; (6.130)
- ci "grind"; Class III intransitive verb root; (25.65)
- ci Animate marker morpheme; (68.391); numeral suffix; allomorph of -ši; occurs with the numeral fan "three"
- ci Subjunctive motivational away from speaker singular aspect marker; (12.9)
- cigiwil "canasta basket"; Class Ib noun root; (see p. 84--12)
- ci-h "chew without swallowing"; Class I transitive verb stem; (15.23)
- ciki "dog"; Class Ia noun root; (41.31)
- cila "large"; Class Ia plural noun root; (26.29); variant of cila?
- cíla? "large"; Class Ia plural noun root; (27.29)
- cim "to see"; Class I transitive verb root; (25.34); allomorph of šin; occurs following first person

plural subject marker expressed or understood and preceding a bilabial consonant or the sequence /ʔm/

cin "to see"; Class I transitive verb root; (28.47);

occurs following /ɬ/ and is an allomorph of šin

ciŋ "to see"; Class I transitive verb root; (25.25); occurs

following first person plural subject marker expressed or understood and preceding /w/

cowdeʔ "church"; Class Ib noun root; (27.11); allomorph of šowdeʔ; occurs following /ɬ/

cow=li "stand up"; Class I intransitive plural verb stem; (25.54)

cu "press, step"; derivational verbal affix; (18.2)

cuf "with, accompanying"; derivational verbal affix; (13.2)

cu-fay "to enter"; Class I intransitive verb stem; (1.135)

cuk'o "to be inside of"; Class of verb uncertain; intransitive verb root; (1.84)

cúNmicu "day before yesterday"; temporal particle; (19.2)

cuygayʔ "small"; Class Ia plural noun root; (28.34)

c' plus Class I past subject markers - contrary to fact negative marker; second order verbal prefix; (56.232); allomorph of c'; occurs with Class II, III, and IV verbs

c'- Contrary to fact negative; (51.142); occurs with Class I verbs; second order verbal prefix

c'- "who, which, what"; relativizer morpheme; (24.62); third order nominal prefix

- c'al "to tear"; Class I intransitive verb root; (5.63)
- c'e "new"; Class Ia noun root; (31.5)
- c'í hesitation form; (17.15)
- c'íl hesitation form; (24.65)
- c'u-h "pour dry material"; Class I transitive verb stem;  
(19.32)
- čā "today"; temporal particle; (11.46); contraction of  
číya
- čá "come on"; imperative particle; (6.50); contraction  
of čá'a
- čá'a "come on"; imperative particle; (9.12)
- čí "today"; temporal particle; (9.1); contraction of  
číya
- čibo "goat"; Class Ia noun root; (20.10) from Sp. chivo
- číya "today"; temporal particle; (32.20)
- čokolate "chocolate"; Class Ib noun; (25.45); Sp. from  
chocolate
- čúlo "pretty, good"; particle; (12.37); Sp. from chulo
- č'íš "silence"; Class I intransitive root; (10.33); occurs  
frequently without affixes in an imperative usage
- d- Third person singular non-past subject marker used with  
Class I verb; (1.57); contraction of di-
- d- Second person plural non-past subject marker occurring with  
Class I verbs; (31.18); contraction of doł-
- d Indicative incomplete motivational aspect marker; (11.4)

- d Combinatorial allomorph of indicative incompletive motivational aspect marker; (19.30); alternates with -da; occurs before suffixal object and recipient markers
- d- → -l'- Pluralizing set of nominal affixes; (see p. 84--9)
- dá "about"; particle; (6.5)
- da- Second person singular non-past subject marker occurring with Class I verb; (1.10)
- da- Second person singular non-past subject marker used with Class IV verbs; (25.42)
- da Indicative completive stative; (24.17)
- da Indicative incompletive motivational aspect marker; (1.6)
- dac "drop by drop"; intransitive verb root; verb class undetermined; (15.30)
- dakwi "to load cargo on"; Class I transitive verb root; (19.30)
- dalay-f'ay "to meet, encounter"; Class of verb undetermined; transitive verb stem
- dalay?e "to answer"; Class I intransitive verb root; (28.19)
- dale "to rub"; Class I transitive verb root; (13.12); used in conjunction with derivation affix guf to mean "to meet"
- dale "to scold"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.129)
- dal-guf "to meet"; Class I transitive verb stem; (1.113); contraction of dali-guf



- dali-gf "to meet"; Class I transitive verb stem; (1.89);  
 contraction of dali-guf
- dali-guf "to meet"; Class I transitive verb stem; (1.73)
- dal "stick together"; Class I transitive verb root; (5.8)
- dal-iŋ-k'i "to cause something to stick"; Class I transitive  
 verb stem; (55.125)
- danyeřo "damaging one"; Class Ia noun root; (6.140); Sp.  
 from dañero
- d-a-ŋe-na-wo fusion of de-ga-ŋe-na-wo "it throws down"; (12.35)
- daway "to help, work for"; Class I intransitive verb root;  
 (18.9)
- day- Second person singular non-past subject marker used  
 with Class II verbs; (8.24)
- dáyg "word"; Class II noun root; (28.56); contraction of  
daygi
- daygi "word"; Class II noun root; (25.21)
- de "to crush"; Class IV transitive verb root; (4.11)
- dé "what"; pronominal particle; (1.16)
- de "to chop, mash"; Class IV transitive verb root; (4.11)
- de "to eat"; Class I transitive verb root; (1.159)
- de "to carry"; Class I transitive verb root; (20.14);  
 variant of def
- dé hesitation form; (11.21)
- de- Third person plural non-past subject marker used with  
 Class IV verbs; (7.5)

- de- Third person irregular non-past subject marker used with  
Class IV verbs; (15.7)
- deco "to eat a meal"; Class I transitive verb root; (32.4)
- def "to carry"; Class I transitive verb root; (4.11);  
fluctuates with def'
- def' "to carry"; Class I transitive verb root; (1.5)
- de-gof' "to eat, taste"; Class I transitive verb stem;  
(1.119)
- deh-may "to arrive below"; Class IV intransitive verb stem;  
(6.72)
- dél "of the"; Sp.; (7.31)
- deł-nuf "to forsake"; Class IV transitive verb stem; (17.26)
- denł "to mix"; Class IV intransitive verb root; (5.55)
- dentřo "inside"; Class Ib noun root; (32.33); from Sp.  
dentro
- de-Nn "to ring"; Class IV transitive verb stem; (6.50);
- deřěčo "straight"; Sp. from derecho; (82.171)
- des "to eat a meal"; Class I transitive verb root; (15.3);  
occurs only with the suffix -ma and with singular  
subject markers; alternates with deco
- des-mi "to feed"; Class I transitive verb stem; (9.4)
- dí "day"; Sp.; (10.36); contraction of día
- dí hesitation form; (10.13)
- di- Third person plural non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class I verbs; (1.57)

- di- Third person singular non-past subject marker occurring with Class I verbs; (1.8)
- di- Third person singular non-past subject marker occurring with Class II verbs; (5.39)
- di- Third person plural non-past subject marker occurring with Class II verbs; (elicited)
- dib hesitation form; (14.22)<sup>\*</sup>
- di-bá-ʔn hesitation form; (23.10)
- di-gwáy-go-na-ŋ hesitation form of di-gway-go-ná-ŋka "when they arrive again"; (10.27)
- di-ʔwám-gi-ni meaning undetermined; (13.75)
- dił- Third person plural non-past subject marker; (51.11)  
fluctuates with di- and occurs with Class I verbs
- dínci "something, trouble"; particle; (10.44)
- dinin "dew"; Class Ia noun root; (15.17)
- díya "day"; Sp.; (24.48); from día
- diyána "piece of music"; (24.68); Sp. from diana
- diyáři "daily"; Sp.; (12.33); contraction of diyáriyo
- diyáriyo "daily"; Sp. from diário; (11.5)
- diyés "ten"; Sp. from diéz; (13.66)
- dił- Second person plural non-past subject marker occurring with Class I verbs; (22.9); contraction of doł-
- do "long"; neutral verb root; (84.15)
- dó hesitation form; (6.143)
- dó "like"; relator particle; (27.39)

- do- Second person singular non-past subject marker  
occurring with Class III verbs; (37.46)
- do- Second person singular non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class I verbs; (32.17); fluctuates with du-
- do-f'i "collect interest"; Class IV intransitive verb  
stem; (24.22)
- do-goł "to be mature"; Class I intransitive verb stem; (4.6)
- do-?e "to put, place money"; Class IV transitive verb  
stem; (24.58)
- do-h "to grow up"; Class I semi-transitive verb stem; (25.2)
- do-k'i "to help"; Class I ditransitive verb stem; (27.32)
- dola- Second person plural non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class IV verb roots; (52.99); fluctuates  
with dula-
- do-lay-cu Incomplete word changed to ga-lay-cuf-go-?ma "I  
will take care of him"; (6.22)
- dolu- Second person plural non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class III verb roots; (elicited); fluctuates  
with dulu-
- doł- Second person plural non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class I verbs; (7.8)
- dom "to bump, hit"; Class IV transitive verb root; (1.84)
- domi "money"; Class Ib noun root; (24.1)
- domiņgo "Domingo"; proper name; Sp.; (13.75)
- domiņko "Sunday"; Class Ib noun root; (10.48); variant  
of Sp. domingo

dón "sir"; Sp.; (5.69)

dongay? "above"; Class Ib noun that is never pluralized;  
(6.3)

dós "two"; Sp. from dos; (10.36)

dóse "twelve"; Sp. from doce; (6.51)

du "to pull off"; Class IV transitive verb root; (1.130)

du "to suck"; Class I verb root; transitivity undetermined;  
(15.17)

dú hesitation form; (20.2)

dú "a little bit"; particle; (11.38); contraction of dúda?a

du- Second person singular non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class I verbs; (25.9); fluctuates with do-

du- Third person plural non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class III verbs; (7.4)

du- Third person singular non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class III verbs; (12.37)

duba "tenate cooking pot"; Class Ib noun root; (see p. 84--3)

dúda "a little bit"; particle; (12.39); contraction of  
dúda?a

dúda?a "a little bit"; particle; (15.30)

duf "to put, place"; Class I transitive verb root; (15.17)

duga "self"; Class II noun root; (1.122); variant of duga?

duga? "self"; Class II noun root; (6.181)

dula- Second person plural non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class IV verb roots; (24.10); fluctuates  
with dola-

exception to the above statement of dula- occurring only with Class IV roots is: dula-bul-~~le~~ "you-all pick it up"; (24.67)

duli- Second person plural non-past subject marker occurring with Class I verbs; (22.4)

dulu "turkey, hen turkey"; Class Ia noun root; (1.63)

dulu- Second person plural non-past subject marker occurring with Class III verb roots; (elicited); fluctuates with dolu-

dentro "inside"; (1.105); Sp.; variant of dentro

e "to do, make"; Class I transitive verb root; (1.175); allomorph of ?e; occurs following /l/

e- Third person singular past subject marker occurring with Class IV verb roots; (1.44)

e- Third person plural past subject marker occurring with Class IV verb roots; (29.11)

-e Indicative durative aspect marker; (1.8); variant of -i

ebašil "bee's wax"; Class IV noun root; (5.8)

ebišu? "round cooking pot"; Class IV noun root; (4.17); possessive allomorph of abišu?

ebone "cactus fruit"; Class IV noun root; (1.48); possessive allomorph of abone

ede-hma? "iron tool"; Class IV noun stem; (29.5); possessed form of ade-hma?

edu "fish"; Class IV noun root; (13.68); possessive allomorph of adu

- edumi "rain clouds"; Class IV noun root; (27.54)  
 éf hesitation form; (24.65)
- efṣ̌i "medicine"; Class IV noun root; (15.5); possessive  
 allomorph of afṣ̌i
- e-gáʔ-n hesitation form; (27.24)
- egal "bone"; Class III noun root; (see p. 94--8)
- eganiyaʔ "orphan"; Class III noun root; (see p. 93--7)
- egulwa "valley, gully"; Class III noun root; (1.7);  
 variant of igulwo
- eguwe "man"; Class IV noun root; (25.66); variant of eguweʔ
- eguweʔ "man"; Class IV noun root; (6.8); possessed form  
 of aguweʔ
- eʔ "weed, tree"; Class I noun root; (14.9); variant of ek  
 éʔe hesitation form; (17.1)
- eʔi "bread"; Class IV noun root; (24.35); possessive  
 allomorph of aʔi
- ehok' "throat, to have a cold"; Class IV noun root; (15.20);  
 possessive allomorph of ahok'
- ehuɫ' "house"; Class IV noun root; (13.61); possessed  
 form of ahuɫ'
- ek'waʔ "pubic area"; Class IV noun root; (55.88); possessive  
 allomorph of ak'waʔ
- el "the"; Sp.; (19.33)
- elewaʔ "shell, gourd"; Class III noun root; (1.32);  
 possessive allomorph of alewaʔ

