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Description of the method and materials compared:

Since I had comparable materials from the two dialects already in print, which had been thoroughly worked on by very competent native speakers in both dialects, I made the comparison without using a language helper. Except for the two pages of interlinear examples included, I did not write out an interlinear text, to avoid writing the words in which there was no change. Instead I listed the words in which there was change in parallel columns and classified each difference as to type.

The materials compared were ^{two} simple narratives which ^{are} in the Transition primers for both villages, Luke 1:1-4, Luke 19:28-44, Matthew 13:11-17, John 15:1-9, John 10:1-5, and Romans 3:9-27. There were approximately 800 differing words, but, since many words had more than one kind of difference, a total of 1063 differences.

I spent approximately 22¹/₂ hrs tabulating the changes and an additional 6 hours on the write-up. I discovered, after I had done it, that I made a much longer comparison than had been requested in the Weber article.*

I have described the differences under the following headings or topics:

1. Morphophonemic processes
2. Differing affixes
3. Changes in word roots (phonemic shifts)
4. Word correspondences
5. Stylistic differences and semantic shift
6. Noncorrespondence

Two pages of interlinear text are included to show something about the percentage of words in which there is and is not change.

*"Assessing the Prospects for Computer-Assisted Dialect Adaptation in a Particular Language" David J. Weber and William C. Mann, NOTES ON LINGUISTICS, No. 15, July 1980, pp. 29-40.

Inez Butler
March 30, 1982

Morphophonemic processes:

Some of the differences between Yatzachi and Zoogocho materials can be explained by the difference in working of morphophonemic processes in the two areas. In Yatzachi roots ending in V' have the vowel reduplicated when adding another morpheme beginning with a consonant. In Zoogocho dialect no such reduplication occurs.

Yatzachi: da' 'is tied' -b 'animal' da'ab 'it is tied'

Zoogocho: da' 'is tied' -ba' 'animal' da'ba' 'it is tied'

This same factor often makes compound roots actualize differently even though their parts may be the same:

Yatzachi: be' 'gave' -len 'with' be'elen 'spoke to' (words)

Zoogocho: be' 'gave' -len 'with' be'len 'spoke to' (words)

In the Yatzachi dialect there are shifts in glottal placement when roots ending in VV' are followed by morphemes beginning with consonants, whereas in Zoogocho dialect the glottal placement does not change.

Yatzachi: choe' 'gives' -len 'with' cho'elen 'speaks to' (words)

Zoogocho: choe' 'gives' -len 'with' choe'len 'speaks to' (words)

Although differing with speakers of the language and not consistently applied to all roots, in general the formula for adding bound pronouns to roots ending in V' is quite different in Zoogocho from that in Yatzachi. In Yatzachi V' plus V' actualizes as V'V, whereas in Zoogocho it usually becomes merely V'.

Yatzachi: chote' 'sells' plus -a' 'I' chota'a 'I sell'

xna' 'mother of' plus -a' 'me' xna'a 'my mother'

chzi' 'buys' plus -a' 'I' chzi'a 'I buy'

chšo' 'tears' plus -a' 'I' chšo'a 'I tear'

Zoogocho: chote' 'sells' plus -a' chota' 'I sell'

xna' 'mother of' plus -a' 'me' xna' 'my mother'

~~chzi~~

chzi' 'buys' plus -a' 'I' chzis' 'I buy'

chšo' 'tears' plus -a' 'I' chšoa' 'I tear'

In Yatzachi verb stems ending in the vowel a when occurring with bound pronouns show the final vowel of the stem only before the first person plural exclusive pronoun -to'. In Zoogocho the corresponding verbs frequently have the stem ending in the vowel e, but the vowel disappears before all bound pronouns.

Yatzachi: chbeze 'waits' plus -to' chbezeto' 'we wait'

Zoogocho: chbeze 'waits' plus -to' chbezto' 'we wait'

The same feature is found with noun stems that in Yatzachi end with the vowel e, when occurring as possessed forms with the bound pronouns, and with numerals which likewise occur with them.

Y: xile 'nixtamal of' xileto 'our (ex) nixtamal'

chope 'two' chopato 'two of us (ex)'

Z: xile 'nixtamal of' xilto 'our (ex) nixtamal'

chope 'two' chopto 'two of us (ex)'

One other feature should perhaps be mentioned. That is verbs of what I call the -da' conjugation which in Yatzachi take a different set of bound pronouns in first and second persons of the singular and in third person singular and plural respect forms. In Yatzachi the pronouns of first and second person singular cause deletion of the final stem vowel, whereas ~~that~~^{those} of other persons ~~do~~ not. In Zoogocho pronouns of first and second person singular and those of third person respect (whether singular or plural) cause deletion of the final stem vowel.

