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**COMPARING
TWO SUBDIALECTS
OF
SILACAYOAPAN MIXTEC**

b y

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Introduction:

The Silacayoapan Mixtec people live in Southern Mexico in the state of Oaxaca, about 300 miles south of Mexico City. As an agricultural society, they have lived isolated from the outside world until recent years. Since the land is very poor and unable to sustain a growing population, the able-bodied men have customarily left the village area for several months out of the year to do migrant field work in order to sustain their extended family. Until about 1950, most found work in the sugar cane fields of Vera Cruz. Since then an increasing number of Mixtecs have traveled the two thousand plus miles to work in the United States. Since amnesty, an increasing number of women and children have accompanied the men to the States in their search for work. As they become accustomed to the new way of life, increasing numbers of them are deciding to reside permanently in the U.S.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics has done extensive language survey testing among the Mixtec-speaking peoples of Mexico and have identified about thirty major dialect areas. Each of these dialects is sufficiently different from adjacent dialects to be classified as distinct languages. A town central to the dialect area is chosen as a reference point and all adjacent towns with eighty percent mutual intelligibility are included in that dialect area.

In the Silacayoapan Mixtec language area the towns of San Jerónimo Progreso (SJ) and San Miguel Aguacates (SM) are

adjacent, separated by a 45 minute walk. The purpose of this paper is to discuss palatalization as it occurs in Silacayoapan Mixtec and to compare the differences in use between a representative speaker from each of these two towns.

Biodata:

T. is a 50-year-old female Mixtec speaker from the town of San Miguel Aguacates. She was raised in that town, but married a Spanish speaker from the neighboring market town, and has not lived in SM for any extended length of time since her childhood. She has retained her ability to speak Mixtec while becoming fluent in Spanish and is able to read both Spanish and Mixtec, though not fluently. Mixtec is not spoken in the home. T. probably has not completed one year of schooling but has become literate through sporadic adult education classes.

M. is a 30-year-old male Mixtec speaker from the town of San Jerónimo Progreso. He spent large portions of his childhood living outside of this Mixtec village, and in the process became bilingual in Spanish. He has retained his ability to speak Mixtec and is a fluent reader of Mixtec and Spanish. His wife is a non-Mixtec from another state in Mexico. Mixtec is not spoken in the home. M. has attended several years of school but has not completed the sixth grade.

Methodology:

Most of my linguistic research has taken place using the San Jerónimo dialect. Though T. has had major input on several research projects, the phonological differences in her subdialect of Mixtec have largely been ignored. In order to focus attention on her way of speaking Mixtec, I had her record a personal-experience story in Mixtec. We then transcribed the text, paying close attention to her manner of speaking.

After looking over the text and noting some words with pronunciations distinct from the SJ subdialect, I constructed some sentences to elicit more data to be used in analyzing these differences. The sentences were read to T. in Spanish and her response was recorded. These same sentences were also read to M. in Spanish and the responses were recorded (see Appendix I). Since both speakers were completely bilingual in Spanish and in Mixtec and are accustomed to working with me using both languages, I chose to ask for the desired data in Spanish so as not to influence their response in Mixtec by my pronunciation of the desired words.

Results:

In the Silacayoapan Mixtec language, the couplet is the nucleus of the phonological word as well as the grammatical word. (See attached article in Appendix II for further discussion.) The phonological word, with the couplet as its basis, may have several syllables either preceding or following the couplet. Word stress is on the first syllable

of the couplet. (See Appendix II for examples.) In the transcribed text (see Appendix I) some prestressed and all poststressed particles are separated from the couplet by a space. In all words of two or more syllables, the stress occurs on the penultima syllable.

One of the most obvious differences in the SJ and SM subdialects involves the use of palatalization. Note the following examples from the Fiesta(2) text:

28. & 43. kandiho 'load'

50. ndího 'carrying'

52. & 54. kiʔba 'give'

(Note: Data are given in phonetic transcription without the use of the slash marks due to the fact that this computer program transcribes the slash as a tone mark.)