- el'ane "beans"; Class IV noun root; (5.10); possessive  
allomorph of al'ane
- em "time"; measure marker; numeral suffix; (1.32); con-  
traction of -emma
- éma "edge, end"; Class IV noun root; (16.14)
- emac' "land, year"; Class IV noun root; (19.3); possessive  
allomorph of amac'
- ema?a "sky"; Class III noun root; (1.108)
- emala "hill"; Class III noun root; (1.4)
- emegey "container used in making mezcal"; Class IV noun root;  
(4.19)
- emes "squash seed"; Class III noun root; (see p. 92--3)
- emma "time"; measure marker; numeral suffix; (14.8)
- emula "fork of a tree"; Class III noun root; (see p. 94--6)
- e-n hesitation form of e-náŋ-k'i-na-ba "he put it together for  
him"; (1.42)
- enala "squash stem"; Class III noun root; (see p. 96--7)
- ene "hand grinding stone"; Class III noun root; (see p. 96--11)
- enik' "work"; Class III noun root; (10.36); possessive allo-  
morph of anik'
- entero "all"; Sp. from entero; (19.33)
- entóns "then"; (1.78); Sp. from entonces; variant of entónse
- entónse "then"; Sp. from entonces; (15.15)
- entřegár "deliver"; Sp. from entregar; (6.180)
- eŋ-k'e "to follow behind"; Class I transitive verb stem; (24.19)
- eŋone "knee"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 99--6)



- éso "this reason"; Sp. from eso; (11.46)
- éste "this"; Sp.; (15.27)
- estéba "Steven"; proper name in Sp.; (18.13)
- esway "testicles"; Class IV noun root; (1.167)
- ešgu "tortilla"; Class IV noun root; (10.30); possessive  
allomorph of ašgu
- ešwiya? "cleared piece of land"; Class IV noun root; (19.15);  
possessive form of ašwiya?
- ey- "not"; negative factive particle; (28.50); variant of ay-  
éy hesitation form; (22.1)
- ey Plural suffix of nouns; (19.29)
- eyWay "mist"; Class of noun undetermined; (11.46)
- fá "here" (proximal); inanimate demonstrative; (6.62); con-  
traction of fá?a
- fa "to sow"; Class I transitive verb root; (4.1)
- fá?a "here" (proximal); inanimate demonstrative; (6.77)
- falta "wrong, fault"; Class I noun root; (6.43)
- famíliya "family"; Class Ia noun root; (10.24); from Sp.  
familia
- fán "somewhere"; particle; (14.8); contraction of fani
- fan "three"; Class Ia numeral combinatorial allomorph; (15.30);  
alternates with fane?; occurs before -emma "time" or  
-ci animate marker morpheme
- fáne? "three"; Class Ia numeral; (19.2)
- fáni "somewhere"; particle; (25.10)
- fay "excrement"; Class II noun root; (1.14)

- fay "into"; derivational verbal affix; (1.135)
- febrěřo "February"; Sp.; (24.1)
- fel "to deceive"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.110)
- féla "out"; (6.86); possibly from fuera; Sp.
- felay "to lie"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.117)
- fen "to move"; Class I intransitive verb root; (6.95)
- fi "around"; derivational verbal affix; (6.164)
- fi?e "to tie"; Class I transitive verb root; (19.6)
- fi?no "wife, old woman"; Class Ia noun root; (16.15)
- fil "to play"; Class I intransitive verb root; (70.31)
- fiŋ "to tie up"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.115)
- fiskal "fiscal agent"; Class Ia noun root; (31.32); from  
Sp. fiscal
- flóho "lazy"; Sp.; (77.224)
- fo? "blind man"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 81--5)
- foł "to gather together"; Class IV intransitive verb root;  
(24.55)
- fořmál "real"; Sp.; (27.10)
- fřésko "fresh, cool"; Sp. fresco; (15.2)
- fřúta meaning unknown; (10.15); possible variation of huta  
"wow"; Sp.
- fřúta "fruit"; Class Ib noun root; (26.30); from Sp. fruta
- fu "to swell"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.41)
- fule "to fight"; Class I intransitive verb root; (6.13)
- fwěřa "out"; Sp. from fuera; (15.31)
- fwěřsa "strength"; Sp. from fuerza; (6.20)

- f'wic' "to whistle"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.152)
- f' "up"; derivational verbal affix; (1.31)
- f'a "to climb, nominate"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.121)
- f'ac "companion"; Class II noun root; (6.39); allomorph of  
f'as; occurs preceding vowel initial words of a compound word
- f'as "companion"; Class II noun root; (6.21); Occurs preceding  
 consonant initial words of a compound word
- f'ay "into"; derivational verbal affix; (1.46); variant of  
fay
- f'e "to, toward"; derivational verbal affix; (8.18)
- f'i "on top of"; derivational verbal affix; (1.166)
- f'il "to play"; Class I intransitive verb root; (10.48)
- g Process derivational verbal affix; (77.311); allomorph of  
h; occurs before vowels
- g plus Class I past subject markers or relational subject markers-  
 equational marker; second order verbal prefix; (70.9);  
 occurs with Class II, III, and IV verbs; allomorph  
 of g-
- g plus Class I past subject markers- past negative marker;  
 (elicited); allomorph of g-; occurs with non-Class I  
 verbs
- g- Equational marker; second order verbal prefix; (23.8);  
 has allomorph g plus Class I past subject markers or  
 relational subject markers; occurs with Class I verbs
- g- Past tense negative marker; second order verbal affix;

(1.111); alternates with g plus Class I past subject markers

- g- Combinatorial marker; nominal affix; (1.48); occurs with Class IV nouns; allomorph ga- occurs with Class II nouns
- g- Honorific marker; second order nominal prefix; (28.19)
- g- Desiderative marker; nominal affix; (24.8)
- gá hesitation form; (26.15)
- ga "to bite"; Class I transitive verb root; (5.36)
- ga "to throw"; Class IV transitive verb root; (28.48)
- ga "animal"; Class II noun root; (6.148)
- ga- First person singular non-past subject marker of Class IV verbs; (25.35)
- ga- First person singular non-past subject marker of Class I verbs; (1.4)
- ga- Combinatorial marker; nominal affix; (1.29); allomorph of g-; occurs only with Class II nouns
- ga "have to"; repetitive necessitative morpheme; first order verbal suffix; (72.298)
- gabuk "chile tree"; Class Ib noun root; (see p. 86--5)
- gafúle? "hardly"; particle; (14.18); variant of afúle?
- gal- Size marker of the fifth degree; (see p. 104); singular form; first order nominal prefix
- gal- Size marker of the fourth degree; (see p. 104); plural form; first order nominal prefix
- galga- Size marker of the sixth and largest degree; (see p. 104)

singular form; first order nominal prefix

gál? hesitation form of gal-šmu "the lion"; (1.97)

gan "to throw, leave"; Class IV transitive verb root; (25.63)

gana "to throw, leave"; Class IV transitive verb root; (6.146);

allomorph of gan; occurs before aspect markers ci

and da

gana-f'i "mount, put on"; Class IV transitive verb stem; (1.164)

ga-ηuf "throw out, release"; Class IV transitive verb stem;

(24.70)

gál hesitation form; (6.34)

gal- Limiter occurring with singular Class Ia nouns and plural

Class Ib nouns; (1.42)

galg- Size marker morpheme of the 6th and largest degree;

(1.82); singular form; allomorph of galga-; occurs

before a possessive morpheme or Class IV noun; second

order nominal prefix

ga-má hesitation form; (20.1)

gamc'us "six"; Class I numeral; (44.192)

gasto "expense"; Class I noun root; (19.33); Sp.

gaš "to stand"; Class IV intransitive verb root; (24.5)

gaš? "to stand"; Class IV intransitive verb root; (5.16);

allomorph of gaš "to stand"; occurs before a vowel

gašaš "wooden trunk"; Class Ib noun root; (see p. 84--10)

gaši "chili"; Class Ib noun root; (12.16)

gay "on top of, facing"; derivational verbal affix; (6.46)

gayci "seven"; Class I numeral; (40.478)

- gayf hesitation form; (25.15)
- ge "over, off"; derivational verbal affix; (1.149);  
variant of ke
- geʔ "to hear, understand"; Class I transitive verb root;  
(11.30); variant of gya
- gelecina "chico zapote fruit"; Class Ia noun root; (see  
p. 82--7)
- gf "out of"; derivational verbal affix; (1.137); contraction  
of guf
- gi Passive derivational verbal affix; (1.9)
- gi- First person singular non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class II verbs; (elicited)
- gidéʔ "recently"; temporal particle; (26.34)
- giŋf'awáyšnu "cordoncillo plant"; second word of a compound  
word; (15.13); class of noun undetermined
- giŋ-k'o "to thrust into"; class of verb undetermined; tran-  
sitive verb stem; (5.64)
- giyayʔ "hill"; Class Ib noun root; (7.31)
- go "on top of, facing"; derivational verbal affix; (43.77);  
allomorph of gay; occurs with verbs having plural  
subjects
- go "mouth"; Class II noun root; (5.35)
- go "certainly"; definite marker; first order verbal  
suffix; (30.14)
- go "again"; iterative marker; second order verbal suffix;  
(25.20); allomorph of -gon

- gobiyérno "government"; Sp. from gobierno; (28.25)
- goʔ hesitation form; (32.34)
- gólpe "a blow"; Sp. from golpe; (1.147)
- gol "to delay"; Class I transitive verb root; (14.15)
- goláʔ "may"; desiderative particle; (6.45)
- góltaʔ "long time ago"; particle; (27.22); variant of kóltaʔ
- gon "again"; iterative marker; second order verbal suffix;  
(46.179); occurs before /l/ and /c/
- gonsáles "Gonzalez"; Sp.; (7.16)
- gošak' "shelled corn"; Class Ia noun root; (11.33)
- gřingo "American"; Class Ia noun root; (28.19)
- gu "to give"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.72)
- gu- First person singular non-past subject marker occurring with  
Class III verbs; (26.18)
- gu Indicative future plural aspect marker; (46.174)
- gubuk "carrying net"; Class Ia noun root; (5.47)
- guc "to sit"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.60); fluctuates with guc'
- guc' "to sit"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.47); occurs  
before morphemes beginning with vowels or /w/
- guc'e "cooking pot"; Class Ib noun root; (see p. 84--6)
- guf "out of"; derivational verbal affix; (1.73)
- guf "to offer for sale"; Class I transitive verb root; (20.3)
- guʔu "stomach"; Class II noun root; (1.104)
- gu-h "to sell"; Class I transitive verb stem; (20.6)
- gulaʔa "to ascend"; Class I intransitive verb root; (6.3)

gúli "far"; Class III noun root; (1.72); contraction of  
guli?

guli? "far"; Class III noun root; (1.10)

gun- Second person singular direct address morpheme; (5.60);  
allomorph of m- and fluctuates with un-; occurs with  
Class I nouns as first order prefix

gus "to sit"; Class I intransitive verb root; (5.57); allo-  
morph of guc'; occurs before nasals

guše "to order"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.73)

guštıla "rib"; Class II noun root; (see p. 88--9); from  
Sp. costilla

gwa meaning uncertain; (16.17)

gwa "to say, think"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.65)

-gwan meaning undetermined; (27.3)

gwana "sickness"; Class Ib noun root; (15.31)

gwana "to deny, refuse"; Class I transitive verb root; (82.171)

gway "to arrive"; Class I motivational intransitive verb root;  
(1.10)

gwaył "to untie"; Class IV transitive verb root; (5.58)

gwé "big, much"; Class Ia noun root; (7.87); contraction of  
gwéga?

gwe "to hear, understand"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.26);  
dialect variant of gya

gwef' "to multiply, increase"; Class I semi-transitive verb  
root; (24.23)

gweg "big, much"; Class Ia noun root; (12.6); contraction  
of gwéga?



- gwéga? "big, much"; Class Ia noun root; (5.56)
- gwená "another, the other"; Class of noun undetermined;  
(28.8)
- gwi "to rain"; Class I transitive verb root; (12.5)
- gwi "rain"; Class of noun undetermined; (19.16)
- gwi "to ask"; Class II transitive verb root; (25.21);  
allomorph of gwis; occurs before derivational  
affix cuf
- gwi "hawk"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 81--7)
- gwi "to name"; Class IV transitive verb root; (11.9)
- gwicuf "to question"; Class II intransitive verb root;  
(10.10)
- gwis "to ask"; Class II transitive verb root; (25.17)
- gwiša "mountain sand"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 83--7)
- gya "to hear, understand"; Class I transitive verb root;  
(25.68); dialect variant of gwe
- ? "to be able, to happen"; Class I intransitive verb  
root; (12.25); contraction of ?i
- ? Transitive derivational verbal affix; (1.20); con-  
traction of ?e
- ? Pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 82--8)
- ? Indicative completive durative aspect marker; (1.154);  
allomorph of -k'; occurs following durative allo-  
morphs -ya and -a
- ?- → -l- Pluralizing replative nominal infix; (see p. 82--10)
- ? → -l' Pluralizing replative nominal suffix; (see p. 102--5)

- ʔ → -we Replacive pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 81--6)
- ʔ → -y Pluralizing replacive nominal suffix; (see p. 85--7)
- ʔa Transitivity derivational verbal affix; (1.20); variant  
of ʔe
- ʔa "father"; Class II noun root; (17.19); contraction of  
ʔayi
- ʔa Transitivity derivational affix; (1.8)
- ʔa → -we Pluralizing replacive nominal suffix; (see  
p. 92--10)
- ʔaca "axe"; Class Ia noun root; (8.19); fluctuates with  
hača
- ʔantíwo "ancient"; Sp.; (13.11); from antiguo
- ʔařgoya "nose ring"; Class Ia noun root; Sp.; (see  
p. 80--5)
- ʔas "fruit"; class of noun root undetermined; (1.130)
- ʔas "to bear fruit"; class of verb root undetermined;  
transitive root; (19.20)
- ʔawa "squash"; Class I noun root; (19.20)
- ʔay "teeth"; Class II noun root; (5.35)
- ʔay "father"; Class II noun root; (17.19); contraction  
of ʔayi
- ʔay-g-i-šná hesitation form; (1.111)
- ʔayi "father"; Class II noun root; (6.18)
- ʔe "to do, make"; Class I transitive verb root; (4.19);
- ʔe Transitivity derivational verbal affix; (1.10)
- ʔe Ditransitivity derivational verbal affix; (6.174)

