



## Language and Culture Archives

### Bartholomew Collection of Unpublished Materials

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## APPENDIX A. NORTH PAME VERB PARADIGMS

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The following list of North Pame verb paradigms illustrates the predominant ABCD pattern. Although there are a number of places where the alternations do not fit the main pattern, such as the causative verbs which have the pattern AAAD, all the present paradigmatic material is included as a source for further study.

A	B	C	D	
-ppe?sdn	w	m	b	"count"
-ppε	w	m	b	"weave"
-ppe?eč?	w	m	b	"urinate"
-pps?e	w	m	b	"wait"
-ppa?at	w	m	b	"call"
-ppai	w	m	b	"command"
-ppahi?	w	m	b	"hit"
-pbehel?	w	m	b	"cover"
-ppaho?	w	m	b	"look"
-ppe?e	w	m	b	"smell of it"
-ppo	w	m	b	"give"
-ppal?	pp	pp	pp	"heat it"
-phi?ily		ph		"bubble up"
-ppo?	pp	pp	p	"descend"
-ppε	p	p	ph	"steal"

## APPENDIX A--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-ppa <sub>ε</sub>	p	p	ph	"visit"
-mma?i	mm <sup>1</sup>	mm	mh	"erect it"
-mma?i	mm	mm	mm	"stand"
-mme	mm	mm	mh	"lose"
-mma?a	mb	mm	mm	"shout"
-mmɔc?	m	m	mh	"pile up"
-mmajŋ	m	m	mh	"say"
-ma	m	m	m	"go"
-mmeho	w	w	-- <sup>2</sup>	"be there"
-maodn?	mm	mm	pp	"change"
-mmaign?	mm	mm	pp	"finish"
-ttshedn?	t	t	l?	"laugh at"
-ttaho	t	t	l?	"touch"
-ttahič?		tt	l?	"receive"
-tte?	t	t	lh	"lick"
-ttogŋ	t	t	lh	"watch"
-ttol?	t	t	lh	"break"
-tta?ogn	t	t	lh	"snap it in two"
-tta?ogn	kky <sup>3</sup>	tt		"snap in two"

<sup>1</sup>The lack of weakening in the B and C forms may be correlated with the oral vowel.

<sup>2</sup>Hyphens indicate that there has been suppletion. A blank means that data are lacking.

<sup>3</sup>The kky is the result of the palatalization rule.

## APPENDIX A--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-ttaogn	t	t	lh	"buy"
-tt <sub>g</sub> n?	t	t	lh	"step on"
-tt <sub>g</sub>	tt	tt	tt	"die"
-taol?	t	t	lh	"rub eye"
-tt <sub>g</sub> ?	tt	tt	tt	"fire pottery"
-tt <sub>g</sub> ?o	t	t	lh	"plant corn"
-tt <sub>g</sub> l?	t	t	lh	"swallow"
-kkehē?t	kky	tt	k?	"marry"
-tt <sub>g</sub> ?o	tt	tt	th <sup>1</sup>	"search"
-tteon?	tt	tt	lh <sup>1</sup>	"fear"
-tt <sub>g</sub> he?	t	t	l?	"earn, win"
-ndao	nd	nd	nth <sup>2</sup>	"sing"
-ddeo?	d	dd	d <sup>3</sup>	"grow"
-nnaon	n	n	nh	"eat"
-nnahol?	n	n	n?	"chew"
-nnehign	nn	nn	nh	"go out"
-nng?o	n	n	nh	"see"

<sup>1</sup> When the D affix h is added to a nonweakened t, the t does not become l. The word for "fear" seems to contradict this generalization, however.

<sup>2</sup> The form with initial nth is used when referring to singing for a dead person. Otherwise the D form is nd.

<sup>3</sup> This looks like an EFEF pattern.

