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It may be useful to the reader to summarize here the use of the symbols in the formulas. Each tagmeme or hypertagmeme is set off by spaces for ease in reading. The mathematical symbols such as $++$ or \dagger do not symbolize mathematical operation, but the obligatory or optional nature of the tagmeme. For this reason, they directly precede the tagmeme letters. The symbol $++$ indicates that the item following is a hypertagmeme, i. e. obligatorily complex. The notation X:Y indicates slot:class correlation. The symbol preceding the colon is the slot symbol; that following the colon is the symbol for the morpheme class which fills the slot. The symbol $\bar{\dagger}$ means that any one of the series following it is optional but that some item from the series must occur, and more than one may occur. The symbol / means alternative fillers. The items included within the parentheses are the various members of the concomitant class of tagmemes which may occur in this syntagmeme. The symbol \dagger indicates an optional tagmeme. An optional hypertagmeme is symbolized by $\dagger\dagger$. The obligatory occurrence of one of the concomitants is symbolized $\dagger\dagger$ to emphasize the fact that the specific item is optional but that the occurrence of some member of the series is obligatory. For those who may wish to compare tagmemic notations, the symbol $\dagger\dagger$ is new, and the notation X:Y is the same as the notation X^Y or the notation X (Y) for the slot class correlation unit.

The action hypertagmeme consists of an obligatory intransitive base plus an obligatory aspect margin. For discussion of verb classes, bases, and margins, see 3.1.

The usual order of tagmemes in minimum syntagmemes is predicate followed by concomitant, although some manifestations of the time tagmeme may precede the predicate. The following examples are of minimum syntagmemes. The English gloss attempts to give a free English rendering, with items necessary to good English but not found in the Chontal cited in parentheses, and single Chontal items rendered by several English words written with hyphens. The tagmemic formulas in parentheses after the gloss show the Chontal order.

Examples of Syntagmeme AA: with subject concomitant, máypa lipékwe? Her-husband went ($++A:IV \dagger\dagger S:DRN$); with mode concomitant, máypa sa So (he) went ($++A:IV \dagger\dagger Mod:MP$); with location concomitant, máypa l'á (He) went there ($++A:IV \dagger\dagger L:LP$); with time concomitant, máypa wxéwilí (He) went a-while-ago ($++A:IV \dagger\dagger Ti:TiP$); with quotative concomitant, máypa náa? (He) went, they-say ($++A:IV \dagger\dagger Quot:QP$); with means concomitant, máypax ?abión (He) went by-plane ($++A:IV \dagger\dagger Me:N$).

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Expanded forms of simple syntagmemes are those which contain more than one concomitant tagmeme; complex syntagmemes are those which contain more than one predicate tagmeme. In the following examples of expanded forms of Syntagmeme AA, the concomitant which seems impressionistically to occur most frequently is symbolized with ++; others are symbolized with ±. A literal rendering of the Chontal where deemed necessary is enclosed in parentheses and a free English translation is given following it.

Examples of expanded forms of Syntagmeme AA: with time tagmeme preceding the predicate, and subject following, xóypa šk'wálduy layw'á (now is-creeping my-child) Now my child is creeping (+T:Vbl ++A:IV ++S:DRN); with subject and locative concomitants following the predicate, xógúupa lúnkwa elkóofi? (arose the-fire the-cookpot) Steam came up from the cookpot (++)A:IV ++S:DN ±L:DN); with mode and subject concomitants preceding the predicate, túwax módo yank' póosodáy? (other way we bathe) We bathe a different way (++)Mod:[+MN +N] ±S:Pr ++A:IV); with locatives preceding and following, l'á máypa lúuña There (he) went to-the-patio (±L:LP ++A:IV ±L:DN); with mode and quotative preceding, and time following, plus an interpolated exclamation, tónxl'e náa w'agóxmaa, xúu, šúšpa Thus it-is-said (she) customarily-did, oh, for-a-long-time (++)Mod:MP ±Quot:QP ++A:IV ±Excl:EP ±Ti:Vbl).

Complex forms of Syntagmeme AA include expansions of simple tagmemes by means of subordinate clauses; or other additional subordinate clauses, not expansions of simple tagmemes; or additional predicate tagmemes. Where subordinate clauses are included, their constituent tagmemes are indicated in brackets following the tagmeme notation for the slot plus clause filler. Note the following examples in which the time tagmeme is expanded by means of a subordinate clause: lék' sa kwáyñáta, xóxkómpa When, then, (he) arrived, he cried-again (++)Ti:TiCl [+Intro:TiP +Mod:MP ++A:IV] ++A:IV); lipúgi pára ñigáf'ma eltáwax máyo, xóypa čéepa lakuřwé? (the-night for will-dawn the-first May, now went the-men) The night before the first of May, the men went (±Ti:[+DN ±Cl [+Intro:PP ++A:IV ++S:[±DN +N]]) ±Ti:Vbl ++A:IV ++S:DNPl). Example with expanded locative tagmeme: fá?ixmáane náa sal'é xáape míyay kokówa? čúfořáyyáy? (right-here it-is-said this where they-say Kokowa? they-enter) They enter right here where they call it Kokowa? (++)L:LP ±Quot:QP ±Ref:Pr ±L:LCl [+Intro:LP ++AG:TV ++G:N] ++A:IV). Example with subordinate purpose clause: káda móypa pángay wxéra pára wí?me elréy, pá?ma kon tódo lisáns Every afternoon they-sit outside in-order-that they-see the-king, (he) comes with all his-people (±Ti:[+MP +N] ++A:IV ±L:LP

+Purp:PCl [+Intro:PP ++AG:TV †G:DN] ++A:IV †Mod:[+CP †MN †DRN]). Examples with additional predicates occur with two types of intonation contours. If the action of the various predicates is more or less simultaneous, the final predicate occurs with normal statement intonation. If, however, the predicates are viewed as action occurring in sequence, the prefinal predicate has a special type of nonfinal intonation and the final predicate has a mid pitch on the penultimate syllable and low pitch on the final syllable.

Example of simultaneous action with predicate tagmemes: entónses pĩki pĩki lansáñyú? čóol'úuúhupá? špĩcuyáy? xóf'kiyáy? So all, all the-people, they-got-up, they-were-sniffing, they-were-smelling (+Mod:MP †S:[†RedupMN +DNPl] ++A:IV ++A:IV ++A:IV).

Example of sequential action with predicate tagmemes: t'yíixpe šák'épa, šmagópa There (he) lay-down-to-rest, (he) slept (†L:LP ++A:IV ++A:IV).

1.1.2. Syntagmeme AG, Affirmation of Action toward Goal, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: ++AG:TV +Conc (†S:N/DN/DRN/Pr †Mod:MP †L:LP/LN/DN⁵ †Ti:TiP/N/Vbl †Quot:QP †Me:N †G:N/DN), to be read, "obligatory predicate hypertagmeme consisting of action-toward-goal slot filled by transitive verb, plus obligatory concomitant tagmeme consisting of either subject slot filled by noun, definitive noun, definitive relational noun, or pronoun; or mode slot filled by modal particle; or location slot filled by locative particle, locative noun, or definitive noun; or time slot filled by temporal particle, noun, or verbal; or quotative slot filled by quotative particle; or means slot filled by noun; or goal slot filled by noun, or definitive noun." It will be noted that the concomitant list here is the same as that for Syntagmeme AA, but with the addition of a goal tagmeme which can occur with AG, but cannot occur with AA.

The action-toward-goal hypertagmeme consists of an obligatory base made up of a transitive verb stem plus or minus modal affixes, plus an obligatory margin made up of an aspect suffix plus a person marker affix for all persons except third person singular. Thus, the predicate hypertagmemes for syntagmemes AA and AG differ both as to base (AA: intransitive base; AG: transitive base), and as to margin (AA: aspect margin only; AG: aspect and person marker margin in non-third-singular forms). The person marker margin indicates goal when it occurs with transitive verb base.

Syntagmeme AG further differs from AA in that a concomitant goal tagmeme can occur with AG but cannot occur with AA. The goal tagmeme is not obligatory with syntagmeme AG since the

and by the person marker margin. Although the person marker margin is a minus feature for third person singular goal, the fact that the goal is normally identified in some fashion in the larger linguistic or nonlinguistic context, plus the fact that the predicate is manifested only by a transitive verb is usually sufficient to identify this syntagmeme even when the third person goal is not overtly marked.

I have chosen to consider the third person singular as a minus feature in the person marker affix series, and thus set up the formula for transitive margin as +TMargin: (+Asp +[+PMaf_{non3s} /-PMaf_{3s}]), to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of transitive margin slot filled by obligatory aspect suffix plus obligatory person marker affix in non-third-singular, or minus person marker affix in third person singular." It has seemed to me to be truer to the empirical data to set up an obligatory minus feature and state it as such than to set up a zero third person marker as a member of the person marker affix series. Setting up zero would make for a simpler formula (i. e., +TMargin:[+Asp +PMaf]) but would obscure the fact that there is no overt third person singular affix, and would still make it necessary for clarity in some of the examples to indicate that the obligatory person marker in such cases was actually a zero. The alternative used by Aschmann and Wonderly for Totonac (IJAL 18.130-45) of considering third person singular an implicit category also appears not to fit the Chontal data. Hence, presenting it as a minus feature seems in my estimation to avoid a number of problems, and to present more clearly the actual structure of Chontal.

Examples of Syntagmeme AG with person marker in the margin: with subject concomitant, t'yém'o míŷa (will-bite-you dog) A dog will bite you (++)AG:TV+ [= +TBase +TMargin (+Asp +2PMaf)]⁶ +†S:N); with locative concomitant, pénk'ipóngá máx'éex (They tied-us to-a-tree) (++)AG:TV+ +†L:LN); with time concomitant, xúci ?wáypóngá t'yíñe (They came-and-deceived-us last-night) (++)AG:TV+ +†Ti:N); with means concomitant, ɬkófkišpa apáasi ípa (Me-[he]-rubbed holy flower) He rubbed me with sacred flowers (++)AG:TV+ +†Me:[†MN +N];⁷ with goal concomitant, púlŷáygila law'áy ? (He embraces-them the-children) (++)AG:TV+ +†G:DNPI).

Examples of Syntagmeme AG with minus person marker in the margin: with subject concomitant, šŷñyáy lánsañyú? (were-seeing-[it] the-people) The people saw it (++)AG:TV- [= +TBase +TMargin (+Asp -PMaf)] +†S:DNPI); with locative concomitant, xoláf'káytŷa maxxé ? e (He will-note-(it)-down on-paper) (++)AG:TV- +†L:LN);

with time concomitant, *čiča pĩñapá?* Now they-have-killed-(him) (+Ti:TiP ++AG:TV-); with means concomitant, *tʔámm'íšpa apix* (They) knocked-(him)-down with-a-stone (+AG:TV- +Me:N); with goal concomitant, *wáf'kĩšpa lálewá?* (He) went-and-picked-up the-gourd (+AG:TV- +G:DN); *tʔúʔyuy liw'á* (She) is-nursing her-child (+AG:TV- +G:DRN). Note that if the glottal stop were removed from the last example, the form would be *tʔúyuy liw'á* Her-child is-nursing, and the formula then would be ++A:IV +S:DRN.

Expanded forms of Syntagmeme AG with person marker in the margin: with subject and time concomitants, *łwáłkuy gé lipúgi?* (me-stays-with this-one the-night) This person stays with me nights (+AG:TV+ +S:Pr +Ti:DN); with subject and locative concomitants, *támpóna bánku lałm'iči?* (hit-us bench our-feet) A bench hit us on our feet (+AG:TV+ +S:N +L:DRNPl); with means and subject concomitants, *kólm'o aʔáy elbúrru* (will-bite-you teeth the-burro) The burro will bite you with his teeth (+AG:TV+ +Me:N +S:DN); with subject, goal and locative concomitants, *kántola ya laypíme l'á* (will-leave-them I my-plates there) I will leave my plates there (+AG:TV+ +S:Pr +G:DRN +L:LP).

