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JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY AUSTRALIA

A Grammar of Umbeyajts as spoken by the Ikojts people of San Dionisio del Mar, Oaxaca, Mexico

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The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007. The proposed research study received human ethics approval from the JCU Human Research Ethics Committee Approval Number H4268.

Statement of authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis. The thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

« Parler une langue, c'est assumer un monde, une culture. » *Frantz Fanon*(1952). *Peau noire, masques blancs*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil. p. 30.

'Seeing the present situation, I think that, at the very least, it behooves us as scientists and as human beings to work responsibly both for the future of our science and for the future of our languages, not so much for reward according to the fashion of the day, but for the sake of posterity. What we need to do now stares us in the face. If we do not act, we should be cursed by future generations for Neronically fiddling while Rome burned.' *Michael Krauss* [1]

[1] (1992). "The world's languages in crisis." *Language*. Vol. 68(1). p. 4; cited by R. M. W. Dixon in a presentation on language endangerment at the Cairns Institute (August 2011).

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There are over 6,000 languages in the world and endangered languages scholars estimate that the great majority of these will have become extinct by the end of the present century. Making an effort to describe the grammar of one of them, therefore, seems to me an important task, and, even though my limited contribution may be marginal, having been given the opportunity to embark upon this endeavor fills me with gratitude. Because getting involved in such a project is much more than a mere descriptive undertaking, quantifiable within a budgetary framework, and aimed at producing a data set, even though it includes all this – a linguistic fieldwork project is a social activity, an engagement with a diverse community of speakers and one of scholars, and centering around the intrinsically dialogical activity of language learning. All of this was made possible by the Ikojts community, my supervisors, my university and many scholars who have assisted me in different respects, and I owe all of the people involved my deepest gratitude.

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The quote by Frantz Fanon on the title page refers to the colonising language imposed upon the colonial subject which colours the glasses through which one perceives the world as well as the way one acts in it. However, this can also be turned around to yield a far more optimistic view, perhaps less present in Fanon's produce: That of the language of the colonised subject becoming the one through which one perceives, and acts in, our world of late modernity.

Preface

This thesis is a reference grammar of the Umbeyajts language (also known as Huave) as spoken in San Dionisio del Mar on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (Oaxaca, Mexico), a severely endangered langage spoken by approximately 2,000 people in the municipality of San Dionisio del Mar. Together with its four neighbouring varieties, Umbeyajts forms part of an isolate family with no established genetic links (affiliations to various language families or phyla have been proposed over time – Mayan, Mixe-Zoquean, Otomanguean, 'Hokan' – but none of these proposals have proved to be conclusive). A large number of common roots with Mixe-Zoquean, Mayan and Oto-Manguean languages are present which indicates intensive contacts.

This thesis, consisting of 13 chapters, has been assembled using techniques pertaining to ethnographic fieldwork and grammar writing acquired during my studies at James Cook University and put to practice in the field. The main component of the theoretical and methodological framework underlying this grammar is Basic Linguistic Theory, and the methodology is a combination of rigorous collection and transcription of linguistic data and the qualitative methodology associated with the interpretation of these data in their natural context, thus aiming at ensuring a high degree of ecological validity of the research findings. The sociolinguistic context of the speaker community and the methodological and theoretical basis of the research is described in the first chapter.

Umbeyajts is a head marking language. Possession is marked on the possessee by means of either a possessor prefix marking for person, or, when two NPs are juxtaposed, the head noun is marked with a pertensive prefix, while the possessor receives no marking. The language is synthetic rather than analytic, and it exhibits agglutinating, and at times fusional properties (Matthews, 1972). Markers in Umbeyajts often show multifunctionality, marking either several categories simultaneously, or being polysemous for several categories. Person/number categories are first, second and third person, singular and plural, and an inclusive first person dual and inclusive first person plural (called first person inclusive 'minimal' and 'maximal' by Hollenbach, 1981).

Umbeyajts has 24 consonant phonemes (of which 5 are marginal phonemes, appearing exceptionally infrequently only in loans). There is a prenasalised series of four of the

stops and of one affricate, and 10 consonants have a palatalised realisation. There are seven vowel phonemes as well as two diphthongs, and bimoraic vowel nuclei may contain combinations of two vowels. The phonology includes several phonotactic restrictions conditioned by its historical development, and the historical development of palatalisation (which exists in all four varieties) plays an important role in explaining current syllable structure.

Umbeyajts has open and closed word classes: Nouns and verbs are open classes, whereas adjectives, adverbs, numerals, quantifiers, demonstratives, pronouns, clause-linkers, clitics and TAM markers constitute closed classes. Word class-changing derivation exists and can be observed in the formation of verbs expressing abstract property concepts as well as in deverbal participial forms with agentive meaning. An overview of word classes can be found in chapter 3.

The language exhibits agglutination and some fusional properties, with markers often displaying multifunctionality, and there is some affix mobility: Verbs may belong to either a prefixing class, which has both prefix and suffix positions, or a non-prefixing class which can only take suffixes – for example, a suffix such as past tense marker *t* thus may appear either as a prefix or a suffix depending on the verb class (whereas clitics do not display such mobility). Nouns are divided into classes based on differing sets of possessive marking. Another division in the noun system is made through the selection of one of three different numeral classifiers. An overview of nominal morphology and properties of the noun phrase is given in chapter 4, and morphological processes occurring in the verbal system are described in chapter 5 about verb morphology and classes.

Spatial relations and deixis are reviewed in chapter 6, about demonstratives. Umbeyajts features several series of demonstratives which have different syntactic properties and are conditioned mostly by the pragmatic context. The way non-spatial setting, such as the TAM system, is coded in the language is the topic of chapter 7, which includes an overview with examples of tenses (future and past), aspect (progressive, perfective, completive, inchoative), modality (abilitative, desiderative, necessitive) and mood (imperative, including non-canonical imperatives coded as optative or hortative forms), and also special negative forms.

Chapter 8 explains the rather interesting ways in which property concepts are expressed, which involve adjectives, nouns, verbs and deverbal stative participles. Chapter 9 about derivation gives a more in-depth overview of participles including human agentive forms, and examines different valency-changing devices used in the verbal system.

Chapter 10, about grammaticalisation in Huave, delves into the origins of different grammatical morphemes which can be revealed by their occurrence in present-day Umbeyajts as well as in the early 20th century texts recorded by Paul Radin. The overview includes clitics marking tense, aspect or modality and lexicalised verb roots now functioning as quantifiers or prepositions. Chapter 11 reviews clause and sentence types (verbless clause and copula clause constructions as well as complement clauses and relativisation strategies; declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences), clause combining and clausal (as opposed to constituent-level) negation. In chapter 12 an overview of speech genres and pragmatic phenomena can be found, and in chapter 13, language attitudes and ideology as well as language contact phenomena like code-switching and borrowing are reviewed. Finally, in the appendix to the work, the reader will find a selection of the transcribed field recordings with morphological glossing and translation.

Abbreviations and glossing conventions

The Leipzig glossing conventions have served as a guiding principle for designing the representational style used in the morphophonemic and –syntactic analysis in these chapters. Generally, the first line of text, which is Umbeyajts text in a practical orthography also used in publications intended for speakers (see, for example Muriel Díaz & Montesi, 2012) is italicised. Material from Spanish, either spontaneously borrowed, codeswitched or incorporated in the language through borrowing, is marked by underlining. The Umbeyajts words are segmented at morpheme boundaries. It is the surface form that is represented, so that when degemination occurs, a prefix may lose its final consonant, and this is not separately marked.

The second line consists of glossing, which is provided by means of direct translations and, where available, an abbreviation from the list displayed below is used for brevity.

The third line consists of a translation and possibly comments on the context of the expression, displayed in brackets outside the quotes, if quoted (translations are placed between quotes in the thesis, but not in the appendix). Squared brackets may occur within the quotes, i.e. sentence-internally – in this case, information not explicitly coded in the Umbeyajts item is added when judged part of the hermeneutic context of the utterance. In some cases, direct translations from Umbeyajts to English are difficult to understand because the pragmatic context will not be available to the reader, and this context may include many crucial elements such as intratextual ones (more specifically, other sentences produced within the same text as the sentence in question, that may serve as a basis for inferences required for its interpretation), visual and other non-linguistic cues, and the common knowledge base available to the speakers. This is why the information in square brackets is added. A different motivation for adding square brackets is for expressions required by English grammar but not found in the Umbeyajts data, such as the absence (in Umbeyajts) of any personal pronominal reference for a sentence with translation 'You were telling [me]', for instance.

The convention used for representation is somewhat different in the phonology chapter, since here, more nuance of surface forms is required prior to being able to apply generalisations, and therefore IPA was used. However, in the final section of this chapter, the practical orthography used in the remainder of the text is explained and exemplified.

List of abbreviations used

-	Self-repair (discourse)
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ad	Additive
ate	Atemporal form
bnd	Bound root *nd-*
cau	Causative
cl	Rectangular classifier
cond	conditional (*tyimi=*)
cp	Completive marker
derr	Discourse error
del	Delimitative clitic
dem1	Demonstrative class I
dem2	Demonstrative class II
dem3	Demonstrative class III
dem4	Demonstrative class IV
dem5	Demonstrative class V
des	Desiderative
dim	Diminutive
disc	Discourse marker
dist	Distal deictic
du	Dual number
dur	Durative marker
excl	Exclusive person marking category
excla	Exclamation

f	Feminine (Spanish)
fut	Future tense marker
hor	hortative
imp	Impersonal
impe	Imperative
inc	Inchoative
incl	Inclusive person marking category
irr	Irrealis marker
itr	Non-prefixing verb marker
jus	jussive
loc	Locative clitic or preposition
long	"Long" numeral classifier
lv	Light verb
m	Masculine (Spanish)
med	Medial deictic
n	Neutrum Spanish
neg	Negation
neg=nprs	Phrasal negation
ono	Onomatopoeia
pas	Passive
pf	Perfective marker
pl	Plural
pos.i.u	Pertensive marker unspecified for person, noun class I
pos.ii.u	Pertensive marker unspecified for person, noun class II
pos.iii.u	Pertensive marker unspecified for person, noun class III
prox	Proximal deictic
pst	Past tense marker
red	Reduplication
rep	Reportative particle
rnd	"Round" numeral classifier
sg	Singular
st	Stative verb marker
TAM	tense aspect mood
tmp	Temporal numeral classifier
tv	Theme vowel

A Grammar of Umbeyajts as spoken by the Ikojts people of San Dionisio del Mar, Oaxaca, Mexico

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1. Community setting

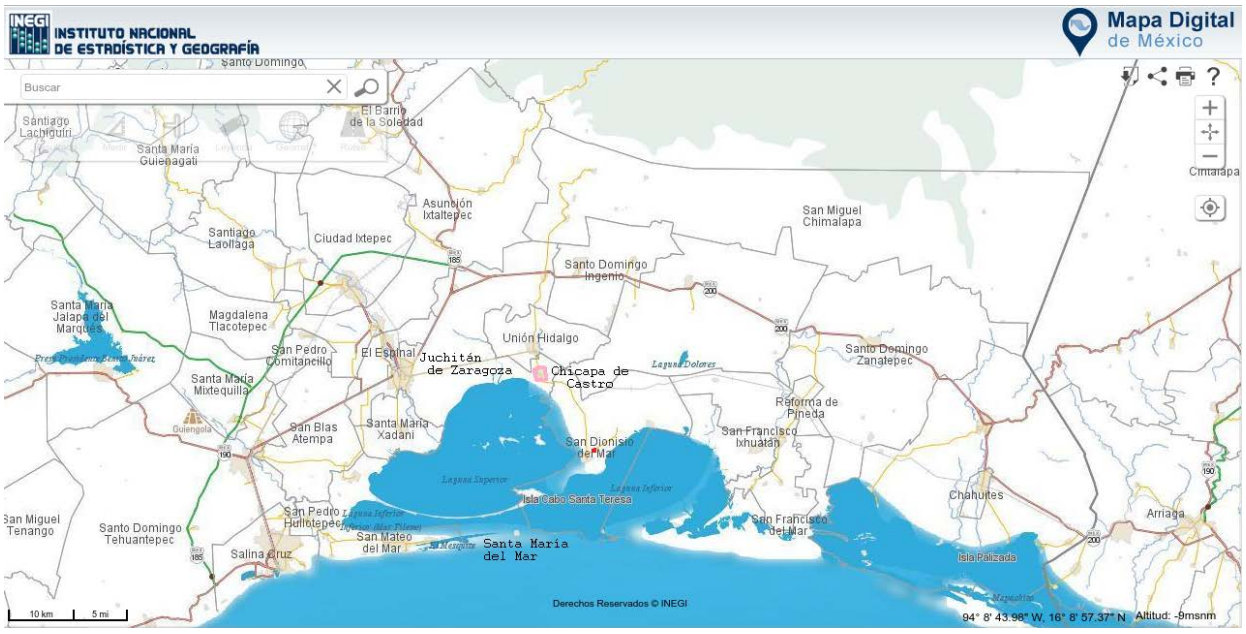
1.1. Introduction

1.2. Overview

1.2.1. The Ikojts or Mareños

The Ikojts (an Umbeyajts term glossed as the first inclusive pronoun, 'we (including you)', or *Mareños* (a Spanish term meaning 'people of the sea'), also known as Huaves[2], are a coastal people that inhabit the sand spits along the pacific shore of the Tehuantepec Isthmus of Southern Mexico. The language is called Umbeyajts in this thesis, reflecting the pronunciation of the people of San Dionisio del Mar. Four main speech communities exist, belonging to the former districts of Tehuantepec and Juchitán, of which three (San Mateo del Mar, San Dionisio del Mar and San Francisco del Mar) are municipalities, and one (Santa María del Mar) is an *agencia* (municipal agency) of Juchitán de Zaragoza.[3] [4]

Map 1a. The Tehuantepec Isthmus, Southern part



2 As will be explained further ahead, the term Huave is considered by a great number of educated Mareños to be a derogatory imposition from outsiders and an embodiment of the results of a centuries-long process of colonisation characterised by oppression and inequality. My work ethic is that linguists would do better not to contribute to this process, and, as recommended by Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez (Leiden University), to adopt a standpoint epistemology or a stance of "postcolonial hermeneutics" (Pérez Jiménez, 2011) that is characterised by real respect towards the community being investigated and that logically also takes into account the perspective of community members.

3 These municipalities will henceforth be referred to as San Dionisio, San Francisco, Santa María and San Mateo.

4 Map from INEGI (available online: http://gaia.inegi.org.mx/mdm6/).

The area covering parts of Mexico and Nicaragua as well as the independent states of Belize, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras in their totality is known as Mesoamerica, a cultural area first defined by the archaeologist Paul Kirchhof. Common traits of this cultural area mentioned by Kirchhof include sedentism/agriculture, cultivation of the *maguey* cactus (Lat. *agave americana*, a plant used for fermenting beverages and producing paper as well as textile), *chía* seeds (*salvia hispanica*, used for painting) and cacao, as well as hieroglyphic writing and a 260-day calendar (Kirchhof, 1943). A reliance on food stock like corn, beans, chilli and avocado is also considered a common trait. Although languages pertaining to approximately 18 unrelated families (of which six are extinct) are found in Mesoamerica, a multitude of cross-linguistic traits common to all or most of them can be identified, which has led to the recognition of Mesoamerica as a linguistic area or Sprachbund (e.g. Campbell, Kaufman & Smith Stark, 1986). These traits, and their applicability to Umbeyajts, are more closely examined in the course of this grammar (for a summary, see 13.1.1).

The prehistory of the Ikojts is quite unclear as yet, but the 17th century historian Burgoa claims (in *Geográfica descripción de la parte septentrional, del Polo Ártico de la América*, which was written in 1674) that the Ikojts have actually migrated to the region from the far south, possibly from Nicaragua or Perú (see also 13.1). This could partially explain the fact that the Ikojts' languages are an isolate in the region, completely standing on its own amongst neighbouring language families that do have a genetic affiliation with some linguistic family (e.g. Zapotec, Mixe, Huamelultec Chontal[5]). Several attempts have been made to assign a genetic classification to the Ikojts' language, but none has proven to be conclusive. Radin (1916) compared the Ikojts' languages to Mixe-Zoquean, Mayan and Totonacan languages, and Swadesh (1960) believed it to be Oto-Manguean, but the evidence presented by neither is convincing. Campbell (1997) classifies the Ikojts' languages as an isolate, as do most other modern reference sources.

5 The two related Oaxacan Chontal langages that are still spoken today, Huamelultec and Highland Chontal or Tequistlatec, are classified together into the Tequistlatecan family, which is generally also considered to be an isolate, although many scholars have classified it as part of the controversial Hokan macro-family, and Campbell & Oltrogge (1980) state that there could be a link to Jicaquean.

The number of Ikojts languages speakers living in and around the three speech communities of San Mateo del Mar, San Dionisio del Mar and San Francisco del Mar is approximately 16,896 (INEGI population census[6])[7].

MAP 1B. LAGUNAR SYSTEM (Map from Google Earth)

6 The Mexican 2005 INEGI population census reported a total of 15,324 self-declared speakers, of which 1,562 declared themselves to have no knowledge of Spanish, while 13,762 were fluent in both languages. In 2010, 18,264 speakers were mentioned, of which 3,425 declared themselves monolinguals and 3,379 'analphabets'. However, in 2015, 16,869 speakers of indigenous languages were counted in the municipalities of San Mateo, San Francisco and San Dionisio (Santa María is much more problematic, since the number for its municipality includes all speakers of Zapotec in Juchitán and surroundings), of whom 2,547 reported themselves as monolinguals.

7 I would like to emphasise my view that, while some scholars assert that anthropological research "including census data can help maximize the validity and reliability of social research" (Kennedy & Perz, 2000), one is justified in calling attention to the numerous problems pertaining to validity and reliability which have been associated with the use of census data, and the latter have consequently been amply criticized. One example of the problematic use of census data from applied practice is the gathering of information on speaker numbers, where the conceptual problem of defining an Indigenous language poses a serious threat both to reliability and validity: i) Language boundaries are often problematic in situations where many related varieties form a dialect continuum, as is the case with some Zapotec varieties, e.g. Miahuatec Zapotec (Salminen, 2014). The 'speakers' population targeted by a census may not concur with the one envisaged by the linguist, despite the use of an identical denominator (like 'Loxicha Zapotec'); ii) even in cases where there are clear boundaries (such as between Isthmus Zapotec/Diidxaza and Umbeyajts), past INEGI censuses (e.g. 2010) have measured the speakers of 'the Indigenous language' in a municipality, thus not differentiating between Zapotec speakers in the municipal agency of Santa Cruz (San Francisco del Mar) and Umbeyajts speakers in Pueblo Nuevo; iii) command/competence of the language can hardly be supposed to have been measured accurately by the census, unless conducted by surveyors with specific training in linguistics and language testing. These remarks are not intended to invalidate my speaker estimates, but to remind the reader of the fact that these are, precisely, *estimates*, and of the epistemological problems in quantifying speakers more generally.

Santa María del Mar is probably the most isolated speech community, depending on how one defines isolation – here, what is referred to is road access, because Santa María del Mar residents may still be able to get to San Dionisio by sea (and subsequently to continue onward by road to Juchitán), but only when the meteorological conditions allow this (and very frequently they do not, due to the strong wind prevailing in the Tehuantepec Isthmus caused by its the tunnel-like geological shape, which allows for high pressure to be built up above the Gulf of Mexico to pass with enormous force through the narrow Isthmus, reaching the Ikojts area with speed of up to 180 km/h (Castaneira, 2008: 12). Other factors increasing the isolation of the community include the cost of fuel, and of maintaining peaceful political relations with San Dionisio del Mar (Chiara Bresciani, p.c.). The only access road was blocked in 2010 due to an armed conflict which has been going on for many years between San Mateo, Santa María and Huilotepec. The only way for people to travel back and forth to the mainland to conduct their business (e.g. trade) is currently by boat through San Dionisio del Mar or by travelling directly across the Laguna to Juchitán.

Each speech community speaks its own variety of the language – arguably groupable together into a language family as four separate languages, since to differentiate languages and dialects one can use a plethora of linguistic (typological, historico-linguistic, sociolinguistic) and sociocultural (geopolitical, cultural, sociological, historical) criteria; as Yiddish linguist Max Weinreich (1945: 13) once said in his lectures (a quote he attributed to an anonymous auditor of his lectures): A language is a dialect with an army and navy. All four of the varieties are fairly well mutually intelligible and speakers are able to have a conversation with speakers of the other varieties while both sticking to their own variety. Kim (2008) states the following regarding intelligibility: 'The difference is perhaps comparable to that between standard spoken Swedish and standard spoken Danish', representing a rather marked difference (I know of people speaking one language and yet unable to understand the other due to not being accustomed to hearing it). However, intelligibility is only one criterion. I will take a neutral standpoint and use for example the term 'cross-dialectically'. Nevertheless, given the pejorative connotation of *dialecto* in Spanish, I have given the preference to the consistent use of the terms 'language' and 'variety'.

Most speakers of the language (in San Dionisio, the figure is 99.34% according to the INEGI census of 2015) also have an active command of the dominant language of the national political and cultural system, Spanish, seen as a language with high prestige, which makes it safe to say that the communities are characterised by a situation of diglossia. The Isthmus area is also home to the Isthmus Zapotec people who speak a very prestigious variety of Zapotec in comparison with many other Zapotec varieties of Oaxaca (see, for example, Salminen, 2014). San Dionisio is part of the former Juchitán district[8], and its capital Juchitán de Zaragoza (henceforth called Juchitán) is known to be a significant stronghold in present-day Zapotec culture, often hosting cultural events, expositions by Zapotec artists as well as several institutions diffusing Zapotec culture (for example *Lidxi Guendabia'ani*, called *Casa de la Cultura* in Spanish). The closest neighbouring towns of San Dionisio are Chicapa de Castro and Unión Hidalgo, with a majority of Zapotec speakers. Still, in the town itself, there are very few Zapotec speakers (only one is known to reside there currently, to the author's knowledge), and people tend not to have a high level of conversational skill in the Zapotec language since most business is conducted in regional Spanish (which, nevertheless, features a lot of Zapotec words and shares some further traits with it, such as the question word *já*, also sometimes spelled *njá* due to the nasalised quality of the vowel). San Francisco is the municipality with the greatest number of Zapotec speakers, having jurisdiction over, for example, the *agencia* Colonia Montecillo Santa Cruz, situated between Huamuchil and San Francisco Pueblo Nuevo and populated mostly by Zapotec speakers from Ixhuatán. Pueblo Nuevo is the 'new village', whereas Pueblo Viejo is the 'historical village', now only very scarcely populated. Pueblo Nuevo is situated at the banks of the Ostuta River, and right on the other side of the river is the head town of another municipality, San Francisco Ixhuatán, where around 10% of the inhabitants is Zapotec-speaking. Nevertheless, Kim (2008) reported that in the community where she conducted her research (Pueblo Nuevo) there were but a few bilingual speakers (p. 3).

8 The division into *distritos* according to the federal government used to be different. Nowadays the administrative units are called *distritos electorales*, and while San Mateo belongs to the *V. Distrito Electoral Federal de Oaxaca* (of which Tehuantepec is the *cabecera* or capital), all the other abovementioned communities belong to the *VII. Distrito Electoral Federal de Oaxaca* (of which Juchitán de Zaragoza is the *cabecera*).

The Ikojts call themselves *ikojts* [i'kohts] (in San Dionisio and in Santa María), *ikoots* [i'kô:dz] (in San Mateo) or *kunajts* [ku'nahts] (in San Francisco) - this is a first person inclusive plural pronoun, though many use the Spanish term *mareño* or *mareña* ('sea person') in meta-sociolinguistic discourse. The language is called *u-mbey-ajts* [POS.II.U-mouth-1INCL], meaning 'our (incl.) language' (the corresponding forms in San Mateo and Santa María are *o-mbeay-iiüts* and *u-mbey-üjts*, respectively).

The term 'Huave' is described in most sources as a loan from Zapotec (e.g. Kim, 2008: "The word *huave* is widely reported to come from a Zapotec term meaning 'people who rot in the humidity'", p. 6), and this interpretation was also very common in older sources (e.g. Belmar, 1901). There is a verb in Isthmus Zapotec which I believe could have given rise to this interpretation: *ria'abi* 'rot' (*ri-* is a realisation of the habitual aspect marker). Nonetheless, the "past participle" form of this verb (which is the one that could have, in a semantically plausible way, led to a form resembling the word *Huave*) is not *hua'abi* but *huaya'abi*. One might hypothesise that the palatal approximant in this form could have disappeared over time; however, scholars at the Mexican *Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas* (National Institute of Indigenous Languages, henceforth called INALI) seem to be currently in the process of developing an etymology based on a term in Huamelultec Chontal (Vicente Marcial Cerqueda, personal communication).

1.2.2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

1.2.2.1. LINGUISTICS

Previous investigations on the language include publications in linguistics, but these are quite limited in number; however, in the recent years there has been an increase. Some sources especially suited for the purpose of etymological research are the 19th century world lists (very short) by Antonio Peñafiel and Brasseur de Bourbourg. Belmar's (1901) data are far more elaborate and deal with the Santa María variety. Paul Radin (1926), compiled a number of stories and made a fairly accurate transcription of these, which has been especially useful for the chapter on grammaticalisation (10). I have tried to track any possible recordings but there are no records of these if they were ever even produced. All of the above, except for Radin, are limited to a few lexical items.

Jorge Suárez (1975) produced an extensive reconstruction of Proto-Huave with data from all four varieties which forms a strong basis for current historical-comparative and etymological research. A dictionary of the San Mateo variety was published by SIL, including a concise overview of the grammar (Stairs and Kreger, 1981). Stairs and Hollenbach (1969) is an article on verbal morphology within a tagmemic framework, followed by an article proposing a non-tagmemic analysis of verbal morphology, Matthews (1972). Noyer (1993) proposes a new analysis for verbal morphology within a generative framework, based on previous publications. Noyer (1991 and 2003) and Pak (2007) are articles on specific topics in phonology with a generative or OT orientation, and Kim (2008) is a PhD dissertation on phonology and morphology of the San Francisco del Mar variety, and Kim (2010) is an article on affix order, which is an interesting topic also in the current Umbeyajts variety. Gnerre and Cuturi (2005) and Gnerre (forthcoming) are articles on semantics. Noyer (2013) is an extensive phonological description of the San Mateo variety, but data from San Dionisio are also extensively taken into account here. I have witnessed Professor Noyer spending large amounts of time with San Dionisio speakers, and he has also done fieldwork in Santa María del Mar, most likely as one of the first linguists, if not the very first. His *Nadam minawijk mipuoch Umbeyajts* also titled *Diccionario Etimológico* (2013) is a growing collection of roots with remarks about their etymology and examples from field data as well as historical data (eg. Belmar, Radin, Suárez) in all four varieties.

1.2.2.2. ANTHROPOLOGY

One of the earlier anthropologists who gathered San Dionisio data was the previously mentioned American anthropologist, Paul Radin (1926); however, his data gathering is likely to have taken place in Juchitán rather than in the village itself. A significant amount of anthropological fieldwork has been carried out in the San Mateo region; some examples are Hernández Díaz & Lizama Quijano (1999), Millán Valenzuela (1994a, 1994b), Ramírez Castañeda & Olivares (1976, 1987) and Zizumbo & Colunga (1982). Many anthropologists who have worked in San Mateo belong to what is called the 'Italian school', consisting of Italo Signorini and his students, including anthropologist Flavia Cuturi and anthropological linguist Maurizio Gnerre. Other scholars belonging to

this group are Lupo (1981, 1991, 1997, 1998) and Tallè (2004). Specific research on San Dionisio was carried out by Hans-Peter Frey (1981) who spent several months in the community and is currently remembered by many community members by the name *Juan Frey*. Chiara Bresciani has conducted extensive fieldwork in San Dionisio and is currently writing a PhD on agency and cultural change in the community (Bresciani, forthcoming). Bresciani's MA thesis was based on prior fieldwork conducted in a group of Italian students headed by Francesco Zanotelli (see a summary in Bresciani 2012, 2014). Another anthropologist currently researching medical anthropology of San Dionisio (more specifically, on diabetes) is Laura Montesi, who has published several articles about the community, as well as educational tools in the language.

1.2.2.3. HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

As Mesoamerica is a region with a great variety of indigenous peoples, and the state of Oaxaca is the state with the most numerous indigenous population of the entire federal territory, with 47,9% of population classified as Indigenous according to CDI (cited in Bresciani, forthcoming). Mesoamerican history and archaeology are fields with a long tradition, and most recently, ethnohistory has been an important research focus (Jansen, 2012, 2015; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez, 2010; Jansen & Raffa, 2015). Joyce (1993) has investigated coastal towns of Oaxaca and his work thus contains relevant information on the prehistory of the area. The most recent well-known work more specifically on the territorial history of the Ikojts is Castaneira Ben Yee (2008), who bases his research partly on data of his predecessors Méndez Martínez (1975) and Zeitlin (1995a, b).

1.3. SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT

1.3.1. HISTORY OF THE REGION

In the fifteenth century, when the Aztec armies ventured southward from their homeland in central Mexico in order to expand their conquest, reaching the Soconusco (the southern part of the state of Chiapas) and thus passing through the Isthmus area, they thereby forced the Mixe peoples to seek refuge in the mountains of the Sierra Mixe, whereas the Ikojts, who had been occupying the Isthmus territory up to as far as Jalapa de Marquez Valley (de la Cerda, 1941) were driven to the coastal strip. The Zapotecs of

Zaachila (Oaxaca Valley) made use of the weak position of Mixes and Ikojts to settle in the Isthmus.

During the fifteenth century, however, Aztec ruler Ahuitzotl attempted to conquer the Isthmus area and waged war on the Zapotecs, who then forged an alliance with the Mixtec, their former enemies. They faced the Aztec army in the so called Battle of Guiengola, and despite of being significantly outnumbered, they won this battle. The Isthmus area was conquered by the Spanish in the beginning of the 16th century.

The greater part of the present-day state of Oaxaca was given to Cortés by the Spanish crown as an *encomienda* in the contemporary feudal system, but his *encomienda* did not include the coast near Tehuantepec. It is unclear from the sources what implications this exclusion from the *encomienda* had exactly, but one may hypothesise that there was less contact between the religious authorities and the people in this area, who were most probably the Ikojts. In the sixteenth century, populations of villages in the Tehuantepec were decimated due to epidemics – one of the main causes for the extinction of Native peoples following the European conquest, causing the population to go down from 20,000 to 3,200 in less than fifty years (Millán Valenzuela, 1994a:8).

1.3.2. HABITAT

The home of the Ikojts, the coastal plain of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, having been historically inhabited by different ethnic groups (Mixe and Zoque people probably being the first inhabitants, and several languages belonging to both groups are still found in the more inland areas of the Isthmus) stretches from the Pacific slope in the south almost up to the Gulf of Mexico in the north, and from the Sierra Madre del Sur mountain range in the east to the Soconusco region of the state of Chiapas. Today, the coastal strip is inhabited by Isthmus Zapotec speaking Zapotecs and the Ikojts occupy only a very small strip on the Pacific slope.

The Tehuantepec Isthmus has, throughout history, been an economically important region. It is rich in natural resources, and due to its flat shape it allows for easy transition

between the east and the west coast (a distance of barely 150 kilometers). The Isthmus forms a natural frontier between North and Central America.

The climate is arid and tropical, with two main seasons (a dry season, lasting from November to April, and a wet season from May until September). The Pacific slope has three ecological zones: Thorn forest, savannah and a mangrove swamp.

1.3.3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT

Most people in San Dionisio del Mar speak Spanish in all domains of daily life, especially younger people. Older people generally still speak Umbeyajts, and people of the middle generation mostly understand it and many are still able to speak it too, but do not do so.

Zapotec is not widely spoken either; Kim (personal communication) mentions that many of those counted in the census as speaking 'an indigenous language' are actually, in their majority, Zapotec speakers. I have only encountered one fluent Zapotec speaker, despite my efforts to find more. Zapotec is the majority language in the neighbouring towns of Chicapa de Castro and Unión Hidalgo, and it is also widely spoken in the rest of the district of Juchitán, including its capital.

Some townships in Oaxaca are ruled within the politico-legal framework of usos y costumbres, which is based on a certain amount of self-determination of Indigenous communities through the maintenance of mechanisms of indigenous customary law, allowing communities to excercise certain legal power based on a previously encoded version of their own traditional legal system through , for instance, the *cargos* system, which is very common throughout Mesoamerica and involves obligatory community duties (for instance, whereas being a police officer in the political party system is a paid government job, it is a community duty in many communities with the *usos y costumbres* system, for example in San Mateo del Mar). It should be noted, however, that the system of *usos y costumbres* is not 'based on tradition' as such - rather, it is a crystallised version of community systems encoded in 1995, and, as such, the simple equation of *usos y costumbres* as a political system with 'the traditional' should be

avoided (Chiara Bresciani, p.c.), and while reflecting a traditional community structure in the sense that it incorporates social, religious and political elements in a 'vertical *cargos* system' (Hernández-Díaz, 2007: 20-1), it is 'el resultado de una mezcla de formas prehispánicas de organización política que sobrevivieron a la conquista, y del ayuntamiento español, impuesto a los indígenas durante la Colonia' (Hernández-Díaz, 2007: 20). Within this system, authorities are often respected elders who keep and observe the traditions, necessarily being proficient in both the regular and the ceremonial register of the language. This does not apply to San Dionisio del Mar, where the system of political parties is in vigour in most contexts and most authorities do not speak Umbeyajts at all.

San Dionisio del Mar has one bilingual primary school, where a handful of children are taught Umbeyajts. In the other schools (one regular primary school, one secondary school and one professional institute which is post-secondary) Umbeyajts is not spoken and teachers are not from the Ikojts region.

1.3.4. Subsistence and way of life

The Ikojts people are traditionally known as providers of shrimps and other sea food stock to the Zapotecs in trade, already characterized as such by Burgoa. Fishing constitutes one of the two most salient economic activities in the Ikojts' communities, the other one being agriculture. Pigs, chickens and turkeys are kept for food, but these are not bred for trade. Hunting for iguanas, deer and rabbits is common; iguanas are usually eaten when the females bear eggs. Corn, beans, chilli pepper and tomato are grown for own use.

Women tend to sell their husbands' produce (seafood) at the markets; in my experience, Ikojts women are often associated with this activity throughout the Isthmus area. Whereas San Mateo del Mar has its own market, San Dionisio del Mar women tend to travel to Juchitán in order to conduct trade.

1.3.5. Religious life and ceremonies

Most residents of San Dionisio del Mar are affiliated to the Catholic faith, but as is very common across Mesoamerican cultures, daily spiritual life is full of elements of the pre-Catholic Mesoamerican religions. People go to church for worship, but also to a sacred mountain on an island called Cerro Cristo, where rituals are conducted on different important times each year. Easter (Semana Santa) is considered the most important time of the year, even more important than the village's own Patron saint's day. The name San Dionisio indicates that San Dionisio is the patron saint, and the saint we find in its church is Aeropagita (Dionysus the Aeropagite) – this interrelates with the principal legend of the community, which relates about a boy who possessed all the technological and spiritual knowledge that the Ikojts community would need in order to prosper, and who left for Europe[9].

An important group to be mentioned here is constituted by the adherents to diverse protestant churches active in the region. Since a large part of traditional life is rooted in practices with a religious (i.e. Catholic) background, these community members do not usually participate in traditional life, as the protestant churches forbid the consumption of alcohol and ceremonies often include the use of mezcal in ritual contexts, and additionally the involvement of saints and other imagery is excluded through the prohibition on idol worship. However, many members of these churches are otherwise very active in the community, e.g. commercially and politically.

The current name of San Dionisio is *Stas*[10], which is a loan from Spanish (from *estancia* '[place to] stay'). The reason for this name seemed obscure until after my first fieldwork texts relating to the history of the community, in which it was emphasised that this name was originally given to the place due to its nature as a temporary cattle grazing spot, used by people from San Dionisio Pueblo Viejo which was the original population center until the mid-20th century.

9 In San Mateo the legend relates of a woman (*müm nijmeor kang*), who went overseas before the Spaniards' arrival, taking all knowledge and power with her and promising to return one day – people now wait for her to come back one day (Velázquez, undated).

10 The pre-Colonial name of San Dionisio del Mar is documented as *Umalalang* by the chronicles. The name in Nahuatl used during the Colony was *Tepehuanzontlan*.

A number of materials have been published on Ikojts oral history, but the data collected in these publications are from San Mateo del Mar. There are significant differences: Apart from the Boy story above, the *montyok* do not feature in any of the accounts I was able to obtain; however, such stories appear ot exist (Chiara Bresciani, p.c.). *Montyok*, known in the literature on San Mateo as *Monteoc*, are higher spiritual beings, and the term is also used to describe the quality in an elder that gives them authority. The *montyok* are said to have left the Ikojts, as respect for the traditions waned as a consequence of acculturation, and they are said to have sought refuge in the mountains and lakes of the Ikojts area (Ramírez Castañeda, 1987). I have not encountered this concept in San Dionisio del Mar, but the verb root *-tyok* carries the meaning of 'transforming by means of magic'. The existence of a specific ceremonial register, very common in Mesoamerican cultures (called *parangón* or *palangón* in Spanish[11]) is evident also in Umbeyajts (see chapter 13).

A book in Umbeyajts is rumoured to exist, containing all the prayers an elder needs to conduct ceremonies. This book is said to be passed on from one elder to the other based on specific need (eg. at times of weddings, other celebrations or church masses). It is possible that the rumours regarding this mysterious book refer to the notebook mentioned by Frey (1981), in which the turns of the *Mayordomos* are noted (*mayordomía* is a concept in which a rotating role of sponsors assures the timely organisation of celebrations).

The ethnographic literature regarding San Dionisio specifically is currently limited to Laura Montesi's recent publications and Hans-Peter Frey's (1981) research report, but Chiara Bresciani's forthcoming PhD on agency and cultural change will also include a thorough description of the religious landscape of the community.

1.3.6. NATIONAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

1.3.6.1. POLITICO-ECONOMICAL HISTORY OF THE REGION

11 A unique PhD thesis by a speaker of *dadavi*/Mixtec fluent in the *palangón* register of the Apoala variety was published under supervision of ethnohistorian and archaeologist Maarten E. R. G. N. Jansen, who deserves credit for playing a key role in the decipherment of the pictographic codices of the *Ñusavi* or Mixtecs (López García, 2007).

1.3.6.1.1. THE ISTHMUS OF TEHUANTEPEC

The Isthmus of Tehuantepec is strategically located between the central part of Mexico, where the rulers of the Aztec empire were located, and the Guatemalan Highlands in the South, which formed the gateway to Middle America, the bridge between the continents of North and South America. Aztec military troops and merchants passed through this territory on their way to the south, where the Aztecs effectuated conquest until as far away as present-day Nicaragua, where Nahuatl toponyms exist to testify of this, and Nahuatl-speaking communities still exist beyond Mexico (the Pipil in El Salvador, many of whom perished as a consequence of ethnocide as recently as 1932).

In the colonial era, the region continued playing an important role as a major trade route connecting the north and the south as well as the Caribbean sea/Gulf of Mexico with the Atlantic ocean, and Tehuantepec became an important center of commerce. In the modern era, Juchitán also started to function as a major hub of international trade due to the establishment of an interoceanic railway (the *Ferrocarril Transístmico*) in the 19th century, connecting the major ports of Salina Cruz (on the Pacific coast of Oaxaca) and Coatzacoalcos in the state of Veracruz (at the mouth of the Coatzacoalcos river, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico) and at this point in time the population incremented from 52,000 to 109,000, resulting in a region which was more distant from the Mexican capital than from some of the major cities of the world and in which Zapotec *huipiles* were made out of cotton textiles imported from Manchester (Millán Valenzuela, 1994a: 9).

A rivalry between Juchitán and Tehuantepec is still very noticeable in the current times and has its roots in the French intervention in Mexico in the 1860's (DeMott, 2006: 53) ordered by Napoleon III, who intended to collect Mexican debts owed to Europe – in cooperation with Great Britain and Spain, with whom a treaty was signed (the Convention of London, October 31st 1861; Chartrand & Hook, 1994: 3) and furthermore to conquer Mexico in its entirety. The Second Mexican Empire was created in 1863 and Archduke Maximilian of Austria was crowned, however, Napoleon III announced the withdrawal of his troops in early 1866, and the emperor was finally executed by firing squad in October in the same year (Chartrand & Hook 1994: 5). In the summer of this year a republican coronel from Tehuantepec, Regimio Toledo, switched sides to support

the imperial forces, and his batallion was (together with imperial troops) eventually defeated by the Zaragoza batallion (composed mostly of Juchitec Zapotecs as well as voluntary fighters from the San Blas neighbourhood of Tehuantepec) during what came to be known as the battle of Juchitán which took place on the 5th of September 1866 (Martínez López, ms).

1.3.6.1.2. WIND POWER CONFLICT

San Dionisio del Mar has two municipal agencies: San Dionisio del Mar Pueblo Viejo (reachable by boat from Playa del Faro) and Huamuchil (reachable by land on the road to San Francisco del Mar Pueblo Nuevo). Santa María del Mar is easily reachable by sea and many inhabitants of this community pass through San Dionisio because some of its population is engaged in a land dispute with the San Mateo del Mar community, which has led to outbursts of armed violence on several occasions (e.g. during the year preceding the beginning of my fieldwork), as well as to the closure of the only road into the village. Santa María del Mar inhabitants are now forced to travel by boat to either Playa Vicente or San Dionisio del Mar, and subsequently by road, often changing buses or cars in the town of Chicapa de Castro and/or Unión Hidalgo, to the district capital of Juchitán.

The conflict has its roots in a concession made by the authorities in Santa María to the Spanish windmill company Preneal, which included the use of lands to install around 30 aerogenerators for the production of electricity, which the municipal authorities of San Mateo del Mar disapproved of, presenting a claim to part of the lands concerned as belonging to its territory, and not to Santa Maria's.

People in San Dionisio del Mar Pueblo Viejo (approximately 50 households) have been involved in a major conflict related to a larger eolic project proposed by the same company (featuring more than a hundred turbines), which led to protests and violent confrontations within and beyond the municipality of San Dionisio, giving rise to the increased activity of existing non-governmental organisations, such as UCIZONI (Union of Indigenous Communities of the Northern Zone of the Isthmus), and also leading to the creation of new ones (such as the APSDM or *Asamblea de Pueblos de San Dionisio*

del Mar). The conflict involved several multinational companies (first Spanish Preneal, and subsequently a joint venture by the Australian global investment bank Macquarie (Macquarie Mexico Infrastructure Fund (MMIF) and Macquarie Capital Society) together with Mitsubishi Corporation and PGGM, the second largest pension fund in the Netherlands; the turbines were to be provided by a Danish company called Vestas Wind Systems). The companies had leased lands bordering the Laguna (reportedly this was done already in 1994 and without the consent of the population), and planned to construct a windmill park, marketed under the banner of green energy. The purpose of the project, called *Mareña Renovables*, was to be to provide electricity to several major companies including Coca Cola, FEMSA and Cuauhtémoc Moctezuma (part of Heineken).

Over the years of my fieldwork (2011-2013), protests and media coverage led, together with numerous road blocks aimed at preventing company machinery from entering the municipal grounds, to an eventual change of plans, and the project was relocated to a different site in 2013.

1.3.6.2. NATIONAL POLICIES

The Mexican nation state (and the Aztec empire before it; Heath, 1972 apud Hamel, 2008: 311) have considered education of paramount importance in directing the process of consolidating citizens' membership in the nation, and the dominant ethnic and language policy has been the favouring of assimilation with the aim of nation building, and Mexican governments 'have always subordinated the questions of psychological appropriateness and the quality of learning to the political questions of control and integration of the indigenous population, from colonial times until our days' (Hamel, 2008: 312).

Since the 1970's the existence of the *Educación Indígena* (Indigenous Education) program aims at guaranteeing a curriculum in the native language of many communities, employing teachers who are speakers of the community language. However, the hegemonic conception of Spanish as a dominant language suitable for all academic and professional purposes and the more or less inferior status of the indigenous language, stemming from the 'diglossic conflict' and the values propagated by the nation state (eg.

the promise of upward mobility through Spanish literacy) are still, in one form or another, observable in teachers of the indigenous school system (Hamel, 2008: 316). Hamel mentions methodological problems which prevent the bilingual education system from reaching its declared goals: The lack of a goal of developing academic skills and other highly cognitively demanding tasks in the L1 and transfer of acquired skills from one language to another, and failure to acknowledge the distinction between different registers in either language (Hamel 2008: 317).

Hamel's conclusion is that '[t]he global dimension of the construction of a new, pluricultural and pluriethnic nation state advanced significantly on a political, conceptual and legal level [..] but little change has occurred on the grass root level of bilingual education in the classroom' (Hamel 2008: 319).

1.3.6.3. GLOBALISATION

Globalisation - a term not, in itself, new - has become an important issue in social sciences, inspite of the many indeterminate uses of the term which have placed in doubt its worth as an analytical concept (Scholte, 2008) Nevertheless, it seems obvious that there 'is something there': When one hears San Dionisio speakers in a very local setting talk about peace in the Middle East or the importation of chili peppers from China, or when a speaker in his eighties asks *Ustedes se van en aereo, ¿no?*, using the Italian *aereo* instead of Spanish *avión,* and when a traditional story about the *ñutyok* reveals that this mythical little boy is actually living in Europe, it becomes clear that the people of San Dionisio are very much in touch with a global symbolic order.

When I arrived to the village for the first time I was almost unable to find an access to internet – even though there was one internet café which had a connection in the afternoons, it was often dysfunctional and I remember once spending a full hour waiting for my e-mail inbox to open. A Skype conversation would have been unimaginable. In 2013, however, a resident who had spent time in Latvia, among other places, had opened a new internet café which offered WiFi reaching houses that were located hundreds of meters away from it, with (often) speeds suitable for streaming videos and Skype conversations. If by "globalisation" we mean a situation of supraterritoriality in

which global space is conceptualised as a planetary unit, with geographical limits losing their restrictive importance to social interaction (Scholte, 2008), then, under this definition, San Dionisio is most definitely not outside its reach.

Language is intrinsically connected to processes of globalisation (Blommaert, 2010: 2) and globalisation is not – as is often claimed – necessarily a homogenising and imperialistic force; rather, globalisation increases complexity and does not imply a strict local/global dichotomy (eg. Scholte, 2008). Furthermore, even though San Dionisio has been faced with the less pleasant side of globalisation (see 1.3.5.1.2 about the confrontation with a strategic alliance of Mexican, Australian, Danish and Dutch companies determined to use lands traditionally considered sacred for the production of electricity for Coca Cola and Heineken, triggering major divisions and conflicts and an interesting debate on who owns the Wind) globalisation *qua* geographical process is not the same as neoliberalism *qua* political project (Scholte, 2008: 1475) even though it may often seem that way. Also, importantly, sociolinguistic research does indicate that such universal claims cannot be reconciled with particular linguistic realities and that globalisation does, in fact, promote the vitality of languages in many actual sociolinguistic contexts (Blommaert, 2010). The presence of San Dionisio del Mar and the ethnonym *ikojts* on the internet (in San Dionisio spelling, as opposed to San Mateo; even though sometimes misspelled as *ikjoot(s)*) has increased dramatically since the conflict, and supporters of language revitalisation should see hope in the successful endeavour of Chiara Bresciani and Vladimir Muriel Gijón to produce bilingual rap in Umbeyajts[12].

1.4. DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

This grammar is based on extensive fieldwork in San Dionisio del Mar undertaken by the author and sponsored by James Cook University (GRS), the Firebird Foundation and grant funds made available by Professor A. Y. Aikhenvald and Professor R. M. W. Dixon, as well as a pilot trip, or preparatory period, of approximately five months prior to my enrollment at James Cook University in the beginning of 2011.

12 Available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xhRImP-Naak ; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GAOdzORUTQk .

The first fieldwork period lasted almost the entire academic year 2011-2012, the second took place in 2013 and was supported by a visiting student affiliation to the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social supervised by Professor Roberto Zavala Maldonado.

Linguistic fieldwork involves careful planning and technological preparation, and the Cairns institute provided me with the necessary recording equipment (a Zoom H4n audio recorder). Permission for conducting the research was obtained during the pilot trip with community representatives who were present at a speaker meeting convocated by the linguistics department of the Mexican National Institute of Indigenous Languages (INALI). Arrangements were made with several speakers in order to be able to participate in daily life and be exposed to the language continuously while in the community. It was possible to stay with a family that uses the language on a daily basis: School teacher Obdulio Muriel Díaz invited me into his home and he, his wife Zodelva and teenage son Vladimir facilitated my first contact with a variety of, mostly elderly, speakers. Younger speakers under 40 years of age are somewhat underrepresented in the sample of speakers who contributed with recorded speech, but I recorded two male and one female speaker in this age group. The sample is slightly biased toward males, with recordings made with the help of eight male and five female speakers. A total of 16 hours and 48 minutes of audio recordings of various genres were registered, of which 775 minutes consisted of speech produced in Umbeyajts, and 233 minutes were mixed conversations and interviews, mostly in Spanish. The Umbeyajts materials were transcribed in the field, often with the help of different speakers.

The most central part of the fieldwork was the active participation in daily life in the community aimed at acquiring an active command of the language and establishing relationships in the community. Active participation in social practices can be considered necessary in order to gain a more thorough understanding of the way meanings are produced and communicated. Most of the time, except for circumstances where the natural environment made this impossible – for example, darkness at night, storms, or sea water while travelling by boat – I was able to take notes using pen and paper. These

notes, together with the recordings, formed the basis for my daily progress in the language.

The transcribed texts helped me compile a collection of linguistic facts of the language, and it is on these that the coming chapters of this grammar are based.

2. Phonology

In this chapter, an overview will be given of characteristics of the phonology of Umbeyajts from a synchronic point of view. In 2.1, I will give an overview of segments – consonants in 2.1.1 and vowels/diphthongs in 2.1.2. Suprasegmental phonology will be dealt with in 2.2. First a description of stress will be provided, and aspiration will be the topic of 2.1.2.3. Palatalisation and other allophonic processes will be discussed in 2.3.1 and onward, and 2.4 will provide a discussion of root and syllable structure, and the phonological word. Phonotactic restrictions will be discussed in 2.4.3. Section 2.5 will be an in-depth discussion of morphophonology, 2.6 will be an overview of words, roots, syllables and segments that behave in a phonologically unusual way, and marginal phonemes and their characteristics and loanword phonology will likewise be dealt with there. Finally, 2.7 will be a discussion of the phonology from a diachronic point of view, followed by an explanation of the orthography[13] (2.8).

2.1. SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

2.1.1. CONSONANTS

An inventory of consonants in Umbeyajts is displayed below. Marginal phonemes, that is, phonemes whose occurrence is very limited or restricted to non-native material, are displayed in brackets.

TABLE 2A. CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Dental	Apical Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	**(b) p**	**(d) t'**			**(g) k**	
	ᵐb	**ⁿd'**			**ᵑg**	
					ᵑgʷ' kʷ'	
Fricatives	**(ɸ)**	**(ð)**	**s'**			**h**
Affricates		**ʦ'**				
		ndz'				
Liquids			**r r l'**			
Nasals	**m**	**n'**				
Approximants	**w'**			**j**		

13 Throughout this chapter, IPA representations will be used. However, for practical purposes, in the chapters following the current one, a practical orthography will be used, which is consistent and fairly straightforward. This orthography is one currently in use by teachers in San Dionisio del Mar. An explanation will be given in section 2.8.

An apostrophe following a phoneme indicates that the segment has an allophonic palatalised realisation, which is necessarily allophonically conditioned as will be seen in 2.3.1. These consonants will henceforth be called palatalisable, whereas their palatalised realisation will be termed palatalised, in opposition to their non-palatalised realisation, which I will proceed to call plain.

2.1.1.1. STOPS. Umbeyajts has a series of voiceless stops, which have contrasting prenasalised, voiced counterparts. These consonants are analysed as prenasalised stops. This is due both (1) to historical-comparative linguistic considerations (for instance, as shown by Noyer (2013), prenasalised stops in Mayan loanwords show regular correspondances with ejective stops in their counterpart in Mayan languages), and especially (2) to phonotactic restrictions, which disallow consonant clusters of CCVC, CCVCC or CVCC structure in native roots.

The voiced stops /b/, /d/ and /g/, which I have marked as marginal phonemes, originate, historically speaking, from prenasalised stops and do not contrast with these: [b] and [d] occur in free variation with [^{m}b] (except for one case, the word 'fire', which is /biemb/ - probably due to dissimilation, as Rolf Noyer (p.c.) suggested to me) and [^{n}d], whereas [g] occurs in complementary distribution with [^{ŋ}g], and its occurrences are lexicalised, as will be seen in 2.4. There is a labialised voiceless velar stop /k^{w}/, which also has a prenasalised, voiced counterpart, /^{ŋ}g^{w}/. When palatalised, stops surface in different ways. /t/ and /^{n}d/ surface with secondary palatalisation: [t^{j}] and [^{n}d^{j}]. The palatalisation is clearly audible in this case. The other stops /p/, /^{m}b/, /k/ and /^{ŋ}g/ generally tend to surface with only barely audible phonetically conditioned palatalisation before /j/, /i/, /iə/ or /y/, which I will not mark in transcription.

The labialised stops are not found in the coda position, which limits their distribution to onsets, followed by a vowel. At first sight, this seems to cast doubt on their phonemic status, and point to [kwV] and [^{ŋ}gwV] being sequences of /k/ or /^{ŋ}g/ and a labial approximant. There are two main arguments against this approach. 1: Consonant-labial approximant-sequences are not found in any other contexts, and 2: /k^{w}/ and /^{ŋ}g^{w}/ have a palatalised allophone each, [k^{ɥ}] and [^{ŋ}g^{ɥ}], with the labialised element changing to a

labialised palatal glide in all contexts of palatalisation, whereas /w/ either surfaces unaltered or suffers fricativisation depending on the particular context. If we were dealing with consonant-approximant-sequences here, one would not expect the approximant to behave in this irregular way.

2.1.1.2. FRICATIVES. Two of the fricatives are marginal phonemes: [ɸ] appears in loans from Spanish and surfaces also as the result of an allophonic process, whereby [h], or aspiration, merges with [w]. Dental fricative [ð] appears in loans from Spanish as well in one root of unknown origin: *-ðam* 'be/become big'. It is not an allophonic variant of /^{n}d/ in any of the other varieties. Sibilant /s/ is a native phoneme, as is /h/. Non palatalisable /h/ is a glottal fricative pronounced like [h] in English or Cuban Spanish. /s/ has an apico-alveolar point of articulation, but shifts its point of articulation to palatal when palatalised, then realised as [ʃ].

2.1.1.3. AFFRICATES. Umbeyajts has two phonemic affricates: /ʦ/ and its prenasalised, voiced counterpart /ndʣ/. When palatalised, they surface as [tʃ] and [ndʒ], respectively. /ndʣ/ suffers devoicing word-finally, as described in 2.3.3.

2.1.1.4. LIQUIDS. Three different liquids contrast phonemically: One lateral and two rhotics (one alveolar flap and one alveolar trill). Only /l/ is palatalisable, shifting its point of articulation from alveolar to palatal when palatalised, thus surfacing as [l^{j}].

2.1.1.5. NASALS. The nasal inventory consists of two palatalisable phonemes, /n/ and /m/. When palatalised, apico-alveolar /n/ shifts its point of articulation to palatal, becoming [ɲ]. Bilabial /m/ tends to surface as plain (just like the labial stops mentioned in 2.1.1.1), but see the section on palatalisation for a discussion of contexts where secondary palatal pronunciation does occur.

2.1.1.6. APPROXIMANTS. The bilabial glide /w/ is palatalisable, but its behaviour is somewhat irregular – it can change to a voiced labiodental approximant [ʋ], or remain unaltered, depending on the context (see 2.6.1.3.2). Glide /j/ is inherently palatal and remains unaltered by palatalisation, but see 2.6.1.2.1.2 for some exceptions.

2.1.1.7. A PRELIMINARY REMARK ON PALATALISATION. Palatalisation can in most cases, but not

always, be explained without recurring to historical considerations. In the cases where it cannot (onsets containing a palatalised realisation where this cannot be explained synchronically, that is, under influence of the adjacent vowel nucleus, see 2.3.1.2), the question of the phonemic status of the palatalised realisations becomes relevant, especially where the palatalised realisation contrasts with the plain realisation, eg. [sow] 'pig'; [ʃow] 'very'. In these cases, the difference goes back to a historical process, in which the actual vowel nucleus in the palatalised case was a front vowel, with the non-tonic final vowel metathesising and becoming the vowel nucleus: [$C_{[-pal]}$oC] would thus reconstruct as **CoCo* whereas [$C_{[pal]}$oC] would reconstruct as **CɪCo* (based on the principles outlined in Suárez, 1975). The question how this adequately feeds into a synchronic analysis of the San Dionisio phonological system will be dealt with in the section on palatalisation, and the history of palatalisation will be discussed in more depth in the section on diachronic phonology.

2.1.1.8. EXAMPLES OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

In this section, examples are given for each phoneme in three positions: In onset position word-initially (a), in non-word-initial onset position (b) and in coda position (c). The realisations of the phoneme in palatalising contexts are given in (d), (e) and (f). A dash indicates absence of data.

(1)	a.	['poh]	b.	[apah'lɨk]	c.	['lop]
		'tortoise'		'will be (at)'		'famine; hunger'
	d.	['pᶣɛtʲ]	e.	[ɲipi'lan]	f.	['mbip]
		'dog'		'people'		'lizard'
(2)	a.	['tok]	b.	[a'tɨtʃ]	c.	[a'not]
		'fig tree (*ficus*)'		'reaches'		'pulls'
	d.	['tʲiəl]	e.	[a'tʲilʲ]	f.	['kitʲ]
		'inside'		'hammers'		'chicken'
(3)	a.	['kam]	b.	[to'kots]	c.	[a'pak]

		DEM2		'short'		'lives'
	d.	['kiɾiw]	e.	[ikih'miən]	f.	[ah'tʃik]
		'piece'		'you bring'		'jumps'
(4)	a.	['^{m}bat]	b.	[lasam'ban]	c.	['tamp]
		'louse'		'we (excl.) are leaving'		'left'
	d.	['^{m}bip]	e.	[imbija'jon]	f.	[tsi'imp]
		'lizard'		'you (pl.) fight'		'it finished'
(5)	a.	['^{n}don]	b.	[anda'lɨj]	c.	[na'kiɲt^{j}]
		'popoyote[14]'		'northwards'		'(is) cold'
(6)	a.	['^{ŋ}gan]	b.	[aŋga'lɨj]	c.	[u'ʃiŋ]
		'pitcher'		'buys (for oneself); shops'		'his, her, its nose'
	d.	['^{ŋ}gɨɲ]	e.	[iŋ'g^{j}ej]	f.	['tɨŋ]
		'which one'		'you hear/understand'		'belly'
(7)	a.	['ganɨj]	b.	[aga'ɲow]	c.	-
		'now'		'drinks'		
	d.	[gi'ɲij]	e.	[mi'giɲij]	f.	-
		'sweet banana'		'your sweet banana'		
(8)	a.	['^{ŋ}g^{w}ɨʃ]	b.	[aŋ'g^{w}ap]	c.	-
		'elbow'		'harvests'		
	d.	['^{ŋ}g^{ɥ}iat]	e.	[uŋ'g^{ɥ}iəhʦ]	f.	-
		'ashes'		'night'		
(9)	a.	['k^{w}ak]	b.	[uk^{w}al]	c.	-
		'spider'		'his, her, its child'		
	d.	-	e.	[a'k^{ɥ}ier]	f.	-
				'runs'		

14 Popoyote: Chiapas killifish, *Profundulus hildebrandi*

(10)	a.	[hoŋgo'jom] 'it boils (water)'	b.	[ahan'dʑɨj] 'washes clothes'	c.	['koh] 'older sibling'
	d.	['helʲ] 'cloth'	e.	[mi'hiw] 'his/her/its breast'	f.	[ky'jyh] 'ten'
(11)	a.	-	b.	[a'ɸan] 'is taken out'	c.	[ˌmam 'kaɸ] 'moon'
	d.	-	e.	[a'ɸitʃ] 'is thrown'	f.	[a'keɸ] 'splits in half'
(12)	a.	-	b.	[na'ðam] '(is) big'	c.	[tʃiŋ'gað] 'damnation' (< Spanish)
	d.	-	e.	-	f.	[mi'ðið] 'measure' (< Spanish)
(13)	a.	['saw] 'I go out'	b.	[a'sah] 'says'	c.	[ta'was] 'I went out'
	d.	['ʃiəl] 'tree; stick'	e.	[i'ʃilʲ] 'you brush (*milpa*)'	f.	['iʃ] 'iguana'
(14)	a.	['ʦak] 'thigh'	b.	[a'ʦamp] 'bites; eats (meal)'	c.	[na'kaʦ] '(is) wet'
	d.	['tʃyhp] 'shark'	e.	[ɲi'tʃitʃ] '(is) dirty)	f.	[miʃyhtʃa'ran] 'someone's uncle'
(15)	a.	['ⁿdʑah] 'chewing gum'	b.	[wan'dʑam] 'turns around'	c.	['kanʦ] 'chili pepper'
	d.	['ⁿdʒiəhʦ] 'carrying net'	e.	[kan'dʒiəm] 'gets together'	f.	['kɨɲtʃ] 'crab'

(16)	a.	['ranʦ]	b.	[aha'raw]	c.	[aha'waɾ]
		'sieve'		'it is seen'		'we (dual) see'
	d.	['ɾiw]	e.	[na'ɾiʃ]	f.	[timi'ʊiəɾ]
		'penis (infantile)'		'(is) reduced; calm (wind)'		'the day before yesterday'
(17)	a.	['ran]	b.	[ɲu'rahr]	c.	[tʃytʲyr]
		'(is) clear; white'		'(is) hot'		'you sit'
	d.	['riw]	e.	[ɲi'ryhtʃ]	f.	['tʃiəhr]
		'catfish[15]'		'(is) stingy'		'be quiet; shut up'
(18)	a.	['lam]	b.	[olo'nu̯ok]	c.	[na'hal]
		'river'		'another'		'(is) long'
	d.	['lʲilʲ]		[andʲi'lʲilʲ]		[na'lilʲ]
		'scale (of fish)'		'turns back; returns'		'sweat'
(19)	a.	['mow]	b.	[a˛mal 'tʲiət]	c.	[poʦom]
		'grasshopper'		'carries (on ones back)'		'is put'
	d.	['miək]	e.	[i'mej]	f.	[tʲim]
		'bat'		'you sleep'		'yesterday'
(20)	a.	['nahp]	b.	[sa'namp]	c.	[sa'mban]
		'drum'		'I will go'		'we (excl.) go'
	d.	[ɲitʲ]	e.	[u'ɲih]	f.	[aŋ'gɨɲ]
		'palm'		'its meat'		'gets drunk; is drunk'
(21)	a.	['war]	b.	[ija'wan]	c.	[taw]
		'rat'		'you (pl.) see'		'went out'
	d.	['wiɲ]	e.	[a'wihk]	f.	[mi'hiw]
		'sea turtle'		'separates (corn)'		'his/her/its breast'

15 Catfish: Fish of order *Siluriformes*

(22) a. ['yaw] 'estuary' b. [a'yak] 'puts' c. ['kaj] 'street' (< Spanish)

d. ['jyeŋ] 'penis' e. [ahɨ'jitʃ] 'rides; drives' f. ['kɨj] 'beach'

2.1.2. VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

TABLE 2B. VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

Vowels					*Diphthongs*		
Front		Central	Back				
i	**y**		**(u)**		- Falling:		**iə**
e		**ɨ**					
	a		**o**		- Rising:		**u̯o**

2.1.2.1. VOWELS. /i/ is a close front unrounded vowel. /y/ is a close front rounded vowel. /e/ is a mid front unrounded vowel, articulated between open-mid and mid. /ɨ/ is a near-close central rounded vowel, its roundedness being rather neutral and slightly protruded rather than compressed. /a/ is an open near-front unrounded vowel with slight phonetic variations in height and backness. /u/ is a close back rounded vowel. It is a marginal phoneme, in complementary distribution with /o/ and showing phonologically irregular behaviour, as will be discussed more in-depth in section 2.7.

/a/ and /ɨ/ have the same diachronic origin (**a*; see 2.7.3.3). This can also be seen in the fact that they are actually in complementary distribution in native elements, /a/ occurring before plain allophones of consonants and /ɨ/ before palatalised ones. However, in this study an approach is taken with regard to palatalisation which assumes that the palatalised/non-palatalised allophones of consonants are conditioned by the quality of adjacent vowel nuclei. Nevertheless, the complementary distribution clearly reflects that historically, the vowel nucleus is actually conditioned by the palatalised/non-palatalised status of adjacent consonants (compare the behaviour of /a/ ~ /ɨ/ in third person suffixes as outlined in 2.5.1), however this approach is not useful in a synchronic description of the language, for the reasons mentioned in 2.3.1.

/i/ and /y/ surface as glides, /j/ and /ɥ/, when followed by another vowel underlyingly. In the case of /i/, this can be /a/ or /o/, and in the case of /y/ this can only be /e/. See 2.3.1.2 for an explanation of this context.

2.1.2.2. DIPHTHONGS. The origin of the diphthongs is a metathesis process, which is the same process as the one that underlies palatalised onsets not explainable by means of adjacent vowel nuclei (see 2.3.1.2), and it will be examined more closely in the section about diachronic phonology.

2.1.2.2.1. /u̯o/. /u̯o/ is a rising diphthong. It is not a vowel sequence: Its occurrence is phonotactically restricted and its distribution different from /o/: /u̯o/ is always followed by a palatalised coda, whereas /o/ is not[16]. It is not a sequence of a bilabial approximant and an o, either: Following /h/, the labial element of the diphthong does not cause /h/ to be realised as [ɸ], which is what happens when /h/ is followed by /w/ (see 2.3.4). Additional arguments against an analysis of /u̯o/ as a glide-vowel sequence are the lack of complex onsets of consonants followed by a bilabial glide (thus causing a potential analysis as glide/vowel sequences to violate phonotactic restrictions which prohibit CC in onsets of native words, in words like /pu̯ow/ 'oven' or /a'lu̯oʃ/ 'throws'), and the diachronic development of /u̯o/ (which developed from a simple vowel, see 2.7).

The off-glide in /u̯o/ is fairly consistent phonetically; the element carrying the sonority peak can vary phonetically from [o] to [ɨ]. It also has an interesting allophonic realisation, idiosyncratic to some (especially young) speakers, which will be detailed in 2.3.2.

2.1.2.2.2. /iə/. /iə/ is a falling diphthong, in the sense that, in principle, it has its sonority peak the first element. Nevertheless, there can be slight phonetic variations on this, since especially in fast speech (and especially, but not exclusively, in unstressed syllables), the second element can become the peak, with the first element turning into an off-glide, [j]. The second element of /iə/, which is normally articulated as a shwa, then tends toward a mid or open-mid front vowel [ɛ] or near-front vowel [e].

16 The diachronic origin of /o/ and /u̯o/ is different, which is the reason for the phonotactical restriction with regard to palatalisation in the first place (see the section on diachronic phonology).

2.2. SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

2.2.1. STRESS. Stress is characterised by high or rising pitch. It is linked to the last syllable of a phonological word (see 2.4.4), which typically consists of a stem and all its affixes. Stress thus shifts as soon as suffixes are added:

(23)	/-haw/	'to see'
(24)	[sa'haw]	'I see'
(25)	[saha'wan]	'we (excl.) see'
(26)	[taha'was]	'I saw'
(27)	[tahawa'san]	'we (excl.) saw'

As will be shown in the section on the phonological word, stress can be used to determine postclitic status of word-final morphemes.

2.2.2. ASPIRATION. Vowel nuclei can be simple or aspirated. Aspiration is contrastive, as can be seen in the examples in table 2c. It is a characteristic each root is specified for and it surfaces in the coda; see 2.4.1.3. Its representation in underlying forms is /V^{h}/. Affixes are also specified for aspiration (like the first person inclusive plural suffix, -V^{h}ʦ, where V is conditioned by a process of vowel assimilation based on the vowel nucleus of the root).

As will be seen in the section on diachronic phonology, aspiration in Umbeyajts corresponds to vowel length in the San Mateo variety, and is reconstructed with vowel length by Suárez and aspiration by Noyer (as for instance in Noyer´s (2013) etymological dictionary). Aspiration does not affect palatalisation.

It would have been possible to include aspirated vowels as part of the inventory in table 2b. However, there are prefixing roots and affixes that can have a specification for aspiratedness, and some evidence against including aspirated vowels in the inventory comes from these. An example is the prefixing root -ʦ 'give'. Prefixing roots in Umbeyajts are necessarily bound. A theme vowel must therefore be expressed for the root to form an independent word, which in the case of this root (and of other monosyllabic roots

except verbs of movement) is *ɨ-*. The stem of this verb is not *[ɨtʃ] ([ɨ] palatalises codae, see 2.3.1.2), as might be expected, but the vowel nucleus is aspirated: ['ɨhtʃ] 'gives'. The aspiration here is a suprasegmental feature associated with the root/morpheme, and not a feature of the vowel: [ɨ] occurs without aspiration when functioning as a theme vowel with other roots but the root *-ʦ* does not, in any context, occur without aspiration. An additional argument in favour of aspiration being associated to the root, rather than being a feature of the vowel, is that the second person singular form, in which the second person affix *i-* causes deletion of the theme vowel, is still aspirated: ['ihtʃ] 'you give'.

Another possible analysis would have been to include a set of aspirated vowel phonemes, and to solve the case of roots which are always preceded by an aspirated vowel by positing that the theme vowel is actually not *ɨ* but *ɨ^{h}* and that the second person affix *i-* causes deletion of the theme vowel, but that its aspiration feature remains behind and causes the *i-* to become *i^{h}-*. However, this analysis fails to explain why the theme vowel is aspirated before some rules, while it is not aspirated before others. For instance, the theme vowel is *ɨ^{h}-* before the root *-ʦ* 'give', but it is *ɨ-* before the roots *-^{m}b* 'finish', and *-t* 'eat'.

A third possible alternative is to analyse aspiration as a sequence of vowel + [h]. However, this would be the only example of a complex coda of native words, as will be shown in the section on phonotactic restrictions. Also, processes apply to aspiration as a feature, for instance, one passivising derivational process which applies to prefixing verb roots, causing de-aspirisation and de-palatalisation of codae (see 2.5.2).

TABLE 2C. CONTRASTING EXAMPLES OF ASPIRATED VOWEL NUCLEI

['sap]	'sheep'	vs.	['sahp]	'seed'
[a'ʃot]	'hides'	vs.	[a'ʃoht]	'rests'
[a'tʲek]	'is green'	vs.	[a'tʲehk]	'folds out; extends'
[a'jak]	'puts'	vs.	[a'jahk]	'feels'

Aspiration can occur in all types of vowel nucleus, except vowel nuclei consisting of /ye/. Aspiration does not occur before a coda consisting of a prenasalised stop, prenasalised

affricate, or sibilant.

I hypothesise that aspiration is an autosegmental feature, which is associated to a stem or a suffix, and is realised on the second (or rarely, third) mora of the syllable, see also 2.4.1.

2.3. **ALLOPHONIC PROCESSES**

2.3.1. PALATALISATION

Palatalised and non-palatalised realisations of phonemes, as described in 2.1, occur in complementary distribution. Previous descriptions of Umbeyajts phonology have mostly posited a series of palatalised and plain consonants in their inventories, such as Noyer (2003) and Kim (2008). My analysis of the phonological system has a lesser number of segments, as it is based on the syllable nucleus, which I take to be the conditioning factor for a palatalised realisation of consonants – thus following an opposite direction compared to other studies like Kim (2008), which ascribe certain characteristics of the vowel nuclei to the palatalised/non-palatalised status of adjacent segments, which in fact makes sense from a historical point of view, as will be seen in the section on diachronic phonology.

The rules for palatalisation summarised in 2.3.1.1 do not account for instances of palatalisation in the onset before back vowels which, however, can be explained by historical processes. I suggest a solution for this in 2.3.1.2 making use of complex vowel nuclei which then assimilate to the preceding segment, and this solution will be used throughout this chapter.

For readers specifically interested in this, I will include explanatory remarks on some of the interesting historical developments of the phonological system in the section on diachronic phonology, in order to shed light on the origin of this and other features of the phonological system.

2.3.1.1. PHONOTACTICS OF PALATALISATION

I will now proceed to give an overview of syllable nuclei which palatalise surrounding

segments, if palatalisable.

I. Nuclei consisting of /i/, /e/, /y/ and /ye/ occur only between palatalised onsets and codae:

(28)	/kit/	['kitʲ]	'chicken'
(29)	/-mbet/	['mbetʲ]	'to cost'
(30)	/myʰt/	['myhtʲ]	'*huipil*'

II. Nuclei consisting of /ɨ/ and /u̯o/ occur only with plain onsets and palatalised codae:

(31a)	/kɨt/	['kɨtʲ]	'fish'
(31b)	/nɨt/	['nɨtʲ]	'day; name'
(31c)	/ɨ-ʰc/	['ɨhtʃ]	'gives'
(32a)	/pu̯ot/	[pu̯otʲ]	'tick (Sp. *talaje, ácaro*)'
(32b)	/a-lu̯os/	[alu̯oʃ]	'throws'

III. /iə/ is only found between palatalised onsets and non-palatalised codae:

(33)	/a-hiəᵑg/	[ahiəŋg]	'dances'
(34)	/a-piəᵑg/	[a'piəŋ]	'speaks'
(35)	/siəl/	['ʃiəl]	'tree'
(36)	/u-niək/	[u'ɲiək]	'(its) neck'

The phonotactic restrictions on palatalisation given here are regular, except for recent loans from Spanish (see the section on loan phonology).

2.3.1.2. UNPREDICTABLE PALATALISATION

The question that remains under discussion is thus, how the analysis of palatalisation is best handled. So far, I have shown that when a vowel nucleus consists of /i/, /e/, /y/, /ɨ/, /ie/ and /u̯o/, there is obligatorily a palatalised realisation (if available) of either the onset or the coda, or both. It could thus be said that the vowel nucleus palatalises surrounding segments, causing them to change their point of articulation. However, as was shown above in 2.1.1.7, in case the vowel nucleus is a back vowel, where a

palatalised onset can contrast with a non-palatalised one, no palatalisation rule can be posited for the vowel nuclei of these words to account for the way they surface on realisation level. A few of these cases are given in table 2d below.

TABLE 2D. EXAMPLES OF PALATALISED ONSETS CONTRASTING WITH NON-PALATALISED ONSETS

['sow]	'pig'	vs.	['ʃow]	'much'
[an'dal]	'stirrs'	vs.	[an'dʲal]	'bites'

In order to tackle this problem, I posit underlying *i*-initial vowel sequences (see table 2e), which explains the palatalisation of the onset. In a subsequent process, the [i] becomes a glide, and suffers deletion if the preceding segment is realised with palatalisation.

The first process that applies is palatalisation of the preceding onset by the palatal element of the diphthong [i], and subsequently, this initial element of the diphthong is assimilated and may surface as a glide-like (near-close to close) unrounded front vowel. The initial element of the diphthong becoming a glide phonetically constitutes a very common change cross-linguistically in the case of diphthongs, and this is also what happens to diphthong /iə/, see 2.3.1.1. The glide is not realised following [tʃ], [ⁿdʒ], [ʃ] and [ɲ]. I have marked the intermediate step (which is not an attested form but my proposed reconstruction) with two asterisks.

TABLE 2E. EXAMPLES OF PALATALISED ONSETS BEFORE UNDERLYING DIPHTHONGS

/siow/	→	**[ʃiow]	→	['ʃow]	'much'
/a-tiotɔ/	→	**[atʲiotɔ]	→	[a'tʲots]	'thinks'
/a-ndial/	→	**[andʲial]	→	[an'dʲal]	'bites'
/kiats/	→	**[kiats]	→	['kjats]	'brains'
/piaᵑg/	→	**[piaŋ]	→	['pjaŋ]	'mosquito'
/niat/	→	**[ɲiat]	→	['ɲat]	'year'
/naʰᵐbial/	→	**[nahᵐbial]	→	[nah'ᵐbjal]	'*madre cacao* tree'

2.3.2. ALLOPHONY OF DIPHTHONGS

2.3.2.1. PHONETIC VARIATION OF /IƏ/. /iə/ is, in principle, a falling diphthong, meaning that

it has its sonority peak on the first element. As mentioned in the description of the diphthongs in 2.1, phonetic variations can be observed, especially in fast speech.

Generally, in fluent speech, the second element becomes the peak, with the first element turning into an off-glide, [j]. The second element of /iə/, which is normally articulated as a shwa in isolation or in care speech, then tends toward a mid or open-mid front vowel [ɛ] or near-front vowel [e].

2.3.2.2. IDIOSYNCRATIC VARIATION OF /u̯o/. As was mentioned before on several occasions, /u̯o/ is not a sequence of two vowels nor a complex nucleus. An clue which could serve as an argument against such an analysis is the fact that the diphthong shows a peculiar idiosyncratic variation. Some, especially younger speakers realise it as [u̯e] before palatalised allophones of segments.

(37)	/pu̯ots/	->	['pu̯etʃ]	'word'
(38)	/-pu̯ol/	->	[-'pu̯elʲ]	'break (wood)'
(39)	/-hu̯oj/	->	[-'hu̯ej]	'take; carry'
(40)	/pu̯ot/	->	['pu̯etʲ]	'*talaje*'
(41)	/-lu̯os/	->	[-'lu̯eʃ]	'throw'

This realisation of /u̯o/ is not possible before a non-palatalisable segment. Only realisation [u̯o] is possible in these cases. Most elderly speakers have the latter pronunciation in all cases.

(42)	/ɲitu̯oᵐb/	->	[ɲi'tu̯oᵐb]	*[ɲitu̯eᵐb]	'heater, burner'
(43)	/anu̯ok/	->	[a'nu̯ok]	*[a'nu̯ek]	'one.CL.RECT'

My current explanation for this allophony is that, since the coda is palatalised, a tendency is growing to assimilate the vowel to a more palatal point of articulation, which explains the fact that this does not occur before non-palatalised consonants.

2.3.3. ALLOPHONY OF PRENASALISED STOPS AND AFFRICATES

When /ᵑg/ occurs word-finally, only the velar nasal element is realised:

(44) /a-piəᵑg/ [a'pjɛŋ] 'speaks'

(45) /a-hiəᵑg/ [a'hjɛŋ] 'dances'

/ ᵐb/ is realised as [ᵐb], sometimes slightly devoiced:

(46) /la=aᵐb/ [la'aᵐp] '(he/she) goes already'

(47) /tsi=ɨᵐb/ [tsi'iᵐp] 'it finished/ran out'

/ⁿd/ is very rare word-finally, but when it occurs the stop element is devoiced:

(48) /n-a-ⁿdaⁿd/ [nan'dant] 'hard (material)'

(49) /kosiəⁿd/ [kos'jent] 'kitchen'

/ⁿdz/ is realised with voice only when occurring word-internally before a vowel. Word-finally, it is devoiced.

(50)	['ⁿdzah]	'chewing gum'	(56)	[a'kantʂ]	'is red'
(51)	['ⁿdzot]	'male iguana'	(57)	[a'hiəntʂ]	'cries'
(52)	['ⁿdʒiəʰts]	'net (for dried corn)'	(58)	[a'tʃɥeɲtʃ]	'grill'
(53)	['ⁿdʒyp]	'basket'	(59)	['kɨɲtʃ]	'crab'
(54)	[satʃɥeɲ'dʒiən]	'we (excl.) grill'	(60)	[a'tʃɥeɲtʃan]	'she just grills'
(55)	[mikɨɲ'dʒiən]	'your (pl.) crab(s)'	(61)	[mi'kɨɲtʃan]	'just his crab(s)'

When prenasalised stops or affricates are in coda position, the nasal element is realised as an independent segment, with the remaining portion of the original segment becoming the onset of the next syllable.

