


A GRAMMAR OF TETELCINGO (MORELOS) NAHUATL

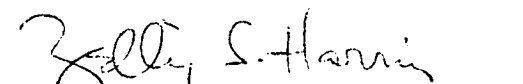
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Supervisor of Dissertation



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INTRODUCTION

The village of Tetelcingo is six kilometers north of Cuautla, Morelos, on the highway to Mexico City.

My wife and children and I lived in Tetelcingo for the better part of the years from 1940 to 47 and for several short periods since. We were shown no little kindness by the inhabitants of this village and learned from them their mother tongue--Māsiewalli.

Tetelcingo Māsiewalli is one of the dialects of the most widespread of the Mexican Indian languages, Nahuatl, whose speakers range over large parts of Mexico and as far south as Nicaragua. This language belongs to the Uto-Aztecan family, in whose identification Edward Sapir played so important a part.

As a part of our work with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and as a debt to the people of Tetelcingo, the linguists of America, and many personal friends and relatives we have undertaken to prepare a short descriptive grammar of Māsiewalli.

The Plan of the Grammar.

We have undertaken in this grammatical sketch to provide the reader with 1. a fair amount of text material, so transcribed as to facilitate comparison with grammar, 2. a more extensive treatment of 'constructions' and 3. a more balanced coverage of syntax than is common to many grammars, 4. a progression from simpler, 'most presupposed' to complex 'least presupposed' constructions, and 5. an attempt at maximum intelligibility.

The purpose of including more than the usual amount of text with the grammar is to give the reader and critic a fairer opportunity to evaluate the description and accept or reject the author's conclusions on the basis of first-hand evidence available to all. Five different texts from three different informants have been used.

In transcribing the texts, we have attempted to indicate all morpheme boundaries, stems being enclosed in parentheses, roots between diagonals, other boundaries hyphenated or indicated by word spaces, e.g. ni-h(/kix/ti)̄s 'I-it(/come out/cause)future'. We have not, however, attempted to make any description of the 'inner layer' constructions, i.e. the data enclosed in parentheses--the structure of the stems. This area has been left for subsequent description. Though it contains information which is crucial for the comparativist, it is not nearly so relevant to the descriptivist as the 'live', 'outer layer' constructions. A short glossary of verb stems, with roots indicated, has been appended to the

grammar, and will be found serviceable by the comparativist.

The basic rationale of the design of the grammar has been given in a paper entitled The Priority of Valence over Phonological Attachment and Relative Order in Descriptive Statements, read by the author at the Linguistic Society of America meeting in Bloomington, Indiana, on August 2nd, 1952. It is, in essence, as follows.

It is possible to conceive of the relation between two immediate constituents as a sort of link, or bond, between the constituents. This bond, called a 'syntagmatic relation' by Hjelmslev, is frequently symbolized by an arrow, or, if one follows Uldall's recommendation, by two arrows. Though their terminologies and usages do not closely coincide at all, it is possible to correlate roughly and illustrate just a little of the Hjelmslev and Bloomfield terminology on this point:

<u>Hjelmslev</u>	<u>Bloomfield</u>	<u>Illustration</u>
subordinating relation	endocentric expression	very--> --> fine
coordinating relation	compound expression	man<-- -->hour
predicating relation	exocentric expression	John-><-ran

It is possible to conceive of the syntagmatic relations between the terminals in the above illustrations as a sort of 'bond' or 'valence' connecting the terminals.

Confining our attention, for the moment, to the type of valence which characterizes endocentric constitutes¹, we may

¹ Constitute: (after Wells) 'a pair of immediate constituents'.

define it tentatively as 'the bond uniting a given lateral constituent to the most lateral of the central constituents which it presupposes'. This definition may be illustrated by some non-linguistic analogies. Taking a leaf, branch, and trunk of a tree as three relevant constituents in a botanical description, one might say that since a leaf presupposes both branch and trunk, it is a matter of relative indifference whether one chooses to describe a leaf in its relation to branch or trunk or both. Since it may be said, however, that leaf more immediately presupposes branch than it does trunk, it may also be affirmed that the relation of leaf to branch is more relevant to the description than the relation of leaf to trunk. Astronomy might furnish us with a further possible illustration in the relation existing between the sun, earth, and our moon. Moon presupposes both earth and sun, but it more immediately presupposes earth than it does sun, hence the description of its relation to earth should have descriptive priority over the description of its relation to sun.

○
○
○
 The relations of very to fine and fine to music might be called 'primary valences', and that of very to music an 'ultimate valence'. For the remainder of the paper I shall use the term valence in the sense of primary valence.

It has been conventional, in many linguistic descriptions, to begin by giving top priority in the description to

a distinction between morphology and syntax. This distinction, I believe, is a very real one in many or most languages.

In spite of the objectivity of the distinction for many languages, however, it may be seriously questioned whether it should be given top priority in a language description. Certain statements of phonological attachment and/or relative position may be highly irrelevant unless they are preceded by an identification of the relevant valences.

In the English expression I'll go, for example, ll may be said to be a suffix to I. But the statement that its valence is to go should precede that of its 'attachment' to I. In the Nahuatl expression ti-k-ihta-s-ki 'we-it-see-will-pl', the primary valence of the suffix -ki 'plural' is not to the stem to which it is phonologically bound, but to the prefix ti- meaning 'we'. -ki is thus a satellite of ti- rather than of ihta.

In the Spanish expression una casa muy vieja 'a very old house', it would be obviously irrelevant to describe muy as a first order satellite following the noun casa, since its valence is to vieja rather than to casa.

Attempts at describing the position, or relative order of morphemes, whether in morphology or syntax, if not governed by a prior identification of valences, are apt to result in more awkward and irrelevant statements than is the case where valences are indicated first. Thus, in the Tetelcingo Nahuatl expression, to-mo-hti-li 'you-H-saw-it', a conventional description might refer to mo- as a first order prefix

to the verb stem and to- as a second order prefix. mo-, however, more immediately presupposes the prefix to- than it does the stem, and is more accurately described as a satellite to the prefix to- than as a prefix in its own right.

In most cases it is probably more difficult to identify valences than morphemes, since the former are frequently covert features whose identity may be determined only by observing which constituents and classes are presupposed by certain other constituents and classes. Certain phonological sequences, however, which have usually been described as morphemes, might perhaps be more neatly described as 'overt valences'. These overt valences may appear to be very similar to morphemes, or, indeed, they may be 'carried' by specific morphemes. Possible examples of this might be the unit to in English infinitive expressions and the suffix -r in Spanish infinitives. The English auxiliary 'do' in expressions such as I do not know is another likely example.

Elements such as these do not have a morphemic status, in the conventional sense of our term 'morpheme', but serve rather as simple overt valences connecting the stem of the infinitive with the verb which introduces it. Some of the well-known 'ligatures' of the Malayo-Polynesian languages seem to be especially nice examples of overt valences. Thus, in the Ilocano sentence ?ápay nga ?-in-arámid-na ti castá
 why past-do -he that
 'why did he do that?' the particle nga may be very conveniently described as an overt valence between ?ápay and the

verbal, and ti as another overt valence between the verbal and castá. In the negative statement of the same sentence saán-na nga ?-in-arámid ti castá 'he did not do that', note
 not-he past-do that
 that the rearrangement of na makes it now a suffix to saán, but its valence is still to ?arámid.

A different type of valence may be said to exist between the constituents of a compound. Such constructions seem especially likely to occur connected by overt valences or by valence-carrying morphemes. Thus, conjunctions, although identifiable as real, contrastive morphemes, may frequently be said to 'carry' valences. Note that, if this is done, it is not necessary that the valence-carrying morpheme appear between the two constituents which it unites. The Latin conjunction -que is an example of one which does not.

The English verb 'to be', and its counterparts in many other languages may very well pattern as valence carriers. In translating from English into a language which has no equivalent for the verb 'to be', no anxiety need be felt by the absence of the equivalent, since the valence in the other language is simply covert.

It is even possible that the case endings of the Indo-European languages may serve, in addition to their morphemic function, as valences between the nouns with which they occur and other expressions. Note, for example, that the accusative case ending -m in English I see him is simply and logically rearranged in Melanesian pidgin to serve consistently as an

overt valence between verb and object. me see←m-(big fella).

Notational System.

Putting these principles into effect, we have undertaken to use the arrow notation, which follows, in general, Uldall's recommendations and my 1948 article.² The arrows indicate valence and relative rank ('presupposition'), the head of the arrow pointing toward the class which is presupposed. Thus a formula such as noun←-adjective is to be read 'adjective presupposes noun', noun-→←-verb 'noun presupposes verb and verb presupposes noun', noun←---→noun 'neither presupposes the other'.

A valence bond may have various characteristics, but its identity is established chiefly by the identities of the units which it connects. Contrastive bonds may be said to exist only when two (occasionally more) given units may occur in two or more different constructions with different meanings.

Commutation Classes.

My first introduction to class theory in linguistics assumed an initial morphology-syntax dichotomy following which word classes were identified on the basis of their morphological structure. This worked very well until a person tried to carry his data over into syntax, and then, likely as not, he would have to begin all over because his morphological classes did not fit the syntax patterns. Harris's discontinuous

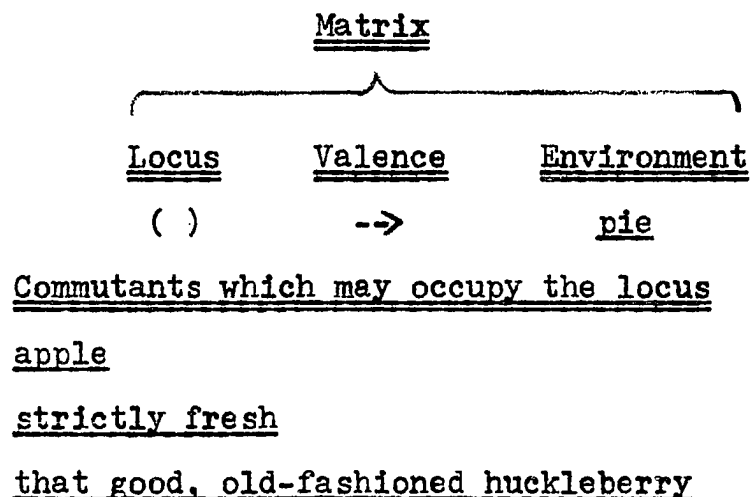
² Nuclear Structures in Linguistics, Lang 24.3 (1948)
pp 287-292.

morpheme technique straightened out many of the difficulties, but others still remained.

Before long I learned from Harris, however, that the criterion of mutual substitution (very aptly labelled 'commutation' by Hjelmslev) would work very simply and uniformly for sequences of any length, hence was not hampered by conventional morphology-syntax restrictions. This, then, has been adopted as the basis for class formation in this grammar.

Since it is frequently desirable to discuss minor classes without the necessity of devising terms for them, we have introduced the brackets $\langle \rangle$ which are to be read 'the class represented by the symbol enclosed'.

The commutants grouped together into a class have not been chosen at random, but result from substitutions in defined environments or frames. The picture may be illustrated as follows:



Terminology and Illustrative Material.

We have attempted in this grammar to combine the precision and versatility of the best contemporary descriptive techniques

with a simple, non-technical language and style intelligible to the non-professional linguist.

The linguist who describes any of the lesser known languages is confronted with the awkward situation that their categories do not exactly coincide with those of any of the well-known languages, hence the terminology of other grammars seems to fit them very poorly. On the other hand, to coin new terms for all the new categories is a great bewilderment to the reader.

We believe that the phonemic principle stands us in good stead in this dilemma. Just as the alphabets of two different languages may use the same letters with different values, provided only that they cover all points of internal contrast with a one to one correspondence, so the terminology of traditional Indo-European grammar will suffice very well for Nahuatl so long as each term bears a clearcut one to one relation to a distinct Nahuatl category.

The use of such terms as 'preposition' and 'modify' are cases in point. Nahuatl 'prepositions', like those of many other languages, are usually suffixed to nouns or pronouns. Because of this characteristic, some would doubtless urge that they be termed 'postpositions'. We feel that this is no more necessary, however, than the use of the symbol k^h, for example, for the English aspirated k. Since there is no grammatical contrast in the distribution of the Nahuatl 'pre-' and 'postpositions', and since most readers do not morphemically analyze these terms any more than they do the expression 'adjective',

the use of the more familiar term 'preposition' is to be recommended.

The expression 'attributive', to take another illustration, has generally replaced the term 'modifier' in contemporary American linguistic usage. In a statement, however, such as 'X precedes the word to which it is attributive', the replacement is a definite loss of elegance from 'X precedes the word it modifies'. The redefinition of the term 'modify' to fit contemporary linguistic procedures is no more of a problem than the redefinition of the term 'verb' for each new language to which it is applied.

We therefore use the traditional terminology without apology, only reminding the reader that the terms, though chosen for their resemblance to well-known categories, bear no necessary relation to these at all, but have been redefined in every case by strictly structural criteria peculiar to the dialect in question. Should anyone object that this means labelling on a semantic basis, we would reply that it is not semantic labels which discredit a descriptive grammarian, but semantic groupings in violation of structural data. This pitfall we have studiously avoided.

Because of the convenience of initial, general definitions, we have undertaken, in most cases, to provide them. The reader should be cautioned, however, that, in the last analysis, the meaning of each labelled category in this grammar is simply that of the form or class of forms listed in that category.

We recognize a certain gain in elegance offered by the use of numbers instead of nominal labels for language categories. We have avoided this technique, however, as far as possible, because of the added memorizing burden which it imposes on the reader. We believe it is easier for the reader to bear in mind a construction labelled 'transitive verb-direct object' than one labelled '23-47'. If it be objected that the meanings of these terms in other languages raise a conflict, the same objection must be allowed for the meanings of numbers in their traditional contexts and relations.

Most of the illustrative material in the grammar, especially the illustrations of constructions, are in situ quotations from the text which accompanies the grammar. Material not indicated as being from accompanying text is cited from other, unpublished text or from personally observed data. It has been impossible, of course, to include anything like all of the illustrations of each category and construction described, or even to describe all of the grammatical features which appear in the texts given. Enough has been included, however, we believe, to give a broad, basic sampling of the grammar, and to illustrate the possibility of making a total grammatical description on a basis other than a primary morphology-syntax dichotomy.

We have undertaken to give individual translations, as far as possible, for stems and all morphemes not enclosed in parentheses. We have made no attempt, however, to give consistent morpheme-for-morpheme translations for polymorphemic

sequences within stems. Occasional variations in translation of a given morpheme or in indication of morpheme boundaries are not to be deplored since they indicate conditioned alternate translations or alternative possible translations or divisions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply indebted to the following persons and institutions for making this grammar possible in its present form: W. Cameron Townsend, who introduced me to Tetelcingo and gave me my first lessons in Tetelcingo M̄asiewalli; Martín N. Méndez, whose outstanding gifts and command of M̄asiewalli, his mother tongue, were mainly responsible for whatever competence I have attained in this language; Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, who introduced me to classical Nahuatl at the National School of Anthropology in Mexico; Kenneth L. Pike and Eugene A. Nida, for my first lessons in linguistics, and especially in immediate constituent theory; Zellig S. Harris, for the principal theoretical and procedural framework which made the particular approach in this thesis possible; Henry H. M. Hoenigswald, for keeping my feet on the ground and my terminology in line with the best of the Indo-European tradition; my wife, Catherine Matthews Pittman, for her patience, vision, and encouragement to do the job, and for numerous suggestions on the grammar; Forrest and Jean Brewer, for extensive help in the preparation of the texts and several comments on the grammar; Jan Forster, for much clerical help, several useful suggestions, and for typing the manuscript; Norman Abrams for clerical help; Robert Longacre, for several suggestions on the manuscript; many colleagues of the Summer Institute of

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APPARATUS

()	1. Stem. 2. Present under certain optional or prescribed conditions. 3. Clarification of foregoing.
/	1. 'Is one kind of'. 2. Separates singular and plural, in §43.
//	Enclose roots.
<---->	Neither presupposes nor is presupposed by.
--><--	Presupposes and is presupposed by.
-->	Presupposes.
<--	Is presupposed by.
+	With.
±	With or without.
±→	With or without and left presupposes right.
< >	The class represented by the symbol enclosed.
{ }	The morpheme represented by the symbol enclosed.
~	Alternates with.
#	Word juncture.
, , ,	Sequence on one side is expansion or repetition of sequence on other side.
<	Comes from.
>	Becomes.
[]	Author's note.
=	Left = right and right = left.
∅	Zero.

adj	adjective
assv	associative
attrib	attributive
coll	collective
cond	conditional
distrib	distributive
dur	durative
H	honorific
imm	immediately
imp, impa	imperative
impf	imperfect
N, Nsg	unpossessed noun singular suffix
neg	negative
num	numeral
obj	object
pl	plural
poss	possessive
pres	present
pt, pret	preterit
quot	quotative
recip	reciprocal
refl, reflex	reflexive
rep	repetitive
sg	singular
subj	subject

unsp obj, unspec obj	unspecified object
unsp per	unspecified person

Text codes:

B	The Burro and the Mountain Lion
D	Husband and Wife Dialogue
EM	Eclipse of the Moon
V	The Three Volcanoes
W	The Whirlwind

SUMMARY OF PHONEMES

The phonemes of this dialect have been described in the author's paper, 'The Phonemes of Tetelcingo (Morelos) Nahuatl'.³ They are, in summary, a ā ch cu e h i ī ie k l m n o p s t tl ts u w x.

The orthography represents, so far as it has been reasonably possible to do so, a conformity to the best of the classical Nahuatl orthographies. The phonemes may be pronounced, in general, like their equivalents in contemporary Mexico City Spanish, with the following exceptions or clarifications:

ā as the vowel in Eng cloth; cu as in Sp cueva; e as in Sp en; i as in Eng pit; ī as in Sp silla; ie as in Sp piedra; k as in Sp kilo; l as in Sp lago syllable initial, voiceless syllable final; tl voiceless; w before a, ā as in Eng water, before e, ie, i, ī as in Sp vaca, word medial after voiceless consonants voiceless; x as in Eng shoe.

An occasional phoneme borrowed from Spanish will appear here and there in the text, usually pronounced as in Spanish, except that Sp d is usually pronounced as a flap r.

The vowels pattern as pairs, in their morphological alternation: a ā, e ie, i ī, o u. The second in each pair doubtless represents a 'long' counterpart of the first, although phonetic length has almost entirely disappeared in all except ie, which is now so long and glided as to be a

³ Submitted to International Journal of American Linguistics.

definite diphthong. e and i frequently fall together and vary inconsistently from one to the other in the writing of literate informants.

MORPHOPHONEMICS

Most of the morphophonemic phenomena of this dialect of Nahuatl may be classified under three headings.

1. Complete regressive vowel assimilation of the pattern $v^1cv^2 > v^2cv^2$ between ni- 'I', ti- 'you', ti- 'we', xi- 'impa' and a following CV syllable, and between the final vowel of a verb stem and -li 'second object'.

*ti-mo(/neki/ti)a > to-mo(/neki/ti)a 'you-H(want)pres' D31, *ma ni-k-on(cui)tī > ma no-k-on(cui)tī 'let me-it-imm(get)go' D1, D8, *xi-mo(maka)li > xo-mo(maki)li 'impa-H(give)him' D22.
2. Regressive syncope of the type $CV^1V^2 > CV^2$ between a subject or possessive pronoun or xi- 'impa' and a following V or VC syllable.

*ti-on(wala) > t-on(wala) 'you-imm(come)' D24, *mo(/ohwi/ti)ā-ya > m(/ohwi/ti)ā-ya 'refl(road)pres-impf' W4, *ni(asi) > n(asi) 'I(arrive)' D3, *xi-mo-(ā/tlī/lti)lī-tī > xo-m(ā/tlī/lti)lī-tī 'impa-H-(water/drink/cause)it-go' D19 (for li > lī cf §38), *no(ohwi) > n(ohwi) 'my(road)' W39.

Exception:

*to-mo(ihta)li-a > to-mo(hti)li-a 'you-H(see)it-pres' W47,48,58.
3. Regressive dissimilation on the pattern $clcl^1 > hcl^1$ between k- 'it' and a stem-initial k or between other occasional

clusters of identical consonants.

*ni-k(koa)ti > ni-h(koa)ti 'I-it(buy)go' D54,

*ti-k(cua)s-ki > ti-h(cua)s-ki 'we-it(eat)will-pl' D13,

*xi-k(mat)ta > xi-k(mah)ta 'impa-it(know)dur' W39.

Miscellaneous variations:

*ni-k-on(/wal/ika)k > no-k-o(/wal/ika)k 'I-it-just(bring)-
pt' D52.

Most of the other morphophonemic variations involving inflectional affixes are mentioned in connection with specific constructions in which they occur.

OUTLINE

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A GRAMMAR OF TETELCINGO (MORELOS) NAHUATL

R. S. Pittman

In the following description a diagonal in a section heading is to be read 'is one kind of'.

