

# Sketch of Coahuilteco, a Language Isolate of Texas

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## Identification of Speakers and Varieties

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Coahuilteco was one of a number of languages formerly spoken in the area of south Texas and northeastern Mexico; so far as is known, all had become extinct by the middle of the twentieth century. The principal source of information on Coahuilteco is a bilingual confessor's manual putatively written by Bartolomé García, a Spanish Franciscan missionary at Mission San Francisco de la Espada in San Antonio (Texas) (fig. 1), and published in Mexico City in 1760. The title is *Manual para Administrar los Santos Sacramentos de Penitencia, Eucharistia, Extrema-Uncion, y Matrimonio: Dar Gracias despues de Comulgar, y Ayudar a Bien Morir: A los Indios de las Naciones: Pajalates, Orejones, Pacaos, Pacóas, Tilijayas, Alasapas, Pausanes, y otras muchas diferentes, que se hallan en las Misiones del Rio de San Antonio, y Rio Grande, pertenecientes â el Colegio de la Santissima Cruz de la Ciudad de Queretaro, como son: Los Pacuâches, Mescâles, Pampôpas, Tâcames, Chayopînes, Venados, Pamâques, y toda la Juventud de Pihuiques, Borrados, Sanipaos, y Manos de Perro* (vol. 10:349) (fig. 2), 'Manual for the Administration of the Holy Sacraments of Penitence, Eucharist, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony: Giving Thanks after Communion and Helping to Die Well: To the Indians of the Nations: Pajalates, Orejones, Pacaos, Pacóas, Tilijayas, Alasapas, Pausanes, and many other different ones, which are found in the Missions of the San Antonio River and the Rio Grande, belonging to the College of the Holiest Cross of the City of Queretaro, such as: the Pacuâches, Mescâles, Pampôpas, Tâcames, Chayopînes, Venados, Pamâques,

and all the youth of the Pihuiques, Borrados, Sanipaos, and Manos de Perro'. (García uses the circumflex over a vowel "â", as well as an acute accent "á", to indicate a long vowel. In citing forms from the *Manual* containing either of these marks, the circumflex will be used to transcribe García's orthography.)

An earlier, linguistically somewhat more primitive version exists in an undated manuscript entitled *Confesonario de Indios* discovered in 1962 (Del Hoyo 1965; Troike 1967a); its existence indicates that the published version was perhaps the product of several decades of work in the missions. The only other significant source of data is a companion manuscript to the *Confesonario* discovered along with it, bearing on the first page the title *Cuadernillo de lengua de... Pajalates de la Mision... Padre Pres[iden]te Fr. Gabriel [de]... Vergara* (the dots here represent gaps caused by the page's having been trimmed). Vergara was president of the San Antonio missions from 1725 until perhaps 1737 (Canedo 1968). This *Cuadernillo* contains word lists and verb paradigms from a variety of the language essentially identical to that of the *Manual*. It may have been intended as a grammatical and lexical questionnaire that interpreters were to fill out with forms from the Indian language as an aid in their work. The *Cuadernillo* was perhaps also connected with an *Arte* (grammar) of Coahuilteco referred to in the foreword to the *Manual*, but this is uncertain.

On the basis of the appearance of Vergara's name in the title of the *Cuadernillo*, Del Hoyo (1965) ascribes the work to him and questions García's authorship of the *Manual*. However, the notebook had been flipped

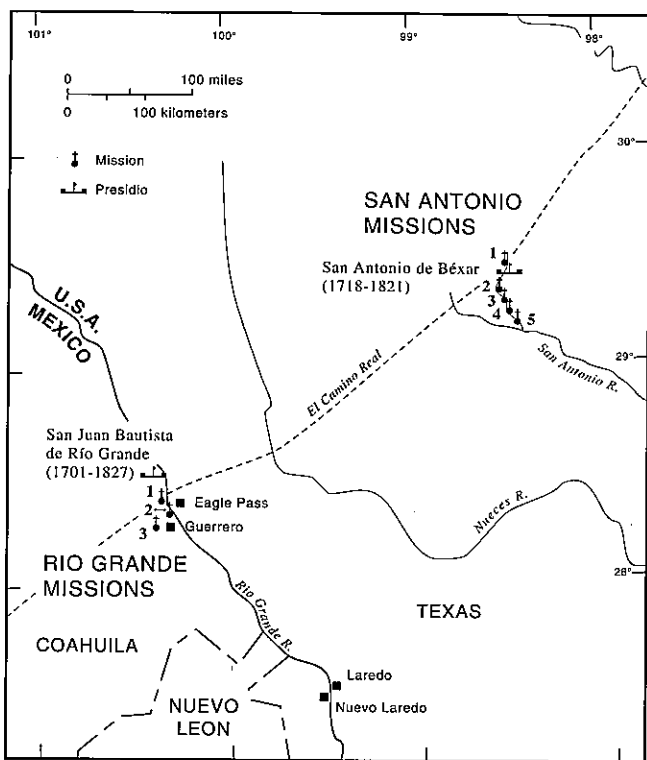


Fig. 1. Location of Spanish missions and associated presidios at San Antonio, Texas, and Guerrero, Coahuila, where Coahuilteco and other languages were spoken. San Antonio missions, with dates of establishment and abandonment: 1, San Antonio de Valero (1718-1793); 2, Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña (1731-1824); 3, San José y San Miguel de Aguayo (1720-1824); 4, San Juan Capistrano (1731-1824); 5, San Francisco de la Espada (1731-1824). Rio Grande missions, with dates of establishment and abandonment: 1, San Bernardo (1702-1829); 2, San Francisco Solano (1700-1716), removed to San Antonio and named San Antonio de Valero in 1718; 3, San Juan Bautista (1700-1829).

over to make a new title, which makes no mention of Vergara, and it carries a date read as 1732 by Del Hoyo and 1738 by Troike (1978). If the correct date is 1738, Vergara would no longer have been president of the missions, providing a rationale for beginning a new title page. The very tentative field-note-like nature of the entries in the *Cuadernillo*, compared with the quite well worked out translations of the *Confesionario*, argues for a definitely later date for the *Confesionario*. That they both predate the *Manual* is strongly suggested by their common lack of refinement in the representation of Coahuilteco sounds in comparison with the *Manual*.

Fr. Joseph Guadalupe Prado, a former missionary at Mission San Juan Capistrano who personally knew García's work, in a foreword to the *Manual* attests to García's authorship and his competence in the language (which Prado also knew), even to preaching sermons in it "con aprobacion de los Interpretes mas limados" ('with the approbation of the most polished interpreters') (in García 1760:[iv]). Elsewhere in the

forematter (p. xii), it is noted that García served in the Texas missions more than 12 years.

Little is known of García except that he was stated to have been at Mission Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria in 1750, where he was reported as being the oldest missionary there, and at Mission San Francisco de la Espada by 1756. If the figure of 12 years for García's service is correct, then he could not have composed the *Cuadernillo*, whether it is dated 1732 or 1738. On the other hand—particularly considering the remark regarding García's age—there could easily have been sufficient time for him to have authored the *Confesionario*. At the very least, in the *Manual* he may have edited and improved upon the efforts of earlier workers in the missions, particularly in the phonological accuracy of the orthography.

DE LA PENITENCIA.	
Comigaste la Quaref- ma passada?	Quarefma app'ánmãm tupâyô mameyácomulgar am é?
Eres casado?	Pil' maméyatâyagúyam é?
Eres casada?	Pil' maméyâc'âu am é?
Has pensado todos tus pecados?	Tagujáyo, fajpãm pi- napfá jamí (vel pin' japlac' âuj) tuchém mameinácacó yam é?
Dime todos los pecados que has hecho: no me en- gañes: si me engañas, y si no me dices todos los pe- cados, te confesarás mal, y te llevará el Demonio á el Infierno: no me tengas miedo: no me tengas ver- guenza.	Tagujáyo, fajpãm pi- napfá (vel pin' apfac'âuj) ja- pói tuchém taj um: tájaf- hípr'am ajâm:tiashípr'am- éj, mi tagujáyo, fajpãm pinapfá (vel pin' apfac'âuj) tuchém tiaúm' ajâm aguaj- tá, fajpãmé japamâlcúita fnajó, có tamój ta' r'ojâm tucuéé mac' cho' saopó: tia- tálam' ajâm cam: tiajuân- cam' ajâm cam.
Le escondiste á el Padre algun pecado grande en las otras Confesiones?	Japamâlcúita pil' atá tu- chíyó, fajpãm pinapfá (vel pin' apfac'âuj) apnân má, cutátze (vel totátze) tupóm mameijuálajéj am é? (vel mameyâppjáqej'am é?)
Qué cosa le callaste á el	T'ájar (vel jat) pin' ap- Pa-

SI Lib., García 1750:3

Fig. 2. A page from García's 1760 manual for the administration of church sacraments to the missionized Coahuilteco-speaking Indians in the San Antonio and Rio Grande missions (see vol. 10:349 for the title page and a page illustrating kinship terms). The sentences on this page illustrate the variety of personal prefixes used on the verb in past tense, imperative, conditional, future tense, and optative expressions, as well as the unique subject-person-marking on object phases. The borrowed Spanish verb *comulgar* 'receive communion' is used in the first question. Male and female terms for 'to marry' are distinguished in the second and third questions. Questions are marked by the question particle (é). The faint pencil marks on this copy were made by John R. Swanton while compiling his lexicon (Swanton 1940:10-54).

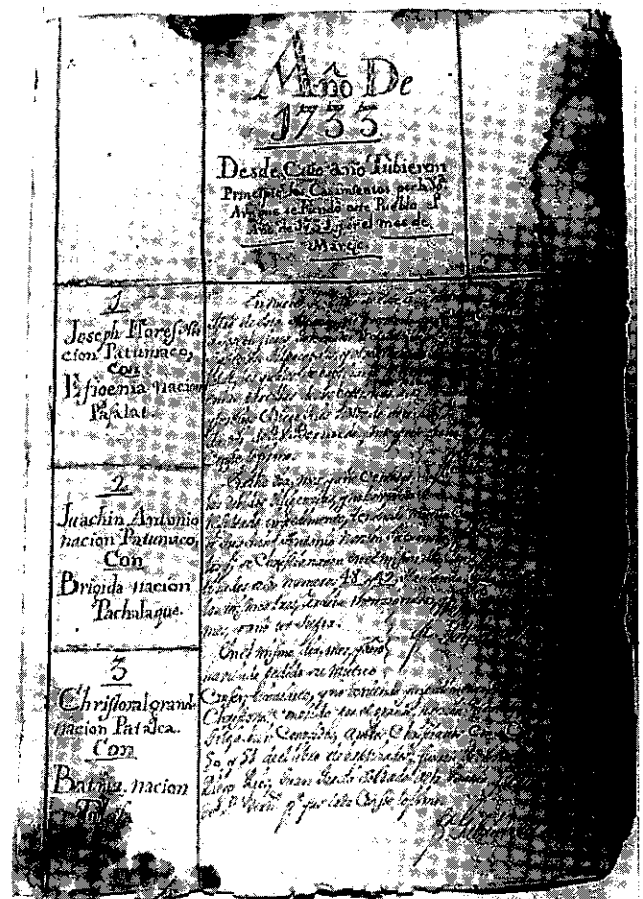
Apart from these materials, the only information on the languages formerly spoken in the San Antonio missions is limited to occasional words, names of individuals, or tertiary comments given in explorers' accounts or mission records (fig. 3). The description in this sketch is based almost entirely on the *Manual*; where other sources have been drawn upon, this fact has been noted.

García's *Manual* contains 88 numbered pages of text printed in parallel columns of Spanish and Coahuilteco (except for five pages that are wholly or partly in Latin) intended to provide instruction for the Indians in the sacraments of the Roman Catholic church. The contents of the book are as follows: 14 pages of forematter by Prado, García, and others (unnumbered; here they are assigned Roman numerals, beginning with the title page); the sacrament of penitence (pp. 1-31); the numeral system, a short vocabulary, and a few grammatical notes (31-34); the catechism (34-44); the sacrament of the Eucharist (45-55); the sacrament of extreme unction (56-64); the confession of faith of the dying (64-75); the sacrament of matrimony, which includes an extensive catalogue of kinship terms (76-87); and a correction of an earlier passage (88).

The text consists primarily of short sentences or paragraphs. These include questions, statements, and commands, with questions predominating. In only a few instances does a paragraph attain any considerable length. The total number of morphs in the text is estimated at about 20,000. The short and often repetitious nature of the sentences in many cases facilitates analysis, but at the same time the limitations of the text sometimes make it impossible to determine the composition of certain unique constructions or to discern the semantic significance or contextual conditioning of particular functional elements. The (fortunately infrequent) occurrence of typographical errors and the occasional mixture of San Antonio and Rio Grande dialect forms also at times pose problems for analysis.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF SPEAKERS AND VARIETIES

As the title page indicates, García's *Manual* was written for use in the Queretaran missions on the San Antonio River and the Rio Grande, where many small bands had been gathered by the middle of the eighteenth century. Although this title page lists the groups for which the *Manual* was intended, it remains uncertain to which specific band or bands the language of the *Manual* may be attributed, exactly where it was spoken, and how many other languages may have existed in the area. The name Coahuilteco for the language dates from 1864 when it was coined by the Mexican geographer Orozco y Berra (1864:63) from the name of the state (earlier province) of Coahuila, Mexico.



Catholic Arch. at San Antonio, Tex.

