



A Grammar of Tetelcingo (Morelos) Nahuatl

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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 during 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 the 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. Inflectional morphemes have been catalogued in an Affix Index which will enable the reader to find in the grammar inflectional morphemes appearing in the text.

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,¹ 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:

Hjelmslev	Bloomfield	Illustration
subordinating relation	endocentric expression	very $\rightarrow \rightarrow$ fine
coordinating relation	compound expression	man $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ hour
predicating relation	exocentric expression	John $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ 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 constituents,^{1a} we may 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.

In the phrase *very fine music*, 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.

¹ H. J. Uldall, On equivalent relations, *Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Copenhague* 5.71-6 (1949).

^{1a} Constitute (after Wells) 'a pair of immediate constituents'.

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-* '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

ʔápay nga ʔ-in-arámid-na ti castá 'why did he do that?'
 why past -do- he that

the particle *nga* may very conveniently be described as an overt valence between *ʔápay* and the verbal. (*ti* is an article marking the class 'noun'.) In the negative statement of the same sentence

saán-na nga ʔ-in-arámid ti castá 'he did not do that',
 not-he past -do that

note that the rearrangement of *na* makes it now a suffix to *saán*, but its valence is still to *ʔarámid*.

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 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 \leftarrow ADJECTIVE is to be read 'adjective presupposes noun', NOUN $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ VERB 'noun presupposes verb and verb presupposes noun', NOUN $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ NOUN 'neither presupposes the other'.

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 morpheme technique³ 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.⁴ 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,

² Nuclear structures in linguistics, *Lang.* 24.287-92 (1948).

³ Zellig S. Harris, Discontinuous morphemes, *Lang.* 21.121-7 (1945).

⁴ Zellig S. Harris, From morpheme to utterance, *Lang.* 22.161-83 (1946).

but result from substitutions in defined environments or frames. The picture may be illustrated as follows:

MATRIX		
LOCUS	VALENCE	ENVIRONMENT
()	→	<i>pie</i>
COMMUTANTS WHICH MAY OCCUPY THE LOCUS		
<i>apple</i>		
<i>strictly fresh</i>		
<i>that good, old-fashioned huckleberry</i>		

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 and of the relations into which those forms may enter.

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 polymorphic 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.

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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.
< >	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.

⁵ From his *Prolegomena to a theory of language*, *Memoir 7 of International Journal of American Linguistics* (Baltimore, 1953).

⁶ In his *Morphophonemics of Modern Hebrew*, M.A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1951).

[]	Author's note.
=	Left = right and right = left.
ø	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	noun marker suffix
neg	negative
num	numeral
obj	object
pl	plural
poss	possessive
pres	present
pt, pret	preterit
quot	quotative
R	replaces
recip	reciprocal
refl, reflex	reflexive
rep	repetitive
sg	singular
subj	subject
unsp obj, unspc 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*.⁷ 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, and x.*

⁷ In manuscript.

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: \bar{a} as the vowel in Eng. *cloth*; *cu* as in Sp. *cueva*; *e* as in Sp. *en*; *i* as in Eng. *pit*; \bar{i} 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*, \bar{a} : as in Eng. *water*; before *e*, *ie*, *i*, \bar{i} : 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 morphemic alternation: *a* \bar{a} , *e* *ie*, *i* \bar{i} , *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 definite diphthong. *e* and *i* frequently fall together and vary inconsistently from one to the other in the writing of literate informants.

A primary stress usually appears on the second-last syllable of each word.

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 syncopation 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 $C^1C^1 > hC^1$ between *k*- 'it' and a stem-initial *k* or between other occasional clusters of identical consonants. **ni-k(koa)tī > ni-h(koa)tī* 'I-it(buy)go' D54, **ti-k(cua)s-kī > ti-h(cua)s-kī* '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

I. BASIC SENTENCE CONSTRUCTIONS

1. Bound subject pronoun/subject.
2. Intransitive verb stem/verb base.
3. Bound pronoun subject $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ intransitive verb stem/sentence.
4. Free pronoun.
5. Bound subject pronoun plus free pronoun/subject.
6. Bound plus free subject pronoun $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ intransitive verb stem/sentence.
7. Substantive.
8. Noun.
9. $\langle -tli \rangle = \{ -tl \}$ 'unpossessed singular', $\{ -me \}$ 'plural'.
10. $\{ -tl \}$ 'unpossessed singular'/noun affix $\langle -tli \rangle$.
11. Noun stem $\leftarrow \{ -tl \}$ /noun.
12. $\langle no- \rangle$ 'possessive pronoun prefixes'/noun affix.
13. $\langle no \rangle \rightarrow$ noun stem/noun.
14. Possessed collective noun $\leftarrow -yo$ /noun.
15. Noun $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ intransitive verb stem/sentence.
16. Transitive verb stem.
17. $\langle niech- \rangle$ 'bound object pronoun'/object.
18. $\langle niech- \rangle$ 'bound object pronoun' $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ transitive verb stem/transitive verb base.
19. $\langle niech- \rangle \rightarrow$ verb stem $\leftarrow -li$ 'second object'.
20. Bound subject pronoun $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ (bound object pronoun $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ transitive verb stem)/sentence.
21. Bound object pronoun plus noun/object.
22. Bound object pronoun plus noun $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ transitive verb stem/base.
23. Noun subject $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ (transitive verb stem $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ bound object pronoun plus noun object)/sentence.
24. $\langle mo- \rangle$ 'reflexive pronouns'.
25. $\langle mo- \rangle$ 'reflexive pronoun' $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ transitive or reflexive verb stem/sentence.

II. VERB COMPLEX

26. *tla-*, *mo-*, and *-li* as derivational or inflectional affixes.
27. Present vs. preterit stems.
28. $\langle xi- \rangle = xi-$ 'imperative', *ma* 'hortatory'.
29. Tense-aspect satellites.
30. Present stem (*ihla*, *mati*)/present tense.
31. *o-* 'past tense' \rightarrow verb stem.
32. Present tense $\leftarrow -ya$ = imperfect tense.
33. Verb stem $\leftarrow \{ h \}$ = preterit tense, preterit base.
34. Preterit base.
35. $\langle -tika \rangle$ 'aspect class'.
36. Preterit base $\leftarrow \langle -tika \rangle$ 'aspect'.
37. Verb stem $\leftarrow -s$ = future tense.

38. Verb stem $\leftarrow \langle -ti \rangle$ 'directionals'.
39. $\langle neki \rangle$ 'auxiliaries'.
40. Subject $\rightarrow \leftarrow (\langle k(neki) \dots \langle -s \rangle \rangle \text{verb})$.
41. $S^1 \rightarrow S^1 S^2$ reduplication \rightarrow verb stem/repetitive aspect.
42. $\langle wal- \rangle \rightarrow$ verb stem.

III. NOUN \leftarrow ADJECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

43. Noun stem $\leftarrow \{ -me \}$ 'plural'/noun.
44. $\langle ini \rangle$ 'demonstratives'.
45. $\langle ini \rangle \pm \rightarrow$ noun/substantive.
46. $\langle sente \rangle$ 'numerals'.
47. $\langle sente \rangle \rightarrow$ noun/substantive.
48. $\langle ok \rangle \rightarrow \langle sente \rangle =$ modified numeral.
49. $C^1 V^1 - C^1 V^1$, $C^1 \bar{V}^1 - C^1 V^1$ reduplication \rightarrow numeral = distributive numeral.
50. Adjective.
51. $\langle laliwis \rangle \rightarrow$ adjective/adjective phrase.
52. $\langle kachi \rangle \rightarrow laliwis$.
53. Noun \leftarrow adjective/substantive.
54. Noun \rightarrow noun/substantive.
55. Substantive, possessed noun \leftarrow re-substantive/substantive.
56. Substantive $\leftarrow \{ ikaka \}$ —adjective/sentence.