- ?e-h-f'e "to celebrate"; Class I transitive verb stem; (24.40)
- ?ek "tree, wood"; Class Ib noun root; (6.115)
- ?i "to be able, to happen"; Class I intransitive verb  
root; (14.8)
- ?i "to advise"; neutral verb root; (22.15); contraction  
of yi
- ?i Ditransitivizing derivational verbal affix; (24.24)
- ?ik' "quality"; class of noun root undetermined; (1.109)
- ?ila? "fleas"; Class Ia noun root; (51.120); plural of ?i
- ?iŋkaŋgo "request, responsibility"; Class Ib noun root;  
Sp.; (26.13)
- ?iwa "child"; Class II noun root; (5.6); variant of ?wa
- ?lkalde "alcalde"; Class Ia noun root; (31.24)
- ?m Indicative incompletive singular aspect marker; (5.21);  
combinatorial allomorph of ?ma or ?me that occurs  
before object and recipient marker suffixes
- ?m Indicative incompletive singular aspect marker; (5.13);  
contraction of ?ma
- ?ma Indicative incompletive singular aspect marker; (20.2)
- ?maɭ "maguey"; Class Ib noun root; (4.1)
- ?mám "mother"; Class II noun root; (14.5); contraction  
of ?mama
- ?mama "mother"; Class II noun root; (25.54)
- ?mama? "mother"; Class II noun root; (1.77)
- ?me "ahead"; derivational verbal affix; (24.28)

- ?me Indicative incomplete plural aspect marker; (25.33);  
has combinatorial allomorph ?m that occurs before  
object and recipient markers
- ?mi "ahead"; derivational verbal affix; (24.62); variant  
of ?me
- ?mí hesitation form; (21.4)
- ?mi "into"; derivational verbal affix; (2.5); allomorph  
of mi; occurs following /y/ or /l/
- ?mic "foot"; Class I noun root; (5.33); plural root form  
of ?mis; variant of ?mic'
- ?mic' "foot"; Class I noun root; (see p. 90--1); plural  
root form of ?mis
- ?mis "foot"; Class II noun root; (26.21)
- ?mo "at, to"; derivational verbal affix; (1.70); allo-  
morph of mo; occurs following /l/
- ?na "to buy"; Class I transitive verb root; (26.13)
- ?na-ce "pay for"; Class I transitive verb stem; (13.56);  
variant of ?na-h-ce
- ?na-h-ce "pay for"; Class I transitive verb stem; (5.45)
- ?ne Transitive derivational affix; (6.75)
- ?ni "to be in"; neutral verbal root; (32.19)
- ?ni "to hold, grasp"; Class I transitive verb root; (1.164)
- ?niš "to crackle, hiss"; Class I intransitive verb root;  
(24.69)
- ?no-f'i "to hold up"; Class I transitive verb stem; (11.19)
- ?noł "to grab, hold"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.92)

- ʔno-ɫ'e "to seize someone"; Class I transitive verb stem;  
(55.169)
- ʔnoWays "remember"; Class I transitive verb root; (25.16)
- ʔogay "below"; Class Ib noun root; (6.71)
- ʔohga "level piece of land"; Class Ib noun root; (12.14)
- ʔombře "man"; Class Ia noun root; (25.36); Sp. from hombre
- ʔořa "sun"; Class Ia noun root; (19.10); Sp. from hora
- ʔořa "time, hour"; Class Ib noun root; (6.47); Sp. from  
hora
- ʔořno "oven"; Class I noun root; (4.18); Sp. from horno
- ʔuʔ "eye"; Class II noun root; (1.124)
- ʔumento "interest on money"; Sp. from aumento; (24.21)
- ʔuwa "child"; Class II noun root; (25.32); variant of ʔiwa
- ʔuway "boys"; Class IV noun root; (24.51)
- ʔwa "small one, child"; Class II noun root; (5.54)
- ʔwa "to go"; Class I intransitive motivational verb root;  
(1.10)
- ʔwa meaning undetermined; (5.60)
- ʔwa-h "approach"; Class I transitive verb stem; (1.98)
- ʔwa-h "to appear"; Class I semi-transitive verb stem;  
(49.70)
- ʔwa-le "to walk around"; Class I intransitive verb stem;  
(21.7)
- ʔway "wait"; Intransitive verb root; (5.29)
- ʔwa-yi "to go"; Class I intransitive verb stem; (24.37)
- ʔwe "to keep"; Class I transitive verb root; (24.33)

- ?wico "to clean by clearing weeds"; Class I transitive verb root; (21.11)
- ?wif' "to gather together, to sort"; Class I transitive verb root; (1.42)
- ?wo "to go"; Class I intransitive motivational verb root; (26.20); variant of ?wa
- ?wolof' "turn over"; intransitive verb root; class unknown; (5.62)
- ?Was "to uncover"; Class I transitive verb root; (15.31)
- h Process derivational verbal affix; (6.124); occurs before morphemes beginning with consonants
- h "instrument"; derivational nominal affix; (27.46); contraction of hma?
- h- → -noł- Pluralizing replacive nominal infix; (see p. 103--11)
- ha "oh"; particle; (1.22)
- há laugh; (13.19)
- hača "axe"; Class Ib noun root; (8.19); variant of ?aca
- ha? "water"; Class II noun root; (15.1)
- há? meaning uncertain; (11.20)
- há?a meaning undetermined; (6.176)
- ha?a "to shout"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.148)
- há?ni "if"; conditional particle; (1.145); variant of háni?
- hak' "to lose"; Class IV transitive verb root; (18.6)
- haláyk' "envy, jealousy"; Class III noun root; (13.1); variant of layk'

- hana "like, love"; Class I neutral root; (25.35)
- háni "if"; conditional particle; (1.143); contraction of  
háni?
- háni? "if"; conditional particle; (1.77)
- haša "bamboo"; Class Ib noun root; (5.65)
- he? "paper"; Class Ib noun root; (13.46); contraction  
of he?e
- he?e "paper"; Class Ib noun root; (26.15)
- heh-l'e "to mix up by turning"; Class of verb uncertain;  
transitive verb stem; (4.16)
- hesukříst "Jesus Christ"; Sp.; (17.18); contraction of  
hesukřisto
- hesukřisto "Jesus Christ"; Sp. from Jesucristo; (64.154)
- hi- "right"; intensifier marker that is affixed to demon-  
stratives; (12.38)
- hi?wa "little time ago"; particle; (6.140)
- hił "right"; intensifier marker that is affixed to demon-  
stratives; (69.501); fluctuates with hi
- himénes "Jimenez"; Sp. proper name; (7.18)
- hma? "instrument, state of being"; derivational nominalizer;  
(7.14)
- hoh "to dress, put on"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.56)
- ho-h "to cry"; Class I intransitive verb stem; (23.5)
- ho-k'i "to call someone"; Class I ditransitive verb  
stem; (1.143)
- hosé "Joseph"; Sp. from José; (64.154)

- how "to be finished"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.42)
- hów?na "okay"; particle; (1.99)
- hówk'wa "together, also"; particle; (25.32)
- hu "wow"; particle; (10.36); Sp.; contraction of huta
- hudi "water jug"; Class Ib noun root; (26.14)
- huł "to dry"; Class I intransitive verb root; (12.10)
- hu-ł-ti? "water jugs"; Class Ib noun root; (4.19); plural  
of hudi
- hunak' "sin"; Class of noun undetermined; (20.2)
- huŋ-k'i "to hang up"; class of verb undetermined; di-  
transitive verb stem; (5.49)
- i Ditransitivizing derivational verbal affix; (25.70); allo-  
morph of ?i; occurs following /f/
- í "and"; particle; (1.8); Sp. from y
- i "to, toward, edge"; derivational verbal affix; (1.137);  
allomorph of in; occurs before nasals
- i- Third person singular possessive marker; nominal prefix;  
(6.135)
- i- Third person plural past subject marker occurring with  
Class II verbs; (31.10)
- i- Third person plural past subject marker occurring with  
Class I verbs; (24.19)
- i- Third person singular past subject marker used with Class  
II verbs; (1.135)
- i- Third person singular past subject marker used with Class  
I verbs; (6.126)



- i- "right"; intensifier marker that is prefixed to demonstratives; (10.40); variant of hi-
- i → -e? Pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 100--10)
- i Indicative durative aspect marker; (1.56); allomorph of -ya; occurs with verbs before object markers; also occurs after verb nuclei ending in /g/
- i Pluralizing suffix of nouns; (11.38)
- iba "flower"; Class III noun root; (15.13)
- ic meaning undetermined; (12.32)
- íd hesitation form; (32.13)
- idak' "thorn"; Class III noun root; (1.132)
- i-de hesitation form; (6.127)
- idine "day, life"; Class III noun root; (24.48)
- idogi "long"; Class III noun root; (6.179)
- idusma? "molar tooth"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 103--8)
- igudu "flower bud"; Class III noun root; (see p. 95--3)
- igulwo "valley, gully"; Class III noun root; (7.27)
- igunda? "weight"; Class III noun root; (48.35)
- igya-hma? "understanding"; Class III noun stem; (14.7)
- i? Pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 90--1)
- iha-?mał "mezcal"; Class III noun stem; (4.25)
- ihawa "clothing"; Class III noun root; (see p. 93--11)
- ik'ašwi "green, unripe"; Class III noun root; (1.131)
- il- Third person plural possessive marker; occurs with Class IV nouns; (17.12)
- il "village"; Class III noun; (13.60); contraction of ilya?

- i<sub>l</sub> Third person plural past subject marker occurring with  
Class I verbs; (65.5); occurs with restricted list  
of verb roots: bik'a "to like"; šin "to see"; etc.
- i<sub>l</sub>- First person singular recipient marker occurring with  
Class I verb; (18.5); variant of a<sub>l</sub>-
- i<sub>l</sub>- Third person plural possessive marker; occurs with  
nouns; (6.82)
- i<sub>l</sub>ya? "village"; Class III noun; (7.19)
- ima Second person singular pronoun root; (5.13); contraction  
of ima?
- íma name of a fiesta; (24.29)
- imaf'i? "alive"; Class III noun root; (13.6)
- imá? Second person singular pronoun root; (6.115)
- ima-ŋk' Second person plural pronoun stem; (64.250)
- imbama? "ten"; numeral, class undetermined; (37.87)
- ime "vine"; Class III noun root; (see p. 95--1)
- i-mí-b hesitation form; (1.82)
- imošna "offering"; Sp. from limosna; (30.16)
- impenya "wedding gifts"; Class Ib noun root; (25.42); Sp.
- imuk'o "thicket"; Class III noun root; (1.72)
- imuk'o? "thicket"; Class III noun root; (see p. 97--1);  
variant of imuk'o
- in "to, toward, edge"; derivational verbal affix; (1.138)
- in- "one who"; agentive marker; derivational nominalizing  
affix; (6.57)
- in Focus morpheme; verbal suffix; (69.434); allomorph of -n;  
occurs following a consonant

- ina Indicative continuative motivational aspect marker; (78.121);  
allomorph of -na; occurs following verb roots  
ending in consonants
- inaga? "cornfield"; Class IV noun root; (9.10); possessive  
form of aynaga?
- ina-yla? "water-ways"; Class III noun stem; (11.29)
- ineha "animal"; Class III noun root; (6.145)
- infiyeřno "hell"; Class Ib noun root; (6.70); Sp. from  
infierno
- in?nowa? "pool"; Class III noun root; (1.90)
- in?nuwa? "pool"; Class III noun root; (1.108); variant  
of in?nowa?
- in-řpay-k'-ále "scary one"; Class III noun stem; (6.57)
- inu? "hot"; Class III noun root; (15.7)
- iŋf'awayřnu "flower of Cordoncillo"; noun class undetermined;  
(15.13)
- iŋk'a "certainly"; particle; (1.92); contraction of liŋk'a
- iŋoma "pochote tree (the silk cotton tree)"; Class III  
noun root; (12.9)
- iŋwa Indicative progressive aspect marker; (8.3); allo-  
morph of ŋwa; occurs following morphemes ending in  
consonants
- ís "village"; Class III noun root; (18.11); variant of  
iŋya?
- iskina "corner"; Class Ib noun root; (9.5); Sp. from esquina
- isna "drunk"; Class III noun root; (10.13)

- išal "wing"; Class III noun root; (see p. 97--7)
- išanał "avocado"; Class III noun root; (see p. 95--9)
- išik' "meat, flesh"; Class III noun root; (1.33)
- iškaflay? "lightning"; Class III noun root; (27.28);  
variant of iškwaflay?
- iškomoc "corn that has tasseled out"; Class II noun root;  
variant of iškomo?
- iškomo? "corn that has tasseled out"; Class II noun root;  
(12.39)
- iškwáf uncompleted form; (27.30)
- iškwáfłay "lightning"; Class III noun root; (27.38)
- išmi "skin"; Class III noun root; (15.15)
- išpik' "the same"; particle; (6.31)
- iwal "horse"; Class III noun root; (19.29); possessive  
plural root of aywala
- iwegi "belief"; Class IV noun root; (17.16)
- iwo "corn crib"; Class III noun root; (19.32)
- iwohma? "level ground"; class of noun undetermined; (14.8)
- iWala "mountain"; Class II noun root; (11.9)
- iyá "another, again"; particle; (24.62)
- iyá First person singular pronoun; (19.1); contraction of  
iya?
- iyá? First person singular pronoun; (1.91)
- iyá-ŋk' First person plural pronoun stem; (28.19)
- iyáy-lo-ba Fusion of iya "I" and ay-lo-ba?a "there is none";  
(24.9)