I. Basic Sentence Constructions.

1. Intransitive verb stem/verb base.

A verb is defined, for this dialect, as a sequence which presupposes a subject. Stem: a member of the largest commutation class. Intransitive: does not presuppose an object. Base: an intransitive stem or a transitive stem plus object. The term 'base' is introduced in order to make it possible to refer later to both transitive and intransitive sequences under one heading.

Some typical examples of intransitive stems are the following. Others are given in the glossary. Diagonals in Nahuatl forms enclose roots. asi 'arrive', chuka 'cry', ilpi 'be tied', kalaki 'enter', kīsa 'go out', kochi 'sleep', miki 'die', neh/nemi/ 'walk', nemi 'live', niesi 'appear', pahti 'get well', pano 'pass', piewa 'begin', /teki/ti 'work', teusiwi 'be hungry', tlami 'end', tlehko 'go up', waki 'dry up', xutla 'burn'.

2. Bound subject pronoun/subject.

Subject: a sequence which is presupposed by a verb.

The bound subject pronouns are ni- 'I', ti- 'you sg', ti- 'we', ne(n)- 'you pl'. There are no bound subject

pronouns for third person. The second singular and first plural are homophonous. In case of ambiguity they may be distinguished by the free pronouns. (n) usually occurs after ne- before k and occasionally before other stops and affricates. In constructions involving a third person subject, we will indicate an English subject in the translation, in spite of the absence of an explicit Nahuatl subject.

3. Bound pronoun subject--><--intransitive verb stem/sentence.

The bound pronoun subject precedes the stem with which it occurs, and is a part of the same primary stress group. ti(teusiwi) 'you sg(are hungry)', ti(tekiti) 'we(work)', nen(kalaki) 'you pl(enter)'. The final vowel of ni- or ti- is lost before a following vowel. n(asi) 'I(arrive)'.

4. Free pronouns.

The free pronouns are naha 'I', taha 'you sg', yaha 'he, she, it', tehwa 'we', nemehwa 'you pl', yehwa 'they'.

5. Bound subject pronoun plus free pronoun/subject.

naha ni- 'I', taha ti- 'you sg', yaha 'he, she, it', tehwa ti- 'we', nemehwa ne(n)- 'you pl', yehwa 'they'.

6. Bound plus free subject pronouns--><--intransitive verb stem/sentence.

The free pronoun extension of the bound subject pronoun usually precedes the latter and is optionally present for

emphasis of the bound pronoun or, in the case of the third person, clarification of the number of the subject. It has its own primary stress. naha ni(neh/nemi/) 'I I(walk)', taha ti(kochi) 'you sg you sg(sleep)', yaha (xutla) 'it (burns)', tehwa ti(pahti) 'we we(get well)', nemehwa nen(kīsa) 'you pl you pl(go out)', yehwa (miki) 'they (die)'.

7. Substantive.

A substantive is defined as any sequence other than a pronoun which may serve as subject in a subject-predicate construction or as object of a transitive verb. The term 'substantive' is introduced as an expression to cover both single nouns and longer sequences which are commutable with single nouns.

8. Noun.

A word is defined, in general, for this dialect, as any sequence beginning after a pause or with the second syllable after a primary stress and ending with the first syllable after a primary stress. That is, words are characterized by penultimate stress.

A noun is defined as any one-word substantive. Most of the nouns are also identifiable by virtue of the occurrence of some member of the <-tli> or <no-> classes of affixes on them.

9. <-tli> = {-tl} 'unpossessed singular', {-me} 'plural'.

10. $\{-t\bar{l}\}$ 'unpossessed singular'/noun affix $\langle -tli \rangle$.

The principal alternants of $\{-t\bar{l}\}$ are: $-tli \sim -tl \sim -li \sim -ts\bar{i} \sim -tu$. The variation in the first three alternants is conditioned by the preceding phoneme, $-tl$ occurring after stems ending in a vowel, $-li$ after stems ending in \bar{l} , and $-tli$ after stems ending with any other consonant.

11. Noun stem $\langle -\{-t\bar{l}\}$ /noun.

- $-tl$ (cuawi) tl 'tree', (ilwi) tl 'feast' B21, (kiawi) tl 'rain', (soki) tl 'mud', (sowa) tl 'woman' V2, (tlāka) tl 'man' W2, (wexulu) tl 'turkey', (xuchi) tl 'flower' D69, (cuilu) tl 'pole' D8.
- $-li$ (kal) li 'house', (sītlal) li 'star', (tunal) li 'sun, day', (tlaul) li 'shelled corn', (yowal) li 'night', (tlaxkal) li 'tortilla' D6.
- $-tli$ (ayoh) tli 'squash', (/ā/tsīn) tli 'water' D19, (chān) tli 'home', (kak) tli 'sandal', (/koko/li-s) tli 'sickness', (koyok) tli 'hole', (miets) tli 'moon EM2, month', (/tle/tsīn) tli 'fire', (/ye/tsīn) tli 'dry beans'.

The following alternants are not phonologically conditioned:

- $-ts\bar{i}$ (/cuawi/nene/) $ts\bar{i}$ 'walkingstick (insect)', (kukute) $ts\bar{i}$ 'doves', (lama) $ts\bar{i}$ 'old woman', (wie/wen/) $ts\bar{i}$ 'old man'.
- $-tu$ (chīchi) tu 'dog', (kaka) tu 'toad'.

The following words have also a reduplication in the singular. (cp. ¶43) tie(te)tu 'stone'

sī(siwan)tu 'girl'.

-ki The suffix -ki may possibly pattern as an alternant of $\{ \text{-tl} \}$ in a few words. (/teo/pix/)ki 'priest'.

For the alternants of $\{ \text{-me} \}$ see ¶43.

12. $\langle \text{no-} \rangle$ 'Possessive pronoun prefixes'/noun affix.

The possessive prefixes $\langle \text{no-} \rangle$ and the unpossessed singular suffix morpheme $\{ \text{-tl} \}$ do not occur concurrently on the same stem. It would be possible to describe these, therefore, as members of a single class. However, since -wa, the alternant of $\{ \text{-me} \}$ 'plural' which occurs with possessed nouns, is also commutable with $\{ \text{-tl} \}$, and necessarily occurs on a stem at the same time as $\langle \text{no-} \rangle$, it seems preferable to describe $\langle \text{no-} \rangle$ and $\{ \text{-tl} \}$ separately.

The members of the $\langle \text{no-} \rangle$ class are: no- 'my', mo- 'sg your', i- 'his, hers, its', to- 'our', nemo- 'pl your', īn- 'their'.

13. $\langle \text{no-} \rangle \rightarrow$ noun stem/noun.

i(nāmik) 'her(husband), no(chā) 'my(house)' D3, mo(konie) 'your sg(child)' D10, to(tlāl) 'our(land)' W90, i(hīlak) 'her(waist)' EM5, īn(chah/chā/) 'their(homes)'.

14. Possessed collective noun \leftarrow -yo/noun.

Noun stems referring to certain body and plant parts or areas occur with a suffix -yo when possessed. The resultant form often has a sort of 'collective' meaning. i(kechcuah)yo

'his(neck)' V10, i(xih)yo 'its(leaves)', i(mā-mā)yo
'its(branches)', i(yes)yo 'his(blood)'.

15. Noun-><-intransitive verb stem/sentence.

The noun preferably follows the verb stem in this construction, but limitations of position may be imposed by inclusion of other elements in the construction. (chuka)
(/pil/tsīn)tli '(cries) (baby)N', (tlāka)tl (neh/nemi)
'(man)N (walks)', (xutla) (cuawi)tl '(burns) (wood)N',
(panu)ya (yehka-malaku)tl '(pass)impf (whirlwind)N' W3,
o(ye)ya...sī(siwan)tu 'past(be)impf...sg(girl)N', (asi)ko
(tunal)li '(arrive)came (day)N'.

16. Transitive verb stem.

A transitive verb stem is defined by the fact that it presupposes the occurrence of a bound object pronoun with it. Typical examples of transitive stems are: āna 'take hold of', chīwa 'make', ihta 'see' ihto 'say', kaki 'hear', maka 'give', mati 'know', neki 'wish, desire', teki 'cut', tlāli 'put, place', wika 'carry'.

17. <niech-> Bound object pronoun/object.

The bound object pronouns are: niech- 'me', (ti)mits-
'you sg', k(i)- 'him, her, it', tie- 'unspecified third
person sg' or 'H 3rd sg', tla- 'unspecified object', tiech-
'us', nemiech-, namiech- 'you pl', kin- 'them', tiein-

'them H'. mits- occurs quite freely with or without ti-, with perhaps a few, as yet unrecognized, limitations.

18. <niech-> Bound object pronoun-->transitive verb stem/
transitive verb base.

(i) occurs after k 'him, her, it' in #k()C-- sequences, but not in CVk()C--, nor #k()V--. ki(neki) 'he it(want)', ni-k(neki) 'I-it(want)', k(ihta) 'he it(sees)'.
niech(maka) 'he me(gives)', timits(ihta) 'he you sg(sees)',
ki(neki) 'he it(wants)', tiech(wika) 'he us(carries)',
nemiech(kaki) 'he you pl(hears)', kin(tlāli) 'he them(puts)',
tie(koko) 'it unsp pers(hurts)' W67, timits(cua) 'I you sg-(eat)' B12 (cf. §22 for explanation of 'I').

19. <niech> -->verb stem<-- -li 'second object'.

When there are two third person objects expressed, the second is indicated by a first order suffix -li on the verb stem. The second object corresponds roughly to the English indirect object. ki(chīwi)li 'he it(made)for him' (cf. also §26, 75). With certain verbs, e.g. maka 'give', the direct object is left unexpressed. niech(maka) 'he it me(gives)'.

20. Bound subject pronoun-><--(bound object pronoun-->transi-
tive verb stem)/sentence.

A bound subject pronoun precedes a bound object pronoun. Both are part of same stress group as verb stem.

ni-k(/machieti/h-wi) 'I-it(cut with machete)' W72,

ti-niech(nāniki) 'you sg-me(meet)' W37, ni-k(neki) 'I-it-(want)' W40, ni-tla(cua) 'I-unsp obj(eat)' W53.

21. Bound object pronoun plus noun/object.

In the following examples three commas (,,,) are used to indicate a repeated (or expanded) constituent. The noun expands (or makes explicit) the pronoun. ki-,,, i(sowa) 'her,,, his(wife)' V1, k-,,, (/yehka/malaku)tl 'it,,, (/wind/whirl)N' W72, k-,,, (xuchi)tl 'it,,, (flower)N' D69, k-,,, to(telak) 'it,,, our(bean-filled tortillas)' D72.

22. Bound object pronoun plus noun-->transitive verb stem/base.
Bound subject pronoun--><--(bound object pronoun plus noun-->
transitive verb stem)/sentence.

The noun object usually follows the verb. In the combination ni-(ti)mits 'I-you' ni- is lost. timits(cua) 'I you(eat)' B12. ...(pi)a<--ki,,, i(sowa) 'he()have<--her,,, his(wife)' V1 = ki(pi)a i(sowa) 'he her(has)pres his(wife)', ni...(/machieti/h-wi)<--k,,, (/yehka/malaku)tl 'I...(cut with machete)<--it,,, (/wind/whirl)N' W72 = ni-k(/machieti/h-wi) (/yehka/malaku)tl 'I-it(cut with machete) (/wind/whirl)N'. ni...(asi)<--k,,, (xuchi)tl 'I...(get)<--it,,, (flower)' D69, ni...(mākotuna)<--k,,, to(telak) 'I...(make)<--it,,, our(bean-filled tortillas)' D72.

23. Noun subject--><--(transitive verb stem--><--bound object pronoun plus noun object).

In this construction the noun subject usually precedes the verb and the noun object usually follows. (/se/cuis)tli ki(pi)a i(sowa) '(volcano)N her(has)pres his(wife)' V1, (tlāka)tl ki(pi)a-ya... (puro) '(man)N it(have)pres-impf... (burro)' B1, (miets)tli ... ki(cua)s (/pil/tsīn)tli '(moon)N ... it(eat)fut (baby)N' E6.

24. <mo-> Reflexive pronouns.

The singular reflexive pronouns are no- 'I...myself', tomo- 'you sg...yourself', mo- 'he...himself'. The plural equivalents may be translated as either reflexive or reciprocal pronouns. to- 'we...ourselves' or 'we...each other', nemo- 'you...yourselves' or 'you...each other', mo- 'they...themselves' or 'they...each other'.

25. <mo-> Reflexive pronoun->transitive or reflexive verb
stem/verb base, sentence.

<mo-> plus a transitive verb stem constitutes a reflexive verb construction. Some verb stems occur almost exclusively with mo- and hence may be considered reflexive verb stems. amo o-mo(kā) (<kāwa) 'not past-he...himself(allowed)' V5, ma mo(/siah/tlāsa) 'may he...himself(rest)' D49, ma no(tlāli) 'may I...myself(place)' D53, ma no(nakas-ika/tieka/) 'may I...myself(lie down)' = 'may I...myself(throw on my side)', mo-tsih(tsicuīni) 'he...himself-rep(dance)' B20, no(tlookolti)a 'I...myself(pity)pres' W86.

to- plus a transitive verb stem constitutes a reflexive

or reciprocal verb construction. to(nāmiki) 'we...each other(will meet)' W103. mo- is ambiguously singular or plural. mo(mutla) 'they...each other(throw at)' V6.

II. Verb Complex

26. tla-, mo-, and -li as derivational or inflectional affixes.

As indicated in the Introduction, we have not undertaken to describe the inner layer constructions in this grammar. A few affixes, however, present a special problem because they are sometimes derivational and sometimes inflectional. tla- 'unspecified object', is the principal example of these. Its use as a derivational affix may be identified by the constructions in which it occurs with another object pronoun. ni-k(tla/soh/tla) 'I-him(love)'. Some stems have not been observed with any object prefix other than tla-, and hence may be considered as intransitive stems with tla- as an inner layer morpheme. tlahtlasi 'cough', tlahtani 'ask', tlahpalo 'greet'.

27. Present vs. preterit stems.

In addition to the transitive-intransitive dichotomy of Māsiewalli verb stems there is a second division which appears to be quite independent of the first: the present stems and the preterit stems. As the designations imply, the former are basically present and the latter are basically preterit, or past punctiliar. Typical of the first are ihta 'see', and mati 'know'; of the second into 'say', and mikti 'kill'. When these stems occur with regular subjects and without

suffixes, the first are present, the second preterit.
ni-k(ihta) 'I-it(see)', ni-k(mati) 'I-it(know)', ni-k(ihto)
 'I-it(said)', ni-k(/mik/ti) 'I-it(killed)'. One reason for
 this distinction is that the phoneme -h which constitutes
 the alternant of the preterit morpheme in the ihto, mikti
 class, is lost word-final in this dialect, and hence the
 preterit singular of this class consists of the stem only.

The present tense of the preterit stem class consists of
 stem plus suffix -a. ni-k(ihto)a 'I-it(say)pres',
ni-k(/mik/ti)a 'I-it(kill)pres'. The present stems are di-
 vided into two classes determined by the alternants of the
 preterit morpheme $\{ \text{-h} \}$ which occur with them.

A small 'hybrid' class, of which (pi)a 'have' is a
 typical example, occurs with suffix -a in the present in
 contrast with -x in the preterit.¹ ni-k(pi)a 'I-it(have)-
 pres', o-ni-k(pi)x 'past-I-it(have)pt'. (For o- see ¶31)

¹ It is possible to consider that a y or w glide should be
 written in nikihtowa, nikmiktiya, and nikpiya, but since the
 nature of this glide is completely conditioned by the preceding
 vowel (in contrast, for example, to the -ya 'imperfect' suffix)
 it has seemed preferable not to write it.

The following words are illustrative of the principal data on which this analysis is based:

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>
Pres stems	{ 1. ni-k(ihta)	ni-k(ihta)ya
	{ 2. ni-k(mati)	ni-k(mati)ya
Hybrid	{ 3. ni-k(pi)a	ni-k(pi)a-ya
Pret stems	{ 4. ni-k(/mik/ti)a	ni-k(/mik/ti)ā-ya
	{ 5. ni-k(ihto)a	ni-k(ihto)ā-ya
	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Future</u>
Pres stems	{ 1. xi-k(ihta)	ni-k(ihta)s
	{ 2. xi-k(mati)	ni-k(matī)s ¹
Hybrid	{ 3. xi-k(pi)a	ni-k(pi)a-s
Pret stems	{ 4. xi-k(/mik/ti)	ni-k(/mik/tī)s
	{ 5. xi-k(ihto)	ni-k(ihtu)s ¹
	<u>Pret sg</u>	<u>Pret pl</u>
Pres stems	{ 1. ni-k(ihta)k	ti-k(ihta)ki
	{ 2. o-ni-k(mat)	ti-k(mat)ki
Hybrid	{ 3. o-ni-k(pi)x	ti-k(pi)x-ki
Pret stems	{ 4. ni-k(/mik/ti)(h) ²	ti-k(/mik/ti)h-ki
	{ 5. ni-k(ihto)(h)	ti-k(ihto)h-ki

A study of this chart will indicate why we have grouped the stems in this way. ihto and mikti are alike in all respects except the stem final vowel. One stem would suffice

¹ Stem final o and i usually become u and ī respectively before -s 'future'.

² -h 'preterit' is shown in parentheses because it is lost word final.

to illustrate this class except for the fact that all stems in it end in either o or i, and there are many stems of each of these two types. They differ from stems 1, 2 in having -h in the preterit and -a in the present and imperfect. The ih̄ta class differs from the mati class only in the preterit. (pi)a is like mikti and ih̄to in the present, but unique in all other constructions.

It would be possible to group the ih̄to, mikti class with the mati class as follows:

<u>Present</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>
ni-k(mati)	ni-k(mati)ya
ni-k(/mik/ti)	ni-k(/mik/tīa)ya
<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Future</u>
xi-k(mati)	ni-k(matī)s
xi-k(/mik/ti)	ni-k(/mik/tī)s
<u>Pret sg</u>	<u>Pret pl</u>
o-ni-k(mat)	ti-k(mat)ki
ni-k(/mik/ti(h))	ti-k(/mik/tih)ki

Even assuming that the preterit -h might be described as an automatic variant in this line-up, however, the fact that a appears in the present and imperfect of miktia and not of mati would unfortunately be obscured. This seems somewhat infelicitous since VV clusters are characteristically ambimorphemic in this language.

Nor is it quite feasible to group pia with the ih̄to, mikti class since the a of pia becomes x in the preterit, in contrast to (h) of the ih̄to, mikti class, and remains in the

imperative and future of pia in contrast to being lost in the same constructions of ihto, mikti.

Some might possibly prefer to describe the stems in the mati class as preterit stem mat plus present suffix -i. The difficulty with this analysis is that the 'suffix' vowel is unpredictable and would have to be memorized separately for every verb. It is therefore much simpler to describe the stem as a present stem whose vowel is lost in the preterit. The present tense suffix in the ihto, mikti class is always -a.

When a verb stem occurs with a second object suffix -li, it automatically becomes, by virtue of that fact, a member of the mikti class and is conjugated accordingly. ni-k(chīwa) 'I-it(make)', ni-k(chīwi)li-a 'I-it(make)for him-pres', ni-k(chīwi)li 'I-it(made)for him'.

Several additional stems typical of each of these classes are listed below. Transitive stems are indicated by a k- or ki- prefix. Inner parentheses in the mati class indicate the vowel which is lost in the preterit. The -k suffix on the k(ihta)k class is the preterit alternant for this class. It is glossed with the stem simply as a convenient device to mark the class and has been ignored in the translation of the stem.

Type

k(ihta)k: (chuka)k 'cry', ki(cua)k 'eat', (cuīka)k 'sing',
ki(maka)k 'give', ki(wal/ika/)k 'bring', (xutla)k
 'burn (intrans)'.

ki(mat(i)): k(ān(a)) 'take hold of', ki(chīw(a)) 'make',

k(il/kāw/(a)) 'forget', ki(nek(i)) 'want', (tekit(i))
'work', (tlam(i)) 'end'.

ki(pi)a: Only three other stems have been observed in this class: (ayi) 'do' (irreg), ki(chi)a 'wait', (tla/chi/)a 'watch, awaken'. The root is the same in the last two.

ki(/mik/ti)a: k(/il/wi)a 'tell', ki(/palie/wi)a 'help',
ki(/pal/ti)a 'wet, dampen', ki(/temo/wi)a 'lower',
ki(seli)a 'receive', ki(/sutla/lti)a 'burn (trans)'.

k(ihto)a: k(ih/cui/lo)a 'write', ki(koko)a 'hurt (trans)',
ki(pacho)a 'move closer', ki(ko)a 'buy'.

28. <xi-> 'imperative-hortatory'--> verb stem.

<xi-> = xi- 'imperative', ma 'hortatory'.

