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APPENDIX A.

The Cat and Bat text and the Flower dialog

RECHECK LENGTHS CAREFULLY

The Cat and Bat text

1. Yi kanah kēzki tōnalli, iitech se yówalli, onikittak nomiston
ompa kalihtik kimomaa ivan se tzināka. 2. Kualtzin motta kēnīn
kimomaah, ivan tzinaka, nēs nō kimati mopalevis kēnih, ivan san ik
mochiva keh yōmikki, ke tanto kimaa. 3. Ivan tōs ihkón önmokahtok
tepitzin, tōs miston oksappa ināvak yavi, tzikuinismēki. 4. Yeh nō
kivalixmomotzova sātekitl. 5. Oksappa mopevaltiah, miston nō
kitzahtzitia ihkón, papatlaka chikāwak, oksappa nēpa motlamüytla o
kitlamüytla miston, pareho ihkón kimotktiah. 6. Kualtzin sākeh
māwiltiah. 7. Tos omokahkeh, ivan keh tlahkah, okochki n tzināka ompa
ināvak se kaha, ompa okochki. 8. Osēkittak ompa kahki, porke miston
ompa yāyahtok ināvak, machok itlah kitoktia, tlakáh tzināka ompa
viontok kochi, sa koniittatin. 9. Tōs ösēkihtoh mach sēkitlamüytas
tzināka kiāvak, mehor mokkochi. 10. Tōs asta yēn inōn tiotlakvīk yi
tlayowatih osekkixtih n kaha ihkón ivan tzināka, tōs sā yeh inēvian
oyahki. 11. Mach sēkimati kānik öyah pero mach keh ömikki.

ti.itx, Saturday, November 25, 1989 5:09 pm

\id nwtest1.sfm

\t

miston i-van tzinaka
cat him/it-with bat

\p

Yi kan-ah keski tonal-li, i-tech se
already where-LOC.ah how.many shine/be.hot-NMLZR-ABS him/it-at/on one

yowa-l-li, o-ni-ki-tta-k no-miston om-pa
be.dark-NMLZR-ABS PST-I-him/it-see-PRET.SG my-cat DIST-on

kal-ihti-k Ø-ki-mo-maa i-van se tzinaka. Kual-tzin
house-belly-LOC.ko he-him/it-REFL-hit him/it-with one bat good-DIM/HON

Ø-mo-tta ken-in Ø-ki-mo-maa, i-van tzinaka, nes
he-REFL-see how-PROX.sf he-him/it-REFL-hit him/it-with bat apparently

no Ø-ki-mati Ø-mo-palevi-s ken-ih, i-van san ik
also he-him/it-know he-REFL-help-FUT how-PROX.sf him/it-with just by.it

Ø-mo-chiva keh y-o-Ø-mik-ki, ke tanto Ø-ki-maa.
he-REFL-make/do like already-PST-he-die-PRET.SG that so.much he-him/it-hit

I-van tos ihk-on Ø-on-mo-kah-to-k tepi-tzin,
him/it-with then thus-DIST.sf he-DIST-REFL-leave-DUR-PRES a.bit-DIM/HON

tos miston ok-sap-pa i-navak Ø-yavi, Ø-tzikuini-s-neki. Yeh
then cat yet-one-on him/it-near he-go he-run/jump-FUT-want.sf he/him

no Ø-ki-val-ix-mo-motzova sa-teki-tl. Ok-sap-pa
also he-him/it-PROX-eye/face-RDF-scratch just-work-ABS yet-one-on

Ø-mo-peva-ltia-h, miston no Ø-ki-tzahtzi-tia
they-REFL-begin-CAUS.ltia-PL.IMPV cat also he-him/it-shout-CAUS.tia

ihk-on, Ø-pa-patla-ka chikawa-k, ok-sap-pa ne-pa
thus-DIST.sf he-RDP-flap-verb.rapidly strong-ADJ.k yet-one-on over.there-on