- k Process derivational verbal affix; (21.2); fluctuates  
with g
- k- Equational marker; second order verbal prefix; (13.36);  
variant of g-
- ka "this"; (distal); animate demonstrative; (6.154);  
contraction of kaʔa
- kabayo "horse"; Class Ia noun root; (elicited); Sp. from  
caballo
- kabrón "goat"; Sp. from cabron; (1.29)
- kabildo "municipal council"; Sp. from cavildo; (31.30)
- kaða "each"; Sp. from cada; (9.5)
- kafe "coffee"; Class Ib noun root; Sp. from cafe; (24.35)
- káʔ "this" (distal); animate demonstrative; (6.152);  
contraction of káʔa
- káʔa "this" (distal); animate demonstrative; (1.157)
- káhon "box, container for mash"; Class Ib noun root; (4.10)
- kamařa "fireworks"; Class Ib noun root; (24.43)
- kampanařiyo "bell tower"; Class Ib noun root; (6.61); Sp.  
from campanario
- kampano "bell"; Class Ia noun root; (6.62); Sp. from  
campana
- kampo "field"; Class Ib noun root; (28.7); Sp. from campo
- kandalářiya "Candelaria"; proper name of town; (13.75);  
alternant of kandelářiya
- kandelářiya "Candelaria"; Sp.; proper name of town; (31.2)
- kanowa "trough"; Class Ib noun root; (4.11); Sp. from canoa

- kanso "resources"; Class Ib noun root; (2.5); suspected  
Sp. origin
- kantorǎ "singer"; Class Ib noun root; (29.8); Sp.  
from cantor
- kařta "letter"; Class Ib noun root; (6.73); Sp. from  
carta
- kařil "boundary line"; Class Ib noun root; (7.4); Sp.  
from carril
- kařo "bus"; Class Ib noun root; (26.20); Sp. from carro
- kastigař "to punish"; Sp.; (6.87); from castigar
- katoliko "Catholic"; Class Ia noun root; (17.19); Sp.  
from catolico
- katořse "fourteen"; Class Ia noun root; (6.181); Sp.  
from catorce
- kay "on top of, facing"; derivational verbal affix;  
(24.8); fluctuates with gay
- ke "over, off"; derivational verbal affix; (1.142)
- keřeř "to like"; Sp. from querer; (73.90)
- kesu "cheese"; Class Ia noun root; (1.105); Sp. from queso
- kí "this" (proximal); animate demonstrative; (32.36);  
contraction of kiya
- ki Passive derivational verbal affix; occurs with transitive  
roots; (1.5); fluctuates with gi
- kín "one, who"; Sp. from quién; (11.24)
- kíya "this" (proximal); animate demonstrative; (6.7)
- klářo "clear"; Sp. from claro; (13.60)

- ko "mouth"; Class II noun root; (14.9); variant of go
- ko?oli "pine"; Class IV noun root; (27.39); variant of oli
- kolipé "colipe herb"; Sp.; (15.15)
- kólta? "long time ago"; particle; (11.17)
- kóm "like, because"; Sp.; (10.23); contraction of komo
- komále "god-father"; Sp. from compadře; (10.35)
- kómo "like, because"; Sp. from como; (27.33)
- kompanyeřo "companion"; Class Ia noun root; (24.15);  
Sp. from compañero
- kompřométeř "to compromise"; Sp. from comprometer; (10.13)
- kón "with"; Sp. from con; (7.4)
- konehu "rabbit"; Class Ia noun root; (5.3); Sp. from  
conejo
- konfořme "in agreement"; Sp. from conforme; (28.33)
- kóp "drinking glass"; Class Ib noun root; (14.6); Sp.  
from copa
- kóřdoba "cordoba tree"; Sp.; (15.28)
- kósa "thing"; Sp. from cosa; (26.11)
- kostúmbře "custom"; Class Ib noun root; (11.3); from  
Sp. costumbre
- kóy hesitation form of koyote; (5.52); Sp. coyote
- koyote "coyote"; Class Ia noun root; (5.51); Sp. from coyote
- křesénsiyo "Crescencio"; Sp. proper name; (28.20)
- křus "cross"; Class Ia noun root; (48.35); Sp. from cruz
- kumplíř "to finish"; Sp. from cumplir; (24.52)
- kuřa "priest"; Sp. from cura; (22.14)

- kuštalay "sack"; class of noun undetermined; (19.23)
- kúwa? "that" (distal); animate demonstrative; (79.212)
- kuWa "honey"; Class I noun root; (8.2)
- kwá "whether"; particle; (12.9)
- kwá "this" (distal); animate demonstrative; (27.54); variant  
of ka?a
- kwá meaning undetermined; (27.8)
- kwadeřno "notebook"; Sp. from cuaderno; (26.15)
- kwaf' "to open"; Class IV transitive verb root; (1.124)
- kwalkéřa "whatever"; Sp. from cualquiera; (19.20)
- kwalkéře "whatever"; Sp.; (11.49); variant of kwalkéřa
- kwán "when"; (6.153); Sp. from cuando; contraction of kwándo
- kwándo "when"; Sp. from cuando; (6.13)
- kwařesma "winter time"; Sp. from cuaresma; (19.33)
- kwařtíya "dry measurement"; Sp. from cuartilla; (19.35);  
one fourth of an almud
- kwátřo "four"; Sp. from cuatro; (24.1)
- kwé "let's go"; imperative particle; (25.53)
- kwénta "bill, remembrance"; Sp. from cuenta; (30.17)
- kwento "story"; Class Ib noun root; (72.373)
- kweřpo "body"; Class Ib noun root; (29.9)
- kwete "rocket"; Class Ib noun root; (24.42); Sp. from  
cohete
- kwidádo "care, watch"; Sp. from cuidado; (1.94)
- kyá "this" (proximal); animate demonstrative; (21.3); con-  
traction of kiya



- k' Indicative completive durative aspect marker; (16.10)
- k'-. . . -y Pluralizing set of nominal affixes; (see p. 84--4)
- k'a "good"; Class Ia noun root; (1.127)
- k'a Ditransitivizing derivational verbal affix; (6.57); allomorph of k'e; occurs before repetition morpheme -le
- k'aɪ "to trim by chopping"; Class of verb undetermined; transitive verb root; (4.10)
- k'ay "in the midst of"; derivational verbal affix; (32.21)
- k'ayk' "in the midst of"; derivational verbal affix; (1.143); variant of k'ay
- k'ayɪ-ge "to be caught"; intransitive verb stem; class of verb undetermined; (5.45)
- k'e "to carry water"; Class I transitive verb root; (21.11)
- k'e "to drop, pour"; Class I intransitive verb root; (14.6)
- k'e Ditransitivizing derivational verbal affix; (6.25); allomorph of ?i
- k'e Transitive derivational verbal affix; (6.60); allomorph of ?a
- k'ehi "huaraches"; Class of noun undetermined; (20.14)
- k'ek' "trees, weeds"; Class Ib noun; (15.12); plural combinatorial allomorph of ?ek
- k'eWa "corn in the milk stage"; Class Ia noun root; (9.12)
- k'í "this" (proximal); animate demonstrative; (22.28); variant of kíya
- k'i Ditransitivizing derivational verbal affix; (12.9); allomorph of ?i

- k'iya "three-month corn"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 83--9)
- k'o "to make contact with"; derivational verbal affix; (11.10)
- k'o-h "to stoop over"; Class of verb and transitivity undetermined; (1.102)
- k'ula "onion"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 80--7)
- k'wal'a "bean tamale"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 81--3)
- k'wili-cuf "to fall over, stumble"; Class of verb undetermined; intransitive verb stem; (13.2)
- l hesitation form; (6.112)
- l Plural derivational verbal affix; (7.22);
- l plus Class I past subject markers- Temporal-locational marker; second order verbal prefix; (25.21); allomorph of l-; occurs with Class II, III, and IV verbs
- l- Temporal-locational marker; second order verbal prefix; (26.35); alternates with l plus Class I past subject markers-
- l- "the"; (singular or plural); limiter morpheme; used with Class I or II nouns as a non-first order prefix; (4.1); used with Class III and IV nouns as a third order prefix; (4.11)
- l Third person plural object marker; (10.13); Contraction of -la?
- l Third person plural recipient marker; (9.2); contraction of -la?
- la "the" (singular or plural); limiter morpheme used with Class II nouns; (15.7); first order prefix

- lá hesitation from; (6.88)
- la "the"; Sp.; (32.31)
- la- First person plural past subject marker used with Class IV verbs; (28.19)
- la- First person plural non-past subject marker used with Class IV verbs; (24.7)
- la- First person singular object or recipient marker used with Class IV verbs; (5.55); (6.176)
- la- Temporal-locational marker morpheme; second order verbal suffix; (24.55); allomorph of l-
- la- Size marker of the third degree; (see p. 104); singular form; first order nominal prefix
- la Third personal plural object or recipient morpheme; (6.115); verbal closing suffix; alternates with -ola?; occurs after the durative aspect marker
- la Pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 90--3)
- laəo "side"; Class Ib noun root; (16.12)
- lag- Size marker of the first and smallest degree; (24.57); singular form; allomorph of laga-; occurs before possessive morphemes or Class IV nouns; second order nominal prefix
- laga- Size marker of the first and smallest degree; (see p. 104); singular form; first order nominal prefix
- lá? meaning undetermined; (24.7)
- lá? "that is all"; particle; (11.14); variant of lé?a
- la? Third person plural recipient marker; (elicited);

allomorph of -oia?; occurs following durative aspect marker

- la? Subjunctive regular singular aspect morpheme; (19.15); has allomorph -la?; occurs following voiceless segments and the sequence /Nn/
- la? Plural suffix of nouns; (17.19)
- lá?a meaning undetermined; (1.147); (possibly a subordinating particle)
- lah- Size marker of the second degree; (see p. 104); singular form; first order nominal prefix
- lán hesitation form; (17.1)
- lan- "the"; (plural); limiter morpheme occurring with Class Ia nouns; (6.161)
- lánsas "swords"; Sp. from lanza; (27.13)
- lan-šan-úk hesitation form; (17.1)
- laŋ- "to be firm"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.153)
- las "the" (plural); Sp.; (6.47)
- lásu "lasso"; Class I noun root; (6.141); Sp. from lazo
- lay "over and over"; derivational verbal affix; (4.14)
- lay- Temporal-locational marker morpheme; second order verbal suffix; (25.21); allomorph of l-
- laycuf "to bring up"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.27)
- layg- "very small"; size marker of the first and smallest degree; (1.7); plural form; allomorph of layga-; occurs before possessive morphemes and Class IV nouns; second order nominal prefix

- layga- Size marker of the first and smallest degree; (see p. 104); plural form; first order nominal prefix
- layh- Size marker of the second degree; (see p. 104); plural form; first order nominal prefix
- layk' "envy, jealousy"; Class III noun root; (13.9); enters into possible derivational formation with verb root ?e "to make"
- lan- Size marker of the fifth degree; (see p. 105); plural form; first order nominal prefix
- lan- Size marker of the fifth degree; (see p. 105); plural form; first order nominal prefix; fluctuates with lan-
- langa- Size marker of the sixth and largest degree; (see p. 105); plural form; first order nominal prefix
- lé hesitation form; (6.151)
- lé "that is all"; particle; (1.70); contraction of lé?a
- le "over and over"; derivational verbal affix; (15.10); allomorph of lay; occurs with verb root ?wa "to go"
- le Plural derivational verbal affix; (18.13); occurs with the verb root štu "to be angry"; allomorph of l
- le "to take care of"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.10)
- le Subjunctive regular plural aspect morpheme; (32.11); has allomorph -le; occurs following voiceless segments and the sequence /Nn/
- le "repeatedly"; repetition marker; third order verbal suffix; (20.1)

- ledon "rat"; Class Ia noun root; from Sp. ratón; (see p. 83--3)
- le-go "to take care of, get"; Class I transitive verb stem; (1.95)
- lé?a "that is all"; particle; (32.32)
- lé?i "that is all"; particle; (11.44); variant of lé?a
- léha "that is all"; particle; (14.29); variant of lé?a
- lelohmay? "middle"; locational particle; (916); variant of nelohmay?
- l? hesitation form; (17.1)
- li Plural derivational verbal affix; (9.2); occurs following verb roots ending in /y/ or /w/; allomorph of l
- lí hesitation form; (6.60)
- li "to win, earn"; Class III transitive verb root; (20.10)
- li- First person plural past subject marker used with Class II verbs; (12.11)
- li- First person plural non-past subject marker used with Class II verbs; (25.41)
- li- First person singular object or recipient morpheme used with Class II verbs; (6.170); (7.6)
- libřo "book"; Sp. from libro; (13.46)
- lí? hesitation form; (6.151)
- lí?i hesitation form; (6.119)
- líł hesitation form; (24.36)
- limósna "offering"; Sp.; (24.15)
- límpiya "clean"; Sp. from limpia; (15.31)