IV. VERB \leftarrow ADVERB CONSTRUCTIONS

57. Adverbs.
58. Preposition stems.
59. $\langle no \rangle \rightarrow$ preposition stem/preposition.
60. Preposition \rightarrow substantive/adverb.
61. $\langle sah- \rangle \leftarrow -pa$ /adverb.
62. $\langle kachi \rangle \rightarrow$ adverb/adverb phrase.
63. $ka \rightarrow \langle ompa \rangle$ /adverb.
64. $miero \rightarrow$ prepositional phrase/adverb.
65. Adjective \leftarrow adverb/adjective phrase.
66. Verb \leftarrow adverb/predicate.
67. Incorporated adverb.

V. SENTENCE SATELLITES AND CLAUSE \leftarrow CONJUNCTION \rightarrow CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS

68. $\langle amo \rangle$ 'negative' \rightarrow sentence.
69. $neli \rightarrow$ sentence.
70. Interrogatives.
71. Interrogative \rightarrow sentence.
72. Clause $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ clause/sentence.
73. Conjunctions.
74. Clause \leftarrow conjunction \rightarrow clause/sentence.
75. Honorifics.
76. Independent word and set phrase sentences.

A GRAMMAR OF TETELCINGO (MORELOS) NAHUATL

1. Bound subject pronoun/subject. (Read the diagonal, 'is one kind of'.)

There is a class of prefixes in Tetelcingo Nahuatl whose members are: *ni-* 'I', *ti-* 'you sg', *ti-* 'we', *ne(n)-* 'you pl'. In case of ambiguity between the homophonous second singular and first plural they may be distinguished by the corresponding free forms. (cf. §4) (*n*) usually occurs after *ne-* before *k* and occasionally before other stops and affricates.

This class has no member for third person. Since this does not result in ambiguity, however, a third person will be indicated in English translation, where it is understood, in spite of the absence of an explicit Nahuatl form.

This class, which may be termed 'bound subject pronouns', is commutable with one of the two largest classes in the language; that class may be termed 'substantives', the other 'verbs'.

Between substantives and verbs there may exist either a primary or a secondary interdependence. A primary interdependence is a relation which does not presuppose any other relation. A secondary interdependence presupposes a primary. The primary we will call 'subject-verb', the secondary '(subject-verb)-object'. Subject pronouns occur in primary interdependencies.

2. Intransitive verb stem/verb base

Stem: a minimum constant. 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'.

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* (*xulla*) '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 which is commutable with a bound subject pronoun in a subject-verb construction. 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 the next primary stress. That is, words are characterized by penultimate stress. A fairly adequate alternative is to define a word as any sequence which may occur as an independent utterance, but does not consist of more than one part which may so occur.

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*} 'noun marker', {-*me*} 'plural'

10. {-*tl*} 'noun marker'/noun affix <-*tli*>

The principal alternants of {-*tl*} are: *-tli*, *-tl*, *-li*, *-tsī*, *-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 *l*, and *-tli* after stems ending with any other consonant. For a description of the alternants of {-*me*} cf. §43.

11. Noun stem ← {-*tl*}/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, (*cūlu*)*tl* 'pole' D8.

- li* (*kal*)*li* 'house', (*sīlāl*)*li* 'star', (*tunal*)*li* 'sun, day', (*tlāul*)*li* 'shelled corn', (*yowal*)*li* 'night', (*tlaxkal*)*li* 'tortilla' D6.
 -*tlī* (*ayoh*)*tlī* 'squash', (/ā/*tsīn*)*tlī* 'water' D19, (*chān*)*tlī* 'home', (*kak*)*tlī* 'sandal', (/koko/*li-s*)*tlī* 'sickness', (*koyok*)*tlī* 'hole', (*miets*)*tlī* 'moon' EM2, 'month', (/tle/*tsīn*)*tlī* 'fire', (/ye/*tsīn*)*tlī* 'dry beans'.

The following alternants are not phonologically conditioned: -*tsī* has a diminutive, endearing, or honorific connotation.

- tsī* (/cuawi/*nene*)/*tsī* 'walkingstick (insect)', (*kukute*)*tsī* 'dove', (*lama*)*tsī* 'old woman', (*wie/wen*)/*tsī* 'old man'.
 -*tu* (*chīchī*)*tu* 'dog', (*kaka*)*tu* 'toad'.

The following words have also a reduplication in the singular. (cf. §43) *tie(te)tu* 'stone', *sī(siwan)tu* 'girl'.

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

12. <no> 'possessive pronoun prefixes'/noun affix

The possessive prefixes <*no*> and the noun marker {-*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 {-*me*} 'plural' which occurs with possessed nouns, is also commutable with {-*tl*}, and requires <*no*> as a necessary condition for its occurrence, it seems preferable to describe <*no*> and {-*tl*} separately.

The members of the <*no*> class are: *no*- 'my', *mo*- 'sg your', *i*- 'his, her, its', *to*- 'our', *nemo*- 'pl your', *īn*- 'their'.

13. <no> → 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 ← -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*) (/pīl/*tsīn*)*tlī* '(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', (*asīko*) (*tunal*)*li* '(arrive)came (day)N' V3.

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', (cf. §18) *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 CV*k*()C—, nor **k*()V—. *ki(neki)* 'he it(wants)', *ni-k(neki)* 'I-it(want)', *k(ihta)* 'he it(sees)'.

niech(ihta) 'he me(sees)', *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> → ← transitive verb stem ← -li 'second object'

When there are two object pronouns 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 → ← transitive 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(nāmiki)* '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 discontinuous 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. In this paragraph a series of periods or commas represents the location of a constituent on the other side of an arrow. *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)N' 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)/sentence

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/tsin)tli* '(moon)N ... it(eat)fut (baby)N' EM6.

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'. All are portmanteau forms combining subject and object morphemes of same person in one morph.

25. <mo-> reflexive pronoun → ← transitive or reflexive verb stem/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(tlālī)* 'may I ... myself(place)' D53, *ma no(nakas-ika/tieka/)* 'may I ... myself(lie down)' = 'may I ... myself(throw on my side)', *mo-tsih(tsicuāni)* '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. *lla-* '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/lla)* 'I-him(love)'. Some stems have not been observed with any object prefix other than *lla-*, and hence may be considered as intransitive stems with *lla-* as an inner layer morpheme. *tlahtlasi* 'cough', *tlahtlani* 'ask', *tlahpalo* 'greet'. *mo-* and *-li* have similar dual functions.

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 *ihto* '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 divided into two classes determined by the alternants (loss of final vowel, or *-k*) of the preterit morpheme *{-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.)

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

Class			
	Numbers	Present	Imperfect
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
		Imperative	Future
Pres stems	{1.	xi-k(ihta)	ni-k(ihta)s
	2.	xi-k(mati)	ni-k(mati)s ²
Hybrid	3.	xi-k(pi)a	ni-k(pi)a-s

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.

² Stem final *o* and *i* usually become *u* and *ī* respectively before *-s* 'future'.