The imperative and hortatory morphemes occur preceding the verb stem. Although ma, like xi-, is a part of the primary stress group represented by the verb stem, it is not written as a prefix because it is considerably freer in its occurrence, sometimes being separated from the stem by a noun subject or other word(s). Because of this 'proclitic' patterning, we have separated it, by a space, from the stem. The plural alternant which occurs with ma and xi- is -kā, suffixed to the verb stem.

xi- 'imperative'. ti-k(ihta) 'you sg-it(look at)',

xi-k(ihta) 'impa-it(look at)', xi-k(ihta)kā
'impa-it(look at)pl'.

ma 'hortatory'. ma ni-k(ihta) 'may I-it(look at)',
ma ti-k(ihta)kā 'may we-it(look at)pl', ma ni-k(wīka)
'may I-it(take)' D1.

Both xi- and ma may occur with the present directionals:
xi-k(ihta)tī 'impa-it(look at)go', ma ni-k(ihta)tī 'may
I-it(look at)go', ma no-k-on(cui)tī (chināmi)tī 'may I-it-
imm(get)go (cornstalks)N' D1.

Both occur with -ta alternant of the durative (cf. ¶36)
and with other aspect suffixes. ma ki(cua)h-ta 'let him
it(eat)pt-dur' D5, xi-k(mah)ta [(mati)ta > (mah)ta]
'impa-it(know)dur' W39, ma ni(ya)h-tiwetsi 'let me(go)pt-
immediately' D21, xo-mo(wīka)tiwetsi 'impa-H(carry)immed'
(= you H go on).

29. Tense-aspect satellites.

The tense-aspect satellites may be charted as follows:

Base +	{	(-a) ± -ya	Present series
		{-h} ± (<-tika> ± <-s>)	Preterit and aspect series
		-s ± (-kia ± -ya)	Future series
		<-tī>	Directionals
		<neki>	Auxiliary verbs

The (-a) in the present series represents the -a suffix
of the ihto, mikti class.

A preceding i or o is usually lengthened before -s.

(-a) and {-h} when followed by other suffixes, may be

considered to lose their morphemic identity and serve simply as 'valence carriers' or 'connectives'.

The auxiliary verbs are superficially very different from the other forms in the chart, especially since the auxiliaries precede the base, whereas the others follow. Since, however, they stand in a commutation relationship¹ with the others, it is desirable to group them together as we have done above.

The total possible combinations of these satellites, with their respective designations, are:

- (-a) 'present'
- (ā)ya 'imperfect'
- {-h} 'preterit'
- {-h} <-tika> 'aspect'
- {-h} <-tika> <-s> 'timed aspect'
- s 'future'
- skia 'contrary to fact conditional'
- skiāya 'antecedent contrary to fact conditional'
- <-tī> 'directional'
- <neki> 'auxiliary'

30. Present stem (ihta, mati)/present tense.

Preterit stem (ihto, mikti) <- -a, and hybrid stem (pi)
<- -a/present tense.

As indicated in ¶27, stems of the ihta and mati classes are inherently present, hence require no further construction in the present tense. The mikti and ihto classes, however,

¹ i.e., are mutually substitutable.

being inherently preterit, occur with added morpheme -a in the present. The 'hybrid' pi class also occurs with -a in the present.

31. o- 'past tense'--> verb stem.

A prefix o- 'past' frequently occurs word-initial in imperfect and preterit constructions. Its occurrence is either optional or partly controlled by (as yet) undefined conditions. Its presence is necessary in otherwise monosyllabic and usually in otherwise bisyllabic imperfect and preterit constructions. k(āna) 'he it(grab)' o-k(ā) 'he past-it-(grabbed)' V9, o(/chān/ti)ya 'he past(dwell)impf' W3.

32. Present tense <- -ya = imperfect tense.

The present construction serves not only as present tense but also as base for the imperfect tense. The imperfect tense consists of any present 'construction' plus suffix -ya.

Prefix o- 'past' optionally occurs with -ya. ki(pi)a-ya 'he it(have)pres-impf' B1, o(/chān/ti)ya 'he past(dwell)impf' W3.

Present suffix -a becomes -ā before -ya. k(ilwi)a 'he it(tell him)pres', k(ilwi)ā-ya 'he it(tell him)pres-impf', k(ihto)a 'he it(say)pres', k(ihto)ā-ya 'he it(say)pres-impf' W50.

-ya may also occur following the aspect suffixes.

ki(tla/po/)h-ta-ya 'it(open)pt-dur-impf' B8.

33. Verb stem ← {-h} = preterit verb, preterit base.

Since sample members of the classes occurring with the alternants of {-h} 'preterit' have already been given in #27, only illustrations of these alternants in construction will be given here.

-k ti-k(wal/ika/)k 'you-it(bring)pret' D51, no-k-o(wal/ika/)k 'I...myself-it-just now(bring)pret' D52, k(ihta)k 'he it(see)pret'. This alternant is lost before the plural suffix -ki. k(ihta)k 'he it(see)pt', k(ihta)ki 'they it(see)pl'.

minus -V (loss of final vowel of stem). (tla-wiel/miki/) 'he(becomes angry)', o(tla-wiel/mik/) 'he past(became angry)' D8.

When this allomorph, which consists of the loss of a stem-final vowel, leaves a non-permitted word-final consonant (m, n, w), this also is lost. (tlami) 'it ends', ye o(tla) 'already past(end)'; k(āna) 'he it-(grabs)', o-k(ā) 'he past-it(grabbed)' D9; ki(chīwa) 'he it(makes)', o-ki(chī) 'he past-it(made)'.

Members of the mati class with stems ending in wV undergo a w > h change when the final vowel is lost before a following suffix. (piewa) 'he(begins)', o(pieh)ki 'they past(begin)pl', o-ki(chīh)ki 'they past-it(made)pl'. Note that this h is homophonous with and appears to be (though it is not actually) in the same position as the -h allomorph of the preterit class bearing that designation.

k(ihto)a 'he it(say)pres', k(ihto)h-ki 'they it(say)pt-pl'. Stem final m becomes n before a following suffix.

(tlami) 'it(ends)', (tlan)tika 'it(end)dur'.

- -a + -x (minus -a plus -x) ki(pi)a 'he it(has)pres',
o-ki(pi)x 'he past-it(have)pt', (tla/chi)/a 'he (be
awake)pres', o(tla/chi)/x 'he past (be awake)pt'.

- -a + (-h) (minus -a plus (-h)) ki(/mik/ti)a 'he it(kill)-
pres', ki(/mik/ti)h-ki 'they it(kill)pt-pl', ki(/mik/ti)
'he it(kill)pt' (-h does not appear here since word final
-h has been lost in this dialect).

34. Preterit base.

The construction 'verb stem <--{-h}>' constitutes not only the much used preterit verb, but also the base for <-tika>, the 'aspect' class of suffixes. Since all preterit alternants (-h, minus -V, -x, -k) appear the same in aspect constructions as in the preterit plural, the latter construction minus its plural suffix -ki provides a convenient criterion for arriving at the preterit base. The reason for recommending this construction as a guide to arriving at the preterit base is that preterit alternant -h, which is lost in the singular, is lost before the preterit plural and the 'aspect' class. Examples of each verb class follow:

Of the ihta class: ki(maka) 'he it(give)', ki(maka)k 'he it(give)pt', ki(maka)ki 'they it(give)pl', ki(maka)-tika 'he it(give)dur'.

Of the ihto class: k(ihto)a 'he it(say)pres',

o-k(ihto) 'he past-it(say)pt', o-k(ihto)h-ki 'they past-it-(say)pt-pl', k(ihto)h-tika 'he it(say)pt-dur'.

Of the mati class: (kīsa) 'it(goes out)', o(kīs) 'it past(went out)', (kīs)tika 'it(go out)dur'.

Of the (pi)a class: (tla/chi/a) 'he(is awake)pres', o(tla/chi/x) 'he past(woke up)pt', (tla/chi/x)tika 'he(watch)pt-dur'.

Of the /mik/ti class: kin(/mik/ti) 'he them(killed)pt', kin(/mik/ti)h-ki 'they them(kill)pt-pl', kin(/mik/ti)h-tika 'he them(kill)pt-dur'.

-h appears to have lost its morphemic function in this construction and to serve only as a connective.

35. <-tika> 'aspect class'.

A number of suffixes, to which the term 'aspect' may be applied, occur with the preterit base of the verb. {-tika} (= -tika, -ta) 'durative', -tinemi 'ambulatory', -tiwetsi 'immediately', -tiewa 'partitive', -tikīsa 'go out', -tiwīts 'come', -tihcui 'go and return'. More adequate English translations are needed in a few cases but some of the suffixes are sufficiently rare so that analysis from usage is difficult. Nearly all begin with ti, but it has been impossible to reach any easy morphemic generalization with regard to this morph. It is probably not the morpheme -tī 'go' since this latter occurs suffixed to the verb stem rather than the preterit stem. We have therefore preferred not to list this as a separate morpheme at this time, in spite

of the fact that several of the morphs which accompany it, e.g. nemi 'live', kīsa 'go out' are easily identifiable as alternants of normal verb stems.

Most of these suffixes have been observed not only in the forms given above, but also with imperfect, future, imperative-hortatory or preterit morphemes added. The minus -V alternant of the preterit morpheme is the only form of the preterit which has been observed following them.

36. Preterit base <-- < -tika > 'aspect'.

Members of the < -tika > class, their alternants, and examples of constructions in which they occur are:

{ -tika } 'durative'. Alternants: -tika, -ta. -tika is the alternant which occurs in the present. o(kīs)ki 'they past(go out)pt pl', (kīs)tika 'it(go out)pt-dur', o(tla/chī/)x-ki 'they past(wake up)pt-pl', (tla/chī/)-x-tika 'he(watch)pt-dur', ki(/mik/ti)h-ki 'they him(kill)pt-pl', ki(/mik/ti)h-tika 'he him(kill)pt-dur'.

With a plural subject, subject plural alternant -te may occur following -tika. ni-tla(cua)tika 'I-something(eat)dur', ti-tla(cua)tika-te 'we-something(eat)dur-pl'.

(ihta) 'see' has suppletive alternant (its) before -tika. k(ihta) 'he it(see)', k(its)tika 'he it(see)dur'.

-tika has also been observed with mustla 'tomorrow' in a construction pa mustla-tika 'the next day' W24.

-ta is the alternant of -tika which occurs before -s

'future' and -ya 'imperfect', and with xi- 'imperative', and ma 'hortatory'. In one case, W98, -ta + -ya > -tāya. ma ki(cuah)ta 'let him it(eat)dur' D5, ki(tla/po/)h-ta-ya 'he it(open)pt-dur-impf' B8, ki(chi)x-ta-ya 'he it(wait)-pt-dur-impf' W34, xi-k(mah)ta 'impa-it(know)dur' W39.

Imperative plural alternant -kā may occur following -ta. xi(tla/chi/)x-ta-kā 'impa(watch)pt-dur-pl'.

-tinemi 'ambulatory' (go around...-ing). ki(chīh)tinemi 'he it(doing)pt goes around' W87,90, t(a)x-tinemi 'you(do)pt-go around' B10.

-tiwetsi 'immediately'.

ma ni(ya)h-tiwetsi 'may I(go)pt-immediately' D21,
ma ni(/koyu/ti)h-tiwetsi 'may I(put water on to boil)pt-immediately' D35, xo-mo(wīka)tiwetsi 'impa-H(carry)immed' (= you H go on).

-tiewa (pt sg -tie, pt pl -tiekhi) 'leave' (partitive).

This suffix seems to involve two or more substantives, one leaving the other.

o(nie)h-tie 'past(get up)pt-left' W46, o-tla-poh(puh)tie 'past-something-rep(clean)pt left' W102,
ti-niech-mo(/kāwi/li)li-h-tiewa 'you-me-H(/leave/cause)him-pt-go off' D11, ni-cuah-cuih(cui)tiewa-s 'I-wood-repeatedly(gather)pt-leave-fut' D57, ni-h(cui)tiewa-s 'I-it-(fetch)pt-leave-fut' D63.

-tikīsa (pt -tikīs) 'go out'.

o-(cuītla/kīs/)tikīs 'he past-(went out the back way)went out' W19, timits(tlah/palo/)tikīsa 'I you sg obj(greet)-

go out' W36.

-tiwīts 'come'.

ni-k(pieh)tiwīts 'I-him(drive)come' D2, mo-tlah-
(tlaka/mutla/)tiwīts 'he...himself-rep(throw on ground)-
come' W85, no-te-weh(witik)tiwīts 'I...myself-stone-rep-
(thrash)come' W64, no-tlāl-moh(mutla)tiwīts 'I...myself-
ground-rep(throw)come' W65, ni-k(pieh)tiwīts 'I-him(drive)-
come' D2.

-tihcui 'go and return' (?)

to-mo(tlachpāni)li-h-tihcui-s 'you-H(sweep)it-pt-go and
return-fut' D73, ti-niech-mo(paliewi)li-tehcui-s
'you-me-H(help)it-take a turn around-fut' D76. (For i/e
alternation cf. p xx.)

37. Verb stem ← -s = future tense.

The future tense consists of any verb stem plus suffix
-s. i or o plus this morpheme respectively ī, u.
ni-k(ilwi)a 'I-him(tell)pres', ni-k(ilwī)s 'I-him(tell)fut';
ni-k(ihto)a 'I-it(say)pres', ni-k(ihtu)s 'I-it(say)fut';
ni-k(tla/temo/wi)lī-s 'I-it(unload)him-fut' D3, timits(cua)s
'you sg obj(eat)fut' B12, (miets-cua-lu)s '(moon-eaten)fut'
EM6, ki(matī)s 'it(know)fut' W9, ni(yā)s 'I(go)fut' W59.
In this stem a-s > ā-s.

With a plural subject, subject plural alternant -ki
occurs following -s. ni-tla(cua)s 'I-something(eat)fut',
ti-tla(cua)s-ki 'we-something(eat)fut-pl', ti-k(chīwa)s-ki
'we-it(make)fut-pl'.

-s may also occur following the aspect suffixes.

ti-niech-mo(paliewi)li-tihcui-s 'you sg-me-H(help)it-take a turn around-fut' D76, ni-cuah-cuih(cui)tiewa-s 'I-wood-rep-(gather)leave-fut' D57.

The verb stem alone has future force in to(nāmiki) 'we...each other(will meet)' W103.

-skia 'contrary-to-fact conditional'.

This suffix may be translated 'was going to...but didn't'. It is possible to interpret it as consisting of the morphemes -s 'fut', -ki 'pl' (serving only as an overt valence in this construction), and -a 'pres'. ni-k(tlāli)skia 'I-it(put)cond' = 'I was going to put it (but didn't)'.

-skia-ya 'antecedent contrary-to-fact conditional'.

This suffix consists of -skia plus -ya 'impf'. It may be translated 'would have...but didn't'. ni-k-on(tlāli)skia-ya 'I-it-imm(put)cond-impf' = 'I would have put it just now' (?).

38. Verb stem<--<-tī> 'directionals'.

<-tī> = -tī 'go', -to 'went', -kī 'come', -ko 'came'.

The directional suffixes occur with the verb stem.

-tī (panu)tī ompa 'he(pass)go there' W20, xi-k(mati)tī impa-it(know)go' W45, ma no-k-on(cui)tī (chināmi)tl 'may I-it-imm(get)go (cornstalks)N' D1. This suffix frequently lengthens a preceding vowel. *xi-mo(ā/tlī/lti)-li-tī > xo-m(ā/tlī/lti)lī-tī 'impa-H(water/drink/cause)-it-go' D19.

-kī xo-mo(tla/cua/lti)kī 'impa-H(unsp obj/eat/cause)come'

W49, n(asi)kī 'I(arrive)come' D3, xi-mo(/cua/ltī)kī
'impa-H(to eat)come' D6.

-to and -ko may occur with past tense prefix o-
optionally present.

-to o-tla(tuka)to 'he past-something(plant)went',
o-ki(chi)a-to 'past-it(wait)pres-went' W11,
o-poh(/poli/wi)to 'past-rep(dissolve)went' W29, āxa ye
o-ti-k(mati)to 'now already past-you-obj(know)went' W67,
mo(ketsa)to 'he...himself(stop)went' W60, ni-k(mati)to
'I-it(know)went' W80, u(ya) o(/teki/ti)to 'past(go)
past(cut)went' W91, ki(nunutsa)to i(sowa) 'her(call)went
his(wife)' W22.

-ko asta senamo o(miki)ko 'until finally past(die)came'
W105, ok-sah-pa ki(/machieti/h-wi)ko 'again it(cut with
machete)came' W25, (asi)ko (tunal)li '(arrive)came
(day)N' V3.

39. <neki> 'auxiliaries'.

<neki> = neki 'want', piewa 'begin'.

40. Subject-><-(<k(neki)...<-s>> verb).

<k(neki)...<-s>> = k(neki)...<-s>, piewa. <-s> = -s
'fut', -tī 'go', -kī 'come'.

The 'want to...' construction consists of <ni->k(neki)
plus <ni->VERB BASE<-s>. <ni-> = ni- 'I', tī- 'you sg',
tī-...-ki 'we', nen-...-ki 'you pl', ± free pronoun expansions
of these; substantive.

ni-k(neki) ni-k(chīwa)s 'I-it(want) I-it(do)fut', ti-k(neki) ti(yā)s-ki 'we-it(want) we(go)fut-pl', yaha ki(neki) tla(cua)tī 'he it(wants) something(eat)go'.

Occasionally a verb stem plus -s 'fut' will be incorporated in the pronoun object position. ni(kochi)s(neki) 'I(sleep)fut(want)'.

piewa, when functioning as an auxiliary, occurs with a present or aspect-inflected verb following it. o(pieh)ki mo(mutla) 'they past(begin)pl recip(throw at)' V6.

41. s¹-> s¹s² reduplication-> verb stem/repetitive aspect.

Reduplication of the first syllable of the verb stem constitutes the repetitive aspect. This morpheme, being completely independent of the other tense-aspect morphemes (i.e. neither in complementary distribution nor commutation relationship with them), must be treated separately from them. There are two principal variations in the reduplication pattern:

CVC-CVC o-pah(pāh)ki 'past-rep(be glad)pt-pl'.

CV̄-(CVC ~ CV) ni-k-mā(/ma/ltī)s 'I-him-rep(load)will' D2, pā(pano) 'rep(pass)' W95, o-ki-tie(tek) 'past-it-rep(cut)' W21, (ie is the 'long' counterpart of e), tla-tie(teki) 'unsp obj-rep(cut)' W15.

42. <wal>-> verb stem.

<wal-> = wal- 'hither', on- 'hence, immediately'.

The verbal prefix wal- has a clearly 'centripetal' (term

from Whorf) meaning 'toward speaker', usually in space, sometimes also in time. The prefix on-, while sometimes meaning 'centrifugal' 'away from speaker' action, appears also to indicate immediacy, past or future, cp. the English idiom 'Now you've gone and done it'. $\langle \underline{\text{wal-}} \rangle$ is a first order class of prefixes occurring immediately before a verb stem (\ddagger the repetitive reduplication) and after a subject and/or object prefix. niech-wal(titlan)ki 'me-hither(send)pt-pl' W54, ni-k-wal(ika)k 'I-it-hither(carry)pt' D4, ma no-k-on(cui)tī chināmitl 'let me-it-imm(get)go cornstalks' D1, ma no-k-on(teki)tī unte (cuilu)tl 'let me-it-imm(cut)go two poles' D8, niech-on(kah/kayo/) 'you me-just now(deceived)'.

III. The Plural Morpheme and the Noun \leftarrow -Adjective Constructions.

43. Noun stem \leftarrow -{-me} 'plural'/noun.

1. The following alternants of $\{-\underline{\text{me}}\}$ 'plural' occur as suffixes with noun stems. Alternants of $\{-\underline{\text{tl}}\}$ 'singular' are listed first in each case for comparison. Diagonals separate singular (left) from plural (right).

-tu / -me. (chīchi)tu 'dog' / (chīchi)me 'dogs'.

tie-...-tu / -me. tie(te)tu 'stone' / (te)me 'stones'.

-tl / -me. (sowa)tl 'woman' / (sowa)me 'women'.

-mi-tl / -me. (xāmi)tl 'adobe brick' / (xā)me 'adobe bricks'.

-i-tl / -i-me, -me. (xuchi)tl 'flower' / (xuchi)me,

(xuch)me 'flowers'.

-wi-tl / -h-me. (cuawi)tl 'tree' / (cuah)me 'trees'.

-li / -me, -te. (kal)li 'house' / (kal)me, (kal)te 'houses'.

-tli /-me. (kak)tli 'sandal' / (kak)me 'sandals'.

-tl /∅. (tlāca)tl 'man' / (tlāca) 'men'.

s¹-s¹ reduplication of first syllable. (tlayekānki) 'chief' /
tlā(tlayekānki) 'chiefs'.

The pattern of the following two alternants is a
-C \bar{V} /-CVC \bar{V} reduplication of the singular suffix.