Y: chyažje 'needs' chyažjda' 'I need'

chyažjdo' 'you need'

chyažjene' 'he/she needs'

chese'ayažjene' 'they need'

Z: chyažje 'needs' chyažjda' 'I need'

chyažjdo' 'you need'

chyažjde' 'he/she needs'

cheseyažjde' 'they need'

In Zoogocho dialect, when both a subject and object pronoun are bound to the same verb, ~~the~~ particularly when the ~~subject~~ subject pronoun is second person plural, the subject pronoun loses its vowel. This has not been observed to happen in Yatzachi dialect.

Y: che'e 'will take along' -le 'you (pl)', -b 'it (an)' che'eleb

Z: che'e 'will take along' -le 'you (pl)', -ba' 'it (an)' che'elba'

Y: ye'e 'will tell', -le 'you (pl)', -ne' 'him/her (resp)'

ye'elene'

Z: ye' 'will tell', -le 'you (pl)', -ne' 'him/her (resp)'

ye'lene'

Differing affixes in Yatzachi and Zoogocho dialects:

Bound pronouns:

Only a few of the bound pronouns differ, but they are the ones used most frequently in narration. ~~(subject or object)~~

third person familiar:	Y: -bo'	Z: -be'
third person respect of the		
-da' conjugation	Y: -ne'	Z: -de'
third person inanimate	Y: -i, -e, -n	Z: -n
	-en	-en
third person animal	Y: -b, -eb	Z: -ba'

(It should be noted that the object pronoun -ne' remains the same in both dialects.)

Other common suffixes which differ in form:

The suffix -ne' indicating the item is known or has been previously referred to, becomes -na' in Zoogocho, or when the word ends in V' occurs as Vn'. The variant of the above morpheme -en', occurring on words ending in consonants other than n, has the form -en' in Zoogocho, or, apparently conditioned only by style, the form -a'. An alternate form of -ne', -n', actualizes in Zoogocho as either -n' or -na'.

The intensifier suffix -cze of Yatzachi is -cze in Zoogocho. The directional -le of Yatzachi is -le in Zoogocho. The diminutizer -ze of Yatzachi is -ze in Zoogocho. The emphazier -xa of Yatzachi is -xe in Zoogocho. The politeness indicator -šga of Yatzachi is -šca in Zoogocho. These appear to be rather easily adaptable to computer translation.

Aspect and pluralizer prefixes:

The aspect prefixes are much more complex. Some of the verbs of completive aspect with the marker b- in Yatzachi go to gw- in Zoogocho, but by no means all. The aspect markers gw-, ~~bx~~ and b- used with verbs of completive aspect when there is a plural subject become g- in Zoogocho. The aspect markers gw- and # found in Yatzachi with verbs of potential aspect when there is a third person plural subject become y- in Zoogocho. The e of the motion prefixes based on the word "come" of Yatzachi becomes e in Zoogocho. The "going" prefixes chje-, zje-, je-, šje- in Zoogocho are chja-, zja-, ja-, and šja-. The infinitive prefix go- of Yatzachi becomes güe- in most Zoogocho words. (A few retain go-.) The infinitive prefix gw- actualizes as gua- in Zoogocho.

The pluralizer prefix for stative verbs of Yatzachi is zjə, whereas in Zoogocho it is zja-. The pluralizer morpheme for consonant-initial verb stems in Yatzachi may be -esə'e-, -əsə'e-, -oso'o-, -ese'e-. In Zoogocho it is usually -ese- following the continuative and potential prefixes and -ose- following the completive prefix, but the variant -oso- may occur with any of these aspect markers.

~~The question marker~~

The question marker prefix ə- of Yatzachi does not occur in Zoogocho, nor does anything else overt substitute for it.

Many verbs and a few adjectives in Yatzachi dialect often occur with a prefixed ə- which does not mean question (or anything else we have been able to tie down). Some speakers insist they must be there, but others do not use them. They appear to be vestiges of something that is dropping out of the language. I found ten such words in this sampling of comparative data. Nothing comparable happens in Zoogocho, to my knowledge.