M. says these same words as follows:

kandyoho 'load'

ndyáho 'carrying'

kyáʔba 'give'

In the following examples the 'i' in the first syllable of the couplet is palatalized and a vowel is inserted following the palatalization, which is identical to the vowel in the following syllable. Note from the elicited sentences additional examples of contrast between the two speakers:

Q3: T.: ʔijá M.: ʔyajá 'day after tomorrow'

Q6: T.: nu ndíba M.: nu ndyábá 'Oaxaca City'

Q9: T.: bihá M.: byahá 'wet'

Q13: T.: ndiba M.: ndyaba 'a huaje tree seed pod'

Q20: T.: ki?ba M.: kya?ba 'cross-sibling'

Q29: T.: ti?ba M.: tyā?ba 'be able'

Some words containing palatalization are pronounced the same by both speakers. Examples:

Q16: hyu?ú 'money'

Q26: nda?zya 'peach'

Q27: bazya 'squash flower'

Q29: hyókó 'San Andres'

Q30: tandyo?o 'Puebla'

Q32: ndihyá?á 'hawk'

In one word, both speakers used palatalization, but the vowel of the couplet was different and the CV?V pattern in T's version is CV?CV in M's.

Q7: T.: nindakyo?o M.: nādikya?ba 'give'

In one case, T. used palatalization and M. did not though other speakers from SJ do.

Q12: T.: hyo?o M.: ho?o 'like this'

There are three examples of palatalization of CVV couplets which come from the phonological article on Silacayoapan Mixtec (see Appendix II pp. 22 & 24).

kwyāā 'year'

zyāā 'tongue'

syāā 'spoiled'

There are three examples of palatalization in the second syllable of a couplet. Two are listed immediately above

(Q26 & 27). The third example is the result of a fusion of a couplet ending in 'i' with a poststressed pronoun 'a'.

Q12: haʔzi a becomes haʔzya 'someone's child'

One word T. uses in a palatalized form is a contraction of two words in M.'s subdialect. In this example, the two vowels are not identical, indicating that a different process is taking place.

Q31: T.: hyábi M.: zohó zábi 'San Jerónimo'

The following example is another exception to vowel agreement when the palatalization occurs in the first syllable of the couplet:

kyáʔbú 'your (fam.) cross-sibling'

In this case, the pronoun, consisting of a nasal 'ú', replaces the final vowel, which results in the vowels being different in the two syllables of the couplet.

The text and elicited sentences give a few words in which the first vowel of the couplet is 'i' and the last vowel is 'a' or 'o'. Neither speaker palatalizes these words.

Examples:

4. bíkɔ 'celebration'

10. zítɔ 'tree, pole'

10. híkó 'sell'

3. ndisa 'truly'

38. sika 'walk'

Q2: hítɔ 'tortilla'

Q7: hízɔ 'skirt'

In comparing this list of words with those containing palatalization in the first syllable, it is significant that the distribution of consonants beginning the second syllable differs in the two lists. With one exception the second syllable of the palatalized words begins with 'ʔ', 'h', 'b', or 'ʔb', while none of the non-palatalized words containing an 'i' in the first syllable begin the second syllable with these consonants. The one exception is the place name for San Andres 'hyókó', which may be a contraction as is the place name for SJ. An extensive study needs to be made of the language to see if there are contrastive examples or if palatalization only occurs in certain environments.

Discussion and Conclusion:

Within the limitations of this data, it appears that palatalization in the first syllable occurs when the first vowel of the couplet is an 'i' followed by 'ʔ', 'h', 'b', or 'ʔb', which is followed by 'a', 'o', or 'u'. It can be theorized that these consonants are not dominant enough to stop the backward influence of the final vowel ('a', 'o', or 'u'). This theory is supported by what happens when the second person familiar pronoun 'ú' replaces the final vowel of a couplet. Note the following examples:

hizo 'skirt' becomes hizú 'your (fam.) skirt'
 zito 'pole' becomes zitú 'your (fam.) pole'
 siʔi 'with' becomes suʔu 'with you (fam.)'