-tsī /-tsitsī. (lama)tsī 'old woman' / (lama)tsitsī 'old
women', (wiewen)tsī 'old man' / (wiewen)tsitsī 'old men'.

-tu /-totu. (kaka)tu 'toad' / (kaka)totu 'toads'.

-ki /tie-...-ki, tie-...kātsitsī. (teopix)ki 'priest' /
tie(teopix)ki, tie(teopix)kātsitsī 'priests'.

si-...-tu /-totu. si(siwan)tu 'girl' / (siwan)totu 'girls'.

Many nouns, especially in the speech of older
persons, characteristically occur without plural suffixes.
unte (cuilu)tl 'two (pole)N' D8.

The plural of possessed nouns consists of possessed
stem plus:

-wa. no(kak) 'my sandal' / no(kak)wa 'my sandals', i(mā)
'his hand' / i(mā)wa 'his hands'.

In one case, a possessed stem is reduplicated to
indicate plurality of object possessed. cf. also ¶41.
i(cha) 'his(home)' / in-chah(cha) 'their-pl(home)'.

2. Most of the plural pronouns are suppletive
alternants of their singular counterparts.

ni-/ti- 'I/we'.

ti-/ne(n)- 'you sg / you pl (subj)'.

niech-/tiech- 'me / us'.

(ti)mits-/nemiech-, namiech- 'you sg / you pl (obj)'.

k(i)-/ki-n- 'him / them'.

no-/to- 'my / our'.

mo-/nemo- 'sg your / pl your'.

i-/i-n- 'his / their'.

no-/to- 'I...myself / we...ourselves'.

tomo-/nemo- 'you...yourself / you...yourselves'.

mo-/mo- 'he...himself / they...themselves'.

naha /tehwa 'I / we'.

taha /nemehwa 'you sg / you pl (obj)'.

yaha /yehwa 'he / they'.

3. The following alternants appear as verb suffixes with a plural subject:

With the future:

-ki ni-k(chīwa)s 'I-it(make)will' / ti-k(chīwa)s-ki 'we-it-(make)will-pl'.

With the preterit:

-ki ni(tlachī)x 'I(woke up)pt' / ti(tlachī)x-ki 'we(woke up)pt-pl' cf. ¶33.

Preterit plural sequence kki > ki. ni-k(ihta)k 'I-it(saw)pt' / ti-k(ihta)ki 'we-it(saw)pt-pl'.

With the imperative and hortatory:

-kā xi-k(ihta) 'impa-it(look at)' / xi-k(ihta)kā 'impa-it(look at)pl', xi-k(chīwa) 'impa-it(make)' / xi-k(chīwa)kā 'impa-it(make)pl', ma ni(kalaki) 'may I(enter)' /

ma ti(kalaki)kā 'may we(enter)pl'.

The final vowel of certain verb stems is long before -kā. xi(wala) 'impa(come)' / xi(walā)kā 'impa(come)pl'.

With the present centrifugal:

-wi ni-k(ihta)tī 'I-it(see)go' (= I go to see it) / ti-k(ihta)tī-wi 'we-it(see)go-pl'. This is characteristic of the present centrifugal only. The past centrifugal (-to) and present and past centripetal (-kī, -ko) do not have a plural suffix.

With the durative:

-te ni-tla(cua)tika 'I-something(eat)dur' / ti-tla(cua)tika-te 'we-something(eat)dur-pl'.

Suppletive alternant plural verb stem:

(wia)/(yā) in the first person imperative and hortatory.
ma ni(wia) 'may I(go)' / ma ti(yā)kā 'may we(go)pl'.

The repetitive reduplication of the verb stem, while most frequently indicating repetition of an action, (cf. ¶41) may also serve to indicate plural subject.
ni-k(chīwa) 'I-it(make)' / ti-k-chih(chīwa) 'we-it-pl-(make)'.

44. <ini> 'demonstratives'.

<ini> = ini 'this', ini-nānka 'this-here', (i)nu 'that', nieka 'that', inu-nieka 'that-there', yaha (y)ini 'this', yaha (y)inu 'that'.

45. <ini> ± noun/substantive.

<ini> may occur with or without a noun. When occurring with a noun, it almost invariably precedes it, and in so doing excludes any other free attributive from the pre-noun position. yaha (y)ini and yaha (y)inu usually occur without a following noun. ini-nānka (se-cuis)tli 'this volcano' V1, nieka (tlāka)tli 'that man' W98, ini no(konie) 'this my(child)' D42.

When occurring in subject position, without a noun, <ini> may occur either before or after a verb. nieka amo o-mo(kā) 'that one not past-refl(allow)pt' V5, o-tla(wiel-mik) ini-nānka 'past-unsp obj(become angry)pt this-here' V8.

46. <sente> 'numerals'.

In the Tetelcingo dialect there appear to be two sets of numerals from one to three and one thereafter. The first set, sie 'one', ume 'two', yeyi 'three' appears to be always attributive and to occur characteristically with more abstract nouns such as (tunal)li 'day', yunta 'team (of oxen)'. The second set, sen-te 'one', un-te 'two', ys-te 'three' may occur without a noun or with a more concrete noun such as tie(te)tu 'stone', (kal)li 'house', i(kxi) 'his-(foot)'.
'

The numerals from four to twenty are: nāwe 'four', mācuilli 'five', chikua-sie 'six', chik-ume 'seven', chiku-leyi 'eight', chik-nāwe 'nine', mahtlaktli 'ten', mahtlaktli wan-sie 'eleven', mahtlaktli wan-ume 'twelve',

mahtlaktli wa yeyi 'thirteen', mahtlaktli wa nāwe 'fourteen',
kaxtuli 'fifteen', kaxtuli wan-sie 'sixteen', kaxtuli
wan-ume 'seventeen', kaxtuli wa yeyi 'eighteen', kaxtuli
wa nāwe 'nineteen', sempoalli 'twenty'.

From twenty up, and frequently for the numerals below twenty, the Spanish numerals replace the Nahuatl.

47. <sente> --> noun/substantive.

Like the demonstratives, the numerals characteristically precede the noun they modify and, in so doing, usually displace any other attributive to a post-noun position. laliwis wieyi tie(te)tu 'very big stone', sen-te tie(te)tu laliwis wieyi 'a stone very big'.

sie (tunal)li 'one day' W1, sie xālā (/ā/tsīn)tli 'one cup water' D7, ume ura 'two o'clock' D57, ume wiāhe de (/ā/tsīn)tli 'two trips of (water)N' W63, yeyi māno 'three bundles' D2.

sen-te (te-siwi)tl 'one (ice)N' V9, sen-te (tlāka)tl 'a man' B1, sen-te puro 'a burro' B1, un-te (cuilu)tl 'two (pole)N' D8, un-te (sowa)me 'two (woman)pl', mahtlaktli sentāo 'ten centavos' D52.

48. <ok> --> <sente> = modified numeral.

<ok> = ok 'another', sa 'only'.

<sente> cf. #46.

ok-sente secuistli 'another volcano' V3, sa sente 'only one', sa mahtlaktli 'only ten' D52.

49. clvl-clvl, cl̄vl-clvl reduplication → numeral = distributive numeral.

mahtlaktli 'ten', mā-mahtlaktli '[eggs at] ten [cents] each'; sempoalli 'twenty', sie-sempoalli '[eggs at] twenty [cents] each'; se-sen perāso 'single pieces' V6.

50. Adjective.

An adjective is defined as a free sequence which presupposes a substantive. Māsiewalli adjectives are not readily identifiable by morphological criteria. A considerable number of them, however, appear to have a suffix -k which, when the adjective occurs with a plural substantive, may sometimes occur as plural -ki. This -k 'sg', -ki 'pl' may very well be the same morpheme as the -k alternant of preterit {-h}, being thus reminiscent, in its patterning, of English -ed as in he crated it vs. a crated machine.

The pluralization of adjectives is extremely irregular and its prediction difficult. For this reason we are listing the plural constructions after the respective singular in this section instead of devoting a separate section to it.

Some of the commoner adjectives are: chīchik 'bitter', chīchīltik 'red', chipāwak 'white, clean', costik 'yellow', cuācualtsī 'pretty', pl cualtsitsī, cualli 'good', istāk 'white', miak 'much, many', pl miaktie, pitsotik 'ugly, dirty', soltik 'worn-out', tepitsī 'small (quantity)', tlīltik 'black', tohtunki (not a plural) 'hot', tsītsikitsī 'little', pl tsīkitsitsī, weyak 'long', wielik 'delicious',

wiewentsī 'old', pl wiewentsitsī, wieyi 'big', pl wehweyi,
xoxoktik 'blue, green', yancuik 'new', yetik 'heavy'.

51. ⟨laliwis⟩ → adjective/adjective phrase.

⟨laliwis⟩ = laliwis 'very', arga 'very', kachi 'more',
wel 'very'. arga is probably from Sp harto 'much'. laliwis
is the only word which we have observed in this dialect with
initial l. laliwis is regarded as 'better' than arga. arga
uniformly precedes a noun it modifies; laliwis usually pre-
cedes, but occasionally follows: laliwis wieyi V9, wieyi
laliwis 'very big', kachi tsitsikitsī 'more little', wel
miak 'very much', laliwis chipāwak 'very white' V2, laliwis
pitsotik 'very messy' W94.

52. ⟨kachi⟩ → laliwis.

⟨kachi⟩ = kachi 'more', wel 'very'.

Both of these words may occur either directly attributive
to adjectives or attributive to laliwis. In either case they
precede the word they modify. kachi laliwis yelik 'more very
heavy', wel laliwis wieyi 'very very big'.

53. Noun ←-adjective/substantive.

Numerous lexical and stylistic limitations on noun ←-adj-
ective constructions complicate the grammatical picture very
appreciably at this point. In general, if a numeral or demon-
strative is present, any other adjective or adjective phrase
will follow the noun. Otherwise, short adjectives may precede

the noun.

sen-te puro (wie/wen/)tsī 'one-num burro (old)N' B1,
ini-nānka (sowa)t1 laliwis (chipāwa)k 'this (woman)N very
 (white)' V2, sen-te (te-siwi)t1 laliwis wieyi 'a piece of
 ice very big' V9, (wie/weya/)ki i(/tlan/koch)wa '(long)pl
 his(tooth)pl' B9, wieyi (ilwi)t1 'large (fiesta)N' B21,
(cual)li (tlāka)t1 'good man' W34, miak (tunal)li 'many
 (day)N' W51.

54. Noun-->noun/substantive.

A noun may be attributive to another noun. An unpos-
 sessed noun attributive to another noun usually precedes it.

se-sen (perāso) (te-siwi)t1 'single (pieces) [of] (ice)N'
 V6, sie (xālā) (/ā/tsīn)t1i 'a (cup) [of] (water)N' D7.

A noun attributive to a possessed noun usually follows
 it. i(nān)tsī sī(sivan)tu 'her(mother)N sg(girl)N', i(kxī)
(puro) (wie/wen/)tsī 'his(hoof) [of the] (burro) (old)N' B18.

55. Substantive, possessed noun <-(re-->substantive)/substantive.

In addition to the construction described in 54, the
 Spanish de phrase, as in el sombrero de Juan 'the hat of John',
 has been fairly solidly incorporated into this dialect of
 Nahuatl. de is pronounced de or re. i(sowa) re ini-nānka
(se-cuis)t1i 'his(wife) of this (volcano)N' V4, u-me wiāhe
de (/ā/tsīn)t1i 'two trip of (water)N' D63.

The phrase may also occur with the independent pronouns.
yeh-wa de kinea 'they of guineo' D45.

56. Substantive ←-{ikaka} --adjective/sentence.

The connective {ikaka} corresponds remotely with English '{be}'. Its use in a noun ←-adjective construction is much less frequent than English {be}, however. ok-sente (secuis)-tli.#..ikaka kechkotoktik 'other-one (volcano)N.#..is (headless)adj' V3, 12.

For other forms of {ikaka} cf. chart of irregular verbs, pg. 87.

IV. Verb ←-Adverb Constructions.

57. Adverbs.

An adverb is defined as a free sequence which presupposes a verb. The adverbs are not identifiable by morphological criteria. Some of the commoner adverbs are: amo kana 'nowhere' D11, āxā 'now' D6, a-ye-k-mo 'no longer' W69, a-ye-mo 'not yet' D27, cualkā 'early' D62, ihkiu 'that way', laliwis 'very' V7, nikā 'here' W39, nīma 'immediately' D10, nuyihki 'also' D47, sa sie trepiente (<Sp de repente) 'all at once' W97, seme 'always', sie (tunal)li 'one day' W8, welis 'probably' W50, ye 'already' W52.

58. Preposition stems.

A preposition stem is defined as a sequence which occurs with a substantive or pronoun or both in a construction which is one kind of adverb. Some of the commoner prepositions are: -pa 'on', -tlak 'near', -ka 'with', -tsīntla 'beneath', -htik 'within', -nepantla 'among', -cuītlapa 'behind'.

59. <no-> --> preposition stem/preposition.

The preposition stems usually occur with a prefixed possessive pronoun (cf. ¶12), with or without a following substantive. (For discussion of 'preposition' vs. 'postposition' see under Terminology in Introduction.)

A typical possessive pronoun->preposition stem paradigm is: no-pa 'me-on', mo-pa 'you sg-on', i-pa 'him-on', to-pa 'us-on', nemo-pa 'you pl-on', im-pa 'them-on', Sample constructions from text: i-pa 'it-on' B3, i-ka 'it-about' B4, i-htik (or i-htek) 'it-in' W84, no-pa 'me-on' W88, i-tlak 'it-near' B18.

Occasionally a preposition stem will be suffixed to a noun. (kal)ihtik '(house)in' W49, mo(teki)pa 'your(place)-in' W42.

60. Preposition → substantive/adverb.

This type of construction might also be termed a prepositional phrase. The substantive follows the preposition. i-htek ti(tesi)s 'it-inside you(grind)will' D9, (tie/cua/ni) o-mo(pacho) i-tlak i(kxi) (puro) (wie/wen/)tsī '(unsp per/eat/-one who) past-refl(move) it-near his(hoof) (burro) (old)N' B18, i-htik (ā-tlak)tli 'it-in (canyon)N' W84.

Two of the preposition stems, ka 'with' and pa 'at', frequently occur with substantives but without a prefixed possessive pronoun. There is no single English expression which parallels ka closely enough to make its translation simple and uniform. ka se-sen (perāso) (te-siwi)tl 'with

single (pieces) [of] (ice)N' V6, pa i(kechcuah)yo 'at his(neck)coll' V10, pa no(chā) 'at home' D36, ka imanie 'at this hour' W36, o(pieh)ki mo(mutla) ka sesen perāso (tesiwī)tī 'past(begin)they recip(throw) with single pieces [of] (ice)N' V6, o(/chān/ti)ya pan (/kal/tien)tī 'past-(live)impf in (field)N' W2, ka (cuah)me...no-tlāl-moh(mutla)-tiwīts 'against (tree)pl...I-myself-ground-rep(throw)come' W65, tiel-amo ni(teusiwī) ka isi 'not I(hunger) in morning', pa i(yulo) 'at his(heart)'.

kāni 'where' occasionally patterns as a member of this class also. o-tla-poh(puh)tie kāni i(tlāl) 'past-something-rep(clean)left where his(land)' W105.

61. <sah- > <-- -pa /adverb.

<sah- > = sah- 'one', uh- 'two', yex- 'three', nāh- 'four'.

sah-pa 'one-time' W28, uh-pa 'two-times' W23, ye yex-pa o-ti-k(chī) 'already three-times past-you-it(did)' W38, āxā o-ti-k(chī) ka nāh-pa 'now past-you-it(did) it-is four-times' W38.

62. <kachi > --> adverb/adverb phrase.

<kachi > = kachi 'more', tepitsī 'a little', laliwis 'very'. <kachi > usually precedes the sequence it modifies.

kachi ka niepa 'more at there' W29, tepitsi wehkāh-pa 'little farther-on' W31, kachi laliwis o(tlawiel-mik) 'more very past(become angry)' V8.

63. ka → <ompa>/adverb.

<ompa> = ompa 'there', nikā 'here', niepa 'there',
nippa 'on other side'.

ka occurs, not only with substantives, but also with certain other adverbs in constructions which constitute one kind of adverb. ka ompa m(/ohwi/ti)ā-ya 'at there refl- ([its]/road/make)pres-impf' W4, ka niepa o-poh(/poli/wi)to 'over there past-rep(disappear)went' W29, ka nika n(/ohwi/ti)a 'at here I([my]/road/make)pres' W39. Note also o-ti-k(chī) ka nāh-pa 'past-you-it(did) for fourth-time' W38.

64. miero → prepositional phrase/adverb.

miero <Sp mero 'exactly'.

miero pa i(kehcuah)yo 'directly at his(neck)coll' V10.

65. Adjective ←-adverb/adjective phrase.

tla-temomotsuli pa i(xoyak) 'scratched on his(face)' W32.

66. Verb ←-adverb/predicate.

The position limitations on the adverbs vary according to the adverb in question, some characteristically preceding, some following, and some optionally or conditionally preceding or following the verb. ye 'already', nīma 'immediately', āxā 'now' characteristically precede the verb.

o-k(ihti)li miero pa i(kehcuah)yo 'he sighted it right at his neck' V10, n(asi)kī pa no(chā) 'I come arriving at home' D3, no(kāwa)s mo(teki)pa 'I(remain)will your(place)in'

W42, o-mo(chī) ihkiyi 'past-refl(did) (= it happened) thus'
 W1, seme tlākatl ki(/cualān/ti)ā-ya 'always the man
 him(anger)pres-impf' W5, kachi ki(/cualān/ti)ā-ya 'more
 him(anger)pres-impf' W5, amo ihkiu xi-k(chīwa) 'not that
 way impa-it(do)', sa sie trepiente o-k(ahko)k 'all at once
 past-it(raise)pt' W100, sie(tunal)li k(ilwi)a i(sowa) 'one-
 (day)N he it(say)pres his(wife)' W8, laliwis ka ye
o-mo(mutla)ki 'very much it was already they had thrown at
 each other' V7, laliwis ni(teusiwi) 'very much I(am hungry)',
laliwis tiech(pasolo)a 'very much us(bothers)pres', ye
ni-k-mā(malti) 'already I-him-rep(load)' D2, ye ni-k(pieh)-
tiwīts 'now I-him(drive)come' D2, ye o-n(ixwi)k 'now
 past-I(be full)pt' D7, nīma ti(walā)s porke nīma chuka
mo(konie) 'immediately you(come)fut because immediately cry
 your(child)' D10, amo kana to-mo(wīka) 'no where you-H(go)'
 D11, āxā xi-wal-mo(wīka) 'now impa-hither-H(come)', sa
sie trepiente o-k(ahko)k nochi (cuah)me 'all of a sudden
 past-it(lift up)pt all (tree)pl' W97.

67. Incorporated adverb.

Occasionally an adverb is incorporated in the verb complex before an object pronoun, if any.

o-yek-tla(chipā) 'past-well-something(cleaned)'

W101.

V. Sentence Satellites and Sentence ←-Conjunction-→ Sentence
Constructions.

There are several words which usually presuppose an entire sentence rather than any specific part of a sentence. Such words we have termed 'sentence satellites'. They may frequently be observed to occur alone or with parts of sentences, but such cases are usually discourse medial, antecedent sentences being presupposed.

A conjunction is defined as a word which presupposes two sentences.

68. <amo> 'negative'--> sentence.

<amo> = amo 'not', ayemo 'not yet', ayekmo 'no longer', ayekmo kiema 'not again', ayik 'never'.

Although some of these words pattern somewhat like adverbs, they are all commutable in most environments. The class position is, in general, immediately preceding the verb.

amo tla(cua)ya 'not something(eat)impf', amo timits-mo(lwi)li 'not you obj-H(tell)it' D42, amo o-mo(kā) 'he wouldn't allow it' V5, amo kahna to-mo(wika) 'not anywhere you-H(go)', tlā amo, timits(cua)s 'if not, you sg obj(eat)fut' B12, amo ki(cua)s 'not it(eat)fut' EM2, tlā amo (machiete), poro (teheras) 'if not machete, then scissors' EM4, ayekmo kiema ni-k(/machieti/h-wī)s 'not again I-him(cut with machete)fut' W82, o-k(ihto) yaha, "ayekmo" 'past-it(say) he, "no longer"' W69, ayik o-ki(nek) tla(cua)s 'never past-it(want) something(eat)fut' W75, welis ayik

ni-h(cuah/tlapu/)s 'probably never I-it(clear)fut' W95,
o-k(ihto) (tlāka)tl, "amo naha" 'past-it(say) (man)N, "not
 I"' W74, a-ye-mo xi-wal(/miewa/lti) 'not yet impa-hither-
 (arise)' D47, to-mo(/teusiwi/ti)a nose ayemo 'you-H(hunger)-
 pres or not yet' D27, tlā ayemo to-mo(/teusiwi/ti)a 'if not
 yet you-H(hunger)pres' D28.