Expanded forms of Syntagmeme AG with minus person marker in the margin: with goal and subject concomitants, *pĩč'káxnawa likamísa lyáw'a mulyí* (is chewing-stupidly his-shirt the-little boy) The little boy is stupidly chewing on his shirt (+AG:TV- +G:DRN +S:[+DN +N]); with goal and locative concomitants, *pék'óyyuy lípa liwxáx* (She) is-putting the-flower in-her-hair (+AG:TV- +G:DN +L:DN); with time and locative concomitants preceding the predicate, *ñáyl'oxmák' xpe šĩnyáy?* Daily there they-see-(him) (+Ti:Vbl +L:LP ++AG:TV-); with subject, means and goal concomitants, *xác'epá ya apix layñáw'a amáne* (crushed I stone my-little hand) I crushed my finger with a stone (+AG:TV- +S:Pr +Me:N +G:[+DRN +N]); with subject, goal, and locative concomitants, *pánsm'ipá ya layw'á maywálá* Mounted I my-child on-a-horse (+AG:TV- +S:Pr +G:DRN +L:LN).

Complex forms of Syntagmeme AG are similar to those of AA. Example with subordinate clause filling time slot, and with double predicate: *ga laypépo elšúnka, káda ima nañyóoda, wxéeduy náa ték'mó?* (this my-younger-sibling the-youngest, each you may-pass-by wants-[it] it-is-said will-marry-you) This youngest sister of mine, every time you pass by, she says she wants to marry you (+S:[+Pr +DRN +DN] +Ti:TiCl [+Intro:N +S:Pr ++A:IV] ++AG:TV- +Quot:QP ++AG:TV+). Further example with time clause:

láyčóopónɡa řék' yan aw'áy? (She) had-us when we (were) children (+AG:TV+ +Ti:TiCl [+Intro:TiP +S:Pr +Id:Npl]). Example with purpose clause: t^yíisal'é xó?om'a elmél^yu pára pá?nam'a ñ'f? Thus (they) call the-money so-that (it) will-come just-like-that (+Mod:MP ++AG:TV- ++G:DN +Purp:PCl [+Intro:PP ++A:IV +Mod:MP]). Example with if clause, purpose clause, and with double predicate: xóořa ?aygúpa ñúl^yi lapóyxña, ?éepa borračo, lyóm'a pára píkt^yá? (if comes one the-mountain-person, [they] make-[him] drunk, take-[him] for [they] will-go-kill-[him]) If a mountain person comes along, they make him drunk and take him off to kill him (+If:IfCl [+Intro:IP ++A:IV +S:[+N +DN] ++AG:TV- +G:N ++AG:TV- +Purp:PCl [+Intro:PP ++AG:TV-]).

Examples with additional predicates: with simultaneous or identical action, syémpre l^yéf'pa law'á, l^yéf'kalepá elté?asáns (still [he] took the-child, took-it the-elder-person) He still took the child, the devil took it (+Mod:MP ++AG:TV- ++G:DN ++AG:TV- +S:DN); with sequential action, póypa ám'a karréra, péf'kuy lyákwe bólsa, xóy?kuy lipékwe? (She) went-out it-seems very-fast, (she) picked-up the-big bag, (she) called her-husband (+A:IV +Mod:MP +Mod:MP ++AG:TV- ++G:[+DN +N] ++AG:TV- ++G:DRN); pánxpa max?asyénto, pñípa lanyáwi? (He) sat-down on-the-chair, (he) took the-keys (+A:IV ++L:LN ++AG:TV- ++G:DNPl).

1.1.3. Syntagmeme ARec, Affirmation of Action toward Recipient, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: ++AR:RV +Conc (±S:N/DN/Pr ±Mod:MP ±L:LP/LN/DN ±Ti:TiP/N/Vbl ±Quot:QP ±Me:N ±[+G:N/DN]/-G ±R:DN/N), to be read, "obligatory predicate hypertagmeme consisting of action-toward-recipient slot filled by recipient verb, plus obligatory concomitant tagmeme consisting of either subject slot filled by noun, definitive noun, or pronoun; or mode slot filled by modal particle; or location slot filled by locative particle, locative noun, or definitive noun; or time slot filled by temporal particle, noun, or verbal; or quotative slot filled by quotative particle; or means slot filled by noun; or goal slot filled by noun or definitive noun (if the recipient verb is of subclass 1), or minus goal (if the recipient verb is of subclass 2); or recipient slot filled by noun or definitive noun." It will be noted that this is the same concomitant list as that given for Syntagmemes AA and AG, with the addition of a recipient tagmeme which does not occur with the other two syntagmemes.

The action-toward-recipient hypertagmeme consists of an obligatory base made up of a recipient verb stem, plus an obligatory margin made up of an aspect suffix, plus a person-marker affix

for all recipient persons except third person singular. The recipient base is of one of two subclasses, one of which can occur with a goal concomitant in the syntagmeme, the other of which cannot. The recipient margin is morphemically the same as that which occurs with transitive base; the difference is that with recipient base, the person marker margin indicates recipient rather than goal.

An alternate analysis of what are here called recipient stems would be to consider them subclasses of transitive and intransitive stems respectively, on the basis of their meaning and of the optional occurrence or obligatory absence of the goal concomitant. Since, however, the person marker affix class does not otherwise occur with intransitive stems, and since these stems all indicate action toward recipient, they have been analyzed as a single class with two subclasses. The subclass with which a goal concomitant can occur is called RV1, and that with which goal cannot occur is called RV2.

Examples of Syntagmeme ARec with RV1 base and person marker margin manifesting the predicate hypertagmeme: with subject concomitant, *łpáypa layñáana* (me-gave my-mother) My mother gave it to me (++)AR:RV1+ [= +RBase +RMargin (+Asp +IPMaf)] ++S:DRN); with time concomitant preceding the predicate, *číci? máane múk'im'ó?* Right-away (he) will-show-(it)-to-you (++)Ti:TiP ++AR:RV1+); with goal concomitant, *ténk'iñetóngá latéxma?* (They will-ring-for-us the-bell) (++)AR:RV1+ ++G:DN); with recipient concomitant, *páypola píŕki lansáñyú?* ([he] gave-to-them all the-people) He gave (it) to all the people (++)AR:RV1+ ++R:[+N +DNP1]).

Examples with RV1 base and minus person marker margin: with goal concomitant, *pác'iñepá liñeskúł* (She made-for-(him) his-tortilla) (++)AR:RV1- ++G:DRN); with recipient concomitant, *ñáy? kay lipekwe?* They-tell-(it)-to-(him) her-husband (++)AR:RV1- ++R:DRN).

Examples with RV2 base and person marker margin: with subject concomitant, *wéł'kínga lañ'ał* (is-rotting-away-for-us our nose) Our noses are rotting away on us (from so much catarrh) (++)AR:RV2+ ++S:DRN); with time concomitant preceding the predicate, *xóypa č'iñčuxpóla?* Now it-got-dark-for-them (++)Ti:Vb1 ++AR:RV2+). No examples have been noted with minus person marker.

Expanded forms of Syntagmeme ARec: with goal and recipient concomitants, *kán'espa itewxá liñekwé?* (She left-for-(him) his-dinner (for) her-lover) (++)AR:RV1- ++G:RN ++R:DRN); with time concomitant preceding the predicate, and recipient and goal following (note that this example is an expansion of the preceding with the

order of goal and recipient reversed), *móygi móygi kán'espa liñekwé itewxá?* (morrow morrow [she] left-for- [him] her-lover his-dinner) Every day she left her lover his dinner (+Ti:[RedupN] ++AR:RVl- +R:DRN ++G:RN); with subject and recipient concomitants, *táy?ipóla ya liñaske óntaw'e?* (Will-give-to-them [food] I the-offspring perverse) I will give food to these sons of perversity (++)AR:RVl+ ++S:Pr +R:DRN +Ref:N); with time concomitant preceding the predicate, and subject, means, recipient, and goal concomitants following, *čiča páy?impá ima plómo láyw'a liwxáx* (now broke-for- (him) you lead my-child his-head) Now you have broken my child's head for him with a piece of lead (+Ti:TiP ++AR:RVl- ++S:Pr +Me:N +R:DRN +G:DRN); with recipient and subject concomitants, *póypónge yan láfoyl'ó* (came-out-on-us we the-wrinkles) Wrinkles came out on us (++)AR:RV2+ +R:Pr +S:DN).

It will be noted above that the order of goal and recipient may be reversed. This appears to be possible where the sense is clear, that is, where goal represents an item, and recipient a person. In other cases, even though the sense seems fairly clear, the preferred order seems to be goal preceding recipient. Note the following examples: *?éeday guft'íiñe likmél'u* (they-make name their-money) They christen their money (++)AR:RVl- ++G:N +R:DRN); *?éenala likpúfki lufkwánlay?* (makes-them their-health the-sick-ones) He makes the sick ones well (++)AR:RVl+ ++G:DRN +R:DRN). Another method of handling the problem of goal versus recipient is to use two different verbs. Thus a clause consisting of transitive verb plus goal will occur, followed by a clause consisting of recipient verb plus recipient: *kúpa elmél'u, páypa liw'á* (He gave the-money, he gave- (it) -to his-son) (++)AG:TV- ++G:DN ++AR:RVl- ++R:DRN).

Complex forms of Syntagmeme ARec: with complex subordinate clause manifesting the location tagmeme, *kán'espóla xáape ñoygołenna iłkwáana* ([he] went-to-leave- [it] -for-them where they-lay they-had-sickness) He went to leave it for them where they lay ill (++)AR:RVl+ ++L:LCl [+Intro:LP ++Q:StV ++Rel:RN); with subordinate clause expanding the goal tagmeme, *łlaym'á ima low'á xáage té?a empánxda* (me-will-give you your-child which first may-be-born) You will give me your firstborn child (++)AR:RVl+ +S:Pr ++G:[+DRN +SubCl (+Intro:Pr +Ti:N ++SubProc:SPV)]; with subordinate clause manifesting the time tagmeme, *łék' ya pasyóna múk'ímm'ó?* When I make (it), (I) will-show-you (++)Ti:TiCl [+Intro:TiP +S:Pr ++SubAG:TBase] ++AR:RVl+).

1.1.4. Syntagmeme AP, Affirmation of Process, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: ++Proc:PV +Conc (±S:N/DN/Pr

\pm Mod:MP \pm L:LP/LN/DN \pm Ti:TiP/N/Vbl \pm Quot:QP \pm Me:N), to be read, "obligatory predicate hypertagmeme consisting of process slot filled by process verb, plus obligatory concomitant tagmeme consisting of either subject slot filled by noun, definitive noun, or pronoun; or mode slot filled by modal particle; or location slot filled by locative particle, locative noun, or definitive noun; or time slot filled by temporal particle, noun, or verbal; or quotative slot filled by quotative particle; or means slot filled by noun."

The process hypertagmeme consists of an obligatory base made up of a process verb stem, plus an obligatory margin made up of an aspect suffix plus a person marker affix for all persons except third person singular. The person marker margin is manifested by the same class of morphemes which indicates goal with syntagmeme AG and recipient with ARec, but here it indicates subject.