This palatalization process is much more common for M's

subdialect but a few palatalized words are present in T's subdialect.

This palatalization and vowel replacement process, which includes vowel agreement, can be expressed as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 i \text{ --- } (y) / C \\
 \begin{array}{l}
 h \text{ } \circ \\
 b \text{ } u \\
 ?h \text{ } +bk \text{ } +syl
 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \rightarrow
 \begin{array}{l}
 \left[\begin{array}{l}
 ? \\
 h \\
 b \\
 2b
 \end{array} \right]
 \left(\begin{array}{l}
 a \\
 o \\
 u
 \end{array} \right) \\
 \left[\begin{array}{l}
 +bk \\
 +syl
 \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

Analyzing the data in this way would eliminate the need for a semiconsonant category as presented in the 1977 phonological analysis of Silacayoapan Mixtec (see Appendix II p. 24).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailey, Charles-James. (1985). English phonetic transcription. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.

The focus is on transcriptional procedures rather than on other aspects of phonetic studies. The method is designed to notate fine differences among styles and among class and regional pronunciations of English. It is a manual for investigators and teachers of English phonetics, but could also prove valuable to theoretical phonologists and speech synthesists.

Mak, Cornelia. (1958). "The tonal system of a third Mixtec dialect." *IJAL* 24:61-70.

This article adds data from the Mixtec spoken in San Estaban to a previous article comparing two Mixtec dialects. Tone perturbation patterns for the three dialects are compared. Pronoun enclitics are a highly specialized group and have an intricate set of tonal rules distinct from other morphemes.

_____ and Robert Longacre. (1960). "Proto-Mixtec phonology." *IJAL* 26:23-40.

This attempted reconstruction of Proto-Mixtecan includes the present languages of Mixtec, Cuicatec and Trique. Data from twenty-eight dialects of Mixtec provided the basis for the study. Proto-Mixtecan phonemes and their reflexes and syllables and their reflexes are discussed. No attempt was made to reconstruct Proto-Mixtecan tone.

North, Joanne and Jāna Shields. (1977). "Silacayoapan Mixtec phonology." In *Studies in Otomanguan phonology*, ed. by William R. Merrifield, 21-33. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.

A superficial phonological description of Silacayoapan Mixtec is given covering consonants, vowels, tones, and morphophonemics.

Pankratz, Leo and Eunice V. Pike. (1967). "Phonology and morphotonemics of Ayutla Mixtec." *IJAL* 33:287-99.

In Ayutla Mixtec, the phonological word and phrase are domains of two separate morphotonemic systems. These systems involve the lexical, phonological, and, to a lesser degree, the grammatical hierarchies, since in describing the morphotonemics it is necessary to classify the lexical items both according to their basic phonological shape and according to their grammatical status.

Pike, Eunice V. and Priscilla Small. (1974). "Downstepping terrace tone in Coatzacoapan Mixtec." In *Advances in tagmemics*, ed. by Ruth M. Brend, 105-134.

Four features of Coatzacoapan Mixtec are discussed: (1) Within the tonal system there is a process phoneme such that when certain classes of words are in sequence, there is downstepping terrace tone. (2) The process phoneme is the key to the tone sandhi changes. (3) There are contrastive nuclei of the phonological word-phrase: those marked by glottal stop, and those marked by a lengthened vowel. And, (4) There are oral word-phrases versus nasal word-phrases.

_____ and Kent Wistrand. (1974). "Step-up terrace tone in Acatlán Mixtec (Mexico)." In *Advances in tagmemics*, ed. by Ruth M. Brend, 81-104.

The tonal system of the Acatlán dialect of Mixtec is of special interest in that in a sequence of syllables, there may be a step-up of tone. This sequence of tones which step up is in conflict with the intonation downdrift which may occur when there is a sequence of low tones.