Fig. 3. First page of the 1733 marriage records of Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuna, in present-day San Antonio, Tex. The three couples whose marriages are recorded on this page came from 5 different bands, the Pajalat and Tilijaj ("Tiloja"), who are named on García's title page, and the Patumaco, Pastaloca ("Pachalague"), and Pitalac ("Patalca"), who were apparently also Coahuilteco-speaking. See list of Coahuilteco speakers by group (vol. 10:349).

Although he suggested "Tejano" as an alternative (also used by Pimentel 1865), this has not been followed by later writers, despite the fact that many of the bands speaking the language seem to have been native to Texas and to have ranged into Coahuila only secondarily (probably because the name Texas, or Tejas, was originally used to refer to the unrelated Caddo; the name is derived from Caddo *teša* 'friend', plus the Spanish plural -s).

In one of the earliest accounts from the area, Fr. Damian Massanet in 1691, after having traveled from the mission of San Salvador near Caldera, Coahuila, to a spot north of San Antonio, stated, "I may note that from the mission to this place there is still one language. . . . From this place to the Tejas [in East Texas] there are other languages" (Bolton 1910:422). In his foreword to the *Manual*, Prado, who worked among the

missions of Texas and Coahuila for 22 years, declared that except for one mission, "todas las demás desde nuestra Señora de los Dolores, que fue la primera hasta San Juan Capistrano la última, se fundaron con Indios, cuyo propio lenguaje era el mismo, que en este Manual se contiene" ('all the rest from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, which was the first, to San Juan Capistrano the last, were founded with Indians whose own language was the same as is contained in this *Manual*') (p. vi). Elsewhere he stated that Coahuilteco was "la Lengua mas comun à todas las conversiones Franciscanas, que se plantaron desde la Mission llamada la Candela hasta las que bordan las amenas margenes de el Rio de San Antonio, extremos distantes mas de cien leguas uno de otro" (p. v) ('the language that is most common to all the Franciscan conversions that have been planted from the mission named La Candela [in Coahuila] to those that border the banks of the San Antonio River, extremes more than 100 leagues distant from one another').

This testimony by persons directly familiar with the situation, as well as the testimony of the title page of the *Manual* itself, appears to be contradicted or at best modified by linguistic evidence from other sources. The Borrados and Alasapas, who are mentioned on the title page, lived in the area of central Nuevo Leon eastward into Tamaulipas (the Borrados were classified by Orozco y Berra as Tamaulipeco), though the Borrados are also reported in the vicinity of Laredo in 1758. Eugenio del Hoyo (1960) has published a list of translated Borrado place-names taken from documents in the Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, archives, which though difficult to analyze conclusively, appear to indicate that while there are a few lexical resemblances with other languages in the area, Borrado is a distinctly different language from Coahuilteco. The following examples illustrate some of the few similarities that can be found:\*

	<i>Borrado</i>	<i>Others</i>
'mescal bean' (frijolillo)	"minaguapa"	<i>sami'n</i> (Coahuilteco)
'plural suffix'	"-que" [ke]	<i>-ke</i> (Coahuilteco—rare)
'water'	"guar(a)" [war]	<i>wan</i> (Pajalate)
'javelina' (hog)	"(a)moqua" [mok <sup>h</sup> a]	(ex)mu <sup>h</sup> k (Comecrudo); esmo <sup>h</sup> k (Cotoname)
'dog'	"carama"	<i>kla'm</i> (Comecrudo)

\*In this sketch, the following conventions will be used in citing forms. Double quotation marks will be used to indicate forms cited in their original orthography (whether from García or another source). Italic indicates phonemically transcribed forms when these are cited in the text. Spanish loanwords are spelled and capitalized as in Spanish. Brackets enclose phonetic transcriptions or occasionally indicate editorial insertion of missing elements.

In what little can be gleaned of a structural nature from these place-names, there is not much evident similarity to the language of the *Manual*.

Some words recorded in the books of one of the missions, San Francisco Solano, apparently during the time that it was located on the Rio Grande below Eagle Pass between 1703 and 1708 (Swanton 1940:5, 54), show extraordinarily little resemblance to Coahuilteco or anything else. Unfortunately, the specific group from which the words were obtained is not known, but the mission served the Xarame, Payuguan, Papanac, and Siaguan, none of whom is mentioned on the title page of the *Manual*.

Additionally, the much more extensive vocabularies collected by Jean L. Berlandier in 1829 and Albert S. Gatschet in 1886 near and along the Rio Grande from speakers of Comecrudo and Cotoname (also variously identified as Carrizo or Garza) not only reveal differences between them so great as to indicate that these two languages may be unrelated but also show equally profound differences from the language of García's *Manual* (Swanton 1940; see Goddard 1979 for further comparison and discussion).

The apparent contradiction between these assertions by people personally familiar with the situation on the one hand, and the actual linguistic data available from various groups in the area on the other, may be resolved by a further examination of some of the comments in the forematter to the *Manual*. Prado's statement quoted above—that all the missions were founded with Indians who spoke the language recorded in the *Manual*—suggests the Spanish practice, followed throughout northern Mexico, of settling Tlaxcalans as an initial nucleus to help "civilize" and Christianize the Indians who were brought in (this particular practice probably accounts for some of the Nahuatl loanwords in the *Manual*, discussed in Troike 1961). Prado says this was done in all the missions except one, though he does not name it; it may have been San Francisco Solano, from which Xarame Indians were taken to form the nucleus when it was refounded as Mission San Antonio de Valero (later known as the Alamo).

Prado (in García 1760:vi) goes on to say that when the earlier practice of ensuring that the missionized Indians always outnumbered the neophytes broke down, and Indians of the most diverse languages ("diversissimas lenguas") were brought in to the missions, the *Manual* became of very general use, because "la gente nueva à breve tiempo la entiende, ô habla, y los muchachos, que son la porcion de nuestra mayor esperanza, al año ya, como dicen, cortan el pelo en el dicho Idioma" ('the new people [entering a mission] in a short time understand it [Coahuilteco] or speak it, and the children, who are the part with our greatest hopes, by the end of a year cut their hair in this language, as they say'). This would appear to indicate that the

missionaries had made a lingua franca of Coahuilteco, at least in the missions. Prado's statement would also seem to explain why García mentioned in the title page that the *Manual* was intended for "all the youth of the Pihuiques, Borrados, Sanipaos, and Manos de Perro," implying that the older members of these bands did not speak the language. Whether Coahuilteco had currency as a lingua franca outside the missions, either before or after the efforts of the missionaries to promote it, is unknown.

As noted above, the exact groups to which Coahuilteco is to be attributed is uncertain. The Pajalates are clearly one—an inference that might have been made from the fact that they are the first-named group on the title page of the *Manual* and that they were among the groups in García's mission (San Francisco de la Espada). However, the question was settled conclusively by Del Hoyo's (1965) discovery of the *Cuadernillo de [la] lengua de [los] Pajalates*, an interpreter's guide developed for use in the Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña, which shows such close similarity to the language of the *Manual* that there can be no doubt the two texts represent the same language. Of 32 lexical items common to both, all but one are either identical or virtually so.

	<i>Cuadernillo</i>	<i>Manual</i>
'carry'	-x'ačo'	-čo'
'earth'	tapak'e	tap (pa) ak'e
'forget'	-xaman	-xa'mam
'I'	čen, čen	cin
'very good'	šapanpan	šapa'n pam

(See Troike 1967a for additional comparisons.) Some of the divergences may be attributed to dialectal differences in the sources of the two documents, but most are due simply to refinements in the analysis and transcription of the language, perhaps by García (note that some of the same transcriptional differences are found between the *Manual* and the *Confesionario*: for further discussion of these, see section 1).

The *Manual* itself provides evidence for other dialects of Coahuilteco. Prado, in his foreword (p. xii), states that his "Indios Capistranos" used "chy" či (plural demonstrative stem) in place of the "chê" če found in the *Manual*, and "y" for e' (the interrogative particle). Unfortunately, he did not identify which band he was referring to, if any in particular (there were also Pajalates at Capistrano), and these are the only specific differences he mentions.

However, he suggests that there were greater differences between the dialect of the *Manual* and that of the Indians of the Rio Grande (it is not clear to whom he refers here, whether the Xarames who were brought from San Francisco Solano, although they are not mentioned on the title page of the *Manual*, or some groups

still in missions on the Rio Grande). He notes that the kinship terms are "quite different" (*bien diversos*), and gives in addition some illustrative phonological differences (p. xiii):

<i>San Antonio</i>	<i>Rio Grande</i>
"sanandō"	"sanân"
"so"	"sê"
"cuê"	"co"

There are "many other differences of this tenor," and he admonishes the missionary working with a particular group, using the *Manual* and his *Arte*, to find out what the differences are and to learn them. His discussion contains an interesting disquisition on the problems of translation and their implications for language policy in the missions. García himself, in his own prologue (p. xvi), explains that he has indicated in parentheses in the *Manual*, and with the Latin particle *vel*, "que las palabras de aquel parenthesis pertenecen â las Misiones de el Rio Grande, ô â otra Mission en particular" 'that the words within the parentheses belong to the Rio Grande missions, or to some other particular mission'. Since he nowhere identifies whether the alternative forms are Rio Grande dialect or other, where there is occasion to cite them they will be marked as RG, in contrast to SA (for San Antonio).

While the comparison of the *Cuadernillo* and García's *Manual* (or the *Confesionario*, for that matter) leads to the conclusion that the language of the *Manual* is to be identified with the Pajalates (presumably those of Mission San Francisco de la Espada), it is clear that several closely related dialects existed, though it is not known to which bands they may have been native (see Goddard 1979 for further discussion and comparisons). In addition, the missionaries were evidently promoting the use of the language as a lingua franca in the missions. Therefore, it seems preferable to follow the established practice of Swanton (1940) and others in employing the name Coahuilteco for the language, since it is neutral with respect to any particular variety or group and permits reference to any given variety by a designation clearly indicating it as such.

No date can be fixed for the extinction of Coahuilteco or other languages spoken by groups in the San Antonio missions (except Tonkawa and Karankawa). The missions were secularized in 1793-1794, and there are very few sources of linguistic information after that. Apache and Comanche pressure drove many of the Coahuiltecan groups to the coast, where they took refuge among and mingled with the Karankawa and other South Texas groups. Others, having been thoroughly acculturated, simply became an indistinguishable part of the local Spanish-Mexican population and disappeared as separate entities.

## WIDER RELATIONSHIPS

The wider relationships of Coahuilteco, after nearly a century of study, remain highly uncertain. Powell (1891:68), following the usage of Orozco y Berra (1864), classified the Coahuilteco of García's *Manual* together with Comecrudo and Cotoname, as members of the Coahuiltecan family. Gatschet (1891:33, 38) applied the name Paikawa (or Paikawan or Pakawá) to this same group of languages, a usage followed by Boas (1911:83) and Thomas (1911:38).

John R. Swanton in 1915 proposed a Coahuiltecan family consisting of two divisions, one containing Cotoname and Tonkawa, the other including Coahuilteco proper, Comecrudo, and Karankawa, although he also noted resemblances between Karankawa and Atakapan. Five years later, Sapir (1920), building on the data published by Swanton, proposed a wider relationship between Coahuiltecan and the Hokan stock in California. Finally, in Sapir's (1929) classification, Coahuiltecan became the link between Hokan and the remaining non-Algonquian languages of eastern North America in his great Hokan-Siouan phylum.

Swanton (1940) revised his earlier classification and excluded Tonkawa from the Coahuiltecan family, a conclusion confirmed by the work of Haas (1959), Bright (1956), and Troike (1967). Since Haas (1958a) has brought the validity of the entire Hokan-Siouan hypothesis into question, the linguistic position of Coahuilteco and the languages of south Texas and northeast Mexico is returned very much to where Powell left it, with the need remaining to examine the internal relations of these languages in detail as a prerequisite to reconsidering their wider relationships.

The degree of diversity among the languages of this area is so great that, as Swanton (1940:144) observed, "one would hardly be assured that any two of them belonged to the same stock." In this regard, it is interesting to note that Bright's (1956) study tended to substantiate the Hokan-Coahuiltecan relationship to a greater degree than it did the "Coahuiltecan" grouping itself. Although Swanton was inclined to the belief that all these languages were ultimately members of a single stock, his assessment of the classificatory picture remains almost startlingly valid in spite of new material from several languages (Swanton 1940:144):

In view of the marked divergencies exhibited by the three supposedly "Coahuiltecan" dialects, their almost equally close connection with the supposedly independent Karankawan, and the further divergence shown by the San Francisco Solano vocabulary, I am of the opinion that the present classification of the tongues of this region into Coahuiltecan, Karankawan, Tamaulipecan—and probably also Olivean and Janambrian—families is wholly artificial, and that we do not know how many stocks there were.

A thorough review by Goddard (1979) of the available data on the languages of the area has served to underscore this statement and to reemphasize the fact that the Gulf coastal area of Texas and northern Mexico was probably linguistically the most complex in all of North America. Since the degree of linguistic diversity in an area usually corresponds to the length of settlement, this fact suggests great antiquity for the in situ differentiation of groups in this area. Ethnologically, the northwestern Gulf coast was occupied by some of the simplest hunting and gathering cultures on the continent. Swanton (1940) referred to it as the "cultural sink," and Kroeber (1939) considered it the only culture area in North America without a climax. Newcomb (1956), following a suggestion by Alex D. Krieger, proposed the name "Western Gulf culture area" for this area of hunting and gathering groups. Borrowing from earlier linguistic classifications, the ethnological literature generally uses the term "Coahuiltecan" for most of the bands in the area. The culture of these groups has been described by Ruecking (1953, 1954, 1954a, 1955), Troike (1961, 1962), Campbell (in vol. 10:343-358), and Salinas (1990).