2.3.4. DEVOICING OF /w/

/w/ is realised as [ɸ] when following an aspirated syllable or a glottal fricative:

(62) [a'witʃ] 'throws' → /a-ʰ-witʃ/[17] > [a'ɸitʃ] 'is thrown'

(63) [a'wɨɲ] 'gets out' → /a-ʰ-wɨn/ > [a'ɸan] 'is gotten out'

17 The process applying here is the affixation of a suprasegmental passivizing prefix, consisting of aspiration, to the root, and, in certain cases (like 63; see also 2.5.1) depalatalisation of the coda. If the root vowel nucleus consists of /ɨ/, this is raised to [a] – since /ɨ/ cannot occur before a non-palatalised coda (another similar example is the verb 'to wait; to reside': *a-kɨl* [a'kɨlj] 'waits; resides' -> *a-h-kal* [ah'kal] 'is waited for' and a verb meaning 'to throw': *a-luos* [a'luoʃ] 'throws' -> *a-h-los* [ah'los] 'is thrown').

Recent Spanish loans (and instances of code-switching) with an original [hw] sequence are realised with [ɸ]:

(64) ['ɸis] 'justice, sense' < Sp. *juicio*

As stated above, this devoicing does not occur with the labial element of diphthong /u̯o/. In the corpus, there is merely one example where a diphthong may cause /h/ to fuse with its bilabial glide into [ɸ], and here it is optional. This is the (very frequent) word [hu̯ow] 'hammock'. My current hypothesis is that this is due to a process of reinterpretation of the word as having a word-initial consonant cluster. There are also some very interesting processes where a phonological rule of Umbeyajts is applied to speakers' Spanish (see the section on unusual phonology).

(65) ['hu̯ow] ~ ['ɸow] 'hammock'

But: (66) [a'hu̯ot^{j}] *[a'ɸot^{j}] 'it rains'

(67) [i'hu̯oj] *[i'ɸoj] 'you take'

2.3.5. DISSIMILATION OF /W/ AFTER /O/

/o/ can occur after /w/ (see 2.4.3). However, However, in the third person plural suffix (/-w/), dissimilation occurs when the root vowel, and subsequently the epenthetic vowel connecting the suffix to it (see 2.5.1), is /o/. The suffix /-Vw/, in this case, is realised as [-oh]:

(68) a. /a-hiə^{n}ʦ-Vw/ 'they cry' > [ahiən'ʤɨw]

b. /a-^{n}dok-Vw/ 'they fish' > [ando'koh]

c. /a-^{m}byel-Vw/ 'they burn it' > [ambɥe'l^{j}iw]

2.3.6. DE-PRENASALISATION OF VOICED STOPS

Another problem is posed by the occurrence of non-prenasalised voiced stops in a lexicalised context.

In the case of [b] and [d], which are in free variation with [^{m}b] and [^{n}d] except for a small number of cases, it can easily be shown that these are allophonic realisations of the

prenasalised counterpart. However, in the case of [g], the situation is different: This segment is not in free variation with its prenasalised counterpart, nor can a rule be formulated governing its occurrence. I will thus describe these occurrences as lexicalised, and it will therefore be necessary to consider /g/ a (marginal) phoneme in a synchronic description of Umbeyajts.

This is an innovation in comparison to the other varieties, for example, the San Mateo variety, where they occur in free variation:

TABLE 2F. VOICED STOP DISTRIBUTION IN THE SMO/SD DIALECTS

San Mateo del Mar			*San Dionisio del Mar*		
/ᵑganɨj/	→	[ganɨj] ~ [ᵑganɨj]	/ganɨy/	→	[ganɨj], *[ᵑganɨj]
/ᵑgɨn/	→	[gɨn] ~ [ᵑgɨn]	/ ᵑgɨn/	→	*[gɨɲ], [ᵑgɨɲ]

The choice for /ᵑg/ may be triggered by the presence or absence of a nasal causing dissimilation, but this awaits further investigation.

2.4. SYLLABLE AND ROOT STRUCTURE

2.4.1. THE SYLLABLE. Now that the segmental distribution has been clarified, it is opportune to proceed to a description of the structure of the syllable in Umbeyajts.

Syllables have the following structure:

(C_1) (C_3) V (C_2), where:

* Brackets indicate optionality.

* C_1 stands for any of the consonants given in 2.1, except for /ɸ/ and /đ/ (this restriction does not apply to recent loanwords).

* V stands for a vocalic nucleus, which can consist of one of the single vowels or diphthongs inventarised in 2.1.

*C_3 consists of a glide, /j/ or /ɥ/, which results from an underlying vowel sequence.

2.4.1.1. THE ONSET. The onset is optional and consists of a single segment. Consonant

clusters are not attested[18], except in recent loan words. San Mateo del Mar has *ngrex* 'red snapper' and *ndr-o-* 'get lost', but *ngrex* is a loan from Spanish (< *cangrejo*) which is not found in San Dionisio, and *ndr-o-* occurs as *ndor-*[19] (e.g. *a-ndor-uojch* [TV-get.lost-CAU] 'to loose')[20]. /ɸ/ and /đ/ are possible onset consonants only in recent loans which have not adapted to the phonological system.

2.4.1.2. THE VOWEL NUCLEUS

Simple vowel nuclei can consist of /i/, /e/, /ɣ/, /a/, /o/ or /u/. Marginal phoneme /u/, which is in complementary distribution with /o/ and most often occurs in contexts which cannot be stressed, displays irregular behaviour (see 2.6.1.3.1.2).

2.4.1.2.1. INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE VOWEL NUCLEUS

The vowel nucleus can underlyingly consist of three moras. In monomoraïc vowel nuclei, the mora is occupied by a simple vowel (/i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/ or /ɨ/). Bimoraïc nuclei consist of a diphthong or a simple vowel with aspiration. In the first case, the first mora is occupied by the initial element of the diphthong, while the second element occupies the second mora (see example 70 below). In the latter case, aspiration is associated to the second mora.

(69)

C	V	C	
|	|	|	
|	μ	|	
/ⁿd	o	n/	'*popoyote* fish'

18 On the surface two kinds of clusters can occur, both consisting of a palatal glide following the non-palatalised onset consonant: 1) A remnant of an *i*-initial underlying vowel sequence, of which the first element (V1) suffers deletion as described in 2.4.1.2, and 2) coalescence of the off-glide of allophone [i̯] (of underlying diphthong /iə/) with the onset consonant.

19 Possible due to insertion of an epenthetic echo vowel; but see the paragraph on auxiliary verbs for a tentative etymological explanation of the root *ndor-*.

20 For San Francisco del Mar, Kim (2008) analyses *ndr-* as a marginal phoneme, an underlying prenasalised flap that surfaces with an emergent consonant: "One possibility is to interpret *ndr* as an underlying prenasalized flap /nr/ that surfaces with an emergent consonant, which naturally arises in the transition from nasal to rhotic when the velum is lowered (closing off the nasal passage) but before the coronal occlusion is released (Ohala 1997). This would preserve the generalization that Huave prohibits consonant clusters. However, the other possibility is that it is a bona fide cluster of prenasalized stop plus rhotic, in which case it should not be counted as an independent phoneme. The latter hypothesis is probably correct at least for San Mateo, whose initial *ngr-* attested in the word *ngrex* 'red snapper' (Stairs and Kreger 1981:409) cannot be explained by consonant emergence".

(70)

```
        C     V     C
        |    μ μ    |
        |    | |    |
      /-ⁿd   i ə    m/     'wants'
```

The usefulness of a moraic analysis can be exemplified with the process I will proceed to call vowel copying. A passivising infix :ɾV: can be found which entails an obligatory vowel following it, in order to avoid a consonant cluster. However, the vowel is actually a copy of the root vowel. Instead of copying the entire vowel nucleus, only the rightmost mora is copied. In the case of diphthong /iə/, this is a shwa. However, this vowel does not exist in Umbeyajts. The closest resembling vowel would be /ɨ/, which is phonotactically restricted: It is only allowed before palatalised consonants, which the consonant following /iə/ cannot be (see 2.3.2.1). Therefore, the copied vowel surfaces as /a/:

(71)

```
        σ  ⁄‾‾‾‾‾‾{ɾ}                 σ      σ          σ
      C   V ↓   C                          C      V     C  V   C
      |   μ   μ   |                        |     μ μ    |  μ   |
      |   |   |   |                        |     | |    |  |   |
    /-ⁿd  i   ə   m/                   [a-  ⁿd    i ə    'ɾ  a   m]
    /-ⁿdiəm/ 'to want'        ->       [andiə'ram] 'is wanted'
```

Trimoraïc nuclei are rare, but do occur. In these cases, a diphthong is associated to the first and the second mora, while the third mora is occupied by aspiration (see the examples below).

Aspiration does not occur in nuclei consisting of vowel sequence /ye/. It is uncommon to find trimoraïc, aspirated syllables containing an *i*-initial sequence, but there are at least three examples: /-sioʰt/ 'to rest', /ⁿdiaʰm-/ 'to get caught' and /-miaʰʦ/ 'interior'.

2.4.1.2.2. UNDERLYING VOWEL SEQUENCES

Underlying sequences surface as a single vowel preceded by a glide, as was mentioned in 2.1.2.1. An underlying vowel sequence is possible in two configurations: /y/ followed by /e/, and /i/ followed by a back vowel (/a/ or /o/). These are not diphthongs; whereas both /u̯o/ and /iə/ behave as a single segment, occupying slots normally occupied by a

single vowel[21], and [u̯o] behaves differently with regard to the following coda than [o], no similar arguments can be presented for /ye/ and /ia/ or /io/.

The sequence /ye/ occurs in complementary distribution with /y/. A syllable containing it can never be aspirated, whereas one with a diphthong (/u̯o/ or /iə/) or with any of the simple vowels can be aspirated.

The *i*-initial sequences never surface as such. The initial vowel becomes a glide, and:

- When the preceding element is a palatalised allophone of a segment, the glide is deleted;

- When the preceding onset consonant is not palatalisable (/^{m}b/, /p/, /^{ŋ}g/, /k/, /ɾ/, /r/, /m/), the glide is realised. After [ʊ] (/w/), it is also realised.

2.4.1.3. THE CODA

Coda consonants can be any consonant except for the marginal phonemes and the labialised velar stops. No complex codae are found underlyingly: A coda, if present – obligatorily when word final – is always a single segment.

In surface structure there are several sequences: The word-final allophones of the pre-nasalised stops (except for the velar one) are realised as a nasal ([m] or [n], respectively), followed by the relevant stop.
Aspirated syllables result in a glottal fricative in the surface structure, which is always necessarily followed by a consonant. When the syllable is non-word-final, then the aspiration surfaces as a coda consisting of [h], while the following consonant syllabifies as the onset of the following syllable, for instance: [apah'kal] 'will be awaited'.

Finally, consonant-final allomorph /ir-/ of the second person prefix may form a cluster, with the /r/ occupying the coda of one syllable, while the initial consonant of the root is

21 Such as the V-slot in sets of suffixes, for example *-Vn* (first or second person plural) can be realised as *-an*, *-on* or *-ien*, depending on the vowel nucleus of the preceding root.

the onset of the next, for instance: /ʦi=ir-pej/ PF=2-arrive -> [ʦir'pej] 'you already arrived'.

Falling diphthongs ending in a glide (like [au̯], [ou̯], [ei̯], [ai̯] and [oi̯]) are not found. Combinations of a vowel and an approximant (see table 2g below) could at first sight resemble possible candidates for falling diphthongs, but there are two main criteria for differentiating between diphthongs and vowel-approximant-sequences:

- Several words end in these sequences, but a phonological word or a stem cannot end with an open syllable, even when its syllable nucleus is a diphthong;

- Diphthongs can constitute a vowel nucleus followed by a consonantal coda; however, sequences cannot: Unlike in the San Francisco variety, no sequences of [au̯C], [ou̯C], [ei̯C], [ai̯C] or [oi̯C] occur. Final consonant clusters are phonotactically impossible, even if the pre-final consonant is a glide.

2.4.1.4. SYLLABIFICATION

When phonological words are formed, morphophonological processes apply and underlying features surface, syllables will invariably change their structure. Codae of closed syllables will become onsets of suffixed elements to avoid consonant clusters (unless a suffixed element already has an onset, which occurs only in rare cases). Prefixed elements consisting of an open syllable may become closed syllables due to the resyllabification process, whenever the onset of the root they are prefixed to consists of a nasal element and a stop or an affricate. The nasal will then become the coda of the prefixed syllable, with the stop or the affricate becoming the onset of the root syllable. If a syllable is aspirated, it becomes a closed syllable. The coda is then occupied by [h], while the following segment associates to the onset of the subsequent syllable. This is the reason why aspiration never occurs before a prenasalised segment word-finally: A sequence of three consonantal segments in surface structure would be too much. Therefore, syllables ending in -$V^{hN}C$ (like *-$a^{hm}b$, *$i^{hm}b$, *$o^{hŋ}g$ or *$e^{hn}d$) are not found. Word-internally, however, such realisations are found on the surface:

(72) /a-sy^{h}p-V^{h}ʦ/ 'TV- bathe(intr.)-CAU' -> [aʃyh'^{m}betʃ] 'TV-bathe(intr.)-CAU'

Word-internal consonant clusters thus can only occur when a prefix consists of a closed syllable (and this is only the case in the allomorph [ir-] of the second person prefix), when the following element is underlyingly a prenasalised stop, or when there is aspiration in the syllable in question.

TABLE 2G. EXAMPLES OF APPROXIMANTS IN CODAE

[a'mej]	'sleeps'	*ejC
['saw]	'I go out'	*awC
['kow]	'grinding stone'	*owC
['ɲij]	'baby Jesús'	*ijC

2.4.2. THE ROOT. Typical roots in Umbeyajts are monosyllabic. A phonological word cannot generally consist of an open syllable (though see 2.5 for exceptions).

2.4.2.1. VOWEL-INITIAL ROOTS. A number of roots are vowel-initial. Some examples are given here: /op/ 'leaf', /-o^{m}b/ 'egg', /os/ 'corn', /as/ 'corn cob', /iʃ/ 'iguana', /i^{h}t/ 'feces', /ik/ 'liver'[22], /en/ 'mangrove', /y^{h}t/ 'body hair; feather', /-y^{h}p/ 'smoke (tobacco)', /u̯ok/ 'cloud', /-u^{h}t/ 'dig'.

2.4.2.2. VOWEL-FINAL ROOTS. The only native roots that consist of an open syllable are non-prefixing verbs, and these are bound roots, never realised as a bare root:

(73)	/pia^{h}-/		'to lie (down)'
(74)	/pia^{h}-n/	[sa'pja^{h}n]	'I will lie (down)'
(75)	/pia^{h}-m/	[al'pja^{h}m]	'(she/she) is lying (down)'

Recently borrowed non-native items can be vowel final, but if they have already adapted to Umbeyajts phonology, they tend to follow all the rules. Certain recently borrowed or code-switched items can still be in the process of adaptation, as can be seen in 2.4.

Roots ending in glottal fricative [h] are not considered to be open syllables with aspiration, as they are in Kim (2008)[23]. Unlike the non-prefixing verb roots that consist of an open syllable which were mentioned above, roots ending in a glottal fricative cannot be followed by a suffix consisting of a mere consonant, but they must be followed by a vowel.

(76)	/^{n}dzah/	['^{n}dzah]	'chewing gum'
(77)	/koh/	['koh]	'older brother'
	/mi-koh-Vn/	[miko'hon]	'your (pl.) older brother'

22 Kim (2008) suggests that *ik* is a loan from Spanish *hígado*.

23 The San Francisco variety differs from the San Dionisio one in this respect, having a great number of open syllables.

Plurisyllabic roots do exist (see 2.6), but they are most likely the consequence of historical affixation of now fossilised elements, or of language contact phenomena.

2.4.3. PHONOTACTIC RESTRICTIONS

/o/ does not occur after /w/. Inversely, /w/ can occur after /o/ (however, see 2.3.5).

(78)	/jow/	'water'
	/kow/	'grinding stone'
	/lakow/	'guava'
	/siow/	'very'

/k^w/ and /$^ŋg^w$/ do not occur before /o/ or /u̯o/.

Aspiration is restricted in many contexts. It does not occur before prenasalised consonants in a word-final syllable (but it can occur when the aspirated syllable containing a prenasalised stop is not word-final; see example 72). The only examples of aspiration in a syllable ending in /w/ have /a/ and /e/ as vowel nucleus; aspiration is not attested in w-final words with other vowel nuclei.

2.4.4. THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

The phonological word in Umbeyajts consists minimally of a root (in the case of nouns or adjectives), as a root with a theme vowel (in the case of prefixing verbs), or as a root with a suffix (in the case of non-prefixing verbs). It receives stress on the final syllables (see 2.2.1). There is one postclitic with delimitative meaning, which is recognisable as such in that it never causes the stress of its host to shift forward:

mi-kiambáh	POS.II.U-community	'your/his/her village'
mi-kiambah-án	POS.II.U-community-PL	'your (pl.) village'
mi-kiambáh=an	POS.II.U-community=DEL	'your/his/her village only'

Stress is, therefore, the main criterion to delimit the phonological word.

Consonant sequences are disallowed word-initially in native words (except for consonant-palatal glide sequences resulting from an underlying vowel sequence, see 2.3.1.2). Therefore, when a word ending in a consonant is followed by a word beginning with a consonant, consonant sequences serve as boundary markers.

Final devoicing, which occurs word-finally in the case of /^{m}b /, /^{n}d/ and /^{n}ʤ/, is another criterion.

2.5. MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

2.5.1. VOWEL ASSIMILATION IN SUFFIXES

Suffixes in Umbeyajts consist of a consonant, specified for aspiration. Addition of a suffix to a root requires the insertion of an epenthetic vowel between the root and the suffix, and the quality of this vowel is determined in concordance with the vowel nucleus of the root.

Prefixes are not affected by this process. The reason for this is presumably that vowel assimilation is a right-bound process, affecting only post-thematic elements.

Generally, when a root vowel palatalises the coda, the suffix vowel consists of diphthong /iə/ (but /i/ before /w/). When the root vowel does not palatalise the coda, the suffix vowel mirrors it if it is /o/, and otherwise takes suffixes with /a/ (but /ɨ/ before /w/). Prefixing verbs and nouns have a slightly different conditioning than non-prefixing verb roots, in that 1) /iə/ is consistent even before /w/, and 2) roots containing /y/ take /y/ in their set of suffixes.

An overview of the epenthetic vowels and the triggering vowel nuclei is given in table 2H, and examples are given in 79-85.

TABLE 2H. VOWEL ASSIMILATION IN SUFFIXES

Prefixing roots (including nouns)			Non-prefixing verbal roots	
Root vowel	Accompanying vowel		Root vowel	Accompanying vowel
a, iə	**a**, **ɨ** (before /w/)	I	**a, iə**	**a**

o	**o**	II	**o**	**o**
i, e, ɨ, ʊ̯o	**iə, i** (before /w/)	III	**i, e, ɨ, ʊ̯o**	**iə**
y	(as in III)	IV	**y**	**y**

(79)	a. /-ᵑgʷap/			'to harvest'
	b. /a-ᵑgʷap/	TV-harvest	[aŋ'gwap]	'harvests'
	c. /a-ᵑgʷap-Vʰʦ/	TV-harvest-1.INCL.PL	[aŋgwa'pahʦ]	'we (incl.) harvest'
	d. /a-ᵑgʷap-Vw/	TV-harvest-PL	[aŋgwa'pɨw]	'they harvest'
(80)	a. /-ⁿdok/			'to fish'
	b. /a-ⁿdok/	TV-fish	[an'dok]	'fishes'
	c. /a-ⁿdok-Vʰʦ/	TV-fish-1INCL.PL	[ando'kohʦ]	'we (incl) fish'
	d. /a-ⁿdok-Vh/	TV-fish-PL	[ando'koh]	'they fish'
(81)	a. /-kɨl/			'to wait'
	b. /a-kɨl/	TV-wait	[a'kɨlʲ]	'waits'
	c. /a-kɨl-Vʰʦ/	TV-wait-1INCL.PL	[akɨ'lʲiəhʦ]	'we (incl.) wait'
	d. /a-kɨl-Vw/	TV-wait-PL	[akɨ'lʲiw]	'they wait'
(82)	a. /ᵐbaj-/			'to be startled'
	b. /ᵐbaj-Vt/	be.startled-PST	[ᵐba'jat]	'got startled'
	c. /ᵑgu=ᵐbaj-Vm/	NEG=be.startled-IRR	[ᵐba'jam]	'he isn't startled'
(83)	a. /loᵐb-/			'to stand'
	b. /loᵐb-Vn/	stand-ST	[lom'bon]	'is standing'
	c. /ᵑgu=loᵐb-Vm/	NEG=stand-IRR	[ᵑgulom'bom]	'is not standing'
(84)	a. /pɨʰts-/			'extend'
	b. /pɨʰts-Vn/	extend-ST	[pɨh'tʃiən]	'extended'
	c. /ngu=pɨʰts-Vm/	NEG=extend-IRR	[ŋgupɨh'tʃiəm]	'does not extend'

(85)	a. /tsyt-/			'sit'
	b. /tsyt-Vr/	sit-2	[tʃytʲyr]	'you sit'
	c. /ngu=tsyt-Vm/	NEG=sit-IRR	[ŋgutʃytʲym]	'does not sit'

2.5.2. PRE-ASPIRATION AND DE-PALATALISATION OF PREFIXING ROOTS

One passivising process causes pre-aspiration of roots. I will take this to be prefixation of a floating autosegment consisting of aspiration with a passivising meaning:

-pah	'to call'	-^{h}-pah	'be called'
-wits	'to throw'	-h-wits	'be thrown'
		[a'ɸitʃ]	'it is thrown'

Also, when the coda contains /ɨ/ or /uo/ in the active base form, the coda is de-palatalised, causing the vowel nucleus to be de-palatalised accordingly (from /ɨ/ to /a/ and from /uo/ to /o/)[24]. This is the exact opposite direction of the palatalisation process, in which a vowel nucleus causes the coda to be palatalised:

-nɨ^{h}p	'to sell'	-^{h}-*nap*	'be sold'
-kɨl	'to wait'	-^{h}-*kal*	'be waited for'
-wɨn	'to remove'	-^{h}-*wan*	'be removed'
-luos	'to throw'	-^{h}-*los*	'be thrown'

If the root vowel nucleus consists of /ɨ/, this is raised to [a] – since /ɨ/ cannot occur before a non-palatalised coda (another similar example is the verb 'to wait; to reside': *a-kɨl* [a'kɨlʲ] 'waits; resides' -> *a-^{h}-kal* [ah'kal] 'is waited for' and a verb meaning 'to throw': *a-luos* [a'luoʃ] 'throws' -> *a-^{h}-los* [ah'los] 'is thrown').

24 The fact that this 'de-palatalising' vowel change following the de-palatalisation of the coda also occurs in the case of coda consonants which are marked as non-palatalisable in 2.1.1 casts doubt on the non-palatalisable status of these segments, unless some underlying palatalisation is postulated for the segments to which this process can apply (at present in the corpus only /p/).

2.5.3. PALATALISATION OF ROOTS

In a large number of verbs and nouns alike, palatalisation can indicate diminutive semantics (adjectives of this type are not yet attested in the corpus, but they are likely to follow the same pattern). Some examples are given below:

(86)	[nam'bor]	'is black'	[nam'byr[25]]	'is black (DIM)'
(87)	[ala'ʦam]	'extends'	[alɨh'tʃiəm]	'extends (DIM)'
(88)	[ʦo'tor]	'you sit down'	[tʃy'tjyr]	'you sit down (DIM)'

However, not all pairs $CVC_{[-pal]}$ ~ $CVC_{[+pal]}$ seem to be semantically related. This will require further investigation.

(89)	[na'kaʦ]	'is wet'	[ɲi'kitʃ]	'is skinny'

2.5.4. INFIXATION OF :ɾV:

A valency-decreasing infix /:ɾV:/ passivises transitive verbs, creating an intransitive verb with the A (subject of a transitive verb) becoming S (subject of an intransitive verb). It has not been attested with intransitive verbs (though see 2.7.3.5.1).

Infix :ɾV: associates to the right edge of the vowel nucleus, and the second mora, if available, is reflected in it (with aspiration being preserved, and reduced *ə* realised as *ɑ*; see also 2.4.1.2.1). See 5.8.3.1 and 9.2.1 for further treatment of this infix. Some examples are given below:

(90)	/-ʦa^{m}b/	'to bite; eat'	/-ʦa:ɾV:^{m}b/	-> [aʦa'ramp]	'is eaten'
(91)	/-ɾa^{ŋ}g/	'to do; make'	/-ɾa:ɾV:^{ŋ}g/	-> [ara'raŋ]	'is made; is done'
(92)	/-piə^{ŋ}g/	'to speak'	/-piə:ɾV:^{ŋ}g/	-> [apiə'raŋ]	'is spoken'
(93)	/-him^{b}/	'to sweep'	/-hi:ɾV:m/	-> [ahi'rim]	'is swept'
(94)	/-miət/	'to bury'	/-miə:ɾV:t/	-> [amiə'raht] [26]	'is buried; funeral'

25 This example seems to indicate that /ɾ/ is a palatalised allophone of /r/; however, /ɾ/ is attested beyond contexts of palatalisation, and /r/ is attested in normally palatalised positions. See the overview of consonants (2.1.1.8).

26 *amiət -> amiəraht* is irregular. It is unclear if *-miət* is an originally unaspirated root which becomes aspirated after infixation of :r:, or – an alternative that seems, to me, more likely – if the root was originally aspirated and lost its aspiration except for in the infixed form.

2.6. **UNUSUAL PHONOLOGY**

Several phenomena not covered by the preceding description will be treated in this section. First, an overview will be given of presumably native elements that do not follow the general rules, describing elements with an exceptional root structure first (2.6.1.1), then turning to elements which have exceptional behaviour on syllable level (2.6.1.2), and finally, looking at irregular behaviour of segments (2.6.1.3). Subsequently, loans will be examined (2.6.2).

2.6.1. PHONOLOGICALLY IRREGULAR NATIVE ELEMENTS

2.6.1.1. ROOT STRUCTURE

2.6.1.1.1. ADJECTIVES. There is a closed class of adjectives in Umbeyajts, which are all disyllabic, thus deviating from the usual root structure.

(95)	/halap/	'hairless'
(96)	/tarap/	'plane'
(97)	/ʦorop/	'round; oval'
(98)	/kajaᵑg/	'stale; hard'
(99)	/taraᵑg/	'thick (cloth)'
(100)	/ʦoⁿʦok/	'wrinkled'
(101)	/tokoʦ/	'short'
(102)	/toroʦ/	'crippled'
(103)	/ᵐbalas/	'obese'
(104)	/ⁿdamas/	'thick (object)'
(105)	/paras/	'thick (sand; faeces)'
(106)	/toᵑguoj/	'bent; crooked'

As was pointed out to me by Rolf Noyer (p.c.), all adjectival roots that end in *-p, -r, -ʦ, -s*, have a medial sonorant, except for *tokoʦ*, which he classifies as a possible borrowing from Mixe-Zoquean.

Two frequently used lexemes, (78) and (79), deserve some special attention at this point due to their irregular phonological behaviour:

(107) /kytʃy^{h}tʃ/ ‘small’

(108) /hɨj/ ‘new’

(107) can be optionally realised as [ku'tʃy^{h}tʃ], ['kutʃ] or ['kuʃ], especially in fast speech. (108) is a monosyllabic root meaning ‘new’, but in other varieties the word for ‘new’ is [ha'jatʂ]. As Rolf Noyer points out, for instance, in his etymological dictionary (Noyer, 2012), *-tʂ* is actually a temporal suffix with recent past/same-day semantics.

2.6.1.1.2. PREFIXING VERB ROOTS. A number of prefixing verbs have a non-decomposable disyllabic stem. Some examples are given below.

(109) /-hetial/ ‘send’

(110) /-hojok/ ‘press (while hugging)’

(111) /-kolot/ ‘chop up; cut into pieces’

(112) /-ko^{h}lontʂ/ ‘wrinkle’

(113) /-po^{h}noŋg/ ‘heap up’

(114) /-tʃa^{h}par/ ‘throw away’

(115) /-ʃy^{h}kyen/ 'extinguish, turn off'

Some disyllabic roots show clear patterns of inherent reduplication, but cannot be considered as derived roots, being non-decomposable. Other issues related to reduplication will be addressed in the section on morphophonology.

(116) /-^{n}d^{j}yej^{n}d^{j}yej/ ‘feel fresh’

(117) /-^{n}d^{j}yel^{jn}d^{j}yel^{j}/ ‘be soft (clothes)’

(118) /-metʃmetʃ/ ‘blink’

(119) /-^{m}bepepej/[27] ‘shake’

(120) /-kotʂotʂ/ ‘squeeze (with one’s fist)’

(121) /-mo^{n}tʂotʂ/ ‘close (one’s eyes)’

2.6.1.1.3. NOUNS. A number of nouns are non-decomposable and show deviating patterns. There is a handful of disyllabic nominal roots:

(122) /toko^{m}b/ ‘lake’

27 Here, *-ej* is a reflexive suffix.

(123) /komot/ ‘nasal mucus; snot’

(124) /tʃikot/ ‘mud’

(125) /gumah/ ‘scorpion’

(126) /kiniək/ ‘salt’

(127) /kia^{m}bah/ ‘community’

2.6.1.2. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

2.6.1.2.1. ROOTS WITH EXCEPTIONAL PALATALISATION PATTERNS. A few exceptions have been found to the palatalisation rules presented above.

2.6.1.2.1.1. NON-PREFIXING VERBS WITH *E* IN THE VOWEL NUCLEUS. Non-prefixing verbs that have a vowel nucleus consisting of /e/ do not follow the palatalisation pattern nor vowel assimilation rules: They do not palatalise the coda, and they take the subset for roots with vowel nuclei /a/ or /ie/. There is a historical explanation for this, since they originally derived from a diphthong, /iə/ (see 1.7).

(128) /^{m}be^{h}l-/ ‘turn around’

(129) /per-/ ‘peep’

(130) /mbe^{h}law/ ‘it turned around’

(131) /perahuow/ ‘he peeped’

2.6.1.2.1.2. /J/-FINAL ROOTS WITH E IN THE VOWEL NUCLEUS. Roots ending in a palatal approximant do not follow the vowel assimilation rules when they have /e/ as a vowel nucleus. Rather, they take the set of suffixes used with roots that have /a/ as their vowel nucleus.

(132) /-^{m}bej/ ‘mouth’

(133) /-^{n}gej/ ‘hear’

(134) /u^{m}beja^{h}ʦ/ ‘our (incl.) language’

(135) /i^{n}gejan/ ‘you (pl.) hear’

The only difference with regular type I-suffixes is in the third person plural: Following /j/, /ɨ/ cannot be realised, leading to /i/ in the suffix rather than /ɨ/:

(136) /uᵐbe'jiw/ 'their mouth'

(137) /aᵑge'jiw/ 'they hear'

2.6.1.2.1.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS. All personal pronouns except for the third person forms have an exceptional phonological pattern, as shown in (138). They seem to be based on a root *-ik.* Normally, roots with /i/ as their syllable nucleus palatalise the coda and follow vowel assimilation rules, taking a subset of prefixes with an epenthetic diphthong /iə/ that seems to act as a form of bridge from the palatalised root to the non-palatalised suffix. However, the pronouns, while using the same person/number affixes as verbs, take the epenthetic vowel used for roots with /o/ as a syllable nucleus.

(138)

1st person singular	/ʃik/
1st person exclusive plural	/ʃikon/
1st person inclusive dual	/ikor/
1st person inclusive plural	/ikoʰʦ/
2nd person singular	/ik/
2nd person plural	/ikon/

In the San Francisco dialect, the first and second person singular pronouns are based on the form /iok/, and there may thus be some link with the o-morphology. However, to determine this, a more in-depth investigation will be required

2.6.1.3. SEGMENTAL LEVEL

2.6.1.3.1. MARGINAL PHONEMES IN NATIVE CONTEXTS

2.6.1.3.1.1. /ð/. A voiced dental fricative is only attested in one root, Umbeyajts -wide: /-đam/ 'be big'.

2.6.1.3.1.2. /ɢ/. The allophony of /ŋg/ is discussed in 2.3.3.

2.6.1.3.1.3. /ʊ/.

Close back rounded vowel /u/ behaves in a phonologically somewhat irregular way, in that it palatalises the coda, but shows inconsistency as to whether the onset is palatalised or plain:

(139)	/a-lu^{h}k/->	[a'luhk]	'split (wood)'
(140)	/ku^{h}ʦ/ ->	[-'kuhtʃ]	'to cut'
(141)	/n-u-/ ->	[ɲu-]	[stative prefix before theme vowel *u*]
(142)	/suk/ ->	[ʃuk]	'deer'
(143)	/su^{h}k-Vn/ ->	[ʃuh'kyeɲ]	'to extinguish; to turn off'

/u/ palatalises the onset and the coda in nearly all examples, but not in all. I have no explanation for this currently. Positing a vowel sequence (/iu/) for all instances where /u/ palatalises the onset, that is, almost in all cases, is not viable, since the occurrence of an /i/ would not be justifiable diachronically.

2.6.1.3.2. EXCEPTIONAL ALLOPHONY OF NON-MARGINAL PHONEMES

Labial approximant /w/ behaves somewhat irregularly when palatalised. As mentioned in 2.1.1.6, /w/ can change to a voiced labiodental approximant [ʋ][28], or remain unaltered in contexts of palatalisation. These contexts will be specified here.

When /w/ is in the onset and the vowel nucleus consists of vowel /e/ or diphthongs /iə/ and /ia/, it changes to [ʋ]. No examples have been found of /w/ before diphthong /io/, so it is unclear if this diphthong would also trigger fricativisation. /wiəl/ -> ['ʋiəl] 'fox; tail'; /wiər/ -> ['ʋiər] 'rook[29]'; /a-wiəl/ -> [a'ʋiəl] 'maintains (in livelihood)'; /wiə^{h}t/ -> ['ʋiəht] 'sand'; /a-wet/ -> [a'ʋet^{j}] 'it tastes good (salty)'; /wen/ -> ['ʋeɲ] 'nanche[30]'; /wiak/ -> ['ʋ^{j}ak].

28 Phonetically, a slight rounded palatal glide can sometimes be heard following this segment, resulting in [ʋɥ].

29 Rook: *Corvus frugilegus*

30 Nanche: *Byrsonima crassifolia*

2.6.2. LOANWORD PHONOLOGY

2.6.2.1. RECENT LOANS AND CODE-SWITCHING. Code-switching is a common, genre-wide characteristic of Umbeyajts discourse. All the texts in the corpus contain a great deal of instances of code-switching and code-mixing. More attention will be devoted to this subject in chapter 13.

Recent loans are almost exclusively from Spanish (although I did find a small number of loans from Zapotec, which are also common in Zapotec speakers' Spanish) can often be recognised by their complete or partial adaption to Umbeyajts syllable structure. The new loan may be vowel-final, have a non-word-final stress pattern as well as phonemes not included in the phoneme inventory. Some examples of recent loans that have not or only partially adapted to Umbeyajts phonology are given here: /bak/ 'cow' (< Sp. *vaca*), /bola'la:ri/ '*bola lari*[31]' (< Zap. *bola lari*), /bald/ 'bucket' (< Sp. *balde*), /mes/ 'table' (< Sp. *mesa*), /kaj/ 'street' (< Sp. *calle*).

2.6.2.2. OLDER LOANS. Older loans are more difficult to recognise, and many of the roots in 2.5.1.1 may actually be non-native[32]. Usually, the loans have adapted to Umbeyajts syllable structure, that is, including palatalisation.

Some examples are: /wakɨʃ/ 'cattle' (< Sp. *vacas*), /tʃokolɨtʲ/ 'chocolate' (< Sp. *chocolate*), /piʃitʃ/ 'herd of badgers' (< Zap. *biᴸzi̱ᴸdzu̱ᴸᴴ*).

2.6.2.3. MARGINAL PHONEMES IN BORROWED WORDS

2.6.2.3.1. /ʙ/. /b/ only occurs in loanwords. As in Spanish, it is realised as a fricative, [β], in all positions except when preceded by a nasal – this exception also applies across word boundaries.

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31 *Bola lari*: Person who marries a Huave woman and moves in with her instead of following the usual patrilocal procedures.

32 Currently research is going on with regard to borrowing, see for example Noyer (ms.).

2.6.2.3.2. /ɒ/. /đ/ is attested only in one native lexeme (see 2.6.1.3.1.1.1), in which it cannot occur word-initially based on morphological restrictions (it must be preceded by a theme vowel). Otherwise, it only occurs in loanwords from Spanish with /d/. Zapotec has /d/, but no loans from Zapotec featuring /d/ or /đ/ are currently attested. /đ/ follows the phonological rules of /d/ in Spanish, that is: It is realised [d] following a nasal.

2.6.2.3.3. /ɢ/. In loanwords from Spanish /g/ is realised as a fricative, [ɣ], by many speakers. Whether this realisation can be associated specifically with younger speakers awaits further investigation, but it seems likely that this variation depends on variations in individual speakers' Spanish competence.

2.6.2.3.4. /ɸ/. Bilabial fricative /ɸ/ occurs in non-native contexts where Spanish has /f/. It also occurs in native contexts (see 2.3.4).

2.6.3. CODE-MIXING PHENOMENA ON SEGMENTAL LEVEL

A few cases have been found where Umbeyajts phonology seems to influence speaker's Spanish.

['ɸaβrika]	~	['hwaβrika]	'factory'	(Spanish: *fábrica*)
[ka'ɸej]	~	[kah'wej]	'coffee'	(Spanish: *café*)

However, it should be noted at this point that many other regional varieties of Spanish also display this allophony (in Oaxacan Spanish, for example, ['ɸisjo] is a common pronunciation of *juicio*). Therefore, the direction of borrowing is not clear in the case of this rule: It could be the case that the rule specified in 2.3.4 is transferred into Umbeyajts from speakers' knowledge of Spanish, but it is equally possible that Umbeyajts speakers apply a rule imported from Spanish.

2.7. DIACHRONIC ISSUES IN PHONOLOGY

2.7.1. INTRODUCTION

The historical development of Umbeyajts phonology gives more insight in the dynamics behind the system of palatalisation and irregularities in the phonology. As mentioned before, Umbeyajts was first reconstructed by Jorge Suárez in 1975. Whereas all the Ikojts' dialects nowadays have basic monosyllabic root structure (and any root consisting of more than one syllable can safely be assumed to either be a root with fossilised

morphology, a compound consisting of two roots or a borrowed root), Proto-Huave had disyllabic roots, generally of the pattern CVCV.

The first syllable was tonic (San Mateo still has a marginal tone system, consisting of a contrast between high tones and falling tones, the latter hypothesised to be instances of a floating low tone associated to a small number of roots; see for example Pike and Warkentin, 1962). The vowel nucleus of the second, post-tonic syllable was at some stage eliminated, leaving, however, certain traces behind – one of which is palatalisation in the coda, the presence or absence of which reflects the vowel quality of the post-tonic syllable.

One of the pieces of evidence to support this hypothesis actually proceeds from written sources: Several vocabulary lists from the 19th century contain disyllabic roots. An example is the roots 'open' and 'rain' from the vocabulary gathered by Peñafiel and Belmar, respectively:

(144)	a.	Peñafiel:	*lehkì*	'to open'
	b.	Reconstruction Suárez (1975):	**-lé:ke*	
(145)	a.	Belmar:	*ahoiti*	'to rain'
	b.	Reconstruction Suárez (1975):	**-hotɪ*	

This reflects into the current varieties as follows:

(146)	a. San Dionisio:	/a-le^{h}k/	[a'l^{j}ehk]	/a-hu̯ot/	[a'hu̯ot^{j}]
	b. San Mateo:	/a-l^{j}a:k^{j}/	[a'lɪa:ɪg]	/a-hot^{j}/	[a'hoɪt]
	c. San Francisco:	/a-l^{j}ehk/	[a'l^{j}ehk]	/a-hot^{j}/	[a'hot^{j}]

Throughout this chapter, examples will be given from different varieties. If not otherwise specified, the examples proceed from my own fieldnotes, collected during visits to San Francisco del Mar Pueblo Nuevo, San Francisco del Mar Pueblo Viejo as well as during the normalisation workshops organised by INALI in May 2011 and March 2012.

2.7.2. The development of aspiration

Aspiration is reconstructed by Suárez as a long vowel. It corresponds to vowel length in San Mateo del Mar, and to aspiration in the other varieties. As was noted earlier, Noyer reconstructs aspirated vowels in the Proto-language. A few examples of cognates with aspiration in the other varieties are given below in table 2i. The San Francisco examples are taken from Kim (2008), the Santa María examples from Noyer (2013) and the San Mateo examples from Stairs and Kreger (1981).

Table 2i. Aspiration across the dialects

Reconstruction Suárez	**Reconstruction Noyer**	**Meaning**	**Current form SD**	**Current form SMo**	**Current form SMa**	**Current form SF**
*so:co	*sohco	'moustache, beard'	/so^{h}ʦ/	<-soots>	<sojts>	<sojts>
*tì:tɨ	*tìhtɨ	'road'	/tiə^{h}t/	<tiiüd>	<tiejt>	<tiujt>
*si:to	*sɪhto	'to rest'	/-sio^{h}t/	<-xood>	<-xojt>	<-xojt>
*sɨ:cɪ / *sì:cɪ	*sɨhcɪ / *sìhci	'root'	/si^{h}ʦ/	<xiich>	<xijch>	<xujch>

2.7.3. The development of palatalisation

2.7.3.1. Simple vowels /a/, /o/, /ɪ/ and /e/

All three described varieties are affected by a split in the consonant inventory – consonants with palatal articulation being in complementary distribution with other consonants. Historically, this can be easily explained by taking into account the eliminated post-tonic vowel. If this was a front vowel (/ɪ/ in Suárez's reconstruction, which was meant to be a front vowel with the quality of either [e] or [i]), the preceding vowel nucleus was palatalised. If it was a back vowel, it was not. Some examples are displayed in table 2j below:

Table 2j. Development of simple vowels /a/, /o/, /ɪ/ and /e/

Proto-Huave reconstruction	San Dionisio Umbeyajts	Meaning
*kítɪ	/kit/	'chicken'
*mbéte	/-mbet/	'to cost'
*háwa	/-haw/	'to see; to know'

*-hanca	/-ha^{n}ts/	'to wash'
*kòwo	/kow/	'*metate* (grinding stone)'

2.7.3.2. DIPHTHONGS AND VOWEL SEQUENCES

Diphthongs can be traced back to Proto-Huave through a metathesis rule, by which the post-tonic vowel metathesised with its onset, creating a sequence of two vowels in a closed syllable.

Roots containing diphthong /iə/ are reconstructed as *CɪCɨ, and /u̯o/ as *CoCɪ, thus deriving from the same vowel as /o/, but altered by the remnant of the post-tonic vowel. I hypothesise that the vowel resulting from *CoCɪ had a slightly longer duration than the simple *o resulting from *CoCo, and that this feature led to diphthongisation to /uo/.

Vowel sequences are reconstructable in a similar way:

- /ia/ < *CɪCa
- /io/ < *CɪCo
- /ye/ < *CɨCɪ

TABLE 2K. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF DIPHTHONGS AND VOWEL SEQUENCES

Proto-Huave reconstruction	San Dionisio	San Francisco	Meaning
*tɪlɨ	/tiəl/	['tiol]	'inside'
*-k^{w}ɪřɨ	/-k^{w}iər/	[-'k(w)ior]	'to run'
*-hotɪ	/-hu̯ot/	[-'hot^{j}]	'to rain'
*sòsɪ	/su̯os/	['soʃ]	'grass'
*tɨlɪ	/tyel/	['tul^{j}]	'turkey'
*kɨncɪ	/-kyendʑ/	[-'kuntʃ]	'to grind'
*pɪnga	/pia^{ŋ}g/	['piaŋ]	'mosquito'
*pɪca	/piatʂ/	['piatʂ]	'tortilla'
*-mbílo	/-^{m}biol/	[-'^{m}bul]	'to help'
*-tɪnco	/-tiontʂ/	[-'t^{j}untʂ]	'to spit'

2.7.4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT-DAY /ɨ/

As was mentioned before, the central vowel in San Dionisio is in complementary distribution with another vowel, /a/. /ɨ/ appears only in contexts in which the onset is plain and the coda is palatalised, whereas /a/ appears only in plain surroundings.

The background of this is that the tonic vowel was /a/, and the final, post-tonic vowel metathesised with its onset, creating a closed syllable with either a sequence of two back vowels (of which the latter was eliminated) or a falling diphthong ending in a front vowel, palatalising the coda. Present-day /ɨ/ did not evolve out of Proto-Huave /ɨ/, which developed into present-day /y/, or into the shwa element of diphthong /iə/. This falling diphthong can still be observed in the San Francisco dialect (see the second example of table 2L):

TABLE 2L. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT-DAY /ɬ/

Proto-Huave reconstruction	San Dionisio	San Francisco	Meaning
*ná:pa[33]	/na^{h}p/	['nahp]	'drum'
*-na:pɪ	/-nɬ^{h}p/	['naihp]	'to sell'
*kánci	/kɬndz/	['kantʃ]	'crab'
*kànca	/kandz/	['kants]	'chili pepper'
*katɪ	/kɬt/	['kat^{j}]	'fish'
*natɪ	/nɬt/	['nat^{j}]	'day; name'

2.7.5. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT-DAY /Y/

Proto-Huave is reconstructed with a central vowel /ɨ/, which has developed in different ways in each dialect, but not into a central vowel in any of the three dialects that have such a vowel. In San Mateo, tonic /ɨ/ developed into /e/, in San Francisco and Santa María into /u/, and in San Dionisio, into /y/, but sometimes the /y/ is followed by a /e/, creating a vowel sequence, but the development of this /e/ is still unclear, although preliminary an observation can be made regarding its distribution: It never occurs in syllables corresponding to a long vowel in San Mateo (these are aspirated in San Dionisio, and vowel sequence /ye/ cannot be aspirated).

33 Vowel length in Suárez's reconstruction corresponds to vowel length in the San Mateo dialect, and to aspiration in the other varieties.

TABLE 2M. DEVELOPMENT OF PROTO-HUAVE /ɨ/ INTO PRESENT-DAY /Y/ AND /YE/

Proto-Huave reconstruction	San Dionisio	San Francisco	San Mateo	Meaning
*-ɨːˋpɪ	/-yʰp/	[-uhp]	[-eːb]	'smoke'
*-ɨˋːtɪ	/yʰt/	-	[(j)eːd]	'feather; body hair'
*mɨˋtɪ	/myʰt/	['muhtʲ]	['meːd]	'*huipil* blouse'
*patɪ[34]	/pyet/	-	['pet]	'dog'
*(n)cɨˊyɨ	/ⁿʤyej/	['ⁿtʃoj]	['ⁿdʒej]	'midwife; aunt'
*cɨlɪ	/ʦyel/	['tʃulʲ]	[-'tʃel]	'urinate'
*kɨˊkɨ	/kyk/	['kuk]	['kekʲ]	'butterfly; bird'
*hVkV (a..ɪ, ɨ.. ɨ)	/-hyk/	-	-	'wake up'
*-htɨpɪ	/-ʰtyp/	[-'htip]	[ah'tep]	'ascend'
*ndɨˊkɪ	/ⁿdyk/	['ⁿdʲuikʲ]	['ⁿdekʲ]	'sea'
*pɨkɨ	/-pyk/	['-puk]	['-pekʲ]	'embrace'

2.7.6. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT-DAY /E/

2.7.6.1. IRREGULAR NON-PREFIXING VERBAL ROOTS WITH /E/

As mentioned in 2.6.1.2.1.1, two non-prefixing roots do not conform to palatalisation and vowel assimilation patterns as outlined in 2.3.2 and 2.5.1, being the only roots that have /e/ as their vowel nucleus. They behave like roots that have either /a/ or /iə/ as their vowel nucleus, taking suffixes of type I instead of the expected type III set of suffixes.

The reason why they do not behave as other roots with vowel nucleus /e/ can be found by reconstructing the historical development of these words. Since Suárez did not reconstruct these two forms, the only way to gain more insight into this is to refer to available materials of other varieties, most notable the dictionaries of Noyer (2013) and

34 Unfortunately, San Dionisio's present-day /y/ is treated inconsistently in Suárez's work; he phonologises it as /ɨ/, and sometimes it is reconstructed as /CaCɪ/, but mostly with /CɨCɪ/. However, they are clearly distinct, not only phonetically, but also historically (/y/ being a clear reflex of Suárez's *CɨCɪ, consistent with correspondences in other varieties, and /ɨ/ corresponding clearly to forms in other varieties that Suárez reconstructs with CaCɪ). That Suárez reconstructed *patɪ for 'dog' is rather puzzling, since one would have expected *CaCɪ to have evolved into /ɨ/ also in San Mateo, but it evolved into /e/: *Pet* 'dog'. *CɨCɪ would yield the correct forms in both varieties, but not in San Francisco, which has *kius* – a form of unclear origin not found in other varieties.

Stairs and Kreger (1981).

No correspondence for /^{m}be^{h}l-/ 'to turn around' could be found in the available data on the San Francisco and Santa María varieties, but in Stairs and Kreger there is a cognate <mbiiül-> 'se voltea, se cambia de lugar' (the subordinate given is <mbiüjlam>), which would correspond with */^{m}biəjl-/ in San Dionisio (tentatively reconstructable as *mbi:lɬ). This would explain both the lack of palatalisation and the choice for suffixes of type I, associated with /iə/-roots.

The case of /per-/ is not as transparent. Stairs and Kreger have no forms that could be considered cognate of /per-/ or /piər-/ (<piür-> 'plantado, sembrado' is present, but this is cognate with SD /piəɾ/ 'to sow'). In a past version of the Etymological Dictionary, Noyer (p.c.) proposed a solution for this root, where the San Dionisio form was cited specifically (without any available cognates from other dialects) as /peram-oh/ (this form still includes a reference to *pya-*) [35], which used to be grouper under /pya-/, glossed as 'acostado | lying down' (San Dionisio: /pia-/ 'to lie down'). Noyer tentatively proposed that the the San Dionisio form contains the detransivising infix *-rV--*[36], which could possibly yield something like *pi:r:ɑ*[37] - aand since there are no other non-prefixing roots in the corpus with this infix, it is difficult to say what the outcome of a vowel final, aspirated non-prefixing root would be after the affixation of :ɾV: - this might very well be accompanied by de-aspiration, yielding a similar form to what Noyer proposes. However, in my view, three issues would have remained unresolved when following this hypothesis: 1) Infix :ɾ: always contains a flap, and never a thrill; 2) it seems semantically odd that a valency-decreasing infix [38] should be used on an intransitive

35 From three different sources: Radin (1929), with the gloss 'asomarse | lean out', and fieldnotes of Rasheny Joha Lazcano Leyva and other participants of the INALI workshops held in 2011, with the gloss 'se inclina | to bend over, to lean over'.

36 This infix is also found in San Dionisio as a passivising infix on intransitive verbs: *ɑ-haw* 'sees' -> *ɑ-ha:ra:w* 'is seen'; *ɑ-ʁamb* 'bites; eats' -> *ɑ-ʁa:ra:mb* 'is eaten', *ɑ-fom* 'finds' -> *ɑ-fo:ro:m* 'is found'; *ɑ-miət* 'buries' -> *ɑ-miə:r:ɑht* 'is buried'.

37 Throughout this work, the colon represents affixation of either an infix or a floating autosegment. It does not refer to length.

38 It should be noted that my own explanation of prefixing verb *-ndoruojch* 'spend; make disappear' (see 5.8.4) includes the assumption of the added passivising infix to bound root *nd-*; however, this verb also contains a causative suffix (*-jch*). My explanation thus considers the addition of the infix to *nd-* to result in a verb meaning 'to disappear; to get lost', and such a suffixing verb does in fact occur: *ndoro-* (San Mateo *ndro-*), to which the causative suffix is then added, transforming *o* into *uo* in accordance

positional verb with stative/inchoative semantics to yield the meaning of [per-] 'lean out (for the purpose of seeing something); bend over', which, in comparison to /pia h -/ 'to lie down, to be in a lying state', quite obviously shows an increased deliberateness not usually associated with valency-decreasing operations; and 3) I hypothesise that infix :ɾV: associates to the right edge of the vowel nucleus, and that the second mora is the one that is reflected in the infix [39], , thus yielding forms like [-andiə'ɾam] and not *[andiɾiəm] from [andiəm]. In this case, if /pia h -m/ followed regular synchronic phonological rules, hypothetical /pia h -ɾV-m/ would be syllabified as *[pjaɾa h m], and not as *[pi-ɾa-m]. Nevertheless, Noyer's proposed explanation is currently the only one available, and further investigation of roots with aspiration is necessary.

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Tentatively, I propose classifying both /^{m}be^{h}l-/ and /per-/ as roots belonging to the same subclass of irregular, non-prefixing positional verbs, and I hypothesise that they are derived from roots with and /iə/ vowel nucleus historically, based on the San Mateo cognate of /^{m}be^{h}l-/.

2.7.6.2. IRREGULAR NON-PREFIXING /J/-FINAL VERBAL AND NOMINAL ROOTS WITH /E/

As mentioned in 2.6.1.2.1.2, several prefixing roots, among which /-^{m}bej/ 'mouth; speech' and /-^{ŋ}gej/, also take suffixes of type I instead of the expected type III set.

The San Mateo del Mar variety suffered a kind of vowel breaking process, which caused roots reconstructed as *CeCe to be realised as [Cẹ̯aC]. The lexemes mentioned above are thus <-mbeay> and <-ngeay> in San Mateo. However, instead of taking suffixes associated to vowel nuclei with /a/, these forms are conjugated with the typical suffixes for forms with vowel nucleus /e/: <ombeayiiüts> 'our mouth; our language'; <ingeayiün> 'you (plural) hear', thus following almost a mirroring pattern as opposed to San Dionisio.

My tentative explanation for this phenomenon is that /i/ following /j/ is disallowed due to a phonotactic restriction based on dissimilation, which conditions the choice for class

with a regular phonotactic restriction (since *uo* occurs before palatalised codae and *o* only before non-palatalised codae, as detailed in 2.3.1.1).

39 What happens to aspiration in such a case is still unclear, since there are no examples in the corpus of aspirated roots that suffer affixation of :r:, only one example of the opposite, where an unaspirated root becomes aspirated after infixation (the irregular *amiət -> amiəraht*).

I suffixes for /j/-final stems containing /e/, thus leading to a dissimilar pattern as opposed to other stems in /e/.

2.8. PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY

2.8.1. STANDARDISATION

Efforts to standardize Umbeyajts orthography and to come to an orthography which could be used by speakers of all the varieties have started in May 2011, when the INALI (Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas) organised the first in a series of four Normalisation Workshops, which brought together speakers interested in writing and Mexican as well as international scholars from Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States. It should be mentioned that the Umbeyajts-speaking participants were almost exclusively school teachers. The result of the meetings has been a preliminary norm for each of the Ikojts' speech communities, since it was deemed undesirable by the speakers to alter the norms already in use in the communities into such an extent that the resulting orthography would be useable for all four varieties. San Mateo del Mar has the longest tradition of writing, mostly due to the missionary activities in the village that already started in the seventies and to the size of the community. The first orthography used in San Mateo del Mar was developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and it was based mostly on Spanish, using <c>/<qu> to represent /k/, but not <hu>, but <w> for /w/. Following orthographies of other Mexican indigenous languages, <x> represents [ʃ]. /ɨ/ is represented with <ü>. Underlying palatalisation was represented in a similar way to how it is done in Irish, using combinations like <ea>, <eo>, <eai>, <eoe>, <ia> and <io>. However, San Dionisio, San Francisco and Santa María speakers objected to the representation of palatalised allophones of consonants by <e> or <i> in those cases where secondary palatalised articulation is clearly perceivable, such as [lʲ], [tʲ] and [ɲ], which they preferred to represent with <ly>, <ty> and <ñ>, respectively[40]. San Mateo does not have surface palatalisation of these consonants, and speaker perceptions tend to be expressed very markedly in metalinguistic discourse (see chapter 13 for a brief

40 There is thus a clear difference in the principle which underlies the tentative orthographies of Santa María/San Francisco/San Dionisio and that of San Mateo: San Mateo orthography has traditionally been based on marking palatalisation by means of a vowel, while the other communities have given preference to marking palatalisation on the consonant (by choosing a representation like <añol> instead of San Mateo <aneol>). Consonants that do not readily correspond to an inherently palatalised consonant in Spanish are represented as digraphs.

discussion of indexicality and language ideologies).

2.8.2. CURRENT ORTHOGRAPHY

The practical orthography I have chosen to use to represent Umbeyajts here will follow the norm established during the INALI meetings. In the following subsections an overview will be given of orthographic rules.

2.8.2.1. PALATALISATION BASICS

Allophones of palatalisable segments (as defined in 2.1.1) will be specified orthographically even in contexts where the conditioning is predictable from the vowel nucleus (see table 2o for the orthographical representation of all allophones of palatalisable consonants). The palatalised allophones of /l/, /t/ and /^{n}d/ are always represented as <ly>, <ty> and <ndy>. Phoneme /w/ is always represented as <w>, regardless of its palatalised/plain status.

As mentioned above, since the orthography is based on Spanish, certain 'inherently palatalised' segments or digraphs are used: (<ch> for [tʃ], <ndx> for [^{n}dʒ], <nch> for [^{n}tʃ], <ñ> for [ɲ] and <x> for [ʃ]).

<lam>	<lyily>
<tamb>	<tyim>
<ndon>	<ndyix>
<atsamb>	<achich>

2.8.2.2. THE REPRESENTATION OF VOWEL SEQUENCES

The representation of vowel sequences /ia/ and /io/ (see 2.3.1.2) can be summarised in four simple rules:

I. Following an 'inherently palatalised' orthographical consonant (*ñ, x, ch, ty, ly*), the sequences will be followed by <a> or <o>: /siow/ [ʃow] *xow* 'much', /niat/ [ɲat] *ñat* 'year', /tsiok/ [tʃok] *chok* 'ant'

II. Following /k/ and /p/, vowel sequences /ia/ and /io/ are represented with

<ia> and <io> (however, */kio/ is not attested): /ikial/ [ikjal] *ikial* ‘container’, /kiambah/ [kiambah] *kiambaj* ‘community’, /piow/ [pjow] *piow* ‘*robalo* fish’.

III. Following labial consonants /^{m}b/ and /m/ and approximant /w/ (but not /p/, which follows rule II), the vowel sequences are represented with <ea> and <eo>, respectively. /wiak/ [ʊjak] *weak* ‘horn’, /miak/ [mjak] *meak* ‘(wooden) spoon’, /na^{hm}bjal/ [nahmbjal] *najmbeal* ‘*Madre cacao* tree’, /ambiol/ [ambjol] *ambeol* ‘helps’.

IV. Following phonemes /^{ŋ}g^{w}/ and /k^{w}/, which then surface as [k^{ʷ}] and [^{ŋ}g^{ʷ}], respectively, the spelling as determined by INALI is <yuia> (*/k^{w}io/ and */^{ŋ}g^{w}io/ are not attested). Following any other consonant, the vowel sequences are represented by <ya> and <yo>.

2.8.2.3. FINAL DEVOICING

<kants>	<ndsaj>
<künch>	<ndxiejts>

An overview of phonemes, allophones and their orthographical representation are given in table 14, and some examples are given below in table 15.

TABLE 2N. GRAPHEMIC REPRESENTATIONS OF PHONEMES AND ALLOPHONES

/p/	<p>	/r/	<rr>
/t/ [t] [t^{j}]	<t> <ty>	/l/	<l>
/k/	<k>	/m/	<m>
/^{m}b/	<mb>	/n/ [n] [ɲ]	<n> <ñ>
/^{n}d/ [^{n}d] [^{n}d^{j}]	<nd> <ndy>	/w/ [w] [ʊ]	<w> <w>
/l/ [l]	<l>	/j/	<y>

[lʲ]	<ly>		
/ŋg/	<ng>	/h/	<j>
/kʷ/ [kʷ]	<kw>	/a/	<a>
[kᶣ]	<kyu>		
/ᵑgw/ [ᵑgʷ]	<ngw>	/o/	<o>
[ᵑgᶣ]	<ngyu>		
/ɸ/	<jw>	/ɨ/	<ü>
/đ/	<d>	/u/	<u>
/s/ [s]	<s>	/iə/	<ie>
[ʃ]	<x>		
/ts/ [ts]	<ts>	/u̯o/	<uo>
[tʃ]	<ch>		
/ndz/ [ndz]	<nts>	/y/	<yu>[41]
[nts]	<nts>		
[ntʃ]	<nch>		
[ndʒ]	<nch>		
/ɾ/	<r>		

TABLE 20. ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF PALATALISATION

Resulting from a vowel sequence – no 'inherently palatalised' representation:

	<a**ty**ots>	/a-tiots/	'thinks'
	<**ly**aw>	/liaw/	'according'
(Rule II)	<**ki**ats>	/kiats/	'brain'
(Rule III)	<a**mbe**ol>	/a-ᵐbiol/	'helps'
(")	<**we**ak>	/wiak/	'horn'

Resulting from a vowel sequence – 'inherently palatalised' representation:

<a**ñ**ol>	/aniol/	'why'
<**ch**ok>	/tsiok/	'ant'
<**x**ow>	/siow/	'very'

41 Digraph <yu> is used to represent /y/ in all contexts: /syhts/ [ʃyhtʃ] <xyujch> 'uncle' ; /nyendʒ/ [ɲyeɲtʃ] <ñyueñch> 'young man' ; /nasyej/ [na'ʃyej] <naxyuey> 'man' (in free variation with *naxuoy*, another surface form used by elderly speakers and also appearing in Radin).

Predictable by surface vowel nucleus – still inherently palatalised representation

<**ly**i**ly**>	/lil/	'scale'
<ki**ty**>	/kit/	'chicken'
<**ty**e**ty**>	/tet/	'father'
<kü**ty**>	/kɨt/	'fish'
<**ty**iejt>	/tiə^{h}t/	'road'
<tsuo**ly**>	/tsu̯ol/	'heron'

Predictable from surface vowel nucleus – inherently palatalised representation

<**ñ**ity>	/nit/	'palm'
<**x**iejts>	/siə^{h}ts/	'pubic hair'
<**ñ**ikich>	/n-i-kits/	ST-TV-'be skinny'
<muo**ñ**>	/mu̯on/	'hare'

3. Word classes

In this chapter, I will present an overview of word classes in Umbeyajts.

A division is made between open classes (classes to which new members can be productively added, like nouns, which can be derived from verbs, and verbs, which can be derived from nouns; also loanwords which can be added to these classes are intended here. Open classes will be discussed in 3.1) and closed classes (classes with a limited number of members, to which new members cannot generally be added and the contents of which can usually be summarised, such as function words/subordinating conjunctions).

It is generally accepted that word classes cannot be clearly and universally defined based on semantic criteria. Language-internal, functional and morphosyntactic criteria must be employed in order to establish, delimit and define a class and its membership (Dixon, 2010b). Nouns and verbs will be functionally defined in terms of their ability to either function as the head of an NP which functions as an argument of a verbal predicate (in the case of nouns), or to function as the head of a verbal predicate (in the case of verbs). Morphosyntactic criteria – inflectional categories and categories from the numeral-classificatory system – for distinguishing verbs and nouns will be summarised in their respective sections (3.1.1 for nouns and 3.1.2 for verbs). The closed classes will be defined and described in 3.2, after which instances of class-changing derivation will be examined (3.3).

3.1. Open classes

3.1.1. Nouns

A class of nouns can be universally recognised for each language hitherto described, recognizable on morphological and/or syntactic criteria (Dixon, 2010b: 54-7). Nouns, as other word classes, cannot be notionally defined across all languages (even though rough semantic generalisations can be made), nor can any set of criteria be established to apply to all nouns universally. However, it is clearly possible to make some syntactic

generalisations about nouns differentiating them from verbs relating to clause structure. Basically, nouns tend to have a function in NPs, whereas verbs tend to be the heads of predicates – however, there are several configurations according to which nouns can appear in several verb-like functions, and vice versa (Dixon, 2010b). In Umbeyajts, this is also the case – not only a verb, but also a noun can fill the intransitive predicate slot (through a verbless clause construction; see the section in chapter 11 on verbless clauses, 11.1). Following Dixon (2010b:41), Umbeyajts can thus be classified as a scheme II-language.

Nouns share the following characteristics: They can appear in an NP which functions as argument of a predicate, they can be possessed, and nouns that are not uncountable can be preceded by a number which may include a numeral classifier. A noun can generally modify another noun plainly by juxtaposition without any overt morphological marking, in which the head noun comes first[42]:

3-1	*najnguow*	*küty*	'fish soup'
	soup	fish	
3-2	*iem*	*ñity*	'palm-thatched house'
	house	palm	

Nouns are not marked for number or for gender (though number is marked on agentive nouns derived from verbs, and on the nouns mentioned in 3.1.1.2; and gender can be specified in animate nouns by means of modification by another noun that is juxtaposed to the referent; see chapter 4). Noun roots tend to be monosyllabic and formally indistinguishable from verb roots in their bare form.

Nouns can be subdivided into three classes according to the set of numeral classifiers they take (often, but not always, based on their physical shape), or into three inflectional

42 Such a construction is similar to possession, but the difference is the lack of an overt morphological marker. In a possessive construction, the possessed (D) is marked morphologically, followed by the possessor (R). For example: *mi-najnguow María* [POS.III.U-soup María] 'María's soup'. See chapter 4.

classes according to the set of possessive suffixes they take. These classifications do not coincide and will be summarised in the section on noun morphology in chapter 4. The subclasses of nouns given here are based on semantic and morphosyntactic criteria.

TABLE 3A. CONTRASTIVE SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF NOUNS AND VERBS

	Nouns	Verbs
Can function as head of NP	X	-
Can function as head of intransitive predicate	X	X
Can function as head of transitive predicate	-	X
Can function as argument of intransitive predicate	X	-
Can function as argument of transitive predicate	X	-

Noun as argument of a predicate

3-3 *Ngu=m-a-rang-üw najiet*
NEG=IRR-TV-do-PL work
'They don't work (lit. do work)'

3-4 *S-a-ndok küty akiejp kuchux ndok*
1-TV-fish fish with small net
'We catch fish with a small net'

Noun as head of a predicate

3-5 *Ajk naxuoykej xa-tyety*
DEM1 man DEM3 1POS-father
'That man is my father'

3-6 *Ajgey jüy os.*
DEM4.PROX new corn
'That is new corn'

3.1.1.1. BODY PART NOUNS

Some body part nouns are used as relational nouns expressing locational notions, as is very common throughout Mesoamerican languages; this is an areal feature (see 13.1.1). A few examples will be presented in 3-7 below.

Body part nouns, like kinship terms (3.1.1.2.2), are obligatorily possessed and surface with possessive morphology (see chapter 4).

3-7	*-mbas*	'body, surface'	'surface; front'
	-myajts	'heart/stomach'	'inside'
	-pyuech	'back'	'behind; after; on surface (of table)'
	-mbey	'mouth'	'border; entrance/exit'
	-mal	'head'	'top'
	-wily	'backside'	'under; at the base of'

A morphological device is available for expressing these nouns without possessor, in an impersonal possessive construction (described in the next chapter in 4.6.1.1.2.3).

3.1.1.2. NOUNS WITH A HUMAN REFERENT

3.1.1.2.1. PLURALISABLE HUMAN NOUNS

Some nouns with a human referent display irregular behaviour as opposed to other types of nouns. They can take a pluralising prefix, *mun-*, which must be diachronically segmentable into *n-* (which is also the stative prefix, and in other dialects functions as a marker of subordinated clauses) preceded by a hypothetical prefix **m-* (and possibly by theme vowel *u-*; see section X).

3-8	*naxuoy ~ naxuey*	'adult man'	*munxuoy ~ munxyuey*	'men'
3-9	*najtaj*	'adult woman'	*muntaj*	'women'
3-10	*nüx*	'girl'	*munüx*[43]	'girls'

43 The resulting form *mu-nüx* (instead of *mun-nüx*) suffers degemination due to two equal consonants occurring consecutively.

Mun- can also appear on a collective noun with a human referent: *Mungich* 'youth; young people', which does not derive from a singular noun **ngich* as would be expected. This noun is probably related to *kich* 'skinniness', and derived stative *ñikich* '(is) skinny'[44].

There are two examples of *mun-* prefixed to a verbal root, probably historically complex (with a, perhaps, verbalizing derivational prefix *t-*) but synchronically unsegmentable: *-taxuoy* 'get old; age (men)'; *muntaxuoy* 'elderly men; grandfathers'; *-tajtaj* 'get old; age (women)', *muntajtaj* 'elderly women; grandmothers'. Finally, there is one example of *mun-* on an adjectival root, *kux* 'small' (shortened form of *kuchyujch*): *Munkuchyujch ñyuench* 'the little boys'. Finally, *mun-* can (very rarely) be attached to a prefixing verb root to modify a noun in a participial-like manner, for example in *mundyow -xyujch* 'the ancestors' (see also 9.5).

This formation is the same pluralisation strategy that is used with derived agentive nouns, which in their singular form consist of state prefix *n-* and theme vowel *u-*. These will be examined in more depth in 8.4, 9.4 and 9.5.

3-11	*ñundok*	'fisherman'	*mundok*	'fishermen'
3-12	*ñukejch mungich*[45]	'teacher (at school)'	*munkejch mungich*	'teachers'

Unlike the terms in 3.1.1.2.2, which are obligatorily possessed, the nouns in this subclass cannot be possessed.

As mentioned above, one type of noun bearing prefix *mun-* are collective nouns that lack an morphologically bare form, as *mungich* which lacks any independent root **ngich*. It should be remarked here that *mungich* can also have a singular referent and mean 'young person', just as *youth* in English. The etymology of *-ngich* is still unclear, but for a short review of Noyer's and Suárez's reconstructions on this, see the discussion of *k(y)uch(y)ujch* in section 8.1.

44 In San Mateo del Mar, *kich* means 'young person (male)'. However, this use of *kich* probably finds its origin in San Mateo *kicheech* 'small', which in San Dionisio would be kuchyujch ~ kyuchyujch ~ kuchujch ~ kuchux ~ kux.

45 *-kejch* 'teach'; *mungich* 'young people; children'

3.1.1.2.2. KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terms, like the body part nouns listed in 3.1.1.1, are obligatorily possessed. Unlike the nouns with a human referent in 3.1.1.2.1, they cannot be pluralised.

3-13	*-mam*	'mother'	*-xyujch*	'uncle'
	-tet	'father'	*-ndxyuey*	'aunt'
	-koj	'older sibling' -	*mambid*[46]	'grandmother'
	-chijk	'younger sibling'	*-tyetybid*	'grandfather'
	-noj	'husband'	*-ntaj*[47]	'wife'

The impersonal terms *na-xyujch-aran*[48] and *na-ndxyuey-aran* are used as a respectful form of greeting older community members (see 12.2.2.2.1.1).

3.1.1.2.3. PROPER NAMES

Another subclass of nouns is formed by proper names. They differ from all other nouns in that modification of a proper name by a numeral, demonstrative or adjective in an NP is not possible. Names are Spanish, and usually nick names are used. For instance, the nickname for *Vladimir* is its shortened form *Vladi*, *Nicolás* has *Nico* and *Miguel* becomes *Migue*. Sometimes the nicknames are rather obscure phonologically, bearing only a slight resemblance to the full name they refer to – in Spanish, nick names tend to be fixed and are no longer directly recognisable as shortened forms of the names. For example, *Enrique* becomes *Kike*, *Rosario* is *Chayo, Obdulio* is *Yuyo, Inocencio* is *Chencho* and *Pedro* is *Beto*. Sometimes Umbeyajts variations on the Spanish pronounciations can be found, for example *Felicitas* is *Lixa* (Sp. *Licha*), *Erasmo* is *Yach* (Sp. *Yamo*), *Alfonso* is *Jonch* (Sp. *Joncho*), *Tomás* is *Max* (no Spanish equivalent, but common in some varieties of Zapotec[49]), *Braulio* is *Biaw* (no Spanish equivalent). In the case of the Spanish hypocoristics, these are based on infantile speech (Gilles Polian, personal communication).

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46 The element [biδ] in the words for 'grandmother' and 'grandfather' is a loan from Spanish *vida*, through Isthmus Zapotec, where it is used, in conjunction with the word for 'mother' and 'father', respectively, to express 'grandmother' and 'grandfather' (*jña vida, bixhoze vida*).

47 *-ntaj* is clearly related to the word *najtaj* 'woman' mentioned in 3.1.1.2.1, plural *muntaj*, thus also based on the stem *-ntaj*.

48 *-aran* is an impersonal suffix; see chapter 5 for a more elaborate description.

49 Personal communication from Thomas Smith-Stark in 2004.

3.1.1.3. ABSTRACT PROPERTY CONCEPT NOUNS

A number of nouns have an abstract meaning expressing property concepts, such as the English nouns *grief*, *joy*, *anger, stupidity* and *cleanliness*. These nouns can function in a special possessed property concept construction by means of intensifier *xow* which modifies predicates (see chapter 6), and possessive morphology marking the referent. An NP marked this way can in fact function, on its own, as a non-verbal intransitive predicate. Some examples are given below:

3-14	*eñch*	'laziness'	*xow*	*xa-eñch*	'I'm very lazy'
			very	1POS.II-laziness	
3-15	*pobre*	'poverty'	*xow*	*xa-pobre*	'I'm very poor'
			very	1POS.II-poverty	

The construction will be described in more depth in chapter 8 on adjectives and adjectival constructions. Abstract property concept nouns are the only nouns that verbs can be derived from by means of adding a theme vowel, which is part of verbal morphology; see section 3.3.2 for a short summary of this process. A more thorough overview of verb morphology can be found in chapters 6 and 7, and the derivation of abstract property concept nouns is discussed in 8.3.5.1.

3.1.1.4. ADDITION OF NEW ITEMS TO THE NOUN CLASS

As mentioned before, nouns are an open class, and new nouns are added by borrowing from Spanish. Nouns that become to be habitually used in the same phonological form by speakers can be considered to have lexicalised to new Umbeyajts nouns. Some examples:

3-16	*machete*	'machete'	*todabiy*	'still'
	sombrer	'sombrero; hat'	*gras*	'grace; smartness'

Instances of code-switching are not considered to be new additions to the noun class, as it is considered that a speakers engaging in code-switching accesses her or his

knowledge of two distinct grammars consecutively, and thus pronounces a sentence like 3-18:

3-17	*Ajgey*	*machete*	*par*	*m-a-kujch-iejts*	*xiel.*
	DEM4.MED	machete	for	IRR-TV-cut-INCL.PL	wood
	'That is a machete for (us to) cut wood'				

3-18	*Antes había mucho,*	*xik*	*meáwan*	*gey*	*s-a-rang.*
	Before,there.was.a.lot	PRON1	all	DEM3.MED	1-TV-do
	'Before, there was a lot (of that), I did all of that' (regarding fishing methods)				

Code-switching is often, but not always, recognisable using whole phrases or phrase fragments, and not only a word. Another characteristic of code-switching is often the lack of adaptation to Umbeyajts phonology, but this is questionable in the case of speakers with a low level of competence in Spanish. Finally, in some cases, a clear indication of instances of lexicalisation as opposed to code-switching is Umbeyajts morphological material being added to non-native items through reanalysis. However, this is not always the case: Possessive morphology is often added to words already carrying a possessive prefix, and it may be assumed that such morphology can be added to an instance of code-switching as well. See chapter 13 for a more in-depth discussion of code-switching and borrowing.

3.1.2. VERBS

Verbs in Umbeyajts are clearly distinguishable from nouns by means of morphological and functional-syntactic criteria: Verbs can be the head of a predicate, but not the argument of one.

A division into two main classes can be made, based on morphosyntactic criteria (and, partly, on transitivity value; see 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2): One subclass of verbs which takes prefixes to mark several verbal categories (tense/aspect, person, class) and suffixes to mark others (person and number); and another subclass of verbs which may only take suffixes to express all of these categories. Multifunctionality of the same affixes is

common in Umbeyajts (see, for instance, chapter 8 on the role possessive morphology plays in property concept predication, currently under investigation by Yuni Kim and Andrew Koontz-Garboden at Manchester University; Kim & Koontz-Garboden, ms). Affix mobility is also common, that is, a set of affixes can function as prefixes as well as suffixes depending on the morphosyntactic environment they are expressed in (for example, past time marking causes the first person marker *s-* to appear as a suffix on prefixing verbs, whereas it is usually marked as a prefix; it therefore seems evident that the past tense marker occupies the slot usually occupied by the first person marker (see chapter 5); and past tense marker *t-,* independent marker *m-* as well as stative marker *n-* appear as prefixes on prefixing verbs (except for the past tense marker when the verb is marked for first person), while they appear as suffixes on non-prefixing verbs; see chapter 5 for a more complete summary of verbal morphology).

Only verbs can take morphology marking temporal categories; number-marking morphology shows formal similarity with the nominal possessive markers for a subtype of nouns that I call 'class I' (see chapter 4).

Verbs are not distinguishable by transitivity values, except that non-prefixing verbs are never transitive. Prefixing verbs include both transitive ('hit', 'kill'), ambitransitive ('eat', 'fish') and intransitive verbs ('sleep', 'wander').

3.1.2.1. PREFIXING VERBS

Prefixing verbs constitute the largest category of verbs in Umbeyajts, consisting of about 80% of the corpus at present. The verbs contained in this class are mostly transitive or ambitransitive verbs of type S=A (like *üty* 'eat', *apier* 'sow'), but it also includes intransitive verbs of different semantic types (*ajüy* ‘wander’, *ajlük* ‘be (locational); live (locational)’, *ajmyuely* ‘go inside’, *amey* ‘sleep’, *adam* ‘be big’, *atang* ‘get old’).

New verbs can be added to this class from Spanish by making use of a very productive verb compounding strategy. This is described in chapter 6.

Prefixing verb roots are generally monosyllabic, and cannot appear as a bare root. The

minimal morphology at the surface structure is one of three theme vowels, markers that essentially have no semantic content but that do mark class membership (see also chapter 8).

In summary, prefixing verbs thus consist of a root, obligatorily preceded by a theme vowel (*a-* for most verbs, *u-* as a valency-reducing device used with verbs bearing theme vowel *a-*, *ü-* for a small number of monosyllabic verbs and *i-* for verbs derived from nouns, as will be seen in chapter 8). The theme vowel is always absent when a second person is expressed (*i-* for verbs with theme vowel *a-* and *ü-*, and *er-* for verbs with theme vowel *i-*)[50]. The theme vowel may optionally be preceded by any one of the following affixes: The first person marker (*s*), past tense (*t*), stative (*n*), independent[51] (*n* for first person and *m* for all others). Several other markers can be procliticised to the verbal word (see 3.2.9.4.2): Future, *sa=* for first person and *ap=* for all others), completive (*la=, tsi=*), progressive (*tyi=*), durative (*al=*). Some of these (future, durative) always need to be followed by the independent prefix, while this is optional in the case of others (progressive, completive).

Number is expressed following the verb stem (*-Vn* for first (exlusive) and second person, *-Vw/-Vj* for third person and *-Vr/-Vjts* for first person inclusive dual and plural, respectively)[52]. Finally, an 'exclusive' marker (expressing 'only, just') can appear as the only enclitic.

50 The third person and the first person inclusive dual and plural have no overt person-marking prefix.

51 The exact semantic and syntactic characteristics of what has been called, up to the present day, subordinate mood in literature about the Ikojts languages, are still difficult to determine and strongly pragmatically conditioned. This mood, which I have called irrealis, can express a number of distinctions including conditional and hortative clauses and it is often used in negation (eg. of the temporally unmarked form of a verb) and to mark the main verb of a subordinate clause; however, many examples appear in the corpus where none of these contexts apply and the function of this form appears quite obscure. Rolf Noyer (p.c.) has suggested that the presence or absence of an implicit object may in some cases motivate a speaker's choice to use the subordinate form.

52 *V* stands for a vowel nucleus which can be either *-a-*, *-o-* or *-ie-*, conditioned by a process of vowel agreement triggered by the vowel nucleus of the stem. The process of vowel agreement was described in 2.5.1.