- lista "list"; Class Ib noun root; (24.26); Sp. from lista
- listo "ready"; Sp. from listo; (24.40)
- lišto "hair ribbon"; Class Ib noun root; (see p. 85--10)
- litřo "liter"; Sp. from litřo; (14.6)
- lo- Pluralizing nominal infix; (see p. 81--4)
- lo Interaction first order verbal suffix; (1.57)
- l-o-?ogé-ši stutter form for l-ogé-ši "the two (men)"; (28.36)
- lóko "crazy"; Sp. from loco; (14.11)
- lořénso "Lorenzo or Lawrence"; Sp. proper name; (27.36)
- los "the" (plural); Sp.; (32.14)
- loco "to do evil to"; class of verb undetermined; transitive verb root; (16.10)
- lu- First person plural past subject marker occurring with Class III verbs; (26.9)
- lu- First personal plural non-past subject marker occurring with Class III verbs; (6.152)
- lu- First person singular object or recipient morpheme used with Class III verbs; (elicited)
- lugař "place"; Class Ib noun root; (32.25); Sp. from lugar
- lun- "the" (plural); first order prefix of Class I nouns; (27.6); fluctuates with lan-
- lús "light"; Sp. from luz; (18.6)
- lusíya? "Lucia"; Sp. proper name; (7.4);
- luřluk "elbow"; Class II noun root; (see p. 88--7)
- luwář "place"; Class Ib noun root; (8.27); alternant of lugař

- luwégo "right away"; Sp. from luego; (6.89)
- luwís "Louis or Luís"; Sp. proper name; (7.18)
- lwo? Second person plural recipient marker; (elicited);  
allomorph of -olwo?; occurs following the durative  
aspect marker
- lwo? Second person plural object marker; (70.226); allo-  
morph of -olwo?; occurs following the durative aspect  
marker
- ɿ "this, thus"; inanimate demonstrative; (10.32); con-  
traction of ɿiya
- ɿ hesitation form; (1.64)
- ɿ- First person singular object marker occurring with Class I  
verbs; (1.61); contraction of aɿ-
- ɿ- First person plural subject marker occurring with Class I  
verbs; (24.15); contraction of aɿ-
- ɿ- "the" (singular and plural); occurs as a non-first order  
prefix with Class I and II nouns and as a third order  
prefix with Class III and IV nouns
- ɿ plus Class I past subject markers- Attributive second order  
verbal prefix; (34.54); allomorph of ɿ-; occurs  
with Class II, III, and IV verbs
- ɿ- Attributive second order verbal prefix; (6.73); has allo-  
morph ɿ plus Class I past subject markers-; occurs  
with Class I verbs
- ɿ- Pluralizing noun infix; (13.36)
- ɿ meaning undetermined; (14.22)



- l Subjunctive regular singular aspect morpheme; (1.38); contraction of -la?
- l "together"; second order verbal suffix; (1.44); allomorph of -ol; occurs following vowels
- l → -la? Pluralizing replacive nominal suffix; (see p. 83--6)
- la- "the" (singular or plural); limiter morpheme; first order prefix occurring with Class II nouns; (6.18)
- la- Size marker of the third degree; (see p. 104); plural form; first order nominal prefix
- la Subjunctive regular singular aspect morpheme; (1.101); contraction of -la?
- la? Subjunctive regular singular aspect morpheme; (25.9); allomorph of -la?; occurs following voiced segments
- lana? Indicative durative aspect marker; (27.43); allomorph of -yi; occurs with verb nuclei describing the position of an animate body
- lay hesitation form; (19.15)
- lay Plural derivational verbal affix; (24.15); allomorph of l; occurs with the following verb roots or stems:  
balo "to talk"; guc "to sit"; šk'wal "to stoop";  
naf'-go "to mount"; ba "to happen"; and, ga "to throw"
- le Plural derivational verbal affix; (7.23); allomorph of l; occurs before finalitive morpheme -na
- lé hesitation form; (31.19)
- lé "this, thus"; demonstrative; (32.36); fluctuates with liya

- ɛ "to go"; Class I intransitive motivational verb root; (26.7);  
     first and second person plural form of ?wa
- ɛ Subjunctive regular plural aspect morpheme; (25.18); allo-  
     morph of -le; occurs following voiced segments
- ɛ-...-? Pluralizing set of nominal affixes; (see p. 84--7)
- ɛ "this, thus"; inanimate demonstrative; (5.70); contract-  
     ion of ɛiya
- ɛ Subjunctive regular singular aspect morpheme; (1.148);  
     variant of -la?
- ɛ Pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 94--1)
- ɛk'ay "all night"; temporal particle; (12.35)
- ɛinu "strike a blow"; Class IV transitive verb root; (5.17)
- ɛɛk'a "certainly"; particle; (1.92)
- ɛiya "this, thus"; inanimate demonstrative; (15.5)
- ɛ-...-k' Pluralizing set of nominal affixes; (see p. 83--4)
- ɛ "to move"; Class I intransitive verb root; (31.18)
- ɛó hesitation form; (1.164)
- ɛóko "crazy"; Sp.; (14.8); fluctuates with lóko
- ɛolo- Pluralizing nominal infix; (26.23)
- ɛu?wa "there" (proximal); inanimate demonstrative; (50.24)
- ɛu-k'u "to pile up"; Class IV transitive verb stem; (10.10)
- ɛúɛ hesitation form; (28.25)
- ɛuwa "there" (proximal); inanimate demonstrative; (12.38);  
     contraction of ɛu?wa
- ɛ'e Transitive derivational verbal affix; (24.57); allo-  
     morph of ?e

- ɬ'e "fox"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 81--9)
- ɬ'i Ditransitivizing derivational verbal affix; (24.44);  
allomorph of ʔi
- ɬ "oh"; particle; (11.40)
- m hesitation form; (10.18)
- m- Second person singular Class IV combinatorial possessive  
marker; (1.123); first order nominal prefix
- m- Non-past negative marker; verbal second order prefix; (1.65)
- m- Second person singular direct address morpheme; (1.3);  
first order nominal prefix
- m- Customary conditional morpheme; second order verbal prefix;  
(1.63)
- m- meaning undetermined; (1.32)
- m Focus suffixal morpheme; first order verbal suffix; (6.59)
- má "very, truly"; intensifying particle; (20.8); has allo-  
morph máne which occurs clause or sentence final
- má "ignorant"; Class of noun undetermined; (28.55); con-  
traction of mák'da
- ma "to kill"; Class I semi-transitive verb root; (16.8)
- ma "to kill"; Class I transitive verb stem; (20.1); con-  
traction of ma-ʔa
- ma- Non-past negative marker; verbal second order prefix;  
(36.28); allomorph of m-; occurs before first person  
plural prefixes
- ma Indicative linear aspect marker; (7.31)
- mac'aʔ "pineapple"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 82--5)

- mačete "machete"; Sp.; (6.179)
- mafga "happy"; Class I noun root; (1.10); fluctuates with  
mafka
- mafka "happy"; Class I noun root; (1.7)
- maf'i? "alive"; Class of noun undetermined; (13.6)
- má? "very, truly"; particle; (6.26); variant of má
- má? Second person singular pronoun root; (1.29); contraction  
of imá?
- ma-ʔa "to kill"; Class I transitive verb stem; (7.15)
- máʔne "very, truly"; Class I transitive particle; (16.15);  
variant of mane
- maʔnta meaning undetermined; (18.6)
- ma-h "to ripen, be cooked"; Class I semi-transitive verb stem;  
(15.7)
- mahadéřa "stupid"; Class Ia noun root; (6.65); from Sp.  
majadera
- mah-ši "five"; Class Ia numeral (animate form); (6.162)
- make "five"; Class I numeral; (6.7); variant of make?
- make? "five"; Class I numeral; (5.7)
- mak' "unconscious"; class of noun undetermined; (6.33);  
contraction of mak'ka
- mak'da "ignorant"; class of noun undetermined; (28.6)
- ma-k'e "to cook"; Class I transitive verb stem; (15.7)
- mák'da "unconscious"; Class of noun undetermined; (6.33)
- mak'o "to put in"; Class III verb root; transitivity undeter-  
mined (14.9)

- mál meaning uncertain; (13.37)
- mál "bad"; Sp. from malo; (16.11)
- malbu "four"; Class I numeral; (24.17)
- maluh-ši "four" (animate); Class Ia numeral; (27.53)
- man "to be full"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.104)
- mán "very, truly"; intensifying particle; (7.24); variant  
of máne
- man "to be"; Class I stative verb root; (51.11); plural  
form of baʔa
- mandaɔ "errand"; Class Ib noun root; (6.24); Sp. from  
mandado
- máne "very, truly"; intensifying particle; (16.2); allo-  
morph of ma
- mane "to remain"; Class I intransitive verb root; (7.31);  
plural form of bane
- mane "to marry"; Class IV transitive verb root; (5.60)
- mane "hand, arm"; Class II noun root; (5.24)
- ma-Nn "to live, to be"; Class I intransitive verb stem; (32.11);  
plural form of ba-Nn
- mář "sea"; Sp.; (27.10)
- mařgařito "Margarito"; Sp. proper name; (7.17)
- mařiya "María or Mary"; Sp. proper name; (64.154)
- mařtín "Martin"; Sp. proper name; (7.16)
- más "more"; Sp.; (11.10)
- mášnu "one hundred"; Class Ia noun root; (24.17)
- matí "Matías or Matthias"; Sp. proper name; (11.34) con-  
traction of matíyas

- matíya "Matías or Matthias"; Sp. proper name; (17.19); contraction of matíyas
- matíyas "Matías or Matthias"; Sp. proper name; (24.5)
- may "inside, settle"; derivational verbal affix; (6.20)
- may possible variant of ma-?e "to kill something for someone"; (27.4)
- máyci "that is right"; particle; (13.8)
- mayo "may"; Sp. proper name; (30.20)
- mayoř "leader"; Class Ia noun root; (31.29); from Sp. mayor
- mayořdomo "leader for a fiesta"; Class Ia noun root; Sp. from mayordomo
- maytínes "Maytines"; Sp. proper name; (24.41)
- me "to send"; Class III transitive verb root; (6.72)
- me "to press, push"; Class III transitive verb root; (1.139)
- me- Second person singular past subject marker occurring with Class IV verbs; (54.94)
- medé-go "it does not rain"; classification of form uncertain; (11.6)
- méđiya "middle"; Sp. from media; (6.46)
- međiyo "money"; Class Ib noun root; (24.20); Sp. from medio
- mef "fall"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.149)
- me?e "cigarette"; Class Ib noun root; (26.14)
- me-h "to press"; Class III transitive verb stem; (1.144)
- mehoř "better"; Sp. from mejor; (28.4)
- mehuł "hammock"; Class I noun root; (1.83)
- men "to fail to remember"; Class I semi-transitive verb root; (36.328)

- menák'o "noon"; Class of noun undetermined; (1.65)
- men-cu "to press"; Class I transitive verb stem; (51.105)
- mentířa "lie"; Sp. from mentira; (17.20)
- méřo "right, truly"; Sp.; (12.11)
- mesa "table"; Class Ib noun root; (24.58); Sp. from mesa
- méy "very, truly"; intensifying particle; (17.18); variant  
of má
- mi "to say, to tell"; Class I transitive verb root; (1.127)
- mi hesitation form; (6.29)
- mi "into"; derivational verbal affix; (14.6)
- mi "to bury"; Class IV transitive verb root; (29.6)
- mi- Second person singular past subject marker occurring with  
Class II verbs; (elicited)
- mi- fusion of /m/ of preceding morpheme with third person singular  
past subject marker i-; (1.32)
- migél "Migél or Michael"; Sp. proper name; (17.19)
- migelíto "Migelito or Little Michael"; Sp. proper name;  
(13.75)
- míi "thousand"; Sp.; (24.60)
- miliyáno "Emiliano"; Sp. proper name; (28.20)
- mínis "a mine"; Sp. from mina; (28.51)
- mins "to be ruined"; Class I intransitive verb root; (41.232)
- mis "to be ruined"; Class I intransitive verb root; (14.7);  
contraction of mins
- mísa "mass"; Sp.; Class Ib noun root; (24.49)
- mísmo "same"; Sp.; (8.8)

- mísmu "same"; (27.5); variant of mismo
- miswa "dead person"; Class of noun undetermined; (29.7)
- mítla "Mitla"; proper name of a town; (26.17)
- mle-go "to be hungry"; Class III intransitive verb root; (19.6)
- mle-?e "to make hungry"; Class III semi-transitive verb stem;  
(1.80)
- ḡNḡ "Oh, yes"; particle; (10.6)
- mo "at, to"; derivational verbal affix; (1.117)
- mo "inside, settle"; derivational verbal affix; (26.1);  
allomorph of may; occurs with verbs having plural  
subjects
- mođo "way, habit"; Class Ib noun root; (6.154); Sp. from  
modo
- mol?o "lizard"; Class II noun root; (6.106)
- montánya "mountain"; Sp. from montaña; (12.33)
- mónto "pile"; Sp.; (11.8); contraction of montón
- montón "pile"; Sp.; (19.27)
- moso "helper"; Class Ia noun root; (5.7); Sp. from mozo
- mówgi "tomorrow"; Class Ib temporal noun; (19.13)
- mu "to descend"; Class I intransitive verb root; (6.70)
- mu- Second person singular past subject marker occurring with  
Class III verbs; (elicited)
- mučaču "boy"; Class Ia noun root; (6.16); Sp. from muchacho
- muf "to give birth"; Class III noun root; transitivity unde-  
termined; (16.1)
- muf "to get dark"; Class I intransitive verb root; (15.11)