Any attempt to describe the language of García's *Manual* cannot fail to acknowledge its debt to Swanton, whose numerous contributions to American Indian linguistics, while rarely noted, far outweigh those of many specialists in the field. His work on Coahuilteco, though presented modestly in the form of a vocabulary (Swanton 1940), necessarily involved a careful linguistic analysis of García's text, not only lexically but also grammatically and phonologically. If further analysis has added to his findings and occasionally corrected them in places (for example, Troike 1963), this is only to be expected, but it does not detract from the recognition of his pioneering achievement, nor from the fact that any future work on the language must build on the foundations that he laid.

### 1. PHONOLOGY

A linguistic analysis based on a written text of an extinct language—essentially a closed corpus—has both similarities to and differences from an analysis carried out with access to living speakers. The procedural problems become even more complex when the text is from an earlier period. An analysis such as this one is in some respects most difficult in the phonology, which must be inferred from the use of Spanish orthographic patterns together with a knowledge of sound changes and regional variations in Spanish, and from observations of orthographic patterns in the Coahuilteco text. In short, the analysis must apply the traditional procedures of philology, whose application to the study of American Indian languages is conveniently surveyed by Goddard (1973). The task is aided by the fact that García has furnished some valuable

articulatory phonetic information in his introduction. Essentially, García made his own intuitive phonemic analysis and put it to use; the modern analyst can only examine his usage and draw inferences from it.

The fact that García carefully distinguishes types of sounds that are not found in Spanish or that are only allophonic in Spanish gives considerable confidence in his analysis, as does his remarkably consistent spelling. The excellence of his work should be noted particularly by those linguists who are inclined to dismiss any work done before the middle of the twentieth century. There is, of course, no way to recover phonological distinctions he may have missed, but an examination of the sound systems of surrounding languages suggests that it is unlikely that this is a serious problem. As to the question of psycholinguistic reality, it has been noted earlier that García was reputed to have had considerable fluency in the language.

It is regrettable that the location of García's original manuscript is unknown, so that the printed text must be relied upon. However, the accuracy of the *Manual* may be inferred from its internal consistency and from its close fidelity, apart from orthographical differences, to the manuscript of the *Confesonario*. In the course of analysis, several copies of the published work were examined to reduce errors from occasional poor printing impressions and to check for possible changes between printings, though none was found.

Error in the text (i.e., deviation from an accurate representation of the language) may be ascribed to three sources: faults of García's perception and usage, errors in the manuscript, and errors on the part of the typesetter. Evidently the printed text was not proof-read by García until it was largely complete, as indicated by the fact that on the last two pages (87-88), he inserted a major correction of a paragraph from page 20. However, there are no corrections of minor orthographical variations elsewhere in the text. At times the correct form can be determined by comparison with other occurrences in the text, or from the meaning, but in some instances no certain determination can be made. Editorial emendations are indicated herein by placing an omitted letter in brackets, for example, *walk]-čó'-no'* (64:15; references are to page and line in the text).

It is not possible, owing to limitations of the text, to find minimal pairs or even minimal contrasts for all phonemes. Nevertheless, most are sufficiently well attested that traditional methods of phonemic analysis are applicable, though it is necessary to rely on textual consistency rather than informant reaction to validate a particular hypothesis of phonemic distinctiveness.

### 1.1. CONSONANTS

Coahuilteco has 24 consonants, with some uncertain evidence for another,  $\theta$ . These are as shown in table 1.

Table 1. Coahuilteco Consonants

Present Sketch	Troike (1959, 1963)	Swanton (1940)
$p$	$p$	$p$
$\acute{p}$	$p'$	$p'$
$t$	$t$	$t$
$\acute{t}$	$t'$	$t'$
$c$	$\emptyset$	$tz$
$\acute{c}$	$\emptyset'$	$tz'$
$\check{c}$	$\check{c}$	$tc$
$\acute{\check{c}}$	$\check{c}'$	$tc'$
$k$	$k$	$k$
$\acute{k}$	$k'$	$k'$
$k^w$	$k^w$	$kuV$
$\acute{k}^w$	$k^{w'}$	$k'uV$
$\theta$	$\theta$	$k$
$s$	$s$	$s$
$\acute{s}$	$\acute{s}$	$c$
$x$	$x$	$x$
$x^w$	$x^w$	$xuV$
$h$	$h$	$h$
$l$	$l$	$l$
$\acute{l}$	$l'$	$l'$
$w$	$w$	$Vu ; guV$
$y$	$y$	$Vi$
$m$	$m$	$m$
$n$	$n$	$n$

NOTE: V = any vowel.

There are two series of stops, a plain and a glottalized, both of which are voiceless. In addition, there is one fricative series, which is both voiceless and unglottalized, two laterals, two resonants, and two nasals.

García, in his introduction, makes no reference to the symbols "p", "t", "s", "l", "m", "n", "y", "j" (= x), "ch" (= č), or to the graphic sequences "gu" or "hu" (for w), so that it may be assumed their phonetic correspondences were roughly the same as in Spanish. The stops  $p$ ,  $t$ ,  $k$  were therefore probably voiceless and unaspirated (much as in English *spill*, *still*, *skill*), the  $t$  being dental as in Spanish (see  $\acute{t}$  below).

García's orthography is remarkable for carefully distinguishing a series of glottalized stops and affricates, which he marks with an apostrophe following the consonant letter, a practice interestingly prefiguring that used in many twentieth-century linguistic transcriptions. (A tilde is occasionally used over "t" and "ch" in the *Cuadernillo*, perhaps also to indicate glottalization, but this cannot be confirmed since none of the forms in which it occurs is found in García.) His articulatory descriptions of these sounds are sufficiently detailed to permit their identification as glottalized. Of  $\acute{p}$ ,  $\acute{t}$ ,  $\acute{k}$ , he observes that "se han de pronunciar con alguna fuerza" ('they must be pronounced with some force') (p. xv). The  $\acute{p}$  is formed "golpeando con fuerza los labios" ('by striking the lips together with force'); the  $\acute{t}$  is a sharp, sudden sound (*tronido*), which is formed "hiriendo con

fuerza la lengua en los dientes" ('by striking the tongue against the teeth with force'); and the *k̄* is a certain click (*chasquido*), which is formed "en el nacimiento de la lengua" ('at the base of the tongue').

In the only morpheme combination in the text in which two glottalized stops happen to occur together, the first consonant loses its glottalization, so that *šip̄* appears as *šip* before *t̄*: *pin pilapšip̄* 'lies' (25:4) *tapašiplam* 'he deceives me' (54:10-11).

Two affricates are distinguished by García, a dental *c* [ts] and a palatal, *č* [tš]. The palatal is written "ch," as in Spanish, while the dental is written "tz," and is pronounced "como en el Idioma Mexicano," ('as in Nahuatl') (p. xv). *č* occurs both before and after vowels but is not found word-finally in the text. *c* and *č* could be analyzed alternatively as clusters of *ts* and *tš*, respectively, but in general they pattern as single stops. Apart from these, the only other initial consonant cluster is the relatively rare sequence *tx* (in *txam* 'to live'), perhaps itself to be taken as still a third affricate. *c* occurs in word-final position, where there is no contrast with any other stop-fricative cluster. By chance, there are no sequences of *t* and *s* or *š*, except across clause boundaries, to contrast with these affricates; this circumstance results from the small number of morphemes in the text beginning with *s* or *š* or ending in *t*, and from the restrictions on their respective distributions.

The glottalized affricates *č* and *č̄*, spelled "t'z" (or "tz") and "ch", are of somewhat doubtful status, since García does not mention them in discussing the glottalized stops, and every form containing them also occurs elsewhere without the apostrophe. However, if *c* and *č* are considered to pattern with the stops, then *č* and *č̄* fill symmetrical positions in the pattern. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that either García or the typesetter would repeat an apostrophe in a form several times by accident, especially when this does not occur with other letters. On balance, the evidence is stronger in favor of recognizing them, but their status must be considered tentative. In any event, they are of extremely low frequency.

The labiovelar stop *k̄* and its glottalized congener *k̄̄* (always spelled "cu" and "c'u", respectively) clearly function as unit phonemes in Coahuilteco, since they contrast both with the sequence *kw* and with *ku*:

"mamicguâtz" *mamikwa'č* 'you beat them' (12:29)

(*mamik*- 'you-them' + *wa'č* 'beat')

"mamicc'uap" *mami'kk'ap̄* 'he kissed you' (22:13)

(*mami'k*- 'he-you' + *k'ap̄* 'kiss')

"apamâlcûita" *apama'lkuyta* 'confessions' (6:11)

(*a*- '3d person subj.' + *pa*- 'subordinating particle' + *ma'lkuyta* 'confess'; used as a nominal)

In addition, in García's orthography, "u" before a vowel is preceded only by "c"/"c'", "g", or "j" (with two exceptions, "h" and "n"), the combination in each case assumed to represent a unit phoneme (except in the context just cited, "cûi", where a long "û" is interpreted

as representing a full vowel, and the "i" following it, as a glide y).

The voiceless interdental fricative *θ* is postulated only tentatively as a phoneme in Coahuilteco on the basis of the sequence "ci" (which in Castilian would represent [θi]), which occurs only in several kinship terms: "jacís" 'your mother's mother' (*xa*- 'your'), "jamacís" 'your mother's sister', and "jamâcitan" 'your father's older sister'. Swanton (1940:17, 25) interprets the "c" in these forms as *k*, though García usually spells *k* with a "q" before front vowels. The spelling "z" in "aj juŷcuan" 'little pieces' (*ax*- '3d person pl.' + *x'iθk'an* or *x'i'ck'an* 'be small?') could also possibly represent *θ*, but it is probably a misprint for "tz" (as it clearly is in other contexts; it may also be a carryover from the *Confesonario*, in which "z" is generally used where "tz" appears in the *Manual*).

The *š*, which is not a Spanish phoneme, is recognized as phonemically distinct by García, who spells it "sh" and likens it to the pronunciation of "x" in Latin. More precisely, he describes the articulation as "encorbando, y encogiendo la punta de la lengua, para que no suene como s sola" ('curving and contracting the tip of the tongue, so that it does not sound like s alone') (p. xv). From this description it could be inferred that the sound was an alveopalatal fricative and that it was probably somewhat retroflexed. In final position *š* occurs only following y, where it appears to be in complementary distribution with *x*. This may be due simply to the small number of words containing *š* or may reflect constraints on phonological sequences ("neutralization") resulting from assimilation.

The orthographic sequence "ju" preceding a vowel letter is interpreted as a unit labiovelar phoneme *x̄*, paralleling *k̄*. It is not clear whether the sequence "Vuŷ" (V stands for any vowel) in word-final position represents *V̄x̄*, with anticipatory labialization or metathesis of the labial and the fricative, or is merely an orthographic convention representing *Vx̄*. The following comparisons suggest that *x̄* is the correct analysis:

"ohâuj" : "ohâujuê" (*o* '3d person subj.' + *hawx̄* 'be named' + *e* 'question particle')

"sâuj" : "sâujuam" (*sa'wx̄* 'verb postposition' + *am* 'past tense')

"mâuj" : "majuajûyo" (*ma'wx̄* 'hand'; *max'axuyô* 'five')

This conclusion is greatly strengthened by the spelling found in the Pajalate *Cuadernillo*, "najeju" 'my body', presumably *naxex̄* or *nahex̄* (*na*- 'my'), compared to the spelling of the same word in García, "nahâuj"; similarly, "sâuj" is spelled "saju" in the *Cuadernillo*. Although in transcribing García's forms phonemically in this sketch, the conservative position has been taken to follow spelling as the guide, so that "nahâuj" is written *naha'wx̄*, it should be kept in mind that this might be alternatively, and probably more correctly, transcribed as *naha'x̄*.



The resonants, or glides, *w* and *y*, involve some problems of orthographic interpretation. In general, "gu" and "hu" before vowel letters and "u" after vowel letters are assumed to represent *w*. This interpretation differs from that of Swanton (1940:10), who considered that "gu" represented [w] before "o" and "a", but [g] before "e" and "i", as it does in the Spanish text. Even more problematic are the sequences in words such as "tâgu" 'woman' and "jagû" 'man'. It is possible that a [g] had developed as a positional variant of *w*, but the absence of any other voiced stops in the phonemic system of Coahuilteco makes it doubtful that a phonemic *g* should be proposed on such an equivocal basis.

García (p. xv) carefully distinguishes between his use of "y" and "i": "La y Griega hiera â la vocal que se le sigue. La i Latina no hiera â otra vocal; y pongo esta diferencia, para que se acierte la pronunciacion" ('the Greek y forms a syllable with the vowel that follows it. The Latin i does not form a syllable with another vowel; and I make this difference so that the correct pronunciation will be achieved'). This is one of the major orthographic advances of the *Manual* over the *Confesionario*, in which "i" was used in both functions. The use of "Vi" before a vowel, as in "maiûm" 'you say' (*may* 'you' + *u'm* 'say'), is assumed to indicate a syllable division, and probably a glottal stop [ʔ], between the "Vi" and the following vowel (cf. the frequent use of space before the same orthographically vowel-initial stems, discussed below). The "y" is never used unless a vowel follows.