TABLE 3B. STRUCTURE OF PREFIXING VERBS

future=	TAM-	theme vowel-	-ROOT	- first person	- plural
negative=	first person-	second person-		- inclusive dual	
durative=				- inclusive plural	
completive=					
progressive=					

3.1.2.2. NON-PREFIXING VERBS

Non-prefixing verbs are a reduced, closed subclass of verbs, consisting exclusively of intransitive verbs that refer mostly to a state or position (*chyutyuj* 'be seated', *lomboj* 'be standing') but also to changes of position (*wityiew* 'get up', *chyutyuj* 'sit down') and changes of state (*wijkiaw* 'be born', *lambaw* 'calm down', *mbayaw* 'get startled', *ndoroj* 'disappear') are represented in this class, be it to a lesser extent. The class can be said to be a closed class based on the lack of derivational mechanisms which derive new non-prefixing verbs either from nouns (see 8.3.1) or from Spanish verbs (see 3.3.5, where a very productive mechanism for producing new prefixing verbs from Spanish roots is described).

Non-prefixing minimally require a person marker, a tense marker, a stative marker or a independent marker on the surface, and they cannot surface as bare roots (however, see 8.1.1 for a possible exception).

TABLE 3C. STRUCTURE OF NON-PREFIXING VERBS

future=	ROOT-	(- person)		- plural
negative=		- independent	- person	
durative=		- past		
completive=				
progressive=				

3.2. CLOSED WORD CLASSES

3.2.1. ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVAL CONCEPTS

Property concepts can be expressed in different ways with verbs or nouns in Umbeyajts (through verbs or through a possessive construction with an abstract property concept

noun; see chapter 8). In addition, a small class of adjectives consists of disyllabic roots that can modify a noun in a NP. They do not take any morphology, but they can form non-prefixing verbs without any overt derivational mechanism, by simply adding verbal suffixes. Instances of adjectives will thus be considered as de-adjectival zero-derived non-prefixing verbs (see chapter 8 for an in-depth discussion of words expressing property concepts).

3.2.2. ADVERBS

3.2.2.1. TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL SHIFTERS

Temporal shifters and spatial shifters, traditionally classified as adverbs (for example, in Stairs and Kreger, 1981) are words expressing temporal and spatial specifications. Following Dixon (2010a), they are called shifters due to their shift of reference depending on the relative point of view of the speech act participants. They are involved in complex modification of a predicate, specifying its position in time or space, respectively.

Temporal and spatial shifters can be clearly distinguished from both nouns and verbs: They differ from nouns in that they cannot be possessed; they cannot function as core arguments of predicates, they never vary in number and consequently cannot be marked for number. They differ from verbs in that they cannot be the head of a predicate, and they cannot take any morphological categories of the verb.

TABLE 3D. CONTRASTIVE SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF TEMPORAL/SPATIAL SHIFTERS AND NOUNS

	Temporal and spatial shifters	Nouns
Can function as head of NP	-	X
Can function as head of intransitive predicate	-	X
Can function as head of transitive predicate	-	-
Can function as argument of intransitive predicate	-	X
Can function as argument of transitive predicate	-	X
Can modify intransitive predicate	X	-
Can modify transitive predicate	X	-
Can be possessed in a possessive construction	-	X
Can take overt number marking	-	some (3.1.1.2)

Temporal shifters are *ganüy* 'now', *kanüy* 'today', *uxyup* 'tomorrow', *tyim* 'yesterday',

timiwierr 'the day before yesterday', *katsüy* 'recently (same day)', *jayats* 'recently', *tilüy* 'earlier today', *kanüñkaman* 'soon, in a while', *tajñat* 'last year', *najñat* 'next year', *arojñat*[53] 'the year after next year', *nawierr* 'the day after tomorrow', *lyesndot* 'just (now)'[54]. Spatial shifters include *kyalüy* 'north', *nawanüt* 'east', *kiliet* 'south', *namiliet* 'west', *myujkej ~ myunkej* 'far', *kyawüx* 'above'.

3.2.2.2. FREQUENCY ADVERBS DERIVED FROM NUMERALS

As will be described in chapter 4, Umbeyajts has a numeral classifier system, which has obligatory morphological marking of one of four nominal subclasses[55]. The relevance of this system to frequency words is that it is capable of deriving frequency words, or 'times words', from numerals, as will be presented in table 3E below.

TABLE 3E. FREQUENCY WORDS DERIVED FROM NUMERALS

Numeral	Base	Frequency-word derivation	Meaning
1	*anV*-CL	*anomb*	once
2	*ij*-CL-*Vw*	*ijmbüw*	twice
3	*arVj-CL(-üw)*	*arojmbüw*	three times; thrice

In these, suffix *-mb* in the classifier slot expresses 'frequency'. *-Vw* is a plural suffix, which is common after the classifier slot in the case of some numerals (*ijpüw/ijmbüw/ijtsüw/ijkew* 'two', *arojpüw/arojmbüw/arojtsüw* 'three'), fossilized in the case of some numerals that do not have a classifier expressed (*apikiw, akokew, anaíw, iñiwiw*) and not used in 'one' nor in some other of numeral forms: *aryuj* 'three (unmarked/rectangular objects)'*, kyuyuj*[56].

53 *Arojñat* is clearly based on numeral *arVj-* 'three' and *ñat* 'year'.

54 *Lyesndot* is composed of *les* (unknown origin) and *ndo-t* [BND-PST]. *Les* is phonologically irregular. This is likely to be a loan from San Mateo del Mar variety, as it is found in the same form in that variety, whereas SMo. [e] usually corresponds, historically, to [y] or [ye] in SD.

55 The subclasses only occur in numerals one through three, and they are mostly motivated semantically, featuring one subclass for round items, humans and some animals, one for rectangular items and most other animals, one for long and thin inanimate objects and the temporal one mentioned here. The one for rectangular items is the most unmarked one. A more complete summary of the numeral classifier system will be presented in chapter 4.

56 *-Vj* is allophone of *-Vw* in the verbal system, so this may also be originally a pluralising morpheme rather than part of the root.

Frequency words derived by means of derivational suffix *-mb,* like numerals, can also be preceded by clitic *ol=*, carrying an additive meaning: *olonomb*[57] 'once more', *olijmbüw* 'two more times', *olarojmbüw* 'three more times'.

3.2.3. WORDS FUNCTIONING AS MANNER ADVERBS

Verbal predicates can take a peripheral argument expressing manner, and this generally expressed by a property concept word (see chapter 8 for an overview of formal characteristics of words expressing property concepts) with delimitative clitic *=an* ('only; just'):

3-19 *A-pieng-üw n-a-jyueñ=an.*
TV-speak-PL ST-TV-be.fast=DEL
'They speak quickly'.

3-20 *N-a-jñej=an ap=a-küly-iw ñingien.*
ST-TV-be.good=DEL FUT=TV-stay-PL there
'They will be well there'.

It may be stated that these are not considered a separate word class, since they are actually regular stative verb forms taking the delimitative clitic, the latter making it possible that they modify a predicate.

However, there is one expression meaning 'slowly; comfortably', *tamtam=an* ~ *tyamtyam=an*[58] (not attested without the delimitative clitic), which cannot function in a

57 Note that procliticisation of *ol=* causes vowel assimilation from *a-* to *o-* in this numeral, while this does not happen in numeral 'three'. San Mateo, San Francisco and Santa María have a definite article, *a* (*a naxey* 'the man', *a xiel* 'the tree'), and the numeral 'one' is *nop (noic, nots)* in San Mateo, while 'three' is *arVj-*CL(*-üw)* – it may thus be possible that the initial *a-* that we find in San Dionisio, San Francisco and Santa María is historically related to this. This remains to be investigated more closely.

58 I have attested the form *tambtamb=an* with a very similar meaning 'easy-going, well', relating to one's well-being. This form would be segmentable as *t-* (past tense prefix), *a-* (theme vowel), *-mb* ('to go'), *=an* (delimitative enclitic). This is very likely the origin of *tamtam=an*, but it is still unclear why the *t* in *tyamtyam=an* is palatalised. It may be interesting to note that there is an, unrelated, noun root with inherent reduplication, *ndyamndyam* 'garbage, waste'. The reason I mention this here is that there is sometimes a semantic correspondence between a plain consonant and its prenasalised counterpart (examples: *kanüy* 'today' – *(n)ganüy* 'now'; *axyujp* 'bathes (ITR)' – *axyujmbech* 'bathes (TR)'.

non-adverbial way. It cannot modify a noun in a NP the way a stative verb or an adjective can, but always necessarily modifies a verb, expressing a peripheral argument (which may be implicit).

There is one intensifier, *xow* 'very', which modifies predicates:

3-21	*xow*	*a-kyuierr*		'He runs very fast'
	very	TV-run		
3-22	*xow*	*s-a-tyots*	*xa-mam*	'I'm really worried about my
	very	1-TV-think	1POS.III-mother	mother'
3-23	*xow*	*a-xix*	*xa-najnguow*	'My soup is really tasty'
	very	TV-be.tasty	1POS.III-soup	

3.2.4. PREPOSITIONS

3.2.4.1. INTRODUCTION

There is a small class of words which can be preposed to a NP and function as prepositions, differing from nouns and from verbs in that they do not take nominal nor verbal morphology and do not function as arguments of predicates. They can, however, function as a non-verbal predicate (usually preceded by proclitic *al=*; see below).

The most typical members of this class are underived *wüx* 'on , over, about; when', and *tyiel* 'inside; if', which can express locative functions as well as function as syntactic clause markers (see 3.2.9).

It is typologically common for morphemes that have locative semantics when modifying a noun phrase to function as clause linkers when occurring in conjunction with a verb (see Aikhenvald, 2011). Aikhenvald mentions that 'the well-documented semantic extension from spatial to temporal notions [..] is supported by recent psychological experiments, confirming that 'spatial representations are the source of temporal representations' (Gentner et. al. 2002: 557)' (Aikhenvald, 2011).

It is typologically more common for a marker with locative semantics to have a temporal rather than conditional semantics (such as *tyiel*) when functioning as a clause marker; however, this is also documented for Ket, which according to Aikhenvald is to be seen as an extension of its temporal meaning (Aikhenvald, 2011).

Locative use of *wüx* and *tyiel* are illustrated with the following examples.

3-24	*S-a-rang*	*anuok*	*nawijk*	*wüx*	*u-mbey-ajts*.
	1-TV-make	one.RECT	paper	over	POS.III.U-mouth-1INCL.PL
	'I am preparing a thesis/book on Umbeyajts'				

3-25	*T-a-jaw-as*	*ñiw*	*tyiel*	*kiambaj.*
	PST-TV-see-1	PRON3	in	community
	'I saw him in the village'			

Clause marking with *wüx* and *tyiel* is illustrated with the following examples.

3-26	*Wüx*	*lyi=dam.tam*	*ganüy,*	*tsi=kyuierr.kyuierr.*
	over	PF=be.big:RED	now	PF=run:RED
	'Now, when it is already grown up, it will already be running around'			

3-27	*tyiel*	*ngu=m-i-pierr,*	*ngu=mi*	*p=i-jier\r.*
	in	NEG=IRR-2-sow	NEG=N.PRS	FUT=2-have
	'If you don't sow, you won't have (it/anything)'			

Another characteristic of these two prepositions is their ability to be expressed without a NP, which then is omitted elliptically, being semantically implicit:

3-28a	*Tyim*	*t-a-pieng-as-an*	*wüx.*
	yesterday	PST-TV-talk-1-PL	over
	'Yesterday we discussed (it/him/her)'.		

3-28b	*Lástima*	*s-a-xily,*	*katsüy*	*m-a-pex*	*tyiel*	*ndakñiy*.
	pity	1-TV-slash	already	IRR-TV-measure	LOC	storm
	'Pity (on) my field, a storm will already have raged in (it)'.					

When preceded by durative clitic *al=* (which may be preceded by a verbal person marking prefix as shown in table 3F, except when marked with a plural suffix, in which case the full form of the durative marker, *alyien*, can be used), *wüx* and *tyiel* can head an intransitive predicate. The meaning then changes to 'X is inside (it)' or 'X is upon (it)'. *Wüx* and *tyiel* can also be marked with delimitative clitic *=an*. In the case of *tyiel,* this gives *tyiel=an* meaning '(it is) inside'. However, in the case of *wüx=an,* which has lexicalised, the meaning is 'again; once more'.

3-29a	*Gey*	*m-i-potsuoch*	*wüx=an*
	DEM3.MED	IRR-2-begin	on=DEL
	'Then you begin again'		

3-29b	*Sa=n-a-mb*	*ganüy*	*per*	*sa=n-a-ndiylily*	*wüx=an*	
	1FUT=1IRR-TV-go	now	but	1FUT=1IRR-TV-return	on=DEL	
	'I will leave now, but I will come back again'					

Conjunction *at* 'like; and' has also lexicalised, when used with the delimitative clitic, into an adverb meaning 'the same'.

3-30	*Ajk*	*küty*	*kej*	*apálwüx?*	-	*Nguoy,*	*at=an.*
	DEM1	fish	DEM2.MED	different		no	like=DEL
	'Is that fish a different one? – It's the same'						

TABLE 3F. PREPOSITIONS WITH DURATIVE *AL=*

s-al=wüx	'I am on (it)'	*s-al=tyiel*	'I am in (it)'
i-l=wüx	'you are on (it)'	*i-l=tyiel*	'You are in (it)'
al=wüx	'he/she/it is on (it)'	*al=tyiel*	'He/she/it is in (it)'

s-a-lyien-an wüx	'we (excl) are on (it)'	*s-a-lyien-an tyiel*	'We (excl) are in (it)'
i-lyien-an wüx	'you (pl) are on (it)'	*i-lyien-an tyiel*	'You (pl) are in (it)'
a-lyien-üw wüx	'they are on (it)'	*a-lyien-üw tyiel*	'they are in (it)'
a-lyien-ar wüx	'we (incl.du) are on (it)'	*a-lyien-ar tyiel*	'we (incl.du) are in (it)'
a-lyien-ajts wüx	'we (incl.pl) are on (it)'	*a-lyien-ajts tyiel*	'we (incl.pl) are in (it)'

There is also a small number of words which have grammaticalised into prepositions from conjugated verb forms. These cannot function as independent predicates the way *wüx* and *tyiel* can. They also cannot appear with ellipsis (i.e. in a clause where a semantically implicit NP is omitted).

Three examples are available: *andüy* 'toward', from verb *-ndüy* 'to get educated; to travel/be headed somewhere specific; to practice witchcraft', *akiejp* 'with', from verb *-kiejp* 'to accompany', and *naw* 'from; out of', from verb *-w* 'to exit' (with stative morphology).

3-31	*S-a-jüy-ijch*	*andüy*	*Lol*	*Pily.*
	1-TV-wander-CAU	toward	well	Huamuchil
	'I drive towards Huamuchil'			

3-32	*T-a-jaw-as*	*anop*	*naxuoy*	*naw*	*Tyikiambaj*
	PST-TV-see-1	one.RND	man	from	San.Mateo
	'I saw a man from San Mateo'				

3.2.4.2. INFLECTED FORMS OF PREPOSITIONS

3.2.4.2.1. AS A STATIVE VERB

Apart from its appearance as a grammaticalised preposition, *aw* also appears as a regular stative verb, which can take verbal person marking. Stative verb forms are dealt with in chapter .

3-33	*Ngej*	*ñ-ir-ie-w-an?*
	where	ST-2-EP-exit-PL

'Where do you come from?'

3-34 *N-a-w-as-an ñikamb n-a-dam ndyuk.*
ST-TV-exit-1-PL other.side ST-TV-be.big sea
'We come from the other side of the ocean (i.e. from another continent)'

3.2.4.2.2. AS A PREFIXING VERB WITH THEME VOWEL A-

There is a prefixing verb with the meaning 'to accompany', *-kiejp*, which is grammaticalising to an uninflected preposition. However, this grammaticalisation process is not completed; on the contrary, the verb is still very productive:

3-35 *Giñey mod a-rang-aran komid m-a-kiejp küty?*
how mode TV-do-IMP food IRR-TV-accompany fish
'How is food made with fish?'

3-36 *N-a-kiejp-üw mu-ntaj kej ndyuk n-a-paj u-meajts.*
ST-TV-accompany-PL PL.AGT-woman DEM2.MED sea 1IRR-TV-call POS.I.U-interior
'I went to the sea with those women to do a traditional healing with them'

3-37 *Xik t-a-rang-as porque xik s-a-kiejp ñiwew, vay.*
PRON1 PST-TV-do-1 because PRON1 1-TV-accompany PRON3 DISC
'I did that, I went with them.'

This verb and its grammaticalisation path will be further examined in 10.2.4.

3.2.5. NUMERALS AND QUANTIFIERS

3.2.5.1. NUMERALS

3.2.5.1.1. INTRODUCTION

Numerals one through three are very productively in use, while all numbers above three are usually expressed in Spanish. However, most speakers do remember, and are able to use, numbers one through thirty. Umbeyajts numbers are vigesimal (which is an areal feature as vigesimal numeral systems are common throughout Mesoamerica) and traditionally, numbers above twenty are expressed by means of multiplication of a

vigesimal base, as is still done productively in San Mateo. However, this is no longer done in San Dionisio.

The use of the number system is limited, being replaced by Spanish in daily life. The most commonly used numerals are numbers one through three, but speakers tend to use Spanish numbers to express numbers larger than three.

Numerals precede the noun. Numerals 'one' through 'three' have a numeral classificatory system in agreement with the noun counted (see chapter 4).

TABLE 3G. NUMERALS

Numeral	Base	RND	RECT	LONG
1	*anV-cl*	*anop*	*anuok*	*anots*
2	*ij-CL-Vw*	*ijpüw*	*ijkew*	*ijtsüw*
3	*arVj-CL(-üw)*	*arojpüw*	*aryuj*	*arojtsüw*
4	*apyukiw*	-	-	-
5	*akokew*	-	-	-
6	*anaiw*	-	-	-
7	*iñiwiw*	-	-	-
8	*apokuwüw*	-	-	-
9	*akojpüw*	-	-	-
10	*kyuyuj*	-	-	-
11	*kyuyuj anuok*	*kyuyuj anop*	*kyuyuj anuok*	*kyuyuj anots*
12	*kyuyuj ijkew*	*kyuyuj ijpüw*	*kyuyuj ijkew*	*kyuyuj ijtsüw*
13	*kyuyuj aryuj*	*kyuyuj arojpüw*	*kyuyuj arqyuj*	*kyuyuj arojtsüw*
14	*kyuyuj apyukiw*	-	-	-
15	*kyuyuj akokew*	-	-	-
16	*kyuyuj anaiw*	-	-	-
17	*kyuyuj iñiwiw*	-	-	-
18	*kyuyuj apokuwüw*	-	-	-
19	*kyuyuj akojpüw*	-	-	-
20	*ñimiow*	-	-	-

21	*ñimiow anuok*	-	-	-
22	*ñimiow ijkew*	*ñimiow ijpüw*	*ñimiow ijkew*	*ñimiow ijtsüw*
23	*ñimiow aryuj*	*ñimiow arojpüw*	*ñimiow aryuj*	*ñimiow arojtsüw*
24	*ñimiow apyukiw*	-	-	-
25	*ñimiow akokew*	-	-	-
26	*ñimiow anaiw*	-	-	-
27	*ñimiow iñiwiw*	-	-	-
28	*ñimiow apokuwüw*	-	-	-
29	*ñimiow akojpüw*	-	-	-
30	*ñimiow kyuyuj*	-	-	-

3.2.5.1.2. THE NUMBER SYSTEM COMPARED TO OTHER VARIETIES OF THE IKOJTS

The numerals of San Dionisio show a different etymology compared to those of all three other communities. See table 3H for comparison. A possible, tentative explanation for some of the differences is that what I take to be the original word for 'eight' (*ojpeaküw* in San Mateo) has suffered metathesis and has become *akojpüw* 'nine' in San Dionisio, while the original 'nine' (*ojkiyej* in San Mateo) has become *kyuyuj* 'ten' (the vowel /ɣ/, represented in the orthography as digraph <yu>, regularly corresponds to San Mateo /e/, see 2.7.3.4).

TABLE 3H. EXAMPLES OF NUMERALS ACROSS VARIETIES

Numeral	San Mateo[59]	San Francisco	Santa María
1	noic, nop, nots	anek, anop, anots	anaik, anop, anots
2	ijquiaw, ijpüw, ijtsüw	ajpaw, ajkiaw, ajtsaw	ijkiew/ijtiew,ijpüw, ijtsüw
3	arej, arojpüw, arojtsüw	aruj, arujpaw, aruj	aruj,arujpüw,arujtsüw
4	piquiw	apokiuf	apukiw
5	acoquiaw	akokiaf	akokiew
6	anaíw	anajoyuf	naiw, anaiw
7	ayaíw	ajayuf	ajayiw
8	ojpeacüw	anoyuf	apyaküw
9	ojquiyej	apekaf	ajkiyuj
10	gajpowüw	akapaf	gajpowüw

59 The San Mateo data is from Stairs and Kreger (1981), the San Francisco data from Kim (2008) and the Santa María data from Noyer (2013, *Gramática introductoria & diccionario del idioma umbeyüjts*).

3.2.5.1.3. ADDITIVE MARKER *OL=*

Clitic *ol=* carrying an additive meaning, 'another; more', can be added to any numeral. The meaning then changes to 'X more', where X stands for the number in question, or, in the case of numeral 1, 'another; one more': *ol=onuok* 'another (RECT)', *ol=onop* 'another (RND), *ol=ijmbüw* 'two more times' (see 3.2.2.2), *ol=apikiw* 'four more'.

3.2.5.1.4. PERSON MARKING ON NUMERALS

Numerals can form pronouns expressing person by means of addition of person affixes. In the case of numeral 'one', the set of affixes used is the possessive set of affixes of class I (except for the first person prefix which is *s-* and not *xi-,* probably due to the initial vowel of the numeral), preceded by a suffix homophonous with the reflexive, *-Vy,* as displayed in table 3I below. The meaning is delimitative ('only X', where X is the person marked on the numeral). Delimitative clitic *=an* is optionally added. In the case of 'two' and 'three', verbal suffixes of non-prefixing verbs are used, and only the third, first inclusive dual and first inclusive plural make use of suffix -Vy, probably due to the lack of number/person-distinction in these[60].

TABLE 3I. NUMERALS INFLECTED FOR PERSON

	anop 'one'	*ijpüw* 'two'	
1sg	*s-anop-üy(=an)*		
2sg	*i-nop-üy(=an)*		
3sg	*anop-üy(=an)*		
1du.incl	*anop-ay-or(=an)*	*mi-ijpüw-ay-or*	*arojpüw-ay-or*
1pl.incl	*anop-ay-ojts(=an)*[61]	*mi-ijpüw-ay-ojts*	*arojpüw-ay-ojts*
3pl	*ñiw-ay-uj(=an)*	*mi-ijpüw-ay-uj*	*arojpüw-ay-uj*
1pl.excl	*s-anop-ay-on(=an)*	*x-ijpüw-ay-on*	*arojpüw-as-on*
2pl	*i-nop-ay-on(=an)*	*mi-ijpüw-ay-on*	*arojpüw-ar-on*

60 The third person plural as well as the first person inclusive singular and dual are expressed with a marker in the number slot only, whereas the first person exclusive plural and second person plural are expressed by a marker in the person slot (-Vs, -Vr) as well as a marker in the plural slot (-Vn). It is probably therefore that a marker is needed to fill the slot that remains empty. The same occurs in the case of quantifiers (see 3.2.5.2). Finally, see the chapter on verbal morphology for another example of this (non-prefixing verbs).

61 *-ay* is an allomorph of *-üy* when preceding a person suffix.

3.2.5.2. QUANTIFIERS

3.2.5.2.1. INTRODUCTION

Like numerals, quantifiers can modify nouns within a NP as a determiner. They can also form an NP on their own, except for *mbich* 'all, the whole (temporal)', and function independently as arguments of an intransitive or transitive predicate, while adverbs cannot. Quantifiers can modify nouns or NPs. The same quantifiers are used for countable and non-countable nouns (an exception to this is *akas*, which is used only with countable nouns.

3-38	*xuwayey*	'much'
	apatey	'few'
	akas	'some, several'
	pinawan	'half'
	meáwan[62]	'all, everything'
	mbich[63]	'all, the whole (temporal)'

3-39	*A-jlük*	*xuwayey*	*küty.*
	TV-exist	much	fish
	'There is a lot of fish'		

3-40	*T-a-jaw-as*	*xuwayey.*
	PST-TV-see-1	much
	'I saw a lot (of it/them)'	

3-40	*Mbich*	*ungyuiejts*	*t-a-jieng-üw*	*ñingey.*
	whole	night	PST-TV-dance-PL	there.MED

62 *Meaw=an* obligatorily carries the delimitative clitic. The stress remains, as would be expected in case of a clitic, on the root. I will not write the clitic separate as the root does not occur in its bare form, the stress is marked here with an acute accent (*meáwan*) to avoid the stress pattern that would be expected with this orthography (i.e. ultimate). When inflected for person, however, the clitic is dropped, and the stress becomes ultimate accordingly (see also table 3j in 3.2.5.2.2).

63 *-mbich* is a verb root meaning 'to finish; to terminate'. Imaginably, this word may have grammaticalised from a fully inflected form *a-mbich* 'it finishes'. This is probably also the reason why *mbich* is functionally restricted, being the only quantifier that cannot head an NP an function independently as argument of a predicate.

'They danced there all night'

3.2.5.2.2. PERSON MARKING ON QUANTIFIERS

Like numbers, quantifiers can receive person marking. Quantifiers *mbich* and *pinawan* are an exception to this.

TABLE 3J. QUANTIFIERS WITH PERSON MARKING

	meaw=an 'all'	*akas* 'some'	*apatey* 'few'
1pl.excl	*meaw-as-on*	*kas-as-on*	*apatey-as-on*
2pl	*meaw-ar-on*	*kas-ar-on*	*apatey-ar-on*
3pl	*meaw-ay-uj*	*kas-ay-uj*	*apatey-ay-uj*
1du.incl	*meaw-ay-or*	*kas-ay-or*	*apatey-ay-or*
1pl.incl	*meaw-ay-ojts*	*kas-ay-ojts*	*apatey-ay-ojts*

3.2.6. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns in Umbeyajts for the first and second person seem to be built on a common base *ik*, which in itself is the second person pronoun. The first person singular pronoun, and the first person plural exclusive, take prefix *x*- (*x*- is also the first person possessive prefix; *x*- is the palatalised allophone of *s*-, the first person prefix in verbs). Plural (except for inclusive, which is a suffix in its own right occupying the slot for plural suffixes) is marked with suffix *-on*[64].

The third person pronoun, *ñiw* (singular) and *ñiwew* (plural), is morphologically unrelated to the other pronouns. It is cross-linguistically common to have pronouns for non-speech act participants which differ from pronouns referring to a speech act participant. In many languages these coincide with, or are otherwise related to, nominal demonstratives, and some languages lack third person pronouns completely (see, for instance, Dixon 2010b).

64 As mentioned in 2.6.1.2.1.3, personal pronouns behave as if they are not built on *ik* but on *iok* (as is the case in San Francisco) with regards to vowel assimilation in the plural suffix; otherwise they would take diphthong *ie*, and not *o*, in their plural suffix.

TABLE 3K. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

First person singular	*xik*
First person exclusive plural	*xikon*
Second person singular	*ik*
Second person plural	*ikon*
First person inclusive dual	*ikor*
First person inclusive plural	*ikojts*
Third person singular	*ñiw*
Third person plural	*ñiwew*

In Umbeyajts, free pronouns are usually not expressed in conjunction with a verb bearing an overt bound pronoun; however, they can be expressed for emphasis, as tends to be the case in languages with bound pronouns.

3-41 *S-a-jüy* *tyi=peat.*
1-TV-wander LOC=wilderness
'I walk in the wilderness'

3-42 *Xik* *s-a-jüy* *tyi=peat.*
PRON1 1-TV-wander LOC=wilderness
'I ("as for me," / "and not you,") walk in the wilderness'

Pronouns cannot be modified in an NP by a stative verb or adjective as nouns can, but they can be preceded or followed by an adnominal demonstrative, as can be seen in the following example.

3-43 *Ajk-uw* *towan* *mi-ñipilan* *ñiwew* *gien.*
DEM1-PL also POS.III.U-people PRON3PL DEM3.REM
'Those over there also belong to them' (PRI[65] people talking about PRD[66] people)

65 A political party: Partido Revolucionario Institucional
66 A political party: Partido Revolucionario Democrático

3.2.7. DEMONSTRATIVES

3.2.7.1. ADNOMINAL USE

The most usual way of expressing an adnominal demonstrative is a construction in which a noun is preceded by *ajk*, which I will proceed to call unmarked demonstrative (henceforth glossed DEM1), and followed by one of three demonstratives, *kam* ('this (one)', close and usually visible or discursively accessible; glossed PROX), *kej* ('that (one)', at a (smaller or larger) distance, usually not visible but discursively accessible; glossed MED) or *kien* ('that (one) over there', further away, often visible or non-visible and very far away; glossed DIST). This pronoun series is glossed DEM2 with addition of the appropriate deictic specification.

There is an additional set of adnominal demonstratives which can be used in the second position: *güy* 'this (one)', *gien* 'that (one)' (distal) and *gey* 'that (one)' (medial), glossed DEM3. These same forms are also used to build nominal demonstrative forms that function as substitution anaphora, using a phonologically reduced form of deictically unmarked demonstrative *ajk* as a base. *Ajk* can be pluralised by adding plural suffix -*Vw*, then becoming *ajküw*, pronounced *ajkuw*[67] by some, mostly elderly speakers and puristically oriented speakers (for example the language teachers).

TABLE 3L. POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF ADNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

Preceding N	Following N	
ajk	*kam*	proximate
ajk	*kien*	distal
ajk	*kej*	medial
ajk	-	deictically unmarked
-	*kam*	proximate
-	*kien*	distal
-	*kej*	medial
ajk	*güy*	proximate
ajk	*gien*	distal

[67] This latter form may be indexical of discursive distance from San Mateo, where the corresponding form is also *ajküw*.

ajk	*gey*	medial

3.2.7.2. ANAPHORIC USE

Demonstratives can occur in an anaphoric function in their forms as summarised in table 3M below. Cataphoric reference is not attested. They can then head a noun phrase and they cannot be modified. These demonstratives can appear either in an independent form, identical with the DEM3 set described above, or in a morphologically segmentable form, built upon a reduced form of unmarked demonstrative *ajk*. The latter demonstratives are glossed DEM4.

TABLE 3M. ANAPHORICALLY USED DEMONSTRATIVES

	Independent form	Morphologically complex form
Proximate	*güy*	*ajgüy*
Remote	*gien*	*ajgien*
Non-visual	*gey*	*ajgey*
Deictically unmarked	*ajk (*PL *ajküw, ajkuw)*	

3-44 *Vara güy este.. Güy metro. Ajgüy vara.*
stick DEM3.PROX this[68] DEM3.PROX meter DEM stick
'This vara[69], well.. This is a meter. This is a *vara*'

3-45 *Ajgey a-suok pyujkyurr*
DEM4.PROX TV-be.called armadillo
'That one (anaphorically) is called an armadillo'

3-46 *Ajgey a-pieng mun-tajtaj anteriormente.*
DEM4.PROX TV-speak AGT.PL-get.old(female) previously
'That is what the old women used to say before'

68 *Este* is used in Spanish as a stop word, much like *uhm* in English.
69 *Vara* 'stick' is an old Iberic measure, corresponding to approximately 90 centimeters.

3-47 *Ajk-uw* *gey* *p=a-tüch* *xik.*

DEM1-PL DEM3.MED FUT=TV-reach PRON1

'That's a good one (joke)' (lit. 'Those (things) will reach me')

3-48 *Ajk-uw* *towan* *mi-ñipilan* *ñiwew* *gien.*

DEM1-PL also POS.III.U-people PRON3PL DEM3.REM

'Those over there also belong to them' (PRI[70] people talking about PRD[71] people)

3.2.7.3. LOCAL ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives *güy*, *gey* and *gien* can also be suffixed to *ñing* 'where (relative pronoun)' to form spatial shifters (see 3.2.2.1) *ñingüy* 'here (proximal)', *ñingey* 'there (medial)' and *ñingien* 'there (distal)' – these spatial shifters are thus literally interpretable as 'where (there is) this (one)', 'where (there is) that (one)'.

Proclitic *al=* can procliticise to local adverbial demonstratives. In this case, the demonstrative can head an intransitive predicate. The proclitic can then receive person marking, as in the following table:

TABLE 3N. PROCLITIC AL= ON LOCAL ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

ñingüy	*ñingien*	*ñingey*
s-al=ñingüy	*s-al=ñingien*	*s-al=ñingey*
i-l=ñingüy	*i-l=ñingien*	*i-l=ñingey*
al=ñingüy	*al=ñingien*	*al=ñingey*

3.2.7.4. MANNER ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

The three manner adverbial demonstratives in Umbeyajts have grammaticalised from *at* 'like; and' and a demonstrative of set DEM3: *atoküy* 'like this', *atokien* 'like that (distal)', *atokey* 'like that (medial)'.

3.2.7.5. GRADATION WITH *XOW*

70 A political party: *Partido Revolucionario Institucional*.
71 A political party: *Partido Revolucionario Democrático*.

Adverb *xow* can modify verbal and non-verbal predicates,expressing the meaning 'very'.

3-49 *Xow* *a-rang* *ruido.*
very TV-make noise
'It's very noisy'

3-50 *Xow* *naxuoy* *ñiw.*
very man PRON3
'He is very much a man (i.e. very manly)'

3.2.7.6. EXTENDED FUNCTIONALITY OF *KEJ*

Medial demonstrative *kej* can be used in two further ways: It can function as a local adverbial demonstrative ('there') and as a temporal adverbial demonstrative ('then; at that point'). Some examples of both uses are given below.

3-51 *M-i-ndok* *mi-küty,* *hasta* *kej* *ap=ir-ie-mb* *m-i-nüjp.*
IRR-2-fish POS.III.U-fish until DEM3 FUT=2-TV-go IRR-2-sell
'You catch your fish, you go all the way there (i.e. to Juchitán) to sell it'.

3-52 *Ya.después* *kej* *t-a-rang-aran* *colado.* *T-a-jmyuel*
after.that DEM3 PST-TV-do-IMPER concrete.pouring PST-TV-enter

varilla *t-a-jmyuel* *cemento,* *kej* *t-a-rang-aran* *colado.*
rebar PST-TV-enter concrete DEM3 PST-TV-do-IMPER
concrete.pouring
'After that the concrete was poured. A rebar went in, the concrete went in, at that point the concrete was poured.'

3-53 *Y.a.veces* *kej* *ap=a-ndyow*.
and.sometimes DEM3 FUT=TV-die
'And sometime they die there (i.e. in the United States)'

3.2.8. INTERROGATIVE WORDS

Interrogative words in Umbeyajts are content interrogative words.

TABLE 30. CONTENT INTERROGATIVES

ngej [72]	'where'
ngüty	'when (in the past)'
ngüñ	'which (one)'
jang	'who'
giñey; *giñey mod*	'how'
añol	'why'
akas	'how much[73]'

A noun is used to express question word 'what': *kwej* 'thing; what'[74].

Interrogative words do not appear in situ, but have to be moved to the beginning of the clause. This is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of 3-57 below, where *kwej* does not occupy the slot for the object argument, but moves to the beginning of the clause.

3-54	*Manuel*	*ap=a-kejch*	*kaxtily*	*tyiel*	*escuel.*
	Manuel	FUT=TV-teach	Spanish	LOC	school
	'Manuel is going to teach Spanish at school'				

3-55	*Jang*	*ap=a-kejch*	*kaxtily*	*tyiel*	*escuel?*
	who	FUT=TV-teach	Spanish	LOC	school
	'Who is going to teach Spanish at school?'				

3-56	*Ap=a-wüñ*	*mbey*	*naxuoy*	*kej.*
	FUT=TV-get	mazorca	man	DEM2.MED

72 *Ngej* can be preposed to *naw* 'from' to mean 'where from?': *Ngejnaw apey ñiw?* 'Where did he come from?'

73 *Akas* has a primary meaning 'some; a number of' (3.2.9).

74 *Kwej* is used in a wide range of contexts and in many lexicalised expressions: *xikwej* 'mine, my (property)', *ñikindy xikwej* 'I am cold (literally 'my thing is cold')', *imboloj xikwej* 'they are afraid of me'. Kim (2008) calls this a 'marginal genitive' (§5.3.4, p. 220) in some contexts.

'That man will get (i.e. harvest) mazorca'

3-57 **Ap=a-wüñ kwej naxuoy kej?*
FUT=TV-get what man DEM2.MED

3-58 *Kwej ap=a-wüñ naxuoy kej?*
what FUT=TV-get man DEM2.MED
'What will that man get?'

Negative indefinite pronouns are derived from these content question words by means of prefixation of *ñin-* (which could be a loan from Spanish *ni* 'neither'; 'neither' in Umbeyajts is realised as *ñing*, which also is a locative relative clause introductor ('where'): *Sanamong ñing ikül* 'I will come by your place (lit. 'where you live')'; see 3.2.10.4).

TABLE 3P. NEGATIVE INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

ñinjang	'nobody'
ñinkwej	'nothing'
ñingej	'nowhere'
ñingüñ	'no (one)'

The interrogative verb *-ñol* is never conjugated for person, bearing only a theme vowel. *Añol* means 'why'. *Kwej añol?* means 'what happened?'.

3.2.9. CLOSED GRAMMATICAL SYSTEMS

3.2.9.1. CLAUSE LINKERS

Since Umbeyajts tends to use asyndetic strategies for clause-linking, overtly expressed clause linkers are mostly conjunctions borrowed from Spanish (see 3.2.9.2). However, there are several native conjunctions: *at* 'and; also; like'; *masey* 'although, even though; at least' (however, this is originally also from Spanish; in Colonial Spanish, the form was *mas sea*), *wüx* 'when', *tyiel* 'if' and *ndoj* 'then' (from bound root *ndo-*, see see chapter 6).

3-59 *Muntaxyuey at muntajtaj*
AGT.PL.man and AGT.PL.women
'Elderly men and elderly women (respectfully)'[75]

3-60 *Masey myunkej ñing s-a-jlük lyaj xi-meajts ik*
even.though far REL.LOC 1-TV-exist remember 1POS.I-interior PRON2
'Even though I am far away, I remember you'

3-61 *Y a veces masey más perdón, ngu=m-a-ndyiem*
and.sometimes even.though more pardon NEG=IRR-TV-want

masey m-i-rang.
even.though IRR-2-do
'And sometimes, even though (one does) a lot of penitence, (it) doesn't want to (rain), even though you do it'

3-62 *Ap=a-kujch mi-upang*[76] *kej, ap=u-ndxiel akiejp ajtsaj,*
FUT=TV-cut POS.II.U-peeling DEM2.MED FUT=TV-grind with dough

ndoj p=u-mbül ganüy kej p=a-rang mi-espuma.
then FUT=TV-beat now DEM2.MED FUT-TV-do POS.III.U-foam
'One cuts its peeling, (and then) it is ground together with corn dough, then it is beaten, now that's when its foam is made.'

3.2.9.2. USE OF SPANISH CONJUNCTIONS

The use of Spanish conjunctions is very widespread in Umbeyajts. Some very commonly used conjunctions are *o* 'or'*, y* 'and'*, pero* 'but'*, porque* 'because'*, aunque* 'although' *and mientras* 'while'.

[75] This text is found on a sign translating *Casa de los Ancianos* 'the elderly people's home', a community center for elderly people.

[76] *Upang* is already a possessed form (*u-pang* [POS.III.U-peeling]). Double possession marking is discussed in 4.6.1.1.3.

Often, Spanish conjunctions replace native conjunctions as instances of code-switching). In some case, this happens when the conjunction relates to code-switched phrases, as in the following example:

3-63	*Ty-u-rang*	*templo*	*y*	*techo*	*teja.*
	PST-TV-do	temple	and	roof	thatch
	'The temple and the thatched roof were made'				

However, there are plenty of counterexamples, where the conjunction is used in a sentence with no code-switching:

3-64	*Anuok*	*nüty*	*y*	*anuok*	*ungyuiejts*	*ap=a-ndajp.*
	one.RECT	day	and	one.RECT	night	FUT=TV-burn
	'It will burn for one day and one night' (said of tiles used as construction material)					

3.2.9.3. THE CASE OF *ÑING*

Ñing can have three different functions:

I. It can be a clause marker introducing a locative clause ('where'), as in *sa=n-a-mong ñing i-küly* [FUT=1IRR-TV-pass LOC.CL 2-live] 'I will pass by where you live';

II. It can function as a negative conjunctive clause marker 'neither; nor', like Spanish *ni*;

III. Finally, it can function as a base for locative demonstratives *ñingüy* 'here', *ñingien* 'there (distal)' and *ñingey* 'there (medial)', a function closely related to I, in the sense that these demonstratives have grammaticalised from *ñing güy* 'where (there is) this', *ñing gien* 'where (there is) that (distal)' and *ñing gey* 'where (there is) that (medial)'.

3.2.9.4. VERBAL TENSE/ASPECT MARKERS

3.2.9.4.1. INDEPENDENT MARKERS

Independent markers are aspect markers which precede a conjugated verb. They do not receive any morphology, although in many cases they have grammaticalised from morphologically complex word: *Tsindoj*, completive, and *ndom/ndot* 'it is/was possible', have grammaticalised from bound root *ndo-* (*tsi=* is a completive proclitic, which has in turn grammaticalised from temporal adverb *katsüy* 'recently (same day)'). *Pots*, inchoative, has grammaticalised from non-prefixing verbal root *pots-* 'to begin'. *Timüjch*, progressive, has grammaticalised from verbal stem *-ü-jch* 'TV-to give', preceded by irrealis prefix *m-* and progressive proclitic *tyi=* (which in turn has grammaticalised from independent progressive marker *tyigely*). Other independent markers are *ganaw* 'not yet', *katsüy,* completive, having grammaticalised from temporal adverb *katsüy*, 'recently (same day)' and *tyigely*, progressive (also *tigelyamb=an*, grammaticalised from *tyigely* and the prefixing verb stem *-a-mb* 'to go').

TABLE 3Q. INDEPENDENT MARKERS

Independent marker	Function	Grammaticalised from:
tsindoj	completive aspect marker	*tsi=* (COM), *ndo-* (BND), *-j* (3)
ndom, ndot	modal marker of possibility	*ndo-* (BND), *-m* (IRR) / *-t* (PST)
katsüy	completive aspect marker	*katsüy* 'recently (same day)'
pots	inchoative marker	*pots-* 'begin'
timüjch	progressive aspect marker	*tyi=* (PRG), *m-* (IRR), *ü-* (TV), *-jch* 'give'
tyigely	progressive aspect marker	
ñind	desiderative marker	*n-* (ST), *i-* (TV), *-nd* 'feel like'

3.2.9.4.2. CLITICS

3.2.9.4.2.1. PROCLITICS

Future clitic (*sa=/ap=*) has grammaticalised from inflected forms of *-ü-p* 'to go (archaic)': *S-ü-p* (with depalatalisation and elision of the *p*) and *ü-p* (with depalatalisation). Other proclitics include durative *al=*, completive *la=*, *tsi=* (grammaticalised from *katsüy* 'recently (same day)'), progressive *tyi=* (grammaticalised from independent marker *tyigely*) and additive *ol=*. (See Dixon 2010a, Zwicky 1985, for criteria for clitics).

TABLE 3R. DEPENDENT MARKERS

Dependent marker	Function	Grammaticalised from
sa=	1st person future	*s-ü-p* [1-TV-'go']
ap=	future (unmarked for person)	*ü-p* [TV-'go']
al=	durative aspect marker	*alyien* [DUR]

la=	completive aspect marker	(possibly:) *tyilüy* 'earlier today'
tsi=	completive aspect marker	*katsüy* 'recently'
tyi=	progressive aspect marker	*tyigely* [PRG]

3.2.9.4.2.2. ENCLITIC *=AN*

The only enclitic in the language is the delimitative *=an* 'only'.

3.2.9.4.2.3. HOST SELECTIVITY AND CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING CLITIC STATUS

Future (*sa=/ap=*), completive (*la=/tsi=*) and progressive (*tyi=*) proclitics are restricted to use on verbal stems. The durative proclitic (*al=*) can procliticise either to a verbal stem, preposition *wüx* 'on' or *tyiel* 'inside' (see 3.2.4.1) or to a demonstrative in a locative function (see 3.2.7.3). The durative can, in addition, be marked for person with verbal markers of the set used for prefixing verbs. The additive marker can be added to numerals only. The delimitative clitic has clausal scope, and can attach to hosts of any word class.

Some criteria for determining the status of clitics are the following:

I. Unlike affixes, clitics can be prefixed to non-prefixing verb stems. This criterion applies to future, durative and completive clitics.

II. Unlike any independent verbal marker (see 3.2.9.4.1), some clitics can be marked for person. This applies to future and durative clitics.

III. Unlike any independent verbal marker (see 3.2.9.4.1), some clitics can show palatalisation agreement with their host. This applies to completive *la=*, which is occurs as *lyi=* when palatalised and used as a diminutive form, together with the first person verbal marker (which is usually *s-*, but in this case *xi-*). Similarly, in the case of perfective marker *tsi=*, and independently of diminutive

semantics, first person prefix *s-* is always realised as *xi-*.

IV. Unlike any independent word (see 3.2.9.4.1), some clitics consist of open syllables. This applies to completive *la=* and *tsi=* as well as to future *sa=*.

V. An additional criterion to differentiate proclitics from independent verbal markers is that most proclitics can be optionally attached to either atemporal or irrealis forms, whereas prefixes never have this freedom.

VI. Finally, unlike a suffix, enclitic *=an* differs from suffixes in that it does not alter the stress pattern of its host. Instead, after cliticising to the host, the latter conserves its original stress pattern (see section 2.4.4). The enclitic differs from independent words in that a pause is not possible between it and its host.

3.3. WORD-CLASS CHANGING DERIVATIONS

Some roots in Umbeyajts can form words belonging to more than one class. These words can be considered to be word-class changing derivations of the class the root originally belongs too. Verbs can be formed from some nouns without any over derivational marker, simply taking verbal morphology (3.3.1). Verbs can also be formed in this way from nouns expressing abstract property concepts by addition of theme vowel *i-* (3.3.2). Finally, agentive words can be formed from prefixing verb roots by means of a stative prefix and theme vowel *u-* (3.3.3). These, however, will be considered a subclass of stative verb forms and not as products of word-class changing derivation. See table 3S for a comparison of their properties to those of nouns and other stative verbs.

Furthermore, the words listed in 3.2.2.2 can be classified as word-class changing derivations, since they are numeral adverbs derived from numerals (3.3.4).

3.3.1. DENOMINAL VERBS WITH NO OVERT DERIVATIONAL MARKER

There is one prefixing verb (*-ndok* 'fish') which has a root homophonous with a noun meaning '*atarraya* (traditional fishing net)', *ndok*. I will consider this verb to be a zero-derivation of the noun.

3.3.2. DENOMINAL VERBS FROM ABSTRACT PROPERTY CONCEPT NOUNS WITH THEME VOWEL *I-*

As will be seen in chapter 8, there is a small class of abstract property concept nouns (see 3.1.1.3), from which a verbal stem can be derived through addition of theme vowel *i-*:

3-65	*mbol*	'fear'	*-i-mbol*	'to fear'
3-66	*kich*	'skinniness'	*-i-kich*	'to be thin'

Sometimes, the nominal root is semantically divergent from the verbal stem:

3-67	*kants*	'chilli pepper'	*-i-kants*	'to be/become red'

3.3.3. AGENTIVE WORDS

As will be seen in chapter 8, theme vowel *u-* combined with stative morphology on prefixing verb roots is a device for expressing agentives. The meaning then changes to 'someone who X-es', where X stands for the action expressed by the verb root. See sections 8.4, 9.4 and 9.5 for a more complete account of the functional and semantic properties of words with *ñ-u-*. Some properties relevant to their status as a separate word class are displayed in table 3s below.

TABLE 3S. CONTRASTIVE PROPERTIES OF AGENTIVE WORDS, NOUNS AND VERBS

	VERBS	STATIVE VERBS	AGENTIVE WORDS	NOUNS WITH A HUMAN REFERENT (3.1.1.2.1)	NOUN
1. Can take verbal morphology expressing person	yes	yes	yes	no	no
2. Can take tense/aspect morphology	yes	no	no	no	no
3. Can function as head of an intransitive predicate	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
4. Can function as head of a transitive predicate	yes	no	no	no	no
5. Can take nominal possessive morphology	no	no	no	no[77]	yes
6. Pluralisable by prefixation of *mun-*	no	no	yes	yes	no
7. Can function as argument of an intransitive predicate	no	no	yes	yes	yes
8. Can function as argument of a transitive predicate	no	no	yes	yes	yes

3.3.4. NUMERAL ADVERBS DERIVED FROM NUMERALS

This subclass is dealt with in 3.2.5.1.4 (see table 3i).

77 Even though double possessive marking is not uncommon, instances of possessed 'human agentive' nouns have not been found, which is another indicator of their behaviour converging more with verbs than with nouns. Another indicator of this is the fact that prefixing a first person possessive prefix to such a noun is interpreted as a future verbal form: *Sañundok* or *xiñundok* is translated as 'voy a pescar' ('I am going to fish').

4. The noun phrase

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Noun phrases are phrases within the clause that have as main function to be argument of a predicate. A noun phrase can also function as a nominal predicate when juxtaposed to another NP. Its head can be a noun or a pronoun.

When noun phrases are headed by a noun, they can optionally include a determiner, which is a demonstrative (either preceding or following the noun, or both, depending on the type of demonstrative; 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) or a numeral or quantifier (4.2.3) or a modifier (4.3.1) preceding the noun, the latter of which can either be a verb marked with stative morphology or an adjective. Noun modification is also possible by means of juxtaposition of two nouns, in which the head is the first noun and the modifier is the following noun (4.3.2). Finally, the head noun can be modified by a relative clause following it (4.3.3). Personal pronouns can be modified, but this is very rare. The third person pronoun can function as a specifier article preceding a noun with human or animal reference, or a proper name.

NPs can contain a possessive construction, headed by the possessed[78] (represented by D, following the terminology in Aikhenvald, 2012) which is marked for possessor by means of a pronominal pertensive prefix, and optionally a suffix marking number of the possessor (4.7.1.1.2), and optionally followed by the possessor (R), which can be an embedded NP on its own: [POSSESSOR-N(-NUMBER)D (NR)].

4-1 *xa-mbiem*
1POS.II-house
'My house'

[78] In case a possessed construction is modified by a numeral, the numeral classifier agrees with D, not with R: *ijkew u-mbiem Toño* [two.RECT POS.I.U-house Antonio] 'Antonio's two houses', where the numeral classifier pertaining to 'house' is acceptable, but the use of a human classifier is ungrammatical: **ijpüw u-mbiem Toño* [two.RECT POS.I.U-house Antonio] (intended meaning: 'Antonio's two houses'). Also, property concept words preceding a possessive construction will provide semantic modification to the possessed, not to the possessor. The possessed can therefore be considered to be the head of the construction.

4-2 *mi-müx* *ñiwew*
POS.II.U-canoe PRON3PL
'Their canoe(s)'

4-3 *xa-pobre* *xikon*
1POS.II-povertyPRON1PL
'Our (excl.) poverty'

4-4 *mi-mambiđ* *María*
POS.II.U-grandmother María
'María's grandmother'

4-5 *mi-naxiel* *naxuoy* *kej*
POS.II-field man DEM2.MED
'That man's field'

The semantics of possession are discussed in 4.7.1.1.

The internal structure of the NP can be resumed as follows, in 4-6:

4-6 DEM NUM PCWORD POS-N N2 R REL DEM

Structural possibilities and restrictions, as well as the ordering of elements within an NP will be described at more depth in 4.4.

4.2. NP OPERATORS

4.2.1. DETERMINERS

Determiners have a modifying function in a noun phrase. However, they differ from modifiers (verbs with stative marker n and adjectives) in that they do not attribute a property to the noun.

Another defining property of determiners as opposed to modifiers is that determiners can be used without the modified noun when the noun is understood from the context, whereas modifiers cannot: Question 4-7 can be answered with 4-8, 4-9, 4-10 or 4- 11 and 4-12, which is elliptic and can also, in a more complete way, be expressed as a syndetic (4-13) or asyndetic (4- 14) relative clause.

4-7 *Ty-i-sap-an xuwayey küty tyilüy?*
PST-2-catch-PL much fish earlier.today
'Did you (pl.) catch any fish earlier today?'

4-8 *T-a-sap-as-an anuok.*
PST-TV-catch-1-PL one.RECT
'We caught one.'

4-9 *T-a-sap-as-an akas.*
PST-TV-catch-1PL some
'We caught some.'

4-10 *T-a-sap-as-an xuwayey.*
PST-TV-catch-1-PL much
'We caught lots.'

4-11 *T-a-sap-as-an a-paty-ey.*
PST-TV-catch-1-PL TV-diminish-RF
'We caught few.'

4-12 *T-a-sap-as-an n-a-dam.*
PST-TV-catch-1-PL ST-TV-be.big
'We caught a big one / big ones'

4-13 *T-a-sap-as-an anuok ajk n-a-dam.*
PST-TV-catch-1-PL one.RECT DEM 1 ST-TV-be.big

'We caught a big one.' (lit. 'one that is big')

4-14 *T-a-sap-as-an* *anuok* *n-a-dam.*
PST-TV-catch-1-PL one.RECT ST-TV-be.big
'We caught a big one. (lit. 'one that is big')

Determiners include adnominal demonstratives (4.2.1.1), which have a deictic function, as well as numerals and quantifiers (4.2.1.2), which specify the quantity of the modified noun.

4.2.1.1. ADNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Adnominal demonstratives function as determiners of the head noun. The most usual way of expressing a deictic specification through an adnominal demonstrative is having an unmarked demonstrative (glossed as DEM1 here) preceding the noun, and a deictic specification in a three-term system of either DEM2 (*kam, kien* or *kej*), or DEM3 (*güy, gien* or *gey*); see 3.2.7.1. This section addresses all their functions.

Usually, the deictic specification lies in the final demonstrative element (DEM2 or DEM3), whereas dem1 has no deictic function[79].

4-15 *ajk* *iel* *kam*
DEM1 root DEM2 PROX
'this camote[80]'

4-16 *ajk* *iem* *kien*
DEM1 house DEM2.MED
'that house (over there; usually visible)'

[79] This way of expressing deixis with two surrounding demonstratives is similar to Yucatec: *le-maak-a'* [DEM1-man-DEM2.PROX] 'this man'; *le-maak-o'* [DEM1-man-DEM2.DIST] 'that man'; *le-maak-e'* [DEM1-man-TOP] 'this/that/the man [topicalised]'.

[80] Camote is a type of sweet potato (lat. *ipomoea batatas*).

4-17 *ajk* *kiñiek* *kej*
DEM1 salt DEM2.MED
'that salt'

The first demonstrative, *ajk*, is often omitted, and the noun is followed only by *kam* or *kej*:

4-18 *Naxyuey* *kam* *ñiñdy* *a-ngal* *xa-iet-an.*
man DEM2.PROX DES TV-buy 1POS.II-land-PL
'This man wants to buy our lands'

4-19 *Sa=n-a-wijch-ien* *manga* *kej.*
1FUT=1IRR-TV-throw.away-PL hose DEM 3
'We throw out the hose' (referring to a motor hose on a fishing boat)

A much rarer but attested case is the postnominal demonstrative being omitted, in which case the noun modified is only preceded by ajk:

4-20 [..] *la=a-mb* *andüy* *ñingien* *ajk* *pyuet.*
PF=TV-go towards there.DIST DEM 1 dog
'(and) the dog is already off in that direction'

The pragmatics behind these omissions will be dealt with in more depth in chapter 12, on pragmatics.

4.2.1.2. NUMERALS AND QUANTIFIERS

Numerals and quantifiers specify the quantity of the noun they modify, but they do not attribute a property to it as modifiers do.

4-21 *Arojpüw* *ndxyup* *anuok* *ndxiejts.*
three.RND basket one.RECT storage.net
'A storage net consists of three baskets (full of corn)'

4-22 *At* *a-mbyuely-iw* *anuok* *mi-ndok* *ñiwew.*
alike TV-burn-PL one.RECT POS.II.U-fishing.net PRON3PL
'And they burned one of their nets'

4-23 *Kej* *al=ndo-m* *m-i-ta* *aguantar* *ijkew* *xex.*
DEM3 DUR=BND-IRR IRR-2-DO put.up two.RECT jícara[81]
'There you can have up to two cups (to drink)'

4.3. NOUN PHRASE MODIFICATION

4.3.1. MODIFICATION BY PROPERTY CONCEPT WORDS

Property concept words are adjectives (3.2.1) and verbs with stative semantics that can receive stative morphology, which is a subclass of prefixing verbs with theme vowel *a-* (3.1.2.1).

When functioning as a noun modifier, adjectives always appear in their bare form, with the exception of lexicalised stative verbs in a attributive function (something that is not productively possible in Umbeyajts) - an example of this is the noun (t)somborr-on sow ['have.a.big.moustache'-ST pig] 'wild pig'.

4-24 *tsontsok* *kamix*
wrinkled shirt
'wrinkled shirt'

4-25 *kayang* *piats*
stale tortilla
'stale tortilla'

4-26 *jalap* *u-mal*
bold POS.I.U-head

[81] Container made of the bark of a calabash tree (lat. *crescentia cujete*) fruit, used to manage liquids, for example for consuming hot chocolate, *chaw*/*atole* or other drinks, or for washing oneself.

'(is) bold' (literally meaning 'whose head is bold', and ambiguous between 'his/her bold head' or 'his/her head is bold')

Prefixing stative verbs functioning as a noun modifier appear with stative prefix n- (unless modified with intensifier *xow*, in which case the stative morphology disappears and only the theme vowel remains).

4-27	*Ñingien*	*a-jlük*	*anuok*	*n-a-dam*	*lam*
	there	TV-exist	one.rect	st-tv-be.big	river
	'There is a big river'				

4-28	*Gey*	*t-a-jaw-as*	*ajk*	*ñ-i-kich*	*ñyuench*	*kej.*
	DEM3.MED	PST-TV-see-1	DEM 1	ST-TV-be.skinny	boy	DEM2.MED
	'Then I saw that little boy'					

Further functionality of property concept expressions is detailed in chapter 8.

4.3.2. JUXTAPOSITION OF TWO NOUNS

Two nouns can appear juxtaposed in an NP. The first noun is then the head noun (see examples 4-32 - 4-33, where the pertensive marker attaches to the first noun and not to the head noun - see the chapter on compounding), and the following noun functions as modifier. It may be mentioned here that this post-nominal position is also occupied by relative clauses.

The supposition that these are not two separate NPs is supported by the fact that demonstrative frames can surround the construction, as in 4-34 - 4-35.

4-29	*Pur*	*ñimal*	*piat*	*ü-ty-iw.*
	just	animal	jungle	TV-eat-PL
	'They just eat land (i.e. non-seafood) animals'			

4-30 *La=ngu=m-a-j:nap* *ñutyiel ix* *ñingey.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-PAS:sell tamal iguana there.MED
'Iguana tamales are no longer sold there'

4-31 *A-jlük* *najnguow* *küty.*
TV-exist soup fish
'There is fish soup'

4-32 *xa-najnguow* *küty*
1POS.II-soup fish
'my fish soup'

4-33 *mi-iem* *ñity* *ñipilan*
II.POS.U-house palm people
'the people's palm houses'

4-34 *Ajk* *najnguow* *küty* *kej* *xow* *a-xix.*
DEM1 soup fish DEM2.MED very TV-be.tasty
'That fish soup is very tasty'

4-35 *Xuwayey* *a-jlük* *ajk-üw* *iem* *ñity* *kej* *ñingüy.*
much TV-exist DEM1-PL house palm DEM2.MED here
'There are a lot of those palm-thatched houses here'

4.3.3. RELATIVE CLAUSES

A relative clause is a clause modifying the head noun of an NP, thus occupying a modifier position within the NP. Relative clauses in Umbeyajts do not come in the preceding modifier slot (as the 'reduced relatives' of the San Mateo variety do), but in the slot following the head noun, which is also occupied by the modifying noun in a modification construction as mentioned in section 4.3.2.

Relative clauses in Umbeyajts usually do not feature any relativising conjunction. This type of clause can be termed an asyndetic relative clause. Also, probably due to Spanish influence, a relativisation strategy using demonstrative ajk as a relativising conjunction is quite common, resulting in a syndetic relative clause. Also, cases are found to occur where not demonstrative *ajk*, but *kej*, may have the function of a relativising conjunction; however, see 11.3.2.1.1.

Both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses can be formed in the same ways.

4-36 *Kwej mi-nüty küty* [*a-w*]REL.CL*?*
what POS.II.U-day fish TV-go.out
'What are the names of the fish that appear?'

4-37 *Ajk naxuoy* [*tokots u-lyej*]REL.CL *kej*
DEM1 man short POS.I.U-foot DEM2.MED
'That short man' (lit. 'that man whose legs are short')

4-38 *Pur a-ngal-üw máquina xow u-mbety pues.*
just TV-buy-PL machine very POS.II-be.expensive DISC
'Well, they buy lots of very expensive machines'

4-39 *Pues ajk Toño mi-nüty naxyuey ajk ñ-u-ndok kej*
well DEM1 Antonio POS.II.U-day man DEM1 ST-TV-fish DEM2.MED
'Well, Antonio is the name of that man who is a fisherman'

4-40 *Meáwan gey t-a-mong-os wüx najiet kej n-a-rang.*
all DEM3.PROX PST-TV-pass-1 on work DEM2.MED 1IRR-tv-do
'All that I went through, during the work that I do/did'

4.4. STRUCTURAL ORDERING WITHIN AN NP

The basic ordering of elements within the noun phrase was given in 4-6 in the introduction.

4.4.1. MODIFICATION BY A NUMERAL OR A QUANTIFIER

When a noun is modified by a numeral or quantifier, the determiner precedes the noun.

4-41 *ijkew* *pyuety*
two.RECT dog

4-42 *meáwan* *pyuety*
all dog

A noun cannot be modified by both a numeral and a quantifier simultaneously, although some speakers judge this grammatical (speakers who use a lot of Spanish and are not puristically oriented).

4-43 **meáwan* *aryuj* *pyuety*
all three.RECT dog
Intended meaning: 'All three dogs'

The modified noun can be possessed:

4-44 *ijkew* *xa-pyuety*
two.RECT 1POS-dog
'My two dogs'

4-45 *meáwan* *xa-pyuety*
all 1POS-dog
'All of my dogs'

Modification of a noun by both a numeral or quantifier and a property concept word

is possible. In this case, the property concept word(s) will always follow the determiner:

4-46 *ijkew* *kuchux pyuety*
two.RECT small dog
'Two little dogs'

4-47 *ijkew* *n-a-dam* *ñiyong pyuety*
two.RECT ST-TV-be.big lousy dog
'Two big, lousy dogs'

4-48 *meáwan* *n-a-dam* *ñiyong pyuety*
all ST-TV-be.big lousy dog
'All big, lousy dogs'

4.4.2. MODIFICATION BY A PROPERTY CONCEPT WORD

When a noun is modified by a property concept word (stative verb with stative affix n, or adjective), the property concept word precedes the noun. Several property concept words can precede the noun in this way.

4-49 *n-a-dam* *pyuety*
ST-TV-be.big dog
'(A, the) big dog'

4-50 *jalap* *kuchux* *n-a-tang* *pyuety*
bold small ST-TV-grow.up dog
'(A, the) hairless, little, grown-up dog'

Again, the noun in question can be possessed:

4-51 *n-a-dam* *xa-pyuety*
ST-TV-be.big 1POS-dog
'My dog is big / my big dog'

4-52 *torrots* *xa-pyuety*

crippled 1POS-dog

'My dog is crippled / my crippled dog'

PC word

4-53 *ijkew* *kuchux* *xa-pyuety*

two.RECT small 1POS-dog

'My two little dogs'

4-54 *meáwan* *kuchux* *xa-pyuety*

all small 1POS-dog

'All my little dogs'

4.4.3. MODIFICATION BY A DEMONSTRATIVE AND A NUMERAL, QUANTIFIER OR PROPERTY CONCEPT WORD

When a noun is modified by a numeral or quantifier and/or one or several property concept word(s), the property concept word(s) always follow(s) the numeral/quantifier and the demonstratives occupy a peripheral position within the NP, that is, DEM1 precedes all other elements and DEM2 or DEM3 follow all other elements.

4-55 *Ajk* *ijkew* *kuchux* *pyuety* *kej*

DEM1 two.RECT small dog DEM2.MED

'Those two little dogs'

4-56 *Ajk* *ijkew* *kuchux* *pyuety*

DEM1 two.RECT small dog

[*la=ndyow-üw* *mi-mam-üw*]$_{REL.CL}$ *kej*

PF=die-PL POS.II.U-mother-PL DEM2.MED

'Those two little dogs whose mothers already died'

4-57 *Ajk* *ijkew* *kuchux* *mi-pyuety* *ñiw*

DEM1 two.RECT small dog PRON3

[*la=ndyow-üw* *mi-mam-üw*]$_{REL.CL}$ *kej*
PF=TV-die POS.II.U-mother-PL DEM2.MED

'Those two little dogs of his whose mothers already died'

Possessed nouns can also be modified by a demonstrative:

4-58 *ajk* *xa-pyuety* *kej*
DEM1 1POS-dog DEM2.MED
'That dog of mine'

4-59 *ajk* *ijkew* *xa-pyuety* *kej*
DEM1 two.RECT 1POS-dog DEM2.MED
'Those two dogs of mine'

4-60 *ajk* *kuchux* *xa-pyuety* *kej*
DEM1 small 1POS-dog DEM2.MED
'That little dog of mine'

4.4.4. SPANISH ELEMENTS AND CODE-SWITCHING

In Spanish grammar, modifiers tend to occupy a postnominal position in the NP, whereas determiners occur in pre-nominal position (un hombre fuerte 'a strong man'; ese perro sarnoso 'that lousy dog'). There are (lexicalised) exceptions to this, for example una gran mujer 'a great woman' (not referring to size); una buena paliza 'a big strike' (not referring to subjective quality/'goodness' but rather to degree or impact of the strike).

When a Spanish adjective is used in Umbeyajts, it usually occupies the post-nominal position. A modifier used in this position is interpretable as a relative clause.

Spanish articles, quantifiers or demonstratives alone are not attested in Umbeyajts texts, unless they are part of a code-switched constituent as a whole (which may, however, include a quantifier, as in una buena cantidad de 'a good amount of').

Spanish borrowings will be dealt with in more depth in chapter 13.

4.5. Expression of the possessor through a postnominal noun phrase

The possessor is expressed as an obligatory pronominal pertensive prefix pertaining to one of three declension classes, and an optional number suffix, on the possessed. These affixes are subsumed in section 4.6.1.1.2. However, a possessed noun may also, in addition to its pertensive morphology, be followed by a possessor noun phrase.

4.5.1. Expressing contrastive emphasis and avoiding ambiguity

If the possessor is emphasised, it can be expressed by a pronoun following the possessed:

4-61	*Xa-pyuety*	*xik*	*ngu=mi*	*n-a-pat.*
	1POS-dog	PRON1	NEG=N.PRS	ST-TV-be.fierce
	'My dog is not fierce'			

This construction carries overtones of contrast (i.e. 'it is my dog that is fierce [implied: not yours]').

In the case of set II nouns, when the possessor is second or third person singular, or first person inclusive dual or plural, these are both expressed by an unmarked prefix (mi-). In this case, the third person pronoun is obligatorily used and its lack indicates that the possessor is a second person.

4-62	*N-a-pat*	*mi-pyuety.*
	ST-TV-be.fierce	POS.II.U-dog
	'Your dog is fierce'	

4-63 *N-a-pat* *mi-pyuety* *ñiw.*
ST-TV-be.fierce POS.II.U-dog PRON3
'His/her dog is fierce'

The possessor can be expressed by an embedded noun phrase following the possessed:

4-64 *mi-peats* *kuchux* *ñyuench*
POS.II.U-tortilla small boy
'The little boy's tortilla'

4-65 *u-mbiem* *mi-kwal* *Pedro*
POS.I.U-house POS.II.U-child Peter
'Peter's kid's house'

4-66 *Ajk* *mi-kamix* *ajk* *naxyuey*
DEM1 POS.II.U-shirt DEM1 man

xow *a-jal* *u-lyej* *kej*
very TV-be.long POS.I.U-leg DEM2.MED
'That shirt of that tall man'

4.5.2. SUFFIX BLOCKING ON LOANS FROM SPANISH

Vowel final nouns borrowed from Spanish and consonant final nouns that have not adapted to Umbeyajts phonology[82] cannot be followed by a number suffix. These nouns can take pertensive morphology, but this is restricted to prefixes. Since in this case there is no number marking, the mere expression of person leaves room for ambiguity between singular and plural forms. Also, since the first person dual and plural inclusive

[82] It is interesting to note that Umbeyajts speakers with a good command of Spanish will prefix *mi-* or *xa-* to any Spanish word, even to words not commonly used in the community (which I would not assume to be a borrowings in the regular sense of the term; see also chapter 13). Some speakers will not use *xa-* here when referring to the plural, but *mi-*. This seems to me to be a neutralisation due to language loss.

are not expressed in the person slot but in the number slot, there would be ambiguity between the third, first inclusive dual and first inclusive plural person if purely morphological means were used for expressing the possessor. Therefore, in these cases, the pronoun is postposed to the possessed noun, when the possessor is plural (or dual, in the case of the first person inclusive).

4-67 *mi-costumbre* *ikojts*
POS.II.U-tradition PRON1PL.INCL
'Our (incl) tradition(s)'

4-68 *mi-comida* *ñiwew*
POS.II.U-food PRON3PL
'Their food'

It might be noteworthy here that the San Mateo variety has no such restriction on suffixation on vowel-final loans from Spanish (though it is unclear from the literature under what conditions a spontaneously used Spanish word in code-mixing can take affixation) and makes use of an epenthetic consonant ([h]) between the vowel-final loan and the vowel- initial suffix (for instance, *mi-costumbre-j-aats* 'our (incl.pl) tradition', *mi-pobre-j-aats* 'our (incl.pl) poverty'), like Yucatec Maya, which (incidentally) also makes use of an epenthetic h when a suffix occurs on a vowel-final Spanish loan.

4.6. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

4.6.1. NOUN CLASSES

Nouns can be divided into two classes according to the set of pertensive prefixes they take. In addition, they can be divided into three classes according to the numeral classifier they are used with.

4.6.1.1. POSSESSION CLASSES

4.6.1.1.1. INTRODUCTION

In this section, pertensive morphology pertaining to the two different possessive classes will be described. A short overview of possessive classes is given here, but a more

detailed account of the possessive system, its semantics and other ways of establishing a possessive construction will be given in the chapter on possession. This account will include the verb - *jier* 'keep; have' and possession of abstract property concept nouns, which may be included as a special kind of possessive construction, in the sense that a possessed abstract property concept noun can be interpreted as meaning, for example 'there is my laziness'. It will also include a comparison to possession in other varieties (with regard to classes and diachronic development).

Class I is a closed class with a limited number of nouns, consisting of what could be called inalienable nouns. The nouns in this class are obligatorily possessed. Languages show considerable variation as to what semantic types of nouns are classifiable as alienable (Dixon, 2010b:278). In the case of Umbeyajts, class I includes nouns expressing a whole-part relationship: External body parts ('hand/arm', 'foot', 'eye', 'mouth', 'tooth/molar', 'nose', 'neck', 'head' and generally 'body/surface' - but not 'leg', 'muscle' nor 'belly'); internal body parts ('heart/stomach/interior', 'bone' but not 'guts', 'liver' nor 'brain') and some parts of plants ('branch', 'root', 'shell' - but not 'flower'). It does not include genitalia nor parts of animals (except for 'wing'), nor does it include any recently borrowed items (see chapter 13 for a more in-depth account of language contact phenomena and diachronic loanword layers). It also includes one item that cannot be considered a part-whole relational noun, which is *-mbiem* 'house'[83]. Membership of a noun in class I is only partly predictable on semantic grounds as mentioned above. Not all nouns expressing a part-whole relationship are included in this class. The semantic generalisation above is merely a tendency.

Class II is an open class, containing all nouns not belonging to class I. New words can be added to this class through borrowing from Spanish. All Spanish loans belong to this class.

[83] Obligatorily possessed *-mbiem* 'house' is clearly related to phonologically irregular noun *biemb* 'fire'. There is also another related, non-possessable root for 'house': *iem*. In this respect, Umbeyajts does not differ from the other Ikojts' varieties.

Finally, it should be mentioned that *a*-initial words like *aonts* 'secretes (bodily fluid or feces); his/her/its bodily fluid/feces', *aomb* 'lays (eggs); its egg', *ajong* 'is fruitful (said of plants); its fruit', *aop* 'has leaves; its leaf', *aow* 'is greasy; its grease', *akiejp* 'accompanies; his/her/its companion' have an obscure status, resembling prefixing verbs with theme vowel *a*-. These items are considered possessed nouns by some authors (e.g. Stairs & Kreger 1981), as they can seemingly function as nouns. This would then be a class III in this category (possession classes).

An alternative analysis would be to consider them verbal forms. Such an analysis could solve the problem of the forms not appearing as isolated lexical items (which one would expect for nouns). Like verbs, they are obligatorily prefixed with *a*- and cannot appear as bare roots. Furthermore, if they were nouns, one would expect them to be able to be conjugated for first and second person, however, they appear in exclusively with *a*-, except for -*kiejp*[84]. The fact that they may occur in the data doubly possessed (see 4.6.1.1.3) is a further indicator for their status as 'something other than nouns'; after all, if the *a*- is a possessive prefix, it remains to be explained why speakers

However, when taking this approach, the problem of obligatory association with a possessor remains. Additionally, if they were verbs, one would expect them to be able to take verbal morphology, which is not the case – neither future nor past marking is possible (except for -*kiejp*, which – in addition to occurring as a regular prefixing verb – appears in *akiejp*, a grammaticalised preposition; see also sections 3.2.4.2.2 and 10.2.4).

With these reservations in mind, I will consider them to be a third class of nouns (class III), and *a-kiejp* occuring both as a noun ('companion'), a verb ('to accompany') and a preposition ('with'), with an unclear grammaticalisation path with respect to the first (for the other two, see section 10.2.4 on the grammaticalisation of *akiejp*).

84 For example, a chicken in an animal story would be able to say 'my egg'; however, no such instances have been found in the data and speakers judge such forms ungrammatical, except for -*kiejp*, which can take first and second possessive prefixes from class I.

4-69 *a-kiejp* *ñiw* *a-küly* *ñing* *s-a-jlük*

TV-accompany PRON3 TV-inhabit REL.LOC 1-TV-exist

'His companion/friend stays at my place'

4-70 *m-a-yak* *tikyuy* *a-onts* *u-mbey,* [..]

IRR-TV-put little POS.III.U-secrete POS.II.U-mouth

'He put a little bit of his spit, [..]' (lit. 'its-secretion of his-mouth')

(to revive a dead chicken in a Ñutyok story)

4.6.1.1.2. PERTENSIVE MORPHOLOGY OVERVIEW

Affixes differ for the two possessive classes mentioned above. As in verbs, person is marked by means of a prefix, which is either *xi-* (first person), *i-* (second person) and *u-* (third person) or *xa-* (first person) and *mi-* (unmarked, for all other persons). The suffixes in the plural slot marking number are the same as those of the verb system.

4.6.1.1.2.1. CLASS I PREFIXES

First person (singular and exclusive)	*xi-*	*- Vn*
Second person	*i-*	*- Vn*
Third person	*u-*	*- Vw*
First person inclusive dual	*u-*	*- Vr*
First person inclusive plural	*u-*	*- Vjts*

4.6.1.1.2.2. CLASS II PREFIXES

First person (singular and exclusive)	*sa-*	*- Vn*
Second person	*mi-*	*- Vn*
Third person	*mi-*	*- Vw*
First person inclusive dual	*mi-*	*- Vr*
First person inclusive plural	*mi-*	*- Vjts*

4.6.1.1.2.3. CLASS III PREFIXES

Third person	*a-*	- [no plural form attested!]

4.6.1.1.2.4. IMPERSONAL POSSESSION

4.6.1.1.2.4.1. INTRODUCTION

An impersonal suffix, *-aran*, can be added to a form bearing the unmarked person pertensive prefix (*u-* (class II), *a-* (class III), *mi-* (class II) or *na-* (impersonal marker for kinship terms)), producing a form with the meaning 'someone's X', where X is the possessum. This suffix is also used in the verbal system as a subject marker (see 5.3.2).

The impersonal possessed form is obligatory when expressing an inherently possessed nominal root without specification of person. It can also be used on all other possessed nouns, where it is optional.

4.6.1.1.2.4.2. KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terms, when unspecified for person, must bear an unmarked personal possessive prefix used only with kinship terms (*na-*), and the general impersonal suffix mentioned in 4.6.1.1.2.4.1.

4-71 *na-xyujch-aran* 'uncle'
U.POS-uncle-IMP

4-72 *na-ndxyuey-aran* 'aunt'
U.POS-aunt-IMP

See §4.6.1.1 on possession for an account of the semantics of this kind of possession, and of possession generally.

4.6.1.1.3. DOUBLE POSSESSIVE MARKING

Many speakers can be observed marking a noun which is already marked with pertensive morphology, with a possessive prefix. An example is *mi-u-pang* [POS.II.U-POS.I.U-peel] 'its peel', where *u-pang* [POS.I.U-peel] is already possessed. Another example is *u-a-jtsaj* [POS.I.U-POS.III.U-dough]. I hypothesise that, when this happens, speakers reanalyse a conjugated form as a stem.

4.6.1.2. The numeral classifier system

4.6.1.2.1. Introduction

Umbeyajts nouns are classified into three different noun classes when counted with a numeral one through three.

Generally, it should be noted that the distinction between the three noun classes is on its way to being neutralised. Even elderly speakers can be quoted using the most default of the three classifiers (*k*) for a class II noun (which would usually be *p*). See also section 4.6.1.2.3 for an example of this.

4.6.1.2.2. Overview of noun classess

4.6.1.2.2.1. Class I (with numeral classifier *K*)

Class I nouns include birds and generally all nouns not belonging to class II and III. The class I classifier is often used as a default classifier, and, as mentioned above, is gradually taking over the domains of the other two. New borrowings belong to this class. The numerals used for counting class I nouns are:

1 *anuok*

2 *ijkew, ejkew*

3 *aryuj*

4.6.1.2.2.2. Class II (with numeral classifier *P*)

Class II nouns include human beings, most animals with four legs, snakes and some round objects, including round fruit. The numerals used for counting class II nouns are:

1 *anop*

2 *ijpüw, ejpüw*

3 *arojpüw*

4.6.1.2.2.3. Class III (with numeral classifier *TS*)

Class III nouns are limited to inanimate objects which are thin and long, such as sticks, candles and ropes. The numerals used for counting class III nouns are:

1 *anots*

2 *ijtsüw, ejtsüw*

3 *arojtsüw*

4.6.1.2.3. NEUTRALISATION IN THE NUMERAL CLASSIFIER SYSTEM

Although elderly speakers usually stick to the numerals specific for each class, many speakers consistently use only class I numerals when telling a story, even though they use *anop* in conversation when referring two humans. Two examples are given in 4-73 and 4-74, both from a Ñutyok story:

4-73	*tyi=kiambaj*	*wijk-iat*	*anuok*	*nalyiw*
	LOC=community	be.born-PST	one.RECT	baby
	'A baby was born in the village'			

4-74	*Entonces*	*anuok*	*nüx*	*ty-u-kwal*
	then	one.RECT	girl	PST-TV-be.pregnant
	'Then, a girl had become pregnant'			

4.6.2. DELIMITATIVE CLITIC =*AN*

Delimitative =*an* is a floating clitic. It attaches word-finally to express delimitative semantics (similarly to English *just*, 'only; exclusively; no more than; simply') on the clause level.