Pret stems	4.	xi-k(/mik/ti)	ni-k(/mik/tī)s
	5.	xi-k(ihto)	ni-k(ihtu)s ²
Pres stems	1.	Pret sg ni-k(ihta)k	Pret pl 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) ³	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 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 and 2 in having *-h* in the preterit, *-a* in the present and *-a* in the imperfect. The *ihta* class differs from the *mati* class only in the preterit. (*pi*)*a* is like *mikti* and *ihto* in the present, but unique in all other constructions.

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

Present	Imperfect
ni-k(mati)	ni-k(mati)ya
ni-k(/mik/tia)	ni-k(/mik/tiā)ya
Imperative	Future
xi-k(mati)	ni-k(matī)s
xi-k(/mik/ti)	ni-k(/mik/tī)s
Pret sg	Pret pl
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 *ihto*, *mikti* class since the *a* of *pia* becomes *x* in the preterit, in contrast to (*h*) of the *ihto*, *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*, the resulting con-

³ *-h* 'preterit' is shown in parentheses because it is lost word final.

struction automatically becomes, by virtue of that fact, a member of the *mikti* class and is conjugated as though *-li* were a part of the stem. *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', (*cuṛka*)*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', (*tekūt(i)*) 'work', (*tlam(i)*) 'end'.

ki(pi)a: Only three other stems have been observed in this class. (*ayi*) 'do' (irregular), *ki(chi)a* 'wait', (*tlā/chī/*)*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(/xutla/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 alternants of the imperative-hortatory morpheme 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 alternant of the plural morpheme which occurs with *ma* and *xi-* is *-kā*, suffixed in final position in the verb complex. *ma* occurs only with first and third person subjects; *xi-* is portmanteau imperative and second person subject. A noun or pronoun subject often occurs with a *ma* plus verb construction. The complementary distribution feature makes it desirable to treat those morphs as alternants of a single morpheme, though the portmanteau feature makes it a bit awkward.

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 (cf. §38): *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* (*chīnāmi*)*tl* 'may I-it-imm(get)go (cornstalks)N' D1.

Both occur with *-ta* alternant of the durative {-*tika*} (cf. §35, 36) and with

other aspect suffixes. *ma ki(cua)h-ta* 'let him it(eat)pt-dur' D5, *xi-k(mah)ta* [*(mat)ta* > *(mah)ta*] 'impa-it(know)dur' W39, *ma ni(ya)h-tiwetsi* 'let me(go)pt-immediately' D21, *xo-mo(wika)tiwetsi* 'impa-H(carry)imm' (= you H go on).

29. Tense-aspect satellites

The tense-aspect satellites may be charted as follows:

Base +	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (-a) \pm \text{-}ya \\ \{-h\} \pm (\langle \text{-}tika \rangle \pm \langle \text{-}s \rangle) \\ \text{-}s \pm (\text{-}kia \pm \text{-}ya) \\ \langle \text{-}t\bar{i} \rangle \\ \langle \text{-}neki \rangle \end{array} \right.$	Present series
		Preterit and aspect series
		Future series
		Directionals
		Auxiliary verbs

The *(-a)* in the present series represents the *-a* suffix of the *ih̄to*, *mik̄ti* class. *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 have their own pronouns and precede the base, whereas the others follow. Since, however, they stand in a commutation relationship⁴, 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'
- $\{-h\} \langle \text{-}tika \rangle$ 'aspect'
- $\{-h\} \langle \text{-}tika \rangle \langle \text{-}s \rangle$ 'timed aspect'
- s* 'future'
- skia* 'contrary to fact conditional'
- skiāya* 'antecedent contrary to fact conditional'
- $\langle \text{-}t\bar{i} \rangle$ 'directional'
- $\langle \text{-}neki \rangle$ 'auxiliary'

30. Present stem (*ih̄ta*, *mat̄i*)/present tense. Preterit stem (*ih̄to*, *mik̄ti*) ← *-a*, and hybrid stem (*pi*) ← *-a*/present tense

As indicated in §27, stems of the *ih̄ta* and *mat̄i* classes are inherently present, hence require no further construction in the present tense. The *mik̄ti* and *ih̄to* classes, however, 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)

⁴ I.e., are mutually substitutable.

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(dwelling)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(dwelling)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. (*ilwi* has an implicit second object.)

-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 tense, 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)pt' D51, *no-k-o(wal/ika/)k* 'I-it-just now-(bring)pt' D52, *k(ihta)k* 'he it(see)pt'. This alternant is lost before the plural suffix -ki. *k(ihta)k* 'he it(see)pt', *k(ihta)ki* 'they it(see)pt-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 it past(ended)'; *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(began)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 'he preterit 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'.

-x R -a (-x replaces -a). *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'.

(-h) R -a ((-h) replaces -a). *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 not lost before the preterit plural and the aspect class, and alternant -k is lost before plural and aspect morphemes. 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)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/chī/)x* 'he past(woke up)pt', *(tla/chī/)x-tika* 'he(watch)pt-dur'.

Of the */mik/ti* class: *kin(/mik/ti)* 'he them(kill)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 base. 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 (*īts*) before -tika. *k(ihta)* 'he it(see)', *k(īts)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(chī)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, *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(wika)tiwetsi* 'impa-H(carry)immed' (= you H go on).

-tiewa (pt. sg. -tie, pt. pl. -tiehki) '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-rep(gather)pt-leave-fut' D57, *ni-h(cui)tiewa-s* 'I-it(fetch)pt-leave-fut' D63.

-tikīsa (pt. -tikīs) 'go out'. *o(cuīlla/kīs/)tikīs* 'he past-(went out the back way)-went out' W19, *timits(tlah/palo/)tikīsa* 'I you sg obj(greet)go out' W36.

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

-tihcui 'go and return' (?) *to-mo(tlachpāni)li-h-tihcuī-s* 'you-H(sweep)it-pt-go and return-fut' D73, *ti-niech-mo(paliēwi)li-tehcuī-s* 'you-me-H(help)it-take a turn around-fut' D76. (For i/e alternation cf. Summary of Phonemes.)

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)l̄-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(mat̄i)s* 'it(know)fut' W9, *ni(yā)s* 'I(go)fut' W59. In this stem (but not necessarily in others ending in *a*) *a-s* > *ā-s*.

Note here and in §38 that the second object suffix *-li*, as indicated in §27, functions in these constructions as if it were part of the stem.

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 'fut' may also occur following the aspect suffixes. *ti-niech-mo(paliēwi)li-tihcui-s* 'you sg-me-H(help)it-take a turn around-fut' D76, *ni-cuah-cuih(cui)-tiēwa-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)'.

-skiā-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)skiā-ya* 'I-it-imm(put)cond-impf' = 'I would have put it just now' (?).

38. Verb stem ← ⟨*-t̄i*⟩ 'directionals'

⟨*-t̄i*⟩ = *t̄i* 'go', *-to* 'went', *-k̄i* 'come', *-ko* 'came'.

The directional suffixes occur with the verb stem.

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

-k̄i *xo-mo(tla/cua/tl̄i)k̄i* 'impa-H(unsp obj/eat/cause)come' W49, *n(asi)k̄i* 'I(arrive)come' D3, *xi-mo(/cua/tl̄i)k̄i* '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, *āxā ye o-ti-k(mat̄i)to* 'now already past-you-obj(know)went' W67, *mo(ketsa)to* 'he... himself(stop)went' W60, *ni-k(mat̄i)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. $\langle neki \rangle$ 'auxiliaries'

$\langle neki \rangle = neki$ 'want', $piewa$ 'begin'.