## APPENDIX A--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-ci? <sup>1</sup>	cw	cw	cw	"nurse"
-cciol?	c	c	c?	"suck sugar cane"
-cci?	c	c	c?	"carry"
-ccao?	c	cc	c?	"feel"
-c?o	c?	c?	c?	"spoil it"
-č?o <sup>2</sup>	č?	c?	č?	"spoil"
-c??odn	c??	c??	c??	"hate"
-cwil?	cw	cw		"prick"
-ccsgny <sup>1</sup>	cw	cw	ncw	"be angry"
-co?	cc	c	--	"fall"
-ccoc?	cc	c	cc	"make vomit"
-čoc? <sup>2</sup>	č	c	č?	"vomit"
-cco?ol	c	c	c?	"bite"
-cco	c	c	c?	"scold"
-chao	ch	ch	ch	"do"
-ssihign	sw	sw	sw	"eat a meal"
-šao? <sup>2</sup>	š	s	čh	"study"
-sao?	s	s	ch	"measure"
-sep	s	s	ch	"tell"

<sup>1</sup>The w was deleted because of no o in the prefix.

<sup>2</sup>The č is from c by the palatalization rule; š is from s.

APPENDIX A--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-sin <sub>e</sub>	s	s		"open"
-šoa?at	š	s		"tear"
-soc?	s	s	ch	"tie"
-kyehi	ky <sup>1</sup>	k	k?	"meet"
-ngā	ŋgw <sup>2</sup>	ŋg	ŋgw	"shiver"
-kki?i	kw <sup>2</sup>	k	khw	"gather".
-kkā?a	kw <sup>2</sup>	k	khw	"gather clothes"
-kkō?	k <sup>3</sup>	k	kh	"chase"
-kkeič?	kw <sup>2</sup>	k	khw	"grind"
-kkwahonj	kkw <sup>2</sup>	kk	k?w	"confess"
-kko	k <sup>3</sup>	k	kh	"belittle"
-??ehil <sup>y?</sup>	?w	?w	?w	"sleep"
-?o?op	?	n?e <sup>4</sup>	l?	"show"
-?ias	?	n? <sup>5</sup>	l?	"cut with scissors"
-?ia	n?	n? <sup>5</sup>	n?	"come"
-?ehe?	?w	n? <sup>5</sup>	l?w	"talk"

<sup>1</sup>The ky is from k by the palatalization rule.

<sup>2</sup>The w is a labialization from the preceding o.

<sup>3</sup>No labialization from the preceding o because the root vowel is o.

<sup>4</sup>The full form is lan?e?ep from (lan?eo?op) with deletion of the second vowel before p according to the regular rule. The e is a reflex of the C form vowel \*i.

<sup>5</sup>The C form vowel \*i is cancelled out by the root \*i.

APPENDIX A--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-?wei	?w	?w	t?	"do thus"
-?o?	?	de <sup>1</sup>	l?	"hear"
-??aogn	?w	d	l?	"bury"
-?ahodn?	?w	d	l?	"ask for"
-?eo	?	?		"hurt"
-?ehe?t	?w	d	l?w	"sew"
-?wednt	?w	?	t?	"piece cloth"
-?weo	?w	?	t?	"hate"
-?eogn	?w	d	l?	"give"
-nhiagn	nhi	nhi	lh	"leave"
-hosp	h	hi	lh	"put price up"
-hwé	hw	hh	hw	"cause to cough"
-hi?	h	nhw	nh	"enter"
-hao?	hw	nh	lh	"drink"
-haign	hi	h	lh	"to be left"

<sup>1</sup>The full form is ladeo?. The e is a reflex of the C form vowel \*i.

## APPENDIX B: NORTH PAME NOUN PARADIGMS--ABCD PATTERN

Some of the noun paradigms of NP follow the ABCD pattern with slight modifications. There is a preposed m before initial p in the A form if the root vowel is oral. The word for "manure" is an apparent exception because it shows oral vowels in the root. The other features of the paradigm for "manure" are those of a nasalized root vowel, however, such that it may be assumed that the nasalization has been more recently lost. The B forms of paradigms with root-initial ? have been replaced by C forms.