4-75	*A vec-es*	*ap=a-jmyuely*	*pañely,*	*pues*	mas
	to time-PL	FUT=TV-enter	cane.sugar	DISC	more

	mejor	*dulce pues.*	*N-a-ngan.*	*Pero*	*al=tyiel*
	better	sweet DISC	ST-TV-be.sweet	but	DUR=LOC

	nguoy,	***kiñiek=an***	***a-yak,***	*a-xix*	*akiejp anuok*	*mi-cuchara.*
	no	salt=DEL	TV-put	TV-be.tasty	with one.CL	POS.II.U-spoon

'Sometimes cane sugar used to be put in, since it's better because it's sweet. It's [sweet] tasty. But there are [people who] don't [do that], **they just put in salt**, it's [salty] tasty [and you eat it] with a spoon.'

4-76 *Hasta* *kanénkaman* *ngu=m-a-jarr-ich-iw* *u-mal*
until right.now NEG=IRR-TV-destroy-CAU-PL POS.I.U-head

kéj=an *al=m-a-jier-üw* *templo* *kej.*
DEM2.MED=DEL DUR=IRR-TV-have-PL temple DEM2.MED
'Up to the present day it hasn't been destroyed, they still have that temple **right there** (i.e. just there – no further than there).'

4-77 *Pero* *en cambio* ***ñingey=an*** *Chicapa* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *chaw.*
but in exchange there.MED=DEL Chicapa NEG=IRR-TV-exist atole
'But if we look at Chicapa **just over there**, they don't even serve atole.'

4-78 *A-jküy* *kuchujch* *ñyuench* *kej,* ***a-sap=an*** *kity,*
TV-be.angry little boy DEM2.MED TV-grab=DEL chick

m-a-ndujk *u-mal,* *m-a-ndyurryurr* *ñingien.*
IRR-TV-slit.throat POS.I.U-head IRR-TV-extend.DIM there.DIST
'The boy got angry, and he **just grabbed** the little chicken and beheaded it, and then he laid it down there.'

Additionally, stative verbs can be foreseen with this clitic to express an adverbial meaning :

4-79 *N-a-jyuéñ=an* *a-jüy.*
ST-TV-be.fast=DEL TV-wander
'It goes fast (the car).'

4-80 *N-a-jñej=an* *s-a-jlük-ien.*
ST-TV-be.good=DEL 1-TV-exist-PL
'We're doing well.'

Finally, some words have lexicalised from a word with this clitic attached to it: *wüxan* 'again'[85], from preposition *wüx* 'on', and *ngüñan* 'whichever', from question word *ngüñ* 'which', and *anómban* 'at once', from *anomb* 'one.TEMP'.

85 A strong indicator of this being delimitative =*an* is the accent, which in the case of a delimitative would be expected to fall on the penultimate syllable (i.e. *wüx*) – which, in this case, it does: *wüxan* is always stressed penultimately. This is also the case in San Mateo del Mar (eg. Stairs, 1981). The same stress pattern is found in *ngüñan.*

5. Verbal morphology and verb classes

5.1. Introduction

The two main verb classes differentiated on morphological criteria are prefixing verbs (verbs that use both prefixes and suffixes (and proclitics) to express verbal categories), and non-prefixing verbs (verbs that use only suffixes (and proclitics) for this purpose). Verb classes will be examined in more detail in chapter 6, where a more complete account of the tense, aspect and modality system will be presented, including free morphemes expressing TAM distinctions; in the present chapter, only an inventory of all bound morphemes (affixes and clitics) pertaining to the verbal system will be given, and morphological structure of the verbal word will be described.

5.2. Morphophonological processes occurring on verbal affixes

5.2.1. Affix mobility

Some affixes in Umbeyajts have a rather interesting property: They can appear as prefixes or as suffixes.

Table 5a. Examples of mobile affixes

Affix	Prefix	Gloss	Suffix	Gloss
s [1]	*s-a-ngal*	1-TV-buy 'I buy'	*lomb-oj-os*	stand-EP-1 'I stand'
	s-a-ndok	1-TV-fish 'I fish'	*t-a-ndok-os*	PST-TV-fish-1 'I fished'
n [ST]	*n-a-dam*	ST-TV-be.big '(is) big'	*püjch-ien*	extend-ST '(is) extended'
t [PST]	*t-a-mb*	PST-TV-go 'went'	*wity-iet*	rise-PST 'rises'
m [IRR]	*m-a-mey*	IRR-TV-sleep '(in order for X to) sleep'	*wity-iem*	rise-IRR '(in order for X to) rise'
	n-a-chyuj	1IRR-TV-request 'I request'	*chyut-yuñ*	sit-1IRR '(in order for me to) sit'

I consider the main two criteria governing the choice for prefix or suffix position of a mobile affix to be:

I. Whether the verb root it attaches to is a prefixing or a non-prefixing verb; and

II. in the case of the first person affix on a prefixing verb, whether its slot (immediately preceding the theme vowel) is already occupied by past tense marker *t* (in which case it is suffixed to the verb) or not (in which case it is prefixed).

This can be illustrated with the paradigms of the first, second and third person of a prefixing verb, comparing the temporally unmarked forms to the forms with the past tense marker *t*:

TABLE 5B. COMPARISON OF TEMPORALLY UNMARKED AND PAST-TENSED PREFIXING VERBS

1	*s-a-ngal*	*t-a-ngal-as* (plural exclusive: *t-a-ngal-as-an*)
2	*i-ngal*	*t- i-ngal*
3	*a-ngal*	*t-a-ngal*

5.2.2. SUFFIXAL VOWELS

Suffixes consisting of only a consonant must be realised with a vowel to prevent consonant clusters. The vowel assigned to the suffix is not of a fixed value, but is assigned according to the quality of the vowel nucleus of the root. This process is described in 2.5.1.

5.2.3. PROGRESSIVE PALATALISATION

Some instances have been documented of palatalisation which only applies to a clitic and a prefix following it, but not to the whole root and in some cases cannot be traced back to any vowel conditioning it. It is typologically uncommon to encounter a clitic-specific phonological process applying across a clitic boundary.

The semantics are at present unclear, but this process could be related to (unproductive) palatalisation with diminutive semantics (see section 2.5.3). Some examples are given below. Note examples 5-3 and 5-4 without palatalisation, as opposed to 5-5, 5-6 and 5-7, which feature palatalisation without any apparent source. My preliminary proposal is that this type of palatalisation originally had diminutive semantics[86].

5-1 *Tsi=x-i-pey* 'I already arrived'
PF=1-TV-arrive

5-2 *Tsi=x-i-jtyup* 'I already went/came up'
PF=1-TV-ascend

5-3 *La=s-ɑ-pey* 'I already arrived'
PF=1-TV-arrive

5-4 *La=s-ɑ-tang* 'I'm already grown up'
PF=1-TV-grow.up

5-5 *Lyi=x-i-pey* 'I already arrived'
PF=1-TV-arrive

5-6 *Lyi=x-i-tang* 'I'm already grown up'
PF=1-TV-grow.up

5-7 *Lyi=x-i-taxyuey* 'I'm an old man already'
PF=1-TV-get.old(male)

86 It could be that the semantic difference is a very subtile one of speech register. This would not be rare, since since there are other examples of palatalised verbal forms being used with a more polite meaning (or softened, like in the case of an imperative clause), for example *chyut-yur* [sit{PAL}-2] '(do) sit down' as opposed to *tsot-or* [sit-2] 'sit down (bluntly speaking, e.g. to a dog)', where the diminutive form seems to have become the functionally unmarked form whereas the non-palatalised *tsotor* seems to have acquired augmentative meaning. The semantics of palatalised forms are an interesting topic for further investigation.

5-8 **La=s-a-taxyuey* (Intended meaning: 'I'm already an old man)

PF=1-TV-get.old(male)

5.3. PERSON MARKING

5.3.1. OVERVIEW OF PERSON MARKERS

The person markers used in the person marker slot (see chapter 6) are the following:

TABLE 5C. PERSON MARKERS ON VERBS

Person	Pronoun	Person marker
First person	*xik*	*s*;
Second person	*ik*	*i-* (prefixing verbs) or allomorph *er-* when the theme vowel or the vowel of the preceding clitic is *i;*
		-rr (non-prefixing verbs)
Third person	*ñiw*	ø; allomorph *-w* in non-prefixing verbs (or its allophone *-j* after rounded vowel, see 2.3.5)
First person incl. (du.)	*ikor*	ø
First person incl. (pl.)	*ikojts*	ø

Number is marked with a suffix in the plural slot (which always comes after the person marker; see chapter 6 for a more complete account of affix ordering). The two forms that necessarily include both speech act participants are not expressed with any affix in the person slot (just as the third person), but do feature a marker in the plural slot. Number markers are the following:

TABLE 5D. PLURAL MARKERS ON VERBS

	Suffix	Pronoun
First/second person plural	*-n*	*xikon, ikon*
First person inclusive dual	*-r*	*ikor*
First person inclusive plural	*-jts*	*ikojts*
Third person plural	*-w* (~ *-j*)	*ñiwew*

5.3.2. IMPERSONAL SUFFIX -*ARAN*

Verbs as well as possessed nouns with pertensive morphology can take an impersonal marker. This marker can be used with both transitive and intransitive verbs, and indicates the presence of an unspecified subject. It has been classified as a passivising device by some authors (e.g. Kim, 2008), but the underlying object does not become the subject of the verb – rather, the underlying object can be expressed, but the underlying subject cannot. Furthermore, since it can also be used with intransitive verbs, it is definitely not a prototypical passive in San Dionisio Umbeyajts. In this way, it is similar to the Finnish impersonal suffix -*tVVn*.

The grammatical relations of passive, impersonal and reflexive forms will be the topic of chapter 8.

5-9 *Giñey* *mod* *a-rang-aran* *komid* *m-a-kiejp* *küt?*
how form TV-do-IMP food IRR-TV-accompany fish
'How is food made from fish?'

5-10 *Lyi=dam* *kiambaj,* *n-a-dam* *nanguxnüt* *u-kwej*
PF=be.big village ST-TV-be.big feast POS.I.U-thing

patrón *a-rang-aran* *ñingüy*
patron.saint TV-do-IMP here

'The village has already grown big, it's a big feast that they make for the patron saint here'

5-11 *Atokey* *ñ-u-rang* *revoltura* *par* *m-u-rang-aran* *iem.*
that.way ST-TV-make wrapping for IRR-TV-make-IMP house
'That is the way the mixture is made in order to make a house'

Suffix -*aran* can appear after any inflected verb form in the plural marker slot. Unlike in the San Mateo del Mar variety and in San Francisco del Mar Umbeyajts, where an object

can be marked in the person marker slot (and sometimes even in a plural slot following the impersonal suffix) as shown in 5-12 – 5-16 (these forms do resemble passive forms), neither the person marker slot nor the number marking slot can be filled in San Dionisio Umbeyajts when *-aran* is used. The marker does not occur with non-prefixing verbs.

In these examples which are not from San Dionisio but from San Mateo, the person markers on the verb express the S of the passive verb (the underlying O), something which does not occur throughout the San Dionisio data, and is judged ungrammatical.

5-12 *Tea-sa-mel-ich-eran* *ti* *pow*
PROG-1-meter-CAUS-INDF PREP horno
'I am being put in the oven (by someone)' [own translation]; Herrera (2010:84)

5-13 *T-a-tsamb-aran-üw* *akas* *pet*
COMPL-3-morder-INDEF-PL algunos perro
'Some dogs got bitten'; Herrera (2010:83)

5-14 *dyu-s-a-j.pa-ran-an*
PROG-1-TV-called-PASS-PL
'We (excl.) am being called'; Kim (2008:310)

5-15 *dy-a-j.pa-ran-af*
PROG-TV-called-PASS-3PL
'They are being called'; Kim (2008:310)

5-16 *dy-a-j.pa-ran-ar*
PROG-TV-called-PASS-INC
'We (incl.) are being called'; Kim (2008:310)

5.4. THE IRREALIS

Umbeyajts verbs are often unmarked for tense and aspect, receiving only person marking. This is called the atemporal form throughout this thesis.

Morphologically complex verb forms with tense or aspect specification can be built either on atemporal forms or on irrealis forms, or on both.

The irrealis is used in contexts with irrealis semantics. However, as will be seen in chapter 7, the choice for irrealis or atemporal can sometimes depend on the transitivity value of a verb. When both forms are possible, a verb that has the ability to constitute a transitive predicate displays a tendency to occur more often in the irrealis. Additionally, the irrealis has another standard usage, which is its obligatory occurrence within the context of clausal negation. See section 7.1 for a more elaborate account of the use and semantics of irrealis forms.

Irrealis markers occupy the affix type 1 slot and may be specified for person as follows: Affix *n* marks the first person singular and first person exclusive plural, and affix *m* marks all other persons. In the case of the second person, marker *m* is combined with the second person marker *i-* (in the case of prefixing verbs) or -ear (in the case of non-prefixing verbs). In the case of the first person inclusive dual and plural forms (which have markers that occupy the number slot rather than the person slot throughout the system), the irrealis marker is combined with the respective markers (*-r* and *-jts*).

TABLE 5E. IRREALIS MARKERS ON VERBS

Person	Pronoun	Person marker
First person	*xik*	*n*;
Second person	*ik*	*m-* followed by second person marker *i* or *er-*(prefixing verbs); *-m-ear* (non-prefixing verbs)
Third person	*ñiw*	*m;*
First person incl. (du.)	*ikor*	*m-; -m-or* (non-prefixing verbs)
First person incl. (pl.)	*ikojts*	*m-; -m-ojts* (non-prefixing verbs)

5.5. STATIVE MORPHOLOGY

Stative forms are marked with affix *n* (or its allomorph *ñ* in contexts of palatalisation). The stative affix can precede forms marked for person only in the case of prefixing verbs. It is a type 1 affix (see 5.10.2) which causes the first person marker to shift to the suffix

slot immediately following the root. Functional aspects of stative morphology are examined mainly in 3.2.4.2.1 (prepositions), 3.3.3 and 9.5 (functioning as agentive participial nouns), and 4.3.1, 4.4.2 and chapter 8 (noun modification as property concepts).

5.6. PAST TENSE AFFIX

The only other affix used for expressing tense is past tense *t*, which appears as a suffix in the case of non-prefixing verbs, and as a prefix in the case of prefixing verbs. The past tense affix occupies the slot for type 1 prefixes (the subordinate markers *m-* and *n-*, and the first person marker *s-*), which in the case of first person marking on a prefixing verb causes the first person marker to move to the first suffix position following the verbal stem.

5.7. TENSE AND ASPECT CLITICS

All clitics in the tense and aspect system are proclitics. The criteria for determining clitic status were given in section 3.2.9.4.2.

5.7.1. SUMMARY OF PROCLITICS

5.7.1.1. FUTURE

Future tense is marked by a clitic *sa=* (first person) or *ap=* (all other persons). Some examples are given below. In the case of prefixing verbs, *ap=* is often realised without the vowel and *sa=n-a-* [FUT=1IRR-TV] shortened to *sna-* in rapid speech.

5-17 *Sa=chyut-yuñ* *ñingüy*
1FUT=sit{DIM}-1IRR here
'I will sit down here'

5-18 *Tabar,* *a-juoy-ier* *ching,*
go.HORT.1INCL.DU TV-take-INCL.DU *chinchorro*

ap=a-juoy-ier *<u>tarrayita</u>* *para* *n-a-luox-ien* *atokey.*
FUT=TV-carry-1INCL.DU atarraya.DIM for 1IRR-TV-throw-PL like.that

'Let's go, we'll take a *chinchorro*, we'll take a little *atarraya*[87] to throw (in) like this'

5-19 *Giñey mod ganüy sa=n-a-rang par*
how way now 1FUT=1IRR-TV-do for

m-a-nguoch xi-wix?
irr-TV-encounter 1POS.I-hand
'How am I going to proceed now in order to get married?'

This clitic has grammaticalised from an inflected form of verb root *-p* 'to go (said to a respected elder)', which is still used as a future marker by elderly speakers. One example (5-20) comes from a story.

5-20 *s-ü-p n-ü-jch ik anop nüx m-i-kiejp.*
1-TV-go 1IRR-TV-give PRON1 one.RND girl IRR-2-accompany
'I will give you a girl who will accompany you'

The future tense form is often, but not always, built on the irrealis form of the verb, according to the following pattern:

5-21 FUTURE CLITIC = IRREALIS MARKER – THEME VOWEL – ROOT (– SUFFIXES)

or, in the case of non-prefixing verbs:

5-22 FUTURE CLITIC = NON-PREFIXING VERB ROOT – IRREALIS MARKER (– SUFFIXES)

The irrealis marker is obligatorily used in the case of all non-prefixing verbs and in the case of the first person singular and exclusive plural. In all other cases, it is optional.

87 *Chinchorro* and *atarraya* are (Spanish) names of two traditional types of fishing net.

5.7.1.2. PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKERS *LA=* AND *TSI=*

The completive aspect is expressed by proclitics *la=* (possibly grammaticalised from *tyilüy* 'earlier today') or *tsi=* (grammaticalised from *katsüy* or *katsatsüy* 'recently (same day)', which is still used as an independent marker of the completive).

The completive aspect marker can be used with either subordinate or atemporal forms.

5.7.1.3. PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER

The progressive aspect marker *tyi=* has grammaticalised from independent progressive aspect marker *tyigely* (see 7.2.6). *Tyi=* can be used with either subordinate or atemporal forms (see 7.1.3.2.1).

5.7.1.4. DURATIVE ASPECT MARKER

Marker *al=* is used to express an ongoing state. It is obligatorily used with subordinate forms.

5.7.2. COMBINABILITY OF TENSE AND ASPECT MARKERS

Bound tense and aspect markers cannot be combined. However, a bound tense or aspect clitic can be combined with a free verbal marker:

5-23	*Laiñdy*	(*la=* [COMPLETIVE] + *ñiiñdy* [DESIDERATIVE])
	Lapots / tsipots	(*la= / tsi=* [COMPLETIVE] + *pots* [INCHOATIVE])

In these case, the resulting construction has completive semantics and can be translated with 'already wants to/already feels like' and 'already starts/started', respectively.

5.8. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Derivational markers are: The reflexive suffix *-Vy*, the causative suffix *-Vjch*, the passive infix *:rV:*, passive pre-aspiration and passive suffixes *-ük* and *-Vch*.

Derivational morphology in Umbeyajts is always adjacent to the root, and no affixes can intervene between the root and a derivational marker.

Derivation is restricted to prefixing verbs, with the exception of the two non-prefixing roots mentioned in 5.8.4.

5.8.1. REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL MARKER

A marker for reflexive forms is affix *-Vy* (allomorphs *-üy* for roots with vowel nuclei *a*, *o, ie*, and *-ey* after all others). Reflexive forms are also used to convey reciprocal meanings. See chapter 8 for an account of uses and semantics of reflexive/reciprocal forms.

5-24	*-jaw*	'see; know'	->	*-jaw-üy*	'see oneself/each other'
	-jants	'wash'	->	*-jants-üy*	'wash one's clothes'
	-jimb	'sweep'	->	*-jimb-ey*	'sweep one's house'
	-kejch	'teach'	->	*-kejch-ey*	'learn'
	-kyuety	'leave'	->	*-kyuety-ey*	'leave each other;divorce'

5.8.2. CAUSATIVE MARKER

Umbeyajts has one non-productive causative marker *-Vjch* (allomorphs: *-üjch* for roots with vowel nuclei *a*, *o* and *iə*; *-ijch* for all others and irregular *-ech* for one root with vowel nucleus *yu* and aspiration). Causativisation is examined in 9.1.

Sometimes, the suffix is realised without aspiration, and sometimes a root with aspiration, the aspiration is lost (the root 'to make fly'). The conditions for this loss of aspiration are not clear.

5-25 Allomorph *-üjch*

-tang	'grow up'	->	*-tang-üjch*	'raise; make grow up'
-mbiel	'roll up (cloth; paper)'	->	*-mbiel-üjch*	'roll (heavy object)'
-jmiek	'descend'	->	*-miek-üch*	'take/bring down'
-pal	'close, be completed'	->	*-pal-üch*	'make complete'

5-26 Allomorph *-ijch*

-kats	'get wet'	->	*-kach-ijch*	'make wet'
-jlül	'fly'	->	*-lül-ijch*	'make fly'
-jtyup	'ascend'	->	*-tyup-ich*	'make ascend'

-jüy	‘walk; wander’	->	*-jüy-ich*	‘drive, ride; repart’
-ü-mb	‘end’ (intransitive)	->	*-mb-ich*	‘end’ (transitive)

Two roots which seem to have a fossilised causative suffix but are no longer segmentable as such are *-tsapijch* ‘to let loose’ and *-pumüch* ‘end; terminate’ – there are no corresponding roots *-*tsap* or *-*pum*; and a further irregular stem is *-xyumbech* ‘bathe’ (transitive) from *-xyujp* ‘bathe’ (intransitive), which has an irregular change from final *mb* to *p* before the suffix, as well as *-ech* as an allomorph of the causative suffix which is not attested elsewhere.

5.8.3. PASSIVE MARKERS

5.8.3.1. INFIX :RV:

The infix :rV: (where the infix vowel V is determined by the process of vowel assimilation; see 2.5.1) is used to form a passive verb from a transitive prefixing verb (see also chapter 8).

5-27	*-tsamb*	‘eat;bite’	->	*-tsaramb*	‘be eaten; be bitten’
	-ndok	‘catch fish’	->	*-ndorok*	‘be caught (fish)’
	-ndyiem	‘want’	->	*-ndyieram*	‘be wanted’
	-sap	‘get; catch’	->	*-sarap*	‘be caught’
	-miet	‘bury’	->	*-mierajt*	‘be buried’

The aspiration in *-mierajt* remains unexaplained. Kim (2008:155, 183, 304) also cites this form (but not its non-derived form) with aspiration for the San Francisco variety.

Infixation is not a productive way of deriving causatives and it can only be used on a limited number of roots. All roots that have been found to use infixation are roots that take a back vowel (either *a* or *o*) as suffixal vowel when vowel assimilation is applied.

5.8.3.2. PRE-ASPIRATION

Another non-productive way of deriving passive forms of transitive, prefixing verbs is aspiration (preceding the root) and de-palatalisation of the final consonant (if applicable - see the conditions in 2.5.2).

5-28	*-paj*	'call; scream'	->	*-jpaj*	'be called'
	-wich	'throw'	->	*-j-wich*	'be thrown'
	-küly	'wait'	->	*-j-kal*	'be waited for'
	-wüñ	'get out' (transitive)	->	*-j-wan*	'be removed'

Many intransitive verbs also have a pre-root *j,* but these are not passive derivations: *-jtsuoty* 'exit, go out' – there is no root **-tsuoty* (though there is a related noun, *tsuoty* 'anus'), *jmyuely* 'go in, enter' (intransitive) has no underived root **-myuely*. One root that is a derived passive in other varieties, *-jmbaj* 'to break' (in San Dionisio both intransitive (S=O) and transitive, but intransitive in other varieties) has no root **-mbaj* in Umbeyajts.

5.8.3.3. IMPERSONAL WITH *-ÜK*

Suffix *-ük* is another impersonal form that has been identified in the corpus. This form is not attested in the other varieties.

5-29	*-wiel*	'maintain'	->	*-wiel-ük*	'be maintained'
	-jants	'wash'	->	*-jands-ük*	'be washed'

See chapter 8 for an account of the use and semantics of passive and impersonal forms.

5.8.4. DERIVATION OF NON-PREFIXING VERBS

Only one straightforward case has been found of derivation of a non-prefixing verb. In this case, a causative suffix is added and the verb becomes a transitive prefixing verb. The verb referred to here is the verb *wity-* 'to rise' and its derived base *-wity-ich* 'to lift up'.

A bit more obscure is the case of bound root *ndo-*, which can tentatively be translated as 'to end' (intransitive). This verb has a related prefixing verb base *-ndoruojch*, which includes causative marker *-Vjch*. Suffix *-uojch* is not found elsewhere as allomorph of the causative suffix, but this could be explained by the internal structure of the root. I propose that the *r* in this verb is actually the passivising infix :rV:, which, according to the rules posited in 2.5.1, should receive vowel *o* when the root vowel is *o*. However, *o* is not allowed as vowel nucleus before a palatalised coda (see 2.3.1.1), whereas *uo* is.

5.9. REDUPLICATION

Two different kinds of reduplication are attested in Umbeyajts roots: Partial reduplication, in which the final part (VC) of the root is reduplicated, and full reduplication, which involves reduplication of the whole root.

Full reduplication is quite productive. Partial reduplication, on the other hand, is not, and roots with this type of reduplication often lack an underived form (or show no clear relationship to their non-reduplicated form, like *ñirixix* 'clean; blond' vs. *ñirix* 'little, reduced').

Reduplication occurs on verbs and has an intensifying meaning. It can also indicate repeated or prolonged action, especially in the case of verbs of movement.

5-30 Verbs with full reduplication of the root

-jüy	'walk; wander'	->	*-jüy-jüy* 'wander around'
-kyuierr	'run'	->	*-kyuierr-kyuierr* 'run around'
-paj	'shout; call'	->	*-pajpaj* 'shout a lot/loud'
-rang-üy[88]	'be arrogant'	->	*a-rang-rang-üy* 'be very arrogant'
-dam	'be big'	->	*n-a-damtam* 'be very big'

5-31 Verbs with partial reduplication of the root

ñ-i-rixix[89]	'clean; blond'
-mbepep-ey	'shake'

88 *-rang* 'to do'

89 *ñ-i-rix* means 'small; reduced (wind)'

-kotsots[90] ‘squeeze (with one’s fist)

5.10. Verb classes and affix ordering

In this section an overview will be given of the different inflectional classes of Umbeyajts verbs and of structural and other characteristics of predicates.

5.10.1. Prefixing verbs

5.10.1.1. Prefixing verbs with theme vowel *A*-

5.10.1.1.1. Introduction

Most verbs in Umbeyajts belong to the class of prefixing verbs with theme vowel *a*-. The verbs in this class are mostly transitive or ambitransitive of type S = A (‘eat’, ‘sow; practice agriculture’), but it also includes intransitive verbs of different semantic types (for example ‘wander’, ‘be (locational); live (locational)’, ‘enter’, ‘sleep’, ‘be big’, ‘get old’).

The label prefixing for this class (as opposed to non-prefixing for the class described in section 5.10.2) is due to the fact that verbal categories are marked with prefixes and suffixes. Non-prefixing verbs can take only suffixes to mark verbal categories. The predicate structure for prefixing verbs is given in section 5.11.1.

There are three declension subtypes, which each take different vowel nuclei in the affixes immediately following the root – this is conditioned by a process I have called vowel assimilation (see 2.5.1) – I will call these type *a-I* with root vowel nucleus *a*, *ie* or *e*, *a-II* with root vowel nucleus *i, yu*, *ü*, *u*, *yue* or *uo* and *a-III* with root vowel *o*. The paradigms of these are given in 5.12.1.1.

90 Many irregular roots (like the ones mentioned in 2.6.1.1 showing signs of partial reduplication) end in *-ots/-ats*, for example *tokots* ‘short’, *torrots* ‘crippled’, *-kotsots* ‘squeeze (with one’s fist)’ and *-montsots* ‘close (one’s eyes)’, *-rrantsats* ‘itch’. It is possible that these roots have a fossilised suffix *-Vts*, but this is unclear at present. Kim (2008:318) regards *-montsots* and *-rrantsats* as examples of partial reduplication (to be precise, ‘suffixing reduplication with de-prenasalization’).

5.10.1.1.2. SPECIAL TYPES OF PREFIXING VERBS WITH THEME VOWEL A-

5.10.1.1.2.1. IRREGULAR VERB ROOTS CONSISTING ONLY OF ONE CONSONANT

There are two verb roots in the class of prefixing verbs with theme vowel *a-* that consist only of a consonant, *-mb* 'to go' and *-w* 'to go out', both verbs of movement, with an irregular paradigm with regard to the second person. Whereas usual second person marking is by means of prefix *i-* or *ir-* immediately preceding the root (both of which affixes cause elimination of the theme vowel), the second person for both of these verbs is marked with *ir-* followed by epenthetic diphthong *ie*[91], thus yielding *ir-ie-mb* and *ir-ie-w.*

5.10.1.1.2.2. *-TAJK* AS A BORROWING STRATEGY FOR SPANISH INFINITIVES

5.10.1.1.2.2.1. INTRODUCTION

Verb *-tajk* 'to do' (usually realised as *-ta* when not followed by a suffix) is used in combination with a Spanish infinitive to create a borrowed verb. The Spanish verb is always in the infinitive. It appears that this highly productive mechanism can be used to accommodate any Spanish verb by means of spontaneous code mixing. Some lexicalised instances of *-ta* and a Spanish infinitive show phonological adaptation to Umbeyajts phonology (*-ta puraɗ* 'hurry', Spanish *apurar(se)*; *-ta provechar* 'utilise', Spanish *aprovechar*), and some have suffered a change in meaning, no longer having the same meaning as the original Spanish infinitive (*-ta krer* 'believe; be faithful to', Spanish *creer* 'believe'; *-ta tomar atención* 'pay attention', Spanish *prestar atención*).

5.10.1.1.2.2.2. INFLECTIONAL AND DERIVATIONAL POSSIBILITIES

####### 5.10.1.1.2.2.2.1. PERSON, NUMBER AND TENSE/ASPECT MARKING

-tajk can be marked for the same inflectional categories as other prefixing verbs with theme vowel *a-*. Some examples are given below.

91 The palatalisation conditions for *ie-* are that the preceding consonant is palatalised and the following is not. This is consistent with the preceding syllable formed by *ir-* which has *i* as vowel nucleus and thus underlyingly has palatalisation in the coda, and verbs *-mb* and *-w* do not have underlying palatalisation, since they appear with theme vowel *a-* (if they were underlyingly palatalised, the appropriate theme vowel would be *ü*). The diphthong *ie* could thus be seen as a type of bridging mechanism to connect an underlyingly palatalised segment (*r*, in this case) with an underlyingly non-palatalised segment (*mb* and *w*, respectively), and should perhaps be taken as an allomorph of theme vowel a- which only appears in verb roots consisting of a single, underlyingly non-palatalised segment when preceded by a palatalised segment.

5-32 *Sa=n-a-mb-an* *n-a-tajk-an* *palanquear*

1FUT=1IRR-TV-go-PL 1IRR-TV-do-PL row

'We go and row'

5-33 *T-a-tajk-üw* *bloquear* *carretera*

PST-TV-do-PL block highway

'They blocked the highway'

5-34 *P=a-tajk-üw* *cobrar* *quincena*

FUT=TV-do-PL get.paid fortnightly.salary

'They will get paid their fortnightly salary'

5-35 *Ngu=m-a-ta* *tomar atención*

NEG=IRR-TV-do take attention

'He doesn't pay attention'

5-36 *Ñiw* *mismo* *a-ta* *pensar* *m-a-ta* *consejar* *mi-kwal.*

PRON3 self TV-do think IRR-TV-do counsil POS.II.U-child

'He himself thinks (how to) counsil his child'

5-37 *Katsüy al=m-a-ta* *vencer*

PF DUR=IRR-TV-do win

'He already wins'

5-38 *Ty-i-ta* *perder,* *t-a-tajk-as* *perder* *pues,*

PST-2-do lose PST-TV-do-1 lose disc

ngu=m-i-ta *ganar.*

NEG=IRR-2-do win

'You lose, I lost, you don't gain'

5.10.1.1.2.2.2.2. REFLEXIVE USE

When the Spanish verb to be used in Umbeyajts is reflexive, the infinitive does not carry Spanish reflexive morphology, but reflexive *-Vy* can be added to *-tajk*. In this way, Spanish *arrepentirse* 'to regret' can be rendered as *-tajküy repentir*, *pelearse* 'to fight (reciprocal)' as *-tajküy pelear*, and so on.

5.10.1.1.2.2.2.3. SYNTACTIC REMARKS

The construction of *-tajk* followed by a Spanish infinitive can take an object or subject overtly expressed as an NP. The object NP immediately follows the verbs *-tajk*, followed in turn by the infinitive and subsequently by the subject NP – which, however, may be topicalised and fronted (as in 5-40). The object NP cannot be eliminated when topicalised, but clefting is possible (5-42).

5-39 *a-ta xik gustar najnguow küt*
TV-do PRON1 please soup fish
'I like fish soup'

5-40 *Gey t-a-ta jwaltar mi-jwis pores*
DEM3 PST-TV-do be.missing POS.II.U-sense therefore

t-a-rang atokey
PST-TV-do like.that
'That one is dim-witted, that's why he acted like that'

5-41 *Lo que sea kwej ap=a-ta ik gustar, par m-e-ty*
whatever what FUT=TV-do PRON2 please for IRR-2-eat
'Whatever you like, (in order for you) to eat (it)'

5-42 *Xik a-ta xik gustar tyuxyum*
PRON1 TV-do PRON1 please shrimp
'(as for) me, I (do) like shrimps'

5.10.1.2. PREFIXING VERBS WITH THEME VOWEL *Ü-*

A small, closed subclass of verbs consisting only of one segment takes theme vowel *ü-*. These are: *-mb* 'end/run out', *-t* 'eat', *-jch* 'give', *-w* 'borrow' and *-p* 'go [formal or archaic]'.

5.10.1.3. PREFIXING VERBS WITH THEME VOWEL *I-*

5.10.1.3.1. INTRODUCTION

Another small subclass of prefixing verbs bears theme vowel *i-*, which I consider a non-productive class-changing derivational device. The roots of this subclass occur as nouns without morphology, and as verbs with theme vowel *i-*. The verbs in this class have stative/inchoative property concept semantics, while the underived nouns have abstract property concept semantics. The roots in this subclass are *-mbol* 'be/become fearful', *-kants* 'be/become red', *-chich* 'be/become dirty', *-kich* 'be/become skinny'.

Property-concept expressing verbs with theme vowel *i-* are reviewed in chapter 8, primarily in 8.3.1. A more thorough overview of the derivative capacities of theme vowel *i-* generally is given in 8.3.5.

5.10.1.3.2. INFLECTIONAL AND DERIVATIONAL POSSIBILITIES

5.10.1.3.2.1. PERSON, NUMBER AND TENSE/ASPECT MARKING

This subclass of verbs can be marked with all inflectional categories found on prefixing verbs with theme vowel *a-*, though they rarely occur in the corpus. The forms encountered cannot suffer derivation of any kind (causative or reflexive).

One special property of this subclass is that the underived nominal form of the roots can be used in a possessive property concept construction. This will be the topic of section 8.3.3.

5.10.1.3.2.2. STATIVE MARKING

It is very common for members of this subclass to appear with stative morphology. The verb then has a stative meaning. Some examples are *ñ-i-kants* '(is) red', *ñ-i-mbol* 'is fearful', *ñ-i-chich* '(is) dirty'.

5.10.2. NON-PREFIXING VERBS

The only affixes permitted on non-prefixing verbs to mark grammatical categories are suffixes. This closed class consists exclusively of intransitive verbs that refer mostly to a state or position ('be seated', 'be standing') but also to changes of position ('get up', 'sit down') and changes of state ('be born', 'calm down', 'get startled', 'disappear') are represented in this class, be it to a lesser extent.

The structure of non-prefixing verbs is given in 5.10.2.2.

5.11. AFFIX ORDERING

5.11.1. PREFIXING VERBS

Prefixing verbs take prefixes and suffixes for marking grammatical categories. Prefixes are used for person, tense, aspect and irrealis marking, whereas suffixes are used for number and person.

INDEP. MARKER/CLITIC TYPE 1 AFF. – TYPE 2 AFF. - ROOT – TYPE 1 AFF. - TYPE 3 AFFIX

The above representation requires some explanation. The verbal word consists of a root and one or more prefixes, and optionally affixes. A type 1 affix consists of a single segment. The possibilities for this slot are past tense marker *t*, first person marker *s*, subordinate marker *m*, subordinate first person marker *n* or stative marker *n*. A type 2 affix consists of a mere vowel. A type 2 affix can be either second person marker *i* or the theme vowel. A type 3 affix is always a suffix and includes plural markers *-Vn* and *-Vw* as well as first person inclusive markers *-Vr* and *-Vjts*.

An affix slot as displayed in the above table can only be filled by one affix. In case two affixes of the same type are required – this is only the case when the first person is expressed simultaneously with past tense affix *t* – the first person affix moves to the type 1 position following the root. Otherwise, a type 1 affix always fills the type 1 affix slot preceding the root.

Prefixing verbs cannot surface as bare roots (except for a small number of verbs which have roots that are homophonous with noun roots, like *-ndok* 'fish' vs. *ndok* '*atarraya* (a type of fishing net)'). The mínimum requirement for a non-prefixing verb root to surface is a theme vowel (although in the case of verbs with theme vowel *u*- the mínimum requirement is a type 1 affix).

5.11.2. NON-PREFIXING VERBS

Non-prefixing verbs take only suffixes for marking grammatical categories morphologically. The representation below shows the affix order of a non-prefixing verb:

INDEPENDENT MARKER/CLITIC – ROOT – TYPE 1 AFF. – TYPE 4 AFF. - TYPE 5 AFF.

As displayed above, the root is followed by a type 1 affix, that needs a vowel nucleus to avoid clashing with phonotactic restrictions – the vowel nucleus assigned to the suffix is determined by the root vowel nucleus, as described in 2.5.1. The type 1 affix slot can be filled by subordinate marker *m* (unspecified) or *n* (first person), stative marker *n*, past tense marker *t*, second person marker *r*, third person singular marker *w* (or its allophone *j* following *o* due to dissimilation) or semantically empty suffix *j* in the absence of any of the above.

Following the type 1 affix, a person affix – which I will call a type 4 affix – consisting of a vowel nucleus (which is *ia* in the case of the second person *r*[92], and *o* in all other cases) and a coda segment, can occur. Finally, a number affix, *-on*, which I will call the only type 5 affix, only occurs when following a type 4 affix[93].

Non-prefixing verbs cannot surface as bare roots. The minimum morphology required for non-prefixing verbs is a type 1 affix.

92 Second person marker *r* is the only marker that can occupy the affix type 1 slot. However, when another affix of type 1 is expressed, *r* moves to the type 4 slot.

93 Hence, this plural suffix is not found in the case of a third person plural, since a third person will not have any overt person marker in the type 4 affix slot.

5.12. PARADIGMS

In this section temporally unmarked, subordinate and past paradigms are given for each inflectional class.

5.12.1. PREFIXING VERBS

5.12.1.1. PREFIXING VERBS WITH THEME VOWEL *A*-

5.12.1.1.1. TYPE A-I

	-ngal 'buy'		
1	*s-a-ngal*	*n-a-ngal*	*t-a-ngal-as*
2	*i-ngal*	*m-i-ngal*	*ty-i-ngal*
3	*a-ngal*	*m-a-ngal*	*t-a-ngal*
1 incl du	*a-ngal-ar*	*m-a-ngal-ar*	*t-a-ngal-ar*
1 incl pl	*a-ngal-ajts*	*m-a-ngal-ajts*	*t-a-ngal-ajts*
1 excl pl	*s-a-ngal-an*	*n-a-ngal-an*	*t-a-ngal-as-an*
2 pl	*i-ngal-an*	*m-i-ngal-an*	*ty-i-ngal-an*
3 pl	*a-ngal-üw*	*m-a-ngal-üw*	*t-a-ngal-üw*

5.12.1.1.2. TYPE A-II

	-nüjp 'sell'		
1	*s-a-nüjp*	*n-a-nüjp*	*t-a-nüjp-ies*
2	*i-nüjp*	*m-i-nüjp*	*ty-i-nüjp*
3	*a-nüjp*	*m-a-nüjp*	*t-a-nüjp*
1 incl du	*a-nüjp-ier*	*m-a-nüjp-ier*	*t-a-nüjp-ier*
1 incl pl	*a-nüjp-iejts*	*m-a-nüjp-iejts*	*t-a-nüjp-iejts*
1 excl pl	*s-a-nüjp-ien*	*n-a-nüjp-ien*	*t-a-nüjp-ies-an*
2 pl	*i-nüjp-ien*	*m-i-nüjp-ien*	*ty-i-nüjp-ien*
3 pl	*a-nüjp-iw*	*m-a-nüjp-iw*	*t-a-nüjp-iw*

5.12.1.1.3. TYPE A-III

	-ndok 'fish'		
1	*s-a-ndok*	*n-a-ndok*	*t-a-ndok-os*

2	*i-ndok*	*m-i-ndok*	*ty-i-ndok*
3	*a-ndok*	*m-a-ndok*	*t-a-ndok*
1 incl du	*a-ndok-or*	*m-a-ndok-or*	*t-a-ndok-or*
1 incl pl	*a-ndok-ojts*	*m-a-ndok-ojts*	*t-a-ndok-ojts*
1 excl pl	*s-a-ndok-on*	*n-a-ndok-on*	*t-a-ndok-os-on*
2 pl	*i-ndok-on*	*m-i-ndok-on*	*ty-i-ndok-on*
3 pl	*a-ndok-oj*	*m-a-ndok-oj*	*t-a-ndok-oj*

5.12.1.1.4. IRREGULAR VERBS WITH THEME VOWEL *A*

	-mb 'go'		
1	*s-a-mb*	*n-a-mb*	*t-a-mb-as*
2	*ir-ie-mb*	*m-ir-ie-mb*	*ty-ir-ie-mb*
3	*a-mb*	*m-a-mb*	*t-a-mb*
1 incl du	*a-mb-ar*	*m-a-mb-ar*	*t-a-mb-ar*
1 incl pl	*a-mb-ajts*	*m-a-mb-ajts*	*t-a-mb-ajts*
1 excl pl	*s-a-mb-an*	*n-a-mb-an*	*t-a-mb-as-an*
2 pl	*ir-ie-mb-an*	*m-ir-ie-mb-an*	*ty-ir-ie-mb-an*
3 pl	*a-mb-üw*	*m-a-mb-üw*	*t-a-mb-üw*

	-w 'exit'		
1	*s-a-w*	*n-a-w*	*t-a-w-as*
2	*ir-ie-w*	*m-ir-ie-w*	*ty-ir-ie-w*
3	*a-w*	*m-a-w*	*t-a-w*
1 incl du	*a-w-ar*	*m-a-w-ar*	*t-a-w-ar*
1 incl pl	*a-w-ajts*	*m-a-w-ajts*	*t-a-w-ajts*
1 excl pl	*s-a-w-an*	*n-a-w-an*	*t-a-w-as-an*
2 pl	*ir-ie-w-an*	*m-ir-ie-w-an*	*ty-ir-ie-w-an*
3 pl	*a-w-üw*	*m-a-w-üw*	*t-a-w-üw*

5.12.1.2. PREFIXING VERBS WITH THEME VOWEL Ü-

	-ü-ty 'eat'		
1	*s-ü-ty*	*n-ü-ty*	*t-ü-ty-ies*

2	*i-ty*	*m-e-ty, m-ir-yue-ty*	*ty-yue-ty, ty-ir-yue-ty*
3	*ü-ty*	*m-ü-ty*	*t-ü-ty*
1 incl du	*ü-ty-ier*	*m-ü-ty-ier*	*t-ü-ty-ier*
1 incl pl	*ü-ty-iejts*	*m-ü-ty-iejts*	*t-ü-ty-iejts*
1 excl pl	*s-ü-ty-ien*	*n-ü-ty-ien*	*t-ü-ty-ies-an*
2 pl	*i-ty-ien*	*m-ir-yue-ty-ien, m-e-ty-ien*	*t-yue-ty-ien, t-ir-yue-ty-ien*
3 pl	*ü-ty-iw*	*m-ü-ty-iw*	*t-ü-ty-iw*

5.12.1.3. PREFIXING VERBS WITH THEME VOWEL *I*

	-kich 'be skinny'[94]		
1	*x-i-kich*	*ñ-i-kich*	*ty-u-kich*
2	*ñ-er-kich*	*m-er-kich*	*ty-ir-kich*
3	*ñ-u-ndok*	*m-u-kich*	*ty-u-kich*
1 incl du	[not attested]	[not attested]	[not attested]
1 incl pl	[not attested]	[not attested]	[not attested]
1 excl pl	*x-i-kich-ien*	*ñ-i-kich-ien*	*tyu-kich-ies-an*
2 pl	*ñ-er-ndok-on*	*m-er-kich-ien*	*ty-ir-kich-ien*
3 pl	*ñ-u-kich-iw*	*m-u-kich-iw*	*ty-u-kich-iw*

5.12.1.4. PREFIXING VERBS WITH THEME VOWEL *U*

	-ndok 'fish'		
1	*x-i-ndok*	*ñ-u-ndok*	*ty-u-ndok-os*
2	*ñ-er-ndok*	*m-er-ndok*	*ty-ir-ndok*
3	*ñ-u-ndok*	*mundok*	*tyundok*
1 incl du	[not attested]	[not attested]	[not attested]
1 incl pl	[not attested]	[not attested]	[not attested]
1 excl pl	*x-i-ndok-on*	*ñ-u-ndok-on*	*tyu-ndok-os-on*

94 The forms in 5.12.1.3 and 5.12.1.4 occur very rarely and are based on elicitation, which casts serious doubt on their reliability; The only spontaneous forms found with theme vowel *i-* are future forms, most frequently in the third person (*ap=i-kich* 'she will be skinny' or *ap=i-kants* 'it will be read') but also sometimes in the first person (*xi-ñ-u-ndok*). An important factor promoting the scarcity of their spontaneous occurrence and the difficulty in elicitating them relates to my suspicion that these forms were once frequent but that paradigms are being neutralised (in the process of language attrition) in favour of the more common theme vowels, *a-* and *ü-*.

2 pl	*ñ-er-ndok-on*	*m-er-ndok-on*	*ty-ir-ndok-on*
3 pl	*ñ-u-ndok-oj*	*m-u-ndok-oj*	*ty-u-ndok-oj*

5.12.2. NON-PREFIXING VERBS

5.12.2.1. TYPE 1 – WITH ROOT VOWEL *A* OR *E*

mbay- 'be startled'

1	*mbay-aj-os*	*mbay-an*	*mbay-at-os*
2	*mbay-ar*	*mbay-am-ear*	*mbay-aty-ear*
3	*mbay-aw*	*mbay-am*	*mbay-at*
1 incl du	*mbay-aj-or*	*mbay-am-or*	*mbay-at-or*
1 incl pl	*mbay-aj-ots*	*mbay-am-ojts*	*mbay-at-ojts*
1 excl pl	*mbay-aj-as-on*	*mbay-an-on*	*mbay-at-os-on*
2 pl	*mbay-ar-on*	*mbay-am-ear-on*	*mbay-aty-ear-on*
3 pl	*mbay-aj-uow*	*mbay-am-oj*	*mbay-at-oj*

5.12.2.2. TYPE 2 – WITH ROOT VOWEL *O*

lomb- 'stand'

1	*lomb-oj-os*	*lomb-on*	*lomb-ot-os*
2	*lomb-or*	*lomb-om-ear*	*lomb-oty-ear*
3	*lomb-oj*	*lomb-om*	*lomb-ot*
1 incl du	*lomb-oj-or*	*lomb-om-or*	*lomb-ot-or*
1 incl pl	*lomb-oj-ots*	*lomb-om-ojts*	*lomb-ot-ojts*
1 excl pl	*lomb-oj-os-on*	*lomb-on-on*	*lomb-ot-os-on*
2 pl	*lomb-or-on*	*lomb-om-ear-on*	*lomb-oty-ear-on*
3 pl	*lomb-oj-uow*	*lomb-om-oj*	*lomb-ot-oj*

5.12.2.3. TYPE 3 – WITH ROOT VOWEL *I*

5.12.2.3.1. TYPE 3A – REGULAR

wity- 'rise; get up'

1	*wity-iej-os*	*wity-ien*	*wity-iet-os*
2	*wity-ier*	*wity-iem-ear*	*wity-iety-ear*
3	*wity-iew*	*wity-iem*	*wity-iet*

1 incl du	*wity-iej-or*	*wity-iem-or*	*wity-iet-or*
1 incl pl	*wity-iej-ots*	*wity-iem-ojts*	*wity-iet-ojts*
1 excl pl	*wity-iej-os-on*	*wity-ien-on*	*wity-iet-os-on*
2 pl	*wity-ier-on*	*wity-iem-ear-on*	*wity-iety-ear-on*
3 pl	*wity-iej-uow*	*wity-iem-oj*	*wity-iet-oj*

5.12.2.3.2. TYPE 3B – IRREGULAR (WITH SUFFIX VOWEL NUCLEUS *IA* INSTEAD OF *IE*)

wijk- 'be born'

1	*wijk-iaj-os*	*wijk-ian*	*wijk-iat-os*
2	*wijk-ear*	*wijk-iam-ear*	*wijk-iat-ear*
3	*wijk-iaw*	*wijk-iam*	*wijk-iat*
1 incl du	*wijk-iaj-or*	*wijk-iam-or*	*wijk-iat-or*
1 incl pl	*wijk-iaj-ots*	*wijk-iam-ojts*	*wijk-iat-ojts*
1 excl pl	*wijk-iaj-os-on*	*wijk-ian-on*	*wijk-iat-os-on*
2 pl	*wijk-ear-on*	*wijk-iam-ear-on*	*wijk-iat-ear-on*
3 pl	*wijk-iaj-uow*	*wijk-iam-oj*	*wijk-iat-oj*

5.12.2.4. TYPE 4 – WITH ROOT VOWEL *YU*

chyut- 'sit; be seated'

1	*chyut-yuj-os*	*chyut-yuñ*	*chyut-yut-os*
2	*chyut-yur*	*chyut-yum-ear*	*chyut-yuty-ear*
3	*chyut-yuj*	*chyut-yum*	*chyut-yut*
1 incl du	*chyut-yuj-or*	*chyut-yum-or*	*chyut-yut-or*
1 incl pl	*chyut-yuj-ots*	*chyut-yum-ojts*	*chyut-yut-ojts*
1 excl pl	*chyut-yuj-os-on*	*chyut-yun-on*	*chyut-yut-os-on*
2 pl	*chyut-yur-on*	*chyut-yum-ear-on*	*chyut-yuty-ear-on*
3 pl	*chyut-yuj-uow*	*chyut-yum-oj*	*chyut-yut-oj*

Chapter 6. Spatial setting, deixis and demonstratives

6.1. Overview

Umbeyajts has a three-way distinction to express distance (proximal, medial and remote). The proximal indicates immediate proximity to the deictic center. The medial indicates distance and is the most functionally unmarked of the two non-proximal demonstratives. It can be used in an anaphoric function, while proximal and distal demonstratives cannot. The distal forms serve to either emphasise the remoteness of a referent or in a situation characterised by gestural pointing. There is one functionally unmarked term that in itself does not express distance and may be combined with a demonstrative specified for distance.

I distinguish five different sets of nominal demonstratives, of which one is the result of a fusion between two others, but with a specific pragmatic function of focus. The first set is constituted by the functionally unmarked term *ajk*, set II consists of adnominal demonstratives which cannot occur on their own, but optionally with *ajk*. Set III contains three pronominal demonstratives, and a fusion of *ajk* with a set III pronoun yields the focal demonstratives of set IV.

Set II demonstratives (only non-proximal) can additionally be used as local demonstrative adverbials constituting a peripheral argument. Demonstrative I, *ajk*, can be combined with a set II demonstrative specified for distance in a frame-like construction [*ajk* NOUN DEM2].

The demonstratives cannot receive any type of morphological marking of neither verbal nor nominal kind, except for *ajk* which can be pluralised using plural suffix *-üw*, which is used on both possessed nouns and inflected verbs to express third person plural. When pluralised, *ajküw* can be followed by a set II demonstrative. In addition, we find locative demonstrative adverbs, manner demonstratives and identificational demonstratives, all three categories with the same three-way spatial distinction.

6.2. *AJK*

Ajk is a functionally unmarked demonstrative as wil be seen in the following section. Used on its own it has a basic meaning of 'that [without distance specification]; the same (one); alone'[95]:

6-1a *Ajk.*
DEM1
'It is that one'

6-1b *Ajk=an*
DEM1=DEL
'by herself; just that (one)'

6-1c *Ajk* *ngu=mi* *ajk*
DEM1 NEG=N.PRS DEM1
'inappropriately; carelessly'

It can also function as a relative clause marker, as in examples 6-2a-b:

6-2a *A-w* *ajk* *a-suok* *chaw* *alom.*
TV-go.out DEM1 TV-be.called *atole* *alom*
'There is what is called *chaw alom* [a kind of *atole*, a drink made of corn dough]'

6-2b *Ajk* *s-a-pier* *ñingüy,* *ajk* *mbey*
DEM1 1-TV-sow here DEM1 mazorca

al=n-a-jier *ñingüy* *semilla* *n-a-w*
DUR=1IRR-TV-have here seed ST-TV-go.out

San Francisco.

95 In the San Mateo variety, *ajk* cognate *aag* has grammaticalised into definite article *a* (*a naxey* 'the man', *(a) naxey kiaj* 'that [MED] man').

San Francisco del Mar

'That which I sow here, the mazorca I have here, are seeds from San Francisco'

Relative clauses can also be asyndetic (example 6-2c), and the construction with *ajk* could be due to Spanish influence.

6-2c	*Ajgey*	*recuerdo*	*a-kyuety*	*Ñutyokwüx*	*tiempo*	*a-mb.*
	DEM4.MED	memory	TV-leave	Ñutyokon	time	TV-go

'That's the memory the *Ñutyok* [mythological orphan] left at the time he departed'

6.3. SET II DEMONSTRATIVES *KAM, KEJ* AND *KIEN*

A three-term set of nominal demonstratives specified for distance can be used in postnominal position within an NP as a noun modifier. These demonstratives cannot constitute an NP by themselves. The modified noun is often preceded by demonstrative I (*ajk*), as in examples 6-3a-b, which may optionally be omitted without any apparent change in meaning.

Kam indicates proximity to the deictic center, whereas *kej* [medial] and *kien* [remote] indicate distance, where medial *kej* can be neutral in meaning, but using remote *kien* the speaker confers a specific sense of remoteness of the referent. Visibility plays no role in the choice for *kej* or *kien,* and faraway places can be referred to using either *kien* or *kej*, depending on the relative distance of the referent and on the extent to which the speaker wishes to actually stress its remoteness. The choice of *kej* merely indicated that the referent is known to speaker and hearer, and not present in or closely around the speech act. One context in which preference is given to remote over medial forms is when a speaker is pointing to a visible referent.

The following examples exemplify the use of *kam* first without (6-3a-b), and then with *ajk* (6-3c).

6-3a	*Tyiel*	*montaña*	*kam*	*a-pieng*	*chük,*	*al=tyiel*	*anuok*
	LOC	mountain	DEM2.PROX	TV-speak	REP	DUR=LO	ONE.RECT

ciego *a-pieng* *chük.*

blind TV-speak REP

'At this mountain, he [reportedly] said, there lives a blind [man]'

In 6-3b, a speaker talks about young, able-bodied people who leave the village and easily find work in the outside world, rather than choosing to remain in the harsh conditions of the village.

6-3b *Ajk* *hora* *kam* *casi* *tsi=a-w-üw,*

DEM1 hour DEM2.PROX almost PF=TV-go.out-PL

kwéj=an *najiet* *ap=a-rang-üw.*

thing=DEL work FUT=TV-do-PL

'In these times they tend to go out, they will do any job [available].'

In example 6-3c, the speaker is giving an account of the contrast between the hard work that used to be required for farming and the ease of using modern farming equipment, in this case a pump used for spraying herbicides rather than slashing all the weeds down using a machete:

6-3c *Pero en cambio* *akiejp* *ajk* *bomba* *kej* *nguoy, jwásil.*

but in contrast with DEM1 pump DEM2.MED not easy

'But [it is] not [much work] with that pump, it´s easy'

Example 6-3d is from a story about an illegitimately born little orphan with magical powers, who eventually would be expulsed from the community following disapproval and envy expressed by community elders and threats addressed to him and his mother. This boy would take with him all the technical knowledge and riches that belonged to the Ikojts people traditionally, and is said to be living in Europe.

The boy is obviously not present in the speech act, nor is the sea visible (the story was told to me in the center of the village, approximately two kilometers from the nearest beach), but he is referred to using the medial form.

6-3d	*Entonces*	*era*	*cuando*	*ganaw*	*wijk-iam*
	then	it.was	when	NEG.IRR	be.born-IRR

chamaquito	*kej*	*ngu=m-a-jlük*
little.boy	DEM2.MED	NEG=IRR-TV-exist

kuchujch	*ndyuk*	*kej.*
small	sea	DEM2.MED

'Back in the time when that boy hadn't been born, the Laguna wasn't there [yet]'

In 6-3e, pronounced by a blind speaker remembering an occasion during which he got lost in the village and was compelled to ask the way to a passer-by, the speaker reports the directions given to him. He refers to a nearby street using *kien*, even though he probably cannot have known for sure whether the quoted speaker was actually pointing.

6-3e	*Entons*	*a-pieng*	*i-jtsuoty*	*tyiel*	*kay*	*kien,*	*i-sap*
	then	TV-speak	2-go.out	LOC	street	DEM2.DIST	2-take

andalyiet,	*gey*	*u-mbiem*	*maech*	*Luís García,*
north	DEM3.MED	POS.I.U-house	teacher	Luís García

i-puoly	*a-ndüy*	*nawanüty*	*wüx=an.*
2-break	TV-wander	west	on=DEL

´Then he said: You go down that street, you go north, that´s Maestro Luís García´s house, you turn toward the west again'.

6.4. SET III DEMONSTRATIVES *GÜY*, *GEY* AND *GIEN*

A further three-term set of nominal demonstratives specified for distance can be used independently to form an NP on its own and fill an argument slot.

In 6-4a, from an animal story where a tigre mother disputes the presence of humans claimed to be perceived by her cubs, the proximal form is used to refer to the landscape in which the speech act takes place, then followed by a verbless clause complement characterising it as *montaña/monte* 'wilderness'.

6-4a	*Ñol*	*t-a-jmbok*	*u-mbas*	*ñipilan,*	*ñingüy*
	why	PST-TV-smell	POS.I.U-surface	person	here

ngu=m-a-jlük	*ñipilan,*	*güy*	*montaña,*	*hombre.*
NEG=IRR-TV-exist	person	DEM3.PROX	wilderness	man

'Why [do you say] it smells like humans, there are no humans here, this is the wilderness!'

Example 6-4b-d show how the medial form is used anaphorically.

6-4b	*N-a-lyeng*	*ganüy*	*m-a-saj*	*grosería,*	*gey*
	ST-TV-be.true	now	IRR-TV-say	swear.word	DEM3.MED

ngu=m-a-ta	*convenir.*
NEG=IRR-TV-LV	be.convenient

'Seriously now, saying bad words, that's not convenient'

6-4c	*Meáwan*	*gey*	*a-rang*	*Juan Fray.*
	all	DEM3.MED	TV-do	Hans-Rudolf Frey

'Hans-Rudolf Frey [a Swiss anthropologist from the eighties] did all of that'

6-4d *Ikon* *ganaw* *m-i-rang=an* *prueba* *gey,*
PRON2PL NEG.DUR IRR-2-do=DEL attempt DEM3.MED

bupu[96] *kej?*
foamy.atole DEM2.MED
'Have you [PL] not tried that [stuff], *bupu*, yet?'

6-4e *Por ejemplo* *tyiel* *velorio* *kej,*
for example LOC wake ceremony DEM2.MED

al=kej *borrachito* *tyi=a-gañow.*
DUR=DEM2 drunk person.DIM PRG=TV-drink

Ñindy *a-puoch,* *m-i-puoch+anajk* *gien.*
DES TV-converse IRR-2-converse+COM DEM3.DIST
'For example, at that wake ceremony, there are alcoholics drinking. When one feels like talking, one has a conversation with those.'

6.5. FUSED FORMS OF SET I AND SET III

A further set of nominal demonstratives (set IV) consists of three fused forms of *ajk* and one of the three demonstratives from set III. These are functionally equal to the corresponding set III demonstratives but set IV demonstratives tend to foreground the demonstrative, and demonstratives from this set are usually stressed.

6-5a *Seis* *vara,* *ajgey* *vara* *ajk* *vara*
six stick DEM4.MED stick DEM1 stick

ikojts. *Porque* *vara,* *güy* *este..*
PRON1INCL.PL because stick DEM3.PROX well

96 *Bupu* is a Zapotec word. In Spanish it is known as *atole de espuma* and in Umbeyajts as *ñ-u-pop chaw* [ST-TV-be.foamy atole] or *ñ-u-pop u-mal* [ST-TV-be.foamy POS.I.U-head].

	Güy	*metro.*	[pointing]	*Ajgüy*	*vara.* [pointing]
	DEM3.PROX	meter		DEM4.PROX	stick

'Six *varas* [measure], it's a *vara* which is our [Ikojts] measure. Because a vara, *this* is, er.. This is a meter. Thís is a *vara*.'

6-5b	*Lyaw*	*gey,*	*i-xily*	*kiriw*	*mi-peat,*
	from	DEM3.MED	2-brush	piece.DIM	POS.II.U-wilderness

ajgey	*la=m-a-mbyol.*	
DEM4.MED	PF=IRR-TV-help	

'From there you slash your field a bit, that already helps a little'

6-5c	*Ajgey*	*ap=a-jaw*	*tyiet,*	*pues, ajgey*	*a-jaw*	
	DEM4.MED	FUT=TV-see	road	well DEM4.MED	TV-see	

tyiet.
road

'That one will know the way, that one knows the way' [talking about a *coyote*[97]]

6-5e	*Al=m-a-mong*	*temporada,*	*jang*	*t-a-ta*	
	DUR=IRR-TV-pass	season	who	PST-TV-LV	

bueno,	*ganar, jang*	*nguoy..*	*Listo.*	
win	well who	not	ready	

Y	*a veces*	*pues*	*mer*	*ajgien*	*a-ta*	*ganar,*
and	sometimes	well	verily	DEM4.DIST	TV-LV	win

97 A *coyote* is someone who helps illegal immigrants to cross the Río Grande in exchange for a generous sum of money.

ik *ñinkwej.*

PRON2 nothing

'The season passes, who made some money, nice, who didn't.. That's it. And sometimes, well, just that guy makes some, and you [don't make] any'[98]

6.6. DEMONSTRATIVE V *ACHIW*

A further demonstrative, *achiw*, often interpretable as having a slightly pejorative connotation can be used as a noun modifier. The noun can optionally be followed by a medial set II demonstrative to specify distance, especially when pointing (6-6b).

6-6a	*Pues*	*ndoj*	*nüty*	*a-lyiek*	*achiw*	*kardum*	*mungich*
	well	later	day	TV-come	DEM5	shoal	PL.youth

ie-n=an *kialüy* *atokey.*

TV-come=DEL north like.this

'Then, later that day, this group of young men came up north like this'

6-6b	*Achiw*	*nüx*	*kej*	*xow*	*a-rang.rang-üy.*
	DEM5	woman	DEM5	very	TV-do.RED-RF

'That [pointing] girl [pejorative] is very arrogant

6.7. LOCAL ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

6.7.1. BASED ON *ÑING*

Ñing is most often used as a locative relative pronoun[99]:

6-7a	*Ap=i-jmyuely*	*ñing*	*i-jlük*	*a-pieng.*
	FUT=2-enter	LOC.REL	2-live	TV-speak

'You'll get into your house, he said'

98 Here, the reference is not to an existing person, but rather to an imaginary person used as example.

99 In the San Mateo variety, *niüng* also has this function. In addition, it is used for the term 'house': *aniüng* 'her house'; *saniüng* 'my house'.

6-7b *A-jtsuoty-iw=an* *rr-aw* *ñing* *a-jndüch*
TV-go.out-PL=DEL be.clear-3 LOC.REL TV-fall

achiw *xiel* *kej.*
DEM5 tree DEM2
'They went out early in the morning, where that tree fell down'

Example 6-7c is a blind speaker giving an account of a young man warning him that he had already passed his house, having walked too far.

6-7c *T-a-pieng,* *ñing* *i-jlük* *jugey,* *tsi=r-mong a-pieng.*
PST-TV-speak LOC.REL 2-exist is.there.MED PF=2-pass TV-speak
'He said: You live *there*, you already passed'.

When fused with one of the three demonstratives of set III the result is a locative demonstrative adverb, as in 6-7d (which also shows that set II demonstrative *kam* can be postposed to a relative clause NP):

6-7d *Per* *ñingüy* *ñing* *i-jlük* *kam* *ngu=m-a-pey*
but here LOC.REL 2-live DEM2.PROX NEG=IRR-TV-arrive

m-a-mbay-ejch *ik* *kej,* *ngu=m-a-ndüy-iw*
IRR-TV-be.startled-CAU PRON2 DEM2.MED NEG=IRR-TV-wander-PL

hasta *ñingüy?*
until here
'But here where you live, does it not come to scare you there, do they not come here?' [asking about kids making noise at a blind gentleman's home]

6-7e *Pero* *en cambio* *ñingey=an* *Chicapa*
but in contrast there.MED=DEL Chicapa de Castro

ngu=m-a-jlük *chaw.*

NEG=IRR-TV-exist *atole*

But just there in Chicapa they don't have *atole* [a drink made of corn dough]'

6-7f *Ap=a-ngey-iw muoly* *a-ndüy* *ñingien*,

FUT=TV-hear-PL foreigner TV-wander there.DIST

i-potsuoch *pues..*

2-begin well

'The foreigners back there [in Australia] will listen to it, so start [talking]..'

6-7g *A-jierr* *suox,* *xow* *mi-cabrón* *iet,*

TV-have weed very POS.II.U-difficult earth

ajk *iet* *lyi=jlük* *avanzado* *de* *arado* *kej,*

DEM1 earth PF=exist progressed of ploughing DEM2.MED

más *mejor* *tyiet..* *Por ejemplo* *xik* *al=n-a-jier* *korrüly*

more better down for example PRON1 DUR=1IRR-TV-have field

ñingien, *ñingien* *m-u-xily-aran.*

there.DIST there.DIST IRR-TV-sweep-IMP

'It has weeds, the ground is very ill-suited, that ground which has been ploughed too much already, it's better further down.. For example, I have a field over there, over there they slash'

6.7.2. *GEY* AND *KEJ* AS ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

In addition to *ñingüy/ñingey/ñingien*, *kej* (from set II) can also function as local adverbial demonstratives. *Kej* can have temporal reference, as in 6-7h-i:

6-7h *Saber* *ngej* *t-a-küly-iw,* *a-pieng-üw* *Europa.*

know where PST-TV-stay-PL TV-speak-PL Europe

Kej *a-küly* *ñipilan kej.*

DEM2.MED TV-stay person DEM2.MED

'[Who] knows where they remained, they say in Europe. There's where those people live'

6-7i Kej *a-mb-üw,* *wüx* *ndoj* *la=a-mb*

DEM2.MED TV-go-PL on CP PF=TV-go

cuarenta *día* *wüx=an* *a-rang-üw.*

forty day on=DEL TV-do-PL

'Then they leave, and when forty days passed they do it [ceremony] again'

6-7j *Ñutyokkej* *wijk-iaw* *tyiel* *kiambaj* *namilyiet.*

ÑutyokDEM2.MED be.born-3 LOC community west

Gey *wijk-iaw.*

DEM3.MED be.born-3

'The *Ñutyok* was born in San Dionisio Pueblo Viejo. That's where he was born'

6-7k *N-a-w kej* *ap=a-mb-üw* *tyi=panteón*

ST-TV-go.out DEM2.MED FUT=TV-go-PL LOC=cemetery

m-a-yak-üw *mbaj.*

IRR-TV-put-PL flower

'From there they go to the graveyard to put down their flowers'

6-7L *Pero* *ñat* *kam* *a-mong*

but year DEM2.PROX TV-pass

kej *xow* *t-a-juoty,* *ajk* *ñat* *kam.*

DEM2.MED very PST-TV-rain DEM1 year DEM2.PROX

'But during this year which [just] passed it rained a lot, this year'

6-7m *Kej ap=a-rang-üw wüx=an, <u>a veces</u> p=a-rang-üw*

DEM2.MED FUT=TV-do-PL on=DEL sometimes FUT=TV-do-PL

p=a-ngüy-iw <u>misa</u>.

FUT=TV-pay-PL mass

'Then [after a year from a funeral] they will do it again, sometimes they will do [in such a way that] they will pay for a church service'

6.8. MANNER DEMONSTRATIVES

Umbeyajts also has three manner demonstratives consisting of the word *at* 'also; and', a connecting vowel and *-küy/-key/-kien,* resembling the set III demonstratives *güy/gey/gien.*

6-8a *Atoküy a-rang-aran piats sajp.*

like.this TV-make-IMP tortilla seed

'This [demonstrating] is how you make a pumpkin seed [sweet] tortilla'

6-8b *Xik s-al=lomb-on atokey n-a-sap*

PRON1 1-DUR=stand-1IRR like.that.MED 1IRR-TV-grab

<u>postre</u>[100]. Ngu=nd-om n-a-kotsots, toloj-ow=an xi-wix.

POLE NEG=BND-IRR 1IRR-TV-grab be.slippery-3=DEL POS1-hand

'I was standing like that so I could try to grab the street lantern. I was unable to grab it, my hand just kept slipping off'

6-8c *Atokien a-rang-üw a-jwich.*

like.that.DIST TV-do-PL TV-PAS.throw

100 Spanish *poste*; *postre* would mean 'desert'.

'That's how they do a *regada*[101]'

6.9. IDENTIFYING DEMONSTRATIVES

Finally, there is a three term set of identificational demonstratives, *jugüy/jugey/jugien,* which can form a predicate on their own:

6-9a	*T-a-mb*	*m-ü-jch*	*dios*	*padre,*	*t-a-mb*	*m-a-ta*
	PST-TV-go	IRR-TV-give	god	father	PST-TV-go	IRR-TV-LV

entreg	*mi-tajk*	*jüm.*	*Jugüy*
handover	POS.II.U-skin	alligator	DEM.ID.PROX

ganüy	*a-pieng.*
now	TV-speak

'He went to give it to God, he went to hand over the alligator skin. "Here it is now", he said'.

6-9b	*A-mb*	*u-mbas*	*iem*	*m-a-tsoj,*	*jugey*
	TV-GO	POS.I.U-surface	house	IRR-TV-play	DEM.ID.MED

xyujch	*piew*	*a-mbuochmbuoch*	*mi-tsots*
great	sea.bass	TV-clap.together	POS.II.U-gill

'He went to the garden to play, there was a great sea bass (repeatedly) clapping together its gills'

6-9c	*M-a-yamb-üw,*	*jugien*	*tsot-om*	*naxyuey*	*a-pieng*	*chük*
	IRR-TV-seek-PL	DEM.ID.DIST	sit-IRR	man	TV-speak	REP

'He said they had gone to look for him, and there was the man, seated'

101 A *regada* is a parade often held at celebrations during which the participants, riding on a carriage or utility van, throw sweets and gifts (household articles) to the spectators, who try to catch them.

6.10. MORPHOLOGY

Only *ajk* can be morphologically marked with a pluralising suffix which is also used on verbs and nouns for third person plural.

6-10a	*Ajk-üw*	*gey*	*p=a-tüch*	*xik.*
	DEM1-PL	DEM3.MED	FUT=TV-reach	PRON1
	'I like those [jokes]' – literally 'those catch up with me'			

6-10b	*Ajk-üw gien*	*mu-n-a-w*	*Jorong.*	
	DEM1-PL	DEM3.DIST	AGT.PL-ST-TV-go.out	San Francisco
	'Those over there are from San Francisco del Mar'			

6.11. CONCLUDING REMARKS

- Umbeyajts has a three-way distinction in all demonstratives (except for the demonstrative V, which has no contrasting counterparts).

- The deictic center is the speech act rather than either the speaker or the listener.

- The medial term is most commonly used anaphorically, referring most commonly to information introduced earlier in the discourse. Neither proximal nor distal demonstratives are used as anaphora.
- The distal demonstrative usually has a pointing function, but can also express an emphasis on the remoteness of a referent.

TABLE 6A – PROPERTIES OF UMBEYAJTS DEMONSTRATIVES

Set	Example of noun modification	Form	Translation	Gloss	Used as noun modifier	Occurs as an independent argument			
						Core argument	Peripheral argument		Used as a predicate
								May be marked w/ durative *al=*	
I	–	*ajk*	that	DEM1	no	yes	no	no	yes
II	– *nüx kam*	*kam*	this girl	DEM2.PROX	yes	no	no	no	no
II	– *nüx kej*	*kej*	that girl	DEM2.MED	yes	no	yes	no	no
II	– *nüx kien*	*kien*	that girl (remote)	DEM2.DIST	yes	no	yes	no	no
I & II	*ajk najtaj kam*	*ajk* N(P) *kam*	this woman	DEM1 N DEM2.PROX	not applicable (construction)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
I & II	*ajk najtaj kej*	*ajk* N(P) *kej*	that woman	DEM1 N DEM2.MED	not applicable (construction)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
I & II	*ajk najtaj kien*	*ajk* N(P) *kien*	that woman (remote)	DEM1 N DEM2.DIST	not applicable (construction)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
III	–	*güy*	this (one)	DEM3.PROX	no	yes	no	no	no
III	–	*gey*	that (one)	DEM3.MED	no	yes	no	no	no
III	–	*gien*	that (one) (remote)	DEM3.DIST	no	yes	no	no	no
IV (= I & III)	–	*ajgüy*	this (one)	DEM4.PROX	no	yes	no	no	no
IV (= I & III)	–	*ajgey*	that (one)	DEM4.MED	no	yes	no	no	no
IV (= I & III)	–	*ajgien*	that (one) (remote)	DEM4.DIST	no	yes	no	no	no
V	*achiw* *naxyuey* (*kam/ kej/ kien*)	*achiw*	that man (human, not present in SA)	DEM5				no	no
Locative adverbs	–	*ñingüy*	here	here	no	no	yes	yes	yes
Locative adverbs	–	*ñingey*	there	there.MED	no	no	yes	yes	yes
Locative adverbs	–	*ñingien*	there (remote)	there.DIST	no	no	yes	yes	yes
Manner demonstratives	–	*atoküy*	like this	like.this	no	no	yes	no	no
Manner demonstratives	–	*atokey*	like that	like.that.MED	no	no	yes	no	no
Manner demonstratives	–	*atokien*	like that (remote)	like.that.DIST	no	no	yes	no	no
Identificational demonstratives	–	*jugüy*	here (it) is	DEM.ID.PROX	no	no	no	no	yes
Identificational demonstratives	–	*jugey*	there (it) is	DEM.ID.MED	no	no	no	no	yes
Identificational demonstratives	–	*jugien*	there (it) is (remote)	DEM.ID.DIST	no	no	no	no	yes

7. Non-spatial setting

7.1. IRREALIS

Irrealis marking is a non-spatial setting parameter category marked on verbs to express a range of morphosyntactic phenomena. It can be used as a way of subordinate clauses (7.1.2), marking the head verb of the concerned clause to yield a temporal, conditional or purposive subordinate clause, often without the necessity of any overt clause linker. It is also used, obligatorily or optionally depending on transitivity values, after certain grammatical markers (7.1.3). Its uses with respect to non-spatial setting will be described in the following subsections.

7.1.1. IN MAIN CLAUSES

Irrealis forms are recognisable by the markers given in table 5e. Unless they are used in combination with a grammatical word that has some function in the TAM-system (an overview of these contexts will be given in section 7.1.2), forms marked for the irrealis tend to, but do not always have irrealis semantics, referring to a situation that has not (yet) taken place (it may be imminent or planned), or not expected to take place at all, like a hypothetical or imagined situation.

Another context in which irrealis forms are used in a main clause is following desiderative adverb *malüy* 'hopefully' (borrowed from Colonial Spanish *malhaya*), exemplified in 7-4.

Main clauses in the irrealis other than the ones mentioned above are rare in any gender, but do occur in speech formulae. These then have desiderative or hortative semantics (or are softened imperatives) and tend to be translated into Spanish by speakers with the subjunctive.

7-1 *Dios* *m-a-ngüy* *ik.*
god IRR-TV-pay PRON2
'Thank you (lit. 'may God pay you')'

7-2 *Dios* *m-a-jaw* *ik-on.*
god IRR-TV-see PRON2-PL
'God bless you (lit. 'may God see you')'

7-3 *M-a-nguoch* *i-wix* *ñingüy.*
IRR-TV-encounter 2-hand here
'(I wish) you should get married here'

7-4 *Malüy* *m-a-wüñ-iw* *tyuxyum.*
if.only IRR-2-get.out shrimp
'If only they caught/hopefully they will catch shrimps'

7.1.2. In dependent clauses

The irrealis form is quite commonly used in dependent clauses. In these, the use of the irrealis can be seen as either a complementation strategy, for example, in 7-5 and 7-6 where light verb *-ta* and verb *-rang* 'do', respectively, both heading a complement clause of the verb *-ndyiem* 'want', are marked for the irrealis, or as a clause linking mechanism, as in 7-7 and 7-8, where a purposive clause is marked with the irrealis. In 7-9, the irrealis is used in a complement clause construction following main clauses containing the verb *-tam* 'to be necessary'. In 7-10 it is used following the adverb *malüy* (from Colonial Spanish *malhaya* 'if only; hopefully').

7-5 *A-ndyiem* *m-a-ta* *estudiar,* *pero* *a-ndyiem* *tomien.*
TV-want IRR-TV-do study but TV-want money
'He wants to study, but it requires money (too)'.

7-6 *Pues* *xikon* *s-a-ndyiem-an* *n-a-rang-an* *cosecha* *kej,* *per*
DISC PRON1PL 1-TV-want-PL 1IRR-TV-do-PL harvest DEM3 but

tyiel *m-a-juoty* *pues,* *y* *tyiel* *ngu=m-a-juoty*
if IRR-TV-rain DISC and if NEG=IRR-TV-rain

ngu=ndo-m *n-a-rang-an.*

NEG=BND-IRR 1IRR-TV-do-PL

'Well, we do want to harvest, but (only) if it rains, and if it doesn't rain, we can't do it'.

In example 7-6, the verb *-rang* 'do' is marked for irrealis because it heads a complement clause which is in object function to the verb *-ndyiem* 'want' of the main clause. In the following supporting conditional clause, the verb *-juoty* is marked for the irrealis, as is expected for conditional sentence (see 7.1.2.1. The focal clause, however, is elliptically absent here, and it is implied that *xikon sandyieman narangan <u>cosecha</u>* 'we wish to harvest' is the focal clause pertaining to this conditional construction). In the final conditional sentence *tyiel ngumajuoty ngundom narangan* 'if it does not rain we cannot do it', *-juoty* is also marked with the irrealis.

7-7 *Tsi=m-a-wüñ* *mi-nalyiw* *m-a-jüy+anajk.*

PF=IRR-TV-sacar POS.II.U-bebé IRR-TV-andar+COM

'She already got her baby out to carry it around'

7-8 *S-a-tajk-an* *<u>rociar</u>* *akiejp* *<u>bomba</u>*

1-TV-do-PL spray with pump

<u>pa</u> *m-a-ndyow,* *este,* *<u>pasto</u>,* *m-a-ndyow* *suox,*

FOR IRR-TV-die er weed IRR-TV-die grass

<u>pues</u>, *<u>para</u>* *wity-iem* *naxiel,* *<u>para</u>* *m-a-yak* *mbey.*

DISC for rise-IRR field for IRR-TV-put mazorca

'We spray [chemicals] with a pump, in order for the weed to die out, for the field to grow, in order to put (i.e. sow) mazorca'.

Example 7-8 is a sentence containing three purposive clauses which are all marked with the irrealis. The first contains code-switching and a self-correction made by the speaker:

He first gives the Spanish word *pasto* but then repeats the predicate (not repeating the purposive marker) followed by the Umbeyajts word, *suox*.

7-9 *A-tam* *m-a-kejch-ay-uj*.
TV-be.necessary IRR-TV-teach-RF-PL
'They need to study'

When the irrealis is not used in dependent clauses, its avoidance generally indicates that irrealis semantics are not applicable, as in example 7-10, where the situation expressed is from an account of events that have taken place in the recent past, meaning that irrealis semantics are not in place here (except for conditional clauses – see 7.1.2.1).