40. Subject $\rightarrow \leftarrow (\langle k(neki) \dots \langle -s \rangle \rangle \text{ verb})$

$\langle k(neki) \dots \langle -s \rangle \rangle = k(neki) \dots \langle -s \rangle$, $piewa. \langle -s \rangle = -s$ 'fut', $-t\bar{i}$ 'go', $-k\bar{i}$ 'come.'

The 'want to ...' construction consists of $\langle ni- \rangle k(neki)$ plus $\langle ni- \rangle$ VERB BASE $\langle -s \rangle$. $\langle ni- \rangle = ni-$ 'I', $ti-$ 'you sg', $ti- \dots -ki$ 'we', $nen- \dots -ki$ 'you pl', \pm free pronoun expansions of these, or substantive. $ni-k(neki) ni-k(ch\bar{i}wa)s$ 'I-it(want) I-it-(do)fut', $ti-k(neki) ti(y\bar{a})s-ki$ 'we-it(want) we(go)fut-pl', $yaha ki(neki) tla(cua)t\bar{i}$ '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. Tense morphemes may occur with the auxiliary. $o(pieh)ki mo(mulla)$ 'they past(begin)pl recip(throw at)' V6.

41. First syllable reduplication \rightarrow 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 indirect (complementary distribution) nor direct commutation relationship with them, must be treated separately from them. There are two principal variations in the reduplication pattern:

CVC-CVC $o-pah(p\bar{a}h)ki$ 'past-rep(be glad)pt-pl'.

CV-(CVC \sim CV) $ni-k-m\bar{a}(/ma/lt\bar{i})s$ 'I-him-rep(load)will' D2, $p\bar{a}(pano)$ 'rep-(pass)' W95, $o-ki-tie(tek)$ 'past-it-rep(cut)' W21, (ie is the long counterpart of e), $tla-tie(tek\bar{i})$ 'unsp obj-rep(cut)' W15.

42. $\langle wal \rangle \rightarrow$ verb stem

$\langle wal- \rangle = wal-$ '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. Compare the English idiom 'Now you've gone and done it'. $\langle wal- \rangle$ is a first order class of prefixes occurring immediately before a verb stem (\pm the repetitive reduplication) and after a subject and/or object prefix. $niech-wal(tillan)ki$ 'me-hither(send)pt-pl' W54, $ni-k-wal(ika)k$ 'I-it-hither(carry)pt' D4, $ma no-k-on(cui)t\bar{i} chin\bar{a}mitl$ 'let me-it-imm(get)go cornstalks' D1, $ma no-k-on(tek\bar{i})t\bar{i} unte (cuilu)tl$ 'let me-it-imm(cut)go two (poles)N' D8, $niech-on(kah/kayo/)$ 'you me-just now(deceived)'.

III. THE PLURAL MORPHEME AND NOUN \leftarrow ADJECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS**43. Noun stem $\leftarrow \{-me\}$ 'plural'/noun**

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

separate singular (left) from plural (right). The singular form often indicates a 'generic' rather than a non-plural sense.

-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 / ϕ . (*tlāca*)*tl* 'man' / (*tlāca*) 'men'.

C \bar{V} -CV 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* (*cuihu*)*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. *ī(chā)* 'his(home)' / *īn-chah(chā)* 'their-pl(home)'.

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

nī- / *tī*- 'I / we'.

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

nīech- / *tīech*- 'me / us'.

(*tī*)*mīts*- / *nēmīech*-, *nāmīech*- 'you sg / you pl (obj)'.

k(i)- / *kīn*- 'him / them'.

no- / *to*- 'my / our'.

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

i- / *īn*- '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-cūs)tlī* 'this volcano' V1, *nieka (tlāka)tl* 'that man' W98, *ini no(konīe)* '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(wielmīk) 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' ap-

pears 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', *ye-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', *chicua-sie* 'six', *chik-ume* 'seven', *chicu-ieyi* 'eight', *chik-nāwe* 'nine', *mahlaktli* 'ten', *mahlaktli wan-sie* 'eleven', *mahlaktli wan-ume* 'twelve', *mahlaktli wa yeyi* 'thirteen', *mahlaktli 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)li* 'one cup water' D7, *ume ura* 'two o'clock' D57, *ume wiāhe de (/ā/tsīn)li* '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 (cuili)tl* 'two (pole)N' D8, *un-te (sowa)me* 'two (woman)pl', *mahlaktli 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 mahlaktli* 'only ten' D52.

49. C¹V¹-C¹V¹, C¹V¹-C¹V¹ reduplication → numeral = distributive numeral

mahlaktli 'ten', *mā-mahlaktli* '[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 sequence of one or more words which presupposes a substantive. If it consists of more than one word, it will be termed an adjective phrase. 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', *chīchāltik* '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)', *tliltik* 'black', *tohtunki* (not a plural) 'hot', *tsītsikitsī* 'little', pl *tsīkitsitsī*, *weyak* 'long', *wielik* 'delicious', *wiewentsī* 'old', pl *wiewentsitsī*, *wieyi* 'big', pl *wehweyi*, *xoxotik* '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 precedes, but occasionally follows: *laliwis wieyi* V9, *wieyi laliwis* 'very big', *kachi tsītsikitsī* 'more little', *welmiak* '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 yetik* 'more very heavy', *wel laliwis wieyi* 'very very big'.

53. Noun ← adjective/substantive

Numerous lexical and stylistic limitations on noun ← adjective constructions complicate the grammatical picture very appreciably at this point. In general, if a numeral or demonstrative 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*)*tl laliwis* (*chipāwa*)*k* 'this (woman)N very (white)' V2, *sen-te* (*te-siwi*)*tl laliwis wieyi* 'a (piece of ice)N very big' V9, (*wie/weya/*)*ki i* (*tlān/koch*)*wa* '(long)pl his(tooth)pl' B9, *wieyi* (*ilwi*)*tl* 'large (fiesta)N' B21, (*cual*)*li* (*tlāka*)*tl* 'good man' W34, *miak* (*tunal*)*li* 'many (day)N' W51.

54. Noun → noun/substantive

A noun may be attributive to another noun. An unpossessed noun attributive to another noun usually precedes it.

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

A noun attributive to a possessed noun usually follows it. *i(nān)tsī sī* (*siwan*)*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)tlī* 'his(wife) of this (volcano)N' V4, *u-me wiāhe de (/ā/tsīn)tlī* '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)tlī* . . . * . . . *ikaka kechkotoktik* 'other-one (volcano)N . . . * . . . is headless' V3, 12.

For other forms of {*ikaka*} cf. chart of irregular verbs.

IV. VERB—ADVERB CONSTRUCTIONS

57. Adverbs

An adverb is defined as a sequence of one or more words which presupposes a verb. If it consists of more than one word, it will be termed an adverb phrase. 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)htik* '(house)in' W49, *mo(teki)pa* 'your(place)in' W42.

60. Preposition $\pm \rightarrow$ 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/)tsi* '(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 (tesiwi)tl* 'past(begin)they recip-(throw) with single pieces [of] (ice)N' V6, *o(chānti)ya pan (/kal/tien)tli* 'past(live)impf in (field)N' W2, *ka (cuah)me . . . no-lāl-moh(mutla)tiwits* 'against (tree)pl . . . I . . . myself-ground-rep(throw)come' W65, *tiel-amo ni(teusiwi) 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. $\langle sah- \rangle \leftarrow$ -pa/adverb

$\langle sah- \rangle$ = *sah-* 'one', *uh-* 'two', *yex-* 'three', *nāh-* 'four'.