It might be argued that since the morpheme class of person markers is the same in each case, it should be assumed that it indicates the same relation, or has the same function. Indeed, for a long time, I assumed that the person markers indicated only 'object,' and had them so labeled in the file. But then it became evident that transitive and recipient verbs constituted different classes, and that the person marker series had different referents in the nonlinguistic and external linguistic contexts according to the class of the verb with which they occurred. Further, expanded forms of the syntagmemes in which they occurred differed. A transitive syntagmeme might contain one tagmeme which had the same referent as the person marker on the verb, and another tagmeme which had a different referent from the person marker. A recipient syntagmeme might contain a third tagmeme still different in referent from the person marker. In other words, a transitive verb may occur along with tagmemes indicating goal and subject; a recipient verb may occur along with tagmemes indicating recipient, goal and subject (or just recipient and subject, if the verb is RV2). But in addition there is a third class of verbs in which the only external referent is the same as the person marker. This might be construed to be 'object' rather than subject. In some cases, the relation seems to be comparable to that of English passive verbs and their 'goal as subject' relation. But even in these, it is closer to the relation of 'goal as subject,' than to that of 'goal with different subject,' and with some verbs it appears to be that of 'actor as subject.' Furthermore, this would be the only type of predicate that could not occur with subject, whereas many do not occur with

Hence, I have concluded that these verbs, which I here call PROCESS verbs, are a different class, and that the person marker margin, when it occurs with them expresses the relation of subject rather than goal or object. A parallel to the different function (and hence different included tagmemes) of the person marker series with the different classes of verbs may be seen if we compare minimum examples of the different syntagmemes in which these verbs (base plus margin) occur. In each case, I choose a representative verb as predicate, and include with it the same noun as manifesting a concomitant tagmeme.

kópa law'á Spoke the-child (++)A:IV ++S:DN).

kúpa law'á (He) gave-up the-child (++)AG:TV- ++G:DN).

páypa law'á (He) gave-(it)-to the-child (++)AR:RV1- ++R:DN).

pánxta law'á Was-born the-child (++)Proc:PV- ++S:DN).

If we expand each of these syntagmemes, we find a number of differences. The first may be expanded by adding a time or location or modal tagmeme, but not by adding goal or recipient. We may say, kópa l'á law'á The child spoke there; or číča kópa law'á Now the child spoke; or we may change to a plural form and say, kópa law'ay? The children spoke. The second may be expanded by adding a subject: lakwé kúpa law'á The-man gave-up the-child; or we may take the noun child as subject and add a different goal: kúpa law'á lipwála The child gave up his horse; in any case, both goal and subject are possible of inclusion in an expanded form. If we change the minimum form to plural, we find kúpola law'ay? (He) gave-them-up, (i. e.) the-children. The third may be expanded by adding both subject and goal: páypa ya ipitúč'ki law'á Gave I candy (to) the-child. If we change the minimum form to the plural we find páypola law'ay? (He) gave-(it)-to-them, the-children. Finally, we find that the expansions possible for the fourth syntagmeme are comparable to those for the first: we may say pánxta l'á law'á The child was born there; or číča pánxta law'á Just now the child was born; or we may change to a plural form, in which case the difference between AA and AP is seen more clearly, for the plural of this last form is pánxtola law'ay? The children were born, whereas the plural of the AA example is kópa? law'ay? The children spoke.

Thus, it seems to me that the function borne by the person marker affixes is the same on an internal level as that of the goal, recipient and subject tagmemes on an external level. Thus, one of the values of the tagmemic system is pointed up. The morphemic meaning of this series of affixes is person, just as the meaning of the morpheme aw'á is child, but the tagmemic meaning is that of

goal or recipient or subject, according to the class of verb with which it occurs. Simply to list the distribution of the stems and affixes does not show the actual system of the language as it is used for purposes of communication by its speakers. We must, to understand the language system as communicative behavior by members of the society, be able to identify the nonlinguistic referents of the linguistic signals. This, I feel, tagmemics assists in doing. The morphemic identity and tagmemic diversity of these forms show clearly the differentiation of form and function, while the tagmeme unit presents a form-meaning-function correlation as a unified whole, not as a linguistic abstraction, but tied to the empirical data by means of the physical manifestation of the morphemes themselves.

Examples of Syntagmeme AP with person marker in the margin: with time concomitant preceding the predicate, *čiča łkóntáxnapa* Now I-have-become-heavy (+ \pm Ti:TiP ++Proc:PV+); with locative concomitant, *lánapóngá fá?a* We-have-taken-root here (++)Proc:PV+ ++L:LP); with subject concomitant, *łúpola lan?áńimá?* (got-away the-animals) The animals got away (++)Proc:PV+ ++S:DNPI); with means concomitant, *łsóxta aníŷya* I-got-tired by-writing (++)Proc:PV+ ++Me:N).

Examples of Syntagmeme AP with minus person marker in the margin: with time concomitant preceding the predicate, *xóypa xúłpa* Now (it) has-gotten-dry (+ \pm Ti:Vbl ++Proc:PV-); with locative concomitant, *xák'pa miikámulye?* (He) dived into-the-depths (++)Proc:PV- ++L:LN); with means concomitant, *mífkišpa sít'ya* (he) is-trembling with-cold (++)Proc:PV- ++Me:N); with subject concomitant, *lyápa lay?éex* (took-root my-tree) My tree took root (++)Proc:PV- ++S:DRN).

Examples of expanded forms of Syntagmeme AP: with time and subject concomitants preceding the predicate, *xóypá ima tóxpó?* Now you are-grown-up (+ \pm Ti:Vbl \pm S:Pr ++Proc:PV+); with mode, quotative, and subject concomitants preceding the predicate, *púro náa lansáńyú? mésm'ola?* (only it-is-said the-people went-bad-they) They say the people were completely wicked (\pm Mod:MP +Quot:QP ++S:DNPI ++Proc:PV+); with mode, time and subject concomitants following the predicate, *páfkómm'a c'ée čása elkwéna báka* (will-give-birth-again new now the-other cow) Soon now the other cow will give birth (++)Proc:PV- \pm Mod:MP \pm Ti:TiP ++S: [\pm DN +N]); with mode, subject and quality concomitants, *nač'axkómpó ám'a sá imax tónto* (go-beyond-stupidly-again-you perhaps so you stupid) You are about the stupidest thing that ever was! (++)Proc:PV+ \pm Mod:MP ++Mod:MP \pm S:Pr \pm Q:N).

Examples of complex forms of Syntagmeme AP: with subordinate clause manifesting the time tagmeme, péro kwáygota, xóypa lakán'o páfkuy But (when he) arrived, already the-woman was giving-birth (†Intro:IP ++SubA:IV †Ti:Vbl †S:DN ++Proc:PV-), t'Yóxpá lakán'o, t'Yéconawá (gets-old the-woman, gets-sick) When a woman gets old, she begins to get sick all the time (†Ti:TiCl [†Proc:PV- †S:DN] ++Proc:PV-); with subordinate If clause as concomitant, xóoŕa xá ?ñi ?óyñ'edágu? mám'olá? (if not they-might-follow-custom will-die-they) If they do not follow the custom, they will die (†If:IfCl [†Intro:IP †Neg:NP ++SubA:SIV] ++Proc:PV+); with coordinate predicates, pá?pa yán, kóf'kinga koráxe (come we, are-boiling-we wrath) (Here) we come, boiling mad! (†A:IV †S:PR ++Proc:PV+ †Me:N); čúfoŕaym'é? pórke páyčugilá? They-enter because they-are-afraid (†A:IV †Con:CP ++Proc:PV+).

1.1.5. Syntagmeme ARA, Affirmation of Reflexive Action, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: ++ReflA:ReflV +Conc (†S:N/DN/RN/Pr †L:LP/LN/DN †Quot:QP †Mod:MP †Ti:TiP/N †Me:N †G:N/DN/Pr), to be read, "obligatory predicate hypertagmeme consisting of reflexive action slot filled by reflexive verb, plus obligatory concomitant tagmeme consisting of either subject slot filled by noun, definitive noun, relational noun, or pronoun; or location slot filled by locative particle, locative noun, or definitive noun; or quotative slot filled by quotative particle; or mode slot filled by modal particle; or time slot filled by temporal particle or noun; or means slot filled by noun; or goal slot filled by noun, definitive noun or pronoun."

The reflexive action hypertagmeme is manifested by a hypermorpheme made up of obligatory verb base plus obligatory reflexive margin. The verb base is usually transitive but may be intransitive. The reflexive margin consists of aspect suffix plus reflexive suffix.

Examples of simple and expanded Syntagmeme ARA with intransitive base: with subject concomitant, w'áposi it'Yuwá? (walked-self his-otherness) He walked all by himself (†ReflA:ReflIV †S:RN); with transitive base: with subject concomitant, k'ómixkóposi yá? (covered-self I) I covered myself (†ReflA:ReflTV †S:Pr); with subject and means concomitants, mélofpósi ya kon laypukwéeda (wrapped-self I with my-blanket) (†ReflA:ReflTV †S:Pr †Me:[†CP +DRN]); with subject, time and means concomitants, íya ráto ráto ?édesi axá? (I time time do-self water) I keep dumping water on myself (†S:Pr †Ti:RedupN †ReflA:ReflTV †Me:N).

Note that the reflexive predicate contrasts with the process predicate: łpóspa I got covered up (++)Proc:PV+), but pós'iposi (ya?) (I) covered myself up (++)Refl:ReflTV).

1.1.6. Syntagmeme AQ, Affirmation of Quality or State, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Q:N/VBase/StV/ NeuRt +Conc (+S:N/DN/Pr +L:LP/LN/DN +Ti:TiP/N/TiCl +Mod:MP), to be read, "obligatory predicate tagmeme consisting of quality slot filled by simple noun, verb base, stative verb (= verb base plus stative margin) or neutral root; plus obligatory concomitant tagmeme consisting of subject slot filled by noun, definitive noun, or pronoun; or location slot filled by locative particle, locative noun, or definitive noun; or time slot filled by temporal particle, noun, or temporal clause; or mode slot filled by modal particle."

The quality tagmeme is manifested by a simple noun, a verb base, or a verb base plus stative margin, or a neutral root, usually reduplicated. It will have been noted that the noun hyperclass occurs in a variety of tagmemic slots. The noun epáłma? fever, for example, may manifest the predicate in such a syntagmeme as epáłma yá? (fever I) I have a fever (+Q:N ++S:Pr); or the means tagmeme as in mánapóla púro epáłma? They-died just (from) fever (++)Proc:PV+ +Mod:MP ++Me:N); or in the definitive form may manifest the subject as in máyñapa sí?máne lepáłma? (went-away at-once the-fever) The fever left at once (++)A:IV +Mod:MP ++S:DN). The verb base, however, or the stative verb or the neutral root do not manifest other predicates than the quality one. The different forms of the predicate could be construed as constituting different syntagmemes, but no feasible way of grouping them into two or three classes could be found, and to set up four kinds of qualitative syntagmemes seemed to be unnecessarily multiplying synonymous categories, hence the four types of predicates are considered to occur in allosyntagmas rather than in separate syntagmemes.

Examples of Syntagmeme AQ with noun manifesting the predicate tagmeme: with subject concomitant, sánaweł laxúl' (palm the-house) The house is made of palm (+Q:N ++S:DN), iwxalá láne (hill the-road) The road is steep (+Q:N ++S:DN), ak'oxó ima? (cough you) You have a cough (+Q:N ++S:Pr), epáłma lów'a awáata (fever the-little girl) The little girl has a fever (+Q:N ++S:[+DN +N]); with locative concomitant, awxác' sáxpe (blood there) There is blood there (+Q:N ++L:LP).