García (p. xv) states that "h by itself, with a vowel or between two vowels, denotes that some nations pronounce it, articulating it like j, and others do not pronounce it except in such an obscure way (*tan confusamente*) that it is scarcely perceived." It is indicative of García's ability and perceptiveness that he was able to recognize this rather fine phonetic distinction, which was not present in his own Spanish. His remarks further suggest that he may have been employing it as a "diaphonemic" symbol, which merged phonetically with *x* in some dialects but in others was distinct. Perhaps because of this, or because of a carryover from an earlier version such as the *Confesionario*, which did not distinguish them, the text shows occasional substitution of "h" for "j" in spelling and vice versa.

There is some question as to whether [h] should be considered a phoneme, but the decision depends largely on theoretical considerations. A superficial minimal contrast among [h], [x], and [ʔ] can easily be shown, as in the following:

"japahâm" 'you eat' (*xa* 'you' + *p* 'subordinating prefix' + *a* 'induced prefix' + *ha'm* 'eat')

"japajâm apsâ" 'your soul' (*xa* 'you' + *p* 'subordinating prefix' + *a* 'induced prefix' + *xa'm* 'remember'; *a* '3d person' + *p* 'subordinating prefix' + *sa* 'to be')

"japaâm c'auj" 'you do damage' (*xa* 'you' + *p* 'subordinating prefix' + *a* 'induced prefix' + *?a'm* 'to do'; *kawx* 'bad')

By structuralist canons, this would be sufficient to establish the status of *h* as a phoneme.

However, "h" postvocally (with one questionable exception, it is always morpheme-initial) regularly alternates with zero postconsonantly:

"apahôî" 'he does' (*a* '3d person' + *p* 'subordinating prefix' + *a* 'induced prefix' + *ho'y* 'to do')

"apôî" 'he does' (*a* '3d person' + *p* 'subordinating prefix' + *o'y* 'to do')

The occurrence of [h] is thus predictable, raising the issue of whether it should be considered a phoneme. If it is taken as phonemic, its absence may be accounted for by including a morphophonemic deletion rule

$$h \rightarrow \emptyset / C\_V$$

in the phonology and setting up underlying forms accordingly.

The arguments concerning treating the glottal stop as a phoneme in Coahuilteco are closely interrelated with those for the treatment of [h]. García does not explicitly discuss this sound, but his orthographic usage suggests that he recognized its presence. With certain orthographically vowel-initial stems, he frequently leaves a space between the stem and the prefix, for example,

"nac âj" 'I give you' (*na* 'I' + *k* 'you' + [ʔa:x] 'give')

"japa âm" 'you do' (*xa* 'you' + *p* 'subordinating prefix' + *a* 'a-prefix' + [ʔa:m] 'do')

"taj ûm" 'you tell me' (*ta* 'me' + *x* 'you' + [ʔu:m] 'tell').

In addition, as noted above, García uses "y" when the sound forms a syllable with a following vowel and "i" where this does not occur. Thus he writes "mamaîâj" 'you give him' and "mamaîûm" 'you tell him' (cf. "mameyayâm" 'you were angry with him'; "-(a)-yâm" 'be angry'). If [h] were not treated as an underlying phoneme, but were inserted by rule, then these forms would have to be assumed to begin with ʔ in their underlying forms. Conversely, if *h* is assumed to be (morpho)phonemically underlying, phonetic [ʔ] may be predicted by a rule that introduces it before all vowel-initial stem morphemes. This last solution is the one that will be adopted in this chapter.

Positing [ʔ] in these environments creates an apparent contrast between glottalized stops and sequences of stop plus glottal stop, but the former occur within a single syllable whereas the latter are in separate syllables; cf. "nac'âî" [na.kə:y] 'I touch' (*na* 'I') and "nac âj" [nak.ʔa:x] 'I give you' (*na* 'I' + *k* 'you'). Orthographic sequences of identical vowels are also assumed to have a [ʔ] between them: "ââ" 'yes', "jaâpjâisht'an" 'your older sister's daughter' (woman speaking) (*xa* 'your').

There are two laterals in Coahuilteco, one alveolar *l* presumably similar to that in Spanish, and a second,

which García identifies orthographically with the glotalized stops by representing it as "l'", and like them says must be pronounced with some force. He (p. xv) describes the articulation of the *l'* as being "tocando con la punta de la lengua los dientes de arriba, y asomandola un tanto quanto" ('by touching the upper teeth with the tip of the tongue, and showing it a little'). This indicates that the sound was dental, and perhaps somewhat interdental, in articulation. Such a dental-alveolar contrast in laterals is rare but is found, for example, in Araucanian (Suarez 1959). *l* is stem-initial and final, but never word-initial, whereas *l'* occurs only postvocally: *il* 'day', *pil* 'one'. In the *Confesionario*, *l'* is sometimes represented as "lh", suggesting a voiceless articulation, an analysis also implied by García's statement that it is pronounced with force.

The nasals /m/ and /n/ are the second and seventh most frequent phonemes in the language, together comprising 15 percent of the text. They occur in all positions.

### 1.2. VOWELS

Coahuilteco has a system of 10 vowel phonemes with long and short contrasts in each of five articulatory positions. These are shown in table 2.

Since the orthographic representation of the vowels in Coahuilteco is the same as that in Spanish, it may be assumed that their phonetic character is similar. There are two front vowel positions, a high *i*, *i'*, and a mid *e*, *e'*; two back vowel positions, a high *u*, *u'* and a mid *o*, *o'*; and one low, presumably central, vowel position *a*, *a'*. There are a few morphemes that show orthographic variation between "o" and "u", suggesting that this distinction may not have been altogether firm, or that there may have been conditioning or dialectal factors that are not identified or identifiable. There are no positional restrictions on the occurrence of any of the vowels.

Long vowels are marked in the text by acute or circumflex accents. García specifically notes (xiv) that they are pronounced long and indicates that the two sets of accent marks are interchangeable, as his usage in the text also indicates: "T'ájat apchíyocá?" 'How many times' (8:4-5); "T'ájat apchíyocá?" (34:4). (The accent marks in the Spanish text are usually of the grave type, presumably to make a contrast, e.g., *perdonarà*.)

No perfectly minimal pairs are available to demonstrate a contrast in length, but the following examples are illustrative: "jagû" *xawu* 'man'; "tâgu" *ta'wu*

'woman'; *talo'm* 'fire', *ta'lam* 'fear'. Length is a concomitant feature of stress in Spanish (Navarro Tomás 1953:200-202); and in Spanish words used in the Coahuilteco text, the length mark is placed on the vowel corresponding to the stressed vowel in Spanish.

However, there are several problems with defining length as a distinctive feature. The first is that García is not consistent in marking length, though he is more consistent on certain morphemes than on others, and on stems more than affixes. The second is that a "rhythmic length" sometimes occurs on alternating syllables (usually of the minimum form CV) preceding a long stem vowel:

<i>ak-čò san</i>	"he will carry them" (39:8)
<i>a'k-saxo'p san</i>	"something separates them" (85:24)
<i>aha'wx tupamo'</i>	"the body only" (40:2)
<i>aha'wx tupa'mopa'</i>	"the body only" (40:4)
<i>mak-pa-čuw</i>	"he carries you" (54:16-17)
<i>ma'k-pa-ka'wa</i>	"she loves you" (68:20-21)

The rhythmic length is marked rather inconsistently, so that it is not possible to determine precisely the constraints on its application.

### 1.3. INTONATION

García makes no mention of intonation in the language. Since it is not represented in the orthography, nothing more can be concluded about it than that it perhaps did not differ sufficiently from Spanish to attract any special attention, or that in the absence of a traditional framework for describing intonation, it did not draw any particular comment.

### 1.4. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Syllable structure is predominantly CV(·)(S)(C), that is, a single consonant followed by a short or long vowel, optionally followed by a semivowel *y* or *w* and/or a single consonant. A semivowel may follow a long vowel, as in "apahôuj" *apaho'wx* 'she lost' (although this may be interpreted alternatively as *apaho'x*), *-šayš* 'be bad'. All vowel-initial syllables may be considered phonetically to begin with a glottal stop; alternatively the initial consonant may be considered phonemically optional in the formula.

The few recorded examples of consonant clusters in syllable initial positions, *klo'*, *sno'*, and *mantpam* 'truth', are probably to be regarded as resulting from reduced forms of *kalo'* 'dubitative', *san* 'future' + *o'* 'aux.', and *man* 'true' + *tupa'm* 'demonstrative', respectively. The only cluster that cannot be accounted for is *tx*, which may be, as mentioned earlier, a distinct affricate. Vowels occasionally cluster, as in *a'nua* 'moon', *atiwtan* 'little', and *apama'o*, 'he ascends', though these could be considered as falling in separate syllables or as being separated by a glottal stop.

Based on a 10 percent sample of the text (every tenth page of text, containing 3,158 phonemes), an estimate

Table 2. Vowel Phonemes of Coahuilteco

<i>i</i>	<i>i'</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>u'</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>e'</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>o'</i>
		<i>a</i>	<i>a'</i>	

of phoneme frequencies in Coahuilteco was made. The phoneme *a* alone comprised 26.5 percent of the sample, while *m* and *p* occupied 10 percent and 8.7 percent of the text, respectively. Together with *x* at 6.2 percent, these four phonemes comprise over half the text (51.4%). *t*, *o*, *n*, *e*, *i*, *u*, ranging from 5.6 percent to 3.5 percent, make up another 30 percent, and *y*, *k*, *s*, and *w* another 10 percent, so that 14 phonemes account for over 90 percent of the text, and 14 phonemes (or 16, depending on the analysis), the remaining 10 percent. Three, *č*, *č̣*, and *ḳ*, did not occur in the sample. Long vowels were not computed here separately from short vowels.

## 2. VERBS

Coahuilteco might be characterized as a prefixing language, since verbal subjects and objects and noun possessors are marked by prefixes. However, plurality is often indicated by an infix, while suffixes are used on demonstratives to mark agreement of object noun phrases with the verbal subject, and tense and negation are indicated by enclitics and other postverbal elements. Morphological complexes on the whole are relatively short, and there is little morphophonemic variation.

### 2.1. VERB STEMS

Verb stems may be divided into two classes, *a*-stems and zero-stems, on the basis of the presence or absence of a classificatory prefix *a*- before the stem when the preceding personal prefix ends in a consonant. A number of stems cannot be classified, since they do not occur in this environment. About 25 verbs have been classified as *a*-stems, while almost twice as many zero-stems have been identified. Since other circumstances can give rise to the presence of an *a*- preceding the stem, not all the putative *a*-stems are certain, inasmuch as over one-third of them occur only once in the relevant context. No particular meaning can be ascribed to this prefix, or to the group of verbs it distinguishes, which includes *ka'wa* 'to want', *komulgar* (Sp.) 'to receive communion', *xle* 'to say', *pi'lam* 'to live', *šiptam* 'to deceive'. Examples are: *mamey-na'kako'yam e* 'have you thought?' (zero-stem) and *mamey-a-komulgar am e* 'did you commune?' (*a*-stem); *a-p-k'a'ncam* 'he died' (San Antonio) (zero-stem), and *a-p-a-xu'm* 'he died' (Rio Grande) (*a*-stem).

Verb stems may be simple, as *k'a'n* 'go', or complex, as *k'a'ncam* 'die' (cf. *xle* 'say', *xle'cam* 'adore'; *xa'm* 'remember', *xa'mcam* 'wish'). Only a very few second-order elements such as *cam* are found, which are perhaps old derivational affixes or independent morphemes that have become encliticized (as *-ful* in English *spoonful*). Other examples include *ši'pe* 'lie', *šiptam* 'deceive'; *ho'wx* 'lose' (?), *ho'wxlam* 'throw'; *šapa'n* 'be good', *ša'pa'wano* 'cleanse' (pl.) (*-wa-*, plural infix). The small number of examples suggests

that the use of these elements was not part of a productive process and that even their segmentation might not be meaningful from a synchronic point of view.

Phrasal combinations involve a verb and a following independent element that (at least from a translational viewpoint) can be considered as forming a semantic unit with the verb, for example, *ča'lawx* 'give birth', *čalawx k'a'wx* 'miscarry'; *ko'ka'wx* 'injure'; *a'm ka'wx* 'do evil'.

### 2.2. PLURALIZATION AND INDUCED *a*-PREFIX

Stems may be inflected for the plural by infixation, by partial suppletion, or by a combination of both (only the locative stem *sa'* has a completely suppletive plural, *če*). The plural reference may be to either the subject of the verb: *ma'mix-a'c-o* 'you-all know', *takpa-x-a'c-o wako' tuče'n* 'which they taught me'; or the object: *akpah-a'k-oxlam* 'he throws them'. Plurality need not be marked in the verb stem: *tak-xo' wako' tuče'm* 'which it teaches us'. The plural infixes are *-ak-* (which is the most common), *-ac-*, *-ka-*, *-ke-*, *-ok-*, and *-wa-* (or *-aw-*). With one exception, each infix is consistently used with the same verb stems.

Plural stems containing these infixes are listed below; the singular stem is given first only where it is known to differ from the plural minus the infix (in some instances the singular is unattested). Variation in vowel length is due to "rhythmic lengthening" or occasionally to uncorrected scribal inconsistency.

*ak*: *k'a-ak-a'ncam* 'die', *č-ak-a'č* 'hurt', *xox-ak-o'ymo* 'join, combine', *ho'wxlam/h-ak-o'xlam* 'throw', *š-ak-ayš* 'be bad', *x-ak-a'y* 'end', (*a*)*p-ak-a'm* 'have children' (?), *n-ak-an* 'be great', *ša'p-ak-an* 'be good', *n-a'k-ako'* 'think', *km-a'k-o'x(sa'wx)* 'kneel', *č-ak-ey* 'hear'.