- muf-k'o "to darken"; Class I transitive verb stem; (6.123)
- mu-h "to show"; Class I transitive verb stem; (8.33)
- mu-k'i "to teach"; Class I ditransitive verb stem; (51.120)
- mule "to boil"; Class III intransitive verb root; (15.7)
- muł'a "moon"; Class Ia noun root; (1.108)
- muniš "lemon"; Class I noun root; (15.7)
- munsipál "city district"; Sp. from municipal; (31.26)
- munsiپیو "city office"; Sp. from municipio; (31.7)
- musiko? "band"; Class Ia plural noun root; (24.51); Sp. from  
musico
- muše "to study"; Class I verb stem; transitivity undetermined;  
(6.13)
- muš-kay "to find"; Class I transitive verb stem; (24.11)
- muy "to get late"; Class III verb root; (19.11)
- n hesitation form; (6.105)
- n → Nn Processive derivational verbal affix; (1.41); allo-  
morph of h; occurs with verb nuclei ending in any  
type of voiced nasal
- n- First person singular Class IV combinatorial possessive  
marker; (19.3); first order nominal prefix
- n- Relational second order verbal prefix; (5.44)
- n- First person singular direct reference first order nominal  
prefix; (5.54)
- n Focus morpheme; verbal suffix; (6.149)
- n Finalitive third order verbal suffix; (57.45); allomorph  
of -na; occurs following the necessitative tagmeme or

the verb root ?wa "to go" and before morphemes beginning with /ɬ/ or /c/

ná meaning undetermined; (13.75)

na "to lie down"; Class III intransitive verb root; (72.11);  
plural form of now

ná "nothing"; Sp.; (6.26); contraction of nada

na "to play music"; Class III transitive verb root; (24.68)

na "to sew"; Class IV transitive verb root; (1.44)

na "to buy"; Class I transitive verb root; (19.35); allomorph of ?na; occurs only following /ɬ/

na "to crack, rumble"; Class III intransitive verb root;  
(27.48); contraction of na?a

na- First person singular direct reference first order nominal prefix; (5.54); allomorph of n-; occurs with Class II nouns

-na Finalitive third order verbal suffix; (5.60)

-na Indicative continuative motivational aspect marker; (5.5)

-na - -lay Pluralizing nominal affix; (see p. 101--10)

nacaf' "to diagnose through rubbing an egg on the sick person's body"; Class III transitive verb root; (21.17)

nacuf "to dismiss"; Class III transitive verb root; (19.10)

náá "nothing"; Sp.; Sp.; (12.14); contraction of nada

nááa "nothing"; Sp. from nada; (6.152)

naf'-go "to mount"; Class IV intransitive verb root; (6.63)

nagu "to knock down"; Class III transitive verb root; (6.63)

na?a "to crack, rumble"; Class III intransitive verb root;  
(6.95)

- naʔa "these" (distal); animate demonstrative; (8.33); plural  
of kaʔa
- na-h "to throw liquid"; Class of verb undetermined; transi-  
tive verb root; (4.11)
- nahaʔ "rosary"; Class of noun undetermined; (24.50)
- na-h-ci "to pay"; Class I transitive verb stem; (6.177);  
variant of ?na-h-ce
- nak' "to sing"; Class III verb root; transitivity undetermined;  
(10.37)
- na-k'ay "to lay down inside"; Class III intransitive verb stem;  
(6.134)
- nám "full"; particle; (4.13); contraction of námma
- namos "robber"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 80--3)
- nán meaning undetermined; (28.36)
- nance "to steal"; Class I transitive verb root; (20.13)
- nanci "to steal"; Class I transitive verb root; (20.10);  
fluctuates with nance
- nanɿ "to celebrate, do customs"; Class IV transitive verb  
root; (2.4)
- naŋ "to be firm"; Class I intransitive verb root; (9.1);  
fluctuates with lan
- naŋ-k'i "to put into place"; Class IV ditransitive verb stem;  
(1.39)
- naŋ-k'o "to talk to"; Class I transitive verb stem; (25.4)
- nan-ɿ'i "to celebrate, do customs"; Class IV ditransitive  
verb stem; (24.44)

- nas "to clean, clear"; Class III transitive verb root; (7.4)
- naške "children"; Class II noun root; (6.81)
- nawál "animal counterpart"; Sp. from nagual; (27.1)
- na-way "to be stretched out"; Class III intransitive verb stem;  
(8.27)
- nay "back"; derivational verbal affix; (24.57)
- nay "who"; pronominal particle; (79.274); alternant of nay
- ndaf' "to explode"; Class III transitive verb root; (1.106)
- ndalf' "to crackle"; Class III intransitive verb root; (5.65)
- né "who"; pronominal particle; (13.19); alternant of nay
- ne First person singular past subject marker occurring with  
Class IV verbs; (4.13)
- né? "all right"; particle; (28.27)
- ne Indicative progressive singular aspect marker; (1.8);  
variant of -na
- neci "who"; pronominal particle; (79.240); alternant of nay
- nef' "sprout"; Class IV intransitive verb root; (19.18)
- négřo "black one"; Sp.; (5.11)
- né? "all right"; (1.145)
- nelóhmay? "middle of"; locational particle; (27.13); variant  
of nolohmay?
- nes "to speak"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.27)
- n? hesitation form; (11.32)
- ń?ń "no"; particle; (11.2)
- n?nowa? "pool"; Class III noun root; (1.90)

- ni "these"; animate demonstrative (proximal); (17.19); contraction of niya
- ni "not"; Sp.; (10.43)
- ni "to be in position"; Class I intransitive verb root; (27.43)
- ni "down, away"; derivational verbal affix; (28.48)
- ni- First person singular direct reference first order nominal prefix; (18.12); fluctuates with niŋ- as allomorph of n-; occurs with Class I nouns
- ni- First person singular past subject marker occurring with Class II verbs; (4.21)
- ni Finalitive third order verbal suffix; (10.45); variant of -na
- nibáNnya? "is it possible"; verbal particle; (25.13)
- nif' "to pick up a slender object"; Class I transitive verb root; (8.4)
- ni-f'i "to hold up a slender object"; Class of verb undetermined; transitive verb stem; (1.166)
- ni-?i "to give slender object to"; Class I ditransitive verb stem; (25.43)
- niŋ- First person singular direct reference morpheme; first order nominal prefix; (40.432); allomorph of n- and fluctuates with ni-; occurs with Class I nouns
- niŋk'- First person plural direct reference morpheme; first order nominal prefix; (28.6)
- niŋk'i- First person plural direct reference morpheme; first order nominal prefix; (18.11); allomorph of niŋk'-; occurs with Class I nouns

- níya "these" (proximal); animate demonstrative; (36.218);  
 plural of kiya
- nli-k'o "to slip and fall"; Class III intransitive verb stem;  
 (13.60)
- ńNn "yes"; particle; (14.30)
- nó "no"; Sp.; (11.10)
- no Finalitive morpheme; (1.55); third order verbal suffix;  
 variant of -na
- no Indicative future finalitive singular aspect marker; (28.7)
- nobiyémbře "November"; proper Spanish name; (7.1)
- noče "night" Sp. from noche; (6.47)
- nolóhmay? "middle of"; locational particle; (15.30)
- noł "to grab, hold"; Class I transitive verb root; (6.84);  
 allomorph of ?noł; occurs following /ł/
- nomáy "well"; intensifying particle; (18.11); contraction  
 of nomay?
- nomáy? "well"; intensifying particle; (28.1)
- non "to greet"; Class I transitive verb root; (13.12)
- now "to lie, recline"; Class III intransitive verb root;  
 (14.21)
- nów?na "right away"; particle; (1.97)
- ns meaning undetermined; (10.13)
- nša-h "to breathe"; Class III intransitive verb stem; (79.53)
- nšamu "to cloud over"; Class III intransitive verb root;  
 (27.55)
- nši-k'i "to get worse"; Class III ditransitive verb stem;  
 (29.2)

- ntěřo "all"; Sp.; contraction of entero; (4.26)
- nu "to run"; Class II intransitive verb root; (1.87)
- nu- First person singular past subject marker prefix occurring with Class III verbs; (8.34)
- nu- possible variant for u-; third person singular past subject marker occurring with Class III verbs; (27.48)
- nuf "to receive"; derivational verbal affix; (28.21)
- nuf' "to receive"; derivational verbal affix; (12.12); variant of nuf
- nuk' "to swallow an object"; Class I transitive verb root; (10.13)
- nul "one"; Class I numeral; (27.11); combinatorial allomorph of nuli
- nul-ámac' "last year"; Class of noun undetermined; (24.55)
- núli "one"; Class I numeral; (27.33)
- num "to greet"; Class I transitive verb root; (13.18); fluctuates with non
- numáy? "well"; intensifying particle; (5.56); fluctuates with nomay?
- nuni-gi-m "to walk in a procession"; Class of verb undetermined; transitive verb stem; (30.11)
- nušans "twenty"; Class I numeral; (6.162)
- núwa? "that"; animate demonstrative (distal); (36.269); plural form of kúwa?
- nuwébe "nine"; Sp. from nueve; (13.26)
- N- → -Nnoł- Pluralizing replacive nominal infix; (see p. 81--2)

- Níya? "these" (proximal); animate demonstrative; (6.164);  
contraction of hi-niya?
- Nm Processive derivational verbal affix; (53.45); allomorph of Nn; occurs before bilabial consonants
- Ní "these" (proximal); animate demonstrative; (6.93); contraction of hi-niya
- ŋ Focus morpheme; verbal suffix; (6.60); allomorph of n; occurs before velars
- ŋa? First person plural object or recipient morpheme; (53.77); (73.124); allomorph of -oŋa?; occurs following durative aspect marker
- ŋay "on top of, facing"; derivational verbal affix; (24.5); allomorph of gay; represents fusion of /n/ of preceding morpheme with /g/
- ŋi Subjunctive motivational toward speaker singular; (32.3)
- ŋi Passive derivational affix; (25.7); represents fusion of /n/ plus /g/; allomorph of gi
- ŋka Subjunctive motivational toward speaker plural; (31.18)
- əŋo "again"; iterative marker; verbal suffix; (1.155); allomorph of -gon; represents fusion of /n/ of preceding morpheme with /g/
- ŋo "to go down"; Class IV intransitive verb root; (7.23); contraction of gano
- ŋuf "out of"; derivational verbal affix; (13.46); allomorph of guf; represents fusion of /n/ of preceding morpheme with /g/



- ŋwa Indicative progressive singular aspect marker; (32.4)
  - o "or"; Sp.; (12.35)
  - o "to come together"; Class I intransitive verb root; (26.1);  
allomorph of yo; occurs after /l/
- o- Third person singular relational subject marker; first  
order verbal prefix; (6.86)
- o- Third person plural relational subject marker; first order  
verbal prefix; (17.9)
- o- Second person singular past subject marker occurring with  
Class I verbs; (1.61)
- o- Second person singular possessive nominal prefix; (15.1)
- o Third person plural object marker; (1.64); contraction  
of -ola?
- o Interaction first order verbal suffix; (24.15); allomorph  
of -lo; occurs following a consonant
- o → -ayla? Pluralizing replacive nominal suffix; (see p. 89--3)
- ōo "eight"; Sp. from ocho; (12.7)
- of- Second person singular relational subject marker; first  
order verbal prefix; (39.76)
- og "two"; numeral; (14.7); allomorph of oge?; occurs before  
-emma "time"
- óge? "two"; Class III numeral; (16.6)
- ogiya "blanket"; Class III noun root; (see p. 94--10)
- ogwéci "so"; particle; (16.10)
- ogwéna "another"; Class III noun root; (28.8)
- ógwes "so"; particle; (6.109); contraction of ogweci

- o? Second person singular object or recipient morpheme;  
(5.35); (35.91)
- o?f'ane? "ears of corn"; Class III noun root; (12.39)
- o-?oge- "two"; Class III numeral; (28.36) variant of oge
- okwi "thread"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 101--5)
- okwi-hma? "spinning stick"; Class IV noun stem; (see p. 101--7)
- ol Second person singular object marker; (27.38); variant of  
-o?
- ela "maguey bug"; Class III noun root; (see p. 91--4)
- ola? Third person plural object or recipient morpheme; (6.164);  
(24.24)
- olwo? Second person plural object or recipient morpheme;  
(elicited)
- ol- Second person plural past subject marker occurring with  
Class I verbs; (31.4)
- ol- Second person plural possessive nominal prefix; (elicited)
- ol "together"; second order verbal suffix; (66.64)
- ol Pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 85--3)
- olci? Reflexive plural marker; (68.131)
- onciba? "sea turtle"; Class III noun root; (see p. 92--1)
- onda?a "devil"; Class III noun root; (6.72)
- ondahl'a? "wingless beetle"; Class III noun root; (see p. 92--5)
- ónlka "half, equal to"; particle; (9.2)
- onš?al "wild maguey"; Class III noun root; (see p. 94--2)
- onši "wise or skilled man"; Class III noun root; (16.4)
- oŋa? First person plural object or recipient marker; (7.8);  
(24.20)

- oṅal "cocoroso nut"; Class III noun root; (1.165)
- oṅwafla? "hornets"; Class III noun root; (1.84)
- óřa "now"; Sp. from ahora; (28.36)
- oříta "now"; Sp. from ahorita; (1.103)
- os - -ac' Pluralizing replacive nominal suffix; (see  
p. 80--4)
- oš?mulá? "hand-basket"; Class III noun root; (see p. 95--7)
- oši? Reflexive singular marker; (72.13)
- ótrá "another"; Sp.; (26.15)
- ow "just"; particle; (1.69)
- owk'a "together, also"; particle; (27.32); variant of  
howk'wa
- ówk'wa "together, also"; particle; (32.34); variant of  
howk'wa
- oya Indicative durative singular aspect marker; (1.33);  
variant of -uya
- oyák' "bad-tempered"; Class III noun root; (6.148)
- pa Indicative punctiliar aspect marker; (29.10); variant  
of -ba
- páblo "Pablo or Paul"; proper name; Sp.; (13.77)
- padřín "god-father"; (6.120); contraction of padřino;  
from Sp. padrino
- padřino "god-father"; (6.129); from Sp. padrino
- padřínu "god-father"; Sp. from padrino; (6.136)
- palenke "distillery"; Class Ib noun root; (4.9); Sp. from  
palenque