Examples of Syntagmeme AQ with verb base manifesting the predicate tagmeme: with subject concomitant, páylyo lapáalyu

(go-around the-messenger) The messenger is wandering around (+Q:IB ++S:DN); łantáf'iña layw'á (limp my-child) My child has a limp (walks limping) (+Q:IB ++S:DRN); with locative concomitant, k'ómxmáy l'á (set there) (My hen) is set there (+Q:IB ++L:LP).

Examples of Syntagmeme AQ with stative verb manifesting the predicate tagmeme: with subject concomitant, pénxa lemá?a (lowering the-sky) The sky looks threatening (++)Q:StV ++S:DN),⁸ kásíngolénna lanmúlvi? (standing-leaning the-boys) The boys are standing leaning (against something) (++)Q:StV ++S:DNPI), pálgodúk' lansánná? (shining the-stars) The stars are bright (++)Q:StV ++S:DNPI); with locative concomitant, ñák'olénna déntro (are-located inside) They are inside (++)Q:StV ++L:LP), tye?úuyak' lamác' (fallen the-ground) (It) has fallen to the ground (++)Q:StV ++L:DN); č'ángodúk' sáxpe (It is) wet there (++)Q:StV ++L:LP).

Most examples of Syntagmeme AQ with neutral root manifesting the predicate tagmeme are expanded rather than simple ones, and usually the root is reduplicated: tíl tíl (bright bright) It is very bright (cf. tilay-shine [intransitive stem]). One example has been noted of neutral root manifesting the predicate with time concomitant: gólof sí?máne (swell-up right-away) It swelled up right away (cf. golofko-swell-up) (+Q:NeuRt ++Ti:TP).

Examples of expanded forms of Syntagmeme AQ: with subject and locative concomitants preceding the noun predicate, xáaxne lanmínl'ye l'ya laypíxedá? číl'ya (which the-dogs there my-town big) The dogs there in my town are big (++)S:[+Pr +DNPI] ++L:LP ++L:DRN +Q:N); with mode, quotative, subject, and locative concomitants following the noun predicate, kólof sa náa liwxáx ?asta lamác' (long so it-is-said her-hair until the-ground) Her hair was so long it touched the ground, so they say (+Q:N ++Mod:MP ++Quot:QP ++S:DRN ++L:[+IP +DN]); with mode and subject concomitants following the verb base predicate, kác' sáñ'i li?á (chew just his-face) He's mad enough to chew nails (+Q:TB ++Mod:MP ++S:DRN); with locative concomitant following the verb base predicate (in a response sequence), w'ák'óy, ínko xáape (He's) walking, who-knows where (+Q:IB ++L:[+ResP +LP]); with locative and subject concomitant preceding the stative verb predicate, fá ya pángúk' Here I (am) seated (++)L:LP ++S:Pr ++Q:StV). A further type of expansion noted with this syntagmeme is by reduplication of the predicate. This may be reduplication of a noun predicate: kópe kópe liwxáx (crow crow his-head) His hair is very black (+Q:RedupN ++S:DRN), ákwe ákwe layw'á (man man my-child) My son is a real man (= very grown-up) (+Q:RedupN ++S:DRN). More often, the

reduplication is of the verb base predicate; usually with a mode and a subject concomitant following it: tóf tóf sañ'i sagé lukwí' (break break just this the-thread) This thread just keeps breaking (+Q:RedupIB ++Mod:MP +S:[+Pr +DN]), c'íuf c'íuf sañ'í lúnkwa (hiss hiss just the-fire) The fire is making a hissing noise (+Q:RedupIB +Mod:MP ++S:DN), šuf' šuf' sañ'í lañ'al'í' (sniffle sniffle just our-noses) We really have the sniffles (+Q:RedupIB ++Mod:MP +S:DRN).

Examples of complex forms of Syntagmeme AQ: with subordinate clause manifesting the time tagmeme, łék' pe kwáytya xáape núl'vix ʔáwe ʔéex, ty'fixpe fáane láneedáy' (when there arrived where one big tree there three the-roads) When they arrived at a big tree, there there were three roads (+Ti:TiCl [+Intro:TiP +L:LP ++A:IV +L:(+LP +MN +MN +N)] +L:LP +Q:N +S:DNPl); šmáaf'io'pa wáylyo miiwxáx (woke-up, moving at-his-head) When he woke up, there was something moving at his head (+Ti:TiCl [++A:IV] +Q:IB ++L:LN).

A few examples have been noted of the quality tagmeme manifested by verb base (usually reduplicated) in conjunction with forms of the verbs ʔee- do and ʔi-happen. Such examples do not appear to be manifestations of the Affirmation of Quality syntagmeme but rather of Affirmation of Action or of Action toward Goal. Some also occur with imperative forms, and hence manifest an imperative syntagmeme. The occurrence of the quality tagmeme, however, as a type of expansion of the action or action toward goal predicate, appears to add a more vivid quality to the utterance. Thus kác' kác' ʔéenapa llápis (chew chew did the-pencil). It really chewed up the pencil (++)AG: [+Q:RedupIB ++AG:TV-] +G:DN) gives a vividness lacking in the more prosaic kác'napa llápis (It chewed up the-pencil). Similarly, łántáf' łántáf' ʔeeduy lawáata (limp limp does the-girl) The girl is really limping (++)A:[+Q:RedupIB ++AG:TV-] ++S:DN) is more vivid than the simple łántáf'kuy lawáata Is-limping the-girl (++)A:IV +S:DN).

1.1.7. Syntagmeme ARel, Affirmation of Relation, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: ++Rel:RN +Conc (+S: N/DN/Pr +L:LP/LN/DN +Quot:QP +Mod:MP +Ti:TiP/N), to be read, "obligatory predicate hypertagmeme consisting of relation slot filled by relational noun, plus obligatory concomitant tagmeme consisting of either subject slot filled by noun, definitive noun or pronoun; or location slot filled by locative particle, locative noun or definitive noun; or quotative slot filled by quotative particle; or mode slot filled by modal particle; or time slot filled by temporal particle or noun."

The relation hypertagmeme is manifested by a hypermorpheme made up of an obligatory relational prefix plus an obligatory noun stem. For discussion of the various classes of noun stems and the affixes which occur with them, see Chapter 3.

Examples of Syntagmeme ARel: with subject concomitant, *iḱpóyxña liñámxmáy?* (to-them-owner the-lakes) The lakes have an owner (++Rel:RN ++S:DNPl), *ayšíñák' yá?* (to-me-knowledge I) I know (++Rel:RN ++S:Pr), *ipúfki Lúbia* (to-her-health Lubia) Lubia is well (++Rel:RN ++S:N); with locative concomitant, *aksáñyú? túwax ládo* (to-us-people other side) We have relatives elsewhere (++Rel:RN ++L:[+MN +N]); with time concomitant preceding the predicate, *ñáylyoxmák' aḱpúnkwa* Daily we-have-a-fire (++Ti:Vbl ++Rel:RN).

Examples of expanded forms of Syntagmeme ARel: with subject and quotative concomitants, *itayér ga náa?* (to-him-shop this one it-is-said) He is said to have a shop (++Rel:RN ++S:Pr +Quot:QP); with subject and mode concomitants, *ópiḱímm'a sá imá?* (to-you-sense so you) You really are clever (++Rel:RN ++Mod:MP +S:Pr).

Examples of complex forms of Syntagmeme ARel: *imáyña, ifekwé ac'ée ládo* (to-her-vice to-her-lover new side) She had a vice, she had a lover in another place (++Rel:RN ++Rel:RN ++L:[+MN +N]); *ñík'ata, ipúfki, fúmxxpa* (good, to-her-health, [she]-got-fat) She is fine, healthy, and fat (+Q:N ++Rel:RN ++Proc:PV-).

It will be noted that examples of this syntagmeme are most often translated by the use of the verb have, or by some adjective as in *ipúfki* she is well. One of the characteristics of Chontal appears to be the use of the relational noun to express various concepts which are often expressed by other means in other languages. There is a verb translated have, but it appears to have to do mainly with interpersonal relations rather than possession of items. Hence, possession as well as various abstract qualities noted above are expressed by a relational noun. If the relational noun is preceded by a definitive prefix, however, it no longer manifests the relational predicate tagmeme, but rather that of subject or goal. Thus, for example, we find such forms as *?awé lopíḱímm'a* (big your-cleverness) You are very clever (+Q:N ++S:DRN), and others occurring in the preceding sections.

1.1.8. Syntagmeme AI, Affirmation of Identity, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Id:N/DN/DRN +S:N/DN/Pr +Ref:N/DN/Pr +L:LP/LN/DN +Ti:TiP/N, to be read, "obligatory predicate tagmeme consisting of identity slot filled by noun, definitive noun or definitive relational noun; plus obligatory subject concomitant tagmeme consisting of subject slot filled by noun or definitive noun or pronoun; plus or minus optional concomitant

tagmemes consisting of referent slot filled by noun or definitive noun or pronoun; or locative slot filled by locative particle, locative noun or definitive noun; or time slot filled by temporal particle or noun."

Syntagmeme AI differs from the preceding syntagmemes containing some type of noun as predicate in that the predicate noun may have a definitive prefix; it further differs from all the others in that the subject tagmeme is obligatory instead of a member of an optional series of which any one may occur as obligatory. Subject and predicate may occur in either order. An additional type of concomitant not previously mentioned is that of referent. This tends to occur when the predicate is manifested by a relational noun. The referent is manifested by a noun or pronoun indicating the possessor of the item referred to by the relational noun.

Examples of Syntagmeme AI: with predicate tagmeme preceding subject, *mentíra l'é* (lie it) That's a lie (+Id:N +S:Pr); with subject preceding predicate, *t'yíisage Juana-de-Agua* That-very-one (is) Juana de Agua (+S:Pr +Id:PN).⁹

Examples of expanded forms of Syntagmeme AI: with referent concomitant, *lakán'o l'é lixút'yí* (the-woman it her-waterjar) That is the woman's waterjar (+Ref:DN +S:Pr +Id:DRN); with locative and referent concomitants, *lakán'o l'á liñáana lów'a mul'yí* (the-woman there his-mother the-little boy) The woman over there is the little boy's mother (+S:DN +L:LP +Id:DRN +Ref:[+DN +N]); with referent concomitant and double subject, *ał'ále ya xne lansáñyú?* (our-relatives I those the-people) Those people are my relatives (+Id:RN +Ref:Pr +S:[+Pr +DNP1]).

Examples of complex forms of Syntagmeme AI: *ná? a sa lanwagáč' xáxne ?óyya fá? a* These then (are) the-cattle which there-are here (+S:Pr +Mod:MP +Id:DNP1 +Ref:RC1 [+Intro:Pr ++Q:StV +L:LP]), *xóoła elpáná?*, *elpáná sal'é* If (it's to be) the-river, the-river, so-(be)-it (+IfCl: [+Intro:IfP +Id:DN] +Id:DN +S:Pr).

1.1.9. Syntagmeme AL, Affirmation of Location, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +L:LP/LN +S:N/DN/DRN/Pr +Ti:TiP/N +Mod:MP, to be read, "obligatory predicate tagmeme consisting of location slot filled by locative particle or locative noun, plus obligatory subject tagmeme consisting of subject slot filled by noun, definitive noun, definitive relational noun, or pronoun, plus or minus optional concomitant tagmemes consisting of time slot filled by temporal particle or noun, or mode slot filled by modal particle."

Examples of Syntagmeme AL: tʸíxpe layñexúł' There (is) my-house (+L:LP +S:DRN); máyñega lakuʔwe? (in-cornfield the-men) The men are in the cornfield (+L:LN +S:DNPI); mĩši iñámxma? laʔpánka At-the-edge (of the) lake (is) our-ranch (+L:LN †Ref:N +S:DRN); wxáyñif líwxalá, tʸíxpe liránčo layw'á Other-side (of) the-hill, there (is) his-ranch my-son (†L:N †Ref:DN +L:LP +S:DRN †Ref:DRN).