A	B	C	D	
-pp̥hi?	p	p	p?	"mattress"
-ppoi	p	p	ph	"manure"
-mbɛ	w	m	b	"braid"
-mbao	w	m	b	"belly"
-mba	w	m	b	"handkerchief"
-mbehe?	w	m	b	"hat"
-ttao	t	t	t	"eye"
-tte	l	n	t	"mouth" <sup>1</sup>
-ttao	t	t	lh	"song"

<sup>1</sup>This is one of the few words which preserve the POP tV paradigm.

APPENDIX B--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-tta?	t	t		"arrow"
-cci?	c	c	c?	"tooth"
-cce?	c? <sup>1</sup>	cw	c?w	"clay pot"
-cce?	c	cw	c?w	"tail"
-nnoa	n	n	nh	"field"
-??aho	d	d		"barbecue"
-?i	dw	dw	l?	"child"
-?o	d	d	l?	"louse"
-?ɛŋ	n?	n?	l?	"atole"
-?ɔŋ	n?	n?		"seed"
-hq?	h	h	lh	"name"

<sup>1</sup>The full form of the word is *ŋoc?eok?* which is rebuilt on the D form *ŋoc?we?* with the addition of the second person suffix -k?. The suffix is responsible for the changes in vowels.

## APPENDIX C: NORTH PAME NOUN PARADIGMS--EFEF PATTERN

E	F	E	F	
-mbai	p	mb	p	"tomato"
-mbai?	p	mb	p	"fright"
-bbogn	b	bb		"cactus"
-bbe?i	b	bb	b	"musical instr."
-m?ao?	m?	m?		"month"
-mmqhi?	m	mm	mm	"squash"
-mmahagn	m	mm	mm	"dish"
-mhg	mh	mh	mh	"tortilla"
-ndogn	ky	ngy	t	"flower"
-ndegn	ky	ngy	t	"capulin"
-thwi?i	l <sup>y</sup> h	khy	lh	"basket"
-the?e	l <sup>y</sup> h	khy	lh	"a cold"
-thg?g	l <sup>y</sup> h	khy	lh	"tamale"
-thoa	l <sup>y</sup> h	khy	lh	"corn"
-thoe	l <sup>y</sup> h	khy	lh	"rope"
-tho?i	l <sup>y</sup> h	khy		"hunger"
-ndo	ky	gy		"egg"
-nds	ky	gy	t	"water"
-lle	l <sup>y</sup>	ŋŋy	ll	"lips"
-ddoa	gy	ggy		"place one walks"

APPENDIX C--Continued

E	F	E	F	
-ddio	gg	gg		"dryness"
-ddoa	gy	ggy		"maguey"
-t?wei	l <sup>y</sup> ?	k?y		"sleep"
-tthai	l <sup>y</sup> h	kkhy		"thread"
-t?aq	l <sup>y</sup> ?	k?y		"mesquite tree"
-t?we	l <sup>y</sup> ?	k?y		"hill"
-nnoa	ny	nyy		"nose"
-nno	ny	nyy	ny	"knee"
-khwe?	khy	khy	kh	"beans"
-ngwes	khy	g		"flesh"
-ngwas	ky	gy	kk	"meat" <sup>1</sup>
-k?wiš	k?	k?		"paper"
-c?aogn	č?	č?	c?	"avocado"
-chi?	čh	čh	ch	"worm, snake"
-chast	čh	čh	ch	"itch"
-ssaqon	š	šš	s	"shade"
-ssa	š	šš	s	"corn on cob"
-hwaogn	hy	hy	h	"soil"
-hwes	hy	hy	h	"a cough"
-thos	l <sup>y</sup> h	khy	lh	"salt"

<sup>1</sup> From Spanish vaca "cow" (or perhaps a borrowing from Yuto-Aztecán where "meat" is wakas in Yaqui and Tepehuano). The first syllable was interpreted as a prefix and the second syllable was reshaped by analogy with the word for "flesh" (above).