7-10 - *Per* *i-yajk* *i-xom* *xiel* *kej?* - *S-a-yajk* *per*
but pos2-feel pos2-find tree DEM2 1-TV-feel but

ngu=ndo-m *n-a-kotsots.*
NEG=BND-IRR 1IRR-TV-grab
'But did you feel you could find that tree/stick? – I could feel it, but I couldn't grab it' (from a blind man's account from having fallen and trying to get up)

7.1.2.1. SUPPORTING CLAUSE OF A CONDITIONAL SENTENCE

The supporting clause of a conditional sentence is marked for irrealis, however, there are exceptions (the supporting clause may optionally be marked for future – see below). In 7-11 and 7-12, the supporting clause of a conditional sentence bears irrealis marking. Sometimes, the conditional sentence is not marked with conditional marker *tyiel*, in which case the supporting clause still has irrealis marking (as in 7-13).

7-11 *Nguoy, compañero,* *tyiel* *m-a-mb-ajts* *kanénkaman,*
no companion loc IRR-TV-go-1INCL.PL right.now

ap=a-mbiy-ay-ojts.
FUT=TV-kill/hit-RF-1INCL.PL

'No, my companion, if we go (there) now, we will (end up in a) fight'

7-12 *Tyiel* *m-ir-ie-mb* *Juchitán* *ap=i-jaw* *doctor.*
if IRR-2-TV-go Juchitán FUT=2-see doctor
'If you go to Juchitán, you'll see a doctor'

7-13 *M-a-jlük* *kiriw* *tomien* *ap=a-ta* *ganar* *coyote*.
IRR-TV-exist piece.DIM money FUT=TV-do earn coyote
'If there is a bit of money the coyote will earn it'

7.1.3. THE IRREALIS AFTER CERTAIN GRAMMATICAL WORDS OR CLITICS

7.1.3.1. OBLIGATORY USE

7.1.3.1.1. MODAL MARKER *NDO-*

It was mentioned earlier that the form which has been glossed as 'bound root' has varying semantics, according to what morphological marking it takes. When marked for the irrealis or past tense, it expresses modality ('to be able to'), often in combination with a body part ('surface', 'hand'), but not always. When marked with the third person atemporal marker for non-prefixing verbs, *-j*, it becomes either 1) a temporal adverb meaning 'after'; or 2) a completive aspect marker, when preceded by completive marker *la=* or *tsi=*.

In case the bound root is marked with irrealis affix *m* (or past tense affix *t*), thus expressing ability, and it is followed by a verbal form, this form must then be marked for the irrealis (see, for example, the second clause in 7-10).

7.1.3.1.2. DURATIVE *AL=*

Durative clitic *al=* or full form *alyien* (which bears a fossilised stative affix) is used to describe durativity of an action or state. It can also procliticise to prepositions (especially *wüx* 'on' and *tyiel* 'inside') or demonstratives, in which it indicates position. It can also take person marking:

7-14 *Al=tyiel.*

DUR=inside

'It's inside'

7-15 *Al=ñingien.*

DUR=there

'It's over there'

7-16 *Kwej i-l=wüx?*

what 2-DUR=on

'What are you busy with?'

When followed by a verb, it must be in the irrealis:

7-17 *Alyien m-a-tyek naxiel kej.*

DUR IRR-TV-be.green field DEM2

'The field is still green'

7-18 *Ajk s-a-pierr ñingüy, ajk mbey*

DEM1 1-TV-sow here DEM1 mazorca

al=n-a-jierr ñingüy,

DUR=1IRR-TV-have here

semilla n-a-w San Francisco.

seed ST-TV-go.out San.Francisco

'That's what I sow here, I have the mazorca here, the seeds are from San Francisco'

7.1.3.1.3. OTHER FORMS WITH OBLIGATORY IRREALIS MARKING

Other forms with obligatory irrealis marking are jussive/optative *xu=* (described in 7.5.2.1), perfective *ümb* as well as forms derived from it and underived *ndoj* (see 7.2.2) and inchoative *pots* (see 7.2.3).

7.1.3.1.4. FUTURE IN NON-PREFIXING VERBS, WITH FIRST PERSON CLITIC *SA=* OR MONOSYLLABIC VERB FORMS

Future forms can, generally, be optionally marked for irrealis in the future (see 7.1.3.2.3), but there are three main exceptions: 1) After the first person clitic *sa=* an irrealis form must always follow (*sa=n-a-mey* 'I will sleep'; **sa=s-a-mey*). 2) In the case of non-prefixing verbs, irrealis forms must always be used when a future marker cliticises to the verb (*sa=chyut-yuñ* 'I will sit down'; **sa=chyut-yuj-os*). 3) Verbs with roots consisting of only one segment, such as *-mb* 'go' and *-w* 'go out', are obligatorily built on irrealis forms in the future second person only (except in forms with second person allomorph *ir-* followed by an allomorph of the theme vowel) and in the third person in the case of transitive *-ty* 'eat' and *-jch* 'give': See examples 7-19 through 7-23.

See 7.1.3.2.3 for a description of optional irrealis marking in future forms and an account of factors which can influence the choice for irrealis forms as opposed to atemporal forms.

7-19 *ap=m-ü-ty* *(*ap=ü-ty)*
FUT=IRR-TV-eat
'He will eat'

7-20 *ap=m-e-ty* *(*ap=i-ty)*
FUT=IRR-2-eat
'You will eat (TR)'

7-21 *ap=ir-yue-ty*
FUT=2-TV-eat
'You will eat (ITR)'

7-22 *ap=m-ü-jch* *(*ap=ü-jch)*
FUT=IRR-TV-give
'He will give'

7-23 *ap=ir-ie-w*

FUT=2-TV-go.out

'You will go'

7.1.3.2. OPTIONAL USE

When use of the irrealis forms in certain contexts is optional, for example in certain in compound tense/aspect/mood constructions, there is an opposition between the atemporal and the irrealis. The optional use of the irrealis, then, is not conditioned by realis/irrealis semantics, but rather by factors relating to transitivity.

The irrealis is more likely to be used the higher the transitivity value of a verb is; intransitives are generally not marked with the irrealis in the constructions summarised below, whereas in ambitransitives (of type S=A), the irrealis is optional – most likely conditioned by the implicit presence of an object. Ditransitives are always marked with the irrealis.

The conditional forms in supporting conditional clauses not marked for the irrealis are an exception: Here, it is very rare to find future marking as an optional alternative for irrealis marking with no apparent semantic difference.

Examples of both occurrences will be given in the following subsections.

7.1.3.2.1. PROGRESSIVE

In 7-24, 7-25 and 7-26, intransitive verbs *-dam* 'get big' and *-mong* 'pass', respectively, both intransitive verbs, are not marked for irrealis and thus have atemporal forms in the progressive. In 7-27, the reduplicated verb *-jüy.jüy* 'wander about' is also atemporal, losing second person marker *i-* due to the progressive marker *tyi=*. In 7-28, *-jiends* 'cry', an intransitive verb, has the atemporal form. In 7-29 and 7-30, intransitive verbs *-puoch* 'tell' and verb *-kejchey* 'learn' (a derived reflexive), respectively, have atemporal forms.

In contrast, irrealis forms are given in examples 7-31 through 7-36. The verbs *-rang* 'make; do', *-ndyiem* 'want', *-küly* 'wait; stay' and *-tsündy* 'play' all have a direct object

here and are marked for irrealis. Examples 7-35 and 7-36, the object is a complement clause ('kill your brother' and 'how to feed herself and her child and how to get by', respectively).

Examples of atemporal progressive forms:

7-24 *Tyi=a-dam* *más* *kiambaj.*
PRG=TV-be.big more village
'The village is getting bigger'

7-25 *Pores* *tyi=a-jlük* *carro,* *tyi=a-jlük* *clínica,*
therefore PRG=TV-exist car PRG=TV-exist clinic

masey *par* *ngüñ=an* *enfermo* *pue.*
at.least for which=DEL ill DISC
'Therefore there are cars, there is a clinic, at least for any sick people'

7-26 *Costumbrado* *lyi=xi-jlük-ien* *como quiera,* *vaya,*
accostumed PF=1-exist-PL whichever.way DISC

tyi=a-mong *nüty.*
PRG=TV-pass day
'We (excl) are used to it anyway, well, the days go by'

7-27 *Bueno, compadre,* *kwej* *tyi=jüy.jüy,* *i-rang* *mi-najiet.*
DISC *compadre* thing PRG=wander.red 2-do POS.II.U-work
'Come on, *compadre*, what are you walking around for, (do your) work'

7-28 *M-a-jaw* *xyujch* *sardina* *tyi=a-jients*
IRR-TV-see great sardine PRG=TV-cry

kuchux *ñyuench* *kej*

small boy DEM2

'The big sardine saw that the little boy was crying'

7-29 *Tyi=a-puoch* *ejpüw* *munxuey,*

PRG=TV-tell two.RND MAN.PL

tyi=chük *a-puoch-iw* *a-puoch-iw* *a-puoch-iw*

PRG=REP TV-tell-PL TV-tell-PL TV-tell-PL

'The two men were talking, (reportedly) they kept talking and talking'

7-30 *Siempre* *aumenta,* *tyi=a-kejchey,* *avance* *tyi=m-a-rang-üw*

always increases PRG=TV-learn progress PRG=IRR-TV-do-PL

pue.

DISC

'It always increases, they learn, they make progress'

Examples of irrealis progressive forms:

7-31 *Tyi=m-a-rang-üw* *calle*.

PRG=IRR-TV-make-PL street

'They are making (i.e. fixing) the street'

7-32 *Ñiw* *ajk* *tyi=m-a-ndyiem* *vay*

PRON3 DEM1 PRG=IRR-TV-want DISC

'Well, that's what he wants'

7-33 *Xik* *a-pieng* *jakumior* *tyi=n-a-küly* *ik* *a-pieng*

PRON1 TV-speak what.time PRG=1IRR-TV-wait PRON2 TV-speak

'For how much time am I waiting for you, he said'

7-34 *Kej* *ganüy* *tyi=m-a-tsündy* *najp*
DEM2 now PRG=IRR-TV-play drum
'There he's playing the drum'

7-35 *Ñiw* *tyi=m-a-ndyiem* *m-a-mbiy* *mi-chijk* *kej*
PRON3 PRG=IRR-TV-want IRR-TV-kill POS.II.U-y.brother DEM2
'He wants to kill your (younger) brother'

7-36 *Pues* *pobre* *najtaj* *tyi=m-a-yamb* *añey* *mod*
DISC poor woman PRG=IRR-TV-seek how manner

m-ü-ty+anajk *mi-kwal,* *añey* *mod* *a-monguoch-aran.*
IRR-TV-eat+COM POS.II.U-child how manner TV-go.through-IMP
'The poor woman is looking for a way to feed herself and her child, for a way to get by'

7.1.3.2.2. COMPLETIVE *LA=*, *TSI=* AND PERFECTIVE *LANDOJ/TSINDOJ*

In examples 7-37, 7-38, 7-39, 7-40, 7-41 and 7-42 completive markers combine with atemporal forms to yield intransitive clauses. In example 7-43 different sentences are coordinated by juxtaposition: In the first and the second one, intransitive verb *-mong* 'pass' is marked with the atemporal. In the second sentence, *meáwan gey* 'all of that' is the subject of *-mong,* whereas in the third, *meáwan* is the object of transitive *-jaw* 'see', which, consequently, is marked with the irrealis.

The other sentences in this subsection exemplify the use of completive markers with irrealis forms due to transitivity: In 7-44 and 7-45, the transitive verb *-jier* 'have' takes irrealis forms due to its direct object, which is *nüty* 'day(s)' and *tomien* 'money', respectively. In 7-46, the transitive verbs *-mbiy* 'kill' and *-wüñ* 'get out' have irrealis forms, even though no explicit direct object is present. In 7-47, the verb *-mbyuety* 'sew' has a direct object, *umbey sak* 'the opening of the bag'. In 7-48 and 7-49, transitive verbs *-xom* 'find' and *-wijch* 'throw' take direct objects *xincho* 'belt' and *ndok* 'fishing net', respectively. In 7-50, *xik* 'me' is the object of transitive *-wiel* 'support; maintain (financially/with food)', which is marked with the irrealis.

7-37 *La=s-a-mb-an.*

PF=1-TV-go-PL

'We (excl) are already leaving'

7-38 *La=a-w* *tyuxyum* *par* *m-a-jnap.*

PF=TV-go.out shrimp for IRR-TV-be.sold

'Shrimp already came out (i.e. was found and caught) to be sold'

7-39 *Landoj* *a-mong* *tyilüy.*

CP TV-pass earlier.today

'It was already on (the screen) before' (talking about a video on a computer screen)

7-40 *Más* *después* *kej* *tsi=jlük* *lanch* *kej.*

more afterwards DEM2 PF=exist boat DEM2

'Later, there were boats'

7-41 *Tsi=wajk* *ganüy.*

PF=dry now

'It's already dry now'

7-42 *Midid* *lyumb* *ungyuiejts* *tsi=jtyup*

measure be.standing.DIM night PF=ascend

xyujch[102] *jüm.*

great alligator

'At midnight the big alligator came up'

7-43 *Ajk* *mod* *tsindoj* *a-mong* *tyilüy,*

DEM1 manner CP TV-pass earlier.today

[102] Probably referring here to *xajch* 'great; big', a phonologically irregular form (expected: *xüjch*) which I have often recorded pronounced as *xyujch* and thus homophonous with the word *xyujch* 'uncle'.

meaw=an *ajk* *landoj* *a-mong,* *meáwan* *tsi=n-a-jaw.*

all=DEL DEM1 CP TV-pass all PF=1IRR-TV-see

'(Like that), it was on (the screen) earlier today, it was all on already, I saw all of it already' (talking about videos on a computer screen)

7-44 *La=m-a-jier* *nüty* *a-pey* *ja?*

PF=IRR-TV-have day TV-arrive INT

'It has been long (lit. 'days') since he arrived, hasn't it?'

7-45 *Casiment* *barr* *la=m-a-jier* *tomien*

almost barbarically PF=IRR-TV-have money

xyujch[103] *kuoy.*

great rabbit

'The rabbit already had quite a fair bit of money'

7-46 *Ganüy* *landoj* *n-a-mbiy* *ganüy,*

NOW CP 1IRR-TV-kill now

landoj *n-a-wüñ* *dañ* *kej.*

CP 1IRR-TV-get.out damage DEM2

'Now I already killed him, I already got out that damage(ing being)'

7-47 *Rraw* *landoj* *m-a-mbyuety* *u-mbey* *sak* *kej*

early CP IRR-TV-sew POS.I.U-mouth bag DEM2

'In the morning, he had already sewed the bag shut'

7-48 *Tsi=m-a-xom-üw* *xyujch* *xincho*.

103 Probably referring here to *xajch* 'great; big', a phonologically irregular form (expected: *xüjch*) which I have often recorded pronounced as *xyujch* and thus homophonous with the word *xyujch* 'uncle'.

PF=IRR-TV-find-pl uncle belt

'They found a huge belt'

7-49 *Ndüjp=an* *tsi=m-a-wijch-iw* *ndok.*

then=DEL PF=IRR-TV-throw-PL fishing.net

'Then they throw a fishing net'

7-50 *Tsindoj* *m-i-wiel* *xik* *anuok* *tiempo.*

CP IRR-2-support PRON1 one.RECT time

'You have already supported me for a while'

7.1.3.2.3. FUTURE

Future forms can be built on either atemporal or irrealis forms (except for the forms specified in 7.1.3.1.6, which are always built on irrealis forms). Transitives and ambitransitives (of type S=A) are likely to be in the irrealis if an explicit or imaginary object is present, and intransitives are generally built on atemporal forms.

7-51 *Ap=a-mb-üw* *Sanvicent* *par* *m-a-nüjp-iw* *mi-tyuxyum.*

FUT=TV-go-PL Juchitán for IRR-TV-sell-PL POS.II.U-shrimp

'They will go to Juchitán to sell their shrimps'

In 7-51, the intransitive verb *-mb* 'go' has atemporal marking.

7-52 *Ap=a-mbyuelywüx=an.*

FUT=TV-burn on=DEL

'He'll burn (i.e. the field) again'

7-53 *Giñey* *mod* *ap=a-ngüy* *ik* *gobierno* *ngu=mi*

how manner FUT=TV-pay PRON2 government NEG=N.PRS

ty-i-rang *najiet.*

PST-2-do work

'How (do you expect,) is the government going to pay [if] you didn't work'.

7-54 *Criada* *a-ndyiem* *m-a-ta* *ganar,* *ap=i-ngüy.*
maid TV-want IRR-TV-do win FUT=2-pay
'A maid wants to earn (something), you are going to (have to) pay'.

In examples 7-52, 7-53 and 7-54, transitive verbs *-mbyuely* 'burn' and *-ngüy* 'pay' have atemporal marking: This is an ambitransitive use of these verbs, with no explicit object present.

7-55 *Ajgey* *ganüy* *ap=m-ü-ty* *ñiw.*
DEM.NPROX now FUT=IRR-TV-eat PRON3
'Well, that's what he (the fox that raids one's field) will eat'.

7-56 *Ap=m-a-nguoch-iw* *vida,* *mal vida,* *mal castigo,* *pues.*
FUT=IRR-TV-encounter-PL life bad life, bad punishment DISC
'They (will) face.. Life, a bad life, I mean bad punishments'.

7-57 *A-küly* *ñingüy* *como* *ap=m-i-jaw* *ñipilan*
TV-stay here like FUT=IRR-2-see people

a-jlük *tyiel* *rünch* *pue* *ngu=nd-om* *m-a-w*.
TV-exist loc rancho DISC NEG=BND-IRR IRR-TV-go.out
'People like those you'll be able to see on the countryside live here, they can't get out'

In examples 7-55 through 7-57, there is an explicit object present and the verbs are marked for irrealis accordingly.

7-58 *Pero* *a.veces* *Dios.padre* *a-tsap-ijch* *yew*
but sometimes father.god TV-release-CAU water

tyiel, *de.gust* *ap=a-yak* *a-jong.*

LOC joyfully FUT=TV-put TV-bear.fruit

'But sometimes God the Father releases water in (it; i.e. the field), it will joyfully bear fruits'.

Example 7-58 contains a serial verb construction, in which the first verb, *-yak* 'put', is a transitive verb, and the second, *-jong* 'bear fruit', an intransitive one. This construction cannot take a direct object, and is consequently marked for irrealis.

7.2. TENSE AND ASPECT

7.2.1. ATEMPORAL FORMS

As was specified above, Umbeyajts verbs take affixes arranged by an hierarchy specified in section 5.10.2. Prefixing verbs obligatorily take a theme vowel (which may be elided by the second person prefix *i-* or its allomorph *ir-*) between any prefix and the root. Non-prefixing verbs take only suffixes and the vowel nucleus between the root and the suffix is determined by the vowel nucleus of the root and the position of the suffix.

Atemporal forms have no morphological marker; atemporal forms are characterised by the absence of any TAM-marking. Rather than classifying atemporal forms as tensed forms with zero-marking or absence of marking, atemporal forms could be seen as forms without tense specification. Atemporal forms can express actions that take place in different times, in which case the context tends to provide the temporal situation of the action. When time words like for example *tyim* 'yesterday', *tyilüy* 'earlier today' or *tajñat* 'last year' are used in the clause, these provide the time frame for the sentence and consequently, the verb form will be atemporal and not marked for tense.

The atemporal forms in the following sentences show different contexts. The atemporal forms refer to a punctuated action in the past in 7-59 and 7-60, to a habitual action in the past in 7-61 and 7-62, to a habitual action in the present in 7-63 and in 7-64, and to an action in the near future in 7-65 and 7-66. It does not tend to refer to recent past actions, which can be represented by the different completives (see section 7.2.1). Ongoing present actions tend to be expressed with progressive marking.

7-59 *Pero* *a-mb* *andüy* *Oaxaca,* *a-mb* *andüy* *ñingey,*
but TV-go towardOaxaca TV-go towardthere

kwej *mi-nüty?*
thing POS.II.U-day
'But he has been to Oaxaca, (and) he has been to, what's its name?'

7-60 *Porke* *anuok* *sacerdote* *a-kijmien* *anuok*
because one.RECT priest TV-bring one.RECT

libro *al=wüx* *distinto-s idioma-s.*
book DUR=on different-PL language-PL
'Because a priest brought a book about different languages'

7-61 *Kej* *s-a-mb* *de* *ñingüy,* *s-a-jtsuoty,* *ñingien*
DEM2 1-TV-go from here 1-TV-go.out there

mi-lad *x-ie-n,* *ndoj* *s-a-puoly* *kiriw,* *como*
POS.II.U-side 1-TV-come then 1-TV-break piece like

la=n-a-jaw *anuok* *mi-cuerp* *iem,*
PF=1IRR-TV-see one.RECT POS.II.U-body house

s-a-puoly *andüy* *nawanüty.*
1-TV-break towardeast

'Then I went from here, I left, I came from there (pointing), then I turned, as I could already see the contours of a house, I turned toward the east'

7-62 *Antes* *pur* *a-jüy* *tyiet* *ñipilan.*
before purely TV-wander down person
'Before, people just used to walk'

7-63 *Pores* *a-suok* *hacienda* *ñingüy* *porke*
therefore TV-be.called hacienda here because

puro *wakü x* *a-yak-üw* *andüy* *ñingüy.*
pure cattle TV-put-PL towardhere

'That's why they call(ed) this place *hacienda*, because all they used to put here was cattle'

7-64 *Pues* *ñipilan jang* *ñ-i-ndy* *ñiw* *a-kejchey,*
DISC person who ST-des PRON3 TV-learn

s-a-pieng, *s-a-saj* *mungich* *xik.*
1-TV-speak 1-TV-say PL.youth PRON1

Ajgey *xow* *s-a-saj* *mungich.*
DEM4 very 1-TV-say PL.youth
'Well, someone who wants to will learn, I say, I tell the children that. That's what I often tell the children'.

7-65 *Kanénkaman* *ñipilan* *tyimüjch* *a-pey* *a-ndyiem*
right.now person PRG TV-arrive TV-want

algo *de* *idioma.*
some of language
'Now, people are coming here wanting (to record/learn) some of the language'

7-66 *S-a-mb* *s-a-ndok*.
1-TV-go 1-TV-fish
'I'm going to fish'

7-67 *Ngej ir-ie-mb?*
where 2-TV-go
'Where are you going?'

7.2.2. PAST TENSE

The past tense is marked with type 1 affix *t*, as described in section 5.10.2, and refers to concluded actions that have taken place at some moment in the past. It is mostly used in stories and accounts of past events. Unlike completive forms which usually specifically refers to events in the recent past, past forms typically refer to remote past events, however, it is also used in narrative accounts of recent past events (example 7-71).

Past forms are not used when the time frame of the sentence is specified by a time word such as *tyim* 'yesterday', *tajñat* 'last year' (which, interestingly, seems to be an originally derived form of *ñat* 'year' with fossilised past tense morphology) or *primer* 'first'. In these cases, atemporal forms tend to be used at all occasions.

In the first two sentences the past forms refer to actions at specific times in the past. In 7-68, it refers to a punctuated action that took place only once in non-recent past (the action referred to, a priest bringing a book (with information on languages in it) with him, occurred when the approximately 80-year old consultant was young). In 7-69, the action took place in the remote past (a church constructed by the mythical *Ñutyok*) over the time span of one night.

In 7-70, the past tense forms refer to habitual actions in the past ('lots of people knew him, he spoke a lot of Umbeyajts'). Example 7-72, from an account of events starting with *tyilüy kam* 'earlier today', has recent past reference.

7-68 *Europa* *t-a-kijmien* *anuok* *libro* *al=wüx*
Europe PST-TV-bring one.RECT book DUR=on

algo de idioma.
something.of.language

'From Europe, he brought a book which was about something on languages'

7-69 *Y por eso* *a-pieng-üw* *t-a-rang* *n-a-ngaj*
and.therefore TV-speak-PL PST-TV-make ST-TV-be.sacred

iem *tyi=anuok* *ungyuiejts*.
house LOC=one.RECT night
'And therefore they say the temple was made in one night'

7-70 *Xuwayey* *ñipilan* *t-a-yajk* *u-mbas* *y*
much person PST-TV-feel POS.I.U-surface and

t-a-pieng *xuwayey* *u-mbey-ajts,* *casi que*
PST-TV-speak much POS.I.U-mouth-1INCL.PL nearly

meáwan *u-mbey-ajts* *a-pieng.*
all POS.I.U-mouth-1INCL.PL TV-speak
'Lots of people knew him, and he spoke a lot of Umbeyajts, he spoke almost all of it'

7-71 *Ganüy* *jayats* *kam* *kej..* *T-a-xom* *xik*
now recently DEM2 DEM2 PST-TV-find PRON1

tyily=iem
in.house
'Now recently, it got to me at home' (an elderly man talking about an evil supernatural being thought by him to be a manifestation of the devil)

7-72 *T-a-pieng:* *Ñing* *i-jlük* *jugien*
PST-TV-speak LOC.REL 2-exist is.there

tsi=r-mong *a*

PF=2-pass hey

'They (i.e. a group of young passer byes) said: Hey, you already walked by your house, it's there' (lit. 'where you live is over there, you already passed')

7.2.3. FUTURE

The future tense is marked by a clitic (5.7.1) often followed by irrealis forms (though see 7.1.3.1.6 and 7.1.3.2.3 above). Future forms are mutually exclusive with any other tense or aspectual marker.

Future forms typically refer to events that lie in a point of time beyond the speech act as in the first three examples below, but in procedural texts they may indicate habitually repeated action (like in 7-76, where the consultant is talking about the behaviour of kittens in general, rather than about a specific situation in the past or in the present; in 7-77, from an account of a ritual that takes place every time when someone is buried; or in 7-78, where future is used in the first instance of the verb 'grill' to indicate what you can do with fish caught). Rarely, future tensed forms may also refer to a moment in the past relative to some moment further in the past (the "future of the past" – see 7-79, in which the verb 'exist' is marked with future).

7-73 *Ap=ir-yue-ty?*

FUT=2-TV-eat

'Are you going to have your meal?'

7-74 *Xik* *sa=tsot-on* *ñingüy.*

PRON1 1FUT=sit.AUG-1IRR here

'I will sit down here'

7-75 *"Lomb-or* *n-a-ndand"* *s-a-saj,* *"kej*

stand-2 ST-TV-be.hard 1-TV-say DEM2

sa=wity-ien *xik".*

1FUT=get.up-1IRR PRON1

‘Stand up steady (i.e. so that I can hold on to you), I said, then I will get up’

7-76	*Y a veces*	*ap=a-pey*	*mi-mam,*	*a-rang*
	and.sometimes	FUT=TV-arrive	POS.II.U-mother	TV-do

miw-miw-miw,	*tsi=wity-iew,*	*p=a-yamb*	*mi-mam*
ONO	PF=get.up-3	FUT=TV-search	POS.II.U-mother

ap=a-chyuech.
FUT=TV-suck

‘And sometimes its mother will come, it will go "meow, meow, meow", it will get up, it will look for its mother and it will suck’.

7-77	*Ap=i-chyuench,*	*p=u-chyueñch,*	*o*	*najnguow,*	
	FUT=2-grill	FUT=TV-grill	or	soup	

como quiera,	*pues.. [..]*	*P=i-puow*	*pues*	*y*
whichever.way	DISC	FUT=2-bake	DISC	and

atowan	*para*	*najnguow.*	*P=i-yak*	*kants,*	*ap=i-yak*
also	for	soup	FUT=2-put	chili	FUT=2-put

este..	*Kants,*	*kiñiek,*	*ap=a-mb*	*a-xix.*	*Kej*	*ap=m-e-ty.*
er	chili	salt	FUT=TV-go	TV-be.tasty	DEM2	FUT=IRR-2-eat

‘You grill it, it’s grilled, or (you make) soup, anyhow, whichever way (you like).. [..] You bake it (in the oven), and (it’s) also (good) for soup. You put in chili, you put in.. Chili, salt, it gets to be tasty. Then you eat it’.

7-78	*Naw*	*kej*	*ap=a-mb-üw*	*tyi=pantyon*	*m-a-yak-üw*	*mbaj.*
	from	DEM2	FUT=TV-go-PL	LOC=graveyard	IRR-TV-put-PL	flower

‘From there, they’ll go to the cemetery to lay down flowers’

7-79 *Pero* *de.saber* *gej* *naw,* *ngüñ* *Estado,* *a-mb-üw*
but who.knows where from which state TV-go-PL

m-a-yar-üw *mandxiek* *kej* *par* *ap=a-jlük* *ñingüy.*
IRR-TV-carry-PL iron DEM2 for FUT=TV-exist here
'But who knows where, from which state, they went to get this bell so that it would be here'

7.2.4. RECENT PAST COMPLETIVE

7.2.4.1. INTRODUCTION

Enclitics *tsi=* (interchangeably used with free particle *katsüy*) and *la=* are used to express completed actions which tend to be situated in the recent past, thus combining characteristics of what is typically termed as aspect (the opposition perfective-imperfective; see, for example, Comrie, 1976) with tense, meaning here the reference to recent past.

Aditionally, recent past completive forms may denote uncompleted actions yet imminent, as is the case in example 7-86 which is a speech formula). The three forms are apparently fully synonymous, no semantic difference has been found hitherto.

Forms marked with *tsi=* or *la=* usually translate into a reading with 'already', but this concept of completedness is not always necessarily very prominent (as it is not in 7-86).

7-80 *Tsi=x-i-pey.*
PF=1-TV.DIM-arrive
'I'm already here (lit. I already arrived)'

7-81 *La=s-a-pey.*
PF=1-TV-arrive
'I'm already here (lit. I already arrived)'

7-82 *Tsi=ndyow* *mi-mam* *ñiw.*
PF=die POS.II.U-mother PRON3
'His mother (already) died'

7-83 *Meáwan* *gey* *la=n-a-jaw.*
all DEM2 PF=1IRR-TV-see
'I have already seen all that'

7-84 *La=ngu=m-a-ta* *ni* *convenir* *m-a-küly* *ñingüy,*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-do neither be.convenient IRR-TV-wait here

por ejemplo *mun-a-mb* *Estados Unidos.* *Seis años,*
for.example PL.ST-TV-go United.States six.years

lyi=pey, *wüx=an* *tsi=a-mb.*
PF.DIM=arrive on=DEL PF=TV-go
'It's no longer convenient to live here, for example those who go the the USA. (After) six years, they arrive (here), (and) they leave again already'.

7-85 *La=m-a-ta* *grabar,* *la=m-a-juoy,* *seguro*
PF=IRR-TV-do record PF=IRR-TV-carry certain

que palabra buena,
that word good

pero *ngu=mi* *n-a-jñej* *pues.*
but NEG=N.PRS ST-TV-be.good DISC
'He recorded, he took [his recordings] away, surely it was good speech, but it wasn't a nice thing to do.' (about villagers who teach unwitting fieldworkers bad words)

7-86 *La=s-a-mb-an.*

PF=1-TV-go-PL+

'We are about to leave' (used as a goodbye formula by speakers leaving the speech act scenario; possibly a calque translation from Spanish *ya nos vamos*, which makes use of completive *ya* 'already').

7-87 *La=s-a-mb* *s-a-chyuely.*

PF=1-TV-go 1-TV-urinate

'(Excuse me,) I am going to go to the toilet (i.e. in order to urinate)'.

7.2.4.2. CLITICISATION OF RECENT PAST COMPLETIVE MARKERS TO OTHER NON-SPATIAL SETTING MARKERS

Example 7-87 shows how a reduced form of completive marker *katsüy* can procliticise to durative clitic *al=* (which is the only clitic that can productively take person prefixes; see 7.2.7), which in turn cliticises to the abilitative form *ndo-m* here.

It is not unusual for completive markers to procliticise to other TAM markers too, like perfective markers *ümb* and *ndoj* (which has grammaticalised from the bound root *nd-,* used in this example to express ability. This issue will be further addressed in 7.2.2.

7-87 *Kats=al=nd-om* *m-a-rang* *n-a-ngaj* *iem* *y*

PF=DUR=BND-IRR IRR-TV-do ST-TV-be.sacred house and

tsi=jlük *ndyuk* *intere* *rededor de* *ñiwew.*

PF=exist sea entire around PRON3PL

'He had already been able to build the temple, and the sea was all around them by now'

7.2.5. PERFECTIVE

The perfective expresses a completed action situated in a past that is relatively more remote – as opposed to the recent past completive forms, which are situated in the more recent past – while also emphasising the completion of the action. It is be marked with *ümb* (which is also analysable as *ü-mb* [TV-'finish; run out']) and its compound forms, or with *ndoj* (which, in turn, are the third person atemporal form of the bound

root *nd-*, which I have translated as 'be completed', with a recent past completive enclitic). *Ndoj* is also used adverbially (for example, it can be followed by a past tensed verb form, as in *Awüjch umal pobr nadam lüw, ndoj tawüñ mitajk müjch Dios Padre* 'he hit the poor tiger on the head and then took off his skin to give it to God the Father', where *ndoj* is followed by a past tensed form: *tawüñ*, from *-wüñ* 'get [something] out').

Ümb can be combined with recent past completive markers *la=*, *tsi=* and *katsüy* to yield the forms *laümb, tsiümb, tsiimb* and *katsiyimb. Ndoj* can be combined with *la=* and *tsi=. Ümb* tends to refer to situations in a more remote past, whereas *ndoj,* as well as all forms which have a recent past completive marker clitisised to them, have a recent past connotation.

7-88 *Ümb* *m-a-wüñ* *mi-tajk* *jüm,*
PF IRR-TV-get.out POS.II.U-skin alligator

m-a-jyuyuk *ty=u-wix.*
IRR-TV-be.round.DIM LOC=POS.I.U-hand
'He had finished skinning the allligator and its skin lay in his hand like a ball'

7-89 *Kej* *la=ümb* *m-a-w,* *lomb* *kej* *tyety*
DEM2 PF=PF IRR-TV-go.out be.standing DEM2 father

nüty.
sun
'Then it (i.e. the sun) had already come out, it was midday at that point'

7-90 *U-mbiem,* *lyi=ndyow-üw,* *tsi=imb* *jarr-iem.*
POS.II.U-house PF=die-PL PF=PF be.destroyed-IRR
'Their houses, when they die, they're destroyed'

7-91 *Katsi=imb* *m-a-ndyow* *antiguo.*
PF=PF IRR-TV-die antique

'The old ones are already dead'

7-92a *Ganüy landoj n-a-mbiy ganüy,*
now CP 1IRR-TV-kill now

landoj n-a-wüñ <u>dañ</u> kej.
CP.PF 1IRR-TV-get.out damage DEM2.MED
'Now I kiled it, now I removed that harmful [thing]'

7-92b *Tsi=ndoj m-i-xyujp?*
PF=PF IRR-2-bathe
'Have you already finished bathing?'

7.2.6. PROGRESSIVE

The progressive, marked with enclitic *tyi=* or independent particles *tyimüjch* (which is analysable as *tyi=m-ü-jch* [PRG=IRR-TV-give]), or, very rarely, *tyigely*, all expresses an ongoing action, usually in the present but sometimes in the past. These three forms are synonymous. Examples of the progressive are given in 7.1.3.2.1 (7-24 through 7-36).

In 7-29, the progressive clitic is hosted by a non-verbal form, the reportative particle *chük*, whereas the inflected verb, which follows the reportative particle in this case, does not bear any tense or aspect marking.

7.2.7. DURATIVE

The durative tends to be used only with verbs indicating an ongoing state, such as *-jier* 'have', *-mey* 'sleep', *-pak* 'be alive' and verbs indicating a position, such as *chyuty-* 'be seated', *pots-* 'be standing' and *piaj-* 'be lying down'. It often has a connotation of 'still' (a meaning which can optionally be reinforced by introducing the Spanish loan <u>*todabiy*</u> 'still' into the clause).

The durative marker *al=* is also the root of non-prefixing verb *al-* with somewhat irregular phonological characteristics (it behaves as though it were *ül-* with regards to

suffixal vowel assimilation). The non-prefixing verb *al-* has a defective paradigm, and its stative form *al-ien* seems to have been reanalysed as the base (see the plural forms in table 3f, which displays prepositions with durative *al=*). Nevertheless, it is useful to mention this form in the current subsection, since forms with *al=* can be interchangeably expressed with the full form *alien*, including person marking and the irregular plural forms.

In 7-93 and 7-94, it can be seen that the durative contrasts with the atemporal form, where 7-93 can either have a punctual or habitual meaning, whereas 7-94 has a specifically stative-durative connotation. In 7-96, the semantics of the durative form are not prototypical, imparting the meaning of possession to verb *-jier* 'have; take care of', rather than stative-durative semantics specifically. This verb usually bears durative marking whenever it refers to a state of ownership rather than to the quality of being a caretaker or guardian of an object (as in 7-95) – in the latter case, it tends to appear without durative marking.

7-93 *S-a-mey.*
1-TV-sleep
'I sleep' or 'I fall asleep'

7-94 *S-al=n-a-mey.*
1-DUR=1IRR-TV-sleep
'I am sleeping'

7-95 *S-a-jier* *puow.*
1-TV-have oven
'I ?keep an oven'; 'I take care of the oven'

7-96 *Al=n-a-jier* *puow.*
DUR=1IRR-TV-have oven
'I have an oven'

7-97 *A-jlük* *ñingüy.*

TV-exist here

'It's here (now, momentarily/unexpectedly)'

7-98 *Al=m-a-jlük* *ñingüy.*

DUR=IRR-TV-exist here

'It's (still) here; it's here (continuously/expectedly/for a long time)'

7-99 *Ja=m-a-mb-üw* *ñiw* *al=piej-m* *anuok*

when=IRR-TV-go-PL PRON3 DUR=be.lying.down-IRR one.RECT

lad.

side

'When they left, he was lying down at the side'

7-100 *S-al=chyut-yum* *ñingüy.*

1-DUR=sit.DIM-IRR here

'I'm sitting here'

7-101 *Al=tyiel.*

DUR=inside

'It's inside'

7-102 *Al=kiawüx.*

DUR=above

'It's upstairs'

7-103 *Al=ty=u-wix.*

DUR=LOC=POS.I.U-hand

'It's in his/her hand'

7-104 *S-al=ñingüy.*

1-DUR=here

'I'm here'

7-105 *X-ily=ñingüy.*

1-DUR.DIM=here

'I'm here'

7.2.8. INCHOATIVE

The inchoative is marked with auxiliary *pots* and indicates the inception of an action, either from the present time of speech or from a moment in the past.

7-106 *Pots m-a-jaw-üw ganüy tyimi=lyi=mey kuch tük.*

INC IRR-TV-see-PL now if=PF.DIM=sleep little frog

'Now, they started looking if the little frog was already asleep'

The verb *pots-* also occurs as a non-prefixing verb with the meaning 'stand'. The causative derived prefixing verb *-pots-uoch* has grammaticalised into a verb meaning 'begin'[104].

7.3. MODALITY

7.3.1. FORMS OF BOUND ROOT *ND-* TO EXPRESS ABILITY

The irrealis form (*ndom*) and the past form (*ndot*) of bound root *nd-* are used to express ability in the present or past, respectively.

7-107 *Ik i-yamb anuok mi-ndxyup lyaw nd-om.*

PRON2 2-seek one.RECT POS.II.U-basket as BND-IRR

'Find yourself a basket as good as you can'

[104] It should be noted at this point that there are several other verbs which can change from the non-prefixing to the prefixing verb class, involving an increase in valency from intransitive verb (all non-prefixing verbs are intransitive) to transitive; however, in all available examples of this change of valency, a causative suffix must be present, as noted before by Kim (2008:311). Another example of this is *wity-* 'rise; stand up' -> *-wity-ijch* 'raise' (**-wity*).

7-108 *Ngu=nd-om n-a-kotsots, toloj-ow=an xi-wix.*
NEG=BND-IRR 1IRR-TV-grab slither-3=DEL 1POS.I-hand
'I wasn't able to grab it, my hand was just slippery'

7-109 *S-a-saj tyiel ngu=nd-om n-a-mong=an*
1-TV-say if NEG=BND-IRR 1IRR-TV-pass=DEL

de ñingien, n-a-jier anuok kiriw nawijk.
from there 1IRR-TV-have one.RECT piece.DIM paper
'I asked if I couldn't just pass there, (since) I had a document'

7-110 *Ajgey s-a-ndyiem n-a-tüch per ngu=mi nd-ot*
DEM4 1-TV-want 1IRR-TV-reach but NEG=N.PRS BND-PST

n-a-mong.
1IRR-TV-pass
'That's the place I wanted to reach, but I wasn't able to pass'

7.3.2. THE VERB *-TAM* 'BE NECESSARY; BE USEFUL'

The verb *-tam* is used to express necessity (when with theme vowel *a-*) or usefulness (when used with theme vowel *u-*).

7-111 *A-tam m-a-kejch-ay-uj, per como ñ-i-ench-iw*
TV-be.necessary IRR-TV-teach-RF-PL but as ST-TV-be.lazy-PL

pues ngu=m-a-ndyiem-üw.
DISC NEG=IRR-TV-want-PL
'They have to study, but since they are lazy, they don't want to.'

7-112 *Ñ-er-tam?*
ST-2-be.useful

'Are you of any use?'

7-113 *Ñ-u-tam-as* *pues.*
ST-TV-be.useful-1 DISC
'Well, I am' (answer to 7-112)

7.3.3. DESIDERATIVE

Desiderative expressions can be coded with either the desiderative prefixing transitive verb *-ndyiem* followed by a direct object or a verb marked for irrealis, or by a special grammatical construction marked by particle *iñdy* followed by a verb (either in atemporal or irrealis).

The particle *iñdy* behaves like a prefixing verb with a defective paradigm: It does not take tense marking. It may, however, take completive aspect marking (see 7-115). It can also be negated, in which case it is preceded by negative enclitic *ngu=* and irrealis prefix *m-* (see 7-116).

Iñdy can optionally be marked with stative marking, which doesn't seem to alter the semantic implications.

7-114 *Ñ-iñdy ü-ty.*
ST-DES TV-eat
'It wants to eat'

7-115 *La=iñdy* *i-mey?*
PF=DES 2-sleep
'Are you sleepy yet?' (lit. 'Do you already want to sleep?')

7-116 *Ngu=m-iñdy* *n-a-mey.*
NEG=IRR-DES 1IRR-TV-sleep
'I don't feel sleepy'

7-117 *La=iñdy* *a-<u>mariy</u>*

PF=DES TV-turn.yellow

'It begins to turn yellow' (lit. 'It wants to turn yellow')

7-118 *Iñdy* *a-mb.*

DES TV-go

'It has a tendency to go' (lit. '(It) wants to go')

7-119 *Ñ-iñdy* *a-juoty.*

ST-DES TV-rain

'It looks like it's going to rain' (lit. '(It) is wanting to rain')

7.4. NEGATION

7.4.1. CLAUSAL NEGATION OF ATEMPORAL FORMS

Atemporal forms can be negated with clitic *ngu=*, followed by an irrealis verb form. In this case, the negation has clausal scope.

7-120	*Tyiel*	*ngu=m-i-jier*	*<u>alambre</u>*	*ap=i-rang*	*<u>de</u>*	*xiel.*
	if	NEG=IRR-2-have	thread	FUT=2-make	of	wood

'If you don't have any steel thread, then you make (a fence) out of wood'

7-121	*Ganüy*	*ngu=m-i-jier*	*kuchux ndok*	*par*	*m-ir-ie-mb*
	now	NEG=IRR-TV-have	little[105]fishing.net	for	IRR-2-TV-go

tyiel	*u-mbey*	*ndyuk?*
in	POS.I.U-mouth	sea

'Do you not have a fishing net anymore, for going out into the sea?'

7.4.2. CONSTITUENT NEGATION WITH *NGU=MI*

[105] The term *kuchux* is used as a honorific here to ask a respectful question – in Spanish, diminutive *–ita* could be used here (*atarrayita*).

Forms marked for tense, aspect, mood or modality, as well as non-verbal predicates (the complement of a verbless clause; see 7-126) can be negated using constituent negator *ngu=mi* preceding the consituent to be negated.

7-122 *Ngu=mi* *t-a-jaw-as* *gey.*
NEG=N.PRS PST-TV-see-1 DEM2
'I did not see that'

7-123 *Ngu=mi* *sa=n-a-mb.*
NEG=N.PRS 1=1IRR-TV-go
'I won't go'

7-124 *Ngu=mi* *ñ-er-ench-ien.*
NEG=N.PRS ST-2-be.lazy-PL
'You (pl.) are not lazy'

7-125 *Ngu=mi* *naxyuey-ies*.
NEG=N.PRS man-1
'I am not a man'

7-126 *Ajk* *naxyuey* *kej* *ngu=mi* *xa-tyety.*
DEM1 man DEM2 NEG=N.PRS 1POS.II-father
'That man is not my father'

7-127 *Ngu=mi* *ajk*.
NEG=N.PRS DEM1
'It's not that (one)'

7-128 *Ngu=mi* *ajk* *t-a-jaw-as.*
NEG=N.PRS DEM1 PST-TV-see-1
'It's not that (what) I saw'

7-129 *ajk* *ngu=mi* *ajk*

DEM1 NEG=N.PRS DEM1

'in any way/case; by any means possible' (lit. 'that isn't that')

7.5. IMPERATIVE

The terminology used in this subsection is based on Aikhenvald (2010a). 'Canonical' imperatives are imperative forms directed at the adressee, whereas the category 'non-canonical' refers to 'fringe' imperatives, that is, imperative forms with first person addressees (hortative) or third person addressees (jussive).

The languages does not have any morphological system for marking positive canonical imperatives. Commands are expressed with second person indicative marking (7.5.1.1), except for the verbs 'go' and 'come', which have suppletive forms used exclusively as imperatives (7.5.1.3). Negative canonical imperatives, however, have their own marker (*cuidaja*), borrowed from Spanish, followed by an irrealis form. Non-canonical imperative forms include a jussive, marked with enclitic *xu=* (7.5.2.1) and a form of the verb 'go' (7.5.2.2).

7.5.1. CANONICAL IMPERATIVES

7.5.1.1. COMMANDS

There is no separate morphological marker for commands. Indicative second person forms are used here.

7-130 *I-pieng* *ganüy* *wüx* *u-mbey-ajts,* *giñey* *a-ndok-aran..*

2-speak now on POS.I.U-mouth-1INCL how TV-fish-IMP

'Now speak in Umbeyajts, (tell) how people fish..'

7-131 *Chyut-yur* *ñingey.*

sit.DIM-2 there

'(Please) sit there'

Commands directed at more than one addressee are in the indicative second person plural (7-132). Imperative forms preceded by a second person pronoun express contrast. For example, in 7-133, the function of the second person pronoun is to clarify that the addressee is to speak, while the speakers will be quiet and listen.

7-132 *Chyuty-ur-on.*
sit.DIM-2-pl
'(Please) sit down'

7-133 *Atokey* *i-pieng,* *i-pieng,* *ik* *i-pieng.*
like.that 2-speak 2-speak PRON2 2-speak
'Speak like that, speak, you (go ahead and) speak' (i.e. 'and we will listen')

7.5.1.2. NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

7.5.1.2.1. WITH BORROWED PARTICLE *CUIDAJÁ* + IRREALIS

Negative commands are marked with Spanish loan *cuidajá* (originally from *cuida* 'take care (to)'), which is realised as *kodá* in quick or slurred speech.

7-134 *Kodá* *m-i-saj* *gey* *par* *ngu=m-i-mbay-ejch*
NEG.IMP IRR-2-say DEM2 for NEG=IRR-2-startle-CAU
'Don't say that, lest you startle (him/them)'

7-135 *Cuidajá* *m-er-mbol.*
NEG.IMP IRR-2-fear
'Don't be afraid'

7-136 *T-a-pieng* *mun-taxuey* *cuidajá* *m-i-rrond-on*
PST-TV-speak PL-elderly NEG.IMP IRR-2-hang-PL

u-ñik *pobr* *p=i-mbiy-ien.*
POS.I.U-neck poor FUT=2-kill-PL
'The elderly men said: Don't hang her, poor girl, you will end up killing her'

7.5.1.2.2. WITH *NGUMI PARA* + IRREALIS

An alternative strategy for expressing negative commands with a second person addressee is by employing a negatively marked purposive construction, headed by purposive *para* (borrowed from Spanish) and preceded by negator *ngu=mi* (see 7.4.2). *Para* is optionally realised as *pa(r)*, especially in fast speech.

7-137	*A-pieng,*	*ngu=mi*	*pa*	*m-i-kyuety-ien*	*costumbre*
	TV-speak	NEG=N.PRS	for	IRR-2-leave-PL	tradition
	a lo que	*al=m-i-jier-an*		*tyiel*	*mi-kiambaj-an.*
	which	DUR=IRR-2-have-PL		in	2POS.II-community-PL

'He said: Don't abandon the traditions that you have in your community'

7-138	*I-tajk-an*	*seguir*	*y*	*dios*	*al=m-a-jlük,*
	2-do-PL	follow	and	god	DUR=IRR-TV-exist
	ngu=mi	*pa=m-i-ndxom-an.*			
	NEG=N.PRS	neg.impe=IRR-2-paint-PL			

'Keep doing [your traditions], and God exists, don't paint (him)'[106]

7.5.1.3. SUPPLETIVE IMPERATIVE FORMS

Verbs 'go' and 'come' have irregular imperative forms: *Kier* (plural *kieran*) and *mak* (plural *makaron*). *Kier/kieran* structurally resembles a non-prefixing verb with second person suffix *r. Mak* is special in that it does not bear any second person marker in the singular, but it does bear a second person marker from the set for non-prefixing verbs in the plural (preceding the plural second person suffix for non-prefixing verbs).

7-139	*Mak*	*ñingüy.*

106 (i.e. implying that God is there independently of practices, so there is no need for painting; *almajlük* seems, here, to be a calque of *allí está* 'there (s)he/it is/remains', implying (s)he/it remains there *in spite of* the discourse topic).

come.IMPER here

'Come here'

7-140 *Kier* *i-ndok.*

go.IMPER 2-fish

'Go to fish'

7.5.1.4. LEXICAL SOFTENING OF IMPERATIVE FORMS

Several strategies are used to soften an imperative. One is to employ the second person irrealis form instead of the indicative, and another common and more formal strategy is the Spanish-based *i-rang favor* [2-do favour] followed by an irrealis clause.

7-141 *I-rang favor m-i-puoch anuok cuent n-a-ngey.*

2-do favour IRR-2-tell one.RECT story 1IRR-TV-hear

'Please be so kind to tell me a story' (lit. 'to tell a story for me to hear')

7.5.2. NON-CANONICAL IMPERATIVE

7.5.2.1. JUSSIVE

The jussive expresses a command or desired action to be carried out by a non-participant in the speech act. It is marked with enclitic *xu*= followed by an irrealis form, and it cannot be morphologically negated.

7-142 *Xu=m-a-küly at mod a-küly.*

JUS=IRR-TV-stay like manner TV-stay

'May it stay the way it is'

7-143 *Xu=m-a-rang favor miko, xu=m-a-jmyuely-iw*

JUS=IRR-TV-do favour ape JUS=IRR-TV-enter-PL

m-a-xeng-iw mi-mbaj ñiwew, kanüy

IRR-TV-PICK.UP-PL POS.II.U-flower PRON3PL today

mi-naquxnüty	*miko,*	*tüng-tüng*	*de la santa miko,*
POS.II.U-holiday	ape	ONO	of the saint.f ape

tüng-tüng	*de la santa miko*
ONO	of the saint.F ape

xu=m-a-jmiek-üw	*mik.*
JUS=IRR-TV-descend-PL	ape

'May the apes kindly pick their flowers, today is the celebration of the apes, *tüng-tüng* [drumming sound] of the apes' Saint, *tüng-tüng* of the apes' Saint, may the apes come down' (from an animal story recorded by Rasheny Joha Lazcano Leyva).

7.5.2.2. HORTATIVE FORMS

Hortative forms (commands directed to a first person plural addressee, such as *let's go* in English) are restricted dual and plural inclusive forms of to the verb 'go'. The regular form of the verb 'go' is *-mb*, but the hortative forms are *tabar* 'let's go (incl.du)' and *tabajts* 'let's go (incl.pl)'. The prefix *t-* is elsewhere only attested as the past prefix, and the forms *tambar* and *tambajts* would be past ('we (dual/plural inclusive, respectively) went'). This use of the prefix *t-* resembles the forms *tamtam=an* 'slowly; well', which is optionally realised as *tambtamb=an* – this could be interpreted as *t-a-mb* [PST-TV-'go'] with full reduplication and delimitative postclitic *=an*.

The alternative strategy for expressing hortative meanings is the indicative first person inclusive dual or plural, as in 7-144:

7-144	-	*A-mb-ajts?*	-	*A-mb-ajts*	*pues.*
		TV-go-1INCL.PL		TV-go-1INCL.PL	DISC
		'– Shall we (incl. pl) go? – Sure, let's go'			

7.6. INTERROGATION

Polar questions may have explicit markers in different languages, including morphological, lexical or syntactic means of marking (such as, for instance, Finnish clitic *=ko/=kö* which attaches to the questioned constituent regardless of its word class status; or Polish interrogative particle *czy* sentence-initially; or inversion of the constituent order to verb-initial common in Germanic languages), or suprasegmental means of marking, such as rising intonation – or a combination of either of these.

As could be expected, content questions make use of a content interrogative word (see 3.2.8). In some languages (notably Zapotec languages, several Mayan languages as well as a few other Mesoamerican languages), content questions with a prepositional phrase may involve a change in constituent order involving the placement of a preposition from a prepositional phrase immediately after the question word, a phenomenon known in the literature on Mesoamerican languages as pied-piping with inversion – see, for example, Smith-Stark (1988), Heck (2004), Broadwell (2004, 2006) – see 7.6.2 for examples.

In Umbeyajts, polar questions as well as content questions tend to be characterised by falling intonation, as opposed to rising intonation characteristic of declarative statements in Umbeyajts. Polar questions are usually not marked lexically, morphologically or syntactically – however, particle *ja* (somethimes realised as *a*), with high-pitched falling intonation, which I assume to be a borrowing from Isthmus Spanish spoken in neighbouring Zapotec-speaking communities, is often postposed to the question sentence. See 7.6.1 for examples.

7.6.1. POLAR QUESTIONS WITH PARTICLE *JÁ*

Some examples are given below.

7-145 *Ngu=m-ir-ie-mb* *já?*
NEG=IRR-2-TV-go INT
'(It seems) you're not going?'

7-146 *Ngu=m-i-tsamb* *küty* *já?*
NEG=IRR-2-eat fish INT

'(So) you don't eat fish?'

7.6.2. CONSTITUENT ORDER ANOMALIES IN CONTENT QUESTIONS

Whenever, by means of a content question, a constituent is questioned with includes a (native, but not borrowed) preposition (only two of which, exemplified in 7-147 and 7-148, have not grammaticalised from inflected verb forms – see 3.2.4), pied-piping with inversion can be observed in the constituent order. The interrogative word is then the first word of the sentence (unlike is the case when a Spanish-borrowed preposition is used; see examples 7-151 through 7-156), and the preposition then follows the interrogative word.

7-147 *Ngej naw ap=m-ie-n-üw?*
where out.of FUT=IRR-TV-come-PL
'Where will they be coming from?'

7-148 *Kwej wüx i-yamb i-lyej?*
what about 2-seek 2POS.I-foot
'What do you investigate (about)?'

7-149 *Jang akiejp ap=ir-ie-mb?*
who with FUT=2-TV-go
'Who will you go with?'

7-150 *Ngej andüy ir-ie-mb*?
where toward2-TV-go
'In which direction are you going?'

7-151 *De jang ajgey?*[107]
of who DEM4
'Whose is that?'

[107] Purist speakers would disapprove of this example, arguing that it can be substituted by *ukwej* 'her/his thing', thus yielding "correct" sentence *Jang ukwej ajgey?* 'Whose is that?'

7-152 **Jang <u>de</u> ajgey?*

7-153 *<u>Par</u> jang i-rang gey?*
for who 2-do DEM3
'Whom are you making that for?'

7-154 **Jang <u>par</u> i-rang ajgey?*

7-155 *<u>Hasta</u> ngej p=ir-ie-mb-an?*
until where FUT=2-TV-go-PL
'Until where will you go?'

7-156 **Ngej <u>hasta</u> p=ir-ie-mb-an?*

TABLE 7A. WAYS TO MARK NON-SPATIAL SETTING PARAMETERS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 7

	Proclitic	**Combined form**	**Affix**	**Invariable auxiliary**	**Inflected, complementarising verb**	**Other strategy**
Past tense	-	-	*t-* (prefixing verbs) + stem / stem + *-t* (non-prefixing verbs)	-	-	Contextual (time words)
Future tense	*sa=* (first person) / *ap=* (non-first and first inclusive) + IRR/ATE	-	-		*-p* 'go' (with theme vowel *ü-*) + IRR/ATE	
Progressive	*tyi=*	-	-	*tyi=m-ü-jch / tyigely* + IRR	-	
Perfective	*tsi=*; *la=/lyi=* (DIM) + IRR/ATE		-	*katsüy* + IRR/ATE	-	
Completive		*la=ümb; tsi=imb; la=ndoj; tsi=ndoj; katsiy=imb* + IRR/ATE	-	*ü-mb; nd-oj* + IRR	-	
Durative	*al=* + IRR		-	*aly-ien* + IRR	-	
Abilitative	-		-	*nd-om* (non-past); *nd-ot* (past) + IRR	-	
Desiderative	-		-	*i-ñdy* + ATE *la=i-ñdy* (PF) + ATE	*-ndyiem* 'want' (with theme vowel *a-*) + IRR	
Necessitative	-		-	*a-tam*; *ñ-u-tam* + IRR		

8. Adjectives and adjectival forms

Dixon describes a number of 'semantic types' or property concepts (Dixon, 1982) which tend to be expressed, translinguistically, by means of adjectives. Languages vary as to what size their class of adjectives is, and as to how similar they are to nouns. Many languages previously thought to have no word class of adjectives can be shown to express clear criteria that can be used to differentiate a class of adjectives quite distinct from verbs and nouns, as is shown in Dixon (2010b) as well as in Dixon & Aikhenvald 2004). Dixon's abovementioned property concepts or semantic types are shown below in table 8A.

TABLE 8A. PROPERTY CONCEPT SEMANTIC TYPES

1. Dimension
2. Age
3. Value
4. Colour
5. Physical property
6. Human propensity
7. Speed
8. Difficulty
9. Similarity
10. Qualification
11. Quantification
12. Position
13. Cardinal numbers

In this chapter, I will attempt to give an exhaustive overview of the strategies used in Umbeyajts to express property concepts. These can be subsumed under three main headers:

I. The use of an intransitive, di-syllabic, non-prefixing verb with a stative/inchoative meaning (8.1);

II. The use of an intransitive, prefixing verb with a stative/inchoative meaning (8.2) – this is the strategy which is most common;

III. The derivation of an intransitive, prefixing verb, with a

stative/inchoative meaning, from a abstract noun expressing a property concept (8.3).

As will be seen in 8.3 and 8.4, the theme vowel is of central importance in verbal derivation, and this will also be the topic of the next chapter: the use of theme vowel *u-*, which is the theme vowel appearing most frequently in participial constructions, is one of the valency-changing devices in Umbeyajts.

In 8.5, the existence of several classes of adjectives in Umbeyajts – some with more nominal and others with more verbal characteristics – will be argued for, based on their particular properties which differentiate them from, respectively, nouns or verbs.

8.1. Disyllabic non-prefixing verb roots

8.1.1. Without morphological marking

A class of disyllabic roots exists in Umbeyajts, which is used to express property concepts modifying a noun attributively in a noun phrase, or – when used without morphology – can function as predicates.

8-1a	*Ajk*	*kayang*	*piats*	*kej*
	DEM1	hard	tortilla	DEM3
	'that hard tortilla'			

8-1b	*anots*	*tonguoy*	*u-ñdyiw*	*xiel*
	one.thin	crooked	POS.I.U-branch	tree
	'one bent branch'			

8-1c	*Tsontsok*	*ajk*	*kamix*	*kej*
	wrinkled	DEM1	shirt	DEM2.MED
	'That shirt is wrinkled'			

8-1d	*Ajk*	*kuchux*	*ñyueñch*	*kej*	*tarrap*	*u-mal.*
	DEM1	small	boy	DEM2.MED	plain	head

'That baby has a flattened head'

This type of construction can be negated using *ngu=mi* (see also 7.4.2 for this marker of negation, which is also used to negate non-verbal predicates or clauses). There is no direct marker of negation for a property concept in attributive function within a noun phrase (such as 'a non-blue shirt') - a relative clause would be required for this.

8.1.2. With non-prefixing verb morphology

An interesting property of adjective roots lacking verbal morphological marking is that they seem to be able to take non-prefixing verb TAM morphology without the need of any derivative marking. This is a major irregularity with regard to non-prefixing verbs, which sets these adjective roots apart from non-prefixing verbs: Whereas non-prefixing verb roots are dependent and need to be expressed with verbal morphology, adjective roots may also be used as free forms.

These roots can express both stative ('be wrinkled') as well as inchoative ('become wrinkled') meanings. Kim & Koontz-Garboden (2013) suggest that they could be inherently inchoative, but they also mention the possibility that the inchoative meaning is derived contextually.

8-2a	*Wüx*	*ap=i-jants*	*ajk*	*kamix*	*kej*	*ap=tsontsok-om.*
	on	FUT=2-wash	DEM1	shirt	DEM3	FUT=wrinkled-IRR
	'If you wash that shirt it will wrinkle'					

8-2b	*Ngu=mi*	*sa=n-a-jants*	*par*	*ngu=tsontsok-om.*
	NEG=N.PRS	1FUT=1IRR-TV-wash	for	NEG=wrinkled-IRR
	'I will not wash it, so that it will not wrinkle'			

8-2c	*Ap=tonguoy-om*	*ajk*	*xiel*	*kam.*
	FUT=bent-IRR	DEM1	tree	DEM2.PROX
	'That tree will be bent'			

There are two adjective roots which cannot ever take morphology:

8-3 *kux ~ kuch* 'small' (from *kuchyujch ~ kyuchyujch ~ kuchux*)
jüy 'new' (from *jayats*[108])

These monosyllabic roots can only occur in attributive position and not as a predicate, whereas their full forms can. Their long forms give the appearance of being either non-native or inflected due to their irregular phonology, which the one hand, is unlike other roots, in being disyllabic; and, in the case of *k(y)uch(y)ujch,* unlike other disyllabic adjectives, in not having a sonorant in medial position (as Rolf Noyer (p.c.) pointed out to me; see 2.6.1.1.1).

Jayats is used to refer to inanimate objects. It is also found in a temporal expression (a fixed idiom), namely *jayats kam* 'recently').

The etymology of *kux* and *kuchujch* is still unclear. Suárez reconstructs *kici 'niño; F monangic niños; Mo kic, mongic (sg, pl) Ma (P munguixchí, B kitchi flaco); D (P munguichi)' (Suárez, 1975: 72, item 218) and *kɨcɨ`cɪ 'chico; F kocɪucɪ; D kucɪɨ:cɪ; Mo kicè:c (P: F cuchuchi; Ma cuchuchu; D guichujchi; Mo quiechuhi)' (Suárez, 1975: 74, item 251).

Noyer (2013: 180) presents a more elaborate discussion of this item and proposes a link to Mixe[109] (which had already been tentatively proposed by Suárez). *kici seems to be related to both *-ngich* (for *-ngich*, see also section 3.1.1.2.1) and *k(y)uch(y)ujch* (the former via *mona-kici, *mona- being the reconstructed form of what in current San Dionisio Umbeyajts is human agent plural form *mun-*.) According to Noyer (2013: 180), 'el patrón más antiguo, según parece, fue el uso de KICH substantivizado sólo en el plural con *mon-, lo que produjo NGICH.'

However, Noyer does propose that the two cases be considered separately with regard to their etymology (with one root having 'skinny' as its 'sentido básico' (Noyer,

108 *-Vts* may have been a suffix carrying a recent past meaning (Noyer, in press). Additional evidence for this hypothesis is the phonologically rare marker *tsi=*, which does not palatalise into **chi=* (as it does in Santa María del Mar) and originates from *katsüy* or *katsats(üy).* These latter forms are reconstructed by Noyer as having recent past meaning.

109 Noyer also points to the connection provides Proto-Mixe *kišay 'girl' and its current forms in Totontepec Mixe and Sayula Popoluca. However, Sayula Popoluca is mentioned as having *kiʔčay* ('male') and *kiʔčway* ('boy'). Additionally, there are possible cognates in Sierra Totonac and Upper Necaxa Totonac (*kātzū* 'skinny', and *ki'tzí:'swa'* 'small and ripe but underdeveloped', respectively), which indicate that 'girl' is an innovation in Mixe and PH *kici would then result from prior contact."

2013: 180), and the other 'small'), and that a Mixe origin of *kich/-ngich* would still not provide an explanation for the long form (although the San Mateo form *kicheech* 'small' struck me as being a likely cognate of SD *k(y)uch(y)ujch*, and likely to derive from *kich* rather than from a separate PH form *kɨcɨ`cɪ). Noyer suggests another possible solution (that TUKUCH (not attested in the current corpus), a diminutive from *tokots* 'short', gave rise to *kuch* (a form in fact found in the corpus as a allomorph of *kux*), of which *k(y)uch(y)ujch* could be a reduplicated form).

Table 8b. A comparison of *kux*, *k(y)uch(y)ujch*, *jüy* and *jayats*

	kux	*k(y)uch(y)ujch*	*jüy*	*jayats*
Can occur in attributive function	yes	yes	yes	yes
Can occur in predicative function	no	yes	no	yes
Surface form phonologically similar to regular non-adjectival roots	no (marginal phoneme /*u*/ as root vowel)	no (no sonorant; alternation between marginal phoneme /*u*/ and /y/	yes	yes (concordant with recon-structed PH form *haya-(ca); Suárez, 1975)
Surface form phonologically similar to regular adjectival roots	no	no-	no	yes

Jüy and *jayats* show less irregularities (as compared to *kux* and *k(y)uch(y)ujch*), and seem to be native (which would be in line with Noyer (2012: 15) and Suárez (1975: 68), who have a Proto-Huave reconstruction as **haya(-ca)*).

8.2. Stative prefixing verbs (with theme vowel *a*-)

A large group of verbs with a stative or inchoative meaning can take the stative prefix (*n*-) in order to modify a noun attributively or function as the head of an intransitive predicate (like the roots described in 8.1). These roots are verbal and can be inflected with regular TAM marking; however, they cannot be derived (for example through causativisation or passivisation).

8-4a *anuok n-a-dam yokang*

one.CL ST-TV-be.big stone

'a big stone'

8-4b *Xow a-ndsorr ajk n-a-pat pyuety kej.*

very TV-bark DEM1 ST-TV-be.ferocious dog DEM2.MED

'That ferocious dog barks a lot'

8-4c *N-a-kats mi-kamix.*

ST-TV-be.wet POS.II.U-shirt

'Your shirt is wet'

8-4d *Ñutyiel n-a-xix, ñ-u-pop n-a-ngan.*

tamal ST-TV-be.tasty.hearty ST-TV-be.foamy ST-TV-be.tasty.sweet

'A tamal is [called "naxix" when] tasty, foamy atole [is called "nangan" when] tasty.'

8-4e *N-a-yuely par xik.*

ST-TV-be.difficult for PRON1

'It's difficult for me.'

8-5f *Ngu=mi n-a-jyueñ, xow mi-despas.*

NEG=N.PRS ST-TV-be.fast very POS.II.U-slow

'It isn't fast, it's very slow.'

When functioning as the head of an intransitive predicate, they can be inflected with person markers in addition to the stative markers. They can also lose the stative marker in favour of regular TAM marking.

8-6a *N-a-tang-as.*

ST-TV-be.old-1

'I am old'

8-6b *S-a-yak* *pañely par* *m-a-ngan*.
1-TV-put panela for IRR-TV-be.sweet
'I put in *panela* for it to become sweet'

The construction can be negated in two different, functionally equivalent, ways:

- By negating the stative verb entirely (with *ngumi*);
- By negating the atemporal version of the verb (with *ngu*= + irrealis).

8-7a *Ngu=m-a-lyeng*.
NEG=IRR-TV-be.true
'It isn't true.'

8-7b *Ngu=mi* *n-a-lyeng.*
NEG=N.PRS ST-TV-be.true
'It isn't true.'

There are verbs pertaining to all semantic types (see introduction) in this category except for 'human propensity', 'similarity' and 'position'. Some examples: Dimension (-*dam* 'big'; -*jal* 'tall; deep [water]'); Age (-*tang* 'old'); Value (-*jñej* 'good'; -*lyeng* 'true; straight'); Colour (-*tyek* 'green'); Physical properties (-*kats* 'wet'; -*wajk* 'dry'; -*pak* 'strong, rough (person; climate)'; -*chich* 'sour'); Speed (-*jyueñ* 'quick'); Difficulty (-*yuely* 'difficult') and Quantification (-*rix* 'reduced, diminished, calm [sea]').

None of these verbs is conjugated for person in the atemporal or with TAM morphology, except in for what I call the agentive construction (with the stative prefix and a person marker; see chapter 9.5).

8.3. Derived stative prefixing verbs

8.3.1. Derived stative prefixing verbs with theme vowel *i*-

Some lexemes that express property concepts are most frequently found in forms beginning with *ñi-*, which I have classified as a small subclass of prefixing verbs. These can be analysed as verbal bases (with theme vowel *i*- instead of the commonly found *a*-) preceded by the stative prefix (*n*-), which is now regressively palatalised due to the following vowel nucleus containing the theme vowel.

These forms do not differ functionally from the ones described in the previous section (8.2), since they, too, can (i) modify a noun phrase attributively, (ii) function as the head of an intransitive predicate, (iii) be inflected with regular TAM marking and (iv) not be derived through the derivative processes described in chapter 10, such as causativisation or passivisation.

8-8a *anop* *ñ-i-eñch* *najtaj*
one.RND ST-TV-lazy woman
'a lazy woman'

8-8b *Ajk* *ñyueñch* *kej* *ñ-i-kich.*
DEM1 boy DEM2 ST-TV-thin
'That boy is thin.'

8-8c *Ikon* *ñ-er-lop-on.*
PRON2.PL ST-2-hunger-PL
'You (pl.) are hungry.'

8-8d *Ñ-i-eñch-ies.*
ST-TV-lazy-1
'I am lazy.'

8.3.2. Independent roots lacking morphology expressing abstract property concepts

Stative verb roots with theme vowel *i-* can also be expressed as free forms. I in fact classify them as nouns with an abstract property concept meaning as shown below in the glosses given in the examples in 8-9a-c. Umbeyajts speakers may be seen to express property concepts in abstract property concept terms even when code-switching in Spanish, such as example 8-10, which contains a lot of Spanish material but maintains a structure which is fundamentally Umbeyajts.

8-9a *eñch* 'laziness' 8-9b *mbol* 'fear'
8-9c *pobre* 'poverty'

8-10 *Per* *anop* *sobrino* *borrachera* *qué a la chingad*
but one.RND cousin drunkenness what the heck

ap=u-ndyiem ñiw.
FUT=TV-want PRON3
'How on earth is a cousin [of mine] [dedicated to drunkenness] going to be cherished?'

In Spanish, an adjective would be used here (*un sobrino borracho*) and not an abstract property concept noun, and furthermore, the juxtaposition of two nouns in a noun phrase is not possible in Spanish, but in Umbeyajts such a juxtaposition is a common strategy to express possession.

There are three arguments for considering these roots as nominal:

1) Their occurrence as free forms (as opposed to the dependent forms of prefixing verbs which require minimally a theme vowel);

2) Their ability to function as a noun phrase heading a predicate (either transitive or intransitive; see 8-11 and 8-12), unlike the verbs described in 8.1 and 8.2; and

3) The fact that they can take a type of morphology reserved exclusively for nominal use, namely possessive morphology.

8-11 *A-jluop* *xa-eñch.*
TV-float 1POS-laziness
'I have started to feel lazy' (lit. 'My laziness is floating')

8-12 *Derrepent* *t-a-sap* *xik* *eñch.*
suddenly PST-TV-grab PRON1 laziness
'I was suddenly overcome by laziness' (cf. Spanish *de repente me agarró la flojera*)

8.3.3. Possessed abstract nouns expressing property concepts

Verbs with stative morphology cannot be modified by intensifier *xow* 'very'. To express the concept of intensification of a state, a stative verb needs to be inflected for person (and, optionally, for TAM marking), and an abstract property concept nouns, it must be in a construction with possessive morphology for this purpose (see 8-13).

8-13a **Xow n-a-jñej.*
very TV-be.good
'*It's very good'

8-13b *Xow a-jñej.*
very ST-TV-be.good
'It's very good'

8-13c *Xow mi-kich-ien.*
very POS.II.U-thin-PL
'You (pl.) are very thin.'

8-13d *Xow mi-pobre kiambaj kam.*
very POS.II.U-poor village DEM2.PROX
'This community is very poor.'

8-13e *Xow mi-mux-ien, pores xow er-mbol-on.*
very POS.II.U-homosexual-PL therefore very 2-fear-PL
'You (pl.) are very gay, that's why you're very much afraid.'

Note that it is possible to inflect *kyuchyujch* (the long form of *kux*, meaning 'small') in the way described in 8.3.3. This also appears in Radin (1929: 12), in the story of the Rabbit and the Coyote, *ixā'vik, kŏ^{c} tīĕl ndīŏm mŭŋgŏ$^{\prime o}$tc ^{i}vīc porke' cik c^{e}ō sā^{c}kütcü$^{\prime u}$tc*, which he renders as (literal translation/glossing) 'you marry girl that because I very I am small' (his translation follows later on on page 14: 'if you wish to marry her, the

girl, you may, because I am very much smaller than (she is) and I do not wish to marry her'). In my orthography, this will be:

8-13 f	*I-jaw*	*ik,*	*koj,*	*tyiel*	***i**-ndyiem*	*m-u-nguoch*	*i-wix,*
	2-see	pron2	big.brother	loc	**2**-want	irr-tv-get	2-hand
	porque	*xik*	*xow*	*xa-kuchyujch.*			
	because	pron1	very	1pos.ii-small			

These roots do not appear in as attributive modifiers in a noun phrase, unlike San Francisco del Mar Umbeyajts, as will be evident from the ungrammaticality of 8-14b and 8-14c. Example 8-14a is from Kim (2013):

8-14a	*anop*	*añch*	*naxuy*
	one	lazy	man
	'a lazy man' (SFo.)		

8-14b	*[*anop*	*eñch*	*naxuoy*]
	one.RND	lazy	man
	'*a lazy man'		

8-14c	*[*anop*	[[*xow*	*mi-eñch*]	[*naxuoy*]]]
	one.RND	very	POS.II.U-lazy	man
	'*a very lazy man'			

8-14d	*anop*	*naxuoy*	*xow*	*mi-eñch*
	one.RND	man	very	POS.II.U-lazy
	'one very lazy man'			

8.3.4. Differences between abstract property concepts and regular nouns

If these roots are to count as a subclass of nouns, they would be expected to behave identically to other uncountable nouns. This is, however, not quite the case, and as will be seen in 8.5, this can serve as an argument in favour of grouping them together as a separate class of adjectives with nominal characteristics. Unlike in the San Francisco del Mar variety, possessed, uncountable nouns cannot be modified by *xow*, whereas abstract nouns expressing property concept can. The former would be exemplified by a sentence such as 'My money is plentiful' or 'there is much of my money', and the latter by sentences like 'My laziness is plentiful' or 'there is much of my laziness'. Uncountable nouns require the use of quantifier *xuwayey*, which I gloss as 'many', for this purpose.

8-15a	**Xow*	*xa-tomien.*
	much	1POS-money
	'*There is much of my money.'	

8-15b	*Xuwayey*	*xa-tomien.*
	many	1POS-money
	'There is much of my money.'	

8-15c	*A-jlük*	*xuwayey*	*küty.*
	TV-exist	many	fish
	'There is a lot of fish.'		

8-15d	*A-jlük*	*xuwayey*	*yew.*
	TV-exist	many	water
	'There is a lot of water.'		

8.3.5. Theme vowel *i-* as a derivative device for word class change

8.3.5.1. Abstract property concepts

In 8.3.1, it was shown how some dependent verb roots can take theme vowel *i-* and behave like regular prefixing verbs with theme vowel *a-*. In 8.3.2, I argued that these are actually nominal roots when they occur in their free form. I hypothesise *i-* to be the

theme vowel occurring on verbs that are derived from nouns – a process that can be analysed as a change of word class. An example of this is given in 8-16:

8-16a	*mbol*	'fear (N)'	→	*-i-mbol* 'fear (V)'
	eñch	'laziness'	→	*ʔ-i-eñch* 'be lazy'
	kich	'thinness'	→	*ʔ-i-kich* 'be thin'

8-17a	*Ñiw*	*i-mbol.*
	PRON3	TV-fear
	'He is afraid'.	

8-17b	*Ap=a-xyujp*	*par*	*ngu=m-i-eñch.*
	FUT=TV-bathe	for	NEG=IRR-TV-lazy
	'He is going to take a bath so he won't be lazy'		

8-17c	*Ap=i-kich*	*ajk*	*kuchux*	*ñyueñch*	*kej*.
	FUT=TV-thin	DEM1	small	boy	DEM2.MED
	'That little boy is going to be thin.'				

8.3.5.2. Other derived verbs with theme vowel *i-*

There is another example of a verb in this subclass which is not derived from a noun with abstract property concept meaning (whereas the verb, *-i-kants* 'to be red', and the corresponding stative form *ñikants* 'red', do express a property concept meaning): *kants* simply means 'chili pepper':

8-18a	*I-yak*	*tyiel*	*yow*	*par*	*m-i-kants.*
	2-put	LOC	water	for	IRR-TV-be.red

8-18b	*A-jñej*	*ap=i-kants*	*xa-chipiñ.*
	TV-be.good	FUT=TV-be.red	1POS-tomato
	'My tomatoes are going to be beautifully red.'		

8-18c *ñ-i-kants.*
ST-TV-be.red
'It's red'

There is a difficulty in supporting the analysis proposed in 8.3.5.1 with empirical data for three reasons: i) Examples of verbs in this subclass are scarce; ii) As a consequence, the number of morphological contexts is limited; and iii) while being able to spontaneously produce the relevant forms in speech, elicitation activities are unsuccessful and the paradigms are incomplete.

The previous examples, in 8-17 were spontaneously produced and judged grammatical by a large number of speakers; however, a few speakers corrected 8-17a to *a-mbol,* and the majority of speakers, while judging *apikants* as grammatical, found it difficult to produce examples of the verb with other morphology, indicating that the construction, while familiar, is not part of their repertoire. This remains an unresolved issue open to further scrutiny in future research.

8.4. Verbs with theme vowel *u-*

Verbs with theme vowel *u-* have an incomplete paradigm (unlike the corresponding forms in SMo). Verbs with theme vowel *u-* never occur without other verbal morphology, unlike verbs with theme vowel *a-* where this is the unmarked (i.e. atemporal, third person) form. There is only one example of a property concept expressed by a verb with theme vowel *u-*: In the case of the verb *a-rrajrr* the use of theme vowel *a-* seems to yield only stative semantics, while inchoative semantics are conditional upon the use of theme vowel *u-*.

8-19a *Xow* *a-rrajrr* *iet.*
very TV-be.hot earth
'The soil is very hot.'

8-19b *Sa=n-a-yak* *tyiel* *biemb* *par* *m-u-rrajrr.*
1FUT=1IRR-TV-put LOC fire FOR IRR-TV-be.hot

‘I will put in on the fire so that it gets hot.’

8-19c **N-a-rrajrr.*
ST-TV-be.hot
*‘It (i.e. an object) is hot’

8-19d *Ñ-u-rrajrr.*
ST-TV-be.hot
‘It (i.e. an object) is hot’

As will be seen in chapter 9.5, verbs with theme vowel *u-* can serve as a base for participial forms with varying degrees of valency (on both transitive and intransitive verbs), and theme vowel *u-* can itself be analysed as a valency-changing device.