- panéla "cone of crude sugar"; (11.33); Sp. from panela
- panteyon "cemetery"; Class Ib noun root; (13.29); Sp. from  
panteón
- pářa "for"; Sp.; (24.40); see pér (10.10)
- pařahe "piece of land"; Class Ib noun root; (7.3); Sp.
- pasma "rheumatism"; Sp.; (15.7)
- pasti "pill"; Class Ia noun root; (10.3); Sp.; contraction  
of pastíya
- pastíya "pill"; Class Ia noun root; (10.21); Sp. from  
pastilla
- patřon "overseer"; Class Ia noun root; (24.5); Sp.
- pa Indicative punctiliar aspect morpheme; (1.23); variant  
of -ba
- pé "where?"; locational particle; (6.115); fluctuates with  
bé
- peđás "piece"; Class Ib noun root; (12.9); contraction of  
peđáso
- peđáso "piece"; Class Ib noun root; Sp.; (1.44)
- pěř "for"; Sp.; (10.10); variant of pářa
- pěřa? "but"; Sp.; (32.20); variant of pero
- pěřo "but"; Sp. from pero; (28.43)
- pés "peso"; Sp.; contraction of peso; (11.49)
- pésu "peso"; Sp. from peso; (13.66)
- pí "here" (distal); inanimate demonstrative; (32.32);  
contraction of piya
- piya "here" (distal); inanimate demonstrative; (4.12)

- platón "Platon"; proper name; (28.15); Sp.
- playa "beach"; Sp.; (27.9)
- polbo "dust"; (27.26); Sp. from polvo
- póko "little"; Sp. from poco; (11.44)
- pórř "for, by"; Sp.; (11.46)
- pořřířiyó "Porfirio"; Sp. proper name; (13.42)
- pórřke "because"; Sp. from porque; (6.77)
- pořti "mountain pass"; Sp.; (11.45); contraction of portillo
- přa Indicative punctiliar aspect morpheme; (20.3); variant  
of -ba
- přéb "try, test"; Sp.; (14.20); contraction of přéba
- přéba "try, test"; Sp. from prueba; (13.26)
- příměřo "first"; Sp.; (10.25)
- přosesiyón "procession"; Sp.; (24.31)
- pú "there" (distal); inanimate demonstrative; (11.42);  
contraction of pú?wa
- pú?wa "there" (distal); inanimate demonstrative; (13.60)
- púřř "completely"; Sp.; (13.27); contraction of púřřo
- púřřo "completely"; Sp. from puro; (15.15)
- púwa? "there" (distal); inanimate demonstrative; (10.35);  
variant of pú?wa
- puy? "there" (distal); inanimate demonstrative; (10.24);  
variant of pú?wa
- pwá "there" (distal); inanimate demonstrative; (12.11);  
contraction of pu?wa
- pwé "well"; Sp.; (31.3); contraction of pwés

- pwés "well"; Sp. from pues; (17.9)
- pwésto "formula"; Sp. from puesto; (11.4)
- řatíto "very little while"; Sp.; (32.4)
- řáto "little while"; Class Ib noun root; (32.13)
- řáya "line, or lightning ray"; Sp. from raya; (11.17)
- ředónde "round"; Class Ia noun root; (1.31)
- řehidoř "member of local government"; (31.30); Sp. from  
regidor
- řekářdo "Ricardo or Richard"; Sp. proper name; (28.20)
- řemeđ "remedy"; Class Ib noun root; (3.6); contraction  
of řemediyo
- řemeđiyo "remedy"; Class Ib noun root; (23.3); Sp. remedio
- řés "hard"; Sp.; (13.11); contraction of řésiyo
- řésiyo "hard"; Sp. from recio; (5.68)
- řewélto "mixed"; Sp. from revuelto; (15.7)
- řey "king"; Class Ia noun root; (6.94); Sp. rey
- řiko "rich"; Class Ia noun root; (11.34); Sp. from rico
- řodříges "Rodriguez"; Sp. proper name; (7.17)
- řofín "Rofino"; Sp.; proper name; (28.15); contraction  
of řofino
- řofíno "Rofino"; Sp. proper name; (28.46)
- s "saint"; Sp.; (27.2); contraction of san
- s "always"; habitative fourth order verbal suffix; (45.187)
- sa "saint"; Sp.; (27.5); contraction of san
- sabado "Saturday"; Class Ib noun root; (25.41); Sp.
- sábe "to know"; Sp. from saber; (14.25)

- salína křús "Salina Cruz"; Sp. proper name of city; (10.8)
- san "saint"; Sp.; (27.6)
- sandíya "watermelon"; Sp.; (19.20)
- santiyágo "Santiago or Saint James"; Sp. proper name; (7.19)
- sáto "saint"; Sp.; (7.7)
- sapato "shoe"; Class Ib noun root; (8.9); Sp. from zapato
- sapotitlá "Zapotitlán"; proper name of town; (11.4)
- segundo "assistant"; Class Ia noun root; (31.28); Sp.  
from segundo
- sekřetařiyo "secretary"; Class Ia noun root; (31.25); Sp.
- semán "week"; Class Ib noun root; (14.15); contraction of  
semano
- semáno "week"; Class Ib noun root; (16.2); Sp. from semana
- senísa "ash"; Sp. from ceniza; (32.15)
- senyóř "mister"; Sp. from señor; (17.19)
- séra "wax"; Sp. from cera; (31.35)
- séys "six"; Sp. from seis; (17.10)
- sí "yes"; Sp.; (5.45)
- silíndřo "harmonica"; Sp. from cilindro; (26.16)
- síŋko "five"; Sp. from cinco; (6.162)
- siŋkwénta "fifty"; Sp. from cinquenta; (11.49)
- sírve "to be of service"; Sp. from sirve; (10.21)
- sírřve "to be of service"; Sp.; (10.22); variation of  
sírve
- siyémpře "always"; Sp.; (6.37); from siempre
- siyén "one hundred"; Sp. from cien; (11.49)

- siyénto "chair"; Class Ib noun root; (25.10); Sp. from siento
- siyénto "hundred"; Sp. from ciento; (24.25)
- siyéte "seven"; Sp. from siete; (17.10)
- siyudáá "city"; Class Ib noun root; (26.28); Sp. from ciudad
- skwela "school"; Class Ib noun root; (6.31); Sp. from escuela
- sny "to drink"; Class I transitive verb root; (24.35);  
allomorph of šna; occurs preceding /ʔ/ or /k'/ and following a subject, object, or recipient marker ending in /ɬ/; (see morphophonemic section for the changes involved)
- snu "to pick corn"; Class I transitive verb root; (19.26);  
allomorph of šnu; (see morphophonemic section for the changes involved)
- sóbře "enough"; Sp.; (19.35)
- soldááo "soldier"; Class Ia noun root; (6.162); Sp.
- somwél "Somwel"; Sp. proper name; (14.1)
- spay "to be afraid"; Class I neutral verb root; (6.60);  
allomorph of špay; (see morphophonemic section for the changes involved)
- suplénte "local government helper"; Sp.; (31.25)
- swe "to read"; Class I transitive verb root; (24.16);  
allomorph of šwe; (see morphophonemic section for the changes involved)
- swe-h-ʔme "to count, calculate"; Class I transitive verb stem; (24.28); allomorph of šwe-h-ʔme; occurs with



first person plural subject marker expressed or understood

- swi "to weed a field"; Class I transitive verb root; (19.19); allomorph of šwi; (see morphophonemic section for the changes involved)
- swif' "to clear a boundary"; Class I transitive verb root; (7.3); allomorph of šwif'; (see morphophonemic section for the changes involved)
- š- → c- Pluralizing replacive nominal prefix; (see p. 84--6)
- š Animate marker; numeral suffix; (17.9); contraction of -ši
- ša-f'i "to put on to cook"; Class I transitive verb stem; (15.7)
- šal "to loosen, leave"; Class I intransitive verb root; (15.14)
- šal "to pull, grab"; Class IV transitive verb root; (6.58)
- šalga "free"; particle; (13.63)
- šan "place, location"; neutral verb root; (26.34)
- šan "man"; Class Ia noun plural root form; (6.77)
- šan-ca "to look at"; Class I intransitive motivational verb stem; (1.4); variant of šan-ce
- šan-ce "to look at"; Class I intransitive verb stem; (26.34)
- šans "man"; Class Ia noun root; (2.5)
- šanu "to place, leave"; Class of verb undetermined; transitive verb root; (8.4)

- ṣ̌aŋ-way "to be completed"; class of verb undetermined;  
intransitive verb stem; (28.7)
- ṣ̌aw "to dance"; Class I verb root; (17.14); allomorph  
of ṣ̌ow; occurs before /i/
- ṣ̌ay-l'e "to turn, twist"; Class IV verb stem; (1.30)
- ṣ̌ʔay "to be sharp"; neutral verb root; (77.41)
- ṣ̌ʔmas "ear"; Class II noun root; (see p. 89--4)
- ṣ̌ʔu "to set in place"; Class I transitive verb root; (15.17)
- ṣ̌i "right"; intensifier marker that is affixed to demon-  
stratives; (27.43); variant of hi
- ṣ̌i "to see"; Class I transitive verb root; (32.14);  
allomorph of ṣ̌in; occurs before morpheme ʔne and na
- ṣ̌i Animate marker; numeral suffix; (6.162)
- ṣ̌i Reflexive singular marker; (7.20); contraction of -ṣ̌iʔ
- ṣ̌iʔ Reflexive singular marker; (68.441)
- ṣ̌i-ʔne "to find, discover"; Class I transitive verb stem;  
(16.4)
- ṣ̌ila "pack saddle"; Class Ib noun root; (see p. 85--4)
- ṣ̌in "to see"; Class I transitive verb root; (1.76)
- ṣ̌kay "to be wounded"; Class I semi-transitive verb root;  
(76.104)
- ṣ̌ke-k'o "to touch"; Class I transitive verb stem; (6.37)
- ṣ̌ku-lay "to squeeze, twist"; Class I transitive verb  
stem; (4.14)
- ṣ̌kwa "to be empty"; Class I intransitive verb root; (32.11)
- ṣ̌kwal' "to stoop"; Class I intransitive verb root; (83.106)

- šk'ay "to dismiss"; Class I transitive verb root; (25.64)
- šk'wil "gnat"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 83--5)
- šk'o "huipil"; Class II noun root; (see p. 90--2)
- šlay "to sputter, hiss"; class of verb undetermined; intransitive verb root; (30.7)
- šma "to give to eat"; Class I transitive verb root; (25.70)
- šmas "to turn loose"; Class III transitive verb root; (28.25)
- šmay "to sleep"; Class I intransitive verb root; (6.114)
- šme "to explode"; Class of verb undetermined; intransitive verb root; (24.30)
- šmu "lion"; Class Ia noun root; (8.26)
- šna "to drink"; Class I transitive verb root; (14.4)
- šna-h "to soak up"; Class I semi-transitive verb stem; (39.17)
- šnay "to drink"; Class I transitive verb root; (16.3);  
allomorph of šna; occurs before /ʔ/ or /k/ and as  
indicative durative singular form
- šnu "to peel"; Class IV transitive verb root; (1.122)
- šo "to laugh"; class of verb undetermined; intransitive verb root; (13.60)
- šo-gay "to be tired"; Class I semi-transitive verb stem; (1.147)
- šonce "to look at"; Class I intransitive motivational verb root; (1.10); variant of šance
- šonga? "more"; particle; (32.22)

- šow "to dance"; Class I intransitive verb root; (10.37)
- šowde "church"; Class Ib noun root; variant of šowde?  
(see p. 84--5)
- šowde? "church"; Class Ib noun root; (27.9)
- špay "to be afraid"; Class I neutral verb root; (6.39)
- špe "many"; Class of noun undetermined; (1.85); contraction  
of špela?
- špela? "many"; class of noun undetermined; (1.57)
- špi "to measure"; neutral verb root; (35.191)
- špík "the same"; particle; (6.36); contraction of išpik'
- špoł "to close"; Class I transitive verb stem; (1.134)
- špula? "back"; Class II noun root; (1.30)
- štaf "to cause to be sick"; Class IV semi-transitive verb  
root; (15.7)
- štu "to be angry"; Class II intransitive verb root; (13.7)
- šway "to be full"; Class I intransitive verb root; (1.117)
- šwe "to read"; Class I transitive verb root; (24.48)
- šwe-h-?me "to count, calculate"; Class I transitive verb  
stem; (24.58)
- šweł "to be sad"; Class I intransitive verb root; (6.109)
- šwe-Nm "to live, dwell"; class of verb undetermined;  
transitivity undetermined; (7.20)
- šwey "to be full"; Class I intransitive verb root; (26.32);  
fluctuates with šway
- šwi "to clean, clear"; Class I transitive verb root; (19.15)