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

62. $\langle kachi \rangle \rightarrow$ adverb/adverb phrase

$\langle kachi \rangle$ = *kachi* 'more', *tepitsi* 'a little', *laliwis* 'very'. $\langle kachi \rangle$ 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* \rightarrow $\langle ompa \rangle$ /adverb

$\langle ompa \rangle$ = *ompa* 'there', *nikā* 'here', *niepa* 'there', *nippa* 'on other side'.

ka occurs, not only with substantives, but also with certain 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 nikā n(/ohwi/ti)a* 'at here I([my]/road/make)-pres' W39. Note also *o-ti-k(chi) ka nāh-pa* 'past-you-it(did) for fourth-time' W38.

64. *miero* \rightarrow prepositional phrase/adverb

miero < Sp. *mero* 'exactly'.

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

65. Adjective ← adverb/adjective phrase

lla-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(kechcuah)yo 'he past-it(sighted)him right at his (neck)coll' V10, *n(asi)kī pa no(chā)* 'I(arrive)come at my(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(chūwa)* '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(mulla)ki* 'very be already past-recip(throw)-pl' 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)'.

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 constituent which presupposes two words or groups of words which belong to the same class; and the resulting sequence (constituent 1-conjunction-constituent 2) belongs to the same class as the two terminal constituents.

68. <amo> 'negative' → sentence

<amo> = *amo* 'not', *ayemo* 'not yet', *ayekmo* 'no longer', *ayekmo kiema* 'not again', *ayīk* '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)* 'not past-refl(permit)' V5, *amo kahna to-mo(wīka)* '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 noso 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* → utterance

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)N quot past-refl(did) (= it happened) thus' W1, *neli cuac (cualo/miets/)*tlī 'quot when (eaten/moon/)N' EM1, *neli para amo ki(cua)s (miets)tlī (/pil/tsīn)tlī* 'quot in-order-to not obj(eat)fut (moon)N (baby)N' EM2, *neli i-pampa-hu o noso i-ka inu (miets)tlī a(beli) ki(cua)s (/pil/tsīn)tlī* 'quot it-because-that or or it-with that (moon)N neg(able) obj(eat)fut (baby)N' EM6, *neli o(ye)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(sīwan)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: *tlīka* 'why? what?', *kiema* 'when?', *āki* 'who?', *kiēni* 'how?', *kāni* 'where?', *tlī* 'what?'.

71. Interrogative → sentence

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

72. Clause $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ 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, all 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 Māsiwalli conjunctions may be considered to be valence-carrying morphemes, since they serve not only a lexical but also a connective function.

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

74. Clause \leftarrow conjunction \rightarrow 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(/kāwi/lī)tl 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* 'thus 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 (nemī) (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' (< Sp. *que*?). *sen-te (tlāka)tl ki(pi)a-ya sen-te (puro) (wie/wen/)tsā 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'. *āxā xi-niech(ihta) kieni ni(wits)* '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/tlī)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 (cuahllā)* '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-tli)h-ki tlīn (tunal)li mo(/nāmik/tī)s* 'it(set)pt-pl which (day)N recip(marry)fut'.

ye-cuak-inu 'then'. *ye-cuak-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 14.4.236-9 (1948).

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. *ila-soh-kā-mati* 'Thank you' D8; *ye-ka* 'There now' D8; *āxā* 'Now', *kiema* 'Yes', *amo* 'No', *yaha inu* 'That's it', *tlīka?* 'Why?', *aki?* 'Who?', *welis* 'Maybe', *kien-amo* 'Certainly', *san-ila-pik* 'It's no use', *amo illa* '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 Māsiwalli.

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

ca. 1945

1 *sie (tunal)li neli o-mo(chī) ihkiyi*. One (day)N quot past-refl(happen) this way. 2 *sen-te (tlāka)tl o(/chān/ti)ya pan (/kal/tien)tli* One-num (man)N past (live)impf in (country)N 3 *wa kāni yaha (/chān/ti)ya seme (panu)ya (/yehka/malaku)tl* and where he (live)impf always (pass)impf (/wind/spin)N 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)N it(became angry)pres-impf 6 *i-pampa cuak (/yehka/malaku)tl (panu)ya yaha tla(cua)h-tika*, because when (/wind/whirl)N (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)N more it (become angry)pres-impf.

8 *sie (tunal)li k(ilwi)a i(sowa)*, 'laliwis tiech(pasolo)a ini-nān-ka (/yehka/malaku)tl. One (day)N her(say)pres his(wife), 'Very us(annoy)pres this-here-be (/wind/whirl)N. 9 *naha ye o-niech(tla-wiel/mik/ti). seme ni-tla(cua) ka (tlāl)li, wa āxā para ki(matī)s*, I already past-me(unsp obj-wrath/die/cause). Always I-unsp obj(eat) with (dirt)N, 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)N past(go out)assv, it-(carry)pt his(machete), and past-obj(wait)pres-went (/wind/whirl)N be outside. 12 *tepitī wehkāh-pa k(ihta)k (/yehka/malaku)tl ye ompa(wīts)*. Little late-time obj(see)pt (/wind/whirl)N already there(come). 13 *ye-cuak-inu yaha mo-yeh(yek/tlāli/) i(mā)lla 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. kiti-teki (/yehka/malaku)tl*. and he past-it(begin) with machete unsp obj-rep-(cut) everywhere. it-rep(cut) (/wind/whirl)N. 16 *(/yehka/malaku)tl u(ya). ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl nuhki u(ya) ka i(chā) (/wind/whirl)N past(go). now-when-that (man)N also past(go) be his(house)* 17 *wa k(ilwi)a i(sowa), 'āxā ye no-ki(/machietih/wī). 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)lla, ok-sah-pa o-ki(chi)a-to (/yehka/malaku)tl*. (man)N past-(back/go out/)went out with (machete) his(hand)place of, other-one-time past-obj(wait)pres-went (/wind/whirl)N. 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)N 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)N 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.’

24 *pa mustla-tika, ka pan tlahka, ok-sah-pa o-k(ihta)k ye ompa(wits).* at tomorrow-dur, be at noon, other-one-time past-obj(see)pt already there(come). 25 *nocuiel o(cuītla/kīs/)tikīs, ok-sah-pa ki(/machieti/h-wi)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)N* 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)N 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)N 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/wi)to (/yehka/malaku)tl.* now-when-that little farther-time past-obj(see)pt one-num (man)N come(go out) where be past-rep(dissolve)went (/wind/whirl)N. 32 *o-k(ihta)k (yiwits) (mach-kohkotu), (mach-yes-neli), nochi (tla-temomotsuli) pa i(xoyak), pa i(tsonteko) (mach-mo-cua-tlah-tla-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)tlī,* now-when-that (arrive)went him(beside), and past-obj(say) that-there(man)N who (had his head laid open)N 34 *k(ilwi)a āki ompa ki(chi)x-ta-ya, ‘tli t(ayī) (cual)li (tlāka)tl?’* obj(say)pres who there obj(wait)pt-dur-impf, ‘what you sg(do) (good)N (man)N?’ 35 *o(nāwat) yaha, ‘amo-illa. no-ni(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)N you sg-me(meet) with (machete) and you sg-me(cut with machete)pres. 38 *ye yex-pa o-ti-k(chi).* *āxā o-ti-k(chi) 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) n(ohwi), wa asta inu amo ni(wits) 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-*

¹ *mati + ta > mahta.*

(/tla/tillan/)tli. *wa āxā xi-k(ihta)*. but I only I-come(unsp obj/send/)N. 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).’ 44 *ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl o(nāwat), o-k(ihto)*, ‘(cual)li.’ now-when-that (man)N past(reply), past-obj(say), ‘(good)N.’ 45 *wa inu (/yehka/malaku)tl o(nāwat)*, ‘(cual)li. *xi(wi)a. xi-k(matī)tī*.’ and that (/wind/whirl)N past(reply), ‘(good)N. 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)N past(arise)assv past(go) where be come(go out) other-one-num. 47 *cuak (asī)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)N and now past(go). 48 *ye-cuak-inu inu (tlāka)tl tli o-mo(kā)² i(tekipa) ok-sen-te u(ya) ka pan (chān)tli*. now-when-that that (man)N who past-refl(remain) his(place) other-one-num past(go) be at (house)N. 49 *(asī)to (kal)ihki-k. sa-nima (sowa)tl o-k(ilwī)*, ‘*xo-mo(tla/cual/tī)kī*.’ (arrive)went (house)in-attrib. immediately (woman)N 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)N, 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)N.