1.1.10. A special type of affirmation syntagmeme, usually complex, is Syntagmeme AQuot, Affirmation of Quotation, symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: ++QuotA:TVq/RVq †Conc:Conc †QuotG:ResP/Syn, to be read, "obligatory predicate hypertagmeme consisting of quotational action slot filled by quotational transitive verb or by quotational recipient verb, plus optional concomitant tagmeme consisting of concomitant slot filled by any concomitant, plus obligatory quotational goal tagmeme consisting of quotational goal slot filled by response particle or by any syntagmeme."

Examples of Syntagmeme AQuot: xáana, kópa lampóbre? Fine, said the-poor-ones (+QuotG:ResP ++QuotA:TVq- †S:DN); púro náa kwá, imánk' xúčoʔayyáy? Only it-is-said (he)-says, You-all are-lying (†Mod:MP †Quot:QP ++QuotA:TVq- +QuotG:SynAA [†S:Pr ++A:IV]); mĩpa?, xá?ni, madáata, ʔáyyagóna aʔposáda They-said, Not, sir, will-give-us our-place-to-stay (++)QuotA:TVq- +QuotG:SynNQ [+Neg:xá?ni †Voc:VN ++ARec:RV- †G:RN]) (mĩpa náa?, tés ma mpáseda fá?a? (He)-said it-is-said, What you might-be-doing here?) (++)QuotA:TVq- †Quot:QP +QuotG:SynII [+Inter:IP †S:Pr ++AG:TV- †L:LP]); (miiyuy náa lipekwe?, wi?lyá gá lyákwe mélyu xáal'e ʔóypa lakuʔwé? (She)-said it-is-said (to)-her-husband, See this the-big money which left the-men (++)QuotA:RVq- †Quot:QP †Rec:DRN +QuotG:SynEI [†Imper:ImpTV- †G:(†M:Pr +G:(†DN +N) †M:SubCl [+Intro:Pr ++AG:TV- †S:DN]))).

1.2. Syntagmeme Class N, Negation, includes the following syntagmemes: NN, Non-intensive Negation; NI, Intensive Negation; NQ, Negation of Question; and NC, Negative Command.

1.2.1. Syntagmeme NN, Non-intensive Negation, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Neg:máa +Pred:Pred †Conc:Conc,¹⁰ to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of negation slot filled by negative particle máa, plus obligatory tagmeme consisting of obligatory predicate slot filled by one of the class of predicates found in the various affirmation syntagmemes, plus or minus optional concomitant tagmeme(s)." This syntagmeme is accompanied by statement intonation.

If this were the only negation syntagmeme, it would probably be more economical to consider the preceding syntagmeme class one of "statement" rather than "affirmation" and consider the negative tagmeme another one of the concomitant series. Since, however, there are four negation syntagmemes, differing in introductory particle, in meaning, in type of syntagmeme which may follow the particle, and in intonation, it has seemed best to set up a separate negation class of syntagmemes.

The negative tagmeme for syntagmeme NN is manifested only by the negative particle *máa*. The predicate tagmeme is manifested by the same classes of nouns and verbs which manifest the predicate tagmemes of affirmation syntagmemes. In all syntagmemes of Class N, if subject or goal are manifested by pronouns, these tagmemes occur between the negative and the predicate tagmemes.

Examples of simple and expanded forms of Syntagmeme NN: with intransitive predicate, *máa ñíguy* (not is-willing) He doesn't want to (+Neg:máa ++A:IV); with intransitive predicate and subject concomitant, *máa ya ?áym'a* (not I will-go) I'm not going (+Neg:máa +S:Pr ++A:IV); with transitive predicate and subject concomitant, *máa ya pé?nem'ó?* (not I will-believe-you) I won't believe you (+Neg:máa +S:Pr ++AG:TV+); with transitive predicate and subject and goal concomitants, *máa ya téxuy lansáñyú?* (not I eat the-people) I don't eat people (+Neg:máa +S:Pr ++AG:TV- +G:DNPI); with recipient predicate and subject concomitant, *máa xpáypa layñáana* (not me-gave my-mother) My mother didn't give it to me (+Neg:máa ++AR:RV+ +S:DRN); with recipient predicate and mode, subject, recipient and goal concomitants, *máa ?ása Lándiós páypa San Pédro lanyáwi?* Not therefore God gave St. Peter the-keys (+Neg:máa +Mod:MP +S:DN ++AR:RV- +R:N +G:DNPI); with process predicate, *máa tyépolá?* (not fell-they) They didn't fall (+Neg:máa ++Proc:PV+); with process predicate and subject and locative concomitants, *máa yank' šúškoxmóna la?pixedá?* (not we delay-we our-town) We won't stay long in our town (+Neg:máa +S:Pr ++Proc:PV+ +L:DRN); with quality predicate and locative concomitant, *máa ñik'ata l'á* (It's not pretty there) (+Neg:máa +Q:N +L:LP); with relational predicate and subject concomitant, *máa ya ayšíñák'* (not I to-me-knowledge) I don't know (+Neg:máa +S:Pr ++Rel:RN); with identity predicate and subject concomitant, *máa laypépo lawáata* (not my-younger-sibling the-girl) The girl is not my sister (+Neg:máa +Id:DRN +S:DN); with locative predicate and subject concomitant, *máa tYíixpe laypwéepwé?* (not there my-younger-brothers) My little brothers weren't there (+Neg:máa +L:LP +S:DRN).

Example of complex form of Syntagmeme NN, with subordinate clause expanding the subject tagmeme: máa l'e c'ít^ye xaal'e man kodáy? (not it true what you [pl.] say) It's not true what you all are saying (+Neg:maa †S:Pr †Q:N †S:Cl [+Intro:Pr †S:Pr ++A:IV]).

1.2.2. Syntagmeme NI, Intensive Negation, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Neg:ñí +Pred:Pred †Conc:Conc, to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of negation slot filled by ñí, plus obligatory predicate slot filled by one of the class of predicates found in the affirmation syntagmemes, plus or minus optional concomitant tagmeme(s)." This syntagmeme is accompanied by nonaffirmative intonation, which also occurs with Interrogative Syntagmeme II.

The negative tagmeme for Syntagmeme NI is manifested only by the negative particle ñí. The predicate tagmeme is manifested by the same classes of nouns and verbs which manifest the predicate tagmemes of affirmation syntagmemes.

Examples of simple and expanded forms of Syntagmeme NI: with intransitive predicate and subject concomitant, ñí ya ?áym'a (not-even I will-go) I'm not even going (+Neg:ñí †S:Pr ++A:IV); with transitive predicate and goal concomitant, ñí faskúupa liñána (not-even remembered her-mother) She didn't even remember her mother (+Neg:ñí ++AG:TV- †G:DRN); with recipient predicate and goal concomitant, ñí eł?éen'eduy aywxix (not-even me does fiesta) He doesn't even give me a party (+Neg:ñí ++AR:RV1+ †G:RN); with process predicate and subject concomitant, ñí xóygipla ypič'álé? (not-even got-faded my-clothes) My clothes didn't even get faded (+Neg:ñí ++Proc:PV- †S:DRN); with quality predicate and subject concomitant, ñí kólof liš ?ámpi (not-even long her-skirt) Her skirt isn't even long (+Neg:ñí †Q:N †S:DRN); with relational predicate, ñí it^yéxma? (not-even to-it-door) It doesn't even have a door (+Neg:ñí ++Rel:RN); with identity predicate and subject concomitant, ñí láyw'a elmúl^yí (not-even my-child the-boy) The boy doesn't even belong to me (+Neg:ñí †Id:DRN †S:DN); with locative predicate and subject concomitant, ní t^yíixpe lotáata (not-even there your-father) Your father wasn't even there (+Neg:ñí †L:LP †S:DRN).

Examples of complex forms of Syntagmeme NI: with subordinate clause manifesting the locative tagmeme, ñí née pá?ta xáape kópa (Not-even anyone came where (he) said) (+Neg:ñí †S:Pr ++A:IV †L:LC1 [+Intro:LP ++A:IV]); with coordinate predicates, ní xútpa lič'álé?, kúškinga? (not-even got-dry the-clothes, got-sour-

on-us) The clothes didn't even get dry, they just got sour on us
(+Neg:xá?ñí ++Proc:PV- †S:DN ++AR:RV2+).

1.2.3. Syntagmeme NQ, Negative Question, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Neg:xá?ñí +Syn:IC, to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of negative slot filled by negative particle *xá?ñi*, plus obligatory tagmeme consisting of syntagmeme slot filled by Syntagmeme IC." This syntagmeme is accompanied by interrogative intonation.

The negative tagmeme for this syntagmeme is manifested by the negative particle *xá?ñi*. The second tagmeme for Syntagmeme NQ is manifested by some form of Syntagmeme IC, Interrogation for Corroboration.

Examples of Syntagmeme NQ: *xá?ñi ma ?áym'a* (not you will-go) Aren't you going? (+Neg:xá?ñi †S:Pr ++A:IV); *xá?ñi max ta? osiñak'* (not you this to-you-knowledge) Don't you know this? (+Neg: *xá?ñi †S:Pr †G:Pr ++Rel:RN*); *xá?ñi ma, táata, †?áyyagónga ałposáda* (not you, sir, give-us our-place-to-stay) Won't you give us a place to stay, sir? (+Neg:xá?ñi †S:Pr +Voc:N ++AR:RV1+ †G:RN); *xá?ñi póyya laxá? lék' mánda* (not come-out the-water once get-full) Doesn't the water come out when it gets full? (+Neg: *xá?ñi ++A:IV †Ti:TiCl [+Intro:TiP ++SubProc:SPV-]*, *xúñči sáagóm'a sañ'í ima?*, *tYíige xá?ñi šáagoda* (And-if eat just you, this-one not might-eat) So will you just eat, and this one will not eat? (+Intro:IP ++A:IV †Mod:MP †S:Pr, †S:Pr +Neg:xá?ñi ++A:IV).

1.2.4. Syntagmeme NC, Negative Command, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Neg:xá?ñi ++Pred:IncV (+Base:VB +Inc:412/413) †Conc:Conc, to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of negation slot filled by negative particle *xá?ñi*, plus obligatory hypertagmeme consisting of predicate slot filled by verb base plus incompleted margin made up of suffixes 412 and 413,¹¹ plus or minus optional concomitant tagmeme(s)." The formula is stated this way since negative command is not expressed by the use of the negative particle plus the imperative syntagmeme as one might expect, but by the use of the negative particle plus a predicate manifested by a verb base plus one of the incompleted suffixes, either suffix 412, *-m'a*, or suffix 413, *-ta*. In addition, person marker margin is included with verbs which require it.

The negative tagmeme for this syntagmeme is manifested by the negative particle *xá?ñi*. The syntagmeme is accompanied by statement intonation.

Examples of Syntagmeme NC: *xá ?ñi pánxta ñ'í?* (not go-stay just) Don't just go and stay! (+Neg:xá ?ñi ++A:[+IB +413] †Mod:MP); *xá ?ñi sk'wámxm'a lománe* (not scratch your-hand) Don't scratch your hand! (+Neg:xá ?ñi ++AG:[+TB +412 -PMaf] +G:DRN); *xá ?ñi †?áym'a koráxe* (not me-give bother) Don't bother me! (+Neg:xá ?ñi ++AR:[+1PMaf +R2B +412] +G:N); *xá ?ñi šústó?* Don't delay! (+Neg:xá ?ñi ++Proc:[+PB +413 +2PMaf]).