APPENDIX C--Continued

E	F	E	F	
-?w <small>ɛ</small> hs?	ŋ?y	ŋ?y		"road"
-?wei	?	?	?	"chile"
-nhio <small>č</small>	hy	hy		"breath"
-khwik	khi	kh		"blood"
-kkw <small>ä</small> o	ky	ky		"outer ear"

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 APPENDIX D: CHICHIMECO VERB PARADIGMS<sup>1</sup>

A	B	C	D	
-?a	t	nd	r?	"bury"
-? <u>a</u> n	t	nd	r?	"ask"
-?e	?	?	?	"be angry"
-? <u>e</u>	?	?	?	"do thus"
-?e	t	nd	r	"put"
-?er	tir	ndir	r? <sup>2</sup> er <sup>2</sup>	"throw"
-?ets	tits	ndits	rits <sup>2</sup>	"push"
-?i	?	?	?	"come"
-? <u>i</u>	?	?	?	"care"
-? <u>i</u>	?	?	?	"hang"
-? <u>i</u>	t	nd	r?	"want"
-? <u>o</u> r	?	?	?	"appear"
-? <u>o</u>	ti	ndi	r? <sup>2</sup> o <sup>2</sup>	"hear"
-? <u>u</u> n	?	?	?	"arrive"
-? <u>u</u>	?	?	n	"pass"

<sup>1</sup>The list is from Jamie de Angulo, loc. cit., pp. 177-79. Normally, I cite only the initial consonants of the B, C, and D forms. Angulo's whispered vowels, written with small raised letters, I write on the line and underlined.

<sup>2</sup>Full forms are given in these cases because the vowels differ. The i vowel reflects the metathesized \*i of the C forms.

## APPENDIX D--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-?ü	t	nd	r?	"kill"
-?ü	n?	n?	r?	"suck"
-?ün	?	?	?	"sleep"
-?ür	t	nd	r?	"sell"
-?yuts	?	?	?	"jump"
-ha <sub>g</sub>	h	h	h	"ascend"
-ha	h	h	h	"lag"
-ha	nh	nh	rh	"drink"
-he	h	h	th	"be left"
-he	nhi	nhi	rhe	"leave"
-her	nh	nh	rh	"have"
-hi	nh	nh	rh	"not want"
-ho	nhi	nhi	rho	"lose"
-hu	nhi	nhi	rhu	"put"
-hun	nhin	nhin	rhun	"throw"
-hunts	h	h	--	"sit"
-hü	nh	nh	rh	"burn"
-ka	k	g	kh	"hit"
-kä <sub>g</sub>	k	g	kh	"take out"
-ke <sub>e</sub>	nk	g	kh	"take out"
-ker	ng	g	kh	"lean on"
-kev	k	g	kh	"drive"
-kets	k	g	kh	"pick up"

## APPENDIX D--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-khar	kh	kh	kh	"possess"
-kkü	kk	kk	kk	"re-do"
-ko	k	k	k	"deny"
-ku	k	k	k	"be together"
-ku?	k	k	k	"race"
-kun	k	k	k	"accompany"
-küñ	ng	g	kh	"peer"
-ma <sub>č</sub>	m	m	mh	"speak"
-ma <sub>č</sub>	m	m	mh	"think"
-maf	m	m	p	"show"
-m?an	m?	m?	mh	"be finished"
-mben	mb	mb	mb	"stone"
-pen	mb	v	ph	"weigh"
-me <sub>č</sub>	m	m	m	"stand up"
-me <sub>č</sub>	m	m	mh	"stand"
-me <sub>č</sub>	m	m	mh	"defend"
-me <sub>č</sub>	m	m	mh	"be late"
-men	m	m	mb	"love"
-mer	m	m	m	"roll"
-mir	m	m	m	"wish"
-mur	m	m	m	"get lost"
-mur	m	m	mh	"forgive"
-na <sub>č</sub>	z	n	nh	"eat"