*ac*: *h-a'c-awx'* 'be called', *x-a'c-o* 'know', *ami/am-a'c-a* 'have', *xle/l-a'c-e* 'speak', *xum-ac* 'die' (RG dialect), *k-a'c-owo* 'pay for'; *ka'w/xek-a'c-awamke* 'marry' (for a man), *xk-a'c-a'wxlam* 'dream', *ktay/kt-ac-ey* 'pray'.

*ka*: *k'a'cum/k'a'c-ka-m* 'ask for', *tixamko/te'x-ka-mko* 'burn'.

*ke*: *pa'-ke-nmam* 'pass time', *ka'w/xeka'cawam-ke* 'marry', *tu'xta'yam-ke* 'be related'. Note that in the last two, an additional discontinuous plural element *x(e) . . . am* may be isolated.

*ok*: *tpa'y-ok-a'm* 'live'.

*wa*: *spa'-wa-mo* 'believe', *ša'pa'-wa-no* 'cleanse', *u'm/a-wa'-m* 'tell', *hoj/ha-wa'-y* 'do', *ko'xta-wa'-y* 'hit oneself repeatedly', compare *ta-wa'-y* '(our) mother'. Note that in all these examples, the infix could as well be analyzed as *-aw-*.

The verb *pi'* 'copulate' is unique in the text in having three plurals, *pi'ya* (with men as object), *pa'ymo* (with women or animals as object), and *xpi'w čik* (for repeated occurrences). These are the only morphological distinctions made between male and female

referents in the text (if this is indeed the feature of the action being distinguished: it could instead be an agent-patient distinction) and the only example of a separate iterative verb form; *čik* is a pluralizing particle.

As indicated earlier, in certain environments an *a*-prefix may be induced on the stem if it is not already an *a*-stem. The most common environment is preceding the negative enclitic (*y*)*axa'm* 'not':

*taxu'm* 'you have told me' (25:18-21) (*ta* 'me' + *x* 'you' + *u'm* 'tell (sg.)')

*taxau'm axa'm* 'you have not told me' (26:14-17) (*ta* + *x* + *a* 'induced prefix' + *u'm*)

*apo'y* 'he did' (85:2) (*a* 'he' + *p* 'subordinating prefix' + (*h*)*o'y* 'do (sg.)')

*apaho'y axa'm* 'he did not do' (84:24) (*a* + *p* + *a* 'induced prefix' + *ho'y*)

### 2.3. PERSON INFLECTION

Verbs are inflected for subject and object by personal prefixes, which distinguish three persons and two numbers, though not all distinctions are made in all combinations. Prefixes also differ according to tense and mood, syntactic status (dependent, or independent) of the clause, particular combinations of subject and object persons, different verb stems, and dialect.

Prefix Set 1. The prefixes used for the subject of intransitive verbs in present tense, main-clause statements are given in table 3. The first person prefix *n*- is used before vowels, for example, *nowxča'lak axa'm* 'I did not steal' (33:6); *na*- occurs elsewhere. The same is true for *x*- versus *xa*-.

The reason for the variation in *o*- and *u*- for third person is not known, but the alternation is found in several other morphemes (e.g., *-tu*, *to* 'relative'). There is a certain complementarity in their occurrence with respect to particular verb stems, but this is not enough to account for the difference. The *w*- is simply the consonantal variant found before *a*-stems, or before an induced (negative) *a*-. Compare *u-k'a'ncam* (RG *w-a-xu'm*) 'it dies' (40:4-5); *o-hawa'y* 'he was made' (37:23-24), *w-a-hawa'y axa'm* 'they did not make'. This same set of intransitive subject prefixes is used in transitive constructions when the object is third-person singular, since it is unmarked (is zero).

Table 3. Prefix Set 1: Present Tense Main Clause Statement Intransitive Subject Prefixes

	Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>n</i> -/ <i>na</i> -	
2	<i>x</i> -/ <i>xa</i> -	
3	<i>o</i> -/ <i>u</i> -/ <i>w</i> -	
1	<i>naxo</i> - (Rio Grande <i>naye</i> -)	
	(Pajalate <i>naxo</i> -/ <i>naw</i> -)	
2	<i>xa</i> - . . . ( <i>cik</i> )	
3	<i>ox</i> -, <i>u</i> -/ <i>w</i> -	

First-person plural is regularly *najo*- (RG *naye*-), but *naw*- or *nawe*- appears several times in the Pajalate *Cuadernillo* before *a*-stems. The postverbal plural element *čik* is found only a few times in the text, and in several uses, but one of these is to indicate the plural second-person subject. The second-person prefix *xa*- is also used alone, often with either a plural verb stem or other indicator of plurality elsewhere in the context. The third-person plural prefix *ox*- is used only rarely, and elsewhere the singular prefix *u*-/*w*- is used with some other indication of plurality.

Prefix Set 2. The prefix combinations used for subjects and objects of transitive verbs in present tense, main clause statements are given in table 4. The subject prefixes used with the third-person singular object, which is zero, are the same as the intransitive prefixes (Set 1). The third singular subject is also unmarked with a first-person object. The combination of first-person subject with either second-person object or third-person plural object is the same, *nak*-. Similarly, the combination for third-person singular or plural subject with second-person (singular or plural) object is the same as that for second-person singular subject with third-person plural object, *mak*-. The alternation *uk*-/*wak*- is not explainable, since it is not motivated by the same conditions that produce the *u*-/*wa*- variation. In one instance of a second-person plural object, the particle *cam* occurs following the stem (cf. the use of *čik* to mark second-person plural subject, section 2.4.).

The basic principles exhibited in these combinations are (1) that the first person takes precedence over second and third persons, whether it is subject (*nak*-) or object (*tax*-, *ta*-, *tak*-), and (2) that the distinction between second-person singular and third-person plural is neutralized in object function, producing ambiguous prefix complexes (*nak*-, *mak*-). Some prefixes of this set (*x*-/*xa*-, *tax*-) are also used in imperative constructions (see Prefix Set 7).

Prefix Set 3. Subjects or subjects and objects of intransitive or transitive verbs in past tense main clause questions are given in table 5.

Past tense truth value (yes/no) questions are usually marked by a verbal enclitic *-(y)a'm* plus the interrogative particle *e*-. Since, given the nature of the text, there

Table 4. Prefix Set 2: Present/Past Main Clause Statement Transitive Subject-Object Prefixes

		Sg.		Pl.		
Subj.	Obj.	1	3	1	2	3
		Sg. 1	—	<i>nak</i> -	<i>na</i> -	—
2	<i>tax</i> -	—	<i>xa</i> -	?	—	<i>mak</i> -
3	<i>ta</i> -	<i>mak</i> -	<i>u</i> -/ <i>wa</i> -	<i>tak</i> -	<i>mak</i> -	<i>uk</i> -/ <i>wak</i> -
Pl. 3	?	<i>mak</i> -	<i>ox</i> -, <i>u</i> -/ <i>wa</i> -	?	?	?

NOTE: Unattested combinations are indicated by question marks.

**Table 5. Prefix Set 3: Past Tense Main Clause Question Subject and Subject-Object Prefixes**

		Sg.	Pl.
Obj. / Subj.	None or 3 sg.	2	3
2sg.	<i>mamay-</i> , <i>mamey-</i>	—	<i>mamik-</i>
3sg. or pl.	<i>mi-/</i> <i>miw-</i>	<i>mamik-</i>	?

are no first-person questions, and since many third-person questions employ a different structure, the number of prefix combinations in this set is quite limited. There is no determinable difference between the prefixes *mamay-* and *mamey-*, which are used interchangeably, with *mamay-* being twice as frequent as *mamey-*:

*mamayna'koyam e?* 'Have you thought?' (7:15) (*mamay* 'you' + *na'ko* 'think' + (*y*)*am* 'past' + *e* 'Q')

*mameyna'koyam e?* 'Have you thought?' (9:7)

The third-person prefix *miw-* is used before *a-* stems and in the Rio Grande dialect:

*miwaxu'mkalo yam e?* (RG) 'Did he perhaps die?' (39:20-21) (*miw* 'he' + *a* 'a-prefix' + *xu'm* 'die' + *kalo* 'dubitative' + *yam* 'past' + *e* 'Q')

As with *mak-*, *mamik-* is used for both combinations of second- and third-person subject and object:

*mamikma's am e?* 'Did they see you?' (21:7-8) (*ma's* 'see')

*mamikčapko yam e?* 'Did you kill them?' (14:28-29) (*čapko* 'kill')

Cf.: *makma's* 'They saw you.' (24:1-2)

*makmo* 'You bewitched them.' (8:16-17)

Apart from the use of *mamik-* to mark third-person plural object, no distinction is made in this prefix set between singular and plural.

Prefix Set 4. Future-conditional prefixes are given in table 6. The prefixes in this set have two distinct environmental ranges: in main clauses with a following future particle *kam*; and in if-clauses or contexts rendered in Spanish by subjunctives. Again, the same prefixes are used where no object is present or where the object is third-person singular. In most of these prefixes an *-i-* is found, contrasting with an *-a-* or no vowel in other prefix sets.

The only occurrences of a first-person singular subject are before negated verbs with induced *a-*, so that *niw-*

**Table 6. Prefix Set 4: Future-Conditional (Irrealis) Prefixes**

		∅ or 3	1	2
Obj. / Subj.				
Sg. 1	<i>niw-</i>	—	<i>nik-</i>	
2	<i>may-/mi-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	—	
3	<i>i-/iw-</i>	<i>tiw-</i>	<i>mik-</i>	
Pl. 1	<i>naye/nayw-</i>	—	?	
2	?	<i>tami-</i>	—	

might be the allomorph just used before the *a-* (with perhaps *ni-* used elsewhere). In the second-person prefixes, with a couple of exceptions, *mi-* is used before *a-*, and *may-* is used directly before zero-stems. Third-person *i-* is found before zero-stems, and *iw-* before *a-*. First-person plural prefix *naye-* is used before zero-stems and *nayw-* before *a-*. A second-person singular prefix *mati-* (not shown in table 6) occurs twice in the text, but no special meaning can be assigned to it.

Prefix Set 5. Prefixes used with transitive and intransitive verbs in subordinated constructions are given in table 7. In most subordinate constructions, including nominalizations, a prefix *p-* (or *pa-*, if sequence conditions require it) occurs between the personal prefixes and the verb. Almost all the prefixes given in table 7 are also found in other contexts, but they form a set in that only these may be used before *p-lpa-*; compare *u-k'aka'ncam* 'they died' and *a-pa-k'aka'ncam* '(when) they died'. Since the line between subordinated verb constructions and nominalizations is very thin (cf. English *painting* in *He fell while painting the house* and *I admired his painting of the house*), it is not surprising that the same prefixes (the intransitive series) should be used both with subordinated verbs and with nouns.

It is not always clear what conditions govern the use of *p-lpa-*, since parallel sentences in Spanish may be translated by different constructions, some of which seem to require *p-lpa-* and hence these personal prefixes, while other constructions may or may not contain the subordinating prefix, and if they do not, may (or in some instances, as with third-person intransitive subject, must) use other prefixes, for example,

*nakax'a'kam taxta'wex sanino* (53:10-16)

*nakax'a'kam taxpata'wex san pa'n* (55:2-8)

both translating 'I ask you, that you help me' (*na* 'I' + *k* 'you' + *a* 'induced prefix' + *xwa'kam* 'ask'; *ta* 'me' + *x* 'you' + *ta'wex* 'help'; *san* 'subordinate future particle' + *ino* 'first person auxiliary' or *pa* 'relator' + *n* 'first person'). Similarly,

*nak'a'm, taxk'a'cum sanaxo'mino* (67:10-17)

*nak'a'm, taxpak'a'cum san pa'n* (51:1-11)

translate 'I hope that you will pardon me' (*na* 'I' +

**Table 7. Prefix Set 5: Subordinate Clause Subject and Subject-Object Prefixes**

		∅ or 3	1	2	3-Pl.
Obj. / Subj.					
Sg. 1	<i>n-/na-</i>	—	<i>nak-</i>	?	
2	<i>x-/xa-</i>	<i>tax-</i>	—	?	
3	<i>a-; am-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>mak-</i>	<i>ak-; uk-/wak-</i>	
Pl. 1	<i>naxo-/naye-</i> (Rio Grande)	—	?	?	
2	?	?	—	?	
3	<i>ax-</i>	<i>tak-</i>	?	?	

NOTE: Also used with deverbal forms.

*k'a'm* 'hope'; *ta* 'me' + *x* 'you' + *k'a'cum* 'pardon'; *san* 'future particle' + *axo* 'second-person auxiliary' + *mino* 'conjunction' or *pa* 'relator' + *n* 'first person'; *san* is a future particle used in subordinated constructions, corresponding in part to *kam* in main clauses). Compare also:

*naye'hawa'y kam* 'We will do' (44:12) (*naye* 'we' + *ha-wa-y* 'do-plural'; *kam* 'future')

*na'xopa'hawa'y axa'm san tan* 'that we will not do' (43:21-22) (*na'xo* 'we' + *pa* 'subordinating prefix' + *ha-wa-y* 'do-plural'; *axa'm* 'not'; *san* 'future particle'; *ta* 'relator' (possible error for *pa*) + *n* 'first person').

Although *san pan* and related forms (*san pam*, *san ma*) found in subordinate clauses always require *p-lpa-* on the subordinated verb, the prefix occurs only sporadically with *san po*, which in addition to its use in subordinate clauses, is used in main clauses instead of *kam* to express the third-person future.