A further use of the negative particle *xá ?ñi* is that of negation of subordinate clauses. Since subordinate clauses do not constitute syntagmemes as such, they are not so listed, but examples of complex syntagmemes containing negative subordinate clauses are here given: *xóoła xá ?ñi wxeeduy, wxeeduy mas astoráke, xúu, šó ?em'a lúnkwa* (if not (it) likes (it), wants more incense, oooh, will-sing the-fire) If it doesn't like it that way, and wants more incense, oh my, the fire will sing (+If:IfCl [+Intro:IP +Neg:xá ?ñi ++AG:TV-, ++AG:TV- †G:(†MP +N)] †Excl:EP ++A:IV +S:DN); *t'yíge ya ñú?iñyúy pára xá ?ñi ?ása ya tes n'am'a astoráke* (this-one I beg for not more I anything buy incense) I ask him that I not buy any more incense (†R:Pr †S:Pr †Purp:PCl [+Intro:PP +Neg:xá ?ñi †Mod:MP †S:Pr †G:Pr ++AG:TV- †G:N]); *kópá ima xá ?ñi pógowá péro pógowá sal'é* (said-you not come-out but come-out this) You said it wouldn't come out, but it's coming out fine (†S:Pr †Quot:QCl [+Neg:xá ?ñi +A:IV] +Con:CP +A:IV +Mod:MP).

1.3. Syntagmeme Class I, Interrogation, includes the following syntagmemes: II, Interrogation for Information, and IC, Interrogation for Corroboration.

1.3.1. Syntagmeme II, Interrogation for Information, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Inter:IP +Pred:Pred †Conc:Conc, to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of interrogation slot filled by interrogative particle, plus obligatory tagmeme consisting of predicate slot filled by one of the class of predicates found in the various affirmation syntagmemes, plus or minus optional concomitant tagmeme(s)." This syntagmeme is accompanied by nonaffirmative intonation, which also accompanies Syntagmeme NI.

The interrogative tagmeme is manifested by a class of interrogative particles. These are subdivided according to whether they refer to location, goal, mode, and the like, since they seem to be in double function of interrogative and concomitant, and in some cases, the choice of the interrogative determines the basic sentence type. For the discussion of the various classes of particles, see 3.3.

Examples of simple and expanded forms of Syntagmeme II: xáape ma ?áypa (where you go) Where are you going? (+Inter:ILP +S:Pr ++A:IV); tĩñci ma cólyoypa tan tempráno Why (did) you get-up so early? (+Inter:IMP +S:Pr ++A:IV +Ti:[+MP +TiP]); wáíwá? Who stays-with-you? (+Inter:ISP ++AG:TV+); tés ma łak'óopa laypípa Why (did) you cut-down my-flower? (+Inter:IP +S:Pr ++AG:TV- +G:DRN); tés łigáf'po? How did-it-dawn-for-you? (+Inter:IP ++AR:RV2+); tés ke opuťyfiñe What (is) it your-name? (+Inter:IP +S:Pr +Id:RN); xáape lí?a (Where its-face) Where is the right side of the goods? (+Inter:ILP +S:DRN).

Examples of complex forms of Syntagmeme II: with subordinate clause manifesting the time tagmeme, ténsa ná?a lawáíté? tóxo-m'edáy? káda nañyodágu? Why (do) these girls talk each-time (we) pass-by? (+Inter:IP +S:[+MP +DNPI] ++A:IV +Ti:TiCl [+Intro:TiP ++SubA:SIV]); with subordinate If clause, xóoła ima xá?ñi pank'éda, tés ya ?éedágo? If you (do) not give-birth, what (should) I do-to-you? (+If:IfCl [+Intro:IP +S:Pr +Neg:xá?ñi ++SubAG:STV-] +Inter:IP +S:Pr ++AG:TV+).

1.3.2. Syntagmeme IC, Interrogation for Corroboration, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Inter, tés +Item: SynA/Pred, to be read, "optional interrogative tagmeme consisting of interrogation slot filled by interrogative particle tés what, plus obligatory tagmeme consisting of Item slot filled by a syntagmeme of Class A or by some member of the predicate class." This syntagmeme is accompanied by interrogative intonation, which is often the only feature distinguishing this syntagmeme from a corresponding statement, if the interrogative tés is absent. Thus, for example, the utterance ñik'ata sál'e ?ípa elxwíx the fiesta went well is either affirmation or interrogation according to the intonation pattern accompanying it. As affirmation, it may be diagrammed as follows: ñik'ata sál'e ?ípa elxwíx; and as interrogation as follows: ñik'ata sál'e ?ípa elxwíx. In written material, where intonation has not been indicated, it is usually possible to ascertain whether a given utterance is affirmation or interrogation by the sequence in which it occurs. Thus, the question may follow the interrogative tés or a vocative xósa What-ho! It may occur in sequence with a verb indicating question. The statement may be first in a paragraph, a conversation opener, or follow the affirmative response particle xée yes.

Examples of Syntagmeme IC: with Syntagmeme AA, ?áym'á ima? (will-go you) Are you going? (++)A:IV ++S:Pr); with Syntagmeme AG, pásepá ima lotéwxá? (made you your-dinner) Did

you fix dinner? (+AG:TV- ++S:Pr +G:DRN); with Syntagmeme ARec, tés, páypo lonána (what, gave-you your mother) What, did your mother give it to you? (+Inter:tés ++AR:RV1+ ++S:DRN); with Syntagmeme AQ, úw'é lotéwxá? (salt your-dinner) Does your food have salt in it? (+Q:N ++S:DRN); tés, xúkkúk' elpána? (what, dried-up the-river) What, is the river dried up? (+Inter:tés ++Q:StV ++S:DN); with Syntagmeme ARA, tés, čámxpósi What, did-it-hang-itself? (+Inter:tés ++ReflA:ReflTV); with predicate only, ?áypó? Did (he) give (it) to you? (+AR:RV1+), with interrogative tagmeme and predicate, tés, máynāpa What, did-(he)-go? (+Inter:tés ++A:IV). Examples with only predicate forms are extremely rare, and usually if no other concomitant occurs, the interrogative tés will occur in that function.

One example was noted in the written corpus (others have been heard in speech but not noted down) of a single predicate interrogation followed by the women's vocative particle xáy? friend, with nonaffirmative rather than interrogative intonation: péecayxpó, xáy? Did-(he)-help-you-down, friend? (+AG:TV+ ++Voc:VP). This vocative particle is used only accompanying some syntagmeme and only between women. It seems to reverse the direction of the intonation contour, for when it occurs with the vocative particle xósa, which by itself has nonaffirmative intonation, the resultant combined form has a type of affirmative intonation.

1.4. Syntagmeme Class E, Exclamation, includes the following syntagmemes: EV, Vocative; EI, Imperative; EH, Hortatory; EC, Comment.

1.4.1. Syntagmeme EV, Vocative, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Voc:VP/VN, to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of vocative slot filled by vocative particle or vocative noun." This syntagmeme is accompanied by nonaffirmative intonation.

The vocative tagmeme is manifested either by the vocative particle xósa What-ho or by a vocative noun. A vocative noun consists of a noun stem or a relational noun, each preceded by a vocative prefix ma? - ~ m-.

Examples of Syntagmeme EV: makán'o? Woman! (+Voc:VN); ma?múlyi Boy! (+Voc:VN); máyw'a My-child! (+Voc:VRN); maxófko You-with-your-mouth-hanging-open! (+Voc:VN); xósa, xáy? What-ho, friend! (+Voc:VP +Voc:VP).

One example was noted of a noun manifesting a vocative tagmeme which did not have a vocative prefix, but was an allomorph of the usually occurring stem. The word for older sister in most contexts

is as ?ápi , but the vocative form according to my informant is ?apí . No other words were found which followed this pattern.

1.4.2. Syntagmeme EI, Imperative, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: $+\text{Imper:ImpV/ImpP} \text{ } \pm\text{Conc:Conc}$, to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of imperative slot filled by imperative verb or imperative particle, plus optional concomitant tagmeme(s)." This syntagmeme is accompanied by statement intonation.

The imperative tagmeme is manifested by vocative particle such as tó?sa Run-along, or by obligatory base made up of a verb base of any class, plus an obligatory margin made up of one of the suffixes of the imperative suffix class. The occurrence of concomitant is optional but goal is frequently included if the verb is transitive.

Examples of simple and expanded forms of Syntagmeme EI: with intransitive base, koá? Speak!, sáaway?yé? Come-and-eat!, smáskí Go-off-and-sleep! ($++\text{Imper:ImpIV}$); with transitive base, píñl?á? Kill-(it)! ($++\text{Imper:ImpTV-}$); with transitive base and goal concomitant, kúñaskí lamúl?ya Go-give-out tamales! ($++\text{Imper:ImpTV-} \text{ } \pm\text{G:DN}$); with intransitive base and locative concomitant, $\text{léngaywáy?ya láyñepó}$ Come-lean at-my-back! ($++\text{Imper:ImpIV} \text{ } \pm\text{L:DRN}$); with recipient base and mode and goal concomitants, $\text{skwá?iñe?á k'á láyw'á}$ (wake-up-for-one just my-child) Please just wake up my child for me! ($++\text{Imper:ImpRV1-} \text{ } \pm\text{Mod:MP} \text{ } \pm\text{G:DRN}$); with process base and locative concomitant, ?Yúl?gi?yé xpe Get-out-of there (all of you)! ($++\text{Imper:ImpProcV-} \text{ } \pm\text{L:LP}$); with reflexive verb, k'ómixlósi Cover-yourself-up! ($++\text{Imper:ImpRefITV}$).

Example of complex form of Syntagmeme EI: with two coordinate imperative clauses, each preceded by a subordinate clause manifesting the time tagmeme: $\text{?ék' páyyágo, píñiwatá; ?ék' nū?iñyágo, nū?Yewatá}$ When (they)-may-give-to-you, receive-(it); when (they)-may-ask-from-you, run-away! ($+\text{Ti:TiCl} \text{ } [+Intro:TiP \text{ } ++\text{SubAR:SubRV+}] \text{ } ++\text{Imper:ImpTV-} \text{ } +\text{Ti:TiCl} \text{ } [+Intro:TiP \text{ } ++\text{SubAR:SubRV+}] \text{ } ++\text{Imper:ImpIV}$).

There is one example of the process verb root šúš delay used to manifest the imperative tagmeme, as an alternate form of an imperative verb plus this root. šúš lomartíyu Lend (me) your-hammer ($+\text{Imper:PR} \text{ } \pm\text{G:DRN}$), or páy?ya šuš Lend (it to me) (= Give it to me for a while) ($++\text{Imper:ImpRV-} \text{ } \pm\text{Ti:PR}$).

1.4.3. Syntagmeme EH, Hortatory, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: $+\text{Hort:HV/HP} \text{ } \pm\text{Conc:Conc}$, to be read,

"obligatory tagmeme consisting of hortatory slot filled by hortatory verb or hortatory particle, plus optional concomitant tagmeme."¹²
 This syntagmeme is accompanied by statement intonation.

The hortatory tagmeme is manifested by a hortatory particle, or by a hortatory verb. The only hortatory particle is xínsa Let's-go! The hortatory verb consists of an obligatory verb base plus an obligatory hortatory margin made up of suffixes 512 and 513.

Examples of Syntagmeme EH: with intransitive base, málnam'é? Let's-go! (++)Hort:HIV [+IB +512]); táasetá? Let's-go-for-a-walk!, k'íñčotá? Let's-go-gather-wood! (++)Hort:HIV [+IB +513]); with intransitive base and time concomitant, čúčása lóom'é? Now let's-play! (+Ti:TiP ++Hort:HIV); with transitive base and goal concomitant, k'éta axá? Let's-go-get water! (++)Hort:HTV- +G:N); with double hortatory predicates, ʔáym'e sánsetá? Let's-go, let's-go-see-the-fun! (++)Hort:HIV ++Hort:HRV2-).