69. neli → sentence.

neli is a 'quotative' particle by means of which a narrator disclaims responsibility for a statement or narration. sie(tunal)li neli o-mo(chī) ihkiyi 'one day they say past-refl(did) (= it happened) thus' W1, neli cuac (cualo/miets/)tli 'quot when (eaten/moon/)N' EM1, neli para amo ki(cua)s (miets)tli (/pil/tsīn)tli 'quot in-order-to not obj(eat)fut (moon)N (baby)N' EM2, neli i-pampa-hu o noso i-ka inu (miets)tli a(beli) ki(cua)s (/pil/tsīn)tli 'quot it-because-that or or it-with that (moon)N neg(able) obj(eat)fut (baby)N' EM6, neli o(ve)ya sen-te (sī/siwan/)tu ki(pi)a-ya i(/nān/tsi) 'quot past(be)impf one (girl)N her(have)pres-impf her(mother)'.
neli also serves occasionally as a connective (overt valence) between a verb meaning to say or tell and a quotation. wa ini-non-ka i(/nān/tsī) sī(siwan)tu o-k(ihto) neli cuali ma mo(/nāmik/ti) 'and this-here-be her(mother) sg(girl)N past-it(say) that good that refl(marry)'.

70. Interrogatives.

Interrogative sentences in Māsiewalli are frequently characterized by an extra high pitch on the penultimate syllable of the sentence. Some interrogative sentences are also marked by interrogative words which introduce the sentence. Some of these may be considered to be portmanteau morphemes, carrying both interrogative and substantive or adverb morphemes. It is convenient, however, to describe them together.

The commonest of the interrogatives are: tlika 'why? what?', kiema 'when?', āki 'who?', kieni 'how?', kāni 'where?', tli 'what?'.
 [< kāni ti-mo(wika)] 'where you-H(go)?', tlika nīma t-on-(wala)? 'why immediately you-imm(come)?' D24, tli ti-k-(ih̄ta)ti? 'what you-it(see)go?'.]

71. Interrogative--> sentence.

The interrogative nearly always occurs sentence initial. tli t(a)x-tika? 'what you(do)pt-dur?', kān ti-mo(wika)? [< kāni ti-mo(wika)] 'where you-H(go)?', tlika nīma t-on-(wala)? 'why immediately you-imm(come)?' D24, tli ti-k-(ih̄ta)ti? 'what you-it(see)go?'.]

72. Clause <---> clause/sentence.

A simple paratactic construction of two or more sentences, without sentence final intonation between them, is not uncommon. A sentence without sentence final intonation we will term a clause. o-ki(/tlehka/wi) i(kxi), o-ki-kama(tiriksa)k. nochi i(/tlan/koch)wa o-kin(/tipie/wi)li 'he past-it(lift) his(hoof), past-him-mouth(kick)pt, his(tooth)pl past-them-(knock out)of him' B15, ye-cuak-inu (asi)ko (/yehka/malaku)tl.

sa sie trepiente o-k(ahko)k nochi (cuah)me, o-yek-tla(chipā)...

'then (arrive)came (whirlwind)N, just all at once past-it-
(raise)pt all (tree)pl, past-well-something(cleared)' W100,
101.

73. Conjunctions.

The Māsiewalli conjunctions may be considered to be valence-carrying morphemes, since they serve not only a contrastive but also a connective function.

The principal conjunctions are: wa 'and', tlā 'if', cuak 'when', kachi 'but', kāni 'where', ipampa 'because', kieni 'how', noso 'or', mientras, mientras ke, mientras de ke (<Sp) 'while', para...-s (<Sp) 'in order that'.

74. Clause <-conjunction-> clause.

The position of the conjunctions is regularly between the clauses which they unite, except for tlā 'if' and cuak 'when', which may introduce the first of two connected clauses. Other conjunctions may occur sentence initial only in non-initial discourse position, i.e., they presuppose an antecedent sentence. The conjunctions may connect, not only sentences, but also parts of sentences.

Conjunctions which serve both a connective and a pronoun function may be termed relative pronouns. Those which serve both a connective and an adverbial function may be termed relative adverbs.

wa 'and' Sentence initial:

wa seme wa seme (tlāka)tl ki(/cualān/ti)ā-ya 'and always and always (man)N him(anger)pres-impf' W5.

Between clauses:

tlā ye o(koch) wa tlā ye o(tla/chī/)x 'if already past(sleep) and if already past(awake)pt' D22.

Between substantives:

(xuchi)tl wa mo(kantiela) '(flower)N and your(candle)' D79.

Between adverbs:

seme wa seme 'always and always' W5.

āki 'who, the one who'. to-mo(/kawi/li)tī yāwe āki
(kalakī)s entre ni semana 'you-H(leave)go key who
(enter)fut during this week' D81. cf. also W34.

asta senamo (<Sp hasta + Mās senamo) 'until'. ihkiu ka
i-pa o-mo(chī) asta senamo o(miki)ko 'then to him-on
past-refl(happen) until past(die)came' W105.

cuak 'when'. cuak (/yehka/malaku)tl (panu)ya, yaha
tla(cua)h-tika 'when (/wind/whirl)N (pass)impf, he
unsp obj(eat)pt-dur' W6. cf. also W14,20,47,52,76.

i-pampa 'because'. seme (panu)ya (/yehka/malaku)tl i-pampa
ka ompa m(/ohwi/ti)ā-ya 'always (pass)impf (whirlwind)N
 it-because at there refl(/road/make)pres-impf' W3.
 cf. also W4.

i-pampa-hu 'its-because-that'. i-pampa-hu āxā ikaka
kechkotokti-k 'its-because-that now he is headless' V12.

kachi 'but'. kachi cuak ye (walā)s inu ok-sen-te....
k(ilwi)a (sowa)tl 'but when already (come)fut that
 other-one-num,...it(say)pres (woman)N' W52.

kāni 'where'. (puro) o(kalak) (/cuah/kamak) kāni (nemi)
(tie/cua/ni)me '(burro) past(enter) (forest) where (live)
 (person/eat/one who)pl' B6. cf. also W3,10,31,46,47,60.

ki 'which'. sen-te (tlāka)tl ki(pi)a-ya sen-te (puro)
(wie/wen/)tsī ki a-yek-mo (/teki/ti)ya 'one-num (man)N
 obj(have)pres-impf one-num burro (old)N which no-longer
 (work)impf' B1.

kieni 'how'. axa xi-niech(ihta) kieni ni(wīts) 'now
 impa-me(see) how I(come)' W71. cf. also W102.

lo ke tlī (<Sp lo que + Mās tli) 'that which'. ni-k(wāl/ika/)s
lo ke tlī to-mo(/neki/ti)a to-mo(/cua/ltī)s 'I-it(hither/
 carry/)fut that which that you-H(want/cause)pres

you-H(/eat/cause)fut' D12.

mientras de ke (<Sp) 'while'. xo-mo(maki)li i(saka) mientras de ke ni(wits) de (cuahtlā) 'impa-H(give)him his(fodder) until I(come) from Cuautla' D50. cf. also D75.

para...-s 'in order that'.

The Spanish para has been fully incorporated into this dialect as a conjunction, but it carries with it a definite restriction on the following verb, which must occur with a future tense suffix -s.

āxā ma no-k-on(teki)tī un-te (cuilu)tl para ni-k-chih-(chīwa)s (xakal)li 'now may I-it-imm(cut)go two (pole)N in order that I-it-rep(make)fut (cornstalk fence)N' D8.

pos (<Sp pues) 'well'. pos ma no-k-on(cui)tī (chināmi)tl 'well, may I-it-imm(get)go (cornstalk)N' D1.

tlā 'if'. tlā ti-k(neki) xi-niech(/kix/ti)li ini (alāvos) 'if you-it(want) impa-me(pull)it this (nail)' B17.
cf. also EM4,5, D2,17,18,22.

tlī 'what'. pos ompa xi-k(/nene/wi)li tlī i-pa ti-h(cua)s-ki to(tlaxkal) 'well there impa-it(think)it what it-on we-it(eat)fut-pl our(tortillas)' D13. cf. also W48.

tlīn-->noun. ki(/tlāli/li-lti)h-ki tlīn (tunal)li

mo(/nāmik/tī)s 'it(set)pt-pl which (day)N recip(marry)-
fut'.

ye-cuak-inu 'then'. ve-cuāk-inu o(pieh)ki mo(mutla) 'then
they past(begin)pl recip(throw)' V6.

75. Honorifics.

For a description of the honorific forms of this dialect
cf. R. S. Pittman, 'Nahuatl Honorifics', IJAL, 14.4 (1948)
pp 236-239.

76. Independent word and set phrase sentences.

Most of the words of Māsiewalli may occur alone as complete utterances, especially in discourse medial position. Certain words and phrases occur so frequently as complete utterances that they may be listed together as a special class.
tla-soh-kā-mati 'Thank you' D8; ye-ka 'There now' D8;
āxā 'Now', kiema 'Yes', amo 'No', yaha inu 'That's it',
tlika? 'Why?'; aki? 'Who?', welis 'Maybe', kien-amo
'Certainly', san-tla-pik 'It's no use', amo itla 'Nothing',
aweli 'Can't be done', ayokok 'There isn't any' D62, ayok
'He isn't here'.

INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS

The following texts were recorded by the author from the narration of three different informants, all natives of Tetelcingo and fluent, representative speakers of the dialect. The ages given for them are their estimated ages at the time of the narration.

Martín N. Méndez, 45, has lived in Tetelcingo all his life except during the years of the Revolution, when he served in the armed forces. He is a fluent bilingual.

Martín Martínez, 60, has lived in Tetelcingo all his life. He is a largely monolingual speaker of M̄asiewalli.

Zenon Casasanero, 30, has lived in Tetelcingo most of his life, and is a fluent bilingual.

The Whirlwind text is of unusual folklore interest since it represents a motif which is relatively rare in Mexico. The Domestic Dialogue, though dictated by the husband, gives an exceptionally authentic account of a husband-wife conversation. The Volcano text involves the famous volcanoes Popocatepetl, Ixtaccihuatl, and El Nevado de Toluca, all three of which are visible from Tetelcingo, from where El Nevado appears to be decapitated.

The abbreviations for the texts are: Whirlwind W, Domestic Dialogue D, Three Volcanoes V, Burro and Mountain Lion B, Eclipse of Moon EM.

WHIRLWIND

Martín N. Méndez

1 sie (tunal)li neli o-mo(chī) ihkiyi. One (day)Nsg quot
 past-refl(happen) this way. 2 sen-te (tlāka)tl o(/chān/ti)ya
pan (/kal/tien)tli One-num (man)Nsg past(live)impf in (country)-
 Nsg 3 wa kāni yaha (/chān/ti)ya seme (panu)ya (/yehka/malaku)-
tl and where he (live)impf always (pass)impf (/wind/spin)Nsg
 4 i-pampa ka ompa m(/ohwi/ti)ā-ya. because be there refl(road)-
 pres-impf. 5 wa seme wa seme (tlāka)tl ki(/cuālān/ti)ā-ya
 And always and always (man)Nsg it(became angry)pres-impf
 6 i-pampa cuak (/yehka/malaku)tl (panu)ya yaha tla(cua)h-tika,
 because when (/wind/whirl)Nsg (pass)impf he unsp obj(eat)pt-
 dur, 7 wa ini-nān-ka ki(tlāl/tiemi/)li-ā-ya i(kaswiela) wa
(tlāka)tl kachi ki(/cuālān/ti)ā-ya. and this-here-be
 it(dirt/fill/)him-pres-impf his(dish) and (man)Nsg more
 it(become angry)pres-impf.

8 sie (tunal)li k(iwi)a i(sowa), "laliwis tiech(pasolo)a
ini-nān-ka (/yehka/malaku)tl. One (day)Nsg her(say)pres
 his(wife), "Very us(annoy)pres this-here-be (/wind/whirl)Nsg.
 9 naha ye o-niech(tla-wiel/mik/ti). seme ni-tla(cua) ka

Free translation: 1 One day, they say, it happened this way.
 2 A man lived in the country 3 and where he lived there always
 passed a whirlwind 4 because there it had its road. 5 And
 all of the time the man was angry, 6 because when the whirl-
 wind passed, he would be eating, 7 and this (whirlwind) would
 fill his dish with dirt and the man would become angry.

8 One day he says to his wife, "This whirlwind bothers
 us very much.

(tlāl)li, wa āxā para ki(matī)s, I already past-me(unspl
obj-wrath/die/cause). Always I-unspl obj(eat) with (dirt)Nsg,
and now in order to it(know)fut, 10 ni-k(chi)a-tī kāni ka
(pano) wa ni-k(machietih/wī)s." I-it(wait)pres-go where
(pass) and I-it(cut with machete)fut."

11 ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl o(kīs)tie, ki(wīka)k i(machiete),
wa o-ki(chi)a-to (/yehka/malaku)tl ka kiāwāk. now-when-that
(man)Nsg past(go out)assv, it(carry)pt his(machete), and
past-obj(wait)pres-went (/wind/whirl)Nsg be outside. 12
tepitsī wehkāh-pa k(ihta)k (/yehka/malaku)tl ye ompa(wīts).
little late-time obj(see)pt (/wind/whirl)Nsg already there-
(come). 13 ye-cuak-inu yaha mo-yeh(yek/tlāli/) i(mā)tla
machiete o-ki(chi)x. now-when-that he refl-rep(straight/-
place/) his(hand)place of machete past-it(wait)pt. 14 cuak
ye (asi)ko, ki(wīki)li i(xompilielo) when already (arrive)-
came, it(carry)from him his(hat) 15 wa yaha o-ki(/piewa/lti)
ka machiete tla-tie(teki) kanā-wi-yā. ki-tie(teki) (/yehka/-
malaku)tl. and he past-it(begin) with machete unsp obj-rep(cut)
everywhere. it-rep(cut) (/wind/whirl)Nsg. 16 (/yehka/malaku)tl
u(ya). ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl nuhki u(ya) ka i(chā) (/wind/-
whirl)Nsg past(go). now-when-that (man)Nsg also past(go) be

Free translation: 9 I am now mad. I always eat with dirt, and
now so that he'll learn, 10 I'm going to wait where he passes
and I'll cut him with the machete.

11 Then the man went out, carrying his machete, and he
went to wait for the whirlwind outside. 12 A little later he
saw the whirlwind coming. 13 Then he prepared himself, machete
in hand, and waited for it. 14 When it arrived, it carried off
his hat 15 and he began with the machete to cut everywhere.
He cut the whirlwind. 16 The whirlwind went away. Then the
man also went home

his(house) 17 wa k(ilwi)a i(sowa), "āxā ye no-ki(/machietih/-wi). welis mustla a-yek-mo (panu)s." and her(tell)pres his(wife), "now already I...myself-it(cut with machete). Maybe tomorrow no more (pass)fut."

18 pa (mustla)tika o-k(ihta)k ok-sah-pa ye ompa(wīts). at (tomorrow)dur past-it(see)pt other-one-time already there(come). 19 (tlāka)tl o(cuītla/kīs/)tikīs ka (machiete) i(mā)tla, ok-sah-pa o-ki(chi)a-to (/yehka/malaku)tl. (man)Nsg past(back/go out/)went out with (machete) his(hand)place of, other-one-time past-obj(wait)pres-went (/wind/whirl)Nsg. 20 ok-sah-pa cuak (panu)tī ompa, o-k(asi)k ka machiete. Other-one-time when (pass)go there, past-obj(reach)pt with machete. 21 o-ki-tie(tek) kanā-wi-yā, wa (/yehka/malaku)tl o(panu)k i-pa. past-obj-rep(cut) everywhere, and (/wind/whirl)Nsg past(pass)pt him-over. 22 ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl u(ya) ka i(chā). ye-cuak-inu ki(nunutsa)to i(sowa), k(ilwi)a, now-when-that (man)Nsg past(go) be his(home). now-when-that obj(call)went his(wife), obj(say to her)pres, 23 "āxān kiema. mustla a-yek-mo (panu)s, i-pampa ye uh-pa ni-k(/machieti/h-wi)a." "Now then. Tomorrow no more (pass)-fut, because already two-times I-obj(cut with machete)pres."

Free translation: 17 and he says to his wife, "Now I cut him with the machete. Maybe he won't pass again tomorrow."

18 The next day he saw it coming again. 19 The man ran out the back way machete in hand, and again went to wait for the whirlwind. 20 Again when it passed there, he caught it with the machete. 21 He cut it everywhere, and the whirlwind passed over him. 22 Then the man went home. Then he went to talk to his wife, he says, 23 "Now then. Tomorrow it will no longer pass, because I have now cut him twice."

24 pa mustla-tika, ka pan tlahka, ok-sah-pa o-k(ihta)k ye ompa(wīts). At tomorrow-dur, be at noon, other-one-time past-obj(see)pt already there(come). 25 nocuie1 o(cuītla/kīs)/tikīs, ok-sah-pa ki(/machieti/h-wī)ko. Again past(back/go out/)went out, other-one-time obj(cut with machete)came. 26 (/yehka/malaku)tl o(panu)k wa yaha u(ya) ka i(chā). k(ilwi)a i(sowa), (/wind/whirl)Nsg past(pass)pt and he past(go) be his(home). obj(say to her)pres his(wife), 27 "ini-nān-ka welis amo ki(koko)a. mustla ok-sah-pa ni-k(chi)-a-ti." "This-here-be maybe not obj(hurt)pres. Tomorrow other-one-time I-obj(wait)pres-come." 28 pa mustla-tika o-ki(chi)a-to, ok-sah-pa o-ki-tie(tek). At tomorrow-dur past-obj(wait)pres-go, other-one-time past-obj-rep(cut). 29 (/yehka/malaku)tl o(panu)k wa kachi ka niepa o-poh(/poli/wi)to. (/wind/whirl)Nsg past(pass)pt and more be there past-rep(dissolve)went. 30 ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl o-k(ihto) pa i(yulo), "āxān kiema. ye o-ni-k-poh(polo)." now-when-that (man)Nsg past-obj(say) at his(heart), "Now then. Already past-I-obj-rep(dissolve)."

31 ye-cuak-inu tepitsi wehkāh-pa, o-k(ihta)k sen-te (tlāka)tl wal(kīs) kāni ka o-poh(/poli/wī)to (/yehka/malaku)tl.

Free translation: 24 The next day, at noon, he saw it coming again. 25 Again he ran out, again he cut it. 26 The whirlwind passed and he went home. He says to his wife, 27 "Maybe this doesn't hurt him. Tomorrow I'll wait for him again." 28 The next day he waited for it, and cut it again. 29 The whirlwind passed and farther on it dissolved. 30 Then the man said in his heart, "There now. Now I have dissolved it."

31 Then a little later, he saw a man coming from where

now-when-that little farther-time past-obj(see)pt one-num
 (man)Nsg come(go out) where be past-rep(dissolve)went
 (/wind/whirl)Nsg. 32 o-k(ihta)k (yiwīts) (mach-kohkotu),
(mach-yes-neli), nochi (tla-temomotsuli) pa i(xoyak), pa
i(tsonteko) (mach-mo-cua-tlahtla-pā). past-obj(see)pt (come)
 (all broken), (all bleeding), all (scratched) at his(face),
 at his(head) (his head all laid open). 33 ye-cuak-inu (asi)to
i(tlak), wa o-k(ihto) inu-nieka (tlāka)tl āki (tla-cua-tlah-
tla-pān)tli, Now-when-that (arrive)went him(beside), and
 past-obj(say) that-there (man)Nsg who (had his head laid open)N
 34 k(ilwi)a āki ompa ki(chi)x-ta-ya, "ġtli t(ayi) (cual)li
(tlāka)tl?" obj(say)pres who there obj(wait)pt-dur-impf,
 "What you sg(do) (good)Nsg (man)Nsg?" 35 o(nāwat) yaha,
"amo-itla. no-m(hka)tika." o(nāwat) ok-sen-te, k(ilwi)a,
 past(answer) he, "No-thing. Here-I(stand)dur." past(reply)
 other-one-num, obj(say)pres, 36 "naha seme ni(pano) ka
(imanie), seme timits(tlah/palo/)tikīsa. "I always I(pass)
 be (this time), always you-sg-obj(greet)go out. 37 wa taha
ye ki(/pi/a) yeyi (tunal)li ti-niech(nāmiki) ka (machiete)
wa ti-niech(/machieti/h-wi)a. And you already obj(/have/-
 pres) three (day)Nsg you sg-me(meet) with (machete) and

Free translation: the whirlwind had dissolved. 32 He saw
 him coming up, bleeding, all scratched on his face, and his
 head cut open. 33 Then he, arrived by him, and that man with
 his head cut open said to him, 34 he says to the man waiting
 there, "What are you doing, good man?" 35 He answered, "No-
 thing, I'm standing here." The other answered, he says, 36 "I
 always pass at this hour, I always come out to greet you. 37
 And you now for three days have come out to meet me with a

you sg-me(cut with machete)pres. 38 ye yex-pa o-ti-k(chī).
āxā o-ti-k(chī) ka nāh-pa. Already three-times past-you
 sg-obj(do). Now past-you sg-obj(do) at four-times.