Pike, Kenneth L. (1947). *Phonemics: a technique for reducing languages to writing*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

The end sought in Phonemics is to establish a satisfactory technique for identifying the pertinent units of sound for any language and to organize them into an alphabet.

_____. (1943). *Phonetics: a critical analysis of phonetic theory and a technic for the practical description of sounds*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

The end sought in Phonetics is to establish a technique of description which would deal with the nature and formation of all sounds, whether these sounds are used in language or not.

Shields, Jāna K. (1988). "A syntactic sketch of Silacayoapan Mixtec." In *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages*, vol. 1, ed. by C. Henry Bradley and Barbara E. Hollenbach. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.

Appendix I

Raw Data

Transcribed text: Mixtec from San Miguel Aguacates

(April, 1995)

Practical Orthography

Follows the Spanish orthography with the following variations:

glottal stop is written as 'h'

nasalization is written with a word-final 'n'

'nd', 'mb', 'nk' are prenasalized.

palatalization is written with 'i' and bilabialization is written as 'u'. 'ny' is written as 'ñ'.

stress is unmarked but occurs on the penultima syllable.

s is written as 'x'.

There are three tones: high is written as 'á', low is written with an underline, and mid tone is unmarked.

Fiesta(2)

1. Yaha ní ndicani i in cuéntó loho nu ndo. 2. A juú
cuéntó toho queá. 3. Tátuhun históriá queá chi niyaha

Mixtec from San Miguel Aguacates

April, 1995

Fiesta(2)

1. Vaha ní ndicani i in cuéntó loho nu ndo. 2. A juú cuéntó toho queá. 3. Tátuhun históriá queá chi niyaha ndisa nde a. 4. Ta in tañu nisahan nde vico, vico enéró niqee nde cuahan nde. 5. Cuahan nde ña quivi oco enéró queá. 6. Cuahan nde vico yojó cuiá cuahan nde. 7. Ndaja coo nde ñuú va niqee nde cuahan nde nduyu. 8. Ta nisaa nde Santiágo. 9. Cán nisaa nde ta nisaa tátá i xihin nde. 10. Néhe nde búrrro néhe nde yito néhe nde tóco ndihi ñaha jicó nde néhe nde cuahan nde. 11. Tá nicasaa nde cán Santiágo nicuaá va. 12. Já cáchi tátá i já xihin nde: "Naha ndó, jahyi a, ní cohó vehe máli yo ní ndaca ndée yo. 13. Yóho ní candoyi. 14. Ta naha cuahan ví chi nicuaá va," cáchi tátá i xihin nde. 15. "Vaha," cáchi nde.

16. Tá nisaa nde cán nindaca ndoi nde quiiji va nde.

17. Ndaja coo tátá i nisahan chi cató a búrró nu sá ruhni búrró cán nisahan cató ri. 18. Ndaja coo ndehe nindaca ndoi nde quiiji va nde. 19. Kuú va queá. 20. Ta tátá i nisahan na nixihi va na. 21. Co xini nde ndáchi nisahan tátá i joo nicandoo mé va nde. 22. Ndaja coo naha tátuhun cahuni naha nisahan tátá i ndanehe a ndehe. 23. Já cáchi a já xihin nde: "Jahyi a, cuándacoo ndó chi sa hórá nitivi va queá. 24. Coho coho ví yojé cuiá viti," cáchi tátá i xihin nde.

25. "Vaha," cáchi nde.

26. Ndicoo nde joo já niquiji tucu va nde. 27. Co ní caja nde caso nu cahan tátá nde xihin nde. 28. Ndaja tátá i nitavá ndihi na kaha cuahan na nu ndúu mí búrró cán candijo rí a cuni a. 29. Chindeé nde a ndaa kaha jata búrró cuni tátá i. 30. Ndaja coo ne[co ní caja nde caso nisaa tucu tátá nde já nijitá ricachí jati nde ta ndaquehe a ricachí néhe a cuahan. 31. Nicandoo nde. 32. Ta

n̄ndicáxí ini nde tá n̄ndicáxí ini nde coó řaha mé va nu ndói nde. 33. Anda já cáchí i já xihín quihví i: "Ivi sa cuu nde," já cáchí i xihín quihví i. 34. "Coho ví quihví i chí viti cuahan va tátá yó ta nijándacoo na mí viti. 35. Cóho ví," cáchí nde.