- t- Third person singular non-past subject marker occurring  
with Class III verbs; (27.59); contraction of du-  
tá "this" (proximal); inanimate demonstrative; (8.13);  
contraction of taʔa  
táʔa "this" (proximal); inanimate demonstrative; (24.7)  
tambiyén "also"; Sp. from tambien; (24.21)  
tampóko "neither"; Sp. from tampoco; (2.7)  
tantíto "a little bit"; Sp.; (15.7)  
tára "guitar"; Sp. from guitarra; (10.37)  
tása "cup"; Sp. from taza; (24.35)  
táy Fusion of ta "this" (proximal) and ay- "I"; (6.72)  
té hesitation form; (27.57)  
te "to eat"; Class I transitive verb root; (1.51);  
fluctuates with de  
tef' "to carry"; Class I transitive verb root; (1.3);  
fluctuates with def'  
tekolotepék "Tecolotepec"; proper name of town; (7.19)  
tempráno "early"; Sp.; (19.1)  
tepači "fermented maguey juice"; Class Ib noun root; (4.17)  
téřo "all"; Sp.; (11.30); contraction of enteřo  
testigos "Jehovah Witnesses"; Class Ia noun root; (17.17);  
Sp. from testigos  
tewántepe "Tehuantepec"; proper name of city; Sp.; (10.8)  
teWaʔ "food"; Class Ia noun root; (25.48)  
tíbiya "lukewarm"; Sp.; (15.7)  
tigře "tiger"; Class Ia noun root; (6.151); Sp. from tigre

- tigři "tiger"; Class Ia noun root; (6.128); Sp.; from  
tigre or tigrillo.
- timás meaning undetermined; (6.153)
- típo meaning undetermined; (27.13)
- tiyémpo "fireworks"; Sp.; (24.32); possibly refers to  
fireworks that go off with a time-fuse
- tiyémpo "time"; Class Ib noun root; (24.3); Sp. from  
tiempo
- tíyo "uncle"; Sp. from tío; (77.24)
- tlakolúla "Tlacolula"; proper name of a town; (26.26)
- tó "like"; relator particle; (11.13); variant of do
- todabí "still, yet"; Sp.; (13.75); contraction of  
todavía
- todavía "still, yet"; Sp. from todavía; (25.24)
- tódo "all"; Sp.; (15.15)
- tomás "Tomás or Thomas"; proper name; Sp.; (13.75)
- tóns "then"; Sp.; (5.14); contraction of entónses
- tówa "how much"; particle; (24.26)
- třés "three"; Sp.; (30.20)
- tu hesitation form; (15.7)
- ú hesitation form; (6.123)
- u- Third person plural past subject marker occurring with  
Class III verbs; (30.3)
- u- Third person singular past subject marker occurring with  
Class III verbs; (13.60)

- u- Second person singular possessive marker; (25.16);  
fluctuates with o-
- u "here"; locational marker; first order verbal suffix;  
(30.18); allomorph of -yu; occurs following a  
consonant
- uba "top"; Class III noun root; (1.114)
- ubeha "yellow oak"; Class III noun root; (see p. 96--5)
- uftine "name"; Class III noun root; (7.16)
- ugwiyále "intestines"; Class III noun root; (19.9)
- uʔf'ane "ears of corn"; Class III noun root; (19.29);  
variant of oʔf'aneʔ
- u-ʔi-m-ba Contraction of u-wa-ʔi-m-ba "to give a container  
of liquid to"; Class III ditransitive verb; (14.5)
- uhši "strength, thickness"; Class III noun root; (6.38)
- uk' Pluralizer of nouns; (7.15)
- ul- Second person plural possessive morpheme used with Class  
IV nouns; (elicited); fluctuates with unl-
- ul- First person plural possessive marker used with Class  
IV nouns; (24.18); variant of al-
- ula- Second person plural subject marker occurring with Class  
IV verbs; (28.21)
- uli- Second person plural past subject marker occurring with  
Class II verbs; (49.125)
- ulu- Second person plural past subject marker occurring  
with Class III verbs; (elicited)

- uma Indicative linear aspect marker; (7.7); allomorph of -ma; occurs following morphemes ending in consonants
- uméma "famine"; Class III noun root; (11.32)
- umi "black"; Class III noun root; (6.56)
- umla "biting taste"; Class III noun root; (12.19)
- umoš-abík' "soft rock"; Class III noun stem; (6.3)
- umuy-hma? "late afternoon"; Class III noun stem; (25.69)
- ún "one"; Sp.; (10.36)
- un- Second person singular direct address morpheme; (5.56); allomorph of m-; occurs with Class I nouns in fluctuation with gun-; first order prefix
- úna "one"; Sp.; (14.9); fluctuates with un
- unce-ha? "cave"; Class III noun stem; (6.3)
- undeši "wasp"; Class III noun root; (see p. 93--1)
- unl- Second person plural possessive morpheme used with Class IV nouns; (36.197); fluctuates with ul-
- ún- "one"; Sp.; (12.35); fluctuates with una, un
- unša-hma? "heart"; Class III noun stem; (10.22)
- unšali "red"; Class III noun root; (15.17)
- únšal "pitch-pine"; Class III noun root; (27.39)
- untéřo "all"; Sp.; (11.29); variant of entero
- uŋa "fire"; Class III noun root; (15.7)
- uŋk'- Second person plural direct address morpheme; (elicited)
- uŋk'a-ná-?m-oši? meaning uncertain; (16.16)



- uŋk'u- Second person plural direct address morpheme;  
(elicited); occurs with Class I nouns
- ušak "corncob"; Class III noun root; (see p. 93--5)
- ušawáy? "shade"; Class III noun root; (see p. 95--5)
- uši "stalk"; Class of noun undetermined; (4.3)
- uWay "sap"; class of noun undetermined; (15.30)
- uya Indicative durative singular aspect marker; (84.251);  
allomorph of -ya; occurs with the verb roots guc'  
"to sit" and gaš "to stand"
- wa "to walk"; Class I intransitive movational verb root;  
(25.41); allomorph of ?wa; occurs following /l/
- wa "to walk, go"; Class I intransitive movational verb  
root; (1.10); contraction of ?wa
- wa "child"; Class II noun root; (25.55); allomorph of  
?wa; occurs after /l/
- wa "have to"; necessitative marker; second order verbal  
suffix; (6.123)
- wagaš "cow"; Class Ia noun root; (11.35); Sp. from vaca
- wa? Pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 81--12)
- wa-?i "to give a container of liquid to"; Class III di-  
transitive verb stem; (25.44)
- waháka "Oaxaca"; proper name of town; (26.31)
- walga "piece"; Class Ib noun root; (see p. 84--1)
- wal- Pluralizing nominal infix; (see p. 103--9)
- wamelúla "Huamelula"; proper name of town; (4.25)
- wan "mix"; neutral verb root; (4.16)

- wan-cu "to trample under"; Class III transitive verb stem;  
(18.2)
- wáta "little"; particle; (11.46)
- way "to pass"; Class III intransitive verb root; (20.2);  
dialect variant of yay
- way "down"; derivational verbal affix; (25.9)
- way- Pluralizing nominal infix; (see p. 101--8)
- wé "big, much"; Class Ia noun root; (24.48); contraction of  
gwéga?
- we "to look for"; Class IV transitive verb root; (1.122)
- we? "come"; Class I intransitive verb root; (32.11); used  
only with second person singular subject as a command
- we-h "to follow"; Class II transitive verb stem; (17.25)
- welon "to look at"; Class IV transitive verb root; (1.153)
- wélta "turn; time"; Sp. from vuelta; (25.20)
- wén "well, good"; Sp.; (28.21); variant of bwéno
- wena "to go look at"; Class I transitive verb root; (26.4)
- wenaf "to look up"; class of verb undetermined; transitive  
verb root; (6.55)
- wéno "well, good"; (6.26); variant of bwéno
- wey- Pluralizing nominal infix; (see p. 104--2)
- wik'i "to learn, follow"; Class II transitive verb root;  
(7.24)
- wil' "older male relative (man speaking)"; Class II noun  
root; (1.14)

- wo "down"; derivational verbal affix; (46.426); allomorph of -way; occurs with verbs having plural subjects
- wo Indicative future singular aspect morpheme; (28.25); an example of -wo occurring with a plural subject is de-fol-wo "they will gather together"; (31.7)
- wo...?ma Indicative completive motivational singular aspect marker; (6.138); allomorph of -wo?ma; occurs with finalitive morpheme.
- wo?ma Indicative completive motivational singular aspect marker; (26.26)
- wo?me Indicative completive motivational plural aspect marker; (26.11)
- wo...?me Indicative completive motivational plural aspect marker; (4.26); allomorph of -wo?me; occurs with finalitive morpheme
- wos "to be sad"; Class I intransitive verb root; (23.6)
- woša "organ cactus"; Class Ib noun root; (1.114); variant of woše
- woše "organ cactus"; Class Ib noun root; (1.119)
- wow "to chase"; class of verb undetermined; transitive verb root; (1.66)
- W "fiesta"; Class Ib noun root; (10.44); contraction of Wik'
- Wacay "to clear up"; Class III intransitive verb root; (28.59)
- Wal "mountain"; Class II noun root; (12.12); contraction of iWala

- Wak "head"; Class II noun root; (1.14)
- Wán "Juan or John"; Sp. proper name; (32.1)
- Wa-ṛay "to catch on fire"; class of verb undetermined;  
intransitive verb stem; (27.38)
- Was "to uncover"; Class I transitive verb root; (4.8);  
variant of ?Was
- Way "to exceed"; class of verb undetermined; intransi-  
tive verb root; (6.16)
- We "to smell"; Class III intransitive verb root; (1.14)
- We "to smoke"; Class II verb root; transitivity unde-  
termined; (9.4)
- Wés "judge"; Sp. from juez; (31.30)
- Wi "fiesta"; Class Ib noun root; (10.45); contraction  
of Wik'
- Wik "fiesta"; Class Ib noun root; (see p. 85--2); variant  
of Wik'
- Wik' "fiesta"; Class Ib noun root; (24.40)
- Wili "to turn and twist"; Class IV intransitive verb root;  
(27.57)
- WiNma? "straw mat"; Class Ia noun root; (see p. 81--1)
- y- Pluralizing nominal infix; (see p. 94--5)
- y Pluralizer of nouns; (1.12)
- y Indicative durative aspect marker; (68.131); combina-  
torial allomorph of -ya used with reflexive mor-  
phemes; also occurs following verb nuclei ending in  
/a/ or /e/

- ya "all, entire"; derivational verbal affix; (24.46)
- ya Indicative future remote singular aspect marker; (5.54)
- ya Pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 81--10)
- ya Indicative durative singular aspect marker; (14.21)
- ya Indicative durative plural aspect marker; (10.32);  
variant of -yi
- yag Indicative future remote aspect marker; (8.24); combinational allomorph of ya and yagu; occurs before suffixal object and recipient markers
- yagu Indicative future remote plural aspect marker; (25.34)
- ya? "to tell, announce"; Class III verb root; (22.7);  
contraction of ya-?a
- ya? Pluralizing nominal suffix; (see p. 96--12)
- ya-?a "to tell, announce"; Class III verb stem; (17.20)
- yala? "thread"; Class IV noun root; (see p. 101--6)
- yalay "to go along"; Class III intransitive verb root;  
(26.9)
- yá-ŋk' First person plural pronoun stem; (7.22); contraction of iya-ŋk'
- yay "to pass"; Class III intransitive verb root; (1.20)
- yay Indicative future remote singular aspect marker; (10.22);  
variant of -ya
- yáyga "out"; particle; (15.18)
- ye "to go"; Class I intransitive verb root; (28.36);  
third person plural form of ?wa
- ye meaning undetermined; (12.11)

- ye Pluralizer of nouns; (6.9)
- yef' "to pass over, by"; class of verb and transitivity undetermined; (7.25)
- yʔ → -lgi Pluralizing replacive nominal suffix; (see p. 95--6)
- yi- Pluralizing nominal infix; (see p. 97--4)
- yi "to advise"; neutral verb root; (6.168)
- yi Indicative durative plural aspect marker; (28.3)
- yi meaning undetermined; possible plural marker for verb root ?wa "to go"; (24.37)
- yi-ʔi "to advise someone"; Class III ditransitive verb root; (6.168)
- yo "to come together"; Class I intransitive verb root; (24.38)
- yo "place"; locational morpheme; first order verbal suffix; (16.4)
- yoɫ- Pluralizing nominal infix; (see p. 97--2)
- yoš "to tear out"; class of verb undetermined; transitive verb root; (14.9)
- yu "to fly away"; class of verb undetermined; intransitive verb root; (1.68)
- yu "here"; location marker; first order verbal suffix; (30.18)
- yuf-gi "to hop, leap"; class of verb undetermined; intransitive verb stem; (1.87)
- yulay "to happen to"; class of verb undetermined; transitivity of verb undetermined; (6.172)

WORKS CITED

Elson, Benjamin F. and Velma B. Pickett

- 1962     An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax.  
Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Longacre, Robert E.

- 1964     Grammar Discovery Procedures. The Hague.  
Mouton and Company.

Merrifield, William R.

- 1965     Palantla Chinantec Grammar. Cornell  
University Doctoral Thesis.

Pickett, Velma B.

- 1960     The Grammatical Hierarchy of Isthmus Zapotec.  
Baltimore: The Linguistic Society of America.

Turner, Paul R.

- 1964     Highland Chontal Phonemics. Unpublished  
Master's Thesis. University of Chicago.

Waterhouse, Viola

- 1962     The Grammatical Structure of Oaxaca Chontal.  
IJAL, Vol. 28, No. 2, April

Waterhouse, Viola and May Morrison.

- 1950     Chontal Phonemes. IJAL, Vol. 16, No. 1,  
January.