Changes in word roots: (phoneme shifts)

The only changes that I know of that can be phonologically predicted for all words of that type ~~that I know of~~ are the words which in Yatzachi have ~~the root ending in xxxxi~~ a root with the vowel nucleus e'i or ei. In Zoogocho dialect these are e'e and e respectively. Probably the same holds true for those which in Yatzachi have the nucleus o'i, though I can think of only one example, which does become o'e in Zoogocho.

Y: ble'i 'saw'	Z: ble'e
Y: benlei 'deceived'	Z: benle
Y: jeid 'hen'	Z: jed
Y: chache'i 'realizes'	Z: chache'e
Y: chlo'i 'shows'	Z: chlo'e

Perhaps the set of words having the vowel nucleus ey and e'ey are also phonologically predictable in going to ay and a'y.

Y: gueye' 'five'	Z: gayo'
Y: gueyoa 'hundred'	Z: gayoa
Y: pey 'papaya'	Z: pay
Y: bey 'strength belt'	Z: bayw
Y: ley 'tooth'	Z: lay
Y: le'eye' 'expensive'	Z: la'y

The very common vowel e of Yatzachi (occurring only in non-stressed syllables) does not occur in the Zoogocho dialect. Words which have that vowel in Yatzachi have e, a or o in Zoogocho, but there is no way to predict which ~~xxx~~ except ~~xx~~ by knowing the word. In the materials included in this comparison 31 words showed a shift from e to a, 8 words a shift from e to a, and three words a shift from e to o. Likewise words which in Yatzachi have the laryngealized nucleus e'e often go to e' in Zoogocho, but may go to ~~xx~~ a' or even o'.

Five words in my comparative data showed a shift from e'e in Yatzachi to a' in Zoogocho. However, that is not a general rule, for there are many other words in Zoogocho which retain the nucleus e'e.

Several words which in Yatzachi have a laryngealized nucleus have a plain vowel nucleus in Zoogocho with no glottalization. Five others shift from laryngealized nucleus to checked vowel, though many examples of both types may be found in Zoogocho.

(Word root changes, continued)

A number of words borrowed from Spanish have a labialization in Zoogocho word final which they do not have in Yatzachi. In most cases these are words which in the Spanish end in o, although not always, and not all borrowings of words ending in o have the labialization in Zoogocho. A few native words also have an additional labialization in Zoogocho.

A few words which in Yatzachi end in que drop the vowel in Zoogocho and so are spelled with c. There are other words identical in form which do not make that change, but go to e.

Several Zoogocho words have a fortis consonant (same point of articulation) where the Yatzachi word has a lenis consonant.

A few words which in Yatzachi begin with the consonant cluster bgw (or its orthographic variants) seem to be based on the metathesis of a derivational prefix gw- or go- with the initial consonant of the root b-. In Zoogocho this metathesis does not take place. Some of the words with the derivational prefix gw- in Yatzachi have in Zoogocho the prefix gua-.

There seems to be more of a tendency in Zoogocho than in Yatzachi to borrow less common Spanish words in their full form without omitting vowels. Whether or not this is characteristic of all speakers of Zoogocho dialect or just the relatively bilingual ones with whom I have been working, I am not sure.

Many other difference in cognates show no particular pattern, and these I call erratic root changes. Words of this kind within the corpus studied I list as follows:

Yatzachi	Zoogocho
zo	zoa 'is present', 'lives'
chao	chagw 'eats'
nan	žan 'wants to', 'feels like'
ža'	že' 'are in'
bia	be 'animal'
nada'	neda' 'I', 'me'
chene'e	che'ne 'wants'
gobiž	guagwbiž 'noon'
xala'an	xalana' 'clothing'
ljuežž	ljež 'companion'
šcwlat	šicwlat 'chocolate'
mendad	mandadw 'command', 'duty'

Word correspondences:

Certain word-correspondences seem to be rather regular and could be readily programmed by computer. Words of that type that I found in the data studied I list below:

Yatzachi	Zoogocho	
zda	zeḡ	'has gone'
güe'elao'	gonxen	'will worship'
(There is, however a homophonous form güe'elao' that in Zoogocho is güilao'.) (a kind of caterpillar)		
bgüiašc	gwna'šc	'look!'
la'	le	'because'
chede' la'	le	'because'
güia-	na'-	'will look at', 'will care for'
xnd'agole	tao	'grandmother of'
Syi'ite'	México	'Mexico' (the country or the capital)
na'atecna'a	tecna'a	'right now'
žalnez	bedao'	'quickly'
chonlilaže'	cheḡnilaže'	'trusts in'
tcho'a tšao'	tcho'a	'completely'
bazon	bazoa	'is at the point of (in time)'
lao'	lo	'during', 'in'
lao nez	lo nez	'on the road'
tnez	cha nez	'at the road', 'in the road'
la'ane'acze	la'czla'	'even though'
gwso'elao'	gosonxen	'worshipped'
eso'elao	yesonxen	'will worship'
chgüia	chna'	'looks at', 'cares for', 'visits'
lechguale	leca	'very much'
sino	san	'but rather'
ni	ne	'neither'
xle'eḡ	le'eḡ che	'enclosure of'