36. Ta ndaja coo nde co ní sahan nde candehé nde nu núhni búrró. 37. Já ndáa nde niqueta nde vaxi nde vehe máli nde cán va. 38. Niqueta nde cuahan nde yojó cuiá xica nde já xica nde íchi cuahan nde. 39. Tá nisaa nde in xoo jioho nu cáa utu cán, cán ndói řayivi nichuhu ndacú nicaja na. 40. Ta já nicachi na já xihín nde: "Á co cúní ndó caxi ndó ndacú, na valí," cáchí na xihín nde.

41. "Vaha," cáchí nde.

42. Já n̄ndaa nde já nicasáhá ndáca tuhun řahá nde cáchí nde já: "Á co ní xini ndó á co ní yaha in taa jioho ndáca búrró comi búrró ndáca da cuáyí ndáca da viti. 43. Cándijó yito jata rí cuahan rí chí cuhun nde víco. 44. Ta ndaja coo nde nicandoo nde vaxi nde joo tátá i co xini nde á

chí nuu cuahan tátá nde á nicandoo a jata," cáchí nde xihín ñá cán.

45. Já cáchí ñá já xihín nde já: "Coo ñaha toho jáchi naha ndói nde yóho joo co ní in taa co yáha toho chí naha ndivaha queá viti," cáchí ñá xihín nde.

46. "Vaha da já," cáchí nde.

47. Já ndaca ndói nde xixáhan nde cán va. 48. Xixáhan nde ndói nde. 49. Tá ndacoto nde nu xicá cán va vaxi tátá i. 50. Vaxi a xihín quíti ndíjo rí ñaha vaxi rí. 51. Anda jáví cáchí nde já: "Ndaja coo viti ndícata ndaa tátá yo nu yo chí cani uun a mé yó. 52. Vaha ga cuéé cuéé ní coho chí nuu anda quihva casaa yó vehe nu cándoyí chí cán coo cahan i xihín ná ña ní candehó ndá módó chindeé na mí," cáchí nde cuahan nde.

53. Anda jáví nicasaa nde yojó cuiá. 54. Anda jáví já nicachi nde já xihín na cán: "Á quihva ndó ñamani ndihvi nde vehe ndó," cáchí nde xihín na cán.

55. "Vaha," cáchí na.

56. Ndaja coo tátá i xíhi va na: "Ndá cuahan tátún," cáchí na ndáca tuhun na.

57. "Vaxi na jata va joo já xíhi va tátá i vaxi na jata joo já ndícughe va na xihín nde. 58. Ta ndaja coo nde vaxi nde nuu va nijándacoo mé va řahá nde," cáchí nde xihín na cán nisaa nde.

59. Anda jáví cáchí na xihín nde: "Vaha da já cuáyaha ndó vehe candoi ndó. 60. Naha ndó cuxu ndó," cáchí na xihín nde.

61. "Vaha," cáchí nde.

62. Já niyaha nde cán va niyaha nde ndói nde. 62. Ta toyihí va nicasaa va tátá i. 63. Já cáchí mé a ndáhvi řaha cán xihín yíi řa: "Cuáhán yóho chindeún tátá na valí yóho chi nicasaa va da. 64. A cuú toho cuhun mé va na yóho chi cani uun řahá da," cáchí na.