52 *kachī cuak ye (walā)s inu ok-sen-te tli u(ya) i(tekipa), k(ilwī)a (sowa)tl*, more when already (come)fut that other-one-num who past(go) his(place), obj(say)pres (woman)N, 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(chīwa) tli ipampa niech-wal(tillan)ki*, but may I-obj(do) what because me-come(send)subj pl. 55 *wa asta inu ma timits(ilwī) 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)N there-(come). 58 *ye-cuak-inu ini-nān-ka (tlāka)tl o-k(ilwī) (sowa)tl*, ‘*ye ompa(wīts) mo(nāmik)* now-when-that this-here-be (man)N past-obj(say) (woman)N. ‘already there(come) your(husband). 59 *wa āxā naha ni(yā)s*.’ *ye-cuak-inu (asī)ko (/yehka/malaku)tl, wa sa o(panu)k*. and now I I(go)fut.’ now-when-that (arrive)came (/wind/whirl)N, and only past(pass)pt. 60 *mo(ketsa)to asta kāni o-poh(poli) ok-sen-te*. 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-tsā-tsayo*), now-when-that come(go out) past(come) at his(house) and past-obj(see)subj pl (all broken), (all scratched), 62 (*mach-*

² In *kāwa* the *a* is lost in the preterit and since word-final *w* does not occur, it is dropped, the stem thus becoming *kā*.

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)tl?*' now-when-that past-obj(say) other-one-num, 'how be past-you sg-obj(know)? (good)N that (work)N?' 64 *o-k(ihto) yaha*, '*amo. ipampa mās ī-htik (ātlak)tlī no-te-weh(witik)tiwīts, mās ka (wits)tlī*, past-obj(say) he, 'no. because whether it-in (ravine)N I . . . myself-stone-rep(thrash)come, whether against (thorn)N, 65 *ka (cuah)me, ka (te)me, ka (tepie)tl, ka (sahka-nopali)tl, ka nochi tlī on-ka no-tlāl-moh(mutla)-tiwīts*. against (tree)Npl, against (stone)Npl, against (hill)N, against (nopal)N, 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) 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)N. now already past-you sg-obj(know)went what unsp per(hurt). 68 *āxān kiema a-yek-mo kiema ti(kīsa)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)N.' 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(niech)-tie. ye u(ya)*. 'now I may I(go)'. now-when-that past(arises)assv. already past(go).

71 *ye-cuak-inu (tlāka)tl k(ilwi)a i(sowa)*, '*melāwak amo(cual)li tli o-ni-k(chī)*. *āxā xi-niech(ihta) kieni ni(wīts)*. now-when-that (man)N obj(say)pres his(wife), 'certainly not(good)N 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)N.' 73 *(sowa)tl o-k(ihto)*, '*naha ni-k(ihto)ā-ya tehwa-tsī onkā ti-mo(wets)-tika*.' (woman)N past-obj(say), '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)N, 'not I.' past-obj(say) (woman)N, 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)N and never past-obj(want) (eat)fut.

76 *kachi cuak ye ti-wal-mo(wika)s, ye ix-mantiti o-niech(ilwi)*, but when already you sg-come-refl(go)fut, already plainly past-me(say), 77 '*naha amo ni-mo(nāmik), tlā-k-amo sa o-no(kā) i(tekīpa) mo(nāmik)*. "I not I-your(husband), but only past-I . . . myself(remain) his(place) your sg(husband). 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)*, '*tlī ti-k(nekī)s?*' now-when-that (man)N 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 tlīn tie(koko) wa tlīn tie(tunie)*. only-for because my(sin) past-I(go) I-obj(know)went what unsp per(hurt) and what unsp per(sickness).

81 *naha ni-k(ihto)ā-ya welis ini-nān-ka (/yehka/malaku)tl amo (tlāka-nemī)*, *kachi āxā ye ni-k-wal(mat)*. I I-obj(say)pres-impf probably this-here-be (/wind/whirl)N not (man-live), but now already I-obj-come(know), 82 *tlakaso ini (/yehka/malaku)tl (tlāka-nemī)*. *wa āxā a-yek-mo kiema ni-k(/machieti/h-wī)s*, apparently this (/wind/whirl)N (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)N, whether (thorn)N, against (stone)pl, 85 *ka (cuah)me, ka (tepie)me, wa ka nochi (sāsan)-tli mo-tlah-tlāka(mutla)tiwits*. against (tree)Npl, against (hill)Npl, and against all (thing)N refl-rep-?(throw)come. 86 *laliwis tie(tlookolti), wa laliwis niech-(tlookolti)a, wa naha nuihki 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 (mach³)a kiehkich (xiwi)tl ihkiu ki(chih)tinemi*. it-because he already obj(/have/pres) not (know)pres how many (year)N thus obj(do)go around. 88 *tlā naha sa kiehkich (tunal)li no-n-on(ya), ihkiyi no-pa wal-mo-(chī), xā-yaha poruwe.* 'if I only few (day)N 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/ti)s, ma sa ni-wal(pahti)*, now-when-that (man)N 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)N.'

91 *pa kiehkich (tunal)li, cuak yaha ye o(pahti)k, u(ya) o(/teki/ti)to*. at several (day)N, 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)N, (nopali)N, all (things)N which of (tree)pl, and he past-obj(say), 94 *'sa tsitsiki-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)N very (messy)adj. 95 *welis ayik ni-h(cuah/tlapu/)s.* 'cuak tepitsī 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)N rep(pass), 96 *o-k(ihta)k (/yehka/malaku)tl ye ompa(wits) ka kāni yaha (cuah/tlapoh/)tā-ya.* past-obj(see)pt (/wind/whirl)N 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)N 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)N 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)N past-obj(say) (man)N, 'here-be (land)N. 100 *xi-k(tuka)tl ti-k(neki)s, wa kiema ni(yā) 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 nuihki (tlāka)tl u(ya) ka i(chā).* now-when-that (/wind/whirl)N past(go) and also (man)N past(go) be his-(house). 102 *o-ki(/pu/wi)lī-to i(sowa) kieni (/yehka/malaku)tl o-tla-poh(puh)tie kāni i(tlāl).* past-obj(tell) her-went his(wife) how (/wind/whirl)N past-unsp obj-rep(clear)assv where his(land), 103 *wa o-k(ilwi)tie kiema ni(yā) to(nāmiki).* *pa kiehkich (tunal)li (tlāka)tl o-ki(tuka)to.* and past-obj(say)assv someday we(meet). at various (day)N (man)N past-obj(plant)went. 104 *wa nuihki yaha*

³ *mati + ti (caus) > machi.*

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)N his(shadow) no longer obj(/have/pres)impf 105 *wa ihkiu ka i-pa o-mo(chi) asta senamo o(miki)ko.* and thus be him-with past-refl-(happen) until finally past(die)came.