In the case of many other words there is not such a simple system of correspondence, but two or three words which, depending on the context, are used in Zoogocho:

Yatzachi	Zoogocho
<u>chede</u> '	con, <u>le</u> , da', dan' 'because'
lagüe de'en	dan' (or once in a while lagüe dan') 'because'
lao	šlac, cate' 'while', 'when'
de que	#, <u>le</u> 'that'
tliše'	toe', tliša' 'only'
par	ne <u>che</u> , cont 'so that'
n <u>la</u> '	zoa, n <u>la</u> ' 'is visible'
par n <u>ich</u>	ne <u>che</u> , cont 'in order'
par n <u>ich</u> na'	ne <u>che</u> , cont 'in order that'
žale'	šaca', ša 'if (contrary to fact)'
<u>lic</u> ha	to <u>lic</u> ha, <u>lic</u> ha 'straight', 'right'

Another significant difference is that the verb 'love' chaque in the Yatzachi dialect is obligatorily followed by the preposition che 'of', 'for', 'to' preceding the noun or pronoun object. In Zoogocho che does not occur with this verb.

Y: chaquene' che bi'i che' 'she loves her children'

Z: chacde' bi'i che' 'she loves her children'

Y: chaquene' chia' 'she loves me'

Z: chacde' neda' 'she loves me'

In many cases, though a close cognate exists in Zoogocho to the Yatzachi word, the word is rarely used in Zoogocho or is not understood by younger people with less inter-village contact.

Yatzachi

chxoayag 'deceives' In Zoogocho chonle or chziye' are preferred.

family 'familia' In Zoogocho bene' lo' yo'o is preferred.

yele' bala'an 'honor' In Zoogocho chacxen or chonxen are preferred.

chene'e 'wants' In Zoogocho chaclaže' is preferred.

señor 'sir' In Zoogocho bene' is preferred.

gosebigue'e 'drew near' In Zoogocho zja'aque' is preferred.

las 'time' In Zoogocho ni'a is preferred.

In some cases a preposition is required in a phrase in Zoogocho in which none is used in Yatzachi:

"he sat on the bench" Y: gwche'ebo' bancw

Z: gwche'be' lo bancw

"he looked at the map" Y: bgüiabo' mapen'

Z: gwna'be' le'e mapa

Negatives:

bito bi bi	bitw bi	cuino	nono
bito	bi	cuino _{nə} '	nono _{ria} '
"	"		
"	"		
bitobi	bi bi		
bito	bi		
bito	bi		
"	"		
"	"		
bito	bitw	cui	ca
"	"	cui	bi
bito	bi	cui	bi
bitoch	bitw	cui	cbi
bito	bitw	cui=	bi
bito	bi	cuicze	bicze
bito	bi	cuicze	bi bi
bitobi	bi bi	cui	bi
bito	bi	cui	bi
bitobi	bi bi	cui	bi
bito	bi	cui bi	bi bi
"	"	cui	bi
"	"	cabi	bi
"	"	cabi	bitw
"	"		

cui bi bi bi

notono	nono	cague	gague
notono	nono		
"	"		
"	"		
"	"		

Although there is considerable variety in the correspondences,

I think meaning would not be distorted if the following correspondences were applied accross the board:

bito = bi	cui = bi	notono = no no	cuino _{nə} ' =
bitobi = bi bi	cui bi = bi bi	cuicze = bicze	nono _{ria} '
bitoch = bich	cui no = no no	cabi = bi	
		cague = gague	

Stylistic differences and semantic shift:

Probably two hundred of the 800 differing words could be explained as stylistic variations, but it should be noted that those 800 differing words include 1063 ~~differing~~ differences, and even if the same style had been adopted, many of the two hundred words would still differ in other ways.