APPENDIX D--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-nar	n	n	n	"burn"
-nda	nd	nd	nd	"lie"
-ndę	nd	nd	nd	"grow up"
-ndun	nd	nd	ndh	"buzz"
-ndü	nd	nd	nd	"go"
-ndza	tc	z	tsh	"try"
-ndze	ndz	ndz	ndz	"arrive"
-ndzo	tc	z	tsh	"scold"
-nef	n	n	nh	"run"
-ngwa	ngw	m	mb	"go"
-ngwaas	ngw	p	ph	"pay"
-ngwe	ngw	m	mb	"strike"
-ngwe	ngw	m	mb	"cry"
-ngwe	ngw	m	--	"be"
-ngwe?n	ngw	ngw	p	"be loaded"
-ngwi?i	ngw	p	ph	"charge"
-ngwin	ngw	m	mb	"stick"
-ngwo	ngw	ngw	v	"meet"
-ngwo	ngw	ngw	ngw	"be ashamed"
-nkün	nk	nk	k	"be tired"
-no	n	n	nh	"arrive"
-nov	n	n	nh	"last"
-nu	n	n	nh	"see"

APPENDIX D--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-pa	ngw	m	mb	"cover"
-paa	ngw	m	mb	"look"
-pa <sub>t</sub>	nb	v	mb	"see"
-pan	p	nb	ph	"heat"
-par	p	p	p	"be rich"
-pe	ngw	m	mb	"order"
-pe	ngw	m	mb	"smell"
-pe	ngw	m	mb	"hit"
-pen	ngw	m	mb	"fell"
-pen	ngw	m	mb	"play music"
-pen	ngw	m	mb	"kill"
-pe?n	ngw	m	mb	"leave"
-pi	ngw	m	mb	"wait"
-pi <sub>i</sub>	ngw	m	mb	"spy"
-pi <sub>i</sub>	ngw	m	mb	"bring"
-pin	ngw	m	mb	"count"
-po	p	p	p	"return"
-po	ngw	m	mb	"dominate"
-po	ngw	m	mb	"give"
-pof	p	p	ph	"dwindle"
-pon	ngw	m	mb	"prick"
-poo	p	p	--	"enter"
-por	p	p	ph	"change"

APPENDIX D--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-por	p	p	p	"remove"
-ppar	ngw	m	mb	"call"
-ppi	nb	v	ph	"steal"
-ppo	pp	pp	pp	"be together"
-pü	p	p	b	"defecate"
-re	r	nd	r	"breed"
-rho	rh	th	nth	"be finished"
-ru	r	r	r	"die"
-sa	s	s	s	"gamble"
-sa	s	s	s	"distribute"
-sa	s	s	tsh	"measure"
-sa	s	dz	tsh	"read"
-sa	s	s	tsh	"win"
-se	s	s	tsh	"tell"
-sempf	s	s	ts	"open"
-sen	s	s	s	"agree"
-seni	s	s	s	"remember"
-ser	s	s	s	"have diarrhoea"
-su	s	dz	tsh	"sing"
-sus	s	s	ts	"split"
-sü	s	s	sh	"peel"
-sü	s	s	s	"be sick"
-ta	nd	r	rh	"undress"

APPENDIX D--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-ta	nd	r	rh	"touch"
-ta	nd	r	rh	"buy"
-ta <sub>e</sub>	t	t	th	"search"
-tan	nd	r	rh	"bathe"
-tan	nd	r	rh	"work"
-tats	nd	r	rh	"clothe"
-tav	nd	r	rh	"cut"
-tcon	nz	z	zh	"bite"
-te	t	t	t	"go"
-te, ne	t,n	t,n	t,n	"go out"
-te	t	t	t	"be equal"
-te <sub>e</sub>	nd	r	rh	"look"
-te <sub>e</sub>	nd	r	rh	"wear"
-ten	nd	r	rh	"fear"
-ter	t	t	t	"marry"
-ter	t	t	t	"laugh"
-tets	t	t	th	"lift"
-tets	t	r	rh	"bet"
-tets	nd	r	rh	"receive"
-ti	nd	r	rh	"lick"
-ti	nd	r	rh	"sell"
-to	nd	r	rh	"watch"
-tsa	tc	z	tsh	"try"