39 xi-k(mah)ta.¹ naha seme ka nikā n(/ohwi/ti)a.
 Impa-obj(know)dur. I always at here I(make my road)pres.
 40 onkā ni-k(/pi/a) no(hwi), wa asta inu amo ni(wīts) ipampa
naha ni-k(neki), Here I-obj(/have/pres) my(road), and until
 that not I(come) because I I-obj(want), 41 tlā-k-amo naha sa
ni-wal(/tla/titlan/)tli. wa āxā xi-k(ihta). but I only
 I-come(unsp obj/send/)Nsg. And now impa-obj(see). 42 ma
ti-k(chīwa)kā ok-sen-te. taha ti(yā)s no(tekipa) wa naha
no(kāwa)s mo(tekipa). May we-obj(make)pl other-one-num.
 You sg you sg(go)fut my(place) and I I...myself(remain)fut
 your(place). 43 sa-n-kieni ka ti(yā)ya taha pa mo(chā),
ihkiu ni(ye)s naha nuhki para ti-k(matī)s tli tie(koko)."
 Just as be you sg(go)impf you sg at your(house), that way
 I(be)fut I also in order that you sg-obj(know)fut what unsp
 per(hurt).¹ 44 ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tli o(nāwat), o-k(ihto),
 "(cual)li." now-when-that (man)Nsg past(reply), past-obj(say),
 "(good)Nsg." 45 wa inu (/yehka/malaku)tli o(nāwat), "(cual)li.

Free translation: machete and have cut me. 38 You have already done it three times. Now you have done it for the fourth time.

39 Know this. I always journey here. 40 Here I have my road, and besides that, I don't come because I want to, 41 but I am only sent. And now look. 42 Let's do something else. You go in my place and I'll go in your place. 43 Just as you were in your house, so I will be able so that you will know what it is to suffer.¹ 44 Then the man replied, he said, "All right."

¹ mati + ta > mahta.

xi(wi)a. xi-k(mati)tī." And that (/wind/whirl)Nsg past(reply), "(good)Nsg. impa(go)pres. impa-obj(know)go."

46 ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl o(nieh)tie, u(ya) kāni ka wal(kīs) ok-sen-te. Now-when-that (man)Nsg imm(rise)assv past(go) where be come(go out) other-one-num. 47 cuak (asi)to kāni on(kīs), ye ompa o-mo(cui)k (/yehka/malaku)tl wa ye u(ya). When (arrive)went where just(come out), already there past-refl(change)pt (/wind/whirl)Nsg and now past(go). 48 ye-cuak-inu inu (tlāka)tl tlī o-mo(kā)¹ i(tekipa) ok-sen-te u(ya) ka pan (chān)tli. Now-when-that that (man)Nsg who past-refl(remain) his(place) other-one-num past(go) be at (house)Nsg. 49 (asi)to (kal)ihti-k. sa-nima (sowa)tl o-k(ilwi), "xo-mo(tla/cual/ti)kī." (Arrive)went (house)in-attrib. Immediately (woman)Nsg past-obj(say to him), "Impa-H(unsp obj/eat/cause)-come." 50 yaha k(ihto)ā-ya welis yaha i(nāmik). ye-cuak-inu o-k(ihto) (tlāka)tl, she obj(say)pres-impf probably he her(husband). Now-when-that past-obj(say) (man)Nsg, 51 "amo ni-k(neki) ni(tla/cua/)s." wa ihkiu o-ki(chī) por miak (tunal)li. "not I-obj(want) I(eat)fut." And that way past-obj(do) for many (day)Nsg.

Free translation: 45 And that whirlwind replied, "All right. Go. Go and try it." 46 Then the man got up and went where the other came from. 47 When he arrived where he came from there he turned into a whirlwind and went. 48 Then that man who remained in place of the other one went to the house. 49 He arrived in the house. Right away the woman said to him, "Come and eat." 50 She thought that he was probably her husband. Then the man said, 51 "I don't want to eat." And he did that way for many days.

¹ In kāwa the a is lost in the pt and since word-final w does not occur, it is dropped, the stem thus becoming kā.

52 kachi cuak ye (walā)s inu ok-sen-te tli u(ya) i(tekipa),
k(ilwi)a (sowa)tl, More when already (come)fut that other-one-
 num who past(go) his(place), obj(say)pres (woman)Nsg, 53
 "xi-k(ihta). naha amo ni(tlacua) ipampa no(tla/cual/) amo
yaha ini, "Impa-obj(see). I not I(eat) because my(food) not
 it this, 54 tlā-k-amo ma ni-k(chiwa) tli ipampa niech-wal-
(titlan)ki, but may I-obj(do) what because me-come(send)subj
 pl. 55 wa asta inu ma timits(ilwi) amo naha ni-mo(nāmik)
ni(ka/ka/), and until that may you sg obj(say) not I
 I-your(husband) I(rep/be/), 56 ipampa mo(nāmik) no(tekipa)
u(ya)." because your(husband) my(place) past(go)."

57 ye-cuak-inu kiemi ka pan tlahka o-k(ihta)ki (/yehka/-
malaku)tl ompa(wīts). Now-when-that about be at noon,
 past-obj(see)subj pl (/wind/whirl)Nsg there(come). 58
ye-cuak-inu ini-nān-ka (tlāka)tl o-k(ilwi) (sowa)tl, "ye
ompa(wīts) mo(nāmik). Now-when-that this-here-be (man)Nsg
 past-obj(say) (woman)Nsg. "Already there(come) your(hus-
 band). 59 wa āxā naha ni(yā)s". ye-cuak-inu (asi)ko
(/yehka/malaku)tl, wa sa o(panu)k. And now I I(go)fut."
 Now-when-that (arrive)came (/wind/whirl)Nsg, and only
 past(pass)pt. 60 mo(ketsa)to asta kāni o-poh(poli) ok-sen-te.

Free translation: 52 But when the other one who went in his
 place was about to come, he said to the woman, 53 "Look. I
 don't eat because this is not my food, 54 but I do that for
 which they sent me. 55 And in that connection let me tell
 you that I am not your husband, 56 because your husband went
 in my place."

57 Then at about noon, they saw the whirlwind coming. 58
 Then this man said to the woman, "There comes your husband.
 59 And I will go." Then the whirlwind arrived, and passed
 over. 60 It stopped where the other one dissolved.

refl(stop)went until where past-rep(dissolve) other-one-num.
 61 ye-cuak-inu wal(kīs) o(wala) ka i(chā) wa o-k(ihta)ki
(mach-yek-koh-kotu), (mach-mo-yek-te-tsa-tsayo), Now-when-that
 come(go out) past(come) at his(house) and past-obj(see) subj pl
 (all broken), (all scratched), 62 (mach-mo-cua-tlah-tlapā),
(mach-mo-ye-tsoh-tsopini) pa i(xāyak), pa nochi i(cuierpo).
 (his head all laid open), (all pierced with thorns) at his(face),
 at all his(body).

63 ye-cuak-inu o-k(ilwi) ok-sen-te, "¿kieni ka
o-ti-k(mat)? ¿(cual)li inu (teki)tli?" Now-when-that
 past-obj(say) other-one-num, "How be past-you sg-obj(know)?
 (good)Nsg that (work)Nsg?" 64 o-k(ihto) yaha, "amo. ipampa
mās ī-htik (ātlak)tli no-te-weh(witik)tiwīts, mās ka (wits)tli,
 past-obj(say) he, "No. Because whether it-in (ravine)Nsg I...
 myself-stone-rep(thrash)come, whether against (thorn)Nsg,
 65 ka (cuah)me. ka (te)me, ka (tepie)tli, ka(sahka-nopali)tli,
ka nochi tli on-ka no-tlāl-moh(mutla)tiwīts. against (tree)Npl,
 against (stone)Npl, against (hill)Nsg, against (nopal)Nsg,
 against all that there-be I myself-ground-rep(throw)come. 66
i-pampa-hu āxā laliwis niech-koh(kuko)a no(cuierpo)." Because
 now very me-rep(hurt)pres my(body)." 67 ye-cuak-inu o-k(ihto)

Free translation: 61 Then he came out and came home and they saw him all broken, scratched, 62 his head cut open, his face, and all his body pierced with thorns.

63 Then the other said to him, "How did you find it? Is that work good?" 64 He said, "No. Because I thrashed around in the canyons, against thorns, 65 against trees, against stones, against hills, against nopales, against everything there is I bumped. 66 Because of that my body now hurts sorely." 67 Then the other said, "All right, now you know what

ok-sen-te, "(cual)li. āxā ye o-ti-k(mati)to tlīn tie(koko).
 Now-when-that past-obj(say) other-one-num, "(good)Nsg. Now
 already past-you sg-obj(know)went what unsp per(hurt). 68
āxān kiema a-yek-mo kiema ti(kīsā)s ka (machiete) wa
ti-k(/machieti/h-wī)s (yeh/yeka/)tl." Now then no longer
 indeed you sg(go out)fut with (machete) and you sg-obj(cut
 with machete)fut (wind)Nsg." 69 o-k(ihto) yaha, "a-yek-mo."
ye-cuak-inu o-k(ihto) ok-sen-te, past-obj(say) he, "No
 longer." Now-when-that past-obj(say) other-one-num, 70
"āxā naha ma ni(wi-ya)." ye-cuak-inu o(nieh)tie. ye u(ya).
 "Now I may I(go)." Now-when-that past(arise)assv. Already
 past(go).

71 ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl k(ilwi)a i(sowa), "melāwak
amo(cual)li tli o-ni-k(chī). axa xi-niech(ihta) kieni
ni(wīts). Now-when-that (man)Nsg obj(say)pres his(wife),
 "Certainly not(good)Nsg what past-I-obj(do). Now impa-me(see)
 how I(come). 72 mach-ni-yek-koh(kotu) sa-m-por i-pampa
ni-k(machieti/h-wi) (/yehka/malaku)tl." All-I-completely-
 rep(break) only-for it-because I-obj(cut with machete)
 (/wind/whirl)Nsg." 73 (sowa)tl o-k(ihto), "naha ni-k(ihto)-
ā-ya tehwa-tsi onkā ti-mo(wets)tika." (woman)Nsg past-obj(say),

Free translation: suffering is. 68 Now then you won't go out
 any more with your machete to cut the wind." 69 He said, "No
 more." Then the other said, 70: "Now I'm going." Then he got
 up. He went away.

71 Then the man says to his wife, "It was really wrong
 what I did. Now look at me how I've come. 72 I'm all broken
 up just because I cut the whirlwind." 73 The woman said, "I

"I I-obj(say)pres-impf you sg-H here you sg-H(be)dur." 74
o-k(ihto) (tlāka)tl, "amo naha." o-k(ihto) (sowa)tl, past-
 obj(say) (man)Nsg, "Not I." Past-obj(say) (woman)Nsg, 75
"naha ni-k(tla/maka/)ya inu-nie-ka (tlāka)tl wa ayik o-ki(nek)
(tla/cua/)s. I I-obj(unsp obj/give/)impf that-there-be (man)Nsg
 and never past-obj(want) (eat)fut.

76 kachi cuak ye ti-wal-mo(wīka)s, ye ix-mantiti
o-niech(ilwi), But when already you sg-come-refl(go)fut, al-
 ready plainly past-me(say), 77 "naha amo ni-mo(nāmik),
tlā-k-amo sa o-no(kā) i(tekipa) mo(nāmik) "I not I-your(hus-
 band), but only past-I myself(remain) his(place) your sg(hus-
 band). 78 yaha wel-aha mo(nāmik) āxā (asi)ko." He very-one
 your(husband) now(arrive)came." 79 ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl
o-k(ihto), "tli ti-k(neki)s? Now-when-that (man)Nsg
 past-obj(say), "What you sg-obj(want)fut? 80 sa-m-por
i-pampa no(tlah-tlakul) o-ni(ya) ni-k(mati)to tlin tie(koko)
wa tlin tie(tunie). only-for because my(sin) past-I(go)
 I-obj(know)went what unsp per(hurt) and what unsp per(sick-
 ness).

81 naha ni-k(ihto)ā-ya welis ini-nān-ka (/yehka/malaku)tl

Free translation: thought it was you here." 74 The man said,
 "It wasn't I." The woman said, 75 "I gave that man food but he
 never wanted to eat.

76 But when you were about to come, he told me plainly,
 77 "I am not your husband, but I just stayed here in place of
 your husband. 78 Your real husband is now arriving." 79 Then
 the man said, "What would you want? 80 It is just because of
 my sin that I went to learn what suffering and misery is.

81 I thought that probably this whirlwind was not a living

amo (tlāka-nemi), kachi āxā ye ni-k-wal(mat). I I-obj(say)-
 pres-impf probably this-here-be (/wind/whirl)Nsg not (man-live),
 but now already I-obj-come(know), 82 tlakaso ini (/yehka/-
malaku)tl (tlāka-nemi). wa āxā a-yek-mo kiema ni-k(/machieti/-
h-wī)s, apparently this (/wind/whirl)Nsg (man-live). And now
 no longer when I-obj(cut with machete)fut, 83 i-pampa yaha
tlakaso laliwis tli i-pa mo(chiwa). it-because he apparently
 very much him-on refl(do). 84 tlakaso yaha mās ī-htik
(ātlak)tli, mās (wits)tli, ka (te)me, Apparently he, whether
 within (ravine)Nsg, whether (thorn)Nsg, against (stone)pl,
 85 ka (cuah)me, ka (tepie)me, wa ka nochi (sāsan)tli
mo-tlah-tlāka(mutla)tiwīts. against (tree)Npl, against
 (hill)Npl, and against all (thing)Nsg refl-rep-?(throw)come.
 86 laliwis tie(tlookolti), wa laliwis niech(tlookolti)a, wa
naha nuhki no(tlookolti)a. Very unsp per obj(pitiable), and
 very me(causes pity)pres, and I also I myself(pity)pres. 87
i-pampa yaha ye ki(/pi/a) amo (machil¹)a kiehkich (xiwi)tl
ihkiu ki(chih)tinemi. It-because he already obj(/have/pres)
 not (know)pres how many (year)Nsg thus obj(do)go around. 88
tlā naha sa kiehkich (tunal)li no-n-on(ya), ihkiyi no-pa

Free translation: creature, but now I have found out. 82 This
 whirlwind is really a living creature. And now I won't cut him
 again, 83 because very much happens to him. 84 Why he, whether
 in canyons, thorns, against stones, 85 against trees, against
 hills, and against everything he comes hurling himself. 86 He
 is much to be pitied, and he causes me to pity greatly and I
 also feel pity. 87 because he already has nobody knows how
 many years of going around doing that. 88 Why I went only a

¹ mati + ti (caus) > machi.

wal-mo(chī), xā-yaha poruwe." If I only few (day)Nsg
 here-I-just(go), thus me-on come-refl(happen), now-he poor
 fellow." 89 ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl o-k(ihto), "āxā no(tlālī)s
ni(/teki/tī)s, ma sa ni-wal(pahti), Now-when-that (man)Nsg
 past-obj(say), "Now I myself(put)fut I(work)fut, may only
 I-come(heal), 90 ni(yā)s pa to(tlāl), ni-tla-poh(powa)tī
para ni-k(tuka)s (tlaul)li." I(go)fut at our(land), I-unsp
 obj-rep(clear)go in order to I-obj(plant)fut (corn)Nsg."

91 pa kiekich (tunal)li, cuak yaha ye o(pahti)k, u(ya)
o(/teki/ti)to. At several (day)Nsg, when he already past-
 (heal)pt, past(go) past(work)went. 92 tla-poh(powa)to kāni
i(tlāl). kāni i(tlāl) laliwis ka (cuah/kamak/) o(ye)ya,
 unsp obj-rep(clear)went where his(land). Where his(land) very
 be (wooded) past(be)impf, 93 (wits)tli, (sahka-nopali)tl,
nochi (sāsan)tli tli re (cuah)me, wa yaha o-k(ihto), (thorn)Nsg
 (nopal)Nsg, all (things)Nsg which of (tree)pl, and he
 past-obj(say), 94 "sa tsītsiki-tsī ni-k-poh(powa)s i-pampa
ini-nān-ka (tlāl)li laliwis (/pitso/ti)k. "Only little
 I-obj-rep(clear)fut it-because this-here-be (land)Nsg very
 (messy)adj. 95 welis ayik ni-h(cuah/tlapu/)s." cuak tepitsī

Free translation: few days (and) thus it happened to me, but
 him--poor fellow." 89 Then the man said, "Now I'll put myself
 to work. As soon as I'm healed, 90 I'll go to our field. I'll
 clear it off to plant corn."

91 After various days, when he was now healed, he went to
 work. 92 He went to clear off his field. Where his field was,
 it was very overgrown. 93 thorns, nopal, all kinds of trees,
 and he said, 94 "Just a little I'll clear it off because this
 land is an awful mess. 95 I'll probably never finish chopping."
 A little while later, at the hour the whirlwind was accustomed

wehkāh-pa, tli-n-ura (/yehka/malaku)tl pā(pano), Probably never I-obj(wood/clear/)fut." When little farther-time, which-hour (/wind/whirl)Nsg rep(pass), 96 o-k(ihta)k (/yehka/malaku)tl ye ompa(wīts) ka kāni yaha (cuah/tlapoh/)-tā-ya. past-obj(see)pt (/wind/whirl)Nsg already there(come) be where he (wood/clear/)dur-impf. 97 ye-cuak-inu (asi)ko (/yehka/malaku)tl sa sie trepiente o-k(ahko)k nochi (cuah)me, Now-when-that (arrive)came (/wind/whirl)Nsg only one sudden past-obj(raise up)pt all (tree)pl, 98 o(yek-tla/chipā/) kāni nie-ka (tlāka)tl tla-poh(pu)tā-ya. past(complete-unsp obj/clear/) where that-be (man)Nsg unsp obj-rep(clean)dur-impf. 99 ye-cuak-inu (/yehka/malaku)tl o-k(ilwi) (tlāka)tl, "nān-ka (tlāl)li. Now-when-that (/wind/spin)Nsg past-obj(say) (man)Nsg, "Here-be (land)Nsg. 100 xi-k(tuka) tli ti-k(nekī)s, wa kiema ni(vā) to(nāmiki). Impa-obj(plant) what you sg-obj-(want)fut, and someday we(meet).

101 ye-cuak-inu (/yehka/malaku)tl u(ya) wa nuhki (tlāka)tl u(ya) ka i(chā). Now-when-that (/wind/whirl)Nsg past(go) and also (man)Nsg past(go) be his(house). 102 o-ki(/pu/wi)li-to i(sowa) kieni (/yehka/malaku)tl o-tla-poh-(puh)tie kāni i(tlāl). past-obj(tell)her-went his(wife) how

Free translation: to pass, 96 he saw the whirlwind coming where he had been chopping. 97 Then the whirlwind arrived (and) all of a sudden lifted up all the trees, 98 it cleaned off well (the place) where that man was clearing. 99 Then the whirlwind said to the man, "Here's the land. I have now cleared it for you. 100 Plant what you want, and someday we'll meet (again).

101 Then the whirlwind went and also the man went to his house. 102 He went to tell his wife how the whirlwind cleared

(/wind/whirl)Nsg past-unsp obj-rep(clear)assv where his(land),
 103 wa o-k(ilwi)tie kiema ni(yā) ti(nāmiki). pa kiehkich
(tunal)li (tlāka)tl o-ki(tuka)to. and past-obj(say)assv
 someday I(go) we(meet). At various (day)Nsg (man)Nsg
 past-obj(plant)went. 104 wa nuihki yaha o(pie) mo(koko)a.
(nel)li i(tunal) a-yek=mo ki(/pi/a)ya and also he past(begin)
 refl(sick)pres. (Quot)Nsg his(shadow) no longer obj(/have/-
 pres)impf 105 wa ihkiu ka i-pa o-mo(chī) asta senamo o(miki)ko.
 and thus be him-with past-refl(happen) until finally past(die)-
 came.

Free translation: off where his land (was), 103 and (how) he
 passed to say someday we'll meet (again). After various days
 the man went to plant. 104 And also he began to be sick.
 They say that he no longer had his shadow 105 and that's how
 it happened to him until finally he died.

HUSBAND AND WIFE DIALOGUE

Martín Martínez

1946

Man: 1 pos ma no-k-on(cui)tī (chināmi)tl. Well, may I-it-now(get)go (corn-stalks)N. ma ni-k(wīka) no(puro). May I-it(take) my(burro). 2 ni-k(mā/mal/tī)s yeyi māno. I-him(load)fut three bundles. tlā ye ni-k(mā/mal/ti), ye ni-k(pieh)tiwīts. When already I-him(load), already I-him(drive)come. 3 n(asi)kī pa no(chā). I(arrive)come at my(home). ni-k(tla/temo/wi)lī-s. I-it(unload)him-fut. 4 ma no-k-on(/ā/tlī-ltī)tī no(puro). May I-him-now(/water/-drink-make)go my(burro). ye ni-k-wal(ika)k. Already I-him-come(bring)past. ma ni-k(ilpi). May I-him(tie).