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 whirlwind 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. 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 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 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 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, 'Nothing, 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 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 also so that you will know what it is to suffer.' 44 Then the man replied, he said, 'All right.' 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.

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. 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 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 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 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 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 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 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)tl̃ (chināmi)tl̃*. Well, may I-it-now(get)go (corn-stalks)N. *ma ni-k(wīka) nō(puro)*. May I-it(take) my(burro). 2 *ni-k(mā/mal/tl̃)s yeyi māno*. I-him(load)fut three bundles. *tlā ye ni-k(mā/mal/tl̃), 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)tl̃-s*. I-it(unload)-him-fut. 4 *ma no-k-on(/ā/tl̃i-tl̃i)tl̃ nō(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)tl̃ ma ki(cuah)ta*. imp-H(give)him (grass)N may it(eat)dur. 6 *āxā xi(wal-mo/wīka/), xi-mo(cua-tl̃i)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/tl̃n)tl̃i*. Already past-I-myself(fill)pt. Now imp-me(give) a cup (/water/H)N. 8 *(tla/soh/kā-mati)*. (Thanks). *āxā yeka*. Now already. *āxā ma no-k-on(teki)tl̃ un-te (cuilu)tl̃ 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)tl̃i 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 nīma 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(ixuti)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 tl̃i to-mo(/neki/ti)a to-mo(/cua/tl̃i)s*. *āxā tl̃i 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 tl̃i 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).

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/tl̃i)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)tl̃ (chināmi)tl̃ 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)tlī*. 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)tlī, onkā xo-mo(sen/kāwi/)li (xah/kal/)li, wa inu (puro) ok(sah)pa xo-m(ā/tlī/ltī)lī-tī*. If already you-H(fetch)it-went (/water/H)-N, here 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)tl ma tla(cua). xo-mo(/sekir/wī), 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 *entunses ma ni(ya)h-tiwetsi (cuah)tlā, wa inu to(konie) man (kochi)*. Then may I(go)pt-hustle Cuautla, and that our(child) may (sleep). 22 *tlā ye o(koch), wa tlā ye o(tla/chi/)x, xo-mo(maki)li sie perāso no(tlaxkal) mientras ke ni(wīts)*. 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)tlī 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)! tlī-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(skonie)* Let (rest) your-(breasts) in-order-that you-him(nurse)fut 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(kuwī)tī sikiera āwāx*. I-it(want) I(it)go at-least cow-peas. *tehwa-tsī, 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/wī)a 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(kehisa) (xok)tlī*. 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 incidentally 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-rep(pick)fut-pl.

W: 37 *āxā ye (wiksi)k*. Now already (cook)past. *xo-mo(kĩtski)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(wika)s?* Tomorrow where you-H(go)fut?

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

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

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

W: 42 *tlī-ka a-mo timĩts-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 wĩktla to-mo-cuah(/cuawi/ti)ti*. Until tomorrow you-H-rep(wood-gather)go. 44 *xi-niech-mo(chĩwi)li favur*. Imp-me-H(do)it favor.

M: *tlī-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)fut.

W: 47 *poro nuyihki tlā to-mo(hti)li-a ok tuna, a-yemo 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-yek-mo tuna, xo-mo-tla(mā/mal/ti)li, mo(puroh)tsĩ*. 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-tĩ*. When already you-H-something(load)-him, imp-here-H(start)him-?-come. 49 *tlā ye ti-m(/axi/ti)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(wĩts) 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(tĩ)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 mahtlakli 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/tsĩn)tlī*. 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/)*. 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 chĩli*. Meanwhile, may I(put-on) my(soaking-corn), because tomorrow Sunday. I-it(buy)pres-go at-least chili. 55 *tlā 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 tlī mo(gusto)*. Well, there imp-it(see) that which what your(like).

W: 56 (*wālā*)s, *poro a-mo kahna to-mo(wīka)*s. (Come)fut, but not anywhere you-H(go)fut.

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

58 *entunses ye o-ni-k(tlami) semāna*. Then already past-I-it(finish) week.

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

M: 59 *poro deus k-o-mo(/neki/lti) niech-mo(/seli/li)*. But God it-just-HH(want) me-HH(receive). *i-tie(/kopan/tsin-ko) to(deus) o-ni(tekite)*. It-his-H(/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(wīka)*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-ts̄i xi-niech-mo(/cui/li)tl̄-tl̄ (/ā/ts̄in)tl̄i, 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)tl̄i*. Then before you(arise)fut, I-it(fetch)go imm-fut two trips of (water)N.

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

M: 65 *kie antlei tl̄i 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/ts̄in)tl̄i*. 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(ūti)a porke to-semāna*. Well not you-H(drink)pres because our-week. 68 *ti(tla/iilapu/)tl̄-wi*. We(open)go-pl. *ni-h(ko)a-s kantiela yaha mācuili sie tomi*. I-it(buy)pres-fut candles it five a 12¢. 69 *wa wiewes ni-k(ihta)tl̄ (xuchi)tl̄*. And Thursday I-it(see)go (flowers)N. *tlā a-mo ni-k(asi) (xuchi)tl̄*, If not I-it(get) (flowers)N, 70 *xo-mo(wets)ta provenido para sábro*. Imp-H(be)dur ready for Saturday. *amo to-mo(/tekiti/ti)tl̄*. Not you-H(work)go. 71 *cualka ni-k(mana)s to(tlaxkal) para ti-k(ihta)tl̄-wi (xuchi)tl̄ wa (xiwi)tl̄ asienda sánta 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/li)tl̄ (/ā/ts̄in)tl̄i para to-mo(tlachpāni)li-h-tihcui-s*. When already you-H(eat) imp-H-(fetch)go (water)N for you-H(sweep)it-pt-return(?) -fut. 74 *xo-mo(wīki)li yāwe para tl̄iyes*. 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)tsino, 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(tlālī) (popuch)tlī*. When already, may I-it(put) (incense-burners)N. *ye o-ni-k(tlālī)*. 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-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(/ya/wi), ma ti-tla(xuchi-u-tī)tl 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)tl yāwe āki (kalakī)s entre ni semāna*. You-H(leave)go key who (enter)fut during this week. *tlā ye to-mo(maki)lī-to*, When already you-H(give)it-went, 82 *entonces ye yehwa ki(mati) ye ok-sen-te mayordomo ye ki(tokoro)a inu semāna*. then already they it(know) now another-one-num majordomo now it(be-his-turn)pres that week.

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. 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 Now hold our baby while I make our tortillas. 15 Now bring him here so that you can eat tortillas. 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 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 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 because 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?

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 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 tomorrow 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.

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, unload 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.

W: 54 Meanwhile, I guess I'll put on my corn to soak because tomorrow is Sunday. I'm going to buy some chili 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.