The *p-lpa-* prefix is required in past tense statements ending in *po'm*, despite the fact that these are usually in main clauses; *po'm* is used only after verbs with third-person subjects, always marked by subordinate-possessive third-person prefix *a-*: *Dios tupo tawaxayo k'e'ex apo'y po'm* 'God made everything'. (35:1-2) ('God demonstrative all locative + 3d-person-suffix 3d-person-prefix + *p* + do/make auxiliary')

The third-person singular prefix *am-* occurs several times in the text, but no distinction in meaning or usage between it and *a-* can be found.

There is also some indication in the text of a distinction between third-person plural object prefixes used in future and nonfuture contexts, though the difference could also be attributed to the auxiliaries used.

*wa[k]-čo-no* 'that he carried them' (64:15)

*ak-čo san po* 'that he will carry them' (66:7)

*uk-a'ko'xtam-ino* 'that he throws them' (65:3)

*ak-pa-hako'xtam san po* 'that he will throw them' (66:11)

The last two examples are also found on 39:8-9 and 39:14-15. A similar distinction is given in 41:9-13, though with different auxiliaries or other postverbal elements:

*loaxa'm tuk'e'ex uka'ko'xtam ate', tamox tuče pitupa moyo akpa'e'xkamko sa'l . . . santupa'yok'e'ex*. 'To the Inferno He throws them, so that . . . the Demons will always be burning them.' (hell the + in + 3d he + them + throws-pl. postverb, Devil the + plural + subject always they + them + burn will . . . so-that.)

Prefix Set 6. There is a poorly attested set of prefixes that may be reflexive in significance (see table 8).

The interpretation of these prefixes is somewhat uncertain. The first two are found in García only five times altogether: *xi-* occurs only twice, both times with the stem *-ka'wa*, which in other constructions means 'to want' or 'to love' (parallel to Spanish *querer*); the first-

Table 8. Prefix Set 6: Reflexive Prefixes

Sg.	1	<i>ni-</i>
	2	<i>xi-</i>
	3	<i>wi-</i> (Pajalate)
Pl.	1	<i>naxoy-</i> (Pajalate) (= <i>nax'i-</i> ?)
	2	<i>mi-</i> (Pajalate)
	3	<i>wi-</i> (Pajalate)

person prefix is used once in the same construction, and twice with a verb meaning 'to hold'.

*cin nika'wa sa'wx pam* 'I am very content.' (54:28)

*xika'wa sa'wx* 'Be happy!' (53:3, 63:3-4)

A complete set of person prefixes is found on page 6 of the *Cuadernillo* (Del Hoyo (1965:32) with the verb 'wet oneself' (Spanish *mojarse*), *-xamašax*. The occurrence of *šax* presumably corresponds to *sa'wx* (or *sa'x*) in García, which is probably a reflexive auxiliary (see 2.4.).

Prefix Set 7. In imperative constructions, the second-person prefix *x-/xa-* is frequently used, either alone or together with the first-person object, as *tax-*. A special imperative prefix, *max-*, is also sometimes used, though García indicates that it may vary dialectally with simple *xa-*. In the last example, *ta-* may also be used preceding *max-*. No distinction is made between singular and plural.

*x-otakcin* 'Walk with care!' (28:3)

*Yo Pecador xa-mesti'a* 'Pray the Yo Pecador!' (1:3)

*tax-ta'wex* 'Help me!' (72:16)

*max-ma's* 'Look!' (RG: *xa-ma's*) (46:1)

*max-na'kako* 'Think!' (56:4)

*tamax-čo'x* 'Bring it to me!' (8:29, 9:1)

Some indication of the uses of different prefixes with a single stem may be gained from table 9, which presents a partial paradigm of *-k'a'ncam* 'to die', a zero-stem, and the corresponding Rio Grande dialect term *-xu'm*, an *a*-stem. Except where indicated, all forms are third person.

#### 2.4. VERB PHRASES

Postverbal elements, or verb phrase constituents, serve a variety of functions, some of which have already been mentioned, such as the plural *čik*, the negative (*y*)*axa'm*, and the future *kam*. Most are written by García as separate words, but some, like (*y*)*axa'm*, show evidence of phonological (and occasional graphic) encliticization to preceding elements. By relative-order analysis, eight positions following the verb can be established. However, it is rare to find more than three filled at one time, and the full possibility is never realized. The positions are numbered outward from the verb (table 10).

Position 1:

*wako* causative or transitivizer; *-xo* 'to know'; *-xo*

*wako* 'to teach'.

*sa'wx* meaning uncertain, perhaps completive or 657

**Table 9. Intransitive Verb Subject Prefixes, Partial Paradigm**

	San Antonio dialect (Ø-stem)	Rio Grande dialect (a-stem)
Main Clause:		
Statement:		
Present:	<i>uk*a'ncam</i>	<i>waxu'm</i> 'he dies', 'is dying'
Past (pos.):	<i>apk*a'ncam pom</i>	<i>apaxu'm pom</i> 'he died'
(neg.):	<i>apak*a'ncam awa'm pom</i>	<i>apaxu'm axa'm pom</i> 'he did not die'
Question:		
Yes/no (past):	<i>mik*a'ncam e'</i>	<i>miwaxu'm e'</i> 'did he die?'
Information:	<i>uk*a'ncam e'</i>	<i>waxu'm e'</i> '(how) did he die?'
Dependent Clause:		
1)	<i>napak*a'ncam</i>	<i>napaxu'm</i> '(that) I die'
2)	<i>xapak*a'ncam</i>	<i>xapaxu'm</i> '(that) you die'
3)	<i>apak*a'ncam</i>	<i>apaxu'm</i> '(that) he dies'
Conditional:		
1)	<i>niwak*a'ncam axa'm</i> (neg.)	<i>niwaxu'm axa'm</i> '(if) I do not die'
2)	<i>mayk*a'ncam</i>	<i>miaxu'm</i> '(if) you die'
3)	<i>ik*a'ncam</i>	<i>iwaxu'm</i> '(if) he dies'

**Table 10. Post-Verbal Elements: Relative Order**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>wak'</i>	<i>čik</i>	<i>atapa'mo'</i>	<i>(y)axa'm</i>	<i>kalo'</i>	<i>(y)am</i>	(various auxiliaries:	<i>e'</i>
<i>sa'wx*</i>	<i>cam</i>				<i>pom</i>	<i>(i)no'</i>	
<i>sal</i>	<i>pam</i>				<i>kam</i>	<i>(a)xo'</i>	
<i>wa'x</i>	<i>cax in</i>				<i>san</i>		
<i>ex</i>	<i>canam (in)</i>						
<i>kawx(?)</i>	<i>(h)in</i>						

reflexive; *-ma'o sawx* 'ascend'; *-kmake'x sawx* 'to kneel'.

*sal* perhaps durative or imperfective marker; *cin pitupa'moyo' na'kpaka'wa sal santupa'yo'* 'so that I may always be loving you' (69:17-19).

*wa'x* pretensive; *mamayaxpi'w wa'x čik am e'?* 'Have you pretended to copulate?' (23:11-12)

*ex* meaning undetermined.

*kawx* 'bad'; as discussed earlier, this may properly be part of the verb stem (or theme), as in *-a'm kawx* 'injure'; *-ča'la'wx kawx* 'miscarry'.

**Position 2:**

*čik* second-person plural subject indicator in some contexts; also occurs with *-xpi'w* 'copulate repeatedly' and *-paxti'* 'companion'.

*cam* second-person plural object indicator in some contexts.

*pam* intensifier; *cin nika'wa sa'wx pam* 'I am very glad' (54:28).

*cax in* iterative, reversible; *-ma'lku'ya cax in* 'confess again'.

*cana'm (in)* reversible; *-tpa'yam cana'm in* 'return to life'; *-a'x cana'm* 'give back'. *(h)in* may also occur separately.

658 *(h)in* 'also', 'again'; *xaspa'mo hin e'?* 'Do you

believe also?'; *niwaho'y in axa'm ka'm* 'I will not do it again'.

**Position 3:**

*(a)ta'pamo'* desiderative; the *a-* occurs following a consonant. *xaka'w ata'pamo' e'?* 'Do you wish to marry?'

**Position 4:**

*(y)axa'm* negative; the *y-* occurs following a vowel.

**Position 5:**

*k(a)lo'* dubitative; the *-a-* is sometimes dropped when *kalo'* follows a stem or other element ending in a vowel. *ap[?]ju'm kalo' sanpo'* 'perhaps he will tell'; *mana'm maysa' klo'* 'if you become well'.

**Position 6 (Tense)**

*(y)am* past tense marker used only in main clause questions (primarily truth-value questions), almost always followed by interrogative particle *e'*; the *y-* occurs following a vowel.

*pom* past tense marker used only in main clause statements with third-person subjects; always requires subordinating prefix *p-/pa-*.

*kam* future particle used in main clause statements and questions.

*san* future particle used in subordinated constructions, including main clauses ending in an auxiliary.

Position 7:

(i)no', (a)xo', etc. various auxiliaries built on a copulative stem -o' with personal prefixes (in- in first person, ax- second person); compare the similar structure of conjunctions. In certain constructions or with certain persons, the auxiliary may be used and the main verb (of the Spanish sentence) cast in a subordinated form.

Position 8:

e' interrogative particle, normally occurring at the end of a question.

Additional elements:

The following postverbal elements cannot be fitted into the positional structure outlined above, either because they occur too infrequently or not in combination with other elements.

čon, čo This may represent a secondary verb stem (compare -čo' 'carry') used to indicate translocative action, that is, motion away. Altogether they are found only three times in the text: *nakpama's čo* 'I go to see you'.

(a)te' The a- occurs following a consonant. No consistent meaning can be assigned to this element, though it probably has some aspectual or tense significance: *mama'yma's ate' e'* 'Did you observe (the Mass)?'

### 3. NOUNS

Nouns, like verbs, may be pluralized by the use of infixes (in fact, by the same ones), though plurality is usually shown instead by the form of the demonstrative following the noun. Nouns for which plural forms are recorded are given below:

<i>pa'm</i> 'son, child'	<i>ap-ak-am</i> 'children'
<i>ta'y</i> 'mother'	<i>t-aw-a'y</i> 'mother' (of several)
<i>pin</i> 'thing'	<i>pinwak</i> 'things'

A plural form of the subordinating prefix, *pi*, is used with some forms:

*na'xo-pi-tawa'y* 'our mother' (87:5)  
*naxo-pi-ma'ma* 'out father' (46:1-2)  
*pilta a-pi-ka'w* 'married ones' (16:6).

*pi* is also used in a regular subordinated verb construction: *mak-pi-ka'wa* '(as) they love you' (68:23).

Some nouns in the Spanish text are rendered directly by subordinated verb forms, for example, *ap'la:l* 'sorrow' (pl. *apalaka:l* 'sorrows'); *xapaka'wa sa'wx* 'your desire' (*sa'wx* 'reflexive'); *napatpa'yam sa'wx* 'my soul' (RG) (*tpa'yam* 'live'); *xapak'a'xo* 'you are a shaman'.

At times an entire subordinated verbal phrase is used to translate a Spanish noun:

*napaxa'm a'psa* 'my soul' (*xa'm* 'remember'; *sa* 'be, exist')

*saxpa'm pinapsa' nami* 'my sin' (*saxpa'm* 'bad', *pin* 'thing')

*pin napsaka'wx* 'my sin' (RG) (*ka'wx* 'bad')

### 3.1. INFLECTION

Nouns in Coahuilteco, as in many other American Indian languages, may be classified into inalienably possessed and alienably possessed. The former always occur with possessive (genitive) prefixes, while the latter may take these prefixes or may occur as uninflected free forms. However, the distinction is not certain, since it necessarily depends on the accidents of textual occurrence: there is no way to test whether a form could occur other than as it appears in the text. The possessive prefixes are used also with nominalized verb forms, which are marked by the subordinating prefix *p-lpa-*. The possessive prefixes are shown in table 11.

Inalienably possessed nouns include *-ka'w* 'husband', *-ha'wh* 'meat, body', *-paxti* 'companion', *-k'a'w* 'womb', *-ha'c* 'blood' (RG *-k'as*), *-(a)xasa:l* 'heart', *-co'c* 'chest', *-ta'm* 'breast', and various kinship terms. These follow the usual categories of body-part and kinship terms. Alienably possessed (for the most part totally uninflected) nouns include *a'nwa* (or *a'nua*) 'moon', *kuta'ce* 'priest', *paxe* 'peyote', *txe* 'dance', *atu'lam* 'year', and *taklaxpo* 'owl'.

Some Coahuilteco nouns admit both affixal and periphrastic inflection, but it is not determinable whether this possibility extends to all possessed nouns, or is restricted to only a few. One word for 'father', *ma'ma*, occurs both with prefixes (23 times) and with independent possessive pronouns (21 times):

*xama'ma* 'your father' (77:10)

*ma'ma nami* 'my father' (53:26).

Compare the following two lines from the same paragraph (67:6-7):

*xami'n Dios nami axo'mexo* 'because you are my God' (you God my are+because)

*xami'n naka'xana'y axo'mexo* 'because you are my father'. (The prefix *nak-*, if correct, seems to imply a second person object relationship, i.e., I+you+father.)

As has been noted, possessive prefixes are used in nominalized verb constructions:

*xamalku'yta xo' e'?* 'Have you confessed?' (9:15)  
 (you+confess 2d-aux. Q)

*xapama'lku'yta tuči'yo* 'in your confessions' (5:1-2)  
 (your+pa+confess this+pl.+by).