Ø-mo-tla-mutla o Ø-ki-tla-mutla miston, pareho
he-REFL-s.t.-throw.down or he-him/it-s.t.-throw.down cat equally

ihk-on Ø-ki-mo-tok-tia-h. Kual-tzin
thus-DIST.sf they-him/it-REFL-follow-APPLIC.tia-PL.IMPV good-DIM/HON

sa-keh Ø-m-awil-tia-h. Tos o-Ø-mo-kah-keh,
just-like they-REFL-toy-CAUS.tia-PL.IMPV then PST-they-REFL-leave-PL.PF

i-van keh tlahk-ah, o-Ø-koch-ki n tzinaka om-pa
him/it-with like half-LOC.ah PST-he-sleep-PRET.SG the bat DIST-on

i-navak se kaha, om-pa o-Ø-koch-ki.
him/it-near one crate DIST-on PST-he-sleep-PRET.SG

Ø-se-ki-tta-k om-pa Ø-kah-ki, porke miston om-pa
PST-we/one-him/it-see-PRET.SG DIST-on he-be-PRES because cat DIST-on

ø-ya-yah-to-k i-navak, mach-ok itlah
he-RDP-go-DUR-PRES him/it-near NEG.mach-yet something *wrong*

ø-ki-tok-tia, */tla-kah* tzinaka om-pa ø-vion-to-k
he-him/it-follow-APPLIC.tia *(He-s.t.-leave, bat)* DIST-on he-swing-DUR-PRES
if = be -

ø-kochi, sa ø-k-on-i-itta-tin. Tos o-se-k-ihtoh
he-sleep just he-him/it-DIST-RDP-see-go.and then PST-we/one-him/it-say

mach se-ki-tla-mutla-s tzinaka kiava-k, mehor
NEG.mach we/one-him/it-s.t.-throw.down-FUT bat outside-LOC.ko better

m-ok-ø-kochi-ø. Tos asta ye-n in-on
may.pf-yet-he-sleep-SBJNCT.SG then until it's-the the-DIST.sf

tiotlak-vik yi ø-tla-yowa-tih
evening-LOC.vik already he-s.t.-be.dark-CAUS.tia

o-se-k-kix-tih n kaha ihk-on i-van
PST-we/one-him/it-emerge-CAUS.tia the crate thus-DIST.sf him/it-with

tzinaka, tos sa yeh i-nevian o-ø-yah-ki. Mach
bat then just he/him his-by.self PST-he-go-PRET.SG NEG.mach

se-ki-mati kan-ik o-ø-yah pero mach keh
we/one-him/it-know where-abouts PST-he-go but NEG.mach like

o-ø-mik-ki.
PST-he-die-PRET.SG

The Flower Dialog

1. --Teh, tlēn tikihtova Hwan, tlā sēkittatin Aurelio nín tiōtlakatlí.
2. --¿Itlah tikillitín iksemi moneki?
3. --Tlāmo, nikneki niktlātlahtís ma néchtlanéti n itlal nēs amo kitlatókia.
4. --¿Pero koxámo ok kimopielihok ívan itlah kiváltókilis?
5. --Pos kēn noso, sān niköntlahtlanís, nikihtova.
6. --Yeh noso ökompíx sekitzin ixóchih ítech Semana Santa; pero ökimáko n tesivitl welika.
7. --ān, tlāmo. Pero ihkuákoh nō yökönnemakak kualli nēpa kēski tōnalli.
8. --Tla ámo ökimáni n tesivitl oksekitzin ökönololóskia n tomintzin.
9. --Miékeh noso ihkoh omochihkeh. Kanah nēs welika öyölik n asuséna ikökónéyo, ñelli?
10. --āmo noso yōn āxān tlen ok kinemakatókeh. Kānah ok tlahmah könpihpiyah.
11. --ökseki tlen achtoh vara kísa okitlamih n tesivitl.
12. --Tlāmo ihkoh. ākin ik Rinkón Grande otlatókakeh mach itlah okintoktilih nion nikik ik La Sirena.
13. --Komo noso sān ahachi n chapāni, ívan ömpík La Sirena amo nēs mach nō okachi itlah kitoktia n ehekati.
14. --Amo keh okachi chikawak ehekani, konxíkova n itlah tlen motóka.
15. --āxān oksappa yi kēski tōnalli machok okachi kitlaxtlávah.
16. --íkan machok okachi itlah ilvitl onkah. ívan koxámo ik Méhiko o oksekkan nō onkah miék, tōs mach vitzeh n tlakohkeh kipatotikínveh.
17. --Amka yi nellí ik inoh. Akin nikán tlakóvaníh nēs nimanihki mach okachi kitlaxtlávah.
18. --Pos noso yi monemaka; tlákeh ámikah tlakóvas, mach itlah sēkittas n totomin.
19. --Ah, yōn noso mach. ¿Teh sā tiktémáktia, ó sān ahachi tiknemaka?
20. --Seki san ahachi niknemaka. Ihkón ívan nikah ākín nikmáktilihtok.