Especially the subclass mentioned in chapter 9.5.2 is relevant to the discussion of property concepts. This subclass consists of only two verbs, *-kuoy* ‘to hurt’ and *-tam* ‘to be useful’, which never appear with theme vowel *a-* but always with *u-*, where what I call the agentive construction (consisting of the stative followed by the theme vowel and a prefixing verb) expresses ascription of the state or condition expressed by the verb to the subject of the construction (‘pain’, in the former – affecting the experiencer – and ‘usefulness’ in the latter):

8-20a *Ñ-u-tam*.
ST-TV-be.useful
‘It’s useful.’

8-20b *Ngu=m-u-tam.*
NEG=IRR-TV-be.useful
‘It’s useless.’

8-20c *Ñ-u-kuoy* *xi-lük.*
ST-TV-hurt 1POS-tooth

‘My tooth hurts.’

8.5. Summary: Adjectives are a separate class in modern Umbeyajts

Several claims have been made, for a variety of language, regarding the absence of any adjective class and the possibility to classify words expressing property concepts as a subclass of either verbs or nouns. However, in *Basic Linguistic Theory* (volume II, chapters 11 and 12) Dixon shows that objections can be made to such a classification for lack of sufficient evidence: Even in those languages in which anything that could be classified as an adjective could, in virtue of its nominal or verbal properties, be placed in the noun or verb class, adjectives usually show specific restrictions on different levels (i.e., morphological or syntactical restrictions, or special phonological properties common only to adjectives and not other nouns or verbs).

As was shown above, bare roots, verbs and nouns expressing property concepts all display irregularities which provide criteria to differentiate them from regular verbs and nouns:

I. The bare roots described in 8.1 (for example *kayang* ‘stale’, *tsontsok* ‘wrinkled’*, torrots* ‘cripple’) are, I will claim, adjectives proper. They display properties characteristic of non-prefixing verbs, but – unlike regular verbs of such a kind – usually occur without any morphology. I consider the inflected forms (in 8.1.1) to be suffixing verbs derived from these through zero-derivation.

II. The stative property concept-verbs described in 8.2 display a significant morphological irregularity. The most central verbal paradigm, the atemporal, is incomplete, since they cannot be conjugated with person markers in the atemporal or with TAM morphology, except if expressed in the agentive construction (with the stative prefix and a person marker) described in chapter 9.5. This restriction also applies to verbs with theme vowel *i-* that are derived from abstract property concept nouns.

III. Abstract property concept nouns take possessive morphology and display properties characteristic of nouns, but they differ from other uncountable nouns with regard to the use of a quantifier: Intensifier *xow*, which is normally used exclusively to modify verbs, may be used in conjunction with the possessed forms of these nouns. Other nouns are restricted to the use of *xuwayey*, the corresponding nominal quantifier, 'many' (with countable nouns) or 'much' (with uncountable nouns).

Below in table 8c, a cross-comparison of various grammatical properties of different types of words expressing property concept is given.

TABLE 8C. COMPARISON OF PROPERTIES OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF PROPERTY CONCEPT WORDS

	Adjectives	Inflected non-prefixing verbs derived from adjectives	Stative prefixing verbs	Inflected prefixing verbs expressing property concepts	Abstract property concept nouns
Can occur with tense/aspect/mood morphology	no	yes	no	yes	no
Can occur with verbal person/number markers	no	yes	yes	yes	no
Can occur with pertensive morphology	no	no	no	no	yes
Can function as the head of an intransitive predicate or complement of a verbless clause construction	yes: verbless clause complement	yes: head of intransitive predicate	yes: head of intransitive predicate	yes: head of intransitive predicate	no
Can modify the head in an NP by anteposition	yes	no	yes	no	no
Can undergo valency-changing derivation	no	no	no	no	no
Can undergo wordclass changing derivation	yes (to a non-prefixing verb)	no	no	no	yes (to a prefixing verb)
Can be negated with *ngu=* (clausal negation)	no	yes	no	yes	no
Can be negated with *ngu=mi* (phrasal negation)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes (if possessed)

9. Valency-changing devices and participial forms

In Umbeyajts, several devices are available to change the valency of a verb:

Two constructions enable the expression of causitive semantics (9.1): one morphological (9.1.1) and one periphrastic with the verb *-jch* 'to give' (9.1.2). Combined derivations are discussed in 9.1.3.

There are five strategies to reduce valency, resulting in a passive or an impersonal form: the infixation of an /ɾ/, resulting in a passive verb (9.2.1); the more rarely occurring suffixation of *-ük* for a passive verb (9.2.2); , resulting in a passive verb (9.2.3) and, finally, the suffixation of *-aran*, yielding an agentless impersonal construction (9.2.4), which is functionally equivalent to the impersonal use of the third person plural. Theme vowel *u-* (which will be treated at more depth in the final two sections of this chapter) can also result in a passive (third-person only) form, and this will be shown in 9.4.1. Reflexive and reciprocal forms can be formed by suffixation of *-Vy* (9.3).

Theme vowel *u-*, as was briefly mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, has a variety of uses having to do with either reducing valency or intentionality (9.4), but additionally, it is also used for forming active participles in what I will call agentive constructions (9.5).

9.1. CAUSITIVISATION

9.1.1. CAUSATIVE SUFFIX *-VJCH*

Causative forms with suffix, which was described in 5.8.2, are the result of a derivational process which is not productive in Umbeyajts – most verbs cannot be derived into causative forms using this suffix, and the forms that do exist are fossilised, sometimes having lost their aspiration as described in 5.8.2.

9-1a	*ɑ-tang*	->	*ɑ-tang-üjch*
	'grows up'		'raises; makes grow up'

9-1b	*a-mbiel*	->	*a-mbiel-üjch*
	‘rolls up (cloth; paper)’		‘rolls (heavy object)’
9-1c	*a-jmiek*	->	*a-miek-üch*
	‘descends’		‘takes/brings down’
9-1d	*a-pal*	->	*a-pal-üch*
	‘closes, is completed’		‘makes complete’
9-1e	*a-kats*	->	*a-kach-ijch*
	‘gets wet’		‘makes wet’
9-1f	*a-jlüly*	->	*a-lül-ijch*
	‘flies’		‘makes fly’
9-1g	*a-jtyup*	->	*a-tyup-ich*
	‘goes up’		‘makes go up’
9-1h	*a-jüy*	->	*a-jüy-ich*
	‘walks; wanders’		‘drives, rides; reparts’
9-1i	*ü-mb*	->	*a-mb-ich*
	‘ends (itr); get used up’		‘finishes off’ (transitive)

Causative derivations are relatively scarce. They are only found on intransitive verbs. See 5.8.4 for an interesting instance of verb class changing derivation from a suffixing to prefixing verb.

Two roots which seem to have a fossilised causative suffix but are no longer segmentable as such are *-tsapijch* ‘to let loose’ and *-pumüch* ‘end; terminate’ – there are no corresponding roots *-*tsap* or *-*pum*.

9.1.2. CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTION

Whereas the San Mateo del Mar variety makes use of a lexical causative construction featuring the verb *-jch* 'give' (which the causative suffix is most likely a grammaticalisation of), the San Dionisio variety does not use this strategy productively. There are two examples with the property concept verbs 'be/get long' and 'be/get big', both from animal stories:

9-2a

Ganüy	*n-a-lyeng*	*p=a-dam*	*ganüy,*
now	ST-TV-be.true	FUT=TV-be.big	now

m-ü-jch	*ñiw*	*m-a-dam*	*dios*	*ñiw*
IRR-TV-give	PRON3	IRR-TV-be.big	God	PRON3

'Now he was really going to be big, God was going to make him big'

9-2b

I-jch	*ik*	*m-a-jal*	*xa-wiel*	*par*	*n-a-mbay-ejch-ey*
2-give	PRON2	IRR-TV-be.long	1POS.II-tail	for	1IRR-TV-startle-CAU-RF

xa-peang,	*n-a-mbay-ejch*	*meáwan,*
1POS.II-mosquito	1IRR-TV-startle-CAU	all

i-jch	*xik*	*n-a-dam.*
2-give	PRON1	1IRR-TV-be.big

'Make my tail big for me to drive away the mosquitos, to drive them all away, make me big'

9-2c

A-pieng	*chük*	*nguoy*	*a-saj*	*Dios Padre,*	*nguoy,*
TV-speak	REP	no	TV-say	God.the.Father	no

para	*m-ü-jch*	*ñiw*	*m-a-dam.*
for	IRR-TV-give	PRON3	IRR-TV-be.big

'He refused, God the Father did, he refused to make him big'

9-2d	*I-jch*	*xik*	*n-a-dam,*	*a-pieng*	*chük,*	*al=tyiel*	*animal*
	2-give	PRON1	1IRR-TV-be.big	TV-speak	REP	DUR=in	animal
	a-jüy,		*a-mb*	*kiawüx,*	*a-jtyup*	*xiel,*	*meaw=an*
	TV-wander		TV-go	up	tv-ascend	tree	all=DEL
	a-rang,		*ganüy*	*xik*	*tiet*	*chyuty-uj-os*	
	TV-do		now	PRON1	below	sit-EP-1	

'Make me big, he said, there are animals that walk around, they go up, they climb the trees, they do everything, but I sit down here'

A further strategy used to express indirect causation is a different-subject purposive clause construction with the verb *-rang* 'do' in combination with Spanish loan *fuers* (from *esfuerzo* 'effort' or *fuerza* 'force (N)'):

9-2e	*S-a-rang*	*fuers*	*par*	*m-a-mb-üw*	*m-a-ndüy-iw.*
	1-TV-do	effort	for	IRR-TV-go-pl	IRR-TV-get.educated-PL

'I get them to go to school'

9.1.3. COMBINED DERIVATIONS

Some suffixing verbs can suffer causativisation by migrating to the class of prefixing verbs and addition of a causative suffix:

9-3a	*wity-iew*	->	*a-wity-ich*
	get.up-3		TV-get.up-CAU
	'gets up'		'lifts up'
9-3b	*mbay-at*	->	*a-mbay-ejch*
	startle-PST		TV-startle-CAU
	'got startled'		'startled (tr)'

9-3c	*ndor-oj*	->	*a-ndor-uojch*
	get.lost-3ITR		TV-get.lost-CAU
	‘gets lost; disappears’		‘spends up (money)’
9-3d	*kañdx-ij-uow*	->	*a-kañdx-ijch*
	gather-EP-3		TV-gather-CAU
	‘they gather’		‘he gathers (people)’

These prefixing roots do not appear without explicit causative marking. There is just one example in the corpus of a suffixing verb which can become a transitive prefixing verb without addition of a causative marker:

9-3e	*mbejl-aw*	->	*a-mbejly*
	turn.around-3ITR		TV-turn.around
	‘turns around (itr)’		‘turns inside out [clothing]’

Some derived transitive prefixing verbs may suffer further derivation to a self-benefactive verb with reflexive/reciprocal marker *-ey*:

9-3f	*A-pieng*	*chük*	*Dios Padre*	*sa=n-ü-jch*	*ik*
	TV-speak	REP	God.the.Father	1FUT=1IRR-TV-give	PRON2

m-i-dam,	*sa=n-ü-jch*	*ik*	*mi-wiel*	*para*
IRR-2-be.big	1FUT=1IRR-TV-give	PRON2	POS.II.U-tail	for

m-i-mbay-ejch-ey	*peang,*	*m-i-mbay-ejch-ey*	*mbüp,*
IRR-2-startle-CAU-RF	mosquito	IRR-2-startle-CAU-RF	horsefly

m-i-mbay-ejch-ey	*meáwan.*
IRR-2-startle-CAU-RF	all

> ‘God the Father said: I will make you big, I will give you a tail in order for you to drive away your mosquitos, to drive away your horseflies, to drive away everything.’

Since the valency-changing derivations are not productive, it is rare to find neat pairs like *a-mbiel* ‘enroll (e.g. using a mat)’, *a-mbiel-üjch* ‘move by rolling (for example a big rock)’ and *a-mbiel-üy* ‘roll (itr)’. Often the semantics of several of the derivations described in 9.2 and 9.3 are not predictable, for example in *a-jlang* ‘move (itr; e.g. an unstable table)’ (and *a-lang atyam* ‘shake (the earth, when struck by an earthquake), *a-langlang-üy* ‘move; vibrate/tremble (earth)’; *a-lang-üjch* ‘move (tr; inanimate objects)’, for which no corresponding underived root *-*lang* exists.

9.2. PASSIVISATION

As was mentioned in 5.8, Umbeyajts has three morphological mechanisms to derive agentless passive forms: Infixation, suffixation and pre-aspiration (the latter often, but not always, accompanied by a morphophonological process that causes a vowel change in the root associated with the de-palatalisation of the root coda consonant). Change of theme vowel with a valency-decreasing interpretation will be the topic of section 6.5.

An additional passivisation stategy is frequently mentioned (‘sufijo [..] [de] voz pasiva’, Stairs & Kreger, 1981; ‘pasiva con agente indefinido’, Herrera, 2010; ‘impersonalizing suffix’, Kim, 2008). There is evidence from the San Mateo and San Francisco varieties that this suffix indeed passivises the verb, at least in some cases (Herrera, 2010: 83-84; Kim, 2008: 310 – even though Kim (2008: 308) also mentions that ‘forms [with *-rVn*] [..] are beter characterized as impersonalization rather than passivization’); however, this evidence is missing in the San Dionisio variety, and *-aran* is definitely not a passive in San Dionisio Umbeyajts, since it can attach to intransitive roots as well.

The other three strategies do derive genuinely passive forms (though agentless), yielding intransitive forms with the original O argument becoming the S of the intransitive verb.

9.2.1. PASSIVISATION BY INFIXATION OF -RV-

An unproductive infix *-rV-* used on a transitive verb yields an intransitive verb with the original O argument becoming the S. The examples in 5-27 will be repeated below as 6-13 through 6-17.

9-4a	*ɑ-rang*	->	*ɑ-ra:ra:ng*
	TV-do/make		TV-do/make:PAS
	‘makes’		‘is made’
9-4b	*ɑ-xom*	->	*ɑ-xo:ra:m*
	TV-find		TV-find:PAS
	‘finds’		‘is found’
9-4c	*ɑ-ndiem*	->	*ɑ-ndie:ra:m*
	TV-want		TV-want:PAS
	‘wants’		‘is wanted’
9-4d	*ɑ-sap*	->	*ɑ-sa:ra:p*
	TV-catch		TV-catch:PAS
	‘catches’		‘is caught’
9-4e	*ɑ-ndok*	->	*ɑ-ndo:ro:k*
	TV-fish		TV-fish:PAS
	‘fishes’		‘is caught (by fishing)’
9-4f	*ɑ-xot*	->	*ɑ-xo:ra:t*
	TV-hide		TV-hide:PAS
	‘hides’		‘is hidden’

9-4g	*Ajgey*	*xow*	*ɑ-ndyiem*	*m-ɑ-ngey*	*ñiw,*
	DEM4	much	TV-want	IRR-TV-hear	PRON3
	ngüñ	*küty*	*ɑ-sa:ra:p*	*tyiel*	*ndyuk*

	which	fish	TV-catch.PAS	in	sea

wüx *a-ndok-aran.*
on TV-fish-IMP
'That's what he really wants to know (lit. 'hear'), what fish is caught in the sea when they go fishing'

9-4h *Kej* *a-xo:ra:t* *par* *ngu=m-a-xom-aran.*
DEM2 TV-hide:PAS para NEG=IRR-TV-find-IMP
'It's hidden there so that people don't find it'

9.2.2. PASSIVISATION (IMPERSONAL) BY SUFFIXATION OF *-ÜK*

Just four verbs have been found capable of deriving pseudo-passive forms with *-ük*, which are interpretable as impersonals (like *-aran*) – there is no apparent semantic or pragmatic difference between these two forms, but there is a formal difference, namely that *-ük* is i) rarer, and ii) not productive, and restricted to a few verbs.

9-5a	*a-wiel*	->	*a-wiel-ük*
	TV-maintain		TV-maintain-PAS
	'maintains'		'is maintained'
9-5b	*a-jants*	->	*a-jands-ük*
	TV-wash		TV-wash-PAS
	'washes'		'is washed'
9-5c	*a-ndxiel*	->	*a-ndxiel-ük*
	TV-grind		TV-grind-PAS
	'grinds'		'is ground'
9-5d	*a-jan*	->	*a-jan-ük*
	TV-bring.ANIM		TV-bring.ANIM-PAS

‘bring [animate object referent]’ ‘is brought’

9-5e *A-jmbok* *u-mbas,* *ngu=m-a-xyujp,* *ñing*
TV-stink POS.I.U-surface NEG=IRR-TV-bathe neither

ngu=m-a-jants-ük *mi-kamix,* *<u>bueno</u>,*
NEG=IRR-TV-wash-PAS POS.II.U-shirt well

la=ngu=m-u-wiel-ük, *lyi=kich*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-maintain-PAS PF=be.skinny
‘He smells, he doesn’t bathe, nobody has washed his shirt, well, they don’t take care of him anymore, he has become skinny.’

9.2.3. PASSIVISATION BY PRE-ASPIRATION

Pre-aspiration is not a productive process, but it does apply to a relatively large class of verbs in comparison to the other passivisation strategies.

9-6a	*a-paj*	->	*a-jpaj*
	TV-call		TV-PAS.call
	‘calls; screams’		‘is called’
9-6b	*a-wich*	->	*a-jwich*
	TV-throw		TV-PAS.throw
	‘throws’		‘is thrown’
9-6c	*a-küly*	->	*a-jkal*
	TV-wait		TV-PAS.wait
	‘waits’		‘is waited for’
9-6d	*a-wüñ*	->	*a-jwan*
	TV-get.out		TV-PAS.get.out

	‘gets out, removes’	‘is removed (out of)’

The derivation shown in examples 9-6a through 9-6d are fairly straightforward. However, some apparently passive derivations seem to lack a non-passive counterpart:

9-7a	*a-jlang* TV-move ‘moves (itr)’	**a-lang*
9-7b	*a-jmbaj* TV-break ‘breaks (itr/tr)’	**a-mbaj*
9-7c	*a-jlyich* TV-fall ‘falls’	**a-lyich*

A number of pre-aspirated roots are not recognisable as derivations:

9-8d	*a-jmyuely* TV-enter ‘goes in’
9-8e	*a-jmiek* TV-descend ‘goes down’
9-8f	*a-jtyup* TV-ascend ‘goes up’
9-8g	*a-jlük*

TV-exist

‘exists’

9-8h *ɑ-jmbok*

TV-stink

‘smells bad’

9-8i *ɑ-jküy*

TV-get.angry

‘gets angry’

9-8j *ɑ-jnduop*

TV-have.hiccough

‘has hiccough’

9-8k *ɑ-jndsuop*

TV-emerge

‘emerges’

9-8L *ɑ-jpyuely*

TV-be.spicy

‘it’s hot (chili)’

9-8m *ɑ-jtok*

TV-drip

‘drips’

9-8n *ɑ-jtyierr*

TV-vomit

‘vomits’

9-8o *ɑ-jrrok*

TV-swim

‘swims’

9-8p *a-jluop*

TV-float

‘floats’

9-8q *a-jlüly*

TV-fly

‘flies’

9-8r *a-jñej*

TV-be.good

‘is good/nice/beautiful’

9-8s *a-jtsuong*

TV-sink

‘sinks’

9-8t *a-jtyinch*

TV-spill

‘spills (itr)’

9-8u *a-jpich*

TV-soil

‘makes dirty’

9.3. REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL FORMS

9.3.1. REFLEXIVE SUFFIX *-ÜY*/*-EY*

Reflexive-reciprocal *-ey* (realised as *-ey*, or *-üy* following roots with vowel nucleus *a* or *ie*) is a non-productive derivational device covering three operations:

I. Reduction of valency from a transitive verb to produce a reflexive verb or an intransitive verb;

II. Reduction of valency from a transitive verb to produce a reciprocal derivation; and

III. Reduction of valency from a small subclass of ambitransitive verbs of type S=A to form an intransitive verb with self-benefactive semantics.

Reflexivisation (unlike reciprocal derivation) is not a productive derivational process, it is limited to a closed class of transitive verbs.

A reflexive derivation yields an intransitive verb, with the underlying A=O argument becoming the S argument.

9-9a	*ɑ-jaw*	->	*ɑ-jaw-üy*
	TV-see		TV-see-RF
9-9b	*ɑ-mbiy*	->	*ɑ-mbiy-ey*
	TV-kill/hit		TV-kill/hit-RF

When the only possible O argument of the transitive verb is inanimate, however (as is the case in verbs like 'close (e.g. a door)' or 'roll up (e.g. a mat)' , the result is not an intransitive verb with O becoming S. Rather, the derivation could be seen as a type of anti-causative in these cases, since it actually yields an intransitive verb of type S=O:

9-10a	*ɑ-mbiel*	->	*ɑ-mbiel-üy*
	TV-roll.up		TV-roll.up-RF
	'rolls up (tr)'		'rolls up (itr)'
9-10b	*ɑ-pal*	->	*ɑ-pal-üy*
	TV-close		TV-close-RF

	‘closes (tr)’	‘closes (itr)’

9-11a *S-a-xot-üy*
1-tv-hide-rf
‘I hide’

9-11b *S-a-xot-ay-on*
1-tv-hide-rf-pl
‘We hide; we hide each other’

9-11b is ambiguous, in that it can refer either to a situation where the set of participants intended as included by the first person exclusive form hid themselves, in the reflexive reading, or to a situation where some (or all) of the participants hide some (or all) other participants, in the reciprocal reading, or to a combination of these situations.

9.3.2. SELF-BENEFACTIVE USE OF REFLEXIVE FORMS

Reflexive forms can also have self-benefactive semantics:

9-12 *t-a-sap* *m-a-tsündy,* *tün tün tün tün*
pst-tv-grab irr-tv-sound ono

“i-jch *xik* *m-a-jal* *xa-wiel* *par* *n-a-mbay-ejch-ey*
2-give pron1 irr-tv-long 1pos-tail for IRR-TV-be.scared-CAU-RF

xa-peang *n-a-mbay-ejch* *meáwan.”*
1pos-mosquito 1irr-tv-be.scared-cau all

‘He (i.e. the monkey) started to play, tün tün tün tün, [saying] “Please cause my tail to grow so that I may scare all the mosquitos [around] me, so that I may scare them all.”’

9.4. THEME VOWEL *U-*

9.4.1. REDUCING VALENCY

Theme vowel *u-* causes a reduction in valency, which may produce passive verbs.

9-13	*A-rang*	*mezcla*	*par*	*m-u-rang*	*iem.*
	TV-do	mixture	for	IRR-TV-do	house

Par	*m-u-ta-ran*	*pegar*	*ladrillo*	*kej*	*a-tam.*
for	IRR-TV-do-IMP	glue	brick	DEM2.MED	TV-be.useful

'One makes a mixture for making houses. It can be used to glue bricks [together].'

9-13b	*Pa*	*najnguow,*	*m-u-rang*	*najnguow,*	*a-jmyuely*	*tamarindo,*
	for	soup	IRR-TV-do	soup	TV-enter	tamarindo

ap=i-yak	*limuoñ.*	*M-u-rang*	*najnguow,*	*igual*
FUT=2-put	lemon	IRR-TV-do	soup	same

ngüñ=an	*küty*	*m-u-rang*	*najnguow.*
which=DEL	fish	IRR-TV-do	soup

'For soup, soup [can be] made, tamarindo goes in, you put in lemon. You make soup (lit. 'soup is made'), or otherwise you make soup with some fish.'

9-13c	*Ajgey*	*par*	*m-u-rang*	*ñ-u-pants.*
	DEM4	for	IRR-TV-do	ST-TV-fry

'That is for making *frito*.'

However, the verb is not always passive and does not even necessarily involve a change in valency, as is shown in the next subsection.

9.4.2. REDUCING TELICITY

9-14a *Ngu=m-a-pieng.*

NEG=IRR-TV-speak

'She does not speak' (in a concrete situation)

9-14b *Ngu=m-u-pieng.*

NEG=IRR-TV-speak

'She does not speak' (generally; i.e. because she has lost the capacity to do so)

9-15a *Ngu=m-a-jaw.*

NEG=IRR-TV-see

'He does not see it' or 'he cannot see it'

9-15b *Ngu=m-u-jaw.*

NEG=IRR-TV-see

'He cannot see' (because he is blind)

9-16a *Ngu=m-u-ta* *<u>divinar</u>.*

NEG=IRR-TV-LV guess

'One could not guess it.' (about a mysterious underground river in a story providing water to a dried-out region)

9-16b *Jang* *m-u-ta* *divinar,* *a-pieng.*

who IRR-TV-LV guess TV-speak

'He asked himself who could have possibly thought it were so'

9-16c *Ngu=m-a-jlük* *jang* *m-u-ta* *<u>divinar</u>* *<u>vay</u>.*

NEG=IRR-TV-exist who IRR-TV-LV guess DISC

'Nobody could have possibly known.'

9.5. PARTICIPIAL FORMS

9.5.1. HUMAN AGENTIVE CONSTRUCTION

Agentives can be formed using the agentive construction which consists out of the stative prefix attached to a prefixing root with theme vowel *u-*.

9-17a	*a-kejch*	'teach'	*ñ-u-kejch*	'teacher'
	TV-teach		ST-TV-teach	
	a-jimb 'sweep'		*ñ-u-jimb*	'someone who sweeps'
	TV-sweep		ST-TV-sweep	

9.5.2. OTHER PARTICIPIAL FORMS

9.5.2.1. PASSIVISED VERBS

Some passivised verbs with theme vowel *u-* can become a passive participial form by adding the stative prefix. These are thus structurally the same as the human agentive participial forms mentioned in 9.5.1. The difference between these is illustrated below in examples 9-18a, which is a human agentive form, and 9-18b, which is a passivised form. Passivised forms are used with transitive verbs that tend to have a human agent and a non-human object (for example, verbs of cooking or building).

9-18a	*a-rang*	*ñ-u-rang*
	TV-do	ST-TV-do
9-18b	*a-pants*	*ñ-u-pants*
	TV-fry	ST-TV-fried

9-18c	*Ñ-u-rang*	*costumbre*	*giñey*	*mod*	*a-ndyow*	*Cristo.*
	ST-TV-do	tradition	how	mode	TV-die	Christian

'The tradition is enacted [showing] how Christ died.'

9-18d	*Ajgey*	*ñ-u-rang*	*revoltura*	*par*	*m-u-rang-aran*	*iem.*
	that.way.MED	ST-TV-do	mixture	for	IRR-TV-do-IMP	house

'That is the way the mixture is made in order to make a house.'

9-18e	*S-a-rang-an*	*ñ-u-pants*	*küty.*

1-TV-do-PL ST-TV-fry fish

'We make fried fish.'

9.5.2.2. STATES

A small subclass consisting of only two intransitive verbs is not usually found with theme vowel *a-,* but mostly with *u-*, and these verbs do not undergo a change of valency in this case. The participial form produces a stative meaning.

9-19a	*ñ-u-kuoy*	'painful' (also 'pain')
	ST-TV-hurt	
9-19b	*ñ-u-tam*	'useful'
	ST-TV-be.useful	

10. Grammaticalisation processes

Grammaticalisation is the development of grammatical items out of items previously included in the lexicon, whereby 'a lexical item or construction in certain uses takes on grammatical characteristics, or through which a grammatical item becomes more grammatical' (Hopper & Traugott, 1993: 2). The term was used by Meillet (1912), but the concept can be traced back to as far as 1746 (Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, according to Lehmann, 2015).

Distinguishing between 'the grammatical' and 'the extragrammatical' is tantamount to venturing into a hotly debated realm of theory and terminology, more about which will be said in chapter 11 about pragmatics. Grammatical forms tend to be known as such in virtue of their obligatory presence in an utterance as specified by some rule, in other words: the presence of such functional forms accomplishes the fulfillment of a grammatical function. Lexical items, on the other hand, are prototypically content words. Lehmann (2005) proposes cognitive accessing style ('holistic' vs. 'analytic') as a criterion for determining grammaticality and lexicality, whereby lexical items are accessed more holistically and grammatical items more analytically. If grammaticalisation means that a lexical form acquires characteristics of grammatical forms, grammaticalisation can be seen as a loss of functional autonomy, according to Lehmann (2002: 15).

Grammaticalisation can be studied from a synchronic as well as from a diachronic angle (Hopper & Traugott, 1993: 1-2). In this chapter, both synchronic as diachronic aspects will be taken into account; however, the emphasis will be on the diachronic, as an important aspect of the overview given here is the grammaticalisation path I hypothesise to be behind the forms found today, using Radin's texts in each case to support my conclusions.

In Umbeyajts, many of the markers employed in the verbal system are (bound) clitics or affixes that have grammaticalised from identifiable roots (which are often still used as morphologically independent lexemes in a parallel manner) acquiring a new,

grammatical meaning (often related semantically to the original meaning of the free lexeme). A list of such markers with examples will be provided in the first section of this chapter.

In addition, some verbal roots have, in some inflected form, grammaticalised to independent markers still coexisting with the lexical items from which they have originated. These appear as aspect markers or prepositions, and will be listed in 10.2.

10.1. GRAMMATICALISED TAM MARKERS

10.1.1. CLITICS

10.1.1.1. PROGRESSIVE *TYI=*

Marker *tyi=* has cognates in both San Mateo (*tea-*) and San Francisco Umbeyajts (*dyu-*). In San Dionisio Umbeyajts, it seems to be still fully exchangeable with the less frequent unbound form *tyigely* (found plentifully in Radin's work; example 10-1a-e); in the San Mateo variety, the corresponding form is *tenguial* (Stairs & Kreger, 1981). Examples 10-1f-g are from contemporary San Dionisio Umbeyajts.

10-1a	*Tanguotc*	*ano'p*	*nacü'o^{i}*	*tigel*	*manö'^{c}p*	*mitüo^{i}*	*ta^{c}r*
	he met	a	man	was	selling	masks	blac

kolor de oro.
color of gold
'He came across a man who was selling masks, of the color of black and gold'

10-1b	*Nacü'o^{i}*	*kam*	*tigel*	*mange'i*	*mä'awan.*
	man	that	was	listening	all

'The man was listening.'

10-1c *A^{c}k tök kam, tige'l mandö'o^{i} mikë.*

Ajk	*tük*	*kam*	*tyigely*	*m-a-ndüy*	*mi-kej.*
DEM1	frog	DEM2.PROX	PRG	IRR-TV-suck	POS.U.II-blood

'This frog was sucking her blood.'

10-1d pero *la mange'^{i} ngine'^{i} tigel mara'n na^{c}ta^{c} ;*

<u>pero</u>	*la=m-a-ngey*	*ngiñey*	*tyigely*	*m-a-rang*		*najtaj*
but	PF=IRR-TV-hear	how	PRG	IRR-TV-do		woman

'but he already heard what the woman was doing'

10-1e *Pŭes* mas *öp mirī'am^{b} mü'^{c}tc ti'ĕl kas tiĕl asēt tigĕl xŏŋgŏyŏ'^{i}.*

Pues	*<u>mas</u>*	*ü-p*	*m-ir-ie-mb*	*m-ü-jch*	*tyiel*	*kas*	*tyiel*	*aseit*
well	more	TV-go	IRR-2-TV-go	IRR-TV-give	LOC	case	LOC	oil

tyigely jongoy-oj.

PRG boil-3

'Well, you will be placed in a barrel of heated oil.'

10-1f *Tyigely* *m-a-xyujp.*

PRG IRR-TV-bathe

'She is taking a bath'

10-1g *Tyi=m-a-xyujp.*

PRG=IRR-TV-bathe

'She is taking a bath'

10.1.1.2. FUTURE CLITIC *AP=*

The future clitic with its seemingly irregular paradigm (first person singular and plural exclusive, *sa=*, *ap=, ip=* or *p=* for the second person and *ap=* or *p=* for the first inclusive plural and third person) has clear indications of having grammaticalised from a verb root, (*ü)-p*, very rarely used and with archaic connotations today, but still quite frequent in Radin's texts. The allomorphic variation in the second person (with *ip=* resembling the second person affix *i-* which follows it), which I at first thought to be due to a assimilation process caused by the second person affix *i-*, could more plausibly be described as originating in the full verbal form of *-p*, where the second person would have been marked both on *-p* and the verb following it.

Notably, *-p* resembles the verb 'to go' also phonologically[110] (*-mb,* however with a different theme vowel, *a-*; with *ü*, it would yield a different verb (originally palatalised (see 2.3.1), taking corresponding suffixes) meaning 'to run out; to finish').
The original construction could be analysed as a purposive clause construction (where *üp marang* could be analysed as [TV-'go' IRR-TV-do], thus 'he will go [in order] to do it'). In the San Mateo variety, just as purposive clauses are in the 'subordinate' form, future forms, too, are obligatorily in the subordinate. It thus seems likely that the future form grammaticalised from a purposive clause construction. However, this account remains doubtful for San Dionisio, the reason for this being the fact that future forms often are not followed by an irrealis. Nevertheless, this could be a posterior development.

Examples 10-2a-f are from Radin (1929) and demonstrate the use of *-p* in constructions with future meaning. I have used Radin's own translation (though my own glossing), which does not always reflect this. Example g is from my data.

10-2a *Pues ganü'o^{i} söp nambī^{i} natā^{c}tā'^{c}?*

Pues	*ganüy*	*s-ü-p*	*n-a-mbiy*	*natajtaj*
Well	now	1-TV-go	1IRR-TV-kill	old.woman

'Perhaps I ought now to go and kill the old woman.'

10-2b *uw^{ü}'ŏc an n^{i}ũ a^{c}k* mas *kütcü'^{u}t^{c} tām^{b} alĕngã'n niaŋga^{c}lök anŏp* diā'bĕl *taŋgü'o^{i} n^{i}ũ nüvĕ'ntc par maxĩ$^{''i}$mb ĩ''ŏm i ŏp makĕ'^{c}itc mandü'ŏ^{i} navī'^{c}k ;*

wüx=an	*ñiw*	*ajk*	*<u>mas</u>*	*kyuchyujch*	*t-a-mb*	*a-lyeng=an*
again	PRON3	DEM1	more	small	PST-TV-go	TV-straight=DEL

ñing	*a-jlük*	*anop*	*<u>diabl</u>*	*t-a-ngüy*	*ñiw*	*ñyueñch par*	*m-a-jimb*
REL.LOC	TV-exist	one.RND	devil	PST-TV-pay	PRON3	boy for	IRR-TV-sweep

110 For more information about semantic correspondences between plain consonants and their prenasalised counterparts, see also footnote 17 (in section 3.2.3), where the following examples are given: ***k**anüy* 'today' – *(n)**g**anüy* 'now'; *axyuj**p*** 'bathes (intransitive)' –*axyuj**mb**ech* 'bathes (transitive).

iem	*y*	*ü-p*	*m-a-kejch*	*m-a-ndüy*	*nawijk.*
house	and	TV-go	IRR-TV-teach	IRR-TV-read	book

'The youngest went directly to where a devil lived and the devil paid the boy to sweep out his house and taught him to read a book ;'

10-2c "Sin remed, *söp nambii'^{i} ik."*

Sin remed	*s-ü-p*	*n-a-mbiy*	*ik.*
without remedy	1-TV-go	1IRR-TV-kill	PRON2

'" There is no help, I shall kill you. "'

10-2d "*Akās tomī'ŏn öp mifu'o^{i}* par *mirāŋ· n^{i}ū naŋgaxī'ŏm* ke *n^{i}ū re^{i} andī'am* ? "

Akas	*tomien*	*ü-p*	*m-i-juoy*	*par*	*m-i-rang*	*ñiw*
how.much	money	TV-go	IRR-2-take	for	IRR-2-make	PRON3

n-a-ngaj+iem	*ke*	*ñiw*	*rrey*	*a-ndyiem.*
IRR-TV-be.sacred+house	PRON.REL	PRON3	king	TV-want

'How much money will you get for building the palace that the king wishes?'

10-2e " *Entos uci'p öp maxāwā'ts tiĕl a^{c}k* mism^{o} lugā'r par *maxā'o ^{i}ginē'^{i} tigĕl ãm^{b} andö'o^{i} nĭŋgī'ŏn tiŏl na^{c}ne'^{c}* o mal.

Entons	*uxip*	*ü-p*	*m-a-jaw-ajts*	*tyiel*	*ajk*	*mismo*	*lugar*
then	tomorrow	TV-go	IRR-TV-see-1INCL	LOC	DEM1	same	place

par	*m-a-jaw*	*giñey*	*tyigely*	*a-mb*	*andüy*	*ñingüy*	*tyiel*
for	IRR-TV-see	how	PRG	TV-go	around	here	LOC

n-a-jñej *o* *mal*

ST-TV-be.good or bad

‘ “ Well, tomorrow, we will meet in this same place to find out how it goes with you, whether good or bad.’

10-2f “ *Söp narãŋ· ã’nowok* tas *mit*cokolö$^{\ddot{o}}$t. “

S-ü-p *n-a-rang* *anuok* *tas* *mi-chokolüty*

1-TV-go IRR-TV-make one cup POS.II.U-chocolate

‘I will go and make you a cup of chocolate’

10-2g *Ngej* *i-p?*

where 2-go

‘Where are you going?’ (archaic)

10.1.1.3. COMPLETIVES *LA=* AND *TSI=*

Both completive markers *la=* and *tsi=* are used today in an inchoative perfective meaning, expressing the idea of a state of affairs having already begun at the speech time or reference time and emphasising this inchoatitivity (translatable with the adverb *already*, and in Spanish with sentence-initial *ya*).

Whereas the conditions of use of these two markers are the same, there are indications that this was not the case in an prior stage of development. A comparison of the occurrence of these markers in present-day San Dionisio Umbeyajts with their occurrence in Radin’s material as well as the development of *la=* in two other varieties of Umbeyajts may provide supporting cues for this.

Completive marker *tsi=* is interchangeable with *katsüy*, which is a temporal adverb indicating recent past. In Radin, *katsüy,* glossed by him as *already*, is very frequent whereas *tsi=* does not appear in its procliticised form. In present-day San Dionisio Umbeyajts, *tsi=* is the default way of expressing the completive, but it is still interchangeable with the slightly archaic sounding full form *katsüy* (which can appear in a reduced procliticised form before the durative clitic, *al=*).

Marker *la=* is used relatively frequently in Radin's materials, but unlike *katsüy*, *la=* appears only in its reduced form. In Radin's texts, *la=* frequently appears in the context of the construction pf=irr-tv-'have', *lamajier* + N, which could be translated as '… ago' (eg. *lamajier nüty* 'days ago', *lamajier tyemp* '[a long] time ago'), but its other occurrences point to a recent past perfective meaning. (((Katsüy first was 'already', then coincides with the development of *la* into this meaning))).

In 10-3a both forms appear consecutively, the procliticised *la=* being preceded by *katsüy*.

10-3a	*Katsüy*	*la=m-a-jier*	*anuok*		*ijküw*	*a-nguoch*	*u-wix-iw*		
	PF	PF=IRR-TV-have	one.CL		two.CL	TV-receive	POS.II.U-hand-PL		
	ke	*anuok*	*nüty*	*a-jlük-iw*	*i*	*t-a-jaw*	*ñiw*		
	that	one.CL	day	TV-exist-PL	and	PST-TV-see	PRON3		
	ñyueñch	*al=m-a-jlük*		*anuok*	*lagun*	*ñingien*	*i*	*t-a-tüñ*	
	boy	DUR=IRR-TV-exist		one.CL	lake	there.DIST	and	PST-TV-ask	
	m-a-ngey	*ajk*	*ñiw*	*lagun*	*akwej*	*ñiw.*			
	IRR-TV-hear	DEM1	PRON3	lake	thing	PRON3			

'It was already a few [days ago since] they married when one day they were [somewhere] and that boy saw that there was a lake there and asked: "This lake, what is it?"

10-3b	*Wüx*	*lyi=ndajp*	*ganüy*	*tsi=i-jaw*	*tsi=jüñ*	*caracol*	*kej*
	when	PF.DIM=burn	now	PF=2-see	PF=cook	snail	DEM3
	la=m-a-rang	*blanco.*					
	PF=IRR-TV-make	white					

'Now when it's burning you can see that those snails are already cooked, they become white'

10-3c *Katsiy=i-mb* *m-a-ndyow* *antiguo.*
PF=TV-end IRR-TV-die old.ones
'The old ones already died [not too long ago].'

10-3d *Katsüy* *al=m-a-ta* *vencer.*
PF DUR=IRR-TV-do win
'He is already winning.'

10-3e *Kats=al=nd-om* *m-a-rang* *n-a-ngaj* *iem* *y* *tsi=jlük*
PF=DUR=BND-IRR IRR-TV-make ST-TV-be.sacred house and PF=exist

ndyuk *intere* *rrededor de* *ñiwew.*
sea complete around of PRON3PL
'He had already been able to build the temple and the sea was all around them.'

10.1.2. INDEPENDENT TAM MARKER *POTS*

Pots is used as an inchoative marker, signifying an initiated action. This use of pots- is not seen in Radin's texts; however, *pots*- as a prefixing verb does appear, and inchoative marker *pots* is likely to have derived from this.

10.2. LEXICALISED VERB ROOTS

Lexicalised verb roots discussed here cannot be considered serial verbs of clause chaining constructions, given their low productivity.

10.2.1. *MBICH*

Mbich functions as a qualifier meaning *entire, whole* (10-4a). It does not appear as such in Radin, but what one finds there instead is *ambich* (10-4b), which is the atemporal verb form of prefixing verb -*mbich* 'to end, to be terminated', which I hypothesise this qualifier to have grammaticalised from from.

10-4 *Mbich ungyuiejts* *t-a-rang-as-an* *najiet.*
entire night PST-TV-do-1-PL work
'We worked all night.'

10-4b ambitc nö'^{o}t ta^{c}mü'ël n^{öo}t.
ambich *nüty* *t-a-jmyuely* *nüty*
entire day PST-TV-enter sun
'The sun had been shining all day.'[111]

10.2.2. *NAW* AMONG YOUNGER AND LESS FLUENT SPEAKERS

Among younger speakers, as well as speakers with less fluency in the language, *naw* seems to function as a preposition meaning 'from'. This preposition clearly lexicalised from a stative use (see chapter 9) of the prefixing verb *-w*, 'to exit; come/go out of'. The clearest evidence for this path of grammaticalisation is the productivity, in current San Dionisio Umbeyajts, of this construction, yielding the meaning 'coming out of', which is homophonous with the prepositional form.

There are several remarks to be made about the use of this preposition. Speakers who use *naw* as a preposition use it in the way Spanish *de* is used, and, unlike the stative form, this preposition can be used in conjunction with the prefixing verb *-w* 'to exit', i.e. the same verb from which the preposition itself derives. Some examples can be found in 10-5:

10-5a *Es que* *cachuco* *kej* *a-w-üw* *naw..*
in fact *cachucos*[112] DEM2.MED TV-exit-3PL from

111 I am doubtful concerning this translation, which is Radin's. In fact, I believe the correct meaning might be 'the day ended, the sun went down.' There are two reasons for this: i) In current San Dionisio Umbeyajts, *ajmyuely nüty* means 'the sun goes down', just like in regional Spanish (*el sol se metió*), and ii) Radin's story (p. 9), the shining of the sun seems to have no relevance at all, but the sundown does (a few sentences later, the man finds a place to stay the night). Nevertheless, I followed Radin's translation for this example.

112 *Cachuco* is a colloquial term used in Mexican Spanish to refer to Guatemalan immigrants.

	Saber,	*naw*	*San Salvador,*	*ngej*	*naw*	*a-w-üw*
	who.knows	from	San Salvador	where	from	TV-exit-3PL

	n-a-suok	*cachuco*	*kej.*
	ST-TV-be.calledcachucos		DEM2.MED

'In fact, those cachucos come from.. Who knows, from San Salvador, where those [who are] called Cachucos come from.

10-5b	*Ajgey*	*a-w-üw*	*naw*	*ñingien,*	*delante de Sochiate,*
	DEM2	TV-exit-3PL	from	there.	forward from Sochiate

	delante por ahí.
	forward around there

'Those are from there [pointing], further away than Sochiate, away thereabouts'

10-5c	*La=m-a-jier*	*akas*	*ñat*	*t-a-w-as*	*naw*	*Jorong.*
	PF=IRR-TV-have	some	years	PST-TV-exit-1	from	San Francisco del Mar

'It was already a couple of years ago [and] I had come from San Francisco'

In Radin, I have not encountered a single instance of *naw*, but instead his texts yield another related form: *nawu'oc* (*nawüx* in the current orthography), probably a combination of *naw* 'from' and *wüx* 'on', as in examples 10-6a-b:

10-6a	*a'^{c}miŏkö'o^{v}*	*nāwü'ŏc*	*kavüo^{j}.*
	A-jmiek-üw	*nawüx*	*kawüy*
	TV-descend-3PL	from.top.of	horse

'They descended from their horses.'

10-6b	*Komī'ōn mapē'i n^{j}ū nacŭ'o^{j},*	*ta^{c}tci'k*	*n^{j}ū*	*ni*	*nawü'ŏc*	*mes I tasũ'^{co}k unik.*
	Komien	*m-a-pey*	*ñiw*	*naxuoy*	*t-a-jchik*	*ñiw*	*ni*
	when	IRR-TV-arrive	PRON3	man	PST-TV-jump	PRON3	neither

nawüx *mes* *i* *t-a-sujk+u-ñik*

from.top.of table and PST-TV-grap+POS.I.U-neck

'When the man arrived the girl jumped over the table and embraced him'

10.2.3. ANDÜY

Andüy is used as a preposition which signifies approximateness and directionality (translatable with *toward* or Spanish *hacia*). Its origin probably lies in the prefixing verb *-ndüy* able to express the ideas 'to be directed towards', 'to get educated' (in combination with preposition *wüx* 'on; about') and 'to cure (traditionally, i.e. the work of the *ñundüy* or *curandera/curandero*)' as can be gathered from examples 10-7f-g.

Andüy occurs in a number of instances in Radin – see examples 10-7h-i - where it is translated using the prespositions 'to' and 'along'.

10-7a *Ngu=m-a-jlük* *carretera,* *ap=i-mal* *tyiet* *andüy* *Yolanda*

NEG=IRR-TV-exist highway FUT=2-carry below towards Yolanda

andüy *Yolanda* *ap=ir-ie-mb,* *a-mb* *tyiel* *tren* *andüy* *Juchitán*

towards Yolanda FUT=2-TV-go TV-go LOC train towardsJuchitán

ap=i-nüjp *mi-ix.*

FUT=2-sell POS.II.U-iguana

'There was no highway, you'd carry [merchandise] walking towards Yolanda, towards Yolanda you'd go, one goes by train towards Juchitán, you'd sell your iguana.'

10-7b *Kanénkaman* *a-jlük* *escuela* *andüy* *ñingien*

right.now TV-exist school toward there.DIST

carretera *hasta faro.*

highway until lighthouse

'Nowadays, there is a school thereabouts, [on] the highway to the lighthouse.'

10-7c *San Dionisio* *a-pieng* *al=m-a-jier* *poder,* *al=m-a-jier*
San Dionisio TV-speak DUR=IRR-TV-have power DUR=IRR-TV-have

meáwan *a-kijmien-üw* *andüy* *ñingey*
all TV-bring-3PL toward there.MED
'He said San Dionisio will be empowered and have everything, people will bring it from thereabouts.'

10-7d *T-a-mb* *andüy* *tyu-mbiem.*
PST-TV-go toward LOC.POS.I.U-house
'She went to her house' (lit. 'toward inside her house')

10-7e *S-a-pieng* *ñol* *ngu=n-a-mb* *xik* *pues,* *s-a-ndüy*
1-TV-speak why NEG=1IRR-TV-go PRON1 DISC 1-TV-be.directed

n-a-yajk *u-ñiejk* *yew,* *n-a-mb* *ñing* *i-pieng.*
IRR1-TV-feel POS.I.U-eye water 1IRR-TV-go REL.LOC 2-speak
'I mean, why should I not go myself, I shall go and familiarise myself with this waterhole, I will go where you say.'

10-7f *Tyi=m-ü-jch* *s-a-ndüy* *wüx* *umbeyajts.*
PRG=IRR-TV-give 1-TV-be.directed on Umbeyajts
'I am studying Umbeyajts'

10-7g *Mi-kwal* *ñiwew* *a-ndüy* *wüx* *ingeniería.*
POS.II.U-child PRON3.PL TV-be.directed on engineering
'His son is studying engineering'

10-7h *C^{e}ō* *mi*-aleg^{r} *ānowŏk no*ga'^{i} *arāŋ*. pasial *andöo^{i}* *ānowŏk* lugar *c^{e}ō mi*trist.
xow *mi-alegr* *anuok* *gay* *a-rang pasear*
very POS.II.U-cheerful one.CL rooster TV-do walk

andüy *anuok* *<u>lugar</u>* *xow* *mi-<u>trist</u>*

toward one.CL place very POS.II.U-sad

'Full of joy a rooster passed along a place that was very gloomy.'

10-7i *Ndŏ[c] tam[b] andö'oi tümbī'am.*

R: After he went to where in his home.

Ndoj *t-a-mb andüy* *tyu-mbiem.*

afterwards PST-TV-go towards LOC+POS.I.U-home

'Afterwards he went to his home.'

In 10-7d (and in 10-7i from Radin), the use of *andüy* (adding approximateness) followed by the locative (conveying specificity with regard to the information about the location) may seem somewhat contradictory. However, the difference with a non-approximative rendering of these utterances *(Ndoj) tamb tyumbiem* 'he went home' would be that in the first, what is expressed is a focus on the fact that the referent is still 'away from home', and at the same time a certain telicity that the action has to it – a specific endpoint which, however, is not in the focus, whereas in the case of the second, there is a stronger focus on the endpoint. The difference could be somewhat reflected by a translation taking into account this focus, for example: 'He went home', for the second, and 'he left in order to get home', for the first.

10.2.4. *AKIEJP*

Akiejp is used as a preposition meaning 'with' - expressing concomitance both in the sense of both 'companion', or comitative, and 'tool', or instrumental, relations (as is the case in English *with* or Spanish *con*). It developed from prefixing verb *-kiejp* with a comitative meaning, 'be with' or 'accompany'. In the variety of San Mateo del Mar, the corresponding root (*-kiiüb*) is but one of a family of three concomitant lexemes that can express 'companion' relations (Cuturi & Gnerre, 2005), and this is true to some extent in the San Dionisio variety as well; however, it should be noted that things in this variety do not conform well to the elaborate description of the San Mateo variety presented by Cuturi and Gnerre, and the most significant differences seem to be linked to a

development toward similarity to Spanish, for example the use of *-kiejp* for a number of functions expressed in San Mateo by other lexemes such as *naag,* or they may appear in a context of language attrition, for example the falling into disuse of *aweajk* (and its functional identity with *akiejp*).

10-8a	*La=küly*	*ñiw*	*m-a-kiejp*	*xa-ntaj,*	*m-a-küly-iw*	*ñingey,*	
	PF=live	PRON3	IRR-TV-accompany	POS1.II-wife	IRR-TV-live-3PL	thereabout	
	mi-tía,	*ñingüy*	*s-a-küly-anajk-an.*				
	POS.II.U-aunt	here.	1-TV-live-com-PL				

'She stayed with my wife, they live there, my aunt, we live together here'.

10-8b	*Anuok*	*lugar*	*a-pieng*	*ngu=m-a-jlük*	*yew*	*a-pieng,*	*pur*
	one.CL	place	TV-speak	NEG=IRR-TV-exist	water	TV-speak	purely
	a-chyuj-aran	*yew*	*a-pieng,*	*myunkej*	*a-mb*	*m-a-yar*	*burro,*
	TV-ask.for-IMP	water	TV-speak	far	TV-go	IRR-TV-bring	donkey
	pur	*akiejp*	*kawüy*	*a-pieng.*			
	purely	with	horse	TV-speak			

'A place, it is said, where there is no water, people just beg for water, the donkey brings it from afar, [it is done] just with horses.'

11. Clause types and combining

In terms of their internal structure and participant marking, clauses can be either transitive or intransitive (for an earlier discussion of transitivity and valency, see chapter 6; (the case of functionally ambitransitive reflexive verbs (of type S=A) is discussed in 6.2.1.1.1.2). In what follows, I will discuss verbless clauses (11.1) and copula clauses (11.2). Following Aikhenvald (2015), I will provide the reader with a list of clause types found in the data with special attention given to i) internal structure, ii) syntactic function and iii) pragmatic functions and speech acts.

From the point of view of syntactic structure, main clauses are distinguished from dependent clauses: While the former can form a sentence of their own, the latter cannot. Dependent clause types (complement clauses, relative clauses and subordinate or adverbial clauses) will be discussed in 11.3.

Finally, in terms of pragmatic functions and speech acts, we distinguish declarative, imperative and interrogative clauses which will be discussed in 11.4.

Two different types of negation (on the clausal/constituent level) will be discussed in 11.5.

11.1. VERBLESS CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS

A very common type of clause in San Dionisio Umbeyajts is a verbless clause expressing a relationship (usually semantically of the type identity, or derived from this type) between two juxtaposed constituents. In this type of construction, the verbless clause subject (VCS) is followed by a non-verbal predicate. The verbless clause complement (VCC) can be topicalised by inverting these two positions. This feature, as well as the somewhat irregular behaviour of verbless clauses expressing location with durative marker *al=* pertaining to topicalisation and several other regards, will be discussed at more length in the chapter about discourse structure and genre types.

Verbless clauses are mainly used in San Dionisio Umbeyajts to express identity (11.1.1), comparison (11.1.3) and benefaction (11.1.4). Verbless clauses may also express

existence/location, but in this case a durative marker must be used (11.1.2). Negation of a verbless clause is done by means of constituent negation using *ngu=mi* (11.1.5).

It is not uncommon for verbless clauses to include prepositions borrowed from Spanish (an example of this would be the Spanish preposition *para* or its phonologically adapted counterpart *par* in benefactive clauses). A more in-depth discussion of benefactives in this contexts is due in the chapter on language contact and internal variation.

11.1.1. VERBLESS CLAUSES EXPRESSING IDENTITY

In this type of verbless clause, the VCS is followed by the VCC:

11-1 *Ajgey* *xa-kwal.*
DEM4.N.VIS 1POS.II-child
'That's my son'

11-2 *A poco* [*ñiw* *dios*]*?*
MIR PRON3 god
'Is he really a god?' (Tigre story: People talking about a stranger who seemed to have extraordinary powers)

11-3 *Xa-noj* *presidente.*
1POS.II-husband mayor
'My husband is mayor'

11.1.2. VERBLESS CLAUSES EXPRESSING EXISTENCE OR LOCATION

Durative marker *al=* was discussed in 3.2.4. Verbless clause constructions can be employed to express location/existence exclusively with this marker present on the verbless clause complement (VCC), which specifies a location, either by a demonstrative pronoun of the various types described in chapter 4, a preposition (*tyiel* 'in', *wüx* 'on'), or in rare cases, a place name (*Sanvicent, Kiambaj*).

As for the grammatical relations of the verbless clause with *al=*, the marker occurs on the VCC, with the subject occurring either before or after it. Marking of the verbless clause subject is also possible by adding a singular personal prefix from the set of

prefixing verbs (no plural marker; this is impossible due to morphotactic restrictions, since plural markers are suffixes – pluralisation would thus require the durative verb in its full, independent, form *-lyien* – see 3.2.4), such as can be seen in example 11-7.

The fact that this marker carries verbal inflection forms, and therefore resembles a verb, may have the consequence of casting doubt on the non-verbal status of clauses containing it. Nevertheless, several of its main dependent characteristics provide criteria to ascribe a non-verbal status to this clitic: (1) The fact that, even though it is an intransitive verb, its abbreviated form *al=* cannot constitute an independent clause, and its full form *-lien* cannot be expressed without a locative (such as a spatial demonstrative or a place name); and (2) the morphophonological status of *al=* as a clitic, combinable with nearly all word classes.

11-4 [*Pero yew al=kej yew*] *pero jang ap=m-u-ta divinar pues*
but water DUR=DEM2.MED water but who FUT=IRR-TV-LV guess DISC
'But [as for] water there is water there, but who would know'

In this example, the verbless clause subject is the second occurrence of *yew* (the first one in this example is left-dislocation with a topicalising function).

11-5 [*Al=tyiel ñipilan a-tajk creer*] [*a-xeng u-mbiem*] *[..]*
DUR=LOC people TV-LV believeTV-pick.up POS.I.U-home
'There are people who believe [the story], they pick up their home (i.e. property, in order to take it to a safe place)'

11-6 *Al=kiambaj.*
DUR=village
'He is in the village [now]'

11-7 *Xikxik mas saltyiel mbueno par meáwan* (Radin, tale 11:88; my transcription used).
Xik=xik mas s-al=tyiel bueno par meáwan
PRON1=RED more 1-DUR=LOC good for everything
'I am the nicest one of all'

In Radin‘s example, the combination of the durative and the locative preposition is used to yield an existential meaning (as it is in 11-4, but with the difference that it Is receiving explicit verbal marking, while the marking in 11-4 is ambiguous – the third person would not be marked in any case).

Regardless of the above, the status of the type of verbless clauses described in this section is questionable. In a sense, some of their essential characteristics differ from the other verbless clauses described in 11.1. This would mean that (1) clauses with *al=* are not typical non-verbal clauses, since they contain an verbal element which grammaticalised (partly) into a clitic which still retains some verb-like characteristics; (2) typical non-verbal clauses (i.e. clauses that completely lack any sort of verbal element and are not elliptical) are not used to express existence/location in the way described in 11.1.2; and (3) non-verbal clauses do not express any tense nor aspect characteristics - such morphology can only be expressed in verbal clauses – meaning that the aspectual component added to the meaning of the clause by the durative clitic *al=* is a remnant of the verbal origin of this clitic, which is something that groups these locational clauses together into a special, non-typical subclass of non-verbal clauses.

11.1.3. VERBLESS CLAUSES EXPRESSING COMPARISON

The only comparative construction in Umbeyajts is borrowed from Spanish. In Umbeyajts the construction is a non-verbal one, in which the parameter of comparison is preceded by Spanish *más*, usually followed by the comparee. The comparee is sometimes followed by the standard of comparison preceded by Spanish *que* (for example, *<u>mas</u> nadam pyuety <u>que</u> mich)*, but this is discursively non-preferred. It is far more frequent for the comparison to include only the comparee and the parameter of comparison, and a more native way to express a comparison including all three logical components (?) of a prototypical comparison scheme would be to mention the standard of comparison in a separate comparative or non-comparative descriptive clause.

In Spanish, the comparative clause would be a dependent clause containing the parameter of comparison preceded by *más*, followed by the standard of comparison preceded by *que* (*más grande que el gato* ‘bigger than the cat‘), and the comparee would be the copula subject of a clause, with one of the copula verbs *estar* or *ser* (*el perro es*

más grande que el gato ‘the dog is bigger than the cat‘). The construction with *ke* seems to be an important carrier of indexicality, its use indicating a certain closeness to Spanish/distance to traditional speakers, and usually affiliation to a younger generation. This will be examined more closely in the chapter on discourse.

11-8	*La=m-i-jaw*	*envidia*	*a-jier-üw*	*munxyuey,*	*munxajch*	*kej,*
	PF=IRR-2-see	envy	TV-have-PL	men	elders	DEM2.MED
	ñiwew	*más*	*naxyuey*	*ñiwew*		
	PRON3PL	more	man	PRON3PL		

‘You could see the men, the elders, were envious, they were more manly‘ (From the Ñutyok story)

11-9	*Giñey=an*	*mod*	*tyi=n-a-mong-uoch-ien,*	*mas*	*mejor*	*akiejp*	*líquido.*	
	how=DEL	way	PRG=1IRR-TV-pass-CAU-PL	morebetter		with	liquid	

‘We‘ll get through it [all] anyway, [even] better with liquid‘ (a farmer talking about how much better things got, in his view, since liquid herbicide began to be used instead of machete)

Comparison of equality may be expressed by means of the word *at*, also used as a clause linker (see ch. 10). *At* means ’and’, ’too’ and can be used to express sameness. It can be reduplicated (*at-at*, meaning something much like ’the very same one’) and accompanied by the delimitative (*at=an*, ’the same (one)’ the stress pattern avoids the delimitative clitic, so *at* is stressed in this expression – see ch. 2). Other examples of *at* being used to express similarity are *At-at atowán* ’that’s the same one too’ (for example when comparing words referring to the same animal) – note the peculiar stress pattern here marked by the acute accent (stress is not found on the delimitative clitic in any other context, possibly indicating either a stress shift due to its frequent use and perhaps in analogy to *atokey* which also has final stress). Examples from contexts other than verbless clauses are *át=an ajlük* ’it’s the same; it’s just like that’; and *atmod nadam ajlük* ’it’s as big’ – with *mod* from Spanish *mod*.

11.1.4. VERBLESS CLAUSES EXPRESSING BENEFACTION

Verbless clauses with preposition *par* (Spanish *para*) followed by the recipient, used for expressing benefactive situations, are also quite common. A more native way, which is still frequently used by fluent speakers, is a subordinate verbal clause substituting the prepositional clause with a semantically appropriate verb in the irrealis relating to the way the benefactive action is delivered to the benefactee, for example 'hearing' (*-ngey*) if the situation involves speech delivered (*Sanüjch akas puoch mingeyan,* loosely translated as "I will say a few words for you to hear"), 'receiving' (*-ndyuj*) if the benefactive situation involves a transaction of property being given to someone (*Sajetyey nawijk kam mindyuj* "I'm sending this letter for you to receive") or 'eating' (*-ty*) if food is the item involved (*Tarangas ajk najnguow kam par mety,* "I made you some soup").

11-10	*Nguoy,*	*ajgey*	*ngumi*	*par*	*ik*.	
	no	DEM4.PROX	NEG.NPRS	for	PRON2	

'No, this is not for you' (referring to information about the time and place for a meeting)

11-11	*Ajk*	*tomien*	*kej*	*sol*	*par*	*xikon.*
	DEM1	money	DEM2.MED	only	for	PRON1.EXCL

'That money is only for us (excl.)'

11.1.5. VERBLESS CLAUSES EXPRESSING POSSESSION

In a similar way, declarative/descriptive statements about possession can be expressed. Morphology relevant to possession was discussed in the section on pertensive morphology (4.6.1.1). There are additional verbal and non-verbal constructions that can be used to express possessive relations, the non-verbal of which is the type of construction relevant here: Possessive noun *ukwej*, bearing pertensive morphology (*xikwej* 'mine', *ikwej* 'yours', *ukwej* 'his/her',*ukwejajts* 'our (incl.)', *xikwejan* 'ours (excl.)', *ikwejan* 'yours (pl.)', *ukwejüw* 'theirs') may be used in verbless clauses like 11-12 to express an existing possessive relation.

11-12 *Ajk* *kawüy* *kej* *u-kwej* *Ta* *Pedro*

DEM1 horse DEM2.MED 3POS-thing Don Pedro

'That horse is Don Pedro's'

The inherently possessed root *-kwej* is by no means specifically related to verbless clauses. This possessive strategy expresses the meaning 'thing [possessed]', and can, if left unspecified, have a wide number of potential referents. It is, speculatively speaking, possible that it could have carried a meaning referring to the bodily self (at least its use in contexts of sensation/perception of temperature seems to point to this, as exemplified in sentence 11-13 and 11-14).

The four examples given below (11-13 – 11-16), in line with the above disclaimer about the use of *ukwej* in contexts other than verbless clauses, refer to the use of *ukwej* generally, and not to verbless clauses specifically.

11-13 *Porque* *xik* *s-a-ngey* *historia* *u-kwej* *Ñutyok* *kej.*

because pron1 1-tv-hear story 3POS-thing Ñutyok DEM2.MED

'Because I know the story of the Ñutyok'

11-14 *Ñ-i-kiñdy* *xi-kwej.*

st-tv-be.cold 1pos-thing

'I am cold'

11-15 *Porque* *ñ-u-rrajrr* *u-kwej* *iet* *kej.*

Because ST-TV-be.hot 3POS-thing earth DEM2.MED

'Because the earth is hot' (Justo Juárez talking about times of scarce rain on his field)

Additionally, *-kwej* can also be used to express what Kim (2008, §5.3.4, p. 220) calls a 'marginal genitive' (example 11-15). Kwej, without the obligatory pertensive morphology characteristic of an inherently possessed noun, is also the question word 'what'.

11-16 *I-mbol-oj* *xi-kwej.*
tv-be.afraid-pl 1pos-thing
'They are afraid of me'

Inherently possessed root *-kwej* is by no means specifically related to verbless clauses. This possessive strategy expresses the meaning 'thing [possessed]', and can, if left unspecified, have a wide number of potential referents. It is, speculatively speaking, possible that it could have carried a meaning referring to the bodily self (at least its use in contexts of sensation/perception of temperature seems to point to this, as exemplified in sentences 11-13 and 11-14).

Umbeyajts also uses a transitive prefixing verb (*-jier*, 'have', a *habere*-type verb) for expressing possessive relations.

11.1.6. NEGATION OF A VERBLESS CLAUSE

Negative marker *ngu=* is used for negation on clausal level, but its use is restricted to simple irrealis forms and atemporal contexts. When negation is done outside such a context, constituent negator *ngumi* can be used. This is also the way to negate in the case of a verbless clause. The negative constituent negator then appears before the constituent that is negated.

11-17 *Ñiw* [*ngumi* *ñ-u-kejch* *mungich*].
pron3 neg.npr st-tv-teach youngsters
'(S)he is not a teacher.'

11-18 [*Ngumi* *ñiw*] *xa-tyety.*
neg.nprs pron3 1pos-father
'It is not he who is my father'

11.2. COPULA CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS

Two different Umbeyajts verbs could be described as copula verbs as defined in Aikhenvald (2015). One of these expresses location or existence (*-jlük*) and the other change of state or role (*-rang*, which also means 'to do').

Both these copula verbs can be expressed with temporal and aspectual distinctions as any other regular prefixing verb; no special restrictions apply, and *-jlük* behaves like any

other regular intransitive verb, whereas *-rang* acts like other transitive verbs. Arguments are zero-marked.

11.2.1. COPULA CLAUSES WITH *-JLÜK*

The first class verb *-jlük*, used with theme vowel *a-*, expresses location or existence. As will be seen in chapter 11, there is a tendency (possibly increased or even caused by the influence of Spanish copula verbs[113]), to use this verb, in certain contexts, for expressing attribution as well[114]; this use dates back at least to the beginning of the 20th century, since examples of this can be found in Radin, restricted, however, to either Spanish loans or statives expressing property concepts, as is the case in my own data. I view this lack of its attributive use in non-native contexts combined with predominance of a native strategy used for expressing attribution (stative verbs) as a strong indicator of attribution not being an original function of this verb. Its status as a typical copula verb could thus be questionable on these grounds, especially as the original use falls short of fulfilling the criteria specified in Dixon (2010b:159) for a copula, since it fails to cover either identity or attribution. However, taking into account the synchronic data, which, admittedly, may be entirely due to the influence of prolongued contact with Spanish, it does fulfill these criteria at present, as it expresses attribution in the above two contexts, and for the sake of descriptive ease and clarity I will classify *-jlük* as a copula.

It may nevertheless be interesting to keep in mind that the function of *-jlük* is more likely to have been, originally, more semantically marked specifically for existence than its current usage is. There are three main arguments in favour of the assumption that the attributive use is an innovation brought about by contact with Spanish:

1. The attributive use's restriction to contexts of non-native adjectives and stative property concepts (which correspond to the category of adjectives in Spanish);
2. The fact that using copula verbs for expressing identity and attribution relations is typologically rather scarce in Mesoamerican languages, whereas locational/existential verbs do abound crosslinguistically in this area;

113 In Spanish, two copula verb are used to express identity (*ser* and *estar*), the latter of which can be used for expressing attribution. *Hay* is used as an existential copula.

114 The use of existential verbs as copula verbs in such a context is not uncommon in Mesoamerica; see Macaulay (1996: 87) for an example of this in *Sahìn Saù/*Chalcatongo Mixtec.

3. Identity and attribution, which are the "cornerstones" of copula verbs (as they are common to copula verbs cross-linguistically – Dixon, 2010b: 159), and two of Dixon's three criteria (2010b: 160, table 14.1: identity, attribution and location) expressed by the Umbeyajts copula *-jlük*, are both ways of relating some description/predicate to a subject in a propositional expression, the difference being that the first relates the subject to some entity and expresses the claim that they have the same referent, whereas the second relates the subject to some property which is claimed to be applicable to it. In many languages, the two are expressed by one and the same copula verb, and perhaps identity and attribution are related to each other in western thinking more generally[115]. However, relations of identity, attribution and location are not functionally very similar at all in common sense theory, and it is conceivable that they are perceived as quite distinct categories in Mesoamerican thinking too – a hypothesis which may be given support by the fact that these three types of relations are expressed in three seemingly very distinct ways in Umbeyajts (and in many other Mesoamerican languages). Three native strategies occur, which are both quantitatively preferred and not Spanish-originated:
    i) Expression of identity is done merely by juxtaposing the relevant arguments (thus using a verbless clause, see 11.1.1);
    ii) Spatial existence is expressed by *-jlük*;
    iii) Attribution occurs by means of statives (and, in a few cases, adjectives – see the chapter on property concepts).

In the light of the three separate and seemingly unrelated strategies described under the third point above, the question could be posed whether the category of copula is really applicable to Umbeyajts at all, but any attempt to answer this question will

115 The distinction between statements of identity and attribution is based on the distinction between entities and properties, which dates back at least to the fivefold Aristotelian classification of predicables, where attributes are distinguished. More recently, however, the conceptual distance between identity statements and attributions seems to have diminished in language philosophy, in that identity statements, like attributions, are considered to involve properties rather than entities/singular terms denoting a direct referent. An example of this Russell's theory of descriptions (Russell, 1905) and more recent theories in the contemporary philosophy of language, where identity statements and attributions are considered as having the same logical structure.

transcend the purely descriptive level. My assumption is that it is plausible that the three strategies described above provide a sufficient mechanism for expressing the relations expressed by copula verbs as described in this section, and that this mechanism chronologically predates the attributive use of *-jlük* (which I consider to be an innovation) and that it is thus an older, more native grammatical mechanism. If the 'original' grammatical system could be regarded in separation, on some abstract level, from its practical use in the multilinguistic context of this community, the category of copula verb could be saved for cases in which such innovative use of *-jlük* occurs, and this use could be considered explicitly as code-mixing and thus kept outside, in a way, of the language description. However, I do not consider language here as a hypothetical theoretical construct which can be investigated in isolation from the linguistic praxis, and as this praxis is clearly influenced strongly by the deep-seated and lasting presence of Spanish, we end up with numerous cases where the current grammatical state of affairs seems to be the result of a prior confluence of the two systems. Any attempt at objective description, inasfar as it is possible at all to escape the limitations of the describer's own theoretical biases, should strive to holistically represent the praxis as faithfully as possible (including a description of the sociolinguistic practices related to the choice between (postulatedly) "native" and innovated/borrowed strategies whenever such a choice is available, like in this case – see the chapter on discourse). Retaining the category of copula as one of the language's own categories, apart from facilitating the ease of typological comparison (which, after all, is one of the Basic-Linguistic-Theory-method's goals), may contribute to this purpose.

Non-fluent, non-native speakers may sometimes be observed using *-jlük* for identity as well. This, however, is not done by native speakers, for whom the semantic scope of this verb is clearly restricted to cover only location, existence or attribution. This use is very marked and considered incorrect by fluent speakers assessing other's language abilities subjectively.

There is also a prepositional construction with this verb preceded by borrowed Spanish preposition *de* (11-9), to express the temporary assumption of a function/role (like for example a profession, when one is working as a substitute teacher, for instance), which

is used by some native speakers. A likely source for this construction is Spanish expression *estar de X* 'act/function as a X'.

Finally, *-jlük* is often translatable using Spanish verb *quedar* 'remain; result', something which may also have increased its compatibility with words expressing property concepts, since *quedar* [Adj] is a very common Spanish translation of English *become/be* [Adj].

11-19 [*Costumbrado* *lyi=xi-jlük-ien* *como quiera, vaya*], *tyi=a-mong* *nüty.*
accostumed PF=1-exist-PL whichever.way DISC PRG=TV-pass day
'We (excl) are used to the situation anyway, time goes by'

11-20 *Ngu=m-a-jlük* *yew.*
NEG=IRR-TV-exist water
'There is no water'

11-21 [*Giñey* *m-a-jlük* *ñipilan*], *güy* *anuok* *montaña.*
how IRR-TV-exist people DEM3 one.RECT mountain
'How could there be [any] people [here], this is the wilderness'[116]

11-22 *Ty=u-wily* *ladrillo* *kej* *a-jlük* *anuok* *xyujch* *tük* [..]
LOC=POS.I.U-backside brick DEM2.MED TV-exist one.RECT great toad
'Under the tile, there is a big toad [..]'

11-23 *De* *profesora* *s-a-jlük.*
of teacher.FEM 1-TV-exist
'I am [here] as a teacher'

11.2.2. COPULA CLAUSES WITH *-RANG*

Another way of forming copula clauses that express a change of state (English *become*, Spanish *hacerse*, lit. 'make oneself' or 'be made') can be formed by first class verb *-rang* 'do; make' with theme vowel *a-*. If *-rang* is seen as a calque of Spanish *hacerse*, one

116 Montaña, like the regional Spanish word *cerro* and more generally Mexican Spanish *monte*, are used to denote wilderness, not necessarily referring to a non-flat area.

might expect theme vowel *u-* here, which can function as a passivising strategy – after all, whereas Spanish reflexive form *hacerse* reflects the grammatical relation of its subject being the simultaneously. In the present-day varieties of the Ikojts, however, this reflexivisation (which could, speculatively, be done by using theme vowel *u-,* which, when used on *-rang*, would under normal (transitive) circumstances produces a passive clause: *ap=u-rang ñupop* 'foamy atole will be made') does not occur with this use of *-rang* as 'becoming something [i.e. a social role]'.

The fact that a passivising/reflexive strategy is not used here indicates that this use of *-rang* must be described on its own terms. Even though the origin of the construction could have been a typical, transitive use of *-rang* (speculatively with elliptical omission of an implicit concept like, perhaps, 'the work of', 'as in you do [the work of] a teacher') it is functionally a copula verb expressing a relational meaning of change of state, and its second argument can thus be considered a copula complement.

11-24 *Anuok* *milionario* *de* *rico* *p=a-rang*.
one.RECT[117] millionaire of rich FUT=TV-make
'He will get rich like a millionaire'

11-25 *A-pieng* *najtaj* *i-kyuety* *i-rang* *tont*.
TV-speak woman 2-leave 2-make fool
'The woman said: Stop being a fool'

11-26 *Ndoj* *p=i-rang* *maestra*.
then FUT=2-make teacher.FEM
'Afterwards/later you will become a teacher'

11-27 *Ndoj* *p=u-mbüly* *ganüy, kej* *p=a-rang* *mi-espuma.*
then FUT=TV-beat now DEM4 FUT=TV-make POS.II.U-foam
'Then it (i.e. the atole drink) is beaten, then it becomes foamy'

Copula clauses with *-rang* thus share their syntactic properties with other copula clauses.

117 The use of the rectangular classifier for referring to a human may be due to the fact that it is used with a Spanish loan (see chapter 13).

11.3. SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF CLAUSES

11.3.1. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Complement clauses are a type of dependent clause which function to fill an argument slot in another clause (the main clause, MC). They tend to have no formal characteristics or markers in Umbeyajts; however, an optional strategy for marking a complement clause is the use of demonstrative pronoun *ajk* (the clause-linking properties of this demonstrative are discussed more specifically in chapter 10; see 12.3.2.1.2 for its use in the context of complement clauses). In the unmarked case, complement clauses are merely juxtaposed (as in the examples in this section) and characterised by an unmarked intonation.

11.3.1.1. SYNTACTIC FEATURES

Complement clauses can follow (11-28 – 11-29) or precede (11-30 – 11-34) the main clause. This is dependent upon discourse-pragmatic conditions.

There is only one type of complement clause (the unmarked and the *ajk*-marked strategy being functionally equivalent) which comprises all three semantic types mentioned by Dixon (2010b: 393): Fact, Activity and Potential.

11-28 *S-ɑ-ngey* *xow* *ɑ-patyey* *küty.*
1-TV-hear much TV-diminish fish
'I heard fish diminished a great deal'

11-29 *A-pieng-üw* *tsi=ɑ-w* *Savicent.*
TV-speak-PL PF=TV-go.out Juchitán
'They say he already left for Juchitán.

11-30 *Ngu=m-ɑ-jlük* *ɑ-pieng-üw.*
NEG=IRR-TV-exist TV-speak-PL
'They say there is none' (Talking about the intention to get a pineapple from the shop)

11.3.1.2. CORE ARGUMENTS EXPRESSED BY COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Complement clauses can occur only in the O (see the examples in the previous sections, 11.3.1.1-2), S (which is rare, but see 11-31 which includes code switching) or VCC slot (11-32-34). There are no restrictions as to tense or aspect marking in a complement clause. There is marking of irrealis semantics in complement clauses (see 7.1.2).

11-31 *La=ngu=m-a-ta* *ni* *convenir* *[m-a-küly* *ñingüy]*$_{CoCL}$,
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-do neither be.convenient IRR-TV-wait here
por ejemplo *mun-a-mb* *Estados Unidos.*
for.example PL.ST-TV-go United.States
'It's no longer convenient to live here, for example [for] those who go to the USA.'

11-32 *N-a-jñej* *ty-ie-n-as* *ñingüy.*
ST-TV-be.good PST-TV-come-1 here
'It is nice that I came here.'

11-33 *N-a-jñej* *ganaw m-a-jmyuely-iw.*
ST-TV-be.good NEG.IRR IRR-TV-enter-3PL
'It is good that they have not come in yet.'

11-34 *Na'nĕ*^{ɔ} *katsu'o*^{i} *nacŏm anŏts* lasnit [..] (Radin, 1929: 37).
n-a-jñej *katsüy* *n-a-xom* *anots* *las* *ñity*
ST-TV-be.good PF IRR1-TV-find one.LONG tie palm
'It is good that I found a palm rope' (Example from Radin, 1929)

In 11-32, 11-33 and 11-34, which are all of the type 'it is good/nice that X', the complement clause has the position of verbless clause complement.

11.3.1.3. SEMANTIC FEATURES OF COMPLEMENTATION

11.3.1.3.1. REPORTED SPEECH

In example 11-35, which is an example from a story, the verb *-pieng* 'speak' is used in a fashion very typical for this type of register (see 11.2 for a description of genre-specific discourse features). Example 11-36 is a direct speech report which is indistinguishable structurally from a complement clause in the O position, the only difference observed being an intonational one (where direct speech reports tend to have more marked intonational features, more specifically: 1) a short pause between the verb of speech and the reported clause; and 2) the intonation of the reported speech being that of a main clause). Nevertheless, in fast speech these features may not be clearly expressed. Therefore, examples like 11-30 above are also interpretationally ambiguous.

11-35 *A-pieng* *chük* *u-wily-wily* *a-pieng* *chük* *a-jndsuop*
TV-speak REP POS.I.U-backside-RED TV-speak REP TV-emerge

malvarisc, *a-jndsuop* *kuch* *n-a-tyek* *wajchiek* *a-pien* *chük.*
althaea TV-emerge little ST-TV-be.green bush TV-speak REP
'They say that, way down there they say, emerges an althaea plant, a little bush, they say'

11-36 *Pues* *s-a-pieng* *ñol* *ngu=n-a-mb* *xik* *pues.*
DISC 1-TV-speak why NEG=1IRR-TV-goPRON1 DISC
'I said [to myself]: Why should I not go'

11.3.2. RELATIVE CLAUSES

A relative clause is a type of dependent clause which modifies an argument it shares with the main clause (MC), called common argument (CA) in linguistic theory. Relative clauses in Umbeyajts can be syndetic or asyndetic (i.e., there may be an overt marker (usually *ajk*), or there may be no marker at all). While the former is more common in the informal register employed by younger speakers, the latter is the most common in older speakers, and also in the stories documented by Radin (1929). I have not been able to find any examples of non-restrictive relative clauses.

The increased use of syndetic over asyndetic relative clauses seems to be positively correlated with the degree to which a speaker engages in, and is exposed to, the colloquial use of Spanish. This inference is based on personal observations and impressions rather than on any sound correlational evidence from the data – this will require further data gathering, wich I hope to have an opportunity to engage in on an occasion in the near future, since such evidence would be of great interest in strengthening my support for a hypothesis regarding the influence of language contact on structural features such as syntactic constructions.