In addition, noun stems are sometimes used with verbal inflections, even in contexts that translate

Table 11. Possessive Noun Prefixes

Sg.	1	<i>n-/na-</i>
	2	<i>x-/xa-</i>
	3	<i>a-</i>
Pl.	1	<i>naxo-</i>
	2	<i>x-/xa-</i>
	3	<i>ax-</i>



as nouns in Spanish (cf. *naka'xana'y* above), indicating that the line between noun and verb in Coahuilteco is not altogether sharply defined. Notable is the verbal inflection attached to the Spanish (perhaps via Nahuatl) loanword *timi'ko* (Sp. *Domingo*) 'Sunday' (see Troike 1961): *Apatimi'ko . . . tuče'm* '(On) Sundays' (10:1-3) (3d-person prefix+subordinating prefix+Sunday . . . this+pl.+2d-person suffix). Other examples follow.

*xak'a'n po e?* 'Is he your mother's father?' (77:17)  
(your+mother's.father is Q)

*xapak'a'n wako' po e?* 'Is he your wife's father?' (79:13) (you+pa+mother's.father causative is Q)

*xapa'm* 'your son' (70:18) (your+child/son)

*maka'pakam* 'your children' (12:10) (you-them/they-you+child-pl.)

*ta'y nami* 'my mother' (72:21) (mother my(= I+have)); used vocatively

*xami'n nakpata'y ano* 'you are my mother' (72:14-15) (you I+you+pa+mother auxiliary; the -k- should perhaps be -x-; see discussion below, but also cf. *naka'xana'y* above)

*na'xopi'tawa'y* 'our mother' (87:5) (our+pi+mother-pl.; pi is plural of pa)

*ma'ma nami* 'my father' (53:26) (father my)

*napama'ma* 'my father' (54:1-2) (I/my+pa+father)

In at least one instance, assuming the form is correct, there is probable evidence of a possessive noun prefix preceding a verbal subject prefix: *na-x-paxti' čik san pa'n* 'be my companion' (72:16), in which the first person *na-* precedes the imperative prefix *x-*. (Since both *na-* and *x-* may be subject prefixes, however, alternative analyses are possible.)

### 3.2. DERIVATION

There are no regular derivational processes operative in Coahuilteco whereby one part of speech is systematically derived from another. A few stems, such as *ka'w* 'husband/to marry', *pi'lam* 'to live/people', and *ta'yawu* 'wife/to marry' are used both nominally and verbally, but this is rare. The usual pattern is to use subordinated verb stems in noun positions:

*maytxam kam* 'you will inhabit' (18:12) (you+dwell future)

*xapatxam* 'your house' (17:8) (your+pa+dwell).

However, there are a small number of stems that show similarities suggesting possible derivational relationships, though no regularities can be found. In some instances, similarities may be no more than fortuitous.

*k'a'x* 'womb'                      *paxti* 'companion'

*k'a'na* 'be born'                  *axte* 'two'

*pi'lam* 'people/to live'          *toaxa'm* 'hell'

*pi* 'have sexual intercourse'   *to'cam* 'descend'

*awaya'm* 'bird'

*awayo* 'cry'

*mantpa'm* 'truth'

*mana'm* 'well'

In several instances, a combination of a subordinated third-person verb form with an element *pil* (probably the same as *pił* 'one, something') translates an abstract noun in Spanish:

*pilapa'mesti'a* 'doctrine' (*mesti'a* 'pray')

*pila'paxle* 'words' (*xle* 'speak')

(*pin*) *pilapši'p* 'a:lie' (also *pilapši'p*) (cf. *pilta apika'w* 'married ones'; *ka'w* 'marry').

### 3.3. PRONOUNS

Independent personal pronouns in Coahuilteco are, with one exception, built on the verbal stem *-ami* 'to have'. The exception is the first-person form *cin* 'I'. There are only two series, the possessive and the subjective. The possessive series is formed by adding a possessive prefix to the stem; the subjective forms appear to be derived from the possessive by the addition of a suffix *-n*. Attested forms are shown in table 12. It should be noted that two different plural forms of the stem are used for the first- and second-person plural pronouns.

### 3.4. NOUN MODIFIERS

Noun modifiers or adjectives do not constitute a formal morphological class in Coahuilteco, but it is useful to group together for discussion those elements that may be said to modify nouns.

A number of these are subordinated verb forms with a third-person prefix *a-*. Although presumably the stems might also occur as predicates in main clauses, in fact they rarely do. Some examples follow:

*apna'n* 'great'

*apxo'hoimo* 'together'

(*pi'lam*) *wa'n ta' apexa'ma* 'Christian (people)'  
([people] water that 3d.pers.+pi+wet ?)

*apa'xw* 'many' (RG *oxa'wx*)

*apša'yš* (pl. *apšaka'yš*) 'bad'

*apšapa'n* (pl. *apšapa'kan*) 'good'

*apca'y* 'old'

*appa'nman* (pl. *appa'kenmam*) 'past'.

Four of the foregoing are used predicatively: *xa'xoxako'imo čik sanino* 'that you-all combine (all of your sins)' (85:12-13), *waxa'wx'axa'm* 'they are not many' (34:5), *ta'xat a'nua apči'ka mi'pa'kenmam e?* 'How many moons have passed?' (13:23-24), *Dios*

Table 12. Independent Personal Pronouns

		Possessive	Subjective
Sg.	1	<i>nami</i>	<i>cin; če'n, če'n</i> (Pajalate)
	2	<i>xami</i>	<i>xami'n; xamen</i> (Pajalate)
	3	<i>ami</i>	<i>tupo</i> (Pajalate, demonstrative)
Pl.	1	<i>na'xoama'ca</i>	<i>cakan</i> (Pajalate)
	2	?	<i>xama'kan; mamakon</i> (Pajalate)
	3	?	?

*tupo'm apša'pa'n pam po'mino'm* 'because God is very good' (30:5-6). In this last example, the subordinating prefix is used because of the following copulative element *po'*. (The *-m* on *tupo'm* is presumably an error.)

In addition, there are a small number of uninflected forms that are used as noun modifiers: *šan* 'little' (child), *ata* 'every', *axco* 'other', *oxčixu* 'few'; however, the last might be analyzed as containing a third-person plural prefix, *ox-*.

A few descriptive stems are found in predicative use that do not occur in noun phrases, such as *ca* 'ill': *mameya'ca'kaloyam e?* 'Were you perhaps ill?' (10:11). This, together with the examples above, serves to illustrate the fact that, as in many languages, adjectives in Coahuilteco are fundamentally a type of verb.

The intensifier *pam*, discussed earlier as part of the verb phrase, is also frequently used in noun modifier constructions, following the modifier (which is a subordinated verbal form):

*talo'm apna'n pam* '(the) very great fire' (28:28)  
*apa'wx pam* 'very much' (33:11).

### 3.5. DEMONSTRATIVE-RELATORS

Demonstrative-relators constitute unquestionably the most distinctive aspect of Coahuilteco grammar, playing a major role in the apparently unique Coahuilteco system of subject-object concord (Troike 1981). They occur at the ends of noun phrases and serve to signal matters such as the function of the noun phrase in the sentence (subject or object), relative proximity, plurality, and location (cf. English demonstratives and related forms such as *this-that*, *that-those*, *here-there*), and the human or nonhuman gender of the noun with which they occur (cf. English *who* versus *which*).

The internal structure of demonstrative-relators is complex, consisting basically of a stative or copulative

verbal stem, a deictic prefix, and a personal suffix showing agreement with the subject of the verb. Certain other poststem elements may occur, including a second stem. Both the prefix and the stem appear to be at least to some extent optional. A chart of all possible elements, showing their relative order, is given in table 13. The stems may also be used alone as copulas, or they may be used with intransitive verb prefixes in a copulative function.

The use of the same forms as demonstrative stems and as copulas may perhaps be understood in terms of the proposal that noun phrases represent the underlying predicates of embedded copular or existential sentences (i.e., a phrase such as *the man* may represent an underlying predication 'There is one who is a man').

García, in a grammatical note (pp. 33-34), gives a series of examples contrasting *če'* as a plural nonhuman copula and *pa'* as a plural human copula (33:21-22):

*apa'wx če'* 'They are many' (*a* 'third person' + *p* 'subordinator' + *a'wx* 'many'; *če'* 'be')  
*apa'wx pa'* 'They are many (people)'.

As Swanton (1940:49) has observed, García is inconsistent in his use of these stems. Both, for example, are used with *pi'lam* 'people':

*pi'lam wa'n ta' apexa'ma ačēx* (42:3-4) (people Christian the)  
*pi'lam wa'n ta' apexa'ma tupa't* (42:10-11) (people Christian the).

Most forms used with *če'* (which has a bound allomorph *či'-* used before *-yo* or *če'*) are nonhuman, but a few human terms occur, including 'man', 'woman', and 'priest'. In addition, *paxe'* 'peyote', *ahe'wh* 'meat', and *sami'n* 'mescal bean' are apparently singular, although they may be used in a collective sense. García's use of *pa'* is at greater variance from his

Table 13. Demonstrative-Relator Structure

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Deictic-2	Deictic-1	Stem-1				Stem-2	Suffix
	<i>a-</i> 'proximate'	<i>po'</i> 'human (sg.)'	<i>-ha-</i> 'as'	<i>-mo-</i> 'only'	<i>-yo-</i> 'with, by'	<i>po'</i>	<i>-θ</i> 'subj.'
<i>pi-</i> 'emphatic distance'	<i>tu-, to</i> 'neutral'	<i>pa'</i> 'human (pl.)'	<i>-xa-</i> (?)	<i>-ka-</i> 'interrogative'		<i>pa'</i>	<i>-n</i> '1st obj.'
	<i>ta-</i> 'distant'	<i>če', či-</i> 'nonhuman (pl.)'				<i>če', či-</i>	<i>-m</i> '2d obj.'
		<i>k'e', k'i-, k'a-</i> 'locative'				<i>k'e'</i>	<i>-t</i> '3d obj.'
							<i>-x</i> '3d obj.'
<i>ani-</i> (Rio Grande <i>anu-</i> ) 'interrogative'							<i>-yo</i> 'instrumental' (with, by)

statement, as the majority of forms used with one combination, *tupa'*, are singular, and a few are nonhuman ('thing', 'Mass', 'sin').

Singular human noun phrases are indicated by *po'*, which also occurs after 'people' and 'church'. It is also frequently used alone as a copula.

The stem *k'e'* (with allomorphs *k'i-* before *-yo* or itself and *k'a-* before *-ha-* or *-xa-*) has a locative significance, either of place or time:

*Cruz tuk'e't* 'on the Cross'

*tap pa ak'e' apaxa'y tuk'e't* 'when this world ends'  
(world this it-ends when).

Here *ak'e'* renders 'this' since earth is a location, and *tuk'e't* renders 'on the' following the noun but 'when' following the verb, that is, it may serve as either a noun phrase relator (combining the functions of article and preposition) or clause relator (as a relative adverbial conjunction equivalent to 'at the time that').

The deictic prefixes distinguish four degrees of distance, with *a-* indicating proximity, *tu-* evidently a neutral distance (with an allomorph *to* when no stem follows it), *ta-* a definite distance, and *pi-* prefixed before either *tu-* or *ta-*, an emphatic distance. (These may perhaps be compared to Spanish *aquí*, *acá*, *allí*, *allá*, though they are probably more like English *this*, *the*, *that*, *that yonder*). The interrogative prefix *ani-* (RG *anu-*) yields forms such as *anik'e't* 'from where?' and *anipo'ka'* 'which (person)?'

The element *-ha-* following the stem generally corresponds to the conjunction *como* 'as' in Spanish, but at other times its significance is not clear. It is perhaps related to, or at least at times confused with, the element *-xa-*, which frequently occurs in question words and such combinations as *tuk'axa'm* 'when'. The element *-mo(-)* has the significance 'only', as in *aha'wx tupamo'* 'the body only' (40:2); it is also apparently found in *xa'nmo'* 'alone'. The morpheme *-ka-* evidently has an interrogative significance, as it is widely used in question words, such as *taxaka't* 'why?'

The morpheme *-yo*, which can occur either preceding or following the second stem position (as well as directly following a noun) has a comitative or instrumental significance, for example, *ta'wu pitapo'yo'* 'with that woman', *santupa'yo'* 'in order that'. At times, the combination of various morphemes may produce an idiosyncratic result, as in *pitupa'moyo'(k'e:x)* 'always', which is used as an independent adverbial, or *pitupa'yok'e'n* 'for that reason'.

In most instances, the second stem is a reduplication of the first, as in *ak'i'k'e:x* 'here in this (world)', *tupa'hamopa'n* 'as', but other stems may occur as in *tupa'yok'e'* 'with all'. However, it is not at all clear how constructions containing a second stem differ from those containing only a first stem, since García uses them in what otherwise seem parallel contexts.

The personal suffixes occurring on the end of

demonstratives are of considerable syntactic importance (the instrumental suffix *-yo'* is mutually exclusive with the personal suffixes in this position). If no suffix is used, the noun phrase involved is the subject of the verb. If the noun phrase is an object of the verb, either oblique or direct, the demonstrative carries a personal suffix corresponding to the subject of the verb: *-n* first person; *-m* second person; *-t* or *-x* third person.