21. --Ihkón kualli. Valéva amo tōtoka CHECK LENGTH sētlakāva, san ompa sēkipipixtok, niōnikah tlahtlani ika.
22. --Tlāmo ihkóh sēmochīva. Īāxān, kānik tiah?
23. --āxān sān nimah nōnyah Orisava, pero sān nimah nimokuapatin: nimitzchia kanah las cuatro, sēkittatīn Aurelio.
24. --Techchia noso, machkeh itlah okachi notekeih. Timottah.
25. --Kualli, xiah.

\pc
 --Teh, tlen ti-k-ihtova Hwan, tla se-ki-tta-tin Aurelio
 you what you-him/it-say John if we/one-him/it-see-go.and Aurelius
 n-in tiotlak-tli.
 the-PROX.sf evening-ABS

\pc
 --Itlah ti-k-illi-tin ik-se-mi Ø-mo-neki?
 something you-him/it-tell-go.and thoroughly-one-times.mi he-REFL-want

\pc
 --Tlamo, ni-k-neki ni-k-tla-tlahti-s ma
 yes I-him/it-want I-him/it-RDP-plead.with-FUT may
 Ø-nech-tlaneti-Ø n i-tlal nes a-mo
 he-me-lend-SEJNCT.SG the his-land apparently NEG.a-NEG.mo
 Ø-ki-tla-tok-ia.
 he-him/it-s.t.-plant/bury-APPLIC.ia

\pc
 --Pero kox-a-mo ok Ø-ki-mo-pie-lih-to-k
 but whether-NEG.a-NEG.mo yet he-him/it-REFL-have-APPLIC.lia-DUR-PRES
 i-van itlah Ø-ki-val-toki-li-s?
 him/it-with something he-him/it-PROX-plant/bury-APPLIC.lia-FUT

\pc
 --Pos ken noso, san ni-k-on-tlah-tlan-i-s, ni-k-ihtova.
 pues how then just I-him/it-DIST-RDP.h-ask-APPLIC.ia-FUT I-him/it-say

\pc
 --Yeh noso o-Ø-k-om-pix se-ki-tzin
 he/him then PST-he-him/it-DIST-have one-PL.ki-DIM/HON
 i-xochi-h i-tech Semana Santa; pero
 his-flower-SG.POSSD him/it-at/on week holy(f.Sp) but
 o-Ø-ki-ma-ko n tesiv-itl wel-ika.
 PST-he-him/it-hit-came.and the hail-ABS possible-after.all

\pc
 --An, tlamo. Pero ihkuak-oh no
 oh yes but when-DIST.sf also
 y-o-Ø-k-on-ne-maka-k kual-li ne-pa
 already-PST-he-him/it-DIST-REFL.UNSPEC-give-PRET.SG good-ABS over.there-on
 keski tonal-li.
 how.many shine/be.hot-NMLZR-ABS

\pc
 --Tla a-mo o-Ø-ki-ma-ni n tesiv-itl
 if NEG.a-NEG.mo PST-he-him/it-hit-might've the hail-ABS

t2.itx, Saturday, November 25, 1989 5:10 pm

ok-se-ki-tzin o-Ø-k-on-ololo-s-kia n
yet-one-PL.ki-DIM/HON PST-he-him/it-DIST-gather-FUT-would've the
tomin-tzin.
money-DIM/HON

\pc
--Miek-eh noso ihk-oh o-Ø-mo-chih-keh. Kan-ah
much-PL.eh then thus-DIST.sf PST-they-REFL-make/do-PL.PF where-LOC.ah

nes wel-ika o-Ø-yoli-k n asusena
apparently possible-after.all PST-he-be.alive-PRET.SG the easter.lily

i-ko-kone-yo, ñnel-li?
his-RDP-child-=age truth-ABS

\pc
--A-mo noso y-on axan tlen ok
NEG.a-NEG.mo then he/him-DIST.sf now what yet
Ø-ki-ne-maka-to-keh. Kan-ah ok tlah-mah
they-him/it-REFL.UNSPEC-give-DUR-PL.PF where-LOC.ah yet something-handful?