Wife: 5 xi-mo(maki)li (saka)tl ma ki(cuah)ta. imp-H-(give)him (grass)N may it(eat)dur. 6 āxā xi(wal-mo/wīka/), xi-mo(cua-ltī)kī (tlaxkal)li. Now imp(here-yourself/carry/), imp-H(eat-cause)come (tortilla)N.

M: 7 ye o-n(ixwi)k. āxā xi-niech(maka) sie xālā (/ā/tsīn)tlī. Already past-I-myself(fill)pt. Now imp-me-(give) a cup (/water/H)N. 8 (tla/soh/kā-mati). (Thanks).

Free translation: Man: 1 Well, I guess I'll go get some cornstalks. I guess I'll take my burro. 2 I'll load three shocks on him. When I have loaded him, I'll come driving him. 3 I'll arrive home. I'll unload him. 4 I guess I'll go water my burro. Now I have returned. I guess I'll tie him up.

Wife: 5 Give him some fodder and let him be eating. 6 Now come, come eat tortilla.

M: 7 Now I'm full. Now give me a cup of water. 8 Thank you.

āxā yeka. Now already. āxā ma no-k-on(teki)tī un-te
(cuilu)tī para ni-k-chih(chīwa)s (xakal)li. Now may I-it-now-
 (cut)go two-num (pole)N in-order-that I-it-rep(make)fut
 (corn-stalk-fence)N. 9 ti-k-chih(chīwa)s-ki sen-te
(/cuah/tla-pan)tī para i(hte)k ti(tesi)s. We-it-rep(make)-
 will-pl one-num (wood-much-on)N (=arbor) in-order-that
 it(in)adj you(grind)fut. 10 ti(yā)s (cuah)tlā? poro nima
ti(wālā)s porke nīma (chuka) mo(konie). You(go)fut (wood)-
 place-of [= city of Cuautla, Morelos]? But immediately
 you(come)fut because immediately (cries) your(child).

W: 11 poro amo kana to-mo(wīka). xi-m(īxuti)li. nīma
ni(wālā)s. amo ti-niech-mo(/kāwi/li)li-h-tiewa. But no
 where you-H(carry). Imp-H(take-care of)him. Immediately
 I(come)fut. Not you-me-H(/leave/cause)him-pt-go off. 12
ni-k(wāl/ika/)s lo ke tlī to-mo(/neki/ti)a to-mo(/cua/ltī)s.
āxā tlī i-pa ti-tla(cua)s-ki? I-it(hither/carry/)fut that
 which that you-H(/want/cause)pres you-H(/eat/cause)fut. Now
 what it-on we-unsp obj(eat)fut-pl?

M: 13 pos ompa xi-k(/nene/wi)li tlī i-pa ti-h(cua)s-ki
to(tlaxkal). Well there imp-it(think)it what it-on
 we-it(eat)fut-pl our(tortilla).

Free translation: Now okay. Now I guess I'll go cut two
 poles to make a stalk-fence. 9 We'll make an arbor for you
 to grind in. 10 Are you going to Cuautla? But you come right
 back because your baby will soon cry.

W: 11 But don't you go anywhere. You take care of him.
 I'll come right back. Don't you go away and leave him on me.
 12 I'll bring whatever you want to eat. Now what shall we eat
 on them (tortillas)?

M: 13 Well, you figure out there what we should eat on
 our tortillas.

W: 14 āxā xo-mo(kītski)li to(konie). ma ni-k(mana)
to(tlaxkal). Now imp-H(hold)him our(child). May I-it(pat)
 our(tortilla). 15 āxā xi-wal-m(īki)li [= xi(wal-mo/wīki/)li]
para to-mo(/cua/ltī)s (tlaxkal)li. ma ti-tla(cua)kā. Now
 imp-hither-H(carry)him in-order-that you-H(/eat/cause)fut
 (tortilla)N. May we-unsp obj(eat)pl. 16 āxā ma ni(nex-
/ketsa/), porke mustla ok(sah)pa ni(yā)s (cuah)tlā. Now may
 I(put-corn-on-to-soak), because tomorrow another(one)time
 I(go)fut Cuautla.

M: 17 pos xi-k(ihta). Well imp-it(look). tlā ti(yā)
(cuah)tlā, naha ni(yā)s ok(sah)pa ni-h(cui)tī (chināmi)tl
para ni-k(sen-kāwa)s to(xakal). If you(go) Cuautla, I
 I(go)fut another(one)time. I-it(gather)go (corn-stalk)N
 in-order-that I-it(one-leave)fut [= I-it(finish)will]
 our(corn-stalk-fence).

W: 18 tlā ye ti-wal-mo(wīka)k. ti-niech-mo(/cui/li)-
lī-tī (/ā/tsīn)tli. If already you-hither-H(carry)pt,
 you-me-H(/fetch/cause)it-go (/water/H)N. 19 tlā ye
to-mo(cui)lī-to (/ā/tsīn)tli, onkā xo-mo(sen/kāwi/)li
(xah/kal/)li, wa inu (puro) ok(sah)pa xo-m(ā/tlī/lti)lī-tī.
 If already you-H(fetch)it-went (/water/H)N, here

Free translation: W: 14 Now hold our baby while I make our
 tortillas. 15 Now bring him here so that you can eat tortil-
 las. Let's eat. 16 Now I guess I'll put the corn on to soak,
 because tomorrow I'm going again to Cuautla.

M: 17 Well, look. If you go to Cuautla, I'll go again.
 I'm going to get cornstalks to finish our stalk-fence.

W: 18 If you are back now, you'll go get me some water.
 19 When you have gotten the water, finish the stalk-fence

imp-H(one/leave/)it [=imp-H(finish)it] (corn-stalk/house/)N,
and that (burro) another(one)time imp-H(water/drink/cause)it-go.

20 xo-mo(maki)li (saka)t1 ma t1a(cua). xo-mo(/sekir/wi),
xo-mo(sen/kāwi/)li (xah/kal/)li. imp-H(give)it (corn-leaves-
fodder)N that unsp obj(eat). Imp-H(/continue/cause),

imp-H(one/leave/)it (corn-stalk/house/)N. 21 entuneses ma
ni(ya)h-tiwetsi (cuah)t1ā, wa inu to(konie) man (kochi).

Then may I(go)pt-hustle Cuautla, and that our(child) may
(sleep). 22 t1ā ye o(koch), wa t1ā ye o(t1a/chi/)x,

xo-mo(maki)li sie perāso no(t1axkal) mientras ke ni(wits).

If already past(sleep), and if already past(awake)pt,
imp-H(give)him one piece my(tortilla) until that I(come).

W: 23 āxā ye ni(wala). xi-niech-mo(/cui/li)li
(/ā/tsīn)t1i ma ni(koni). laliwis tuna. Now already
I(come). Imp-me-H(/fetch/cause/it (/water/H)N may I(drink).
Very hot.

M: 24 ka mo(yulo)! t1ī-ka nīma t-on(wala)? āxā ye
xo-mo(siewi). With your(heart)! Why immediately you=
hither(come)? Now already imp-yourself(rest). 25 man
(siewi) mo(chīchīwal) para ti-k(/chīchī/tī)s mo(konie).

Let (rest) your(breasts) in-order-that you-him(nurse)fut

Free translation: here, and go water that burro again. 20
Give him fodder to eat. Go ahead. Finish the stalk-fence.
21 Then I guess I'll run along to Cuautla, and that baby of
ours--let him sleep. 22 When he has slept and when he has
awakened, give him a piece of my tortilla until I come.

W: 23 Now I'm back. Give me some water to drink. It's
awfully hot.

M: 24 On your heart, why did you come so soon? Now then,
rest. 25 Let your breasts rest so that you can nurse your

your(child).

W: 26 pos āxā ye o(chīchī)k. Well now already past-
(nurse)pt. āxā xo-mo(tlāli) nie-pa ma ni(tesi). Now imp-
yourself(sit) there may I(grind). 27 to-mo(/teusiwi/ti)a,
noso a-ye-mo? You-H(hungry)pres, or not-yet? 28 tlā a-ye-mo
to-mo(/teusiwi/ti)a, ma de a tiro ni(nex/ketsa/) porke
a-yoko-k para watsinko ti(cua)s-ki. If not-yet you-H(hungry)-
pres, may immediately I(put-corn-to-soak-in-lime) because
no-thing-there-here-is for tomorrow we(eat)fut-pl. 29
mus-tla amo ni(yā)s (cuah)tlā. Tomorrow not I(go)fut Cuautla.
ni-k(neki) n(/ahā/ltī)s porke laliwis ni(cuā/tlālā/).
I-it(want) I myself(bathe)fut because very I(head/am dirty/).
30 wiewes ni(yā)s kapīchtlā. Thursday I(go)fut Yecapixtla.

M: tlī ti-k(ihta)tī? What you-it(see)go?

W: 31 ni-k(neki) no(kuwi)tī sikiera āwāx. I-it(want)
I(buy)go at-least cow-peas. tehwa-tsi, tlī to-mo(/neki/ti)a
to-mo(/cua/ltī)s? You-H, what you-H(want)pres you-H(eat)fut?

M: 32 naha ni-k(neki) ni-h(cua)s muli. I I-it(want)
I-it(eat)fut piquant sauce.

W: 33 mus-tla ti-niech-mo(/chīwi/li)li sie favur.
Tomorrow you-me-H(do)it one favor. naha ni-k(/ilīe/wi)a

Free translation: baby.

W: 26 Well, now he has nursed. Now put him over there
while I grind. 27 Are you hungry, or not yet? 28 If you
aren't hungry yet, I guess I'll put the corn on to soak right
away because there isn't anything for us to eat tomorrow. 29
Tomorrow I'm not going to Cuautla. I want to take a bath be-
cause I'm awfully dirty. 30 Thursday I'm going to Yecapixtla.

M: What are you going to see?

W: 31 I want to buy some cow-peas, at least. You, what
do you want to eat?

pāpatla. I I-it(desire)pres elephant-ear-plant. 34 ni-k-wal-
(ika)s (/mimi/te)tl para i-ka ti(cua)s-ki. I-it-here(bring)fut
 (bone)N in-order-that it-with we(eat)fut-pl. mientras de ke
ni(wīts), xo-mo(tla-cuih/cui/li)li. Until I(come),
 imp-H(strip-tender-part-of-leaves-off-ribs)them. 35 āxā ma
ni(kehtsa) (xok)tli. Now may I(put-on) (pot)N. ma
ni(/koyu/ti)h-tiwetsi. May I(put-water-on-to-boil)pt-imm.

M: 36 poro a-mo neli ti-h(kusiewa)s. But not inci-
 dentally you-it(overcook)fut. ma (yek/xacuali/wi) (/mimi/-
te)tl. Let (well-cook) (bone)N. tlā a-mo, a-weli ti-k-teh-
(texu)s-ki. If not, not-can we-it-repeatedly(pick)fut-pl.

W: 37 āxā ye (wiksi)k. Now already (cook)past.
xo-mo(kītski)li to(konie). Imp-H(hold)him our(child). 38
ma ni-k(mā/kotuna/) to(telak) para ti-tla(cua)s-ki. May
 I-it(prepare) our(bean-filled-tortillas) in-order-that
 we-something(eat)fut-pl. mus-tla kāni to-mo(wīka)s?
 Tomorrow where you-H(go)fut?

M: 39 pos naha ni-cuah(cuawi)tī. Well I I-rep(wood-
 gather)go.

Free translation: M: 32 I want to eat mole.

W: 33 Tomorrow you'll do me a favor. I'm hungry for
 elephant ear plant. 34 I'll bring a bone for us to eat with
 it. Until I come, you pull the leaves off the veins. 35 Now
 I guess I'll put the pot on. I'll put the water on right
 away.

M: 36 But don't let it cook too much. Let the bone
 cook well. If you don't, we won't be able to pick it.

W: 37 Now it's cooked. Hold our baby. 38 I guess I'll
 make our gordos for us to eat. Where are you going tomorrow?

M: 39 Well, I'm going to get wood.

W: 40 pos a-mo to-mo(wika)s, porke naha ni(ya)s cuah-tlā.
Well not you-H(go)will, because I I(go)fut Cuautla.

M: 41 wa tli-ka a-mo ti-niech-on(ilwi) tlā ti(ya)s
(cuah)tlā? And why-is not you-me-here(tell) if you(go)fut
Cuautla?

W: 42 tli-ka a-mo timits-mo(lwi)li? Why-is not
you sg obj-H(tell)it? porke ini no(konie) sa (tsahtsi)tika.
Because this my(child) just (cry)dur. 43 āxā xi-m(/ixu/ti)li.
Now imp-H(take-care-of)him. asta wiktla to-mo-cuah(/cuawi/-
li)ti. Until tomorrow you-H-rep(wood-gather)go. 44
xi-niech-mo(chiwi)li favur. Imp-me-H(do)it favor.

M: tli-ka? What-is?

W: 45 ti-niech-mo(teki)li-s sikiera chicuasie (xiwi)tl,
poro yehwa de kinea. You-me-H(cut)it-fut at-least six
(leaf)N, but those of guineo. 46 xi-niech-mo(/yekimi/lwi)li.
imp-me-H(wrap-up)it.

M: poro awier ok ni-h-cuah(cuawi)s. But look again
I-it-rep(wood-gather)go.

W: 47 poro nuyihki tlā to-mo(hti)li-a ok tuna, a-ye-mo
xi-wal(/miewa/lti). But also if you-H(see)it-pres still hot,
not-yet imp-here(arise). 48 tlā to-mo(hti)li-a a-yak-mo

Free translation: W: 40 Well, don't go, because I'm going to
Cuautla.

M: 41 And why didn't you tell me you were going to Cuautla?

W: 42 Why didn't I tell you? Because this baby of mine
hollers so much. 43 You take care of him now. Day after to-
morrow you can go get wood. 44 Do me a favor.

M: What?

W: 45 Cut me at least six (banana) leaves--the guineo
kind. 46 Wrap them up for me.

M: But look, I'm going again to gather wood.

tuna, xo-mo-tla(mā/mal/ti)li, mo(puroh)tsī. When you-H(see)-
 it-pres no-longer hot, imp-H-something(load)it your(burro)H.
tlā ye to-mo-tla(mā/mal/ti)li, xi-wal-mo(piewi)li-h-tī. When
 already you-H-something(load)him, imp-here-H(start)him?-come.
 49 tlā ye ti-m(/axi/tī)ko, xo-mo(tla/temo/wi)li-li. When
 already you-H(arrive)came, imp-H(unload)him-it. tlā yeka,
ma mo(/siah/tlāsa). When already, may himself(rest). 50
xo-mo(kixti)li-li i(siya) wa xo-mo(maki)li i(saka) mientras
de ke ni(wīts) de cuah-tlā. imp-H(take-off)it-him his(saddle)
 and imp-H(give)him his(corn-fodder) until I(come) from Cuautla.
 51 āxā kie to-mo(/neki/ti)a ti-m(ītī)s? Now do you-H(want)-
 pres you-H(drink)fut?

M: kie ti-k(wal/ika/)k? Did you-it(bring)pt?

W: 52 no-k-o(wal/ika/)k sa mahtlaktli sentāo.

I-it-just(bring)pt only ten centavos.

M: pos āxā xi-niech(maka), ma ni(koni). Well, now
 imp-me(give), may I(drink). 53 āxā xi-niech(maka) tepitsi
(/ā/tsīn)tli. Now imp-me(give) little (water)N. āxā ma
no(tlāli). ye o-ni(kxicuahti)k. Now may I myself(place).
 Already past-I(foot-tire)pt. āxā ma no(nakas-ika/tieka/).

Free translation: W: 47 Furthermore, if you see that it (the
 day) is still hot, don't come yet. 48 When you see that it is
 no longer hot, load your burro. 49 When you have arrived, un-
 load him. When you have done that, let him rest. 50 Take off
 his saddle and give him his fodder until I come from Cuautla.
 51 Now do you want a drink of alcohol?

M: Did you bring it?

W: 52 I just brought ten cents' worth.

M: Well, give it to me--I guess I'll drink it now. 53
 Now give me a little water. Now I guess I'll sit down. My
 feet are tired. I guess I'll lie down on one side.

Now may I-myself(on-my-side/throw/).

W: 54 mientras, ma ni(ketsa) no(/nex/tamal), porke mus-tla rominko. ni-h(ko)a-ti sikiera chili. Meanwhile, may I(put-on) my(soaking-corn), because tomorrow Sunday.

I-it(buy)pres-go at-least chili. 55 tli ipa to-mo(/neki/ti)a ti-tla(cua)s-ki? What on you-H(want)pres we-it(eat)fut-pl?

M: pos ompa xi-k(ihta) lo ke tli mo(gusto). Well, there imp-it(see) that which what your(like).

W: 56 (wala)s, poro a-mo kahna to-mo(wika)s. (come)fut, but not anywhere you-H(go)fut.

M: mus-tla ni-k(neki) ni(/teki/ti)ti, porke lunes wier tla ni(tsikawi). Tomorrow I-it(want) I(work)go, because Monday see when I(got-stuck). 57 tla-kihtus a-mo ni(/teki/ti), ni-cuah-cuih(cui)tiewa-s (cuawi)tl. If not I(work), I-wood-rep(gather)go immediately-fut (wood)N. tla ti-k(ihta) ye ume ura, amo ni(niesi), entونسes ni(/teki/ti). If you-it(see) already two hour, not I(show up), then I(work).

58 entونسes ye o-ni-k(tlami) semana. Then already past-I-it(finish) week.

W: tla to-mo(hti)li-a a-mo to-mo(/teki/ti-li)a. But you-H(see)it-pres not you-H(work)pres.

Free translation: W: 54 Meanwhile, I guess I'll put on my corn to soak because tomorrow is Sunday. I'm going to buy some chile at least. 55 What do you want us to eat on (our tortillas)?

M: Well, you figure out there what you like.

W: 56 It'll come (the food), but don't you go anywhere.

M: Tomorrow I want to go to work, because Monday, you see, I got stuck. 57 If I don't work, I'll go gather wood. If you see that it is two o'clock and I haven't shown up, then I am working.

58 Then I have finished the week.

M: 59 poro deus k-o-mo(/neki/l̄ti) niech-mo(/seli/li).

But God it-just-HH(want) me-HH(receive). i-tie(/kopan/tsin-ko) to(deus) o-ni(tek̄it). It-hisH(/besideness/H-place) our(God) past-I(worked). 60 pos kie ti(yā)s (cuah)tlā? tlā a-mo, xi-k-on(aremendoro) no(kamixa) porke mus-tla yaha ni-k(w̄ika)s. Well, do you(go)fut Cuautla? If not, impa-it-now go(mend) my(shirt) because tomorrow it I-it(carry)fut.

W: 61 poro sa yaha ni-k(aremendoru)s porke mierkolix naha ni(yā)s (cuah)tlā. But just it I-it(mend)fut because Wednesday I I(go)fut Cuautla. 62 cualkā ni(miewa)s wa tehwa-tsi xi-niech-mo(/cui/li)l̄i-t̄i (/ā/ts̄in)tli, porke a-yokok, wa amo niech(maka)s tiempo para ni-h(cui-tehku)s. Early I(arise)fut and you sg-H imp-me-H(fetch)it-cause (water)N, because there's-nothing-here, and not me(give)fut time for I-it(fetch)fut.

M: 63 tuses antes de ke ti(miewa)s, ni-h(cui)tiewa-s ume wiāhe de (/ā/ts̄in)tli. Then before you(arise)fut, I-it(fetch)go imm-fut two trips of (water)N.

W: 64 tli to-mo(/neki/ti)a para to-mo(w̄iki)l̄i-s mo(tlaxkal)-tsi? What you-H(want)pres for you-H(carry)it-fut your(tortillas)H?

Free translation: W: You see that you aren't working.

M: 59 But God was willing to receive me. I worked with our God. 60 Well, are you going to Cuautla? If not, mend my shirt, because tomorrow I'm going to wear it.

W: 61 But I'll just mend that one because Wednesday I'm going to Cuautla. 62 I'll get up early, and you go get water, because there isn't any, and I don't have time to get it.

M: 63 Then before you get up, I'll get two trips of water.

W: 64 What do you want to take in your tortillas?

M: 65 kie antlei tlī ipa? sa xi-niech(mani)li māske sampopoyek, wa kachi ye mānki. Why nothing what on? Just imp-me(make)it even-though it's-only salted, and more now soft.