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 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 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 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

ca. 1944

1 *ini-non-ka (/se/cuis)tl̥i ki(pi)a i(sowa)*, This-here-be (volcano)N her(have)-pres his(wife), 2 *wa ini-non-ka (sowa)tl̥ laliwis chipāwa-k.* and this-here-be (woman)N very white-adj. 3 *(asi)ko (tunal)li ok-sen-te (/se/cuis)tl̥i* (Arrive)-came (day)N other-one-num (volcano)N 4 *o-ki(/xelie/wi) i(sowa) re ini-non-ka (/se/cuis)tl̥i* past-her(covet) his(wife) of this-here-be (volcano)N 5 *wa ki(neki)-ya ki(cuih/cui/ḷi)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)tl̥.* 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(ḷa/wiel/mik) ini-non-ka,* more very past(became angry) this-here-be, 9 *wa o-k(ā) sen-te (te-siwi)tl̥ laliwis wieyi 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)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-kotu-k-ti)k.* It(because) now (it is) (headless)adj.

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 seized a huge piece of ice and threw it. 10 He aimed right at his neck, 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)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 (nemī) (tie/cua/ni)me*. At there (burro) past(enter) (forest) where (live) (person/eat/one who)pl.

7 *sie (isi) cualkā 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 wieyi i(kamak)*. Obj(open)dur-impf large his(mouth). 9 *(niesi)ya (wie/weya/)ki i(/tlan/koch)-wa*. (it seem)impf (long)pl his(tooth)pl.

10 *o-k(ihto) (tie/cua/ni)*, 'tli *t(a)x-tinemi nikā 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 nikā*. I-obj(want) impa(leave) immediately from here. 12 *tlā amo, timits(cua)s*. If not, you sg obj²(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 alāvos 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 alāvos*.' If you-obj(want), impa-me(pull)it this nail.'

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 wieyi (ilwi)tl*. Past(be)impf afterwards big (fiesta)N.

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.

¹ lit. (/house/edge of).

² *ni-* + *timits-* > *timits-* 'I' + 'you sg obj' > 'you sg obj'.

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

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.'

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 Afterwards that burro began to dance. 21 Afterwards there was a big fiesta.

ECLIPSE OF THE MOON

(Informant unknown)

ca. 1947

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/)N [= 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/ta) (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) (moon-eat)fut. 7 *cuak kana sen-te (/pil/tsīn)tli (/tlāka/ti) kana kama-kotoktik*, When some one-num (baby)N (is born) sort of mouth-cut,² 8 *(nel)li inu ipampa amo tlā ok-i(tlāli) i-hīlak*; quot that because not anything past-obj(put) her-waist; 9 *wa por inu o(kīs) kama-kotoktik noso tlā yeka kotoktik*. and for that past(come out) mouth-cut or somehow something cut off.

Free translation

1 They say that when there is an eclipse of the moon,³ 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 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 comes with a harelip or else with some body part missing.

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

² Mouth-cut = harelip.

³ 'Eclipse of the moon' is literally 'eaten moon', i.e., 'They say that when there is an eaten moon', etc.

TABLES OF IRREGULAR VERBS

Note: Care has been taken not to elicit forms simply to 'fill out the paradigm'. All forms listed below have been heard. Other forms doubtless exist, but have not yet been recorded.

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

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*

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*

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:

Singular

- 1 *ni(kaka)*
- 2 *ti(kaka)*
- 3 *i(kaka)*

Plural

- 1 *ti(ka)te*
- 3 *(ka)te*

Future:

Singular

- 1 *ni(ye)s* W34
- 2 *ti(ye)s*
- 3 *i(ye)s*

Plural

- 1 *ti(ye)s-ki*
- 2 *nen(ye)s-ki*
- 3 *(ye)s-ki*

Imperfect:

Singular

- 1 *ni(ye)ya*
- 2 *ti(ye)ya*
- 3 *o(ye)ya*

Plural

- 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*

Past:

3sg. *ye un(ya)*

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*

INDEX OF VERB AND NOUN AFFIXES AND CLITICS

This index is provided as an aid to readers who may wish to check clitics or affixes found in the text against their description in the grammar. Most of the inflectional morphemes appearing in the text are indexed here; numbers refer to the sections of the grammar in which they are described.

-*a* 'present tense suffix' 27,30; -(*ā*)*ya* 'imperfect' 29,32; -*h* R -*a* 'preterit' 27,33; *i*- 'his, her, its' 12; *īn*- 'their' 12; -*k* 'preterit' 33,50; -*kā* 'plural' 28,36,43; *k(i)*- 'him, her, it' 17; *kin*- 'them' 17; -*ki* 'noun suffix' 11, 'plural' 43; -*kī* 'come' 37,38; -*li* 'second object' 19,26; *ma* 'hortatory' 28; -*me* 'plural' 43; *mo*- 'sg your' 12, 'he . . . himself, they . . . themselves' 24; *namiech*-, *nemiech*- 'you pl' 17; *nemo*- 'pl your' 12, 'you pl . . . yourselves' 24; *ne(n)*- 'you pl' 2; *ni*- 'I' 2; *niech*- 'me' 17; *no*- 'my' 12, 'I . . . myself' 24; *o*- 'past tense' 31; *on*- 'hence, immediately' 42; -*s* 'future' 29,37; -*skia* 'contrary to fact conditional' 29,37; -*skiāya* 'antecedent contrary to fact conditional' 29,37; -*ta* 'durative' 36; -*te* plural 43; *tie*- 'unspecified 3rd sg or H 3rd sg' 17; *tiech*- 'us' 17; *tie*- . . . -*ki* 'plural' 43; *tiein*- 'them H' 17; *tie*- . . . -*tu* 'noun marker' 43; -*tiewa* 'partitive' 35; *ti*- 'you sg, we' 2; -*tihcui* 'go and return' 35; -*tika* 'durative' 35; -*tikisa* 'go out' 35; -(*ti*)*mits* 'you sg' 17; -*tinemi* 'ambulatory' 35; -*tiwetsi* 'immediately' 35; -*tiwits* 'come' 35; -*tī* 'go' 37,38; -*tl* 'noun marker' 10,11; *ila*- 'unspecified object' 17,26; -*lli* 'noun marker' 10,11; *to*- 'our' 12, 'we . . . ourselves' 24; *tomo*- 'you sg . . . yourself' 24; -*totu* 'plural' 43; -*tsī* 'noun marker' 10,11; -*tu* 'noun marker' 10,11; -*wa* 'plural' 43; *wal*- 'hither' 42; -*wi* 'plural' 43; -*x* R-*a* 'preterit' 27,33; *xi*- 'imperative' 28; \emptyset 'plural' 43; minus -*V* 'preterit' 33,50.

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*, *-ø* indicate alternants of honorific morpheme occurring with second person subject, *-oa* and *-lo* with third person. Diagonals enclose roots.

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

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

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-īx-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, de-
 capitate V11
ki-kets(a) -li stop
kīs(a) go out B11
ki-kitski-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-/nīex/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-palēwi-a -li help
ki-palti-a -li wet, moisten
pano -k, *-lti* pass
pallān(i) fly
ki-peh/pen(a)/ gather

ki-pi(a) -x, -li -lo have
piw(a) begin V6
ki-/piwa/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 -ø 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/niesi/ dawn
ki-tla-peh/pena/ pick out (seeds)
ki-tla/soh/tla love
ki-tlāihltapolwi-a, tlaihltapo-a ki-
tlapolwi open
tla/wiel/mik(i) become angry V8
tlehko-a climb B3
ki-/tlehka/wi-a -ø lift, lift up B19
ki-toh/toma/ untie
ki-tsa/tsacua/ close
tsicui dance B20
ki-tsiko-a -lwi memorize
ki-tso/tsona/ play (musical instru-
 ment)
ki-wika -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