65. Anda jáví: "Vaha," cáchí mé a ndáhvi taa cán nisahan da chindeé da mé tátá i. 66. Anda jáví ninuu ndihi

řaha nicaja na. 67. Anda jáví mé nde ndaquehe nde
 nichijehé nde nisandoi nde vehe na cán. 68. Já niqueta nde
 tá nixini nde cuahan tátá i já ndaquehe ndihi nde řaha néhe
 nde nisahan nde nisacu nde puéstó mí yojó cuiá. 69. Anda
 jáví nicasáhá nde nisacu nde puéstó váliⁱ nisacu nde mantiádó
 nisacu nde. 70. Já ndaca ndoi nde jicó nde. 71. Ta ndaja
 coo tátá i xica nuu va tátá i xica nuu va. 72. Xica nuu a
 tátuhun cája va xica nuu a xihi va. 73. řa cán quéa já cáa
 históriá nindoho nde in cuiá tátuhun sa iin da oco ga cuiá
 já nindoho nde já. 74. Já cáchi históriá ndicani i nu nde.

Elicited sentences--Practical Orthography

Q1. Parece que va a llover.

T & M: Tátuhun cúni cuun javi.

Q2. Me gusta comer tortillas por eso voy a comprarlos.

T & M: Cátói cuxu u jita ña cán quéá cuhun i cueen i ña.

Q3. Pasado mañana voy al monte.

T: ijá cuhun i yucu.

M: iajá cuhun i yucu.

Q4. Ella carga el bebe (en la espalda).

T: Ndiójo ñá jahyi ñá.

M: Ndiójo ñá jahyi ñá.

Q5. Hoy Juan recibió la carga de ser presidente.

T: Viti Juan ndiño da chuun ña cacuu da presidente.

M: ...ndiñojo...

Q6. Ayer el se fue a Oaxaca.

T: Cuni cuahan mé dá nu ndivá.

M: ...nu ndiává.

Q7. Entregó la falda a su hermana.

T: Nindaquiño ñá jiyo quihvi ña.

M: Nandiquiñva...

Q8. Salió granos en su lengua.

T & M: nicana ndihi nu yáa ñá.

Q9. Su camisa está muy mojada.

T: Vijá jáhma dá.

M: Viajá jáhma dá.

Q10. Quiere tomar agua fresco.

T & M: Cúni da coho da ticui vixi.

Q11. Le gusta comer nopales, los tiernos.

T & M: Cátóó da cuxu da vihnda yúta.

Q12. Mira, así se hace sombreros.

T: Candehé jioho cávaha yújini.

M: Candehé joho cávaha yijini.

Q13. Estan vendiendo huaje en el mercado.

T: Jicó na ndiva nu yahvi.

M: ...ndiava...

Q14. Se apagó la lumbre por esta razón se fue a comprar cerillos.

T & M: Nindahva ñúhu ña cán queá cuahan da quehe da tó
ndácahmi ñúhu.

Q15. Saltó y se fue al monte.

T & M: Nindava da ta cuahan da yúcu.

Q16. El dinero está en mi bolsa.

T & M: Jihún ndácaa (ndácaan) léca vi.

Q17. Estoy buscando mi jefe, que se llama Pedro.

T & M: Ndánducú u xitoho (xtoho) i nani a Pedro.

Q18. Las mujeres platican entre ellos acerca de la boda.

T & M: Najihi ndátúhún xitáhan mé na ndaja coo vicó
tándaha.

Q19. Me platicó cuando iba a regresar.

T & M: Nindacani ñá nuú i ndá ama (ndá?ma) ndicó coo ñá.

Q20. Mi hermana/hermano (cross-sibling) se llama Lencha/Lencho.

T: Quihva i nani dá Lencho.

M: Quiahva i nani ñá Lencha.

Q21. Aquellos borregos se fueron corriendo.

T: Lanchi ndóyi cáa xínu rí cuahan ri.

M: Lanchi ndúu ...

Q22. Hacen ruido los grillos por noche.

T & M: Ndáyí ndivaha .inchi tá ñuú.

Q23. Está aceda la masa.

T & M: Nixiaa yúsa.

Q24. Se perdió el dinero

T & M: Nindañúhú jiuún.

Q25. Los demonios están entre los burros.