W: 66 ka ye yowak ni(ketsa)s (/yi/tsin)tli. At already night I(put-on)fut (beans)N. 67 sa yaha ipa ti-tla(cua)s-ki. Just it on we-it(eat)fut-pl. pos a-mo ti-m(īti)a porke to-semāna. Well not you-H(drink)pres because our-week. 68 ti(tla/itlapu/)tī-wi. We(open)go-pl. ni-h(ko)a-s kantiela yaha mācuili sie tomi. I-it(buy)fut candles it five a 12¢. 69 wa wiewes ni-k(ihta)tī (xuchi)tl. And Thursday I-it(see)go (flowers)N. tlā a-mo ni-k(asi) (xuchi)tl, If not I-it(get) (flowers)N, 70 xo-mo(wets)ta proveniente para sābro. imp-H(be)-dur ready for Saturday. amo to-mo(/tekiti/lī)tī. Not you-H(work)go. 71 cualka ni-k(mana)s to(tlaxkal) para ti-k(ihta)tī-wi (xuchi)tl wa (xiwi)tl asienda sānta inés. Early I-it(make)fut our(tortillas) for we-it(see)go-pl (flowers)N and (leaf)N Hacienda Saint Inez. 72 tlā ye ti(wala)h-ki, mientras ni-k(mākotuna) to(telak). If already we(come)pt-pl, meanwhile I-it(make) our(bean-filled tortillas). 73 tlā ye to-mo(/cual/ti), xi-mo-l(/cui/lī)tī (/ā/tsin)tli para to-mo(tlachpāni)li-h-tihcui-s. When already you-H(eat),

Free translation: M: 65 Why, isn't there anything? Well, just give me tortillas with salt, and a little tenderer.

W: 66 Tonight I'll put on the beans. 67 That's all we're going to eat on (our tortillas). Now don't you get drunk, because this is our week. 68 We'll go to open (the church). I'll buy candles--those which are five for 12¢. 69 And Thursday I'll go to see the flowers. If I don't get them, 70 you be ready for Saturday. Don't go to work. 71 I'll make our tortillas early so that we can go to see the flowers and greenery at the Hacienda of Saint Inez. 72 When we have returned, I'll make our long tortillas. 73 When you have eaten, go get

imp-H-?(fetch)go (water)N for you-H(sweep)it-pt-return(?)-fut.
 74 xo-mo(wīki)li yāwe para tliyes. imp-H(carry)it key for
 whatever-there-might-be. 75 to-mo(chīwi)lī-s malubra mientras
de ke naha ni(kīsā)s (xuchi)tl. you-H(do)it-fut bother while
 I I(arrange)fut (flower)N. 76 xo-mo(pororo)tsīno,
xo-mo(tlachpāni). Imp-H(hurry)H, imp-H(sweep).
ti-niech-mo(paliewi)li-tihcuī-s. You-me-H(help)it-take a
 turn around-fut. 77 tlā yeka, ma ni-k(tlāli) (popuch)tlī.
 When already, may I-it(put) (incense-burners)N. ye o-ni-k-
(tlāli). Now past-I-it(put). xi-niech-mo(mā/mal/ti)li
no(konie). Imp-me-H(load)it my(child).

M: 78 pos a-mo. kachi(cual)li ma naha ni-k(/nāpalāh/ti)
no(konie), Well not. More(good)N may I I-it(carry) my(child).
 79 wa taha xi-k(wīka) mo(mā)tla (xuchi)tl wa mo(kantiela).
 And you imp-it(carry) your(hand)in-the-region-of (flower)N
 and your(candles).

W: 80 āxā ti(/yā/wi), ma ti-tla(xuchi-u-tī)tī
īx-pan-tsin-ko to(deus). mus-tla rominko. Now we(go), may
 we-it(spread-flowers)go face-at-H-place (in-front-of) our(God).
 Tomorrow Sunday. 81 to-mo(/kāwi/lī)tī yāwe āki (kalakī)s
entre ni semāna. You-H(leave)go key who (enter)fut during

Free translation: some water so that you can sweep. 74 Take
 the key along in case you need it. 75 You'll be in the way
 while I'm arranging the flowers. 76 Hurry up and sweep. You
 must come back and help me. 77 When that's done, I'll start
 the incense burners. There now, I have started them. Put my
 baby on my back.

M: 78 No. It's better for me to carry my baby in my
 arms, 79 and you carry in your hands the flowers and your candles.

W: 80 Now come, let's put the flowers in front of our God.
 Tomorrow is Sunday. 81 You will go and leave the key with

this week. tlā ye to-mo(maki)lī-to, When already
 you-H(give)it-went, 82 entonses ye yehwa ki(mati) ye
ok-sen-te mayordomo ye ki(tokoro)a inu semāna. then already
 they it(know) now another-one-num mayordomo now it(be-his-
 turn)pres that week.

Free translation: whoever has charge this coming week. When
 you have gone and given it to him, 82 then they know that
 it's another majordomo's turn that week.

THE THREE VOLCANOES

Martín N. Méndez

1 ini-non-ka (/se/cuis)tli ki(pi)a i(sowa), This-here-be
 (volcano)N her(have)pres his(wife), 2 wa ini-non-ka (sowa)ti
laliwis chipāwa-k. and this-here-be (woman)N very white-adj.
 3 (asi)ko (tunal)li ok-sen-te (/se/cuis)tli (Arrive)came
 (day)N other-one-num (volcano)N 4 o-ki(/xelie/wi) i(sowa)
re ini-non-ka (/se/cuis)tli past-her(covet) his(wife) of
 this-here-be (volcano)N 5 wa ki(neki)ya ki(cuih/cui/lī)s,
wa nie-ka amo o-mo(kā). and her(want)impf her(take away)fut,
 and that-be not past-refl(allow). 6 ye-cuak-inu o(pieh)ki
mo(mutla) ka se-sen perāso (te-siwi)tl. Now-when-that
 past(begin)pl recip(throw) with distrib-one piece (ice)N.
 7 cuak laliwis ka ye o-mo(mutla)ki When very be already
 past-recip(throw)pl, 8 kachi laliwis o(tla/wiel/mik)
ini-non-ka, more very past(become angry) this-here-be,
 9 wa o-k(ā) sen-te (te-siwi)tl laliwis wiewi wa o-ki(titlani)li.
 and past-it(grab) one-num (ice)N very big and past-it(throw
 at)him. 10 o-k(ihti)li miero pa i(kech-cuah)yo, past-it(aim)-

Free translation: 1 This volcano (Popocatepetl) has his wife
 (Ixtaccihuatl), 2 and this woman is very white. 3 One day
 another volcano (El Nevado de Toluca) 4 coveted the wife of
 this volcano 5 and wanted to take her away from him, but this
 one wouldn't allow it. 6 Then they began to throw pieces of
 ice at each other. 7 When they had thrown a great deal, 8
 this one became angrier than ever 9 and siezed a huge piece
 of ice and threw it. 10 He aimed right at his neck,

him exactly on his(neck)poss, 11 o-k(asi)k, wa o-ki(kech/-kotu/). past-it(reach)pt, and past-it(cut off at neck).

12 i(pampa-hu) āxā (i-ka-ka) (kech-koto-k-ti)k. It(because) now (it is) (headless)adj.

Free translation: 11 he hit him, and cut off his head. 12 That is why he is now headless (as seen from Tetelcingo).

THE BURRO AND THE MOUNTAIN LION

Zenón Casasanero

1951

1 sen-te (tlāka)tl ki(/pi/a)ya sen-te (puro)
(wie/wen/)tsī ki a-yek-mo (/teki/ti)ya. One-num (man)N
 obj(have)pres-impf one-num burro (old)N which no-longer
 (work)impf. 2 wa o-ki(kah/kā/) ka (/kal/tienko)¹ poro
ok-sah-pa mo(cuepa)ya i(chā). And past-obj(leave) in
 (field), but other-one-time refl(return)impf his(home).
 3 (pilalak)me i-pa (tlehko)ya, tli-mach ki(chīwi)li-ya.
 (Boy)pl it-on (climb)impf, all sorts of things obj(do)him-
 impf. 4 i(tieko) a-yek-mo i-ka (tlah/tlani/)ya por laliwis
ye (wie/wen/)tsī. Its(owner) no longer it-about (inquire)impf
 for very already (old)N.

5 sie (tunal)li o-ki(wīka)k kachi wehka. One (day)N
 past-obj(take)pt more far away. 6 ka ompa (puro) o(kalak)
(/cuah/kamak) kāni (nemi) (tie/cua/ni)me. At there (burro)
 past(enter) (forest) where (live) (person/eat/one who)pl.

Free translation: 1 A man had an old burro which no longer worked, 2 and he left it in the field, but it would return home again. 3 Boys would climb up on it and do all sorts of things to it. 4 Its owner no longer inquired about it because it was so old.

5 One day he took it farther away. 6 There the burro entered a forest where man-eaters live.

¹ lit. (/house/edge of).

7 sie (isi) cua^{kā} o-k(ihta)k sen-te (tie/cua/ni). One (morning) early past-obj(see)pt one-num (person/eat/one who).
 8 ki(tla/poh/)ta-ya wleyi i(kamak). Obj(open)dur-impf large his(mouth). 9 (niesi)ya (wie/weya/)ki i(/tlan/koch)wā. (it seem)impf (long)pl his(tooth)pl.

10 o-k(ihto) (tie/cua/ni), 'tli t(a)x-tinemi nika i-pa no(tla/cua/l)? Past-obj(say) (person/eat/one who), 'What you(do)pt-go around here it-on my(eating ground)? 11 ni-k(neki) xi(kisa) isihkā re nika. I-obj(want) impa(leave) immediately from here. 12 tlā amo, timits(cua)s. If not, you sg obj¹(eat)fut. 13 timits(kokototsa)s ka no(tlankoch).' You sg obj(tear in pieces)fut with my(tooth).'

14 nieka (yulkā)tl o(nāwat), 'tli-ka ti-niech(cua)s? That (animal)N past(reply), 'Why-it is you-me(eat)fut? 15 Naha ni-k(pi)a sen-te alāvōs i-htik no(kxi). I I-obj(have)pres one-num nail it-in my(hoof). 16 ka niech(cu/co/)a. It is me(hurts)pres. 17 tlā ti-k(neki), xi-niech(/kix/ti)li ini alāvōs.' If you-obj(want), impa-me(pull)it this nail.'

Free translation: 7 Early one morning he saw a man-eater. 8 It opened its mouth wide. 9 Its teeth seemed very long. 10 Said the man-eater, 'What are you doing here on my feeding ground? 11 I want you to leave here at once. 12 If you don't, I'll eat you. 13 I'll tear you to bits with my teeth.'

14 The animal replied, 'Why are you going to eat me? 15 I have a nail in my hoof. 16 It hurts me. 17 If you don't mind, pull this nail out for me.'

¹ ni- + timits- > timits- 'I' + 'you sg obj' > 'you sg obj'

18 (tie/cua/ni) o-mo(pacho) i-tlak i(kxi) puro
(wie/wen/)tsī. (Person/eat/one who) past-refl(move) it-near
 his(hoof) burro (old)N. 19 o-ki(/tlehka/wi) i(kxi),
o-ki-kama(tiriksa)k, nochi i(tlankoch)wa o-ki-n(tipiewi)li.
 Past-obj(lift) his(hoof), past-obj-mouth(kick)pt, all
 his(tooth)pl past-obj-pl(knocked out)of him. 20 sātiepa inu
puro o(pie) ka mo-tsih(tsicuīni). Afterwards that burro
 past(begin) to refl-rep(dance). 21 o(ye)ya sātiepa wiewi
(ilwi)tl. Past(be)impf afterwards big (fiesta)N.

Free translation: 18 The man-eater moved up close to the
 hoof of the old burro. 19 He lifted his hoof, he kicked him
 in the mouth, he knocked all his teeth out of him. 20 After-
 wards that burro began to dance. 21 Afterwards there was a
 big fiesta.

ECLIPSE OF THE MOON

Informant unknown

1 (nel)li cuak (cualo/miets/)tli, wa tlākitus sen-te (sowa)tl (uts)tli, (/pil/tsīn)tli noihki (/miets/cualo).
 Quot when (eaten/moon/)² (= eclipse), and if one-num (woman)N (pregnant)N, (baby)N also (/moon/eaten). 2 wa (nel)li para amo ki(cua)s (miets)tli (/pil/tsīn)tli. And quot in-order-to not obj(eat)fut (moon)N. 3 sen-te (sowa)tl, cuak (uts)tli, ki(tlāli)a sen-te machiete (kotok)tli, one-num (woman)N when (pregnant)N obj(put)pres one-num machete (broken)N, 4 tlā amo machiete, poro teheras, ki(tlāli)a i(cua-tson-cua-k) i(/tsīn/tla) (tlakpal)li if not machete, then scissors, obj(put)pres its(head) its(under) (pillow)N. 5 wa tlā-k-amo umpau, i-hīlak k(aki)a teheras. And if-not there, her-waist obj(fit)pres scissors. 6 (nel)li ipampa-hu o¹ noso i-ka inu(miets)tli a(weli) ki(cua)s (/pil/tsīn)tli, noso a(weli) (miets-cualu)s. Quot because or or it-with that(moon)N neg(able) obj(eat)fut (baby)N, or neg(able)

Free translation: 1 They say that when there is an eclipse of the moon², and if a woman is pregnant, the child is also moon-eaten. 2 And they say that in order for the moon not to eat the baby 3 a woman, when pregnant, puts a broken machete 4 or if not a machete, then scissors, she puts under the pillow at the head of the bed. 5 And if not there, she puts scissors at her waist. 6 They say that because of that or by means of that the moon is not able to eat the baby or

¹ Spanish o 'or' and Aztec noso 'or' are both used in sequence at times.

² 'eclipse of the moon' is literally 'eaten moon', i.e., 'They say that when there is an eaten moon', etc.

(moon-eat)fut. 7 cuak kana-sen-te (/pil/tsin)tli (/tlaka/ti)
kana kama-kotoktik, When some-one-num (baby)N (is born) sort
of mouth-cut¹, 8 (nel)li inu ipampa amo tli o-ki(tlali)
i-hilak; quot that because not anything past-obj(put)
her-waist; 9 wa por inu o(kis) kama-kotoktik noso tla yeka
kotoktik. and for that past(come out) mouth-cut or somehow
something cut off.

Free translation: the baby cannot be moon-eaten. 7 When some
baby is born with a harelip 8 they say that that is because
(its mother) did not put anything at her waist; 9 and that's
why it came out with a harelip or else with some body part
missing.

¹ mouth-cut = harelip.

TABLE OF IRREGULAR VERBS

wala 'come'

Present:

Singular

- 1 ni(wīts) D50
 2 ti(wīts)
 3 (y)i(wīts) W32, ompa(wīts) W12

Parentheses indicate (y), (o) and (n) to be optionally present.

Plural

- 3 (wīts)i D22

Future:

Singular

- 1 ni(walā)s
 2 ti(walā)s
 3 (walā)s

Plural

- 1 ti(walā)s-ki
 2 nen(walā)s-ki
 3 (walā)s-ki

Past:

Singular

- 1 (o)ni(wala) D23
 2 (o)ti(wala) D24
 3 o(n)(wala)

Plural

- 1 ti(wala)h-ki
 2 nen(wala)h-ki
 3 (wala)h-ki

Imperative-Hortatory:

Singular

- 2 xi(wala)
 3 ma (wala)

Plural

- 2 xi(walā)kā
 3 ma (walā)kā

ayi 'do'

n(ayi)s 'I(do)fut'

tli t(ayi)? 'What you(do)?' W34

tli t(a)x-tika? 'What you(do)pt-dur?'

ka 'be'

Present:

Future:

Imperfect:

Singular

Singular

Singular

1 ni(kaka)

1 ni(ye)s W43

1 ni(ye)ya

2 ti(kaka)

2 ti(ye)s

2 ti(ye)ya

3 i(kaka)

3 i(ye)s

3 o(ye)ya

Plural

Plural

Plural

1 ti(ka)te

1 ti(ye)s-ki

2 nen(ye)s-ki

3 (ka)te

3 (ye)s-ki

3 o-yeh(ye)ya

Durative:

no-ni(hka)tika 'here-I(be)dur' W35

ya 'go'

Present:

Singular

- 1 ye ni(ya)
 2 ye ti(ya) ?
 3 (ye) i(ya)

Plural

- 1 (ye) ti(ya)wi
 3 (ye) (ya)wi

Future:

Singular

- 1 ni(yā)s
 2 ti(yā)s
 3 i(yā)s

Plural

- 1 ti(yā)s-ki

Imperative-Hortatory:

Singular

- 1 ma ni(wi)a
 2 xi(wi)a W45
 3 ma (wi)a W45

Plural

- 1 ma ti(yā)kā
 2 xi(yā)kā
 3 ma (yā)kā

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to- 'our' 12

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A SELECTED LIST OF VERB STEMS

k- or ki- before a stem indicates it to be transitive. Vowel enclosed in parentheses is vowel lost in preterit of mati class of verbs. -k, -x indicate alternants of preterit morpheme. -li, -lti, -ti, -lwi, -∅ indicate alternants of honorific morpheme occurring with third person. Diagonals enclose roots.

k-ahahwa -k, -li scold
k-ah/a/lti-a bathe
ak(i) -ti fit
k-/aki/li-a make fit
k-an(a) -li get (an article), grab V9
asi arrive
k-asi -k reach V11
/axi/li-a be enough
ayi -x do B10

ki-chiw(a) -li do, make
ki-cua -k, tla/cua/lti-a eat
ki-chi(a) -x wait for
ki-cuih/cui/li take object away from someone V5
chuka -k cry

k-ihcueni take away
k-ihcuilo-a, mo-hcuilwi write

k-ihta -k, mo-hti-li-a see
k-ihti-li aim at someone V10
k-ihto-a say
i-ka-ka it is V12
k-ilkāw(a) forget
k-ilpi-a tie
k-ilwi-a, talwi-a say, tell
k-ix-peh/pen(a)/ -li gather up
k-ixuti-a -li take care of
(i)ya go

ki-kah/kāw(a)/ leave, permit
ki-kak(i) -ti hear
kalak(i) -ø enter
ki-kama/tiriksa/ -k kick in the mouth B19
ki-kāw(a) -li leave V5, B2
ki-kech/kotu/ cut off at the neck, decapitate V11
ki-kets(a) -li stop
kīs(a) go out B11
ki-kītski-a sustain, support
ki-/kix/ti-a, -li pull out B17
ki-ko-a -li buy
koch(i) -ti sleep
ki-ko/ko/-a hurt B16
ki-kokototsa tear in pieces B13

ki-/mach/ti-a -li teach
ki-maka -k, -li give
ki-mat(i), machiti-a know
ki-melāw(a) straighten
mik(i) -ti, -oa die
ki-/mik/ti-a -li kill
ki-mutla throw V6

mo-/nāmik/ti marry
nāwat(i) reply B14
neh/nem(i)/ -ti walk
ki-nek(i) -ti want V5
nemi live B6
nies(i) seem B9
ki-/niex/ti-a -li make appear
ki-nunuts(a) chat

ki-pacho-a move closer
ki-pah/pāka/ wash
ki-pahti-a -lti, ki-/pahti/li-a heal
pāl-chi/chīna/ blood-suck
ki-paliewi-a -li help
ki-palti-a -li wet, moisten
pano -k, -lti pass
patlān(i) fly
ki-peh/pen(a)/ gather

ki-pi(a) -x, -li -lo have
piew(a) begin V6
ki-/piewa/lti-a drive
ki-pow(a) count, recount

secu(i) -ti to be cold
ki-seli-a receive
ki-sen/kāw(a)/ -li gather it together
ki-sen/tlāli/a unite
siewi rest

ki-tek(i) -li cut
/teki/t(i) -li work
ki-/teki-ti/lti cause to work
temo get down
ki-/temo/wi-a -∅ put down
teusiwi -ti be hungry
ki-/tiemi/li throw (as corn into the soil)
ki-/tipie/wi knock out B19
ki-titlani throw V9

tlachi(a) -x, -lti wait, watch
tlachpāna sweep
tlahpalo greet
tla/hto/a talk
ki-tlah/tlani/li ask
/tlāka/ti be born
ki-tlāli-a put

ki-tlāli/li-lti/a set (date)
tlam(i) end
tla/nīesi/ dawn
ki-tla-peh/pena/ pick out (seeds)
ki-tla/soh/tla love
ki-tlaīhtlapolwi-a, tlaīhtlapo-a ki-tlapolwi open
tla/wiel/mik(i) become angry V8
tlehko-a climb B3
ki-tlehka/wi-a -∅ lift, lift up B19
ki-toh/toma/ untie
ki-tsa/tsacua/ close
tsicuini dance B20
ki-tsiko-a -lwi memorize
ki-tso/tsona/ play (musical instrument)

ki-wīka -k, -li carry, take B5
wak(i) dry up
ki-wal/ika/ -k bring

ki-xelie/wi-a covet V4
ki-xiti-a awaken
ki-xutla/lti-a, xutla -k burn