1.4.4. Syntagmeme EC, Comment, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Com:QN, to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of comment slot filled by quality noun." This syntagmeme is accompanied by statement intonation or by exclamatory intonation, which consists of extra high pitch and extra stress on the final syllable.

The comment tagmeme is manifested by a quality noun, usually one describing the state of the weather, food, or some item observed.

Examples of Syntagmeme EC: sít^yá (It's cold! (+Com:QN); iñú? (It's hot! (+Com:QN); úft^ya (It's hard! (+Com:QN).

Syntagmeme EC may be expanded by the addition of a vocative tagmeme; ñíʔi, nána Delicious, ma'am! (+Com:QN +Voc:PersN).

1.5. Dependent Syntagmemes. There are two classes of dependent syntagmemes: Class R, Response, and Class S, Sequence. Class R is dependent within the larger unit of discourse called conversation, Class S within the larger unit of discourse called narrative. These larger units are not considered within the scope of this description but are here mentioned to present the context of these dependent syntagmemes. Dependent syntagmemes have the same intonational and phonological characteristics as independent syntagmemes, but lack some essential characteristic of the structure of independent affirmations because of their dependent distribution.

1.5.1. Syntagmeme R, Response, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Resp:ResP/Pred/Conc, to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of response slot filled by response particle,

or by some member of the predicate class or of the concomitant class." It seems obvious that almost any type of utterance could be said to fill the response slot. I have chosen to consider as actual manifestations of the response syntagmeme only such items as cannot normally be considered to manifest some other syntagmeme. This would include especially utterances sometimes called "sentence fragments," but which are incomplete because they are the response to, or completion of a previous utterance in the larger framework of a conversation.

Examples of response syntagmemes: with response particle, xáaná? Fine; with response particle, temporal particle, and vocative particle, xée, čá, xáy? Yes, now, friend, (+Resp:ResP +Ti:TiP +Voc:VP); with response particle of surprise, čúwá? Like-so-much!; with negative particle, xá?ní; No!; with negative particle plus response question, ñités, xúñčí má? Nothing, and you? (+Resp:NegP +RespQ [+Inter:ConP +Ref:Pr]); with predicate filler, kwáym'a (He) came (+Resp:IV); with locative filler, kul'í? (It is) far (+Resp:LP); with a combination of particles and pronouns, tónx čá sa yá l'e máane (like now so I this also) I feel just the same way (+Resp:[+Intro:MP +Ti:TiP +Mod:MP +S:Pr +Ref:Pr +Mod:MP]).

1.5.2. Syntagmeme S, Sequence, is symbolized by the following tagmemic formula: +Seq:Pred, to be read, "obligatory tagmeme consisting of sequence slot filled by predicate." This syntagmeme is set up to take care of items which occur in sequence between syntagmemes of the normal type, with intonation breaks before and after the sequence predicate. If there is no intonation break, then the predicate is assumed to be part of a complex syntagmeme.

Examples of Syntagmeme S: as interpolated comment of the narrator, bwéno Fine (+Seq:EP); other, w'éexposi (He) hid-himself (+Seq:ReflTV), payčúxpa (She) was-afraid (+Seq:PV-), míšt'ó? (It was a) cat (+Seq:N).

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máypa lipékwe' Her husband went
 máypa sa so (he) went
 máypa l'á He went there
 máypa l'á He went there
 máypa wxéwilí he went a-while-ago
 máypa náa'^{1?} he went, they say
 máypax ^{1?}abión he went by plane
 xóypa šk'wálduy layw'á (now is creeping my child) now my
 child is creeping
 xógúupa lúnkwa eldóofi'^{1?} (arose the fire the cookpot) steam
 came up from the cookpot
 túwax módo yank' póosodáy'^{1?} (other way we bathe) we bathe a
 different way
 l'á máypa lúuña there he went to the patio
 tónxl'e náa w'agóxmaa, xúu, šúšpa thus it is said she
 customarily did, oh, for a long time
 ték' sa kwáyñáta, xóxkómpa when, then, he arrived, he cried
 again
 lipúgi pára figáf'ma eltáwax máyo, xóypa čéepa lakulwé'^{1?} (the
 night for will dawn the first day, now went the men) The
 night before the first of May, the men went
 fá'ixmáane náa sal'é xáape míyay kokówa' čúfołáyyáyay'
 (right here it is said this where they say Kokowa' they
 enter) they enter right here where they call it Kokowa'
 káda móypa pángay wxéra pára wí'me elréy, pá'ma kon lódo
 lisáns every afternoon they sit outside in order that
 they see the king, (he) comes with all his people

corrected
 alphabetical
 sent to Dr. Waterhouse 5/16/94

entónses píłki píłki lansáñyú' čóol'vúułúupá' špíčuyáy'

xóf'kiyáy' So all, all the people, they got up, they were
sniffing, they were smelling

t'víixpe šák'épa, šmagópa there he lay down to rest, he
slept

t'yém'o míł'ya (will bite you dog) a dog will bite you

pénk'ipóngá máx'éex they tied us to a tree

xúč' wáypóngá t'viñe they came and deceived us last night

łkóf'kíšpa apáasi ípa (me he rubbed holy flower) he rubbed
me with sacred flowers

púl'váygila law'áy' he embraces them the children

šíñyáy lansañyú' (were seeing ~~it~~ the people) the people
saw it

xoláf'káy't'ya maxxé'e he will note (it) down on paper

číča píłñapá' now they have killed (him)

t'yámm'íšpa apíx they knocked him down with a stone

wáf'kíšpa lálewá' he went and picked up the gourd

t'yú'yuy liw'á she is nursing her child

t'yú'yuy liw'á her child is nursing

łwáłkuy gé lipúgi' (me stays with this one the night) this
person stays with me nights

támpóngá bánku láłm'ičí' (hit us bench our feet) a bench
hit us on our feet

kólm'o a'áy elbúrru (will bite you teeth the burro) the
burro will bite you with his teeth

kántola ya laypíme l'á (will leave them I my plates there)
I will leave my plates there

píč'káxnawa likamísa lyáw'a mulyí (is chewing stupidly his
shirt the little boy) The little boy is stupidly chewing
on his shirt

pék'óyyuy ^ɔlyipa liwxáx she is putting the flower in her
hair

ñáyl'oxmák' xpe šíñyáy' daily there they see him

xác'epá ya apíx layñáw'a amáne (crushed I stone my little
hand) I crushed my finger with a stone

pánsma ^ɔtipá ya lawy'á maywálá mounted I my child on a horse
ga laypépo elšúnka, káda ima nañyóoda, wxéeduy náa ték'mó'

(this my younger sibling the youngest, each you may pass

by wants ^{it} it is said will marry you) this youngest

sister ^{of} mine, every time you pass by, she says she wants
to marry you

láyčóopónnga ték' yan aw'áy' she had us when we were
children

t'yíisal'é xó'om'a elmélyu pára pá'nam'a ñ'í' thus they call
the money so that (it) will come just like that

xóoła 'aygúpa ^hnúlyi lapóyxña, 'éepa borračo, lyóm'a pára
pítt'yá' (if comes one the mountain person [they] make
[him] drunk, take him for they will go kill him) if a
mountain person comes along, they make him drunk and take
him off to kill him

syémpre lyéf'pa law'á, lyéf'kalepá elté'asáns (*still /he/*
took the child, took it the elder person) He still took
 the child, the devil took it
 póypa ám'a karréra, péf'kuy lyákwe bólsa, xóy'kuy lipékwe'
 she went out it seems very fast, she picked up the big
 bag, she called her husband
 pánxpa max'asyénto, píñnipa lanyáwi' he sat down on the
 chair, he took the keys
 ĩpáypa layñáana (*me gave my mother*) my mother gave it to me
 číiči'máane múk'im'ó' right away he will show it to you
 ténk'iñetóngá latéxma' they will ring for us the bell
 páypola pítki lansáñyú' (*he gave to them all the people*) he
 gave it to all the people
 pác'iñepá liñeskút she made for him his tortilla
 ñáy'kay lipekwe' they tell it to him her husband
 wél'kinga lañn'añ (*is rotting away for us our nose*) Our
 noses are rotting away on us (*from so much catarrh*)
 xóypa č'iñčuxpóla' now it got dark for them
 kán'espa itewxá liñekwé' she left for him his dinner for
 her lover
 móygi móygi kán'espa liñekwé itewxá' (*morrow morrow she left*
for him her lover his dinner) every day she left her
 lover his dinner
 táy'ipóla ya liñaske óntaw'e' (*will give to them food I the*
offspring perverse) I will give food to these sons of
 perversity

číča páy'impá ima plómo láyw'a liwxáx (*now broke for him you
 lead my child his head*) Now you have broken my child's
 head for him with a piece of lead
 póypóngá yan láfoyl'ó (*came out on us we the wrinkles*)
 wrinkles came out on us
 'éeday guft'íiñe liłmél'yu (*they make name their money*) they
 christen their money
 'éenala liłpúfki lufwánlay' (*makes them their health the
 sick ones*) he makes the sick ones well
 kúpa elmél'yu, páypa liw'á he gave the money, he gave it to
 his son
 kán'espóla xáape ñoygołénna ilkwáana (*he went to leave it
 for them where they lay they had sickness*) he went to
 leave it for them where they lay ill
 łlaym'á ima low'á xáage té'a empánxda (*me will give you your
 child which first may be born*) you will give me your
 firstborn child
 łék' ya pasyóna múk'ímm'ó' when I make it, I will show you
 kópa law'á spoke the child
 kúpa law'á he gave up the child
 páypa law'á he gave it to the child
 pánxta law'á was born the child
 kópa l'á law'á the child spoke there
 číča kópa law'á now the child spoke
 kópa law'ay' the children spoke

lakwé kúpa law'á the man gave up the child
 kúpa law'á lipwála the child gave up his horse
 kúpola law'ay he gave them up, (i.e.) the children
 páypa ya ipitúč'ki law'á gave I candy to the child
 páypola law'ay' he gave it to them, the children
 pánxta l'á law'á the child was born there
 číča pánxta law'á just now the child was born
 pánxtola law'ay' the children were born
 kópa' law'ay' the children spoke
 číča tkóntáxnapa now I have become heavy
 lánapóna fá'a we have taken root here
 húpola lan 'ánimá' (got away the animales) the animales
 got away
 tsóxta anílya I got tired by writing
 xóypa xúlpa now it has gotten dry
 xák'pa miikkámulye' he dived into the depths
 mífkíšpa sílya he is trembling with cold
 lyápa lay'éex (took root my tree) my tree took root
 xóypá ima tóxpo' now you are grown up
 púro náa lansáñyú' mésm'ola' (only it is said the people
 went bad they) they say the people were completely wicked
 páfkómm'a c'ée čása elkwéna báka (will give birth again new
 now the other cow) soon now the other cow will give birth
 nač'axkómpó ám'a sá imax lónto (go beyond stupidly again you
 perhaps so you stupid) you are about the stupidest thing
 that ever was!