Ø-k-on-pih-pia-h.
they-him/it-DIST-RDP.h-have-PL.IMPV

\pc
--Ok-se-ki tlen achtoh vara Ø-kisa o-Ø-ki-tlam-ih
yet-one-PL.ki what first stalk he-emerge PST-he-him/it-end-APPLIC.ia
n tesiv-itl.
the hail-ABS

\pc
--Tlamo ihk-oh. Akin ik Rinkón Grande o-Ø-tla-toka-keh
yes thus-DIST.sf who by.it rinkón Big PST-they-s.t.-follow-PL.PF
mach itlah o-Ø-k-in-tok-ti-lih
NEG.mach something PST-he-him/it-them.O-follow-APPLIC.tia-APPLIC.lia
nion nik-ik ik La Sirena.
not.even here.nik-about by.it the(f.Sp) Siren

\pc
--Komo noso san ah-achi n Ø-chapa-ni, i-van
as(Sp) then just RDP.h-a.bit the he-plop-verb.strongly him/it-with
om-p-ik La Sirena a-mo nes mach no
DIST-on-about the(f.Sp) Siren NEG.a-NEG.mo apparently NEG.mach also
ok-achi itlah Ø-ki-tok-tia n eh-eka-tl.
yet-a.bit something he-him/it-follow-APPLIC.tia the RDP.h-wind-ABS

\pc
--A-mo keh ok-achi chikawa-k eh-eka-ni,
NEG.a-NEG.mo like yet-a.bit strong-ADJ.k RDP.h-wind.blow-might've

Ø-k-on-xikova n itlah tlen Ø-mo-toka.
he-him/it-DIST-bear the something what he-REFL-follow

\pc
--Axan ok-sap-pa yi keski tonal-li mach-ok
now yet-one-on already how.many shine/be.hot-NMLZR-ABS NEG.mach-yet
ok-achi Ø-ki-tlaxtlava-h.
yet-a.bit they-him/it-pay-PL. IMPFV

\pc
--I-kan mach-ok ok-achi itlah ilvi-tl
him/it-because.of NEG.mach-yet yet-a.bit something fiesta-ABS

Ø-on-kah. I-van kox-a-mo ik Mehiko o
he-DIST-be him/it-with whether-NEG.a-NEG.mo by.it Mexico.City or

ok-sek-kan no Ø-on-kah miek, tos mach Ø-vitz-eh n
yet-one-where also he-DIST-be much then NEG.mach they-come-PL. IMPFV the

Ø-tla-koh-keh Ø-ki-pati-o-ti-kin-veh.
they-s.t.-buy-PL.PF they-him/it-price-=age-CAUS.tia-come.and-PL.veh

\pc
--An-ka yi nel-li ik in-oh. Akin ni-kan
oh-then.ka already truth-ABS by.it the-DIST.sf who here.nik-where
Ø-tla-kova-ni-h nes niman-ihki mach
they-s.t.-buy-might've-PL. IMPFV apparently immediately-thus NEG.mach
ok-achi Ø-ki-tlaxtlava-ni-h.
yet-a.bit they-him/it-pay-might've-PL. IMPFV

\pc
--Pos noso yi Ø-mo-ne-maka; tla-keh
pues then already he-REFL-REFL.UNSPEC-give if-like
a-m-ikah Ø-tla-kova-s, mach itlah
NEG.a-NEG.mo-someone he-s.t.-buy-FUT NEG.mach something
se-ki-tta-s n to-tomin.
we/one-him/it-see-FUT the our-money