11.3.2.1. Relative clauses and relativisation strategies in the data

11.3.2.1.1. Data from Radin[118]

In Radin's data, it often happens that one finds clauses which he glosses as relative clauses (Radin's glossing involves a word-to-word translation. In most cases, these are asyndetic, but sometimes they are marked with *ñing* (see 11-37 and 11-43). *Ñing* could be analysed as a relative pronoun which actually *substitutes* the CA, most often introducing a subsequent locative adverbial clause (eg. *I got up from* [*where I was sitting*]$_{RC}$) but also other types (eg. *We will assist you* [*wherever we can*][119]); and it is also the base for the demonstrative pronouns *ñingüy, ñingien* and *ñingey* (see 3.2.7.3).

An alternative analysis of *ñing* would be as follows. Rather than following a strict pattern of substituting the common argument as an actual relative pronoun, *ñing* is sometimes used to introduce a relative clause which modifies an *overt* CA shared with the MC that precedes it, eg. *They went to* [[*the place*] *where he lives*]$_{RC.LOC}$). (This is rare in today's usage; however, it is more usual in Radin (1929)). This fact opens up the possibility of an alternative analysis of the usual pattern of *ñing*, where we could then say that the CA is elliptically left out (eg. *They went to* [[*ø*] *where he lives*]$_{RC.LOC}$; see 11-43).

11-37 Entons *nĭŋgĭŏn tasā'^{c} ^{u}wü'ŏc marāŋ. apükĭ'u^{v} ndŏ' nā^{c}* i *^{u}wü'ŏc malŏmbŏ'^{o}tc tĭël mitĭ'a$^{\cdot c}$t nīaŋga^{c} mü'^{e}l n^{i}ū ku'o^{j}, ĭ^{c}pö'o^{v}* ā kada lad. (Radin, 1929: p. 24, story 11, L.5) *Then that one told her to make four monkeys of wax and that she should place them in the road on which the rabbit entered, two on each side.*

<u>*Entons*</u>	*ñingien*	*t-a-saj*	*wüx*	*m-a-rang*	*apyukiw*	*ndonaj*[120]	*<u>i</u>*	*wüx*
then	there	CP-TV-say	when	IRR-TV-do	four	wax.monkey	and	when
m-a-lomb-och	*tyiel*	*mi-tiejt*	*ñing*	*a-jmyuely*	*ñiw*	*kuoy,*		
IRR-TV-stand-CAU	LOC	POS.II.U-road	REL.LOC	TV-enter	PRON3	rabbit		
ijpüw	<u>*a cada lad*</u>.							

118 The sentences from Radin cited here are cited as follows: First the Umbeyajts text in Radin's Americanist transcription, then the word-by-word gloss (only available in some stories), and then Radin's English translation (in *italic*), followed by the conventional glossing used in the present volume.

119 This clause could be translated as a locative adverbial clause in English, but this seems to be a spatial metaphor (due to the fact that, rather than a literal 'space', a conceptual (or 'situational') space seems to be what is intended here). This metaphor is not necessarily universal, so some degree of reservation as to whether this is type of clause is really locative/spatial could be appropriate; on the other hand, however, it could be argued that the separation of conceptual and material space is at heart a Western one – a dichotomy that may not apply in Ikojts thought.

120 This word for 'wax monkey' is not found in present-day SD.

two.RND on each side

'Then there he said to make four monkeys and to place them [o]n the road [through which] the rabbit comes in, two on each side.'

11-38 *Tatü'^{ü}n anŏts ŋgarā'o* matcĕt *tatcĕ^{ce}k* lagrī^{i} *altümbā's*anŏp tök*.

He asked one old machete. He loosened brick under which a frog.

ā^{c}k tigĕl mandö'oi mikĕ'^{c} nian and^{ö}'o^{v}.

This was drinking blood who was sick.

Then he asked for an old machete. He loosened a brick under which was found a frog. This one was drinking the blood of the sick person.

t-a-tüñ anots ngarraw <u>machet</u> t-a-chejty <u>lad</u>

CP-TV-ask one.LONG old machete CP-TV-untie brick

al=ty-u-mbas anop tük. Ajk tyigely m-a-nduoy mi-kej

DUR=LOC=3POS.I-surface one.RND frog DEM1 PRG IRR-TV-suck POS.II.U-blood

n-ie-n a-ndyow.

st-tv-come TV-die

'He asked for an old machete [and] he loosened a brick on which there was a frog. It sucks blood of those who are ill.'

11-39 *Tapī'ŏŋ·, " An^{e}ŏ'l ^{n}gona'mb na^{c}lo'k* ^{n}golö^{c}kī'am akī'a^{c}p* löo^{v} *kam?* (Radin, 1929: p. 21, L.49)

He said (one day), "Why should I not go and open (the door) which does not open with this key ? "

t-a-pieng añol ngu=n-a-mb n-a-lyejk ngu=lyujk-iam akiejp lüw kam

PST-TV-speak why NEG=1IRR-TV-go1IRR-TV-open NEG=open-IRR with key DEM2.PROX

'He said: Why should I not go to open [the door] which does not open with this key?'

11-40 *l^{c}gē'i almimü'^{e}l tiĕl* karidar*, taxā'o* aset* *tigĕl xŏŋgoyŏ'· kia^{ci}ge'^{i} ti'ŏl ŋgoma'ilö'k, āt andī'am n^{i}ū* re^{i}. (Radin, 1929: p. 38, L.111)[121]

In entering the corridor he, (the mason) saw the heated oil which would have been (for him) had he not accomplished what the king desired.

[ljgey] [al=m-i-jmyuely] tyiel corredor t-a-jaw <u>aceit</u> tyigely jongoy-oj

DEM4.MED DUR=IRR-TV-enter LOC corridor PST-TV-see oil PROG boil-3

kej ajgey tyiel ngu=m-a-jlük at a-ndyiem ñiw <u>rey</u>

121 The forms *ijgey*, *almijmyuely* and *kiajgey* are variants not found in my data. (Note: *kej* in SMo. is *kiaj*).

DEM2.MED DEM4.MED LOC NEG=IRR-TV-exist so TV-want PRON3 king

'That one (the mason) entered the corridor [and] saw oil which was boiling, that one [would be relevant] if [things] would not be the way that king wants.'

11-41 "[..] *Ndŏ^{c} tatcĭlĭ^{c} ānowŏk īkö'o^{v} a^{c}tŏ'k ī^{ɲ}ō tamilmi'l tiŏl ānowŏk* sarevis" (Radin, 1929: p. 47, L.49); *"[..] Then (from it) escaped a few drops of water which he collected in a vessel."*

Ndoj t-a-chilyix anuok ijküw ajtok yow t-a-milymily tyiel

after PST-TV-escape one.RECT two.RECT drop water PST-TV-gather LOC

anuok servis.

one.RECT vessel

'Then a few drops of water escaped which he gathered in a vessel'

11-42 *Ndŏt tayā'k matsā'^{c}k c^{e}owa^{c}nĕ' nüvö'o^{v} ŋgān* par *ŋgumambö'o^{v} sŏ^{c}indī'ŏm tambö'o^{v}* matcetö'*o^{v} ā^{c}k nüvö'o^{v} ^{i}gī'ŏn* sol *apikī'u^{v} nüvö'o^{v}.* (Radin, 1929: p. 51, L.118) *Afterwards, he tied those vessels very tightly, so that they could not become loose and those vessels (of which) there were only four, break.*

Ndoj[122] *t-a-yak m-a-tsajk xow a-jñej ñiwew ngan*

then PST-TV-put IRR-TV-bind very TV-be.good PRON3PL pot

par ngu=m-a-mb-üw sojndy-iem t-a-mb=üw m-a-chety-iw

for NEG=IRR-TV-go-PL loosen-IRR PST-TV-go-PL IRR-TV-break-PL

ajk ñiwew gien sol apikiw ñiwew.

DEM1 PRON3PL DEM3.DIST only four PRON3PL

'Then he put [it so that] he would bind those pots very well, so that they would not loosen, [so that] those [of which there were] only four, [would not] break.'

11-43 *Anŏmbŭmbā's caci'^{ci}tc alma^{c}lö'k alndŏ'm ü^{e}t ā^{c}kn^{i}ū* mansan *ā^{c}kn^{i}ū nacü'o^{i} tamü^{c}tc, vitī'ŏt niaŋga^{c}lö'k mapiaŋgavä'^{ca}k, " Canacü'o^{i}, nacic ā^{c}kn^{i}ū* mansan! [..]" [..] " (Radin, 1929, p. 51, L.122)

122 Here, I reinterpreted Radin's *ndŏt*, translated as 'then' (followed by /t/-initial, completive *tayā'k* 'he put'), as *ndoj*. In current language use, *ndot* is indeed a form of what I gloss as 'bound root' *nd-*, which is the same root for a range of meanings including successive 'then; after', completive 'to finish/be completed', abilitative 'be possible' and completive 'was able to'; however, in current language use, *ndoj* (the non-prefixing 3rd person atemporal form of *nd-*) is the only form with the successive meaning; thus, Radin's form would mean 'he was able'; however, this form would require an irrealis form and would not be grammatical if followed by a completive.

“As soon as my ancestor had finished eating the apple (which) God had given him, he raised himself from where he was (reclining) and exclaimed, ‘God, how savoury is that apple!’ [..]”

Anombumbas[123]	*xa-xijch*	*al=m-a-jlük*	*al=nd-om*	*m-ü-ty*[124]	*ajk*	*ñiw*	
once	1SG-uncle	DUR=IRR-TV-exist	DUR-BND-IRR	TV-eat	DEM1	PRON3	
<u>mansan</u>	*ajk*	*ñiw*	*naxuoyt-ü-jch*[125]	*wity-iet*	*ñing*	*a-jlük*	
apple	DEM1	PRON3	man	IRR-TV-give	rise-CP	where	TV-exist
m-a-pieng+awiajk[126]	*xa-naxuoy*	*n-a-xix*	*ajk*	*ñiw*	*<u>mansan</u>*		
IRR-TV-speak+COM	1POS.II-man	ST-TV-be.tasty	DEM1	PRON3	apple		

‘Suddenly my uncle (i.e. ancestor) was [such that] he was able to eat the apple that the man had given [him] to eat, he got up [from] where he was [in order to] speak with [him], [saying] “sir, that apple is tasty”‘.

In fact, in all of the above cases in 11-38-43, the examples could alternatively be interpreted as coordinated clauses (through juxtaposition), since no information is available on prosodic features (such as intonation and pauses), which would provide the missing clues here. However, I consider that this information was available to Radin and Radin’s text would, in many ways, be a fairly accurate description of present-day language use especially by elderly story tellers (in other words, it seems to me that Radin probably had a relatively accurate “transcriber’s ear”). Considering both this fact and the fact that we today find an asyndetic relative clause construction differentiable from

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123 anomb is a numeral-derived frequency adverb meaning ‘once’ (see 3.2.2.2); *u-mbas* is the unmarked possessor form of the word I gloss as ‘surface’ (often used for [the external/visible aspect of] one’s body). Together, they are found with the meaning ‘once’ or ‘right away; at once’.

124 The *m-* of the irrealis form does not appear in Radin; however, due to the preceding /m/ this would have been realised homophonously. In present-day San Dionisio Huave, the irrealis form is found after abilitative forms.

125 This form, transcribed by Radin as *tamüjch*, is not found in present-day San Dionisio (unless it is compounded of the completive form of the verb ‘to go’, followed by the irrealis of ‘to give’): The completive never appears together with the irrealis on the same root (the only case in which forms with *t-* appear with irrealis *m-* on the same root is when the /*t*/ belongs to a form expressing the progressive aspect; in present-day SD, this form is *tyi=*, but in SMo. it is *tea=*, so the corresponding form would be *teamüüch* – which is similar to Radin’s form).

126 awiajk (a type of applicative comitative, meaning a joint action of the subject of a verb and the grammatical object] is not found in present-day San Dionisio, according to elderly speakers. However, in San Mateo, we find *aweaag* with the same meaning. The form in present-day San Dionisio is *anajk* (which also exists in SMo. – *anaag*). Other examples of this form: 7-7; 7-37 (ch. 7 about non-spatial setting).

juxtaposed coordinated clauses by means of prosodic features, chances that these are indeed more appropriately interpreted as relative clause constructions seem quite high. Radin also has a relativisation strategy similar to the one named with locative relative pronoun *ñing* (the similarity being ground in the fact that both constructions make use of some element substituting the common argument), for example in sentences like *He didn't have anything to feed himself and his family*, which has the structure of *He didn't have what to feed himself and his family with*:

11-44 *^{ic}ge'^{i} ā^{c}k niū anŏp nacü'oi almaxī'ĕr arü^{c}po'o^{v}* mikwāl,* per^{o} *a^{c}kn^{i}ū' nacüo^{i} c^{e}ō mipob^{r} i ŋgomaxī'ĕr akwĕ mü^{o}tĕvä'^{ca}k mi*famil. (Radin, 1929: p. 39, story 14, L.1). *There was a man who had three sons but the man was very poor and had nothing with which to support his family.*

ijgey	*ajk*	*ñiw*	*anop*	*naxuoyal=m-a-jier*		*aryujpüw*[127]	*mi-kwal*
DEM4	DEM1	PRON1	one.RND	man	DUR=IRR-have	three.RND	POS.II.U-child
pero	*ajk*	*ñiw*	*naxuoyxow*	*mi-pobr*	*y*	*ngu=m-a-jier*	*akwej*[128]
but	DEM1	PRON1	man much	POS.II.U-poor	and	NEG=IRR-TV-have	what
m-ü-ty+awiajk			*mi-family*.				
IRR-TV-eat+COM			POS.II.U-family				

'That is the one [about] one man who has three children, but that man is very poor and doesn't have anything [with which] he could feed [himself and] his family.'

Finally, Radin also has a few cases with Spanish *ke* as introducing relative clauses (Radin differentiates between native and Spanish-origin words by using italic (for native words/roots) and normal font (for words (or morphemes; see his possessed forms) of Spanish origin). However, three issues must be pointed out here: i) Radin does not always seem to differentiate (/h/-final) Umbeyajts *kej* (in his transcription *ke* or *kĕ*) and Spanish *que* (in his transcription, ke); ii) he does not mark the aspiration in the former (which, admittedly, is not always clearly articulated in every context in present-day SD either); and iii) Radin does not always consistently italicise *ke*/ke in this context; once he even has a RC introduced by (italicised) *kĕ*. All of these points together constitute a strong indication that there is some confusion as to whether Radin intends the

127 This is *arojpüw* in present-day SD (however, the rectangular classifier is *aryuj*).
128 The use of the interrogative *akwej* is probably a calque from Spanish 'no tenia qué comer'.

Umbeyajts *kej* or Spanish-derived *ke* here. There is thus four possibilities pertaining to *kej*/ke: 1) All relative clauses with *ke/kě/*ke in Radin have demonstrative (DEM2.MED) *kej* as a marker; or 2) all of these have *ke* as a marker, deriving from Spanish *que* (which also functions as a relative clause marker in that language); or 3) instances may be mixed; and, finally, 4) there is the (likely) possibility that *kej* modifies the preceding common argument in its capacity as a demonstrative. *Kej* is enormously prevalent in current discourse, functioning as [several types of] demonstrative and a topic marking device. This seems to me the most likely explanation, since neither relative clauses with *kej* nor with *que* are found in present-day San Dionisio Umbeyajts.

11.3.2.1.2. DATA FROM THE CURRENT CORPUS

In the current form of the language, it is common to find relative clauses introduced by *ajk*, which functions as a multipurpose demonstrative (see 3.2.7).

Locative relative clauses are most commonly introduced by *ñing* (just as in Radin, with a minor difference, see footnote 9).

Relative clauses introduced by *ajk* following the CA seem to be more frequent in i) younger speakers; ii) speakers with more experience in using Spanish; and iii) less formal contexts. In most of these cases, the syndetic relative clause marked with *ajk* is the most common type. In the context of a more formal register, formal genres (such as story-telling and ritual speech) and very fluent speakers who use less Spanish, the asyndetic, unmarked type (marked merely by intonational features, similar to other juxtaposed dependent clauses) is the most common type. This is concordant with data from Radin (see the previous section) as well as with data from other varieties (see the next section).

A rare potential case including the use *ajk* to introduce a relative clause can be found in the second sentence in example 11-37. However, Radin's data are not unambiguous in this respect. According to Radin's own transcription and translation (of which, exceptionally, there are two in this story), we are not dealing with a relative clause here. However, we could, in accordance with present-day data, analyse the clause as a relative clause modifying the final word of the previous clause (a MC), *tük*, the result being 'a frog that drinks blood of those who are ill'. Since the original records are not available, there is no way to ascertain whether Radin might have heard a pause here, or an unconventional intonation, which could have indicated to him that there was a

sentence boundary (however, perhaps it could be relevant that the final constituent of the preceding MC, which happens to be the CA for the RC, is pragmatically foregrounded (in fact, it is the most important information of the discourse patch, and constitutes the introduction of a major protagonist of the story as a new discourse topic). This could plausibly have led to the abovementioned prosodic features. However, this remains mere speculation). The conclusion must therefore be that this is not best viewed as an instance of *ajk* introducing a relative clause.

11-45 *Ajgey* [*recuerdo*$_{CA}$ *a-kyuety* *ñutyok wüx* *tiempo a-mb*]$_{RC}$.
DEM4.MED memory TV-leave Ñutyokon time TV-go
'That's the memory the Ñutyok left when he went [away].'

11-46 *Meáwan* *gey* *t-a-mong-os* *wüx* [*najiet kej*$_{CA}$
all DEM3.MED PST-TV-pass-1 on work DEM2.MED
n-a-rang]$_{RC}$.
1IRR-TV-do
'All that I went through, during the work that I do/did'

11-47 *Pues entons* *la=m-a-tüch* [*tiempo*$_{CA}$ *la=m-i-pier*]$_{RC}$, *a-lyiek* *naxiel*
DISC then PF=IRR-TV-reach time PF=IRR-2-sow TV-come milpa
midid *kej* *la=pots* *m-i-jimb* *m-i-rang* *mi-limpieza*.
measure DEM2.MED PF=INCH IRR-2-sweep IRR-2-do POS.II.U-cleanliness
'Well, after that, it reaches the time that you sow, the corn comes [up] in such a degree that you [can] already begin to sweep so that you [can] do its tidying (i.e., clean it).'

The CA can be in all functions both in the MC and the RC; however, it can only be expressed as a common noun. In another type of case, a relative pronoun, *ñing*, can be used, which then (usually) includes omission of the CA (see 11.3.2.1.1 and footnote 9 above). If the CA is the object of a transitive verb in the RC, it may optionally be expressed with pronoun *ñiw* (this is also common in Spanish: Formal Mexican Spanish *Conoces a ese muchacho al que quieren mucho?* could be rendered in colloquial Spanish as *Conoces al muchacho que **lo** quieren mucho?* In regional Spanish, in addition, the constituent order would be *Conoces a ese muchacho que mucho **lo** quieren?*) Below, this is displayed in 11-49 and 11-51:

11-48 *Ngu=m-i-yajk* *u-mbas* *ñyueñch* *kej xow* *a-ndyiem-üw?*

NEG=IRR-2-feel POS.I.U-surface boy DEM2.MED much TV-want-PL

'Don't you know that boy whom people like so much?'

11-49 *Ngu=m-i-yajk u-mbas ñyueñch kej xow a-ndyiem-üw ñiw?*

NEG=IRR-2-feel POS.I.U-surface boy DEM2.MED much TV-want-PL PRON3

'Don't you know that boy whom people like so much?'

11-50 *Ngu=m-i-yajk u-mbas ñyueñch kej ajk xow a-ndyiem-üw?*

NEG=IRR-2-feel POS.I.U-surface boy DEM2.MED DEM1 much TV-want-PL

'Don't you know that boy whom people like so much?'

11-51 *Ngu=m-i-yajk u-mbas ñyueñch kej ajk xowa-ndyiem-üw ñiw?*

NEG=IRR-2-feel POS.I.U-surface boy DEM2.MED DEM1 much TV-want-PL PRON3

'Don't you know that boy whom people like so much?'

11-52 *Nguoy, mi-tyety ñyueñch kej <u>Osito</u> mi-pyuety.*

no POS.II.U-father boy DEM2.MED little.bear POS.II.U-dog

'No, the father of that boy whose dog is Osito.'

It is also easy to see how words currently in the process of grammaticalisation to prepositions (such as *naw* 'from', actually *n-a-w* [ST-TV-go.out (glossed as go.out, but meaning 'to exit (regardless of deictic directionality)] – literally '[the one] coming out' and still functioning as a productive root for many other forms, including the plural of the cited form: *mun-a-w* [pl.agt-tv-go.out] 'those who come out') occur originally in juxtaposition as relative clauses, as in the following example involving *naw*:

11-53 *N-a-dam nangoxnüty, a-pey ñipilan n-a-w <u>afuera</u>,*

ST-TV-be.big feast tv-arrive people st-tv-go.out outside

n-a-w Veracruz, <u>a veces</u> n-a-w <u>México</u> <u>o</u> <u>Chiapas</u>.

st-tv-go.out Veracruz sometimes st-tv-go.out Mexico or Chiapas

'It's a big party, people arrive coming from outside, from Veracruz, sometimes from Mexico [City] or Chiapas.'

11.3.2.1.3. RELATIVE CLAUSES CROSS-DIALECTALLY

In San Mateo del Mar, the stative form is used in participial-like constructions (see chapter 6). To exemplify, Herrera Castro (2010) provides the following sentences, of which (b) is clearly a relative clause:

11-54 (24) a. *lanandok wüx nasoyky chinchmalinch*

la-na-ndok wüx [na-soyky chinchmalinch] REL/FN
PUNT-1-pescar PREP [REL-decir$_{REL}$ chinchorro] REL/FN
'Ya pesqué con lo que le llaman chinchorro.' {Parentesco_Braulio, 496}

b. tandeow aaga teat naxey namb tilüy mbarraw
t-a-ndeow aaga teat naxey$_{NUCLEO}$
COMPL-3-morir DET señor hombre$_{NUCLEO}$
[na-mb$_{REL}$ tilüy mbarraw] REL/FN
[REL-ir$_{REL}$ PREP amanecer] REL/FN
'El señor que se fue al amanecer se murió.' {RC}

In SD, the stative is not used in the manner exemplified in (b). San Francisco Umbeyajts does not seem to have such uses of the stative either, and Kim (2008: 13) states 'I [..] do not have anything corresponding to [Stairs & Hollenbach's] category of participles.' I cannot therefore draw any plausible conclusions regarding the history of the stative prefix in Umbeyajts. However, what can be pointed out is the fact that the stative does carry agentive overtones in SD (see chapter 6) provides the background for its use in relative clauses like 11-53 and points to a possible remnant of an older use of the stative in the way exemplified in Herrera Castro's (b).

11.4. SPEECH ACTS AND SENTENCE TYPES

Speech acts can be descriptive or performative. Descriptive refers to their use in describing states of affairs in the world (in uttering a typical declarative sentence, its literal interpretation is that of an assertion), while a performative speech act has another, or an additional, non-descriptive meaning, which is often referred to as its illocutionary force (eg. Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). A performative speech act constitutes an act involving an attitude that includes the intention to bring about some sort of modification in the world – for example, by using an imperative form, one prototypically carries out the act of issuing a command (eg. Aikhenvald, 2010a:2), which implies that there is an intention issuing from the speaker to get someone (the speech act participant at whom the imperative is directed); when one uses an interrogative clause, the act that is performed is (usually) the asking of a question (and thus expressing the intention to get someone to answer).

11.4.1. DECLARATIVE CLAUSES

Declarative (often termed indicative) clauses do not have any morphological, syntactic or intonational properties to set them apart from clauses with a different mood.

11-33 *Ñutyokkej* *wijk-iaw* *tyiel* *kiambaj* *namilyiet.*
ñutyok DEM3.MED be.born-3 LOC community west
'The *Ñutyok* was born in San Dionisio Pueblo Viejo.'

11-34 *Ñingüy al=m-a-jlük* *anuok* *tiek* *a-suok* *Cerro Pelón.*
here DUR=IRR-TV-exist one.RECT mountain TV-be.called Cerro Pelón
'There is a mountain here called Cerro Pelón.'

11.4.2. IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Imperative clauses can be directed to the second person singular and plural and are marked with the atemporal, thus being formally indistinct from declarative clauses (there are some exceptions to this in the form of suppletive forms of some verbs, see 7.5.1.3). There are no special intonational features that distinguish an imperative from a declarative sentence. A special kind of clause is one with a non-canonical imperative form (the jussive or the hortative, described in 7.5.2). The jussive involves a marker on the verb, *xu=*, followed by the inflected irrealis form.

11-35 *I-jaw* *giñey* *mod* *a-rang-aran.*
2-see how way tv-do-imp
'Have a look how it is done.'

11-36 *T-a-pey* *ñing* *a-xeng* *a-nüjp* *t-a-saj* *mi-mos*
PST-TV-arrive where.REL TV-pick.up TV-buy PST-TV-say POS.II.U-servant

"i-jaw-an *ngej* *i-ndüy-ien."*
2-see-PL where 2-be.directed.to-PL
'He arrived at the shop and said to his servant "See where to go."' (from Radin, story 4, p.9)
[own transcription and translation]

11.4.3. INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

In many languages, polar questions receive some kind of marking, whether through a morphologically dependent or independent morpheme or mere intonational marking.

In Umbeyajts, interrogative clauses with polar questions are marked only by intonational features. Whereas the prototypical intonation of a declarative has a rise in pitch at the end of the phrase, interrogative sentences tend to fall sharply at the final syllable.

11-37 *La=m-ir-ie-mb-an?*

PF=IRR-2-TV-go-PL

'Are you leaving [already]?'

11-38 *Per ñingüy ñing i-jlük kam ngu=m-a-pey*

but here LOC.REL 2-live DEM2.PROX NEG=IRR-TV-arrive

m-a-mbay-ejch ik kej ngu=m-a-ndüy-iw hasta ñingüy?

IRR-TV-be.startled-CAU PRON2 DEM2.MED NEG-IRR-TV-wander-PL until here

'But don't they [the children] come to startle you here, don't they come here?'

Interrogative words (see 3.2.8) may also be used.

11-39 *Ngej ir-io-w-an?*

where 2-TV-go.out-PL

'Where do you (pl.) come from?'

11-40 *Ngüñ nawijk i-ndiem?*

which book 2-want

'Which book do you want?'

11-41 *Ngüty ty-i-pey-an?*

when PST-2-arrive-PL

'When did you get here?'

11-42 *Akas mi-kwal?*

how.many 2pos.ii-child

'How many children do you have?' (lit. 'How many [are] your children?')

11.5. CLAUSAL NEGATION VERSUS CONSTITUENT NEGATION

Three different negation strategies exist in Umbeyajts, each used in a particular context. A verbal clause can be negated in its atemporal form. In this case, proclitic *ngu=* precedes the verb clause, which must be marked for irrealis (see 7.4.1). The second way to use the negative is constituent level negation using particle *ngumi*, which precedes the constituent that is to be negated (see 7.4.2). A third way is the negative imperative (as described in 7.5.1.2), which uses either particle *cuidajá* (11-51 – 11-53) or the

negative purposive construction *ngumi para*, followed by the verb marked for irrealis (11-54 – 11-55). Example sentences 11-43 – 11-55 are reproductions of 7-122 – 7-129 and 7-134 – 7-138).

Examples of clauses with constituent negation:

11-43 *Ngu=mi* *t-a-jaw-as* *gey.*
NEG=N.PRS PST-TV-see-1 DEM2
'I did not see that'

11-44 *Ngu=mi* *sa=n-a-mb.*
NEG=N.PRS 1=1IRR-TV-go
'I won't go'

11-45 *Ngu=mi* *ñ-er-ench-ien.*
NEG=N.PRS ST-2-be.lazy-PL
'You (pl.) are not lazy'

11-46 *Ngu=mi* *naxyuey-ies.*
NEG=N.PRS man-1
'I am not a man'

11-47 *Ajk* *naxyuey* *kej* *ngu=mi* *xa-tyety.*
DEM1 man DEM2.MED NEG=N.PRS 1POS.II-father
'That man is not my father'

11-48 *Ngu=mi* *ajk.*
NEG=N.PRS DEM1
'It's not that (one)'

11-49 *Ngu=mi* *ajk* *t-a-jaw-as.*
NEG=N.PRS DEM1 PST-TV-see-1
'It's not that (what) I saw'

11-50 *Ajk* *ngu=mi* *ajk* *t-a-rang*
DEM1 NEG=N.PRS DEM1 PST-TV-do
'he did it carelessly' (lit. 'he did that, not that')

11-51 *Kodá* *m-i-saj* *gey* *par* *ngu=m-i-mbay-ejch*
NEG.IMPIRR-2-say DEM2 for NEG=IRR-2-startle-CAU
'Don't say that, lest you startle (him/them)'

11-52 Cuidajá m-er-mbol.

neg.imp irr-2-fear

'Don't be afraid'

11-53 *T-a-pieng* *mun-taxuey* *cuidajá* *m-i-rrond-on* *u-ñik*

PST-TV-speak PL-elderly NEG.IMP IRR-2-hang-pl POS.I.U-neck

pobr p=i-mbiy-ien.

poor fut=2-kill-pl

'The elderly men said: Don't hang her, poor girl, you will end up killing her'

11-54 *A-pieng,* *ngu=mi* *pa* *m-i-kyuety-ien* *costumbre* *a lo que*

tv-speak neg=n.prs for irr-2-leave-pl tradition which

al=m-i-jier-an *tyiel* *mi-kiambaj-an.*

DUR=IRR-2-have-PL LOC 2POS.II-community-PL

'He said: Don't abandon the traditions that you have in your community'

11-55 *I-tajk-an* *sequir* *y* *dios* *al=m-a-jlük,* *ngu=mi* *pa*

2-do-PL follow and god DUR=IRR-TV-exist NEG=N.PRS for

m-i-nchom-an.

IRR-2-paint-PL

'Keep doing [your traditions], and God exists, don't paint (him)'

11.6. CLAUSE LINKING

11.6.1. COORDINATED CLAUSES

Coordination is the joining of two clauses of the same status together, for example [S1 *and* S2], in which S1 and S2 are taken to be the clauses in question, for example "*He went to the shop"* and *"he bought milk*", where *and* is the coordination conjunction used for this purpose.

Umbeyajts mostly uses juxtaposition, common in Mesoamerican languages, in which the two clauses in question are placed in an adjacent position, without the use of any conjunction. This said, it is common nowadays to use the Spanish conjunction *y* (which, again, is also very common across Mesoamerican languages, whether they already have a conjunction in this context – often a word also used for commitative relations ('with'), such as Yucatec Maya *yéétel* – or not).

There is a Umbeyajts word with a function sometimes resembling that of Spanish *y*, namely *at,* with the meaning 'also'. Sometimes this is used to substitute *y* (especially by literate speakers with strongly purist views), but I have managed to obtain but few examples of this.

A very common native coordinating conjunction is *ndoj* for conjoining clauses in a relation of temporal succession, although a new sentence may also start with *ndoj*; this feature will be discussed in the chapter on discourse. Borrowed coordinating conjunctions, which are very common (though not as much so in very fluent, older speakers – see the chapter on language contact) include, but are not limited to, *per* for contrasting information (from Spanish *pero,* 'but'*), porke* for a causal relationship (from Spanish *porque* 'because' (and also 'why')) and *o* for conjoining to clauses in a disjunctive relationship (from Spanish *o,* 'or').

Interestingly, there is no lexical strategy for expressing relative time (such as 'before', 'after') which can be expressed in a number of peripheral ways.

11-56 *Myunkej* *a-mb* *m-a-yar* *burro,* *pur* *akiejp* *kawüy* *a-pieng.*
far TV-go IRR-TV-fetch donkey just with horse TV-speak
'He went far to fetch the donkey, and just[129] on a horse [it is said]'

11-57 *Y* *tyi=ø-pieng-an* *a-jmbok* *u-mbas*
and PRG=2-speak-PL TV-smell POS.II.U-surface

ñipilan *per* *xik* *ngu=n-a-tajk* *crer* *vay.*
people but PRON1 NEG=1IRR-TV-LV believeDISC
'And you (pl.) say it reeks of people, but I don't believe it, anyhow.' (from tiger story)

129 'Just' (*pur* or *puro*), in this context, expresses the notion of negatively conceived simplicity in premodern conditions, like in the case of walking before there was a train (which has now been replaced by a bus), one would say *pur ajüyiw tyiet* 'they just used to walk'; before there were houses for permanent residency in San Dionisio, and it used to be called a *hacienda*, *puro waküx andüy ñingüy* 'there were just cows walking about here'.

11-58 *Ap=i-pierr, ndoj par m-i-miet u-wily la=ngu=nd-om*
FUT=2-sow then for IRR-2-bury POS.II.U-backside PF=NEG=BND-IRR

m-i-miet u-wily porke ngu=m-a-jlük yew
IRR-2-bury POS.II.U-backside because NEG=IRR-TV-exist water
'You sow it, [but] then, as far as burying the seeds is concerned: you won't be able to bury them because there won't be any water.' (talking about times of drought in farming)

11.6.2. RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses in Umbeyajts can be linked in two different ways: One means is simple juxtaposition (in this case, the clause must include an inflected verb), and the other is the use of demonstrative *ajk*[130]. If the underlying relativised clause is a verbless clause, the context which permits relativisation seems to be limited to possessive clauses (see example 11-61).

11.6.2.1. ASYNDETIC RELATIVE CLAUSES

Some examples are as follows.

11-59 *Ngu=m-i-ngey nüx kej a-lyamb*
NEG=IRR-2-hear girl DEM2.MED TV-hit

u-lyej ñingüy la=m-a-jier akas ñat?
POS.II.U-foot here PF=IRR-TV-have how.many year
'Don't you know [from hearsay] that girl who did research here a couple of years ago?'

11-60 *Xow a-jlük ñipilan a-ngüñ.*
very TV-exist people TV-get.drunk
'There are a lot of people who get drunk'

130 This could be through the influence of Spanish, in the sense that there may be, or have been at some point, a 'gap' experienced by some speakers at a point where in Spanish a conjunction is obligatory, which is 'filled' by the use of either a native lexeme or by using the Spanish one.

11-61 *Anop* *naxyuey* *xow* *mi-rico.*
one.RND man very POS.II.U-rich(ness)

t-a-rang *u-mbiem* *ñingien.*
PST-TV-do POS.II.U-house there
'A man who was very rich once built his house over there'

11.5.2.2. RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH DEMONSTRATIVE *AJK*

Examples are as follows.

11-62 *Ngu=n-a-jaw-as* *ajk* *naxyuey* *ajk*
NEG=1IRR-TV-see-1 DEM1 man DEM1

la=ø-ndyow *mi-pyuety* *kej.*
PF-TV-die POS.II.U-dog DEM2.MED
'I didn't see that man whose dog died [recently]'

11-63 *Pues* *ajk* *Toño* *mi-nüty* *naxyuey* *kej* *ajk*
DISC DEM1 Tony POS.II.U-name man DEM2.NVIS DEM1
ñ-u-ndok *kej.*
ST-TV-fish DEM2.MED
'Well, Antonio is the name of that man who is a fisher.'

11-64 *La=ø-ndyow* *ajk* *kuchux* *najtaj* *ajk* *ty-i-puoch+anajk-an.*
pf=tv-die dem1 little woman dem1 pst-2-speak+com-pl
'That woman you (pl.) spoke with has died [recently]'

11.6.3. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

In the same way as relative clauses, complement clauses can also be linked either without marking or with demonstrative *ajk*. These are functionally equivalent (see 11.3.1.1). In the first case, they are simply juxtaposed. In the second, *ajk* is added to the beginning of the complemented predicate.

11.6.3.1. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES WITHOUT MARKING

11-65 *De ñingüy a-pieng-üw a-küly.*
from here TV-speak-PL TV-live
'They say he lives that way [pointing]' (lit. 'over there they say he lives')

In this sentence (which could also be *apiengüw de ñingüy a-küly* or *de ñingüy aküly apiengüw,* depending on pragmatic considerations pertaining to topicalisation) juxtaposition is used to form a complement clause.

11-66 *S-a-ngey xow i-jküy-ien*.
1-TV-hear very 2-be.angry-PL
'I heard you (pl.) are very upset.'

11-67 *S-a-ngey xow a-paty-ey küty.*
1-tv-hear very tv-lessen-rf fish
'I heard [the amount of] fish greatly declined.'

11.6.3.2. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES WITH DEMONSTRATIVE *AJK*

Ajk may be employed to link complement clauses, but this strategy is rare in the data.

11-68 *Pero al=m-a-jlük atowan a-ta pasar ajk m-a-mbielüy lancha,*
but DUR=IRR-TV-exist also TV-LV pass DEM1 IRR-TV-turn.over boat

pero ngu=m-a-ndyow-üw.
but NEG=IRR-TV-die-PL
'But it also happens that the boat turns over, but people don't die.'

11-69 *Como siempre ndyuk a-jier mi-brazo, a-jier hasta ajk*
like at.all.times sea TV-have POS.II.U-arm TV-have even DEM1

kanenkaman a-saj-üw Playa Vicente.
now TV-say-PL Playa Vicente

'The sea has always had an arm, it even has what is today known as Playa Vicente.'

11.6.4. OTHER SUBORDINATE CLAUSE TYPES

11.6.4.1. DESIDERATIVE CLAUSES

Desiderative clauses express what is wanted by an actor in the sentence. The status of desiderative clauses as a separate clause type requires further study (see further dicussion in §7.3.3).

11-70 *La=ngu=m-a-ndiem* *m-a-ngey* *kastily*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-want IRR-TV-hear Castillian
'He doesn't want to hear any more Spanish.'

11-71 *Ganüy ñ-iñdy* *m-a-ngey* *u-mbey-ajts.*
now ST-feel.like IRR-TV-hear POS.I.U-mouth-INCL.PL
'Now he wants to hear Umbeyajts.'

11.6.4.2. PURPOSIVE CLAUSES

Purposive clauses can be formed in a number of ways, none involving any markers than those borrowed from Spanish (the most usual way to form a purposive clause is by using *par* from Spanish *para*). One speaker often uses the form *par amor de* (11-74).

11-72 *Atokey* *mod* *i-pieng xow* *a-jier* *tyots*
that.way.MED mode 2-speak much TV-have thought

xuwayey *pues* *par* *al=ndo-m* *m-i-pieng.*
much DISC for DUR=BND-IRR IRR-2-speak
'For talking that way (i.e. in Zapotec, upon hearing that I speak a little Zapotec) you need to be thinking a lot, for you to be able to speak [it].'

11-73 *Atokey* *ngu=m-a-jier* *confianza* *m-a-jyuely*
like.that.MED NEG=IRR-TV-have confidence IRR-TV-go.in

porke *at* *n-a-ngaj* *ñipyupyup* *kej,* *iend,*
because also ST-TV-sacred southern.wind DEM2.MED wind

o *nchierrek* *o* *ndakñi.*
or northern.wind or storm

'[A fisherman needs to go in] even if one doesn't feel courage to go in [to the sea] due to the southern wind, the wind, or the northern wind or a storm.'

11-74 [..] *m-a-rang* *najiet par* *amor* *de* *m-a-wiel*
IRR-TV-do work for love of IRR-TV-maintain

mun-kuchux *mi-mungich* *kej.*
AGT.PL-small[131] POS.II.U-youngsters DEM2.MED
'[..] one works in order to maintain one's small children.'

131 This is the only instance in the entire corpus of an adjective agreeing with a plural (agentive) noun.

12. Pragmatics

12.1. Pragmatics and grammar

The gap between what is encoded in grammar by speakers and what is finally transmitted through an utterance is the scope of the field of pragmatics. Traditionally problematic and characterised by a lack of consensus on delimitation issues, work on this area likely provides the strongest arguments against the reduction of the study of language to either a study of psychological or neurobiological, i.e. individual, processes, or to exclusively social, cultural, structural, i.e. ”macro”, issues, because it involves the intricate interplay among linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in human communication.

Traditionally, views on pragmatics have emphasised the importance of (extralinguistic) context, often taken as a definitional criterion of pragmatics. Other criteria frequently employed to delimit the two fields include truth-conditionality, propositionality, explicitness/primariness and degree of speaker acceptability. All these criteria are plausibly problematised in Ariel (2010) – they do not make for an orderly separated field of grammar that would enable to avoid the incorporation of ‘nonlinguistic factors into grammar: beliefs, attitude, etc.’ (Chomsky, 1979: 152-3, quoted in Ariel (2010: 234)[132].

There is thus no clearly defined border between the fields of pragmatics and grammar (this is consistent with Antoine Meillet’s (1926) well-known structuralist assertion that language is *un système où tout se tient*); in particular, many of the phenomena traditionally regarded as being within the scope of pragmatics may differ from language to language in the degree to which they are grammatical, and cannot easily be classified in an absolute manner as either “grammatical” (including semantic) or “extra-grammatical”, and thus pragmatic, as has been traditionally assumed in linguistics (two

132 A strict inner/outer dichotomy of language-related processes is based on problematic premises in the first place. There is a long tradition in science to view phenomena in the light of a strict dichotomy of the ‘inner’ and the ‘outer’, characteristic of Cartesian substance dualism (as well as various forms of idealism, ranging from Plato to Kant), which posits that there exists a realm of phenomena that precludes regular epistemological access through the physical world. Pragmatist accounts of epistemology (eg. Peirce, Wittgenstein, Dewey) offer alternatives to this view without denying the existence of subjective experience, in shifting the emphasis from substance dualism to the public, shared world, by relating meaning to habit of action rather than to a noumenal realm of ideas, and thus enabling scientists engaged in the study of meaning-related phenomena to remain faithful to the empirical data.

approaches which according to Ariel (2010) stem from the 'monolithic assumption' (i.e., that there is a strict, binary opposition of grammatical and pragmatic phenomena), and a 'wastebasket approach' involving the practice of labelling as pragmatic anything that does not fit one's criteria for being considered grammatical).

12.2. PRAGMATIC PHENOMENA IN UMBEYAJTS

12.2.1. THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Ariel (2010: 256) also suggests that the coded vs. inferred distinction can be a matter of degree if viewed within a framework of grammaticalisation and lexicalisation processes (a 'meeting place for codes and inferences must be recognized in grammaticization and semanticization processes, where yesterday's inferences often turn into tomorrow's codes'; Ariel, 2010: 273), and that the degree may be a matter of domain/genre-specificity. It is, therefore, in the light of an examination of four discourse genres that the documented phenomena will be approached in this chapter: Three types of narrative (traditional stories relating to Umbeyajts beliefs about the world; traditional animal stories; and autobiographical narrative) and conversation. There are other genres to be distinguished in Umbeyajts (a brief inventory of these is displayed in 12.2) but due to a lack of data I have concentrated on these four.

The remainder of this section (12.2.2) will thus consist of a description of the typical features of distinct genres found in Umbeyajts. The following section (12.3) will include a description of how different constructions (morphological, suprasegmental, syntactic) are used to express meanings which could be considered pragmatic, and these are illustrated with example samples from the data from the different discourse genres. The end of this section will exclude a section with further exemplification of the features discussed, and how they occur together, using text paragraphs rather than isolated utterances.

12.2.2. EXAMPLES OF DISCOURSE GENRES

12.2.2.1. EVERYDAY CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH

The most usual genre is that of the domains in which everyday business is conducted in an informal context. This includes subgenres such as personal conversations (eg. about events and experiences of family life and daily life, agriculture, fishery, informal gettogethers in the cantinas), business transactions conducted in the shops or on the streets (with street vendors), meetings at the back of the churchyard and at the workplace, which may also be the field or the *lancha*. This genre could be considered the least controlled and most spontaneous, but it is nevertheless always governed by the appropriate sociocultural conventions and moderated in accordance with the social and psychological dynamics of the situation.

12.2.2.2. FORMAL DISCOURSE GENRES

12.2.2.2.1. ORAL

12.2.2.2.1.1. FORMULAIC GREETINGS AND OTHER CONVERSATIONAL EXPRESSIONS

Certain formulas may be selected for greeting and saying goodbye depending on the degree of formality required by the situation. Formal contacts are usually initiated by saying *Dios* 'God' followed by *naxyujcharan* (for men, lit. $^{?}$ST-$^{?}$TV-uncle-IMP) and *nandxyueyaran* (for women, lit. $^{?}$ST-$^{?}$TV-aunt-IMP), literally 'God [bless you], aunt (respectively uncle) of ours'. This is a peculiar irregular form since it seems that the stative prefix with a theme vowel is used on a noun – it is possible that this is a verbal denominal derivation with a meaning of 'acting as an uncle' or 'acting as an aunt', but I have not been able to verify the exact meaning and correct segmentation of this fossilised prefix, since usual speakers will translate it as '*buenos días, tía/tío*' and speakers with metalinguistic insight will admit they do not know the origin of it.

Another formulaic expression is *Dios mangüy* (followed by the second person pronoun, *ik* or *ikon*), 'thank you' (literally 'may God pay you'), to which the answer is *ñinkwej*.

Kwej tyimirang(án) 'what are you doing' and *ngej iriemb(án)* 'where are you going' (or, in the case of an acquaintance or member of kin who visits the community unexpectedly, *ngüty tyipey* 'when did you arrive') are questions often used to make conversation. Inquiring about one's health or wellbeing (with genuine interest and not as a way of making conversation) can be done by asking *Giñey i-jlük*(*ién*) 'how are you'.

I have included formulaic greetings within the formal register, since in a context of more intimacy, formulaic greetings are usually omitted and a mere sign of recognition

(optionally in combination with a joyful expression) are sufficient before skipping straight to the conversation.

12.2.2.2.1.2. CEREMONIAL SPEECH

It is very common to find, in Mesoamerica and in many other Native American as well as in other indigenous cultures, a special genre reserved for ceremonies, and such a genre also exists for Umbeyajts in San Dionisio and it is used in church ceremonies and during speeches given at formal celebrations. Unfortunately, I have not been able to record any instances of ceremonial speech, since it is considered sacred, kept secretly hidden from non-incumbents and considered property of community members.

12.2.2.2.1.3. RITUAL LANGUAGE

I differentiate ritual language from ceremonial speech, even though these are often analysed together, for example in López García (2007). One of the reasons for this is that it is possible to delimit a clear context for its use, namely in religious curative rituals. I have been able to obtain a small stretch of such a discourse from an elderly person who is a ritual healer or *ñundüy* (Sp. *curandero*). Nevertheless, this is not enough data to draw any secure conclusions on the genre. It remains a question for further research, but preliminarily it can be said that the ritual language has several peculiar linguistic characteristics, of which two are noticeable in the small amount of data gathered: The use of the stative prefix, and repetition of salient information through paraphrasing. Meanings may sometimes be expressed in semantically related pairs of words resembling the diphrasisms found in many Mesoamerican oral traditions (Dąbrowska, 2010: 329) as well as in the Aztec and Maya codices (Jansen, 1985). Diphrasisms are an interesting phenomenon that have been related to Fauconnier and Turner's conceptual blending (e.g. Montes de Oca, 1997).

12.2.2.2.2. FORMAL WRITTEN TEXTS

Characteristics typical for formal writing may be sketched as follows: Codeswitching is maximally and meticulously avoided (a purist tendency that I have not observed in spoken language, in any of the genres) and Spanish forms are thus shunned unless absolutely unavoidable.

12.2.2.2.2.1. PUBLISHED PRIMARY LITERATURE

A recently published children's storybook, *Pequeña antología del niño Ikojts*, edited by anthropologist Laura Montesi and school teacher Obdulio Muriel Díaz, contains a collection of stories produced by the children and translated, transcribed and edited by the editors with help of another school teacher, Antonio Palafox.

12.2.2.2.2.2. ANNOUNCEMENTS

I have one example of a written announcement in which teachers from the community declare their support for my research, which was produced at my request for the purpose of registering my research and proving the participant community's support for the ethics commission of James Cook University. The text and translation are provided below.

Xikon nawasan ñingüy Stas, ngunapiengan ñinkuej, tyiel jangan mapey ñingüy marang minawijk o mapey ñingüy mayamb ulyej lyaw meawan ajk almajlük y akyuetyiw mundyow xujch.

Ajkñurang tyinarangan wüx nawijk kam, kos Mikko Salminen andyiem mayambyamb ulyej almajlük ñingüy tyixakiambajan Stas. Ñiw andyem marang najiet ñingüy aryuj ñaty.

Xikon sanambiolan ñiw lyaw matüch xiwixien.

Apiengüw ñukejch mungich naw Stas.

'We who are from this [community of] San Dionisio, do not object if anyone arrives here to produce [academic] written material, or to conduct an investigation involving anything present or pertaining to the inheritance left by our ancestors.

For this reason we produce this letter, as Mikko Salminen wishes to conduct an investigation [on] the state of affairs in our community, San Dionisio. He wishes to remain here in order to work during three years.

We [hereby declare our intention to] help him with all means available to us..

[This statement was] produced by the school teachers of San Dionisio.

12.2.2.3. STORYTELLING

Storytelling, which is a genre involving a communicative situation with the strictly assigned roles of storyteller and listener(s). These can be subdivided in several categories:

12.2.2.3.1. TRADITIONAL STORIES ABOUT THE WORLD

An important genre which can provide insights into the way the Mareños view the world is traditional myths expressing the way the structure of the world (community and present-day societal order) came to be.

12.2.2.3.2. TRADITIONAL ANIMAL STORIES

Animal stories are characterised by certain rigid formula (which at first sight seemed to me to be normal, spontaneously formulated elements of the story), something indicative of a history of oral transmission.

12.3. Information structure and inference

12.3.1. Topic and focus

12.3.1.1. Topic

A discourse topic refers to a piece of information which is already accessible to the speaker, and what the discourse is considered by them to be about. A new topic is introduced into discourse when the speaker assumes the information available to them is not available (or new) to the recipient, and in this case the introduction of the information in question as a new topic may be marked in some way.

12.3.1.2. Topicalisation

In Umbeyajts, the topic of discourse tends to be unmarked, but topics may also be foregrounded in a variety of ways in Umbeyajts.

The medial demonstrative (usually demonstrative 2, but see the examples in 12.3.4 for other medial demonstratives marking discourse topics) is often used when a speaker is reintroducing a previous discourse topic (i.e., foregrounding a discourse topic not considered sufficiently available in the common ground). For further pragmatic functions of demonstrative with medial scope, see 12.3.2 below.

12.3.1.3. Introduction of new discourse topics

The example below (12-1) is from a historical narration about the village. In i), the topic 'car' is introduced. This is only manifested by higher pitch than average, accompanied by prosodic stress, on the word 'car'. The temporal adverb, 'before', is in sentence-initial position preceding the verb. In ii), *kanenkaman* 'right now', contrasts with 'before', followed by a patch of code-switching (marked in this chapter by @) to Spanish, with a switch back to Umbeyajts for the final constituent. In iv), *mungich* '[when I was] a youth' is topicalised by fronting. In vii), the code-switched constituent 'all the way to Monterrey' is fronted in the same way, as a less marked alternative would have been *y la=m-a-tüch <u>hasta Monterrey</u> mungich*.

12-1.

i. *Antes ngu=m-a-jmyuely carro..*
before NEG=IRR-TV-enter car

ngu=n-a-yajk-an u-mbas carro
NEG=IRR-TV-know-PL POS.I.U-surface car

'Before, cars would not enter, we wouldn't know what a car looks like.'

ii. *Pero kanenkaman @hay carro suficiente @par xikon*
but now there.is car sufficient for PRON1EXCL
'But now, there are enough cars/*combis*/buses[133] for us'

iii. *Ante nguoy.*
previously no
'Previously not.'

iv. *Mun-ngich ngu=n-a-yajk u-mbas carro*
AGT.PL-be.young NEG=1IRR-TV-know POS.I.U-surface car
'When I was young I didn't know what a car looks like.'

v. *Mun-ngich ñipilan ngu=m-a-yajk*
AGT.PL-be.young people NEG=IRR-TV-know

u-mbas carro.
POS.I.U-surface car
'Young people didn't know what a car looked like.'

vi. *Miawan m-a-tang.tang.*
all IRR-TV-grow.up.RED
'All the grown ones [do]'

133 Carro refers to a car, but it is especially frequently used of buses and 'combis' (shared taxis). When unspecified for ownership, it may be inferred that one is talking about public transportation. Car ownership is rather rare in San Dionisio.

vii. *Kanenkaman* *@carro hay en cantidad*
right.now <ESP>car there.is in quantity

@i hasta Monterrey *la=m-a-tüch* *mun-ngich*
<HVE>.and up.to Monterrey PF=IRR-TV-reach AGT.PL-be.young

'Now there are lots of cars and young people have even gotten [all the way] to Monterrey'

In example 12-2, a part of narration is displayed which is about languages. In i), the adverb is in sentence-initial focused position. The topic, 'a language book', is not marked. In ii), San Mateo is contrasted with *ñingüy* 'here', and thus in initial position. In iii), a new discourse topic is introduced in an instance of code-switching, but the speaker treats it as part of common ground (using a Spanish definite article), and seems to engage in self-repair in iv), where he uses *anuok hermano,* using the Umbeyajts word but with the rectangular (i.e., non-human) classifier[134], thus seemingly taking into consideration the fact that it is not common ground knowledge, and indeed a new discourse topic. Turn v) includes a focused constituent (by left dislocation).

12-2.

i. *Ñingüy* *al=n-a-jaw* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *anuok*
here DUR=1IRR-TV-see NEG=IRR-TV-exist one.RECT
libro de idioma
book of language
'Here, I know, there's no a single language book

ii. *Porque* *San Mateo* *al=m-a-jier-üw*
because San Mateo DUR=IRR-TV-have-3PL
'Because (in) San Mateo they [do] have [one]'

134 This use of the rectangular classifier with non-native words will be discussed further in chapter 13 on language contact.

iii. *San Mateo al=m-a-jlük* *@por ejemplo el hermano*

San Mateo DUR=IRR-TV-exist for example the brother

'[in] San Mateo there is, for example, the brother[135]'

iv. *A-pey ñingüy anuok hermano puro idioma*

TV-arrive here one.RECT brother pure language

'a brother arrived here [who speaks the] (mirative)[136] language'

v. *Wüx biblia a-kijmien puro idioma*

on bible TV-bring pure language

'Concerning the bible he just brought language'

vi. *@Pero de San Mateo*

but from San Mateo

'But [only] from San Mateo'

vii. *Menos n-a-w ñingüy*

less ST-TV-go.out here

'Much less from here'

12.3.1.4. Focus

Often, the unmarked, verb-initial constituent order may violated to give a focused constituent a prominent status.

Another way to mark focus is by using a high-pitched sentenced intonation and stress. Rising sentence intonation culminating in a high pitch is a general indicator of a sentence

135 'Brother' refers to a person of evangelical confession.

Puro means 'pure', but also 'just' ('simply'), and 'very much'. It is often used with a mirative meaning, also in regional Spanish. *Había pura gente adinerada allí* 'There were just rich people there (and a lot of them) [isn't it something?]'

containing surprising information. This can include expressions of astonishment, indignation and mirativity, but also less “extraordinary” cases of the introduction of new information. However, it may also be indicative of the introduction of a new topic while remaining faithful to the unmarked constituent order (see 12.3.1.2).

12.3.2. Definiteness/specificity and deixis

12.3.2.1. On the relationship between definiteness and deixis

Ariel (2010:149-51) explicates the coded and inferred aspects of deictic systems: in most cases, the use of deictic expressions will involve both coded, semantic aspects (such as accessibility of a referent, proximity, humanness/animacy etc.) and inferred aspects (which allow the recipient to infer to the correct referent, for example in the case of multiple possible referents). Function words marking definiteness/specificity (i.e., articles) are often observed to have grammaticalised from demonstratives (Dixon, 2010b: 227).

In Umbeyajts, medial demonstratives (see chapter 3, and 12.3.2 below) not only 1) direct the recipient’s attention to information already assumed to be accessible, but may also serve to 2) foreground (or ‘reactivate’) new information, i.e., information not assumed to be sufficiently accessible (but nonetheless already part of the current discourse ; for example, referents already raised to awareness on previous occasions in the discourse context). This allows medial demonstratives to be used not only for canonical deictic functions (where the functions of the second series are already exceptionally varied; see 3.2.7), but also for topicalisation or the introduction of a new discourse topic (12-3) and providing an adverbial context for the topic by postponing *kej* to an adverbial phrase or a circumstance (12-4), for example 12-4a, where the circumstance is ‘the wind is increasing’.

Kej thus functions to specify high cognitive availability/accessibility, definiteness or specificity.

12.3.2.2. DATA

12-3a *Entons n-a-ngaj iem kej de ñity.*
then ST-TV-sacred house DEM2.MED of palm
'So [as for] the church, it is made of palm'

12-3b *Pues kanénkaman templo kej la=m-a-jier*
disc now temple DEM2.MED PF=IRR-TV-have

saber cuántos años pues.
know how.many years DISC
'Right now that temple is already who knows how many years old.'

12-3c *Kiriw lugar kej tyi=piat s-a-küly.*
piece place DEM2.MED LOC=jungle 1-TV-stay
'I [used to] live in a place which was [right] in the wilderness.'

12-3d *Ix kej ap=ir-ie-mb m-i-nüjp hasta Juchitán.*
iguana DEM2.MED FUT=2-TV-go IRR-2-sell until Juchitán.
'You would go and sell the iguana all the way in Juchitán.'

12-3e *M-a-kiejp xa-ntaj m-a-küly-iw ñingüy, mi-tía,*
IRR-TV-go.with 1POS-wife IRR-TV-stay-PL there.PROX POS.II.U-aunt

ñingüy s-a-küly-anajk-an, tyiel rrüñch
here 1-TV-stay-COM-PL LOC rancho

s-a-küly-ien. T-a-küly tajtaj kej, pores
1-TV-stay-PL PST-TV-stay woman DEM2.MED therefore

a-pieng anuok puoch wüx umbeyajts.
TV-speak one.CL word on Umbeyajts

'They lived here with my wife, her aunt, I lived here with them, we lived at the ranch. That old lady lived [with us], that's why she was able to speak some words in Umbeyajts.'

12-3f *Ñiw a-rang posuoly. [..] A-nüjp posuoly kej.*
PRON3 TV-do lime TV-sell lime DEM2.MED
'She used to make lime. [..] That lime, she used to sell it.'

12-4a *@Ajgey a-suok iüs. <u>Por ejemplo</u> nganüy*
DEM4.MED TV-be.said flea for example now

a-jmiek iend kej, @cuando hay Norte, ¿no?
TV-descend wind DEM2.MED when there.is North no

Hace frío, allí es que chinga ese animalito, esa pulga.
makes cold there is that screws that little.animal that flee

@Ajgey iüs. @Entra en tu camisa, por ejemplo vas a sentar allí,
DEM5.MED flea enters in your shirt for example you.go to sit there

entra a tu pantalón. Wüx ap=i-mey ganüy la=m-a-ta
enters in your pants on FUT=2-sleep now PF=IRR-TV-LV

<u>picar</u> iüs kej. No gran cosa, pues. Pero te
bite flee DEM2.MED not great thing DISC but you

molesta. <u>Sí</u>, ajgey n-a-suok iüs.
it.disturbs yes DEM5.MED ST-TV-be.said flee

'That's called a flee. For example now the wind is increasing. It gets cold, and that's when this little animal buggers you, that flee. That's a flee. It gets into your shirt, for example [if] you go to sit down there, it will get into your pants. When you're sleeping it will bite you. It's not a big thing, alright. But it gets on your nerves. Yes, that's what's called a flee..'

12-4b *Ya después* *kej* *t-a-rang-aran* *colado.*

already after DEM2.MED PST-TV-do-IMP roof.base

'[It was] afterwards [that] they made the roof base.'

12-5

i. *Pues tyiel* *m-i-ndyiem* *m-i-ta* *pintar* *i-mbiem,*

DM LOC IRR-2-want IRR-2-LV paint 2POS.I-house

'Well, if you want to paint your house..'

ii. *por ejemplo gey* *la=m-i-yamb* *posuoly*

for example DEM3.MED PF=IRR-2-seek lime

i-rang *leche* *par* *m-i-xyujmb-ech*

2-make milk for 2-IRR-bathe-CAU

'For example, you already got lime, you make a moisture for you to moisten it.'

iv. *bueno..* *s-a-yak* *anuok* *kiriw* *ajgey*

DM 1-TV-put one.RECT piece DEM4.MED

tyiel *u-mbey* *iem*

LOC POS.I.U-mouth house

'Well, I put one piece of that into the opening of the house.'

v. *Gey* *mi-lech=an* *posuoly* *s-a-yak*

DEM3.MED POS.II.U-milk=DEL lime 1-TV-put

'I simply add the moisture of the lime.'

In 12-6 below I display part of an elicitation session conducted in Spanish by Rasheny Joha Lazcano Leyva (a linguiostis from ENAH, represented by RLL), me and Ta Justo (JJ).

A translation from Spanish is elicited. Note that the translation itself (i.e. the correspondence of the answer to what was asked in Spanish) is not of any interest here (in fact, Ta Justo does not translate statements literally into Umbeyajts at all), but rather the way in which the speaker explains and foregrounds different aspects of his message. In (xviii), the regular verb initial order is displayed. Rather than on "on the table", the focus, here, is on *al=piaj-m* 'it is lying [there]' (the knife). The speaker highlights this fact by repeating this constituent again. Possibly this repetition serves to ensure that the focus is expressed successfully, since the usual code employed for focus (by means of modifying the constituent order) results to be unmarked (i.e., the normal constituent order).

12-6

(Exchange in Spanish)

i. RLL: *El machete está sobre* *la mesa*
the machete is on.top.of the table
'The machete is on the table.'

ii. JJ: *Gey machete* *par* *m-a-kuch-iejts* *xiel*.
DEM2 machete for IRR-TV-cut-1INCL wood
'That's a machete for [us to] cut wood'.

iii. RLL: *El machete estaba en la mesa.*
the machete was in the table
'The machete was on the table.'

iv. JJ: *Este.. por ejemplo ese cuchillo para picotear carne*
this for example that knife for chop meat
'Well.. For example, ***a knife*** for chopping meat.'

v. *Este cuchillo*
'***A knife***'

vi. *Kuchily.. hablamos.*

'"Kuchily" we say'

v. *Ese idioma… kuchily.*

'[In] the language: "Kuchily"'

vi. *Cuchillo es castellano*

'"Cuchillo is Spanish."

vii. *Ahora.. kuchily*

'Now, "kuchily"'

viii. *Hay kuchily para destripar pescado no?*

there.is kuchily for gut fish no

'There is a "kuchily" for gutting fish, right?'

ix. *Y hay para rajar pan.. todo eso… sí*

and there.is for slice bread all that yes

'And also for slicing bread.. All [those purposes].. Yes.'

x. RLL: Para la palma

'For the palm..'

(Umbeyajts)

xi. JJ: *Sí, kuchily par m-i-chyup-ey mi-ñity*

yes knife for IRR-2-peal-RF POS.II.U-palm

Yes, a knife for pealing your palm.

xii. *Ese ñity para cinta*

that palm for belt

'Palm for your belt'

xiii. *Y* *p=i-pety* *mi-cinta*

and FUT=2-weave 2-belt

'And you weave your belt'

xiv. *a-pety par* *sa=n-a-chiet* *xa-ñity*

TV-weave for 1FUT=1IRR-TV-break 1POS.II-palm

'One weaves, in order for me to peal my palm'

xv. *Ndoj* *s-a-pety* *xa-sint.*

then 1-TV-weave 1POS.II-belt

'Then I weave my belts.'

xvi RLL: *Que ya… como dice que el machete estaba en la mesa?*

that already how you.say that the machete was on the table

xvii JJ: *Eso*

that

'Right.'

(Umbeyajts)

xviii. JJ: *@Al=piaj-m* *wüx* *mes*

DUR=lie.down-IRR on table

'It's lying on the table.

xix. *Al=piaj-m*

DUR=lie.down-IRR

It's lying [there].'

(Spanish)

xx. JJ: *@Aparte si vas a sembrar así...* *lo dejas sembrado.. no cae.*

separate if you.go to plant like.this it you.leave planted not it.falls

'However if you stick it like this, you leave it sticking, it won't fall'

xxi. *Sí.. y aparte lo acuesta… por eso le dice "alpiajm".*
yes and separate it you.lay.down for that it you.say "alpiajm"
'Yes. And besides, one puts it down, that's why one calls it "alpiajm"' (*al=piaj-m* DUR-lie.down-IRR)

xxii. RLL: *A ver la otra (.) el machete estuvo encima de la mesa.*
to see the other the machete was on.top of the table
'Let's see the other one: The machete was on the table'

(Umbeyajts)

xxiii. JJ: *@Wüx u-pyuech mes kej a-pijp.*
on 3POS.I-back table DEM2 TV-lay.dow.DIM

xxiv. *Kej a-pejp, vaya.*
DEM2 TV-lay.down DISC
'One puts it on the table. That's where it was put.'

xxv. *@Por ejemplo así como está ese.. encima lo pones*
for example thus like is that.one on.top it you.put
'For example, like that one, you put it on top.'

xxvi. *De esta mesita.*
'Of that table.'

xxvii. *Y otro?*
and other
'And [give me] another?'

xxviii. RLL: *El machete está al lado de la mesa.*
the machete is on.the side of the table
'The machete is next to the table.'

xxix. *JJ: Ese si lo vas a poner allá.. por ejemplo este no?*

xxx. *Lo pones allá.*

xxxi *@Ñingien s-a-yak.. @bien cerrado.*
DEM.VIS 1-TV-put <ESP>well closed
'I put it there, and that's it.'

xxxii. *Yo allá fui a dejar*
I there.dist I.went to leave
'I went and put it there.'

xxxiii. *@Ñingien s-a-yak xa-machet.*
DEM.VIS 1-TV-put 1POS.I-machete
'I put my machete *there*.'

xxxiv. RLL: *Allí al lado nomás?*
there.VIS on.the side just
'Just there on the side?

xxxv. JJ: *Sí*
'Yes.'

xxxvi. RLL: *Cómo dice.. el machete no está sobre la mesa?*
how you.POL.say the machete not it.is on the table
'How do you say "The machete is not on the table"?'

xxxvii. JJ: *Ngu=m-a-jlük.. porke landoj n-a-yak ñingien.*
NEG=IRR-TV-exist because PF 1IRR-TV-put there.VIS
'It's not there, because I already put it over there.'

xxxviii. @*Por eso* *@ngu=m-a-jlük ñingüy wüx mes.*

therefore NEG=IRR-TV-exist here on table

'That's why it's not here on the table.'

xxxix. RLL: *Okey… el machete no estaba en la mesa*

okay the machete not it.was on the table

'Alright, the machete was not on the table.'

xl. *@Ngu=m-a-jlük wüx mes machete.*

NEG=IRR-TV-exist on table machete

'There's no knife on the table.'

xli. *Gey ngu=m-a-t:ar:a ocupar wüx mesa.*

dem2.vis neg=irr-tv-lv:pas use on table

'That isn't used at the table.'

xlii. *A-ta:ra ocupar tyiel campo, @ese sí.*

TV-LV:PAS use in field <ESP>there yes

It is used in the field, there it *is* used.'

13. Language contact and codeswitching

San Dionisio Umbeyajts, being one of four varieties, has linguistic neighbours from different linguistic families. First of all, there is contact internally among the Ikojts' varieties (13.1.2): San Francisco Umbeyajts is spoken at a one hour's journey from the village, and even less from Lol Pily (Huamuchil), and to reach speakers in the communities where the Santa Maria and San Mateo del Mar varieties are spoken, a short journey by boat (1-2 hours) is all that is needed (by land with public transportation facilities, the journey would be at least five to six hours, traveling all around the laguna via Juchitán, Tehuantepec, Huilotepec and San Mateo del Mar).

Far from being an isolated community cut off from the Mexican, Oaxacan and Isthmic mainstream, San Dionisio Umbeyajts speakers are in intensive contact with mainly two other languages: Spanish and – at least those who travel to the district capital or to the neighbouring community Chicapa de Castro, or maintain regular interactions with inhabitants of these and other nearby places – Isthmus Zapotec. A few speakers who have resided abroad (mainly in the United States, but one speaker spent time in Lithuania) have varying degrees of command of English. I have observed one elderly speaker consistently using the Italian word *aereo* when referring to an airplane, after having worked with Italian anthropologists for years.

Of all these non-native codes surrounding the Umbeyajts speaker, Spanish is most consequential for an account of language change, since it has exerted the strongest pressure on Umbeyajts, being the dominant national language, the official language used in the media, government, healthcare and education – and even speakers described or self-describing as monolinguals have, to a certain extent at least, knowledge of spoken regional Spanish, even if only passive in some cases. Spanish has exerted a noticeable influence on the language, including a large number of lexical loans which have been assimilated to different degrees, conforming partially, entirely or not at all to the phonological rules described in chapter 2.

Code-switching is a phenomenon often observed in the everyday interaction contexts and some speakers make use of code-switching more often. In this chapter, code-switching is not considered as a phenomenon underlain by specific grammatical rules and restrictions (for example, regarding mid-sentence switches or spontaneous, non-grammaticalised morphological borrowings) – rather, I consider this to be a topic for an additional study – but it is approached here as a sociolinguistic phenomenon motivated by historical, cultural and interactional factors (see Winford 2003 for distinguishing between code-switching and borrowing, and Bakker 2017 for a typology of mixed languages.

First, an overview is given of the varieties in relation to historical development and to the current linguistic situation of San Dionisio Umbeyajts (13.1). The next section (13.2) looks at contact with indigenous languages from other linguistic families. In the subsections, an overview of loan strata will be given (13.2.1) and subsequently, the most recent loans will be looked at (13.2.2). In section 13.3, the data relevant to code-switching and code-mixing phenomena are examined. The sociolinguistic situation in the community is briefly sketched in 13.3.1, with special focus on the peculiarities of the community's bilingualism, its situation within the ethnolinguistic context of the Mexican state and speaker attitudes related to these characteristics, and in 13.3.2, instances of code-switching in the data are examined.

13.1. Historical overview of Umbeyajts

13.1.1. A Mesoamerican language?

Umbeyajts is genetically isolated and thus has no relatives (Campbell, Kaufman & Smith-Stark, 1986: 542), but it is nevertheless clearly situatable in the Mesoamerican linguistic area. Umbeyajts, amidst Otomanguean and Mixe-Zoquean languages, has a history of repeated, inconclusive attempts to associate it to existing linguistic families: Otomanguean (Mauricio Swadesh), Mixe-Zoquean (Radin) or, together with this group, Penutian (Greenberg). The current consensus, however, is on its status as an isolate.

One of the factors that is likely to, at least partly, have driven the search for a genetic origin outside Mesoamerica has been the historical accounts postulating a Ikojts origin

further south (the original account linked the Ikojts to Nicaragua), and this feature (i.e. of being an outsider group from another, distant place) can be found in several places of the oral tradition of Ikojts people. The outsider status of the Ikojts has played a reinforcing role in defining Ikojts identity, especially opposed to the neighbouring Zapotec. In fact, the Zapotec-Ikojts conflict itself has been central issue in Ikojts identity construction (Hernández and Quijano 1999).

Bresciani (forthcoming) gives a brief overview of the academic community's attitudes to this. It turns out the question of the historical origins of the Ikojts people has not been satisfactorily clarified and any real consensus does not hitherto exist, with some experts attributing the many accounts of 'far southern' origin (i.e. Nicaragua or the Andes; see chapter 1.2.1), to a chain of repeated circulating versions of what can ultimately be traced back to Burgoa's account, whereas others (for example the team of archaeologist Alejandro Castaneira Ben Yee) do – regardless of the lack of linguistic evidence – take what Bresciani describes as a 'possibilistic' attitude to the southern origin thesis.

Kim (ms.[137]) has listed several areally diffused features characteristic of Mesoamerica in Umbeyajts, of which most are also found in the San Dionisio variety (and those which are not have been lost, such as the vigesimal numeral system).

The list of areal features Kim refers to includes:

- Nominal possession of the type *his-dog man* 'the man's dog' (reflected in *mi-pyuety naxuoy*; see 4.3.2);
- Relational nouns (such as *uwily* 'behind; at the margin', xikwej 'belonging to me);
- Semantic calques (the use of *-mbey* 'mouth' in expressions such as *umbey (*i.e. ~ *yaw)* 'edge (of the estuary)' and *umbey iem* 'door');
- Non-verb final word order;
- Body-part locatives (eg. *ty=u-wily naxiel* [LOC=POS.II.U-backside

137 Available online at http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/yuni.kim/SSILA2010_kim.pdf.

corn.field] 'at the back of the *milpa*'; see 3.1.1.1);

- Absence of plural marking on nouns (3.1.1);
- Inclusive vs. exclusive first-person distinction;
- Pronominal copular constructions with affixes (what I call the 'human agentive' construction (9.5) could instantiate this);
- Numeral classifiers (see 3.2.5.1 and 4.6.1.2.2).

Campbell, Kaufman and Smith-Stark (1986) also mention the primacy of verbal aspect over tense (as found in Mayan and Otomanguean languages) and zero-copula, both of which – as the authors themselves concede – are so common in both the world's and Native American languages that they are of little use in delimiting a language area.

13.1.2. The other Ikojts' languages

As briefly described in the introductory chapter, there are three further Ikojts' languages, with each of which there is a certain degree of intelligibility:

TABLE 13A. ESTIMATED NUMBER OF SPEAKERS PER MUNICIPALITY

Community	**Number of speakers**	**Distance by sea**	**Distance by car**	**Municipality**
San Dionisio del Mar	1,833 cab 2,410 mun (2015:2286, 7monoling)	0	0	San Dionisio del Mar
San Dionisio del Mar, Pueblo Viejo	71	11,5 km (8,7 km)	70/104+32 km (102/136)	San Dionisio del Mar
San Dionisio del Mar, Huamuchil	506 (898)	12.5 km	15.5 km	San Dionisio del Mar
Santa Maria del Mar	?	15 km	113 - 125 km	Juchitán de Zaragoza
San Francisco del Mar	1,065	28 km	35 km	San Francisco del Mar
San Francisco del Mar, Pueblo Viejo	85, 177, 187	18,5 km	55 km	San Francisco del Mar
San Mateo del Mar	15,000	99 – 111 km	30 km	San Mateo del Mar

In the INEGI census, Ikojts speakers (per 2015) are listed together as one language (18,539 speakers, of which 9,271 are female and 9,268 are male) with no differentiation of the four varieties.

The San Mateo variety not only has the greatest number of speakers, but it has also received the most attention from academia. Santa María del Mar is the variety which has hitherto received least attention from academia, though this is now changing, since Rolf Noyer has conducted intensive fieldwork with this variety, and the National Institute of Indigenous Languages (INALI) has also sent an ethnographer there while I was on fieldwork. Before Kim's (2008) dissertation on San Francisco del Mar Umbeyajts this variety had also been outside the scope of linguistic fieldworkers since Jorge Suárez's work.

Unsurprisingly, the materials that have been published have been mostly in and about the San Mateo del Mar variety: A grammar and dictionary (Stairs & Kreger, 1981; Stairs & Hollenbach, 1981), Pak, Noyer, Herrera Castro. In a recent IJAL article, Noyer (2013) describes the phonology of the San Mateo del Mar variety but make frequent recourse to phonological developments in the other varieties, including San Dionisio. With regard to primary literature, there have been a number of recent publications in the San Dionisio variety, produced mainly by the Umbeyajts teacher Obdulio Muriel Díaz and printed by the National Institute of Indigenous Languages (INALI): A collection of Umbeyajts language stories, riddles, tongue twisters and food recipes produced by school children (2014) and a book including tongue twisters and little rhymes in Isthmus Zapotec, Nahuatl and (San Dionisio) Umbeyajts. It is also worth mentioning that several musicians are active in producing Umbeyajts-language rap in the village.

Only a few San Mateo del Mar speakers live in San Dionisio, and, to my knowledge, none from Santa María del Mar or from San Francisco del Mar. Nevertheless, there is significant interaction with speakers from San Mateo del Mar – many speakers have at some point in their lives been to San Mateo and some have relatives in the community.

Many speakers are able to identify forms from San Mateo del Mar, although in a number of instances I have noticed that people misidentify mispronounced words as being 'from San Mateo'. It has become clear to me that San Mateo forms (even if misidentified as such) have indexical significance and, while also Mareños, San Mateyans (*mateyanos*) are viewed as 'others' and associated with certain characteristics of dominance. They

are seen as very proud of their *costumbres*, which are 'not the same' as the *costumbre* of San Dionisio.

Another significant linguistic influence from San Mateo is exerted by the protestant churches, whose publications are in the variety of San Mateo (although some of these are trying to mobilise speakers to produce San Dionisian translations). Preachers speaking the San Mateo variety may visit San Dionisio, and people who attend church meetings and have contacts with other *hermanos* ('brothers and sisters') from San Mateo are clearly influenced to some extent by the language used in these writings, interactions and church services.

Forms such as *xowayey* instead of *xuwayey* 'much; many', *mongich* instead of *mungich* 'youngsters', *ngem* instead of *kier* 'go [imp]', *lamapey* (irrealis) instead of *tsipey* 'he has already arrived', *chaw popox* instead of *ñupop chaw* 'foamy *atole*', *kambaj* instead of *kiambaj* (for example *kiambajiet,* realised as *kambajiet* by some and thus very similar to San Mateo *kambajiüt*) are, inspite of being used by some speakers, classified as being 'from San Mateo del Mar' and thus an outside influence.

13.2. Historical overview of borrowing

Mesoamerica is a fascinating area from the vantage point of language contact and borrowing, due to the manifold interactions between speakers of languages belonging to various indigenous families, but also to the consequences of what can be conceptualised as a major cataclysmic event in the landscape of Indigenous languages and cultures: the Spanish conquest. In creating an extensive shift in the balance of power relations among the numerous city-states established following the Aztec conquest in precolonial Mexico and centralised government which subjugated the existing structures and in introducing the dominant Spanish language, an era of bilingualism began, during which substratum effects surged in the Spanish used in the colony and heavy structural borrowing from Spanish into indigenous languages took place.

Several strata of loanwords can be identified in Umbeyajts, and this is work currently being conducted by Rolf Noyer (ms). In an estimate based on his corpus of lexical data –

which is mainly based on San Mateo del Mar variety, but most items are common to all four varieties, and Noyer gives extensive information on this in his *Diccionario Etimológico y comparativo de las lenguas huaves del estado de Oaxaca, México* – Noyer describes the lexicon as consisting of 63% of native roots, 20% of borrowings from other Indigenous languages, and 17% originating in Spanish (by way of comparison, an estimate of English vocabulary based on 7476 of the most frequent lexical items yields 39% of Germanic origin, 49% of Latin or Romance, 6% of Greek and 6% of other origin). Of the Indigenous loanwords[138], more than 75% are from Mayan and Mixe-Zoquean languages in almost equal proportion (40% of Mayan, and 37% of Mixe-Zoquean origin), 8% from Zapotecan and 3% from Nahuatl. Another 10% are *Wanderwörter* of ambiguous source, 1% is from Totonac and a very small number of words are from Oaxaca Chontal or Tequistlatecan, which is also a language family without relatives in the area (Lyle Campbell classifies it as Hokan).

The phonological characteristics of the different loanwords are, in combination with information about their language of origin, the key to determining the approximate chronology of the borrowing. The phonological characteristics of the language have changed significantly from Proto-Huave to the present-day varieties in several respects, for example with regard to syllable structure. The disyllabic roots of Proto-Huave, which are still attested in early text, have contracted and are now monosyllabic. Palatalisation originating from non-tonic syllables shows clear, regular patterns, and exceptions to these patterns can be indicative of posterior borrowing – Mixe-Zoquean languages also have a palatalised – non-palatalised contrast.

Taking into account the fact that structural borrowings are found plentifully in the language (see 13.2.2), it could be interesting, from a diachronic point of view, to study Umbeyajts grammar and the grammars of the abovementioned language families comparatively.

138 Noyer takes into account only loanwords which he classifies as *seguros* 'certain', but even when including the non-certain items, the proportions do not change significantly:37% from Mayan; 36% from Mixe-Zoquean;6% from Zapotecan; 3% from Chontal; 2% from Nahuatl; 2% from Totonac and 14% from ambiguous sources.