péro kwáygota, xóypa lakán'o páfkuy but when he arrived,
 already the woman was giving birth
 t'yóxpá lakán'o, t'yéconawá (*gets old the woman, gets sick*)
 when a woman gets old she begins to get sick all the time
 xóola xá'ñi 'óyñ'edágu' mám'olá' (*if not they might follow*
custom will die they) if they do not follow the custom,
 they will die
 pá'pa yán, kóf'kinga koráxe (*come we, are boiling we wrath*)
 here we come, boiling mad!
 čúfołaym'é' pórke páyčugilá' they enter because they are
 afraid
 w'łáposi it'yuwá' (*walked self his otherness*) he walked all
 by himself
 k'ómixkóposi yá' (*covered self I*) I covered myself
 mélofpósi ya kon laypukwéeda (*wrapped self I with my*
blanket) I wrapped myself with my blanket
 íya ráto ráto 'éedesi ašá' (*I time time do self water*) I
 keep dumping water on myself
 łpósipa I got covered up
 pós'iposi ya' I covered myself up
 epálma' fever
 epálma yá' (*fever I*) I have a fever
 mánapóla púro epálma' they died just from fever
 máyñapa sí'máne lepálma' (*went away at once the fever*) the
 fever left at once

Q xā

sánawet laxúl' (*palm the house*) the house is made of palm
 iwyalá láne (*hill the road*) the road is steep
 ak'oxó ima' (*cough you*) you have a cough
 epálma lán'a awáata (*fever the little girl*) the little girl
 has a fever
 awxác' sáxpe (*blood there*) there is blood there
 páylyo lapáalyu (*go around the messenger*) the messenger is
 wandering around
 łantáf'iña layw'á (*limp my child*) my child has a limp
 (*walks limping*)
 k'ómxmay l'á (*set there*) my hen is set there
 pénxá lemá'a (*lowering the sky*) the sky looks threatening
 kásíngolénna lanmúl'i' (*standing leaning the boys*) the boys
 are standing leaning (*against something*)
 pálgodúk' lansánná' (*shining the stars*) the stars are
 bright
 ñák'olénna déntro (*are located inside*) they are inside
 tye'úuyak' lamác' (*fallen the ground*) it has fallen to the
 ground
 č'ángodúk' sáxpe it is wet there
 tíl tíl (*bright bright*) it is very bright
 gólof sí'máne (*swell up right away*) it swelled up right
 away
 xáaxne lanmíñlye l'ya laypíxedá' č'ílyá (*which the dogs*
there my town big) the dogs there in my town are big

W

kólof sa náa liwxáx 'asta lamác' (*long so it is said her
 hair until the ground*) her hair was so long it touched
 the ground, so they say
 kác' sáñ'i li'á (*chew just his face*) he's mad enough to
 chew nails
 w'ák'óy, ínxko xáape he's walking, who knows where
 fá ya pángúk' here I am seated
 kópe kópe liwxáx (*crow crow his head*) his hair is very
 black
 ákwe ákwe layw'á (*man man my child*) my son is a real man
 tóf tóf sáñ'i sagé lukwí' (*break break just this the thread*)
 this thread just keeps breaking
 c'íúf c'íúf sañ'í lúnkwa (*hiss hiss just the fire*) the fire
 is making a hissing noise
 šúf' šúf' sáñ'í laín'al'í' (*sniffle sniffle just our noses*)
 we really have the sniffles
 lék' pe kwáytya xáape ñúl'ix 'áwe 'éex, t'yíixpe fáane
 láneedáy' (*when there arrived where one big tree there
 were three the roads*) when they arrived at a big tree,
 there there were three roads
 šmáaf'íópa wáylyo miiwxáx (*woke up moving at his head*) when
 he woke up, there was something moving at his head
 kác' kác' 'éenapa llápis (*chew chew did the pencil*) it
 really chewed up the pencil
 kác'napa llápis it chewed up the pencil

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kántáf' kántáf' 'eeduy lawáata (limp limp does the girl)

the girl is really limping

hántáf'kuy lawáata is limping the girl

ipóyxña liñámxmá'y' (to them owner the lakes) the lakes

have an owner

ayšičiák' yá' (to me knowledge I) I know

ipúfki Lúbia (to her health Lubia) Lubia is well

X aísáñyú' túwax ládo (to us people other side) we have

relatives elsewhere

ñáylyoxmák' ałpúnkwa daily we have a fire

itayér ga náa' (to him shop this one it is said) he is said

to have a shop

ópiřimm'a sá imá' (to you sense so you) you really are

clever

imáyña, iñekwé ac'ée ládo (to her vice to her lover new

side) she had a vice, she had a lover in another place

ñík'ata, ipúfki, fúmxpa (good, to her health, she got fat)

she is fine, healthy and fat

'awé lopifimm'a (big your cleverness) you are very clever

mentíra l'é (lie it) that's a lie

t'yíisage Juana-de-Agua that very one is Juana de Agua

lakán'o l'é lix^oút'yí (the woman it her waterjar) that is

the woman's waterjar

lakán'o l'á liñáana lów'a mul'yí (the woman there his mother

the little boy) the woman over there is the little boy's

mother

aŋ'ále ya xne lansáñyú' (*our relatives I those the people*)

those people are my relatives

ná'a sa lanwagáč' xáñe 'óyya fá'a these then are the cattle

which there are here

xóoŋa elpáná', elpáná sal'é if it's to be the river, the

river, so be it

t'yíixpe layñexúŋ' there is my house

máyñega lakuŋwe' (*in cornfield the men*) the men are in the

cornfield

míiši iñámxma' laŋpánka at the edge of the lake is our

ranch

xwáyñif líwxalá t'yíixpe liránčo layw'á otherside of the

hill, there is his ranch my son

xáana, kópa lampóbre' fine, said the poor ones

púro ná^akwá, imánk' xúčoŋayyáy' only it is said he says,

you all are lying

míipa', xá'ni, imadáata, ŋ'áyyagóngga aŋposáda they said not

sir will give us our place to stay?

míipa náa', tés ma mpáseda fá'a' he said it is said what

you might be doing here?

wí'lyá gá lyákwe mélyu xáal'e 'óypa lakuŋwé' she said it is

said to her husband, see this the big money which left the

men

máa ñíguy (*not is willing*) he doesn't want to

máa ya 'áym'a (*not I will go*) I'm not going

máa ya pé'nem'ó' (not I will believe you) I won't believe
you

máa ya téxuy lansáñyú' (not I eat the people) I don't eat
people

máa t'páypa layñáana (not me gave my mother) my mother
didn't give it to me

máa 'ása Lándi'ós páypa San Pédro lanyáwi' not therefore
God gave St. Peter the keys

Imáa tyépolá' (not fell they) they didn't fall

máa yank' šúškoxmóngá lalpixedá' (not delay we our town) we
won't stay long in our town

máa ñík'ata l'á it's not pretty there

máa ya ayšíñák' (not I to me knowledge) I don't know

máa laypépo lawáata (not my younger sibling the girl) the
girl is not my sister

máa t'yíixpe laypwéepwé' (not there my younger brothers) my
little brothers weren't there

máa l'e c'íit'ye xaal'e man kodáy' (not it true what you
[pl.] say) it's not true what you all are saying

ñí ya 'áym'a (not even I will go) I'm not even going

ñí faskúpa liñáana (not even remembered her mother) she
didn't even remember her mother

ñí et'éen'eduy aywxíx (not even me does fiesta) he doesn't
even give me a party

ñí xóygipa laypič'álá' (not even got faded my clothes) my
clothes didn't even get faded

ñí kólof liš'ámpi (not even long her skirt) her skirt isn't
even long

ñí it'íxma' (not even to it door) it doesn't even have a
door

ñí láyw'a elmúl'í (not even my child the boy) the boy
doesn't even belong to me

ní (ñí?) t'íixpe lotáata (not even there your father) your
father wasn't even there

ñí née pá' ta xáape kópa not even anyone came where he said
ní xúlpa lič'álá', kúškínga' (not even got dry the clothes,
got sour on us) the clothes didn't even get dry, they
just got sour on us

xá'ñi ma 'áym'a (not you will go) aren't you going?

xá'ñi max ta' osiñak' (not you this to you knowledge) don't
you know this?

xá'ñi ma, táata, t'áyyagóngá alposáda (not you, sir, give us
our place to stay) won't you give us a place to stay,
sir?

xá'ñi póyya ikaxá' lék' manda (not come out the water once
get-full) doesn't the water come out when it gets full?

xúñči sáagóm'a sañ'í ima', t'íige xá'ñi šáagoda (and if eat
just you, this one not might eat) so will you just eat,
and this one will not eat?

xá'ñi pánxta ñ'í' (not go stay just) don't just go and
stay!

xá'ñi sk'wámxm'a lománe (not scratch your hand) don't
scratch your hand!

xá'ñi h'áym'a koráxe (not me give bother) don't bother me!

xá'ñi šúštó' don't delay!

xóola xá'ñi wxeeduy, wxeeduy mas astoráke, xúu, šó'em'a

lúnkwa (if not it likes it, wants more incense, ooh, will
sing the fire) if it doesn't like it that way, and wants
more incense, oh my, the fire will sing

t'yíige ya n'ú'iñyúy pára xá'ñi 'ása ya tes n'am'a astoráke

(this one I beg for not more I anything buy incense) I
ask him that I not buy any more incense

kópá ima xá'ñi pógowá péro pógowá sal'é (said you not come
out but come out this) You said it wouldn't come out, but
it's coming out fine

xáape ma 'áypa (where you go) where are you going?

tíñči ma cólyoypa tan tempráno why did you get up so early?

née wálwá' who stays with you?

tés ma tak'óopa laypípa why did you cut down my flower?

tés ligáf'po' how did it dawn for you?

tés ke opu't'yíiñe what is it your name?

xáape lí'a (where its face) where is the right side of the
goods?

ténsa ná'a lawálté' tóxom'edáy' káda nañyodágu' why do
these girls talk each time we pass by?

xóola ima xá'ñi pank'éda, tés ya 'éedágo' if you do not
give birth, what should I do to you?

ñík'ata sál'e 'ípa elxwíx the fiesta went well

'áym'á ima' (will go you) are you going?

pásepá ima lotéwxá' (made you your dinner) did you fix
dinner?

tés, páypo lonáana (what, gave you your mother) what, did
your mother give it to you?

úw'é lotéwxá' (salt your dinner) does your food have salt
in it?

tés, xúlkúk' elpáná' (what, dried up the river) what, is
the river dried up?

tés, čámxpósi what, did it hang itself?

'áypó' did he give it to you?

tés, máyñápa what, did he go?

xáy' friend

péecayxpó, xáy' did he help you down, friend?

makán'o' woman!

ma'múl'i boy!

máyw'a my child!

maxófko you with your mouth hanging open!

xósa, xáy' what ho, friend!

tó's run along

kołá' speak!

sáawaył'é' come and eat!

smáskí go off and sleep!

píłłvá' kill it!

kúñaski lamúlya go give out tamales!

léngaywáylya láyñepó come lean at my back!

skwáŕ'íñetá k'á láyw'á (*wake up for one just my child*)

please just wake up my child for me!

ŕyúlygiŕyé xpe get out of there (*all of you*)!

k'ómixlósí cover yourself up!

ték' páyyágo, píñiwatá; ték' ñú 'iñyágo, ñúlyewatá when

they may give to you, receive it; when they may ask from
you, run away!

šúš delay

šúš lomartíyu lend me your hammer

páylya šuš lend it to me (*or give it to me for a while*)

xínsa let's go!

málnam'é? let's go!

táasetá? let's go for a walk!

čúčása lóom'é? now let's play!

k'éta axá? let's go get water!

'áym'ē sánsetá? let's go, let's go see the fun!

sítýá it's cold

iñú? it's hot

úftýa it's hard

ñí'i, náana delicious, ma'am!

xáaná? fine

xée, čá, xáy? yes, now, friend,

čúwá? like so much!

xá'ńí no!

ńítés, xúńčí má' nothing, and you?

kwáym'a he came

kul'í' it is far...

tónx čá sa yá l'e máane (*like now so I this also*) I feel
just the same way

bwéno fine

w'éexposi he hid himself

payčúxpa she was afraid

míšt'ó' it was a cat