*Dios tupo' makpak'a'cum* 'God may pardon you'  
(6:20-21)

*Dios tupo'n naxoxie'wal wako'* 'We annoyed God'  
(43:16-17)

*Dios tupo'm xaka'wa xo e'?* 'Do you love God' (7:1-3)

*Dios tupo't apa'ktace'y* '(all) pray to God' (63:28-29)

In several instances the person agreement on the demonstrative disambiguates an otherwise ambiguous verbal prefix:

*ia'xat apsaka' makma's e'?* 'How many saw you?'  
(24:1-2)

*ia'xat apsaka'm makmo' e'?* 'How many did you bewitch?' (8:16-17)

*xawu' pi'l ian xata'm tače't mamikkay am e'?* 'Has some man touched your breasts?' (22:14-16)  
(man one some your+breast those he-you+touch past Q)

*pin penitencia'ka't, kuta'ce tupo' mamik[?]ax e'?* 'What penitence did the priest give you?' (2:23-25) (thing penitence-what, priest the he-you + give Q)

*kuta'ce tuče'm, mami'kaxa'maya' sawx'am e'?* 'Have you made fun of the priests?' (12:1-3) (priest the+pl. you-them+made.fun.of reflexive + past Q).

Both *-t* and *-x* are used to mark the objects of third-person subject verbs, and though there is a strong tendency (75 percent) for *-x* to occur preceding *u-lo-lwa-* and for *-t* to occur elsewhere, there is enough variation to suggest either that García himself was not entirely sure of the distinction, or that he was not always consistent in maintaining it. It is further possible that some dialect differences may have been involved.

In some constructions, the particle *ma'* (or *ma*) is used instead of a demonstrative to mark the object of a second-person subject verb, and *ta'* to mark the object of a third-person subject verb.

*pin apšaka'yš ma', mamikka' kalo' yam e'?* 'Have you said bad things?' (11:22-24) (thing bad object.of.2d,you-them+say perhaps past Q)

*pinwak apšaka'yš ta', apa'lace'* 'They say bad things' (13:1-3) (thing+pl. bad object.of.3d they+say-pl.)

### 3.6. NOUN PHRASES

The noun phrase (NP) in Coahuilteco has roughly the reverse structure of that in English: the head noun generally occurs first, followed by any modifiers, while the demonstrative is the last element in the construction

and forms an immediate constituent with the noun. This may be summarized as follows:

NP = Noun + (Modifiers) + Demonstrative

An example is:

*pi'lam apšapa'n tupa't* 'good people' (66:4-5) (people good the).

The only common exception to this order is *tawaxa'yo* 'all', which usually precedes the noun (cf. the position of *all* in English outside the rest of the noun phrase).

*tawaxa'yo pi'lam wa'n ta' apexa'ma tupa't* 'all Christian people' (42:10-11) (all people Christian the)

As noted previously, possessive (genitive) pronouns also follow the noun they modify:

*saxpa'm pinapsa' xami' tuče'm* 'your sins' (3:7-9) (sin [=bad thing+3d+p+is] your the-pl.)

A possessive (or genitive) relation between two nouns is indicated by juxtaposing them without any special morphological marking:

*Missa Hostia* 'the Host of the Mass' (42:21-22)

*Dios ata'y* 'Mother of God' (37:21)

*pi'lam apšapa'n, apaxa'm apsa'* 'souls of the good people' (38:17-18) (people good, souls [= they + *pa* + remember they + *p* + are])

Relative clauses, like the single-word noun modifiers that may be derived from them, generally follow the noun they modify. There is no separate relative pronoun.

*pi'niwakta', kuta'ce tupo' makpata'nko tuče'm* '(Did you do) the things the priest commanded you?' (2:18-21) (thing+pl.+object.of.3d, priest the+sg.+subject he-you+*pa*+command the+pl.+object.of.2d)

*tawaxa'yo pi'lam makpaxte'wal wako' tuče'm* '(You must pardon) all the people who angered you' (50:17-18) (all people they-you+*pa*+anger causative the+pl.+object.of.2d)

*aplaka'l, Jesu-Christo tupo' apak'a'xa'y tuče'n* '(I give you) the pains Jesus Christ suffered' (54:4-5) (3d+p+pain-pl., Jesus-Christ the+sg.+subjective he-*pa*-suffer the+pl.+obj.of.1st)

#### 4. CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions in Coahuilteco are of two types. The unmodifiable particle *ko* 'and' is regularly used for joining noun phrases. It is frequently used for joining clauses as well, though other forms are also employed for that purpose, for example,

*xu'yopama'wx axte', ko pil' 11'* (10 and 1).

Besides *ko*, Coahuilteco has a number of morphologically complex conjunctions built on the stems *ma-*, *me-*, and *mi-*. Inasmuch as the differences in these are not clear, they can only be listed for the present. Some forms, as will be noted, are distinguished by the occurrence of the personal suffixes *-n*, *-m*, *-x* on them, since they usually occur at the end of a clause and are marked to agree with the subject of the governing verb.

*mak* 'or'

*mat* 'and'

*matpo', matxo'* 'but'

*mex, mem, men* 'and'

*mexo', mexta'* 'and'

*mi, mipo'* 'and'

*mim, min* 'so'

*mitxo'* 'because'

*mino'* 'because'

*mino'm, mino'x, mino'n* 'and, so'

Examples are:

*me'xta' Personas axtikpi'l tupa'* 'and the three Persons' (are one God);

*mino'x poxoyok'ex Virgen pax uha'wx* 'and thus she is called Virgin';

*mat, kuta'ce apna'n pa'm Sumo Pontifice pa apo'* 'And, the very big Supreme Pontiff' (always commands all the Christian people well);

*mem xapakomulgar'* 'and (so that) you have communion'.

#### 5. INTERROGATIVES

Interrogatives in Coahuilteco, as in most languages, are of two types. Truth-value questions—those that may be answered by 'yes' or 'no'—are marked by the interrogative particle *e'*, which is usually placed at the end of the sentence. Information questions—those in English asked by words such as *what*, *who*, *where*—are formed by a number of morphologically complex words or combinations distinguished primarily by the fact that they contain the morpheme *-ka*.

*anipo'ka'* 'which?'

*anik'e'kat* 'in where?'

*ia'xaka't* 'why?'

*pi'lka* 'who?'

*ia'xat apči'ka* 'how many?'

*ia'xat apči'yoka'* 'how many times?'

*ia'xat apsaka'* 'how many (people, things)?'

*pin penitenciaika't* 'what penitence?'

#### 6. SENTENCE STRUCTURE AND TYPOLOGY

The basic order of constituents in the Coahuilteco sentence is subject-object-verb (SOV):

*cin Anillo apa'n naka'x* 'I give you the ring' (87:1-2) (I ring this+first I-you+give)

*Dios tupo' xa'papi'lam sa'wx tapa't maktalo' sanpo'* 'God will take away your life' (19:15-17) (God the you+*pa*+live reflexive the+third he-you+take future+3d-aux.)

The order is occasionally varied, usually for particular reasons, but in general the SOV order is consistently maintained. Given the considerable differences between Spanish and Coahuilteco syntax, there is perhaps no more impressive evidence of García's care in translation and his control of the language than the fact that there is little evidence of Spanish influence in the word order in the Coahuilteco text.

One reason for a variation in order is illustrated in an example cited earlier:

*pin penitenciak'a't, kuta'ce tupo' mamik[?]ax e'?*  
 'What penitence did the priest give you?' (2:23-25)

As in English, a sentence constituent that is the focus of a question is often moved to the beginning of the sentence. In this example, perhaps because of the order-shift, García set the constituent off with a comma, which might indicate that there was an intonational break at that point.

When the object of a sentence is a long clause, it may either precede or follow the verb. Whether the object occurs to the left or the right appears to depend on the main clause verb itself. With *ka'wa* 'want, love', *xa'mcam* 'desire', *xa'tam* 'be unable', and *na'ko* 'think', the clause precedes; with other verbs (including *k'a'm* 'hope', *xo* 'know', *spa'mo* 'believe', *ta'nko* 'order', *tu'm* 'promise', *u'm* 'tell, advise'), the clause follows:

*pa'ya'mak'e't xapa'mi sanpa'm xaka'wa e'?* 'Do you wish that he now be yours?' (86:9-10) (now+this you-(him)+pa+have future+copula+object.of.2d you+want Q)

*ma'mayxo' kloya'm, na'mo ata'yawu' mik'a'ncam ma e'?* 'Do you know if his wife already died?' (83:18-20) (you+know perhaps+past, now his+wife she+die object.of.2d Q)

In general, with the second group of verbs, the object clause is much longer, so that the shift of the clause to follow the verb is perhaps largely a device to avoid front-heaviness in the sentence. However, it may also have served to reduce the potential cognitive processing problems created by center-embedding or 'nesting' of relative clauses, since Coahuilteco was one of the few languages of the world whose SOV structure permitted three levels of embedding. In this example, the main-clause complement object clause is shifted from the position marked <O> to avoid a fourth level:

[ <i>xami'n</i> ] <O> <i>xaspa'mo e'</i> ,	[you] <O> you + believe Q,
< <i>Dios tupo'</i>	<God the
( <i>pi'lam</i>	(people
{ <i>pinwak ta'</i>	{things
< <i>Dios pi'la apata'nko</i> >	<God something
	he+pa+commands>
<i>tuče't</i> }	the-pl.+object.of.3d}
<i>apawa'y tupa't</i> )	they+pa+do-pl.
	the-pl.+object.of.3d)
<i>akpaču' san apa'm&gt;?</i>	he-them + pa + raise
	future that +
	object.of.2d>?

"Do you believe that God will raise up the people who do the things that God commands?" The structure of the complement clause is: <S<sub>1</sub> (S<sub>2</sub> {O<sub>2</sub> <S<sub>3</sub>O<sub>3</sub>V<sub>3</sub>>} V<sub>2</sub>) V<sub>1</sub>>, where each subject (S) goes with the verb (V) having the same subscript, and the clauses (. . .) and { . . .} are the objects of the immediately following verbs.

## 7. SELECTED VOCABULARY

The following list follows the Swadesh 200-word list (Hymes 1960) in order, omitting those items not found in the available sources. The designation (H) is used to identify an item taken from Del Hoyo (1965; for a complete list of words in that source see Troike 1967a). The abbreviations w.s. and m.s. with kin terms indicate 'woman speaking' and 'man speaking', respectively. Forms spelled by García with "g" that are transcribed with *w* are indicated by placing García's form in parentheses. Bound stems, usually verbs, are preceded by a hyphen.

1. all *tawaxa'yo*
2. and *ko*
3. animal *pinwaka'y*
7. bad *kawx, saxpa'm, -ša'yš*
9. because *mitxo', mino'*
11. big *-na'n*
12. bird *awaya'm*
15. blood *-ha'c* (RG *-k'a's*)
19. burn (tr.) *-li'xamko', -(a)kayo* (H)
20. child *pa'm*
23. come *-ka'í* (?; also 'go')
25. cut *-(a)kape* (H)
26. day *til*
27. die *-k'a'ncam* (RG *-xu'm*)
30. dog *kačo'wa* (H)
31. drink *-ko'wx'*
36. earth *ta'p* (*pa*)
37. eat *-ha'm*
43. father *-xana'y; (-)ma'ma* m.s.; *-la'nawe'* ("t'ânagê") w.s.
44. fear *ta'lam*
48. fire *tal'o'm*
50. five *xu'yopama'wx* (RG *ma'x'axu'yo*)
57. four *puwa'nčan*
60. give *-a'x*
61. good *-šapa'n; mana'm* (ča'n); *mapa* (H)
66. hand *-ma'wx*
69. hear *-čake'y* (pl.; sg. \*-če'y (?))
70. heart *-axasa'l*
72. here *ak'e'*
73. hit *-wa'c*
74. hold/take *-x'a'c* (hold); *-ču/-čo'* (take)
77. husband *-ka'w*
78. I *cin; čen, čen* (H)
80. if *awaxta; -e'x*

81. in *-k'e* (locative demonstrative stem; cf. 'here')
82. kill *-čap*; *-(a)č'an* (H)
83. know *-xo*
84. laugh *-xamaya* (laugh at, make fun of)
90. live *-pi'lam* (also 'people'); *-txa'm* (dwell)
94. man/male *xawu* ("jagû")
95. many *-a'wx* (a subordinated verb stem)
96. meat *aha'wh*
97. mother *-le'yš* (w.s.) (RG *-cawa'w*); *-ta'y*
100. name *-a'wx'*
102. near *pawlikako* (H)
105. night *čum* (RG *tako'm*)
107. not *(y)axa'm*
108. old *-ca'y*
109. one *pił*
110. other *axco*; *hin*
111. person *pi'lam* (people)
119. river *wan akkan* (H)
124. rub *-k'a'y* (touch, fondle, caress)
127. say *-xle*; *-ka* (*-u'm* tell)
129. sea *wan apanan* (H; *apna'n* big)
130. see *-ma's*; *-maš* (H)
138. sky *ux'ał*
139. sleep *-camo'x'*
140. small *šan* (child)
161. that *ta-*, *pita-* (demonstrative prefixes)
162. there *tak'e*; *pitak'e*
166. think *-na'ko*
167. this *a-* (demonstrative prefix)
168. thou *xami'n*
169. three *axtikpił* (two and one)
170. throw *-ho'whiam*
174. tree *puman paxawče . . . m* (H)
176. two *axte*
181. water *wan* (see 'sea')
182. we *čakan* (H)
183. wet *-xama* (H)
184. what *ia'xaka* (RG *xa'ka*); *-ka*
186. where *anik'e'kat* (RG *anuk'e'kat*)
188. who *piłka*
190. wife *ta'yawu* ("tâyagû")
194. with *a'wxyo*; *-yo*
195. woman *ta'wu* ("tâgu")
198. ye *xama'kan*
199. year *axako* (RG *atu'lam*)