\pc
--Ah, y-on noso mach. ¿Teh sa
oh he/him-DIST.sf then NEG.mach you just
ti-k-te-ma-k-tia, o san ah-achi
you-him/it-s.o.-hand-LOC.ko-CAUS.tia or just RDP.h-a.bit
ti-k-ne-maka?
you-him/it-REFL.UNSPEC-give

\pc
--Se-ki san ah-achi ni-k-ne-maka. Ihk-on

one-PL.ki just RDP.h-a.bit I-him/it-REFL.UNSPEC-give thus-DIST.sf
i-van ni-kah akin ni-k-ma-k-ti-lih-to-k.
him/it-with I-be who I-him/it-hand-LOC.ko-CAUS.tia-APPLIC.lia-DUR-PRES

\pc
--Ihk-on kual-li. Val-eva amo to-toka
thus-DIST.sf good-ABS PROX-happens NEG.a-NEG.mo RDP-quickly

se-tla-kava, san om-pa se-ki-pi-pix-to-k,
we/one-s.t.-leave just DIST-on we/one-him/it-RDP-have-DUR-PRES

nion-ikah Ø-tlah-tlani i-ka.
not.even-someone he-RDP.h-ask him/it-with/for

\pc
--Tlamo ihm-oh se-mo-chiva. ¿Axan, kan-ik ti-ah?
yes thus-DIST.sf we/one-REFL-make/do now where-abouts you-go

\pc
--Axan san nimah n-on-yah Orisava, pero san nimah
now just immediately I-DIST-go Orizaba but just immediately

ni-mo-kuapa-tin: ni-mitz-chia kan-ah las cuatro,
I-REFL-turn-go.and I-you.O-await where-LOC.ah the(f.pl.Sp) four (Sp)

se-ki-tta-tin Aurelio.
we/one-him/it-see-go.and Aurelius

\pc
--Tech-chia noso, mach-keh itlah ok-achi
you-me/us-await then NEG.mach-like something yet-a.bit

no-teki-h. Ti-mo-tta-h.
my-work-9G.POSSD we-REFL-see-PL.IMPV

\pc
--Kual-li, xi-ah.
good-ABS you.sg.IMPV-go

\

APPENDIX B.

Orthographic conventions

The following orthographic symbols are used in this work to represent Orizaba Náhuatl phonological structures:^{*}

Consonants: p t k tz ch tl ku s x m n l w y

Vowels: i e a o (í è á ô û).

These are pronounced mostly as in Spanish, with the following clarifications: tz represents the affricate [tʂ] or [tʂ̥], ch is [χ] ([tʂ̥]), tl is [ɬ] ([tɬ̥]), ku is [kʷ], x is [ʃ]. w is often pronounced [v] or [b]; in syllable final and especially word-final position it usually reduces to h although it is sometimes pronounced voiceless [W]. Intervocalic k in many localities (not in Rafael Delgado) is pronounced [g]. Syllable final and especially word-final l is often devoiced ([ɬ̥]). i, especially when short and unstressed, is often pronounced [ɪ]. Words ending in a vowel are pronounced with a glottal stop; words without such a glottal stop are h-final: thus chōka *he cries* is pronounced [čōka?], and chōka-h *they cry* is [čōkaA], with the voiceless [A] very difficult for English or Spanish speakers to hear, as it regularly appears subphonemically on English and Spanish vowel-final words.

Spanish phonemes such as b, d, g, f, r, and u often show up as well, and will be used without apology.

Vowel length exists in Orizaba Náhuatl, but it is quite difficult to pin down. Generally a "long" vowel is not quite as clipped, or a little more fully pronounced, than a short vowel. Stressed vowels and vowels near nasals tend to be pronounced "long"; the contrast may be stronger on stems which have a minimal or near minimal pair. Here length is represented (by a macron) in places where it has been heard clearly at least once and did not seem to be due to length or proximity to a nasal, or where a native speaker claims it exists; but the markings should not be taken too seriously. Where a macron and an accent would coincide, only the accent is written. Long ē following k is usually pronounced as a diphthong [e̞l̥].