In addition to all the above 2 factors producing differences between the Yatzechi and Zoogocho dialects, there is considerable semantic shift, as illustrated by the following examples:

- yoba Y: 'the fields', regardless of where.
 Z: 'the fields' if in low, hot areas only.
- yoba Y: 'heaven', 'sky'
 yaba Z: 'heaven', 'sky'
- lao Y: 'on the surface of', 'face', 'in front of'
 Z: 'face', 'in front of' (persons only)
- lo Z: 'on the surface of', 'in front of' (inanimate things)
- žod Y: 'stubborn', 'hard hearted'
 v Z: 'taciturn'
- xni'a Y: 'at one's feet', 'in subjection to'
 Z: 'at one's feet', 'beside one'
- gwdixžue Y: 'paid for' (can be used figuratively/ ^{about} ~~for~~ sins)
 Z: 'paid for' (cannot be used figuratively about sins, because it is then understood as "proclaimed or assigned to")

There are a number of phrases in which I found that, though the individual words, or close cognates, exist in both towns, the phrase is not used in both places:

- Y: zocho xni'a de'e mal Z: naccho bene' mal 'we are evil or sinful'
- Y: si' bi si' Z: si' da' ca' de 'buy things'
- Y: chsa'aze' rson Z: chosoženague' 'heed'
- Y: gaccho bene' güen laogüen' Z: gaccho bene' güen len le'
 'become good in his sight'

Noncorrespondence:

In the very simple narrative materials where the subject matter is concerned with everyday life and familiar objects, there is rather close correspondence between the two dialects. However, as didactic materials are compared, the differences (noncorrespondences) increase. When I got into the Romans passages where meanings are more difficult to define precisely, the divergences became very much greater, and in many spots it was impossible to compare the two, because it had been non-communicative in the way translated in Yatzachi.

Examples of interlinear text: (Simple narrative from Tr. Primer)

Y: Zo to bene' na' nzoe' to tiend che' yež gan' zoe' len family

Z: Zoa to bene' na' nzoe' to tiend che' yež gan' zoe' len bene' lo' yo'o

Y: che'ene'. Naquen to tiend xen gan' chote'e no cwšar, no cwšiy,

Z: che'. Naquen to tiend xen gan' chote' no cwšar no cwšiyw,

Y: no cobet, no molin dao'.

Z: no cubet, no ša' ya.

Y: Na' to zil beban bi'i che'ene' na' bembo' xbab šejbo' tiend gan'

Z: Na' to zil beban bi' che'na' na' bembe' xbab šejbe' tiend gan'

Y: zo xabo'one'. Nach gwyasbo' na' beyacw xabo'one'. Beyož beyacw

Z: zoa xaben'. Nach gwyasbe' na' beyacw xaben' ~~na'~~

Y: xabo'one' na' gwyejbo' lo'o cwsinne' gwche'ebo' bancw par nich

Z: na' gwyejbe' lo' cwsin gwche'ebe' lo' bancw na'

Y: gwdaobo' xsil. Nach güe'ežbo' šcwlat na' gwdaobo' yetxtil.

Z: gwdagwbe' xsil. Nach güe'ežbe' šicwlat na' gwdagwbe' yetxtil.

Y: Tozbo' güe'ež gwdaobo', chede' bazda xna'abo'one' yoba.

Z: Tozbe' güe'ež gwdagwbe' le zež xna'be' yixe'.

Matthew 13:11-12

Y: Na' Jeso'osen' gože' lega'aque': --Diozen' chone' par nich le'e

Z: Na' gož Jesúsen' lega'aque': --Diozen' chone' cont le'e

Y: nezele de'en cui no gwneze antsle

Z: nezyane'le nac naque yela' gwnabia' chen',

Y: de que le' nabi'e con note'eteze bene' soe' latja.

Z: na' naquen to da' nono neze.

Y: Pero bene' cui chse'ejele'e xtiža'ane'

Z: Perw bi chon Diozen' ca' len bene' yezica'chle, da' nan'

Y: bito chac se'ejni'ine' de que nabi'e bene' soe' latja.

Z: bitw chesejni'ide' diža' da' choe'lengaca'ne'.

Y: Note'eteze bene' choso'ozenague' ca de'en bachzejni'i Diozen'

Z: Note'teze bene' chosozenague' ca dan' ba chzejni'i Diozen'

Y: lega'aque' Diozen' gwzejni'ichene' lega'aque' par nich šanch

Z: lega'aque' Diozen' gwzejni'ichene' lega'aque' cont šanch

Y: de'en se'ejni'ine'. Pero na' note'eteze bene' cui choso'ozenague'

Z: dan' yesejni'ide'. Perw na' note'teze bene' cbi choso'ozenague'