T: Tiñáhá nicatáhan xihin búrru jan.

M: Timiáhá nacatáhan...

Q26. Me gusta comer los duraznos.

T & M: Cátóó i casi i ndahya.

Q27. Me gusta comer la flor de calabaza.

T & M: Cátóó i cuxu u vayia yíqui.

Q28. Sale el arco iris despues de la lluvia.

T & M: Cána co yáhquí tá nindihi nicuun javi.

Q29. Se bien coser la comida.

T: Tihva vaha i cacu u jáhma.

M: Tiahva...

Q29. Mañana voy a San Andres.

T & M: Itaán cuhun i jióco.

Q30. Mañana voy a Puebla.

T & M: Itaaan cuhun i tandioho.

Q31. Mañana voy a San Jeronimo.

T: Itaaan cuhun i jiávi.

M: Itaaan cuhun i yojó yávi.

Q32. El gabilán agarró el pollito.

T & M: Ndijiáhán nitiin rí nduxú loho.

Fiesta(2)--Phonetic Script

1. ba?a ní ndikani: i kw ntó lo?o nu nde. 2. a huú kw
ntó to?o k á. 3. tátu?u istórya k á ci niza?a ndisa ndea.
4. ta i tanyu nisa?a nde biko bikó n ró nike: nde kwa?a
nde. 5. kwa?a nde nya kibi ?oko neró k á. 6. kwa?a nde
biko zohó kwíá kwa?a nde. 7. ndaha ko: nde nyu: ba nike:
nde kwa?a nde nduzu. 8. Ta nisa: ndpe sandyó:. 9. ká
nisa: nde ta nisa: tátái xi nde. 10. n ? nde búro n ?
nde zito n ? nde tókó ndi?i nya?a hikó nde n ? nde kwa?a
nde. 11. tá nikasa: nde ká sandyó: nikwa: ba. 12. há káci
tátái há si?i nde: "na?a ndó, ha?zya ní ko?ó b ? máli zo
ní ndaka ndé: zo. 13. zó?o ní kandozi. 14. Ta na?a kwa?a
bí ci nikwá: ba," káci tátái si?i nde.

15. "ba?a," káci nde.

16. tá nisa: nde ká nindaka ndoi nde kihi ba nde. 17.
ndaha ko: tátáa nisa?a ci katóa búro nu sá nu?ni búro ká
nisa?a kató ri. 18. ndaha ko: nd ? nindaka ndoi nde kihi
va nde. 19. nyu: ba kéá. 20. ta tátái nisa?a na nisi?i ba

na. 21. ko xini nde ndaci nisa?a tatai ho: nikando: me va
 nde. 22. ndaha ko: na?a tatu?u ca?uni na?a nisa?a tatai
 ndan ? a nd ? . 23. ha kacia ha xi?i nde: "ha?zya,
 kwandako: ndo ci sa ?ora nitibi ba kea. 24. ko?o ko?o bi
 zoho kwia biti," kaci tatai xi nde.

25. "ba?a," kaci nde.

26. ndiko: nde ho: ha nikahi tuku ba nde. 27. ko ni
 kaha nde kaso nu ka?a tata nde xi?i nde. 28. ndaha tatai
 nitaba ndi?i na nya?a kwa?a na nu ndu: mi buru ka kandiho
 ria kunia. 29. cinde: nde a nda: nya?a hata buru kuni
 tatai. 30. ndaha ko: nde ko ni kaha nde kaso nisa: tuku
 tata nde ha nihita rikaci hata nde ta ndak ? a rikaci n ? a
 kwa?a. 31. nicandoo nde. 32. ta nindikaxi ini nde ta
 nindikasi ini ndeco nya?a me ba nu ndoi nde. 33. ?anda ha
 kaci: ha xi?i ki?bi:: "ivi sa ku: nde," ha kaci: xi?i
 ki?bi:. 34. "ko?o bi ki?vi:ci kwa?a ba tata zo ta
 nihandako: na mi viti.