Stress is penultimate unless otherwise marked (with an acute accent as in Spanish). Although words of more than three syllables ending in -tli/-li *absolutive*, -tih *noun plural*, -ki *preterite singular*, or -ko *locative* regularly take antepenultimate stress and so are not marked in the standard orthography, they are marked in this work.

Since no diphthongs are written, VV combinations are two syllables. Thus e.g. niktlālia *I place it* is pronounced [nukxália], not *[nukxályal] as Spanish orthography might suggest. However, since ku is

*These conventions mostly follow those adopted by the Roman Catholic priests of the Decanato de la Sierra de Zongolica for their publications.

a consonant and not a CV sequence, *nitlakua* *I eat* is pronounced [nɪtlákʷa], not *[nɪtlakúa].

APPENDIX C.

Glossaries of Cognitive Grammar terms, diagramming
conventions, and abbreviations.

Abbreviations:

abs	absolutive
applic	applicative
caus	causative
dim	diminutive
FCG	Langacker (1987b)
loc	locative
n	norm (in diagrams)
pl	plural
p.c.	personal communication
sg	singular
t	time (in diagrams)
you/your	you/your sg

(INCOMPLETE AS YET)

(DO GLOSSARY AND DIAGRAM DESCRIPTION).

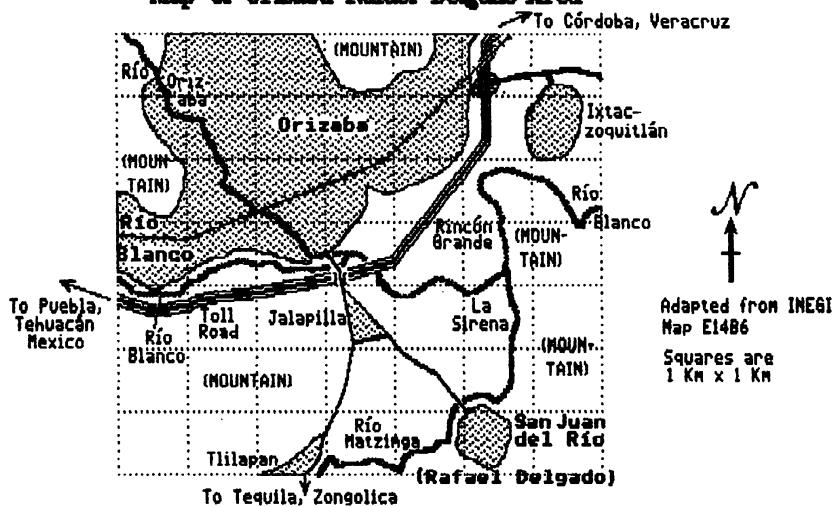
APPENDIX D.

About Orizaba Nahuatl

Orizaba Nahuatl is a group of mutually intelligible subdialects of Central Nahuatl,² spoken in the mountainous region south of the city of Orizaba, Veracruz, Mexico. The following are centers of population; in most of them Nahuatl speakers are the majority: Rafael Delgado (San Juan del Río), Tequila, Zongolica, Astacinga, Texhuacán, Tehuipango (CHECK Monzón); many speakers live in more isolated places. The population of speakers in the state of Veracruz is around 130,000 (P. Félix Vásquez CHECK, p.c.); the dialect area also continues into the state of Puebla, merging with the variants spoken around Tehuacán.

The data discussed here are from the town officially known as Rafael Delgado, but generally referred to as San Juan del Río by its inhabitants. It is on the northern edge of the dialect area, in the valley of Orizaba. The people of the town are mostly farmers, with flowers, particularly gladiolas and easter lilies, being the main cash crop. Corn, beans, squash, and chayotes are also grown, mostly for home consumption but also for sale, and some sugar cane. The townspeople have very fertile fields, mostly in the triangle between Rafael Delgado and the towns of Tlilapan and Jalapilla, and in the areas of La Sirena and Rincón Grande (see map below). Coffee is also grown in town and on mountainside properties south and east of the town.

Map of Orizaba-Rafael Delgado Area



²Lastra (1986:223-224) classifies it as a member of the Southeastern Puebla sub-area of the Central area of Nahuatl dialects. Cf. Canger and Monzón GETREFS.