## APPENDIX D--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-tsa	tc	z	tsh	"do"
-tse <sub>g</sub>	ts	z	ts	"pay"
-tsen	tc	ts	tsh	"pierce"
-tso	ts	ts	ts	"fall"
-tso	tc	z	tsh	"scold"
-tsoh	tc	ts	tsh	"spend"
-tsü	ts	z	tsh	"be angry"
-tsün	ts	ts	ts	"urinate"
-tu, nu	t,n	t,n	t,n	"walk about"
-tu	nd	r	rh	"plant"
-tü	t	t	th	"finish"
-tü	t	t	t	"speak to oneself"
-tü	t	t	t	"go home"
-tun	t	t	t	"go in the lead"
-tuts	nd	r	rh	"tie"
-tun	nd	r	rh	"break"
-üts	#	#	# <sup>1</sup>	"be always"
-?e	t	nd	r?	"give"
-kun	k	g	kh	"herd"

<sup>1</sup>The # indicates that there is no initial consonant. This is the only word in Angulo's list which has no initial consonant. It probably is an error.

APPENDIX E: CHICHIMECO NOUN PARADIGMS--ABCD PATTERN<sup>1</sup>

A	B	C	D	
-pats	p	v	ph	"shoe"
-pü	p	v		"faeces"
-mba	ngw	m	p?	"hat"
-mba	ngw	m		"belly"
-mb <u>i</u>	ngw	m	p	"thing"
-mb <u>en</u>	ngw	m		"antler"
-mb <u>e</u>	ngw	m	p	"song"
-tan	t	r	rh	"work"
-te	t	r		"leg"
-ta	t	r		"face"
-te	t	t	rh	"knife"
-mas	m	m	mh	"bed"
-nu	n	n	nh	"field"
-ni	n	n	nh	"word"
-ka <sub>g</sub>	k	g		"snot"
-ka <sub>g</sub>	k	g		"ear"
-ku	k	g	kh	"road"
-kke	kk	g		"saliva"
-tsü	ts	dz		"back"

<sup>1</sup>From Angulo, loc. cit., pp. 160-61.

APPENDIX E--Continued

A	B	C	D	
-tse	ts	z	ts? <sup>1</sup>	"crock"
-tsa	ts	z	ts? <sup>1</sup>	"food"
-sots	s	s	tsh	"belt"
-hu	nhu	nhi	rhu	"name"
-?a	n?a	n?i		"hand"
-?os	tos	t?is	r?os	"house"
-?u	t	t	rh	"hoe"
-ti	t	n		"mouth" <sup>2</sup>
-nda	n	n		"penis"
-poho	p	p	v	"chair"
-ngwa	ngwe	ngwa	--	"plant"
-tcin	tc	tc	z	"axe"
-hür	h	h	rh	"arrow"

<sup>1</sup>Note that here the POP pattern for the D form of root-initial \*c is preserved.

<sup>2</sup>This word shows a retention of the POP tV paradigm.

## APPENDIX F: CHICHIMECO NOUN PARADIGMS---EFEF PATTERN

The examples of the EFEF pattern are so few that no attempt has been made to specify the system. All but the last two examples parallel rather closely the North Pame examples. They show a preposed nasal in the F form and in the second E form. The two E forms share the same vowel in contrast to the vowel of the F form.

E	F	E	F	
-mbo	v	mb	v	"land"
--mba	v	mb		"feast"
-mbu	v	mb	v	"thirst"
-ndi	r	nd	r	"water"
-nd <u>e</u> n	r	nd	r	"money"
-nthu	r?	nth	r?	"clothes"
-hi	nha	nhi		"body"
-hi	nho	nhi		"friend"

APPENDIX G: CHICHIMECO NOUN PARADIGMS--NO CHANGE

The examples for this category are presented in paragraph style since only one form has to be cited: -nu "nose," -za "head," -ni "heart," -ttun "neck," -kü "trousers," -mor "hip," -nha "testis," -pha "shoulder," -ka "temple," -ner "tendon," -men "knee," -rhe "bow," -khe "blood," -ma "bowl," -ti "podex," -se "skin," -mir "urine," -se "arm," -m?a "pain," -tse "wing," -tsa ~ -tca "shame," -ndu "step," -mo "bottle," -mhu "chief," -khü "child."