13.3. San Dionisio del Mar's bilingualism and language contact situation

Borrowing and other language contact phenomena are of theoretical interest for a variety of reasons in addition to the abovementioned connection between phonological developments in loanwords and their chronology (which can be linked to interdisciplinary work about the history of the speakers of this language), namely in that language can be analysed in terms of indexical connections to speakers' social world, and such analyses can reveal information about the dynamics of power, identity, ethnicity and other socially meaningful processes, representations or conventions.

In addition, the study of language contact phenomena, such as codeswitching, is interesting as a structural phenomenon of the grammar in its own right, and as such it has been studied by various other branches of linguistics, such as grammaticalisation studies (eg. Heine & Kuteva, 2010), psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics (see for example Grosjean (1982), Gumperz (1964), Haugen (1953), Myers-Scotton (2006), Muysken (2000), Paradis (2004), Poplack (1980), Romaine, 2010). I take the view that codeswitching should not be approached as a disembodied phenomenon that can be studied as an abstract structure and that it would be more prudent for any such description to be met with reservation, since discursive phenomenona like codeswitching are to a large extent determined by social dynamics and contextualisation, and constrained by cognitive architecture.

In this section, synchronic data pertaining to language contact phenomena and other data of sociolinguistic interest will be examined. In 13.3.1, after briefly introducing the sociolinguistic situation and bilingualism in the community, I discuss language ideologies. In 13.3.2, I examine instances of codeswitching in the data, and in 13.3.3 I give some final conclusions on the topic of this section.

13.3.1. Introduction

Since the use of a certain register (for example ceremonial speech), dialect (for example the San Mateo del Mar variety) or language (for example Spanish or Istmus Zapotec) may be construed by speakers as being tied to a certain speaker image or identity, such

uses can acquire indexical reference[139], in other words: Specific grammatical or lexical expressions can be conceptualised as signs that are correlated with states of affairs in the social world, or codes, in Omoniyi's (2006) sense. An act of codeswitching can be part of identity-management (cf. Goffman's 'presentation of self', Bakhtin's (1981) 'voice' and Davies & Harré's (1990) 'positioning'), however, it need not be – the discovery that code-switching tends to be motivated by situational and pragmatic characteristics does not mean that purely structural linguistic motivations (eg. lexico-semantic features such as lexicalisation differences) can be done away as irrelevant altogether, and at times, cognitive motivations or restrictions will be behind the codeswitching (such as lexical access or fluency). This shows the need for the intradisciplinary approach linguists have taken to codeswitching, which combines know-how from different branches of linguistics, mainly grammar or general linguistics, contact linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics.

One branch of linguistics that has remained underrepresented in this combination of methodological approaches is typological or functional linguistics of Non-Western minority languages and endangered languages. Psycholinguists and neurolinguists mostly study codeswitching with subjects speaking a Western majority language by means of task-based measurements, i.e. under laboratory conditions – a methodological approach which can be criticised from many angles, but an objection especially relevant to the case made in this chapter would be the lack of input from a vast amount of understudied languages of divergent typological characteristics which may not conform to the patterns and regularities in these more used languages that psycholinguists and neurolinguists base their assumptions on – which seems to me an ironic deficiency, since codeswitching in endangered languages is plentiful, and severely endangered languages with diminished vitality like Umbeyajts, showing characteristics of attrition (based on Romaine's (2010) criteria), may yield interesting new discoveries if differentially studied with other types of codeswitching in fluently or non-fluently spoken languages.

139 Identities are constructed in language use, and it could be more fruitful to pay attention to actual identification processes evident in the data rather than considering ready-made identities which already exist as predefined categories or ready-made 'products'. Identifications are products of these (momentary) processes, which are aimed at 'hierarchisation' (Omoniyi, 2006: 11, 19).

13.3.1.1. The bilingual situation of San Dionisio del Mar

Spanish is the language used in both primary and secondary education. The primary school teachers are bilingual and teach a few hours of Umbeyajts to the children every week as part of the national bilingual education system governed by the general directorate of indigenous education (Sp. *Dirección General de Educación Indígena* or DGEI) of the Ministry of Education (Sp. *Secretaría de Educación Pública* or SEP). Apart from these hours, during which children learn to read, write and acquire new vocabulary in Umbeyajts, classes are taught in Spanish.

Secondary school teachers are from outside the community (mostly from neighbouring Zapotec towns), except for the headmaster of the secondary school, who is also a speaker of Umbeyajts. The teachers in the higher education institutions (at high school (Sp. *bachillerato* or *preparatoria*) level).

Thus, the dominant language in San Dionisio is very clearly Spanish, present in all aspects of public life and in the mass media (apart from the community radio, which broadcasts in Umbeyajts). The approximately 1,800 speakers in the village may use Umbeyajts in the familiar domain of their household, but most families use Spanish there too, even if some or all members are able to maintain a conversation in Umbeyajts. Family members may use Umbeyajts elsewhere, for example when communicating with acquaintances or relatives who use Umbeyajts at home. My (very rough) estimate is that currently less than half of the speakers use Umbeyajts to conduct their daily family business. Some of the shopkeepers speak Umbeyajts, but most commercial transactions are conducted in Spanish.

13.3.1.2. Speaker attitudes and ideology

I take a language ideology to be a set of ideas which speakers collectively entertain about the language(s) used by them and their neighbours, and, following Woolard (1998: 8), as signifying practices and explicit or implicit interpretative attitudes by which speakers constitute themselves as social subjects. I compare data from San Dionisio with Hill's (1998) findings about a Nahuatl-speaking community in Central Mexico to support this terminological framework.

According to Silverstein (1979: 193), who holds that a 'linguistic ideology' is a 'set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use', 'pragmatic ideologies' involve speakers' reification of linguistic structure as the structure of the world (i.e. the creation of an ontology in which linguistic categories refer to real-world categories) through a process Silverstein calls 'referential projection' or 'objectification'.

13.3.1.2.1. Status of Umbeyajts, Spanish and Isthmus Zapotec (*diidxazá)*

Speakers generally hold Spanish in high regard, as is to be expected in case of the dominant language. It enjoys a high prestige as it is associated with opening doors to better socioeconomic conditions, with education and higher strata of society. The indigenous languages, as is the case in many Oaxacan contexts and in Mexico generally, are often associated with low socioeconomic status and low levels of education.

Zapotec (Sp. *zapoteco*, IZap *diidxazá*) is not spoken in the community, but - in addition to the many lexical items from Zapotec used in regional Spanish, such as *guie' chaachi 'plumeria rubra*' - many speakers who have ties to the neighbouring communities of Chicapa de Castro and Unión Hidalgo have a passive command of basic Zapotec. Zapotec is more prestigious than Umbeyajts and can be said to take the place of Mestizo culture and Spanish as the dominant language in the hierarchy (Lizama Quijano, 1999; Frey, 1982).

13.3.1.2.2. General languages attitudes and ideology

13.3.1.2.2.1. The 'discourse of progress'

Typically, while the socioeconomic conditions are portrayed as bad in comparison to Zapotec villages, San Dionisio Umbeyajts speakers use no mainstream 'discourse of nostalgia' similar to the one described in Hill 1998, apud Aikhenvald 2013) – rather, the contrary seems to prevail in San Dionisio. This could have to do with the index of marginalisation being higher in San Dionisio than in the communities in Puebla and Tlaxcala that Hill researched in, but another possible reason is the lower prestige of Umbeyajts as compared to Nahuatl in the Malinche communties. While Hill notices how

‘better-off’ people have nostalgia for ‘the way things were’ before modern mestizo culture and the Spanish language permeated the domains of daily life, San Dionisio speakers who are relatively better off tend to express themselves in a negative way about the way things were before, highlighting the lack of a great variety of things, such as agriculture-related machines, coffee, certain crops such as corn, pesticides, roads, cars, buses, electricity or running water.

There is, however, also a counterdiscourse: Many fishermen and their families do not have much positive to say about the way things changed, even if modernity has brought them motor boats. It has also brought them scarcity of fish, seriously fierce competition from Zapotec fishermen (whom they tend to portray as intruders who fail to respect territorial agreements), and a very low living standard compared to agriculturists. As is the case with the counterdiscourses described in Hill (1998), they clearly delimit those that are in the worst socioeconomic situation – and thus do not benefit from the conditions glorified in the dominant ‘discourse of progress’ – from those who do and thus could be thought of as having an interest in maintaining it; nevertheless, the situation sketched in Hill (1998) differs fundamentally in the fact that, here, the dominant discourse is, first of all, a discourse of *dis*satisfaction with *antes* ‘[the way things were] before’ and a moderately positive image of *kanenkaman* ‘[the way things are] now’, and second, I would not describe the counterdiscourse as a discourse of nostalgia, but rather as one of dissatisfaction with the present, highlighting its negative aspects.

13.3.1.2.2.2. Ikojts' subjective inferiority and the ‘discourse of nostalgia’

As already described in the literature (Lizama Quijano, 1999), Zapotec identity is often discursively associated with loudness, strength, pride and slyness in business transactions, whereas the Ikojts’ way of being is usually characterised as quiet, reserved and shy. Zapotec culture generally seems to be valued higher, with more fancy material goods, better dances and a more assertive or militant attitude.

However, also here, there is a counterdiscourse, which is actually similar to the Malinche region’s ‘discourse of nostalgia’ in that it deplores the simplicity and the lack of

traditional values in the 'mesticised' culture prevailing in the region[140]. For instance, it is often pointed out that in neighbouring Chicapa people at a funeral, while being offered *ñutyiel* (a oven-made dish of corn dough wrapped in corn leaves and filled with meat and sauce, IZap. *gueta bigu*, Sp. *tamales*) are not provided with the traditional funerary beverage which the Ikojts in San Dionisio call *ñupop chaw* (or *chaw popox* in San Mateo, Sp. *atole espumoso*) and which the Zapotecs know under the name *nisia'ba bupu*.

Another such counterdiscourse employed by some, especially the more educated speakers, centers around the extensive religious ceremonies that used to be celebrated earlier (as opposed to the secularity and lack of symbolic meaning the present-day celebrations seem to have at first sight), the oratory capabilities of public speakers and their fluency in the Umbeyajts language, and the polite ways of the elderly in addressing each other. This counterdiscourse does show characteristics of a discourse of nostalgia with traditionalistic overtones.

13.3.2. Code-switching

Code-switching in Umbeyajts occurs plentifully in daily life with all speakers I have met, though in some speakers the frequency of the practice is far higher than in others (ranging from once every ten sentences to once every sentence, or hardly any Umbeyajts). For instance, compare the following three speakers:

13-1a	*Pero cin* -	*como*	*cinco*	*ñat*,	*o*	*cuatro*	*o mas*.	
	but	like	five	year	or	four	or more	
	Buen	*tiempo.*	*Buen*	*n-a-ngaj*		*tiempo*,	*pues.*	
	good	weather	good	ST-TV-be.sacred		time	DISC	
	De gust	*m-a-juoty,*	*de gust*	*a-jlük*		*yew,*	*de gust*..	

140 Frey (1982) argues that the national culture arrives in San Dionisio only through a Zapotec filter – of course, the situation is different today with ample mass media and social media access as well as travel opportunities; nevertheless, this 'filter' remains discernible in many aspects.

joyfully IRR-TV-rain joyfully TV-exist water joyfully

'But fiv-… Like five years, or four, or more [ago]. [It was] good weather. The weather was good[141]. It rained beautifully, there was plenty of water, beautiful..'

13-1b	*Nd-oj*	*kej*	*t-a-mb*	*m-a-jaw*	*mi-tajk*
	BND-3ITR	DEM2.MED	PST-TV-go	IRR-TV-see	POS.II.U-skin
	mbat,	*a-pieng*	*ñiw*	*mi-tajk*	*mbat*
	louse	TV-speak	PRON3	POS.II.U-skin	louse
	kej	*per*	*ñiw*	*pur*	*a-ngey.*
	DEM2.MED	but	PRON3	pure	TV-hear
	Kej	*t-a-mb*	*m-a-rang*	*meáwan*	*kej*
	DEM2	PST-TV-go	IRR-TV-do	all	DEM2
	nd-oj	*t-a-mb*	*m-a-jmyuely*	*ij* [..]	
	BND-3ITR	PST-TV-go	IRR-TV-enter	EXCLA	

'After that he went to see the louse skin, reportedly the louse skin but he only ever heard [people talking about it, never saw it]. Then he went to do all that, after that he entered [there], oh my [..]'

13-1c	*Ap=u-rang*	*anuok*	*a-saj-üw*	*monumento.*		
	FUT=TV-do	one.CL	TV-say-PL	monument		
	Puro del martes santo,		*ajgey*	*at*	*m-i-jaw*	*cárcel,*
	pure of tuesday holy		DEM5.MED	also	IRR-2-see	prison

141 Here, *n-a-ngaj* 'sacred' is used modifying the noun *tiempo* 'weather'. *Nangaj* is a honorific usually employed with natural phenomena: *Nangaj ndyuk* 'the sea', *nangaj iend* 'the weather', *nangaj kajw* 'the moon' (or Müm Kajw, 'mother moon'). The Sun is referred to as *Tyety Nüty*, *nüty* being interpretable also as 'name' or 'day'.

tyiel	*ap=a-jmyuely*	*Jesús,*	*tyiel*	*gey*	*ap=a-jlük*
LOC	FUT=TV-enter	Jesus	LOC	DEM2	FUT=TV-exist

castigado	*hasta que*	*la hora*	*ap=a-ndyow.*	
punished	until that	the hour	FUT=TV-die	

Ñ-u-rang	*costumbre.*	*Giñey*	*mod*	*a-ndyow*	*Cristo.*
ST-TV-do	tradition	how	way	TV-die	Christ

I	*olonuok*	*nüty*	*ap=a-t-aran*	*velar*
and	one.add.CL	day	FUT=TV-LV-IMP	remain.awake

ungyuiejts,	*a-w*	*nüty*	*ap=a-jlük*	*entierro,*	*a-mb*
night	TV-exit	day	FUT=TV-exist	burial	TV-go

músico,	*ih.*	*A-iñdy*	*ñipilan,*	*a-mb*	*ñipilan*
music	EXCLA	TV-play.music	people	TV-go	people

a-yak	*mbaj.*
TV-put	flower

‘What they call a monument is made. Just for holy Tuesday, it looks like a prison, in it Jesus enters, in it he will remain punished until the hour he dies. The tradition is celebrated. [People enact] how Christ died. And on the next day they have a wake [in] the night, when day breaks there is a funeral, musicians go [there], oh dear. People play music and people go to put flowers.’

All three speakers are fluent in Umbeyajts and use the language in daily life. The first speaker (13-1a) is also fluent in Spanish and speaks mostly Spanish in the public domain, but Umbeyajts at home with his wife and mother-in-law who is blind and resides in their house. The second (13-1b) speaks only a little Spanish and mostly uses Umbeyajts. The

third speaker (13-1c) is a well-traveled and active man with a lot of social interaction in both Spanish and Umbeyajts (even though the Spanish he speaks is not grammatically sound, communication is fluent).

The differences are considerable: In 13-1a only a few words appear in Umbeyajts, and Spanish words and complete noun phrases are used that have been adapted to fit Umbeyajts non-vowel final phonology. In 13-1b, only a conjunctive (*per* 'but', from *pero*), an adverb (*pur* 'pure(ly)', from *puro*), and one exclamation (*ij*, from *híjole*, a kind of mirative similar to *no hómbre* used to express admiration for how impacting a piece of (either expected or unexpected) information is) have been used from Spanish, all adapted to Umbeyajts phonology. In 13-1c, all kinds of words and constituents are imported from Spanish. These examples will be analysed in 13.3.3. What follows in this subsection (13.3.2) is a categorisation of different types of codeswitching according to word class or constituent type of the borrowed material.

13.3.2.1. Tag-only switches

The most frequently encountered, and unmarked, type of non-Umbeyajts material is the occurrence of interjections (eg. *ih, ij*), conjunctions (*per, o, i, pores*) and grammatical markers (eg. *par, de*) and discourse tags (eg. *pues, vay*) with final vowel elision if applicable (exceptions are words that have a non-penultimate stress pattern or are not vowel-final, for example monosyllabic and *-l*/*-r*-final words from Spanish).

The imported material remains unadapted if consisting of units larger than words (eg. *qué bueno*, *bueno pues*, *ahí está*)[142].

13-2a *Pues m-a-jaw-üw <u>loke</u> t-a-rang kuchuxñyueñch*

142 An exception are *pores* and *porke* 'because' (from Sp. *por eso* and *porque*). A possible reason for *pores* might be that this form was interpreted as a single word, since in pronunciation there is no pause unless speaking in an unusually emphatic way (for example a mother hitting a child repeatedly while repeating each word separately). In the case of *porke*, the situation looks somewhat different: In Spanish, the orthographically (**but not phonologically**) distinct expressions *por que, por qué, porque* and *porqué* each have a different meaning and are often confused in written form by Spanish speakers themselves.

DISC IRR-TV-see-PL that.which PST-TV-do little boy

kej.

DEM2

'Well, they saw what that little boy (the *Ñutyok*) had done'.

13-2b *Saber* *ngej* *t-a-küly-iw,* *a-pieng-üw* *Europa.*

who.knows where PST-TV-stay-PL TV-speak-PL European

'Who knows what became of them, people say they live in Europe.'

13-2c *La=nd-oj* *n-a-wüñ* *dañ* *kej* *par*

PF=BND-3ITR 1IRR-TV-get.out damage DEM2.MED for

uxyup *tsi=jlük* *alegr* *ajk* *nüx* *kej,*

tomorrow PF=exist happy DEM1 girl DEM2.MED

par *nawier* *mas* *lyi=jñej.*

for day.after.tomorrow more PF.DIM=be.good

'Now I took out that damaging [thing], so that tomorrow that girl would feel happy, and feel even better the day after tomorrow.'

Even if single, vowel-final words with a regular stress pattern are concerned, the full form may be borrowed, as in the following examples, which do not tend to occur in data produced by people with a low command of Spanish, as in the following examples (*pero, puro, pesca, vida, vaya*).

13-3a *Pero* *primer* *nguoy,* *puro* *cayuco.*

but first not pure canoe

'But not at first, [all there was were] just canoes.'

13-3b *I* *al=tyiel* *pues este..* *Ngu=m-a-jier,* *este,*

and DUR=LOC well er NEG=IRR-TV-have er

costumbre *m-i-ndy* *a-pier* *naxiel,* *pur* *pesca.*
tradition IRR-TV-feel.like TV-sow field just fishing

Tyiel *ndyuk.* *Ajá,* *ajgey* *mi-vida* *vaya.* *A-mb*
LOC sea yeah DEM4.MED POS.II.U-life DISC TV-go

a-ndok.
TV-fish

'And if, well er.. One hasn't got, er, a habit of wanting to sow the field, one just fishes. Yeah, that's one's life. One goes to fish.'

Even when borrowing fully conjugated Spanish forms, they may not necessarily show agreement or be grammatically felicitously arranged in Spanish:

13-4a *Puro* *pachanga* *pues.*
pure party DISC
'So there's just plenty of party.'

13-4b *Anop* *sobrino* *borrachera,* *jang* *ap=u-ndyiem* *ñiw?*
one.RND cousin drunkenness who FUT=TV-want PRON3
'A drunk cousin, who will want [someone like] that?'

13.3.2.2. Intersentential and intrasentential codeswitching

Codeswitching may be limited to words as the prototypical cases in the previous subsection, but it may also occur between sentences, which is a rarer type in Umbeyajts (13.3.2.2.1), between clauses, which is the most commonly observed type in the data (13.3.2.2.2.1) or inside clauses (13.3.2.2.2.2).

13.3.2.2.1. Intersentential codeswitching

Intersentential codeswitching occurs when switches occur only outside sentence-boundaries and not inside them. When speakers of Umbeyajts codeswitch, it seems very rare that sentence boundaries are observed. Examples can only scarcely be located and only in texts produced by speakers who are very fluent in Spanish:

13-5a	*Bueno*	*la=a-mb.*	*Ñingien*	*a-jlük*	*najiet*
	DISC	PF=TV-go	DEM4.DIST	TV-exist	work

ñingien.	*Pero*	*por*	*base*	*de*	*coyote pues.*
there.DIST	but	by	base	of	coyote DISC

Ajgey	*ap=a-kiejp*	*ñiwew.*
DEM4.MED	FUT=TV-go.with	PRON3PL

'Well then one is gone. There is work, [but only] there (i.e. on the other side). But only by means of a *coyote*. He goes with them (i.e. migrants)'.

13-5b	*Al=m-a-jlük*	*anuok*	*clas*	*a-suok*	*matatodo.*
	DUR=IRR-TV-exist	one.CL	class	TV-be.said	kills.everything

Con todo zacate mata. *Y hay otra clase, matamonte.*
with all grass[143] kills and exists other class kills.wilderness

Sólo	*suox,*	*a-küly*	*wajchiek,*	*a-küly*	*pastura.*
only	grass	TV-remain	wilderness	TV-remain	pasture

'There is a kind (i.e. herbicide) called *matatodo* ('kills everything'). It kills everything included grass. And there is another sort, *matamonte* ('kills wilderness'). Only grass [is killed], the brush and the pasture remain.'

143 *Zacate* ('grass', 'hay') is a (Mexican) Spanish term from Nahuatl *zācatl* 'straw'.

13-5c *La=wajk* *mbey* *kej,* *como.. Bueno, más bien, este..*
PF=dry.out mazorca DEM2.MED like DISC more well DISC

Mbey *kej* *al=nd-om* *m-er-ngwap* *como..*
mazorca DEM2.MED DUR=BND-IRR IRR-2-harvest like

arjuy *kajw,* *la=m-a-tüch* *m-er-ngwap* *pues.*
three month PF=IRR-TV-reach IRR-2-harvest DISC
'[When] the mazorca already dried up, like.. Well, more like er.. You are able to harvest the mazorca like.. [After] three months you can already harvest.'

13.3.2.2.2. Intrasentential codeswitching

A far more common type of codeswitching occurs within the boundaries of a sentence, and many accounts of codeswitching differentiate between interclause and intraclause codeswitching (eg. Myers-Scotton; Gardner-Chloros, 2010; Berk-Seligson, 1986), depending on whether constituent boundaries remain intact or not.

13.3.2.2.2.1. Interclause codeswitching

Some examples are below.

13-6a *Tyi=ngu=m-i-jier* *ap=a-lujk,* *paj paj paj,*
LOC=NEG=IRR-2-have FUT=TV-pull ONO

surco por surco. *Por eso* *p=i-jier* *wyierr*
furrow by furrow therefore FUT=2-have fox

kej. *Bueno, madrugada* *ap=ir-ie-mb.* *Par*
DEM2.MED DISC early.morning FUT=2-TV-go for

m-i-tüch *ñingien.* *Ñimal* *kej* *tsi=pey* *kej.*
IRR-2-reach there.DIST animal DEM2.MED PF=arrive DEM2.MED

Pores *ik* *tsi=r-pey* *kej* *ik.*
therefore PRON2 PF=2-arrive DEM2.MED PRON2

Tyi=ngwey *p=a-lujk.* *Ngu=mi* *p=u-tam*
LOC=not FUT=TV-pull NEG=N.PRS FUT=TV-be.useful

mi-najiet. *Ap=a-lujk* *wyierr.*
POS.II.U-work FUT=TV-pull fox

'If you don't take care he (i.e. the fox) will pull it out, *paj paj paj*, furrow after furrow. That's why you'll take care of the foxes. Well, you leave early in the morning. So that you get there in time. That animal gets there. That's why [you make sure] you're already there. If not, he'll pull (i.e. the plants out). Your work will have been of no use. The foxes will pull it out.'

13-6b *La=wajk* *mbey* *kej,* *como.. @Bueno, más*
PF=dry.out mazorca DEM2.MED like DISC more

bien, este.. *@mbey* *kej* *al=nd-om* *m-er-ngwap*
well erm mazorca DEM2.MED DUR=BND-IRR IRR-2-harvest

como *arjuy* *kajw,* *la=m-a-tüch* *m-er-ngwap* *pues.*
like three.CL month PF=IRR-TV-reach IRR-2-harvest DISC

13.3.2.2.2.2. INTRACLAUSE CODESWITCHING

Some examples are below.

13-7a *Ngu=mi* *mer* *n-a-tyek* *pues.*
neg=n.prs quite st-tv-be.green disc

La=i-ñdy *a-kaw.*
pf=tv-feel.like tv-be.mature.and.savoury
'It's not quite green yet. It's almost mature and delicious.'

13-7b *O sea, anuok nüty ap=i-ngüy ijkew yunta. Uh, ap=a-jüy*
or be.it one.CL day FUT=2-pay two.CL yoke EXCLA FUT=TV-wander

p=a-rang ijkew almud anuok nüty=an. Anuok nüty.
FUT=TV-do two.CL almuda[144] one.CL day=DEL one.CL day

O tres, aryuj yunta. Pues aryuj almud. @Un chingo,
or three three.CL yoke DISC three.CL almuda a load

demasiado. @A-jier, este, a vec-es a-jier-üw hasta fanega
too.much TV-keep DISC to time-PL TV-keep-PL until[145] bushel

a-pieng-üw. Doce almo-s. Ajgey. Doce almo-s. Uh,
TV-speak-PL twelve almo[146]-PL DEM3.MED twelve almo-PL EXCLA

ap=a-wüñ @como veinticinco carreta-s, o más.
fut=tv-get.out like twenty.five car.load-pl or more

'That is, you pay for two yokes in one day. Oh dear, it will drive [through] and do two *almudas* in a single day. Or three, three yokes. So three *almudas*. It's a lot, it's plenty. It has, erm, sometimes they have up to a bushel, it is said. Twelve *almos*. Really. Twelve *almos*. Oh dear, one can get out around twenty five car loads, or more.'

13-7c *Tyi=ngu=m-i-jier alambre ap=i-rang de xiel.*
if=NEG=IRR-TV-keep wire fut=2-do of wood

'If you don't have wire you can make [it] with wood.'

144 An *almuda* is approximately 25 litres.
145 A *fanega* or bushel measures approximately 60 litres.
146 An *almo* is approximately 5 litres.

13-7d *Mas* *tiempo* *mongich* *xik,* *s-a-jaw* *ngu=m-a-juoty.*
more time youth pron1 1-tv-see neg=irr-tv-rain

Híjole, *a-ndyow* *n-a-ngaj* *naxiel,* *ngu=m-a-jlük*
interj tv-die st-tv-be.sacred field neg=irr-tv-exist

a-juoty. *Puro verano, puro..* *Más antes, pues.* *Pero* *nganüy*
TV-rain pure summer pure more before DISC but now

tsi=i-mb *akas* *ñat,* *bueñ,* *bueñ* *tiempo* *bueñ.*
PF=TV-run.out few year good good weather good

A-juoty *pues,* *n-a-jñej* *a-juoty.*
TV-rain DISC ST-TV-be.good TV-rain

'More in the time of my youth I witnessed that It didn't rain. Oh dear, the sacred fields died, there was no rain. Just summer, just.. In the past, I mean. But now a few years have already passed, it's good, the weather is good, it's really good. Because it rains, it rains beautifully.'

13.3.2.3. Discussion

13.3.2.3.1. Matrix language and embedded language

According to the theoretical framework proposed by Myers-Scotton, codeswitching operates based on a *matrix language* (the language providing 'the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause'; Myers-Scotton 2006: 241) and an *embedded language*. In Umbeyajts, it seems clear in most cases that the structure employed by speakers is essentially Umbeyajts, with the material borrowed from Spanish being mostly content words (13-8a). Instances of Spanish structure influencing the utterance, for example in calque translations, do occur, but this tends to be the case in speakers whose use of Umbeyajts is very infrequent and who have a high level of fluency in Spanish (13-8b, repeated from 13-2b).

13-8a *Ngem* *m-i-jier* *mi-trabajo* *pues,* *porke*
go.IMPE IRR-2-have POS.II.U-work DISC because

a-ta *costar* *pues,* *trabajo* *i-rang.* *Xowayey*
TV-LV cost DISC work 2-do much

trabajo *i-rang.*
work 2-do
'Go and secure your work, because it has cost [much effort], the work you have done. You worked a lot.' (In connection with what happens when foxes are around to dig out your crops).

13-8b *Saber* *ngej* *t-a-küly-iw,* *a-pieng-üw* *Europa.*
who.knows where PST-TV-remain-PL TV-speak-PL Europe
'Who knows what became of them, it is said they live in Europe.'

In 13-8b above, the speaker seems to use the verb *-küly* (which conveniently has the polysemous interpretations 'stay, remain; live, inhabit') to produce a calque translation of *saber dónde quedaron* ('who knows what became of them', lit. 'to know where they remained'), an expression which can be used when something has gone missing.

13.3.2.3.2. Single word replications

Another issue is the occurrence of single words from the embedded language. Spontaneous borrowing and code-switching can be difficult to distinguish generally (Gardner-Chloros, 2010), and especially in Umbeyajts, where, for example, in what seems spontaneous borrowing or 'nonce-borrowing', Spanish words may be spontaneously adapted to Umbeyajts phonology by elision of the final vowel. According to Poplack's (1980, apud Gardner-Chloros, 2010: 196) criterion, 'transfers which [are] morphophonologically integrated with borrowing languages should be classed as loans'; nevertheless, according to Gardner-Chloros (2010: 196), there are numerous examples of spontaneous borrowings with morphophonology of the borrowing variety.

The material given in the first subsection exemplifies the borrowing of single words adapted to Umbeyajts phonology. Concerning the elaboration of a speaker typology (with regard to language competence in the context of severe language endangerment and prospective language death), the type of embedding in 13-2 would be the kind of language-mixing that is least indicative of a diminished vitality; in fact, these items could be regarded as regular lexicalised when appropriately adapted to Umbeyajts phonology. However, the instances shown in 13-3 are problematic in this regard. It seems that these are Spanish words which have not lexicalised into Umbeyajts, and there is some evidence for this. Let us take the full forms in 13-3 as an example (*pero, puro, pesca, vida, vaya*): Some of the words in this category are grammatical when adapted to Umbeyajts phonology, while others are not:

13-9a	*pero*	*per*
13-9b	*puro*	*pur*
13-9c	*vaya*	*vay*
13-9d	*primero*	*primer*
13-9e	*(de) repente*	*derrepent*
13-9f	*tiempo*	*tyemp*
13-9g	*vida*	**vid*
13-9h	*pesca*	**pesk*
13-9i	*cayuco*	**kayuk*

For the examples in 13-9a-f, I consider it likely that speakers have a choice of either using the lexicalised variant which is adapted to Umbeyajts, or embed the Spanish full form through codeswitching. The picture that then emerges is one of lexicalised loan words alongside spontaneously codeswitch variants which thus are similar, but not equal in lexical status.

It should be mentioned that *vida*, which does seem lexicalised, appearing in a possessed form but only relatively rarely in its shortened form, may be a special case. There seems to be a preference for using the full form. There is, in Isthmus Zapotec, a loan from

Spanish, concerning the word 'grandmother' (from IZap. *ná' vida*; cf. the Umbeyajts term, *mam-bida* or, more rarely, *mambid*) where it is probably the full form that has been lexicalised. This may be in analogy to the Zapotec term, which also has lexicalised the full form of the Spanish term – if this is correct, this puts the item in a different category than the codeswitched items 13-9h and 13-9i.

Idiosyncratic phonological adaptions may sometimes appear in words that are more frequently found in their full forms, which points to an ongoing process of lexicalisation:

13-9j	*jodido*	*jodid*
13-9k	*buen*	*bueñ*

Many examples of codeswitching can be found in the selection of transcribed recorded texts, which I invite the reader to examine in the appendix of the present volume.

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Appendix A. Text 1

The Story of the Ñutyok
Justo Juárez Ramírez, M, 70.

No	*sé*	*si*	*se acuerda*	*de algún cuento*	*de*
NEG	I.know if	you	remember	of some story	of

I do not know if you remember some story of..

¿Cómo dijo,	*Ñutyok? –*	*Eso.*	*– Lo que contaba usted ayer.*
how you said	Ñutyok	that	that which told you yesterday

How did you say, "Ñutyok"? – Right. – What you were telling [me] yesterday.

– Eso. Algo	*de donde..*	*Pudo escuchar [sic],*	*te*	*voy*
that something	of where	could hear	you	I.will

a platicar.	*Entonces,*	*¿ya está?*	*– Sí.*
to tell	then	already it.is	yes

– Right. Something about that which.. it could be heard, I am going to tell you. Well then, is [the recording device] ready ? – Yes.

1)

– Ñutyok	*kej*	*wijk-iaw*	*tyiel*	*kiambaj*	*namilyiet,*
Ñutyok	DEM2.DIST	be.born-ITR	LOC	community	west

gey	*a-suok*	*Pueblo Viejo,*	*tyiel*	*kiambaj*	*namilyiet*
DEM3.MED	TV-be.said	village old	LOC	village	west

gey	*wijk-iaw.*
DEM3.MED	be.born-ITR

The Ñutyok was born in the Western Village, that's called Pueblo Viejo, in the Western Village, that's where he was born.

2)

Entonces	*era*	*cuando*	*ganaw*	*wijk-iam*
then	it.was	when	not.yet	be.born-IRR

chamaquito	*kej*	*ngu=m-a-jlük*	*kuchujch*	*ndyuk*
boy.DIM	DEM2.DIST	NEG=IRR-TV-exist	little	sea

kej.
DEM2.DIST

It was, then, at a time that little boy hadn't yet been born, [that] there was no sea.

3)

Gey	*a-suok*	*kuchux*	*ndyuk,*
DEM2.DIST	TV-be.said	little	sea

What we call the Laguna (lit. 'little sea')

4) *cuando ñiw* *t-a-mb* *kej* *a-yak* *kuchux* *ndyuk*
when PRON3 PST-TV-go DEM2.DIST TV-put little sea

kej *par amor de* *m-a-xom* *vida* *mi-mam,*
DEM2.DIST for love of IRR-TV-find life POS.II.U-mother

m-a-jlük *küty* *m-a-tsamb* *pues.*
IRR-TV-exist fish IRR-TV-bite DISC
before he left he placed the Laguna there, in order for his mother to find subsistance, so that she may have fish to eat.

5) *Por eso* *muntaxuey* *tyijpyuely* *a-suok,* *ngu=m-a-jier-üw*
therefore AGT.PL.men orphan TV-be.said NEG=IRR-TV-have-PL

fis *m-a-küly+anajk-üw,* *pobre* *kej,*
judgement IRR-TV-stay+COM-PL poor DEM2.DIST

ajgey *más* *aumento,* *más* *milagroso* *par* *ñiwew.*
DEM4.DIST more augment more wonderous for PRON3.PL
That's why they call him the orphan, they didn't possess the sensibility to keep him living with them, the poor ones, it would have meant abundance and miracles for them..

6) *Pero como* *ñiwew* *a-jier-üw* *mal informe* *a-jküyiw*
but since PRON3.PL TV-have-PL bad report TV-be.angry

m-a-jaw-üw *pobre* *kej.*
IRR-TV-see-PL poor DEM2.DIST
But since they were ill-informed they hated the poor one

7) *Katsüy* *nd-om* *m-a-rang* *n-a-ngaj* *iem* *y*
already BND-IRR IRR-TV-do ST-TV-be.sacred house and

tsi=jlük *ndyuk* *intere* *rededor* *de* *ñiwew.*
PF=exist sea entire around of PRON3.PL
He had already finished making the temple, and there was already a sea all around them.

8) *Kej* *a-ndüy-iw* *ganüy. Kej* *t-a-sap-üw*
DEM2.DIST TV-be.directed-PL now DEM2.DIST PST-TV-get-PL

m-a-lyij-iw *mi-waküx-iw* *andüy* *ñingüy,*

IRR-TV-position-PL POS.II.U-cow-PL towards here

de ñingüy al=m-a-jlük lugar.
from here DUR=IRR-TV-exist place
They used to leave their cows around here, since there was space here.

9) *Pores a-suok hacienda ñingüy porke puro*
therefore TV-be.said hacienda here because pure

waküx a-yak-üw andüy ñingüy.
cow TV-put-PL towardhere
That's why this place used to be called *hacienda*, because they placed lots of cows here.

10) *Muntaxuey mundyow xyujch, a-suok.*
AGT.PL.men AGT.PL.die ancestor TV-be.said
The men, the ancestors who have passed away, it is said.

11) *Andüy ñingüy a-yamb-üw par m-ü-ty*
towardhere TV-seek-PL for IRR-TV-eat

mi-waküx-iw ñingien lami=pur yow.
POS.II.U-cow-PL DEM2.MED almost=pure water
They came looking this way for food for their cattle [since] over there there was water almost everywhere.

12) *Ajgey recuerdo a-kyuety ñutyok wüx tiempo a-mb.*
DEM4.DIST memory TV-leave ñutyok on time TV-go
That's the memory which the Ñutyok left when he went away.

13) *A-pieng-üw Europa a-küly kanénkaman.*
TV-speak-PL Europe TV-stay right.now
They say he is still alive in Europe.

14) *Pores como ñingüy a-suok: San Dionisio Aeropagita,*
therefore like here TV-be.said Dionysius the Areopagite

pores a-pieng chü[1] ñiw San Dionisio mi-tyety,
therefore TV-speak REP PRON3 Saint Dionysius POS.II.U-father

por eso, ciudad a-küly ñiw.
therefore city TV-stay PRON3

1 This particle is usually found in the form *chük*, but can be reduced in fast speech –see also sentence 15 below.

That's why, like it is said here: San Dionisio Aeropagita, that's why it is said that Saint Dionysus is his father, that's why, he lives in a city.

15) *El día de juicio* *n-a-mb* *n-a-jaw* *xa-tyety*
the day of judgment 1IRR-TV-go 1IRR-TV-see 1POS.II.U-father

a-pieng *chük.*
TV-speak REP
'The day of judgement I will go and meet my father', it is said.

16) *Pero* *ajgey* *ngu=m-a-jaw-ajts* *la verdad* *ajgey*
but DEM4.DIST NEG=IRR-TV-see-1INCL the truth DEM4.DIST

o *nguoy,* *ñinjang* *ngu=m-ü-jch* *cuenta.*
or NEG nobody NEG=IRR-TV-give account
But we don't know if that's the truth or not, nobody can know.

17) *Pores* *a-pieng* *evangelista:* *"El día de juicio,*
therefore TV-speak evangelist the day of judgement

vivo-s *o* *muerto-s* *ap=a-jaw".*
alive-PL or dead-PL FUT=TV-see
The protestants say that everyone, alive or dead, will see the day of judgement.

18) *Pero* *giñey* *moda,* *s-a-ta* *pensar* *xik,* *bueno* –
but how fashion 1-TV-LV think PRON1 DISC

vivo-s *al=wüx* *kiambajiet* *i* *ganüy* *muerto*
alive-PL DUR=upon earth and now dead

la=m-ü-ty *ñiw* *iet,* *giñey* *mod* *ap=a-jaw?*
PF=IRR-TV-eat PRON3 earth how mode FUT=TV-see
But how is this possible, I tend to think, since the living are on earth, but the dead have already been consumed by the earth, how are they going to be able to see ?

19) *Pero* *evangelista* *a-pieng:* *Nguoy,* *vivo-s* *y* *muerto-s*
but evangelist TV-speak no alive-PL and dead-PL

ap=a-jaw *fin DEL mundo.*
FUT=TV-see end of.the world
But the protestants say: No, both those alive and those dead will witness the end of the world.

20) *Xik* *ngu=n-a-jaw,* *ngu=n-a-ta* *creer.*
PRON1 NEG=1IRR-TV-see NEG=1IRR-TV-LV believe
As for me, I don't know and I don't believe it.

21) *Ngu=n-a-ndüy* *letra* *pero* *asunto* *de* *gey*
NEG=1IRR-TV-be.educated letter but matter of DEM2.DIST

ngu=n-a-tajk *creer* *pues.*
NEG=1IRR-TV-LV believe DISC
I am not educated but I don't believe those things.

22) *Vivo,* *pues,* *tal vez,* *muerto* *la=i-mb*[2] *m-ü-ty* *ñiw*
alive DISC perhaps dead PF=TV-end IRR-TV-eat PRON3

iet, *ngu=nd-om.*
earth NEG=BND-IRR
As for the living, well, perhaps; [however] a dead person having been already consumed by the earth cannot.

23) *Pero* *ñiw* *a-pieng:* *"Nguoy,* *vivo-s* *o muerto-s.*
but PRON3 TV-speak no alive-PL or dead-PL

Bueno, *gey* *a-pieng* *biblia".*
DISC DEM3 TV-speak bible
The protestants, however, say: "No, alive or dead. Well, that's what the bible says."

24) *Pero* *biblia* *ngu=m-u-pieng,* *ñiwew* *tyi=m-a-pieng-üw.*
but bible NEG=IRR-TV-speak PRON3.PL PRG=IRR-TV-speak-PL
But the bible cannot speak, it is them who say so.

25) *Porque* *xik* *historia* *s-a-ngey* *a-pieng-üw-* *anuok*
because PRON1 story 1-TV-hear TV-speak-PL one.CL

ñiw *sacerdote,* *de que* *biblia* *a-rang-aran* *Roma,*
PRON3 priest of that bible TV-do-IMP Rome

kej *a-rang-aran* *biblia.*
DEM2.DIST TV-do-IMP bible
Because what I have heard, people say-.. A priest, that the bible was made in Rome, that's where the bible was made.

2 Theme vowel *ü-* would be expected here, since the verb is *ü-mb* 'it is exhausted'.

26) *Andüy* *ñiwew* *a-pieng-üw:* *"Nguoy,* *Cristo* *a-rang".*
towards PRON3.PL TV-speak-PL no Christ TV-do
Among them people say: "No, Christ made [the bible]."

27) *Gey* *ngu=n-a-tajk* *creer,* *ngu=m-a-lyeng,*
DEM2.DIST NEG=1IRR-TV-LV believe NEG=IRR-TV-be.straight

xik *ngu=n-a-tajk* *creer* *jamás.*
PRON1 NEG=1IRR-TV-LV believe ever
I don't believe that, it cannot be true, I will never believe that.

28) *Porque* *xik* *s-a-ngey* *historia* *u-kwej*
because PRON1 1-TV-hear story POS.II.U-possession

Ñutyok *kej.*
Ñutyok DEM2.DIST
Because I know the story of the Ñutyok.

29) *Wüx* *tiempo* *mungich* *ñiw,* *de recién* *nacido*
on time youth PRON3 of just born

a-pieng-üw, *a-pey* *kuchujch* *kity,* *a-suok.*
TV-speak-PL TV-arrive small chicken TV-be.said
At a time that he was young – he had only just been born, they say – a little chicken came along.

30) *Chuty-um,* *tyity-tyity-tyity-tyity..* *Gallina, ¿no?*
be.seated-IRR ONO chicken no
It sat there, cluck cluck cluck cluck – a chicken, right?

31) *A-jküy* *kuchujch* *ñyuench* *kej,* *a-sap=an* *kity,*
TV-be.angry little boy DEM2.DIST TV-grab=DEL chick

m-a-ndujk *u-mal,* *m-a-ndyurryurr* *ñingyien.*
IRR-TV-slit.throat POS.I.U-head IRR-TV-extend.DIM there.DIST
The boy got angry, and he just grabbed the chicken and beheaded it, and then he laid it down there.

32) *Tsi=jküy* *mi-mam,* *m-a-xeng* *fuert* *ap=a-wüjch* *ñiw.*
PF=be.angry POS.II.U-mother IRR-TV-pick.up strong FUT=TV-hit PRON3
His mother got angry, and she picked him up angrily to hit him.

33) *añol* *t-a-mbiy* *ñiw* *mi-kity.*

why PST-TV-kill PRON3 POS.II.U-chicken
Why did he kill her chicken ?

34) [inaudible due to wind distortion]

35) *Bueno.* *Nd-oj* *a-kyuierr* *la=m-a-xeng* *ñingyien,*
DISC BND-ITR TV-run PF=IRR-TV-pick.up there.DIST

m-a-yak *tyiküy* *onts* *u-mbey.*
IRR-TV-put bit excrement POS.I.U-mouth
Well, then he ran over to pick [the chicken] up and put a bit of his spit [on it].

36) *Tsi=kyuierr* *kity,* *katsi=jñej.*
PF=run chicken PF=be.good
Already the chicken was running around, it had been cured.

37) *I-jaw* *ganüy* *giñey* *mod* *a-rang* *pues.*
2-see now how mode TV-do DISC
Now do you see what he did ?

38) *Y* *por eso* *a-pieng-üw* *t-a-rang* *n-a-ngaj* *iem*
and therefore TV-speak-PL PST-TV-do ST-TV-be.sacred house

tyi=anuok *ungyuiejts.*
LOC=one.CL night
That's also why they say he made the temple over a single night.

39) *Anuok* *ungwiejts* *a-rang.*
one.CL night TV-do
He made it in *one night*.

40) *Gej* *n-a-w* *m-a-yar* *ladrillo,* *cemento,*
where ST-TV-exit IRR-TV-carry brick concrete

miáwan *yokang,* *gej* *n-a-w* *m-a-yar,*
all stone where ST-TV-exit IRR-TV-bring

giñey *mod* *a-lyej?*
how mode TV-transport
Where did he bring all the bricks from, the concrete, all the stone, where did he go to get [all that], how did he transport it ?

41) *Qué tal* *al=m-a-jier* *poder* *t-a-rang,*

what such DUR=IRR-TV-have power PST-TV-do

anuok *ungyuiejts* *a-rang* *n-a-ngaj* *iem.*
one.CL night TV-do ST-TV-be.sacred house
How powerful must he have been, [to be able to] make a temple in one night?

42) *Hasta* *kanénkaman* *ngu=m-a-jarr-ich-iw* *u-mal*
until right.now NEG=IRR-TV-destroy-CAU-PL POS.I.U-head

kej=an *al=m-a-jier-üw* *templo* *kej.*
DEM2.DIST=DEL DUR=IRR-TV-have-PL temple DEM2.DIST
Still today it hasn't been destroyed, they still have that temple right there [in the Western Village].

43) *Pero* *la=m-i-jaw* *envidia* *a-jier-üw* *munxajch* *kej*
but PF=IRR-2-see envy TV-have-PL PL.AGT.priest DEM2.DIST

ñiwew *más* *naxyuey* *ñiwew.*
PRON3.PL more man PRON3.PL
But you see the envy that those priests had, they [wanted to be] more manly.

44) *Pues* *m-a-jaw-üw* *lo que* *t-a-rang* *kuchux* *ñuench*
DISC IRR-TV-see-PL that which PST-TV-do small boy

kej, *kej* *ty-u-kyuierr.*
DEM2.DIST DEM2.DIST PST-TV-run
Well, they saw what the little boy did, and he ran.

45) *T-a-mb* *pues.* *Y* *a-mb* *kej,* *ngu=m-a-ndyilyily-iw.*
PST-TV-go DISC and TV-go DEM2.DIST NEG=IRR-TV-return-PL
He went. And he went away, they never came back.

46) *Saber* *gej* *t-a-küly-iw,* *a-pieng-üw* *Europa.*
to.know where PST-TV-stay-PL TV-speak-PL Europe
Who knows where they went to live, it is said [in] Europe.

47) *Kej* *a-küly* *ñipilan* *kej.*
DEM2.DIST TV-stay people DEM2.DIST
That's where those people live.

48) *Y* *por eso* *ajk* *u-mbey-ajts* *ñingüy* *ajk*
and therefore DEM1 POS.I.U-mouth-1INCL here DEM1

u-mbey	*ñipilan*	*ñingyien,*	*Estado Europa.*	
POS.I.U-mouth	people	there.DIST	state	Europe

And that's also why our language [spoken] here is [equal to] the language of people from there, the State of Europe.

49)	*Pero*	*solamente*	*Dios*	*jang*	*nd-om*	*m-a-jaw.*
	but	only	God	who	BND-IRR	IRR-TV-see

But only God can know.

50)	*Porque*	*anuok*	*sacerdote*	*t-a-pieng*	*ñiw*	*la=nd-oj*
	because	one.CL	priest	PST-TV-speak	PRON3	PF=BND-ITR

ie-n	*kej,*	*ajk*	*mismo*	*idioma.*
TV-come	DEM2.DIST	DEM1	same	language

Because one priest [once] said that he had just been over there, [and it's] the same language.

51)	*T-a-kijmien*	*anuok*	*libro*	*al=wüx*	*idioma.*
	PST-TV-bring	one.CL	book	DUR=on	language

He had brought a book about the language.

52)	*T-a-jieng*	*algo,*	*n-a-ngey,*	*igualito,*	*ngu=m-a-jier*	*tono.*
	PST-TV-dance	something	1IRR-TV-hear	same.DIM	NEG=IRR-TV-have	tone

He read some, and I understood, [it was] exactly the same, he did not have [a foreign] accent.

53)	*Porque*	*al=m-a-jlük*	*u-mbey*	*San Mateo,*
	because	DUR=IRR-TV-exist	POS.I.U-mouth	San Mateo

gey	*a-jier*	*tono,*	*Santa María,*	*San Francisco,*
DEM3.DIST	TV-have	tone	Santa María	San Francisco

xikon	*s-a-pieng-an*	*ngu=m-a-jier*	*tono.*
PRON1EXCL	1-TV-speak-PL	NEG=IRR-TV-have	tone

xa-idioma	*xikon*	*pues.*	
1POS.I-language	PRON1EXCL	DISC	

Because there is the San Mateo language, that has a [different] accent, Santa María, San Francisco, we say, have no [different] accent.

54)	*Ngu=m-a-jier*	*tono,*	*más derecho,*	*at*	*m-i-jaw*
	NEG=IRR-TV-have	tone	more straight	also	IRR-2-see

castellano,
Spanish

They have no [foreign] accent, they are more directly [related to us], compare it to Spanish,

55) *aparte* *mi-castellano* *chiapaneco,* *aparte*
apart POS.II.U-Spanish Chiapanec apart

castellano *naw* *ñingüy.*
Spanish from here
there is a difference between the Spanish of a Chiapanec person and Spanish from here.

56) *At-mod* *a-jlük* *idioma.*
also-mode TV-exist language
That's what languages are like.

57) *Idioma* *a-jlük* *distinto.*
language TV-exist distinct
There are different languages.

58) *Porque* *anuok* *sacerdote* *a-kijmien* *anuok* *libro,*
because one.CL priest TV-bring one.CL book
Because one priest brought a book,

59) *al=wüx* *distinto-s* *idioma-s,* *ajgey* *a-pieng:*
DUR=on different-PL language-PL DEM4.DIST TV-speak
about different languages, this is what he said:

60) *Miáwan* *lugar* *a-jier* *mi-idioma,* *jugey*
all place TV-have POS.II.U-language there.is.DIST

mi-idioma.
POS.II.U-language
Each place has its language, [and] that is its [own] language.

61) *Pero* *el único* *naw* *ñingüy* *ngu=m-a-jlük.*
but the only from here NEG=IRR-TV-exist
But only here this is not the case.

62) *Europa* *t-a-kijmien* *anuok* *libro* *al=wüx* *algo* *de idioma.*
Europe PST-TV-bring one.CL book DUR=on something of language
From Europe [that priest] brought a book about something related to language.

63) *Pero* *gey* *naw* *Estado de* *Europa,* *ngu=mi* *naw*
but DEM2.DIST from state of Europe NEG=N.PRS from

tyiel	*San Dionisio,*	*ganüy*	*xik*	*sasaj*	*n-a-lyeng.*
LOC	San Dionisio	now	PRON1	1-TV-say	ST-TV-be.true

But it was from the State of Europe, not from inside San Dionisio, well I believe this is true.

64)	*Ñingüy*	*ngu=n-a-jaw,*	*ñingüy*	*ngu=m-a-jlük*	*anuok*
	here	NEG=1IRR-TV-see	here	NEG=IRR-TV-exist	one.CL

libro de idioma.
book of language
Here, I don't know, there are no language books here.

65)	*Porque*	*San Mateo*	*al=m-a-jier-üw.*
	because	San Mateo	DUR=IRR-TV-have-PL

Because San Mateo has [them].

66)	San Mateo	al=m-a-jlük	por ejemplo	el hermano,
	San Mateo	DUR=IRR-TV-exist	for example	the brother

a-pey	*ñingüy*	*anuok*	*hermano*	*puro*	*idioma.*
TV-arrive	here	one.CL	brother	pure	language

From San Mateo, for example, there is the person we call the Brother, a brother [i.e. protestant missionary] comes here who speaks only in [the] language.

67)	*Wüx*	*biblia*	*a-kijmien,*	*puro*	*idioma.*
	on	bible	TV-bring	pure	language

He brings [things] on the bible, all in [the] language.

68)	*Pero*	*de*	*San Mateo,*	*menos*	*naw*	*ñingüy.*
	but	from	San Mateo	less	from	here

But [language] from San Mateo, much less from here.

69)	*Ganüy*	*al=m-a-jlük*	*anuok*	*grupo de hermano-s,*
	now	DUR=IRR-TV-exist	one.CL	group of brother-PL

tyi=m-a-ndyiem-üw	*m-a-jier-üw*	*anuok*	*biblia de idioma,*
PRG=IRR-TV-want-PL	IRR-TV-have-PL	one.CL	bible of language

pero	*naw*	*ñingüy*	*personal.*
but	from	here	personal

Now there is a group of protestants who want to have a bible in [the] language, specifically from here.

70)	*Pero*	*ganaw*	*todabiy.*

but not.yet still
But it is not there yet.

71) *Tyi=m-a-kejch-ey* *tyimi=p=a-rang-üw* *o* *nguoy.*
PRG=IRR-TV-teach-RF cond=FUT=TV-do-PL or no
They are studying whether they are going to go through with it or not.

72) *Kanénkaman* *ñipilan* *tyi=m-ü-jch* *a-pey.*
right.now people PRG=IRR-TV-give TV-arrive
People are arriving currently.

73) *A-ndiem* *algo de idioma,* *por ejemplo* *ganüy* *a-mb*
TV-want something of language for example now TV-go

ñutyok *kej.*
Ñutyok DEM2.DIST
They want [to know] things about [the] language, for example, like [about] the Ñutyok's departure.

74) *Ñiw* *tiempo* *primer* *San Dionisio* *a-pieng-üw*
PRON3 time first San Dionisio TV-speak-PL

wüx *tiempo kej* *m-ie-n-üw* *campanario,*
on time DEM2.DIST IRR-TV-come-PL set.of.bells

mandxiek *a-suok,* *mi-mandxiek* *Dios.*
iron TV-be.said POS.II.U-iron God
They talk about San Dionisio's early history, when the church bells came, what we call the bells [in Umbeyajts], the divine bells.

75) *Pero* *de* *saber* *gej* *n-a-w,* *ngüñ* *Estado*
but from to.know where ST-TV-exit which state

a-mb-üw *m-a-yar-üw* *mandxiek* *kej* *par*
TV-go-PL IRR-TV-bring-PL iron DEM2.DIST for

ap=a-jlük ñingüy.
FUT=TV-exist here
But who knows where he is from, [from] which state they went to bring those bells for them to be here.

76) *Y* *kanénkaman* *la=m-a-jier-üw* *y* *hasta que* *m-ie-n-üw* *miáwan.*

and right.now PF=IRR-TV-have-PL and until that IRR-TV-come-PL all
And they still have them today and they all got here.

77) *A-küly* *sonido* *wüx* *tyiek* *Cerro Cristo.*
TV-stay sound on mountain Cerro Cristo
Their sound remains in Cerro Cristo[3]

78) *Y* *ñinjang* *ngu=nd-om* *m-a-xeng,* *y* *ñinjang*
and nobody NEG=BND-IRR IRR-TV-pick.up and nobody

ngu=nd-om *m-a-ta* *borrar.*
NEG=BND-IRR IRR-TV-LV erase
And nobody cannot remove [it], and nobody can erase [it] either.

79) *Y* *cuento* *a-pieng-üw* *a-tsap-ijch-iw* *anuok*
and story TV-speak-PL TV-slide-CAU-PL one.CL

ñingüy *Zanatepec,* *at* *a-rang* *Laguna Dolores.*
here Zanatepec also TV-do Lake Dolores
And the story that is told that they rolled one down here in Zanatepec, and in Laguna Dolores[4].

80) *Axta* *kanénkaman* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *ngüñ* *tiempo,*
until right.now NEG=IRR-TV-exist which time

ngu=m-a-wajk *laguna,* *n-a-dam,* *tyiel* *küty.*
NEG=IRR-TV-be.dry lake ST-TV-be.big LOC fish
Still today at no time has that lake dried out, it's big, there are fish inside it.

81) *Tyiel* *mojarr,* *bueno,* *tyiel* *ndon,* *a-suok,*
LOC mojarra DISC LOC killifish TV-be.said

distinto *küty* *kej* *al=tyiel.*
distinct fish DEM2.DIST DUR=LOC
There are mojarras in [it], well, there is killifish inside, they say, different types of fish are inside it.

82) *Pero* *jang* *m-u-jaw* *wüx* *tiempo* *a-jlük* *laguna*
but who IRR-TV-see on time TV-exist lake

[3] Cerro Cristo ('Christ mountain') is an island in the Laguna Superior (see map 1b on p. 3), which is the destination of a yearly ritual journey conducted by men of the Catholic society. Ethnographer Chiara Bresciani accompanied these elders there in 2011. The trip involves ritual consumption of mezcal and prayer in the cave situated on the island, inside which the acoustics are reportedly such that sound resembling churchbells can be heard.
[4] This lake is visible on map 1a (p. 1), approximately between Chicapa de Castro and Reforma Pineda.

kej.
DEM2.DIST
But who knows [how much] time that lake has existed.

83) *Gien* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *peqad* *ndyuk,* *tyiel*
DEM2.MED NEG=IRR-TV-exist stuck sea LOC

anuok *wajchiek,* *laguna* *kej.*
one.CL wilderness lake DEM2.DIST
It's not next to the sea shore, it's in a wilderness, that lake.

84) *Tyiel* *a-küly* *laguna,* *pero* *al=m-i-pey*
LOC TV-stay lake but DUR=IRR-TV-arrive

orilla de laguna, *híjole,* *alegre* *miáwan* *xiel* *pues.*
border of lake MIR happy all tree DISC
The lake is inside it, but when you get there, oh dear, all the trees [look] happy.

85) *Pero* *ir-ie-w* *andüy* *afuer,* *pur* *n-a-wajk* *xiel,*
but 2-TV-go.out toward outside pure ST-TV-be.dry tree

a-jlük *weñ* *a-jlük,* *bueno..*
TV-exist nance TV-exist DISC
But when you walk away [some distance], [you see] just trees dried up, there is nance fruit there, well..

86) *Pero* *u-mbey* *laguna* *kej* *tranquilo.*
but POS.II.U-mouth lake DEM2.DIST calm
But at the lake shore it's nice.

87) *Laguna Dolores* *n-a-dam,* *para qué gana.*
lake Dolores ST-TV-be.big for what wish
Laguna Dolores is big, certainly.

88) *Ñingüy* *a-jlük* *anuok* *laguna,* *a-pieng-üw*
here TV-exist one.CL lake TV-speak-PL

at *atowan* *pero* *ngumi* *gran cosa.*
also also but NEG.nprs big thing
There's a lake here too, they say, but it's nothing big.

89) *N-a-tarr* *tyiet* *a-suok.*

ST-TV-be.black ground TV-be.said
It's called 'Black Earth'.

90) *A-jlük* *anuok* *laguna,* *mi-küy* *Sidar.*
TV-exist one.CL lake POS.II.U-salty.lowland cedar
There's [another] lake at Sidar saline.

91) *Pero* *gey* *tant-ito,* *ngu=m-a-juoty,* *a-wajk.*
but DEM3.DIST so.much-DIM NEG=IRR-TV-rain TV-be.dry
But that's just a small one, it doesn't rain, it's dry.

92) *Pero* *en cambio* *ñingien* *Zanatepec* *ngu=m-a-jlük*
but in exchange there.DIST Zanatepec NEG=IRR-TV-exist

ngüñ *tiemp* *m-a-wajk,* *a-pieng-üw.*
which time IRR-TV-be.dry TV-speak-PL
But over there in Zanatepec there's no draught ever, they say.

93) *Tal vez* *a-tajk* *creer* *porque* *n-a-dam*
perhaps TV-LV believe because ST-TV-be.big

laguna *ngu=m-a-wajk* *pero* *ganüy* *lyi=wajk,* *pasado.*
lake NEG=IRR-TV-be.dry but now PF.DIM=be.dry past
Maybe people believe that, because a lake is big, it doesn't dry out, but [this one] is all dry now, it's past.

94) *Al=tyiel* *m-a-jier-üw* *müx,* *a-suok* *cayuco,* *par*
DUR=LOC IRR-TV-have-PL canoe TV-be.said canoe for

m-a-ndok-oj *küty* *mi-yow* *ndyuk.*
IRR-TV-fish-ITR fish POS.II.U-water sea
There were canoes kept in there, for fishing salt-water fish.

95) *Ngu=mi..* *Ngu=mi* *yow* *salado* *pues.*
NEG=NPRS NEG=NPRS water salty DISC
Because it wasn't.. Because it wasn't salt water.

96) *Puro* *n-a-ngan* *yow* *par* *m-a-gañow* *waküx,*
pure ST-TV-be.sweet water for IRR-TV-drink cow

m-a-gañow *ñipilan,* *como sea,* *pues.*
IRR-TV-drink people like be.it DISC

It was pure sweet water which cows could drink, people could drink, [it could be put to] any [use].

97) *Ñingüy* *Santa Cruz* *al=m-a-jlük* *anuok* *laguna,*
here Santa Cruz DUR=IRR-TV-exist one.CL lake

ngu=mi *mas* *n-a-dam.*
NEG=NPRS more ST-TV-be.big
Here in Santa Cruz there's a lake, it's not big.

98) *Pero* *ngu=m-a-wajk* *atowan*.
but NEG=IRR-TV-be.dry also
But at least it hasn't dried out.

99) *Al=nd-om* *m-a-gañow* *waküx,* *al=nd-om* *m-a-mb*
DUR=BND-IRR IRR-TV-drink cow DUR=BND-IRR IRR-TV-go

ñipilan par *m-a-yar-üw* *m-a-gañow-üw.*
people for IRR-TV-bring-PL IRR-TV-drink-PL
Cows can drink [the water], people can go and get [water] for their consumption.

100) *Ganüy* *xikon* *ñingüy,* *ngu=n-a-jier-an* *ngüñ*
now PRON1EXCL here NEG=1IRR-TV-have-PL which

laguna, *ñinkwej* *chü.*
lake *nothing* *rep*
As for us, here, we don't have any lake, nothing [reportedly]

101) *El único* *ajk* *ndyuk* *kej,* *pero* *ñingien*
the only DEM1 sea DEM2.DIST but there.DIST

ngu=nd-om *m-i-giñow,* *lo que* *a-xom* *vida*
NEG=BND-IRR IRR-2-drink that which TV-find life

anuok *mundok,* *el único..*
one.CL AGT.PL.fisherman the only
The only [thing we have] is the sea, but you can't drink from it, it's just the fishermen who can obtain their subsistance [from it].

102) *Y* *a-mb-üw* *Cerro Cristo,* *por ejemplo* *xikon* *s-a-jieran*
and TV-go-PL Cerro Cristo for example PRON1EXCL 1-TV-have-PL

anuok costumbre *Semana Santa,* *ap=a-jier-üw* *Cristo.*

one.CL tradition week holy FUT=TV-have-PL Christ
And they go to Cerro Cristo, for example, we [EXCL] have a tradition, Semana Santa, [when] Christ is revered.

103) *Ap=a-jlük* *Xuty.*
FUT=TV-exist Jew
There is [what is called] the Jew.

104) *Y después,* *mes* *de mayo,* *ap=m-a-mb* *a-rang-üw*
and afterwards month of May FUT=IRR-TV-go TV-do-PL

perdón *ñingien* *Cerro Cristo,* *ñing* *a-jlük* *a-rang-üw*
pardon there.DIST Cerro Cristo REL.LOC TV-exist TV-do-PL

anuok *perdón* *par* *amor* *de* *m-a-juoty.*
one.CL pardon for love of IRR-TV-rain
And after, in May, they go and organise a forgiveness [prayer] there on Cerro Cristo, where a forgiveness [prayer] is held for the sake of rain.

105) *M-ie-n* *cosecha* *n-a-jñej* *pues.*
IRR-TV-come harvest ST-TV-be.good DISC
For the harvest to arrive, it's good.

106) *Ap=m-ie-n* *cosecha.*
FUT=IRR-TV-come harvest
The harvest will come [then].

107) *Y* *a veces* *pues* *tranquilo,* *de gusto* *a-juoty,*
and sometimes DISC calm of joy TV-rain

alegre *ñipilan.*
cheerful people
And sometimes, it rains, well, nicely, joyfully, and people are cheerful.

108) *M-a-tüch* *ñat* *primer* *de mayo,* *a veces* *tyiel* *abril.*
IRR-TV-reach year first of May sometimes LOC April
In some years it falls in the beginning of May, in other years in April.

109) *La=a-mb-üw* *ap=a-rang-üw* *perdón.*
PF=TV-go-PL FUT=TV-do-PL pardon
They go and do the forgiveness [prayer].

110) *Cada ñat.*
every year
Every year.

111) *La=a-mb-üw tyiel lancha, ante ngu=m-a-jlük,*
PF=TV-go-PL LOC boat before NEG=IRR-TV-exist

cayuco, puro akiejp remo, akiejp palanca.
canoe pure with oar with stick
They go by boat, there weren't [boats], [only] canoes, only with ruthers, with sticks.

112) *Ganüy lyi=jlük lancha.*
now PF.DIM=exist boat
Now there are boats.

113) *Ganüy lancha, tranquilo kej motor la=a-mb-üw*
now boat calm DEM2.DIST motor PF=TV-go-PL
Now as for the boat, they travel nicely, with a motor

114) *Pero primer nguoy, puro cayuco.*
but first no pure canoe
But at first [that was] not [the case], just canoes.

115) *Pur ap=a-tajk-üw rezar.*
pure FUT=TV-LV-PL pray
They will spend the time praying.

116) *P=a-mb-üw m-a-rang-üw perdón, p=a-rang-üw rezar, a-suok.*
FUT=TV-go-PL IRR-TV-do-PL pardon FUT=TV-do-PL pray TV-be.said
They will go and do the forgiveness [prayer], they will do praying [as] it is called.

117) *Rezo p=a-rang-üw, p=akiejp*
prayer FUT=TV-do-PL FUT=TV-accompany

mi-kuchujch acólito, le dicen, chamaquito.
POS.II.U-small altar.boy to.him they.say little.boy.DIM
They will do prayers, they will take with them their little altar boy, as they call him, a little boy.

118) *Par a-jüy-iw mi-kuchux najp.*
for TV-go-PL POS.II.U-small drum
For playing their little drums

119) *Najchow, ese toca carrizo.*

reed that.one plays reed
Their reed [flutes], he plays the reed [flute].

120) *Ah, ese, a-saj-üw najchow, ñ-i-ndy najchow.*
ah that.one TV-say-PL reed ST-TV-play reed
Ah, that one is called reed [flute], reed [flute] player.

121) *El que toca con carrizo, ajgey a-suok ñ-i-ndy*
he who plays with reed DEM4.DIST TV-be.said ST-TV-play

najchow entonces.
reed then
The one playing the reed is called reed player, then.

122) *Ajk ñ-u-tsündy najp, esa es tamborita.*
DEM1 ST-TV-play drum that.one is little.drum.DIM
The one who plays the drum, that's the little drum.

123) *Está tocando, el cuate, ellos están tocando su tamborita.*
he.is playing the guy they are playing their little.drum
He is playing, the guy, the play their little drum.

124) *Ap=m-a-mb gey.*
FUT=IRR-TV-go DEM3.DIST
Thus they go.

125) *Anteriormente a-mb mun-i-ñdy.*
formerly TV-go AGT.PL-TV-play
Before, musicians used to go.

126) *A-mb músico.*
TV-go musician
Musicians used to go.

127) *Pues después, m-a-tsündy músico, ap=a-tsündy tamborita.*
DISC afterwards IRR-TV-play musician FUT=TV-play little.drum.DIM
Afterwards, the musicians would play, they would play their little drums.

128) *P=a-tsündy músico, como si hubiera dos grupo-s, ¿no?*
FUT=TV-play musician like if there.were two group-PL no
The musicians would play, like as if there were two groups [playing differently], right ?

129) *Así, van allá en el cerro todita la noche.*

like.that go-3PL there in the mountain all-DIM.F the night
They go to the mountain like that, all night.

130) *A-mbich* *ungyuiejts,* *ap=a-küly-iw,* *rr-aw*
TV-end night FUT=TV-stay-PL dawn-ITR

ap=a-rang-üw *olonuok* *perdón,* *olonuok* *a-yak-üw.*
FUT=TV-do-PL one.more pardon one.more TV-put-PL
All night they'd stay [there], at dawn they'd do another forgiveness [prayer], they'd put up another one.

131) *Atokey* *a-jlük,* *antes,* *ngu=mi* *kanénkaman.*
like.that.DIST TV-exist before NEG=NPRS right.now
That's what it was like before [but] not anymore.

132) *Ngu=m-a-kyuety-iw* *costumbre* *kej,* *al=m-a-jlük*
NEG=IRR-TV-leave-PL tradition DEM2.DIST DUR=IRR-TV-exist

anop *sacerdote,* *t-a-pey* *ñingüy* *n-a-w*
one.RND priest PST-TV-arrive here ST-TV-come.out

Aguascalientes, *mi-nüty* *Rupercio,* *anop* *güero.*
Aguascalientes POS.II.U-name Rupercio one.RND blond
[But] people don't give up their tradition, there was one priest, he came here from Aguascalientes and he was called Rupercio, a fair-skinned one.

133) *A-pieng-üw,* *ngu=mi* *pa=m-i-kyuety-ien* *costumbre*
TV=speak-PL NEG=NPRS FUT=IRR-2-leave-PL tradition

a lo que *al=m-i-jier-an* *tyiel* *mi-kyambaj-an.*
to what that DUR=IRR-2-have-PL LOC POS.II.U-village-PL
Theys ay, "don't give up your traditions, that which you have here in your community."

134) *I-tajk-an* *sequir* *y* *Dios* *al=m-a-jlük,*
2-LV-PL continue and God DUR=IRR-TV-exist

ngu=mi *pa=m-i-ndxom-an.*
NEG=NPRS FUT=IRR-2-paint-PL
Continue, and God exists, there's no need to paint [him].

135) *Xu=m-a-küly,* *at* *mod* *a-küly.*
HOR=IRR-TV-stay also mode TV-stay
May it stay this way, that it remain the same.

136) *A-jlük* *tyiel* *m-i-ndxom-an* *a-pieng* *ap=a-ta*
TV-exist LOC IRR-2-paint-PL TV-speak FUT=TV-LV

cambiar, *a-pal* *mi-color.*
change TV-close[5] POS.II.U-colour
If you paint, he said, you'll change it, it's colour will be different.

137) *Anteriormente* *a-jlük* *ñingüy* *por ejemplo* *Semana*
previously TV-exist here for example week

Santa, *xik* *al=myajk* *s-a-rang* *najiet* *tyiel* *ñ-u-rang*
holy PRON1 DUR=happen 1-TV-do work LOC ST-TV-do

[..] - - **RECORDING DISTORTED DUE TO WIND** - -
Previously, there was, here, for example, [during] Easter Week, I happened to work at [..]

138) *Entonces* *al=pots-om* *jueves,* *ungyuiejts* *ap=a-jlük* *velada.*
then DUR=stand-IRR Thursday night FUT=TV-exist wake
And then Thursday came, at night there would be a wake.

139) *Ap=u-rang* *anuok* *a-saj-üw* *monumento.*
FUT=TV-do one.CL TV-say-PL monument
They make what is called a monument.

140) *Puro DEL* *martes* *santo* *ajgey* *at=m-i-jaw* *cárcel,*
pure of.the Tuesday holy DEM4.DIST also=IRR-2-see prison

tyiel *ap=a-jmyuely* *Jesús,* *tyiel* *gey* *ap=a-jlük*
LOC FUT=TV-enter Jesus LOC DEM2.DIST FUT=TV-exist

castigado *hasta* *que* *la* *hora* *ap=a-ndyow.*
punished until that the hour FUT=TV-die
On holy Easter Tuesday there is also the imitation of a prison, Jesus will go inside, he will remain emprisoned until the time he dies.

141) *Ñ-u-rang* *costumbre* *giñey* *mod* *a-ndyow* *Cristo,*
ST-TV-do tradition how mode TV-die Christ

y *olonuok* *nüty* *ap=a-t-aran* *velar* *ungyuiejts*
and one.more day FUT=TV-LV-IMP stay.awake night

[5] The verb *a-pal* 'close' has an additional meaning: 'different'. Cf. *palpálwüx, apálwüx* 'different'.

a-w	*nüty,*	*ap=a-jlük*	*entierro,*	*a-mb*	*músico,*	*ih.*
TV-come.out	sun	FUT=TV-exist	funeral	TV-go	musician	MIR

The tradition is followed, [it is enacted] how Christ dies, and on the next day people remain awake all night, and at sunset there is a funeral, [with] musicians going, oh boy.

142)

A-indy	*ñipilan,*	*a-mb*	*ñipilan*	*a-yajk*	*mbaj.*
TV-play	people	TV-go	people	TV-put	flower

People play music, people put down flowers.

143)

En	*cada*	*estación*	*a-yak-üw*	*mbaj*	*wüx*	*u-mbas*	*Cristo.*
in	every	station	TV-put-PL	flower	on	POS.I.U-surface	Christ

At every stop they put flowers on Christ's body.

144)

Entonces	*cuarenta*	*día-s*	*de*	*entierro*	*ap=a-jlük*
then	forty	day-PL	of	funeral	FUT=TV-exist

anuok	*procesión*	*a-suok*	*suba*	*suba.*
one.CL	procession	TV-BE.said	go.up.SUBJUNCTIVE	go.up.SUBJUNCTIVE

Then, when forty days [have passed] from the funeral, there will be another procession that is called *suba suba*[6].

145)

anuok	*Dios*	*a-saj-üw*	*San Seguración.*
one.CL	God	TV-say-PL	San Seguración(?)

[It relates to] a Saint called *San Seguración*.

146)

Ajgey	*mi-nüty*	*Dios*	*kej.*
DEM4.DIST	POS.II.U-day	God	DEM2.DIST

That's the name of that saint.

147)

A la-s	*diez*	*ap=a-jients*	*m-a-ndxiek,*	*nd-oj*	*ap=a-jlük*
to the-PL	ten	FUT=TV-cry	IRR-TV-iron	BND-ITR	FUT=TV-exist

procesión	*en cada esquina*	*ap=a-paj-üw*	*misericordia.*
procession	in every corner	FUT=TV-call-PL	mercy

At ten o'clock the bells sound, then there will be a procession in every corder, where [a prayer of] mercy is called.

148)

Aryuj	*viaj*	*ap=a-ndak-üw*	*kiawüx.*
three	journey	FUT=TV-hold.up-PL	above

6 *Suba, suba, suba* 'Ascend, ascend, ascend' is the name of a Mexican Catholic song associated with the Assumption of Mary.

They will hold up [the saint] three times.

149) *Nd-oj wüxan la=a-mb-üw.*
BND-ITR again PF=TV-go-PL
Then the procession leaves again.

150) *A-tüch-iw olonuok esquina at, la=m-a-mb-üw*
TV-reach-PL another corner also PF=IRR-TV-go-PL
Each time it reaches another corner, it starts again.

151) *Cuarenta día-s, nd-oj a-jlük entierro.*
forty day-PL BND-ITR TV-exist funeral
At forty days there is a funerary [service].

152) *Kej ü-mb cuares a-suok-iw.*
DEM2.DIST TV-end lent TV-be.said-PL
That's the end of the Lent, as it is called.

153) *Ajgey a-pieng mundyow xyujch primero.*
DEM4.DIST TV-speak AGT.PL.die ancestor first
That's what the ancestors who have passed away said long ago.

154) *Ñingey ü-mb cuares, vay.*
there.DIST TV-run.out Lent DISC
That's the end of the Lent.

155) *Ajgey a-rang-aran tyiel mes de mayo.*
DEM4.DIST TV-do-IMP LOC month of May
[All] that is done in the month of May.

156) *A-lyiek a-juoty.*
TV-come TV-rain
The rain comes [then].

157) *Pues a vec-es buena a-juoty pues.*
DISC at time-PL good.F TV-rain DISC
Sometimes i trains very well.

158) *A-jlük cosecha, qué bueno.*
TV-exist harvest what good
[Then] there's harvest, it's very good.

159) *Pero a vec-es jodido, pero at xikon, xik*

but at time-PL damned but also PRON1EXCL PRON1

acostumbrado de jodido kej.
accostumed of damned DEM3.DIST
But at [other]times it's damned, but that's us, I'm used to being damned.

160) *Pero requisito de obligación kej cada ñat*
but requisite of obligation DEM3.DIST every year

a-yak-üw costumbre, costumbre m-a-rang-üw cada ñat
TV-put-PL tradition tradition IRR-TV-do-PL every year

ngu=m-a-j-kyuety costumbre.
NEG=IRR-TV-PAS-abandon tradition
Anyhow, this is an obligatory requirement each year, the tradition is celebrated, the tradition is celebrated every year and it is not abandoned.

161) *Y nunca m-a-j-kyuety, anteriormente*
and never IRR-TV-abandon previously

ngu=m-a-juoty, ngu=m-a-juoty, a-jlük perdón.
NEG=IRR-TV-rain NEG=IRR-TV-rain TV-exist pardon
And it's never abandoned, previously it didn't rain [but] there is forgiveness.

162) *Anuok nüty ap=a-jlük anuncio de aparato,*
one.CL day FUT=TV-exist announcement of machine

ap=a-jlük perdón, ih, ap=m-a-mb ñipilan, m-a-juoy
FUT=TV-exist pardon MIR FUT=IRR-TV-go people IRR-TV-carry

mi-vela, mi-veladora, ap=a-jlük anuok
POS.II.U-sail POS.II.U-candle FUT=TV-exist one.CL

ie-n-üw muniñdy.
TV-come-PL PL.AGT.musician
Some day there might be an announcement from the speaker machine, [that] there is a forgiveness [prayer], oh boy, people will go, they will take a candle with them, and there might be musicians.

163) *Y a vec-es cuatro, cinco día-s ngu=m-a-juoty.*
and at time-PL four five day-PL NEG=IRR-TV-rain
Sometimes it doesn't rain for four [or] five days.

164) *Wüx=an* *la=m-a-pieng-üw* *m-a-jlük* *olonuok* *perdón.*
on=DEL PF=IRR-TV-speak-PL IRR-TV-exist one.more pardon
Then also people will announce that there will be another forgiveness [prayer].

165) *A ver pues.* *Wüx=an* *ap=u-rang* *perdón,* *a vec-es*
to see DISC on=DEL FUT=TV-do pardon at time-PL

wüx *aryuj,* *apikiw* *pues.*
on three four DISC
Let's see. A forgiveness prayer will be done again, sometimes three, four times.

166) *Aryuj* *perdón,* *m-a-jñej* *m-a-juoty,* *cosa buena,*
three pardon IRR-TV-be.good IRR-TV-rain thing good

alegre *ñipilan* *pues.*
cheerful people DISC
Three forgiveness [prayers] so that it will be good, so that it will rain, it will be good and people will be satisfied [again].

167) *Cosecha* *la=ndyow* *ap=a-juoty.*
harvest PF=die FUT=TV-rain
The harvest is close to dying but then it rains.

168) *Y* *a veces* *masey* *mas* *perdón,* *ngu=m-a-ndyiem*
and at time-PL although more pardon NEG=IRR-TV-want

masey *m-i-rang.*
although IRR-TV-do
But sometimes in spite of all the forgiveness [prayers], it doesn't want [to rain], whatever you do.

169) *Ngu=m-a-ndyiem* *m-a-juoty.*
NEG=IRR-TV-want IRR-TV-rain
It doesn't want to rain.

170) *Porque* *xik* *miáwan* *gey* *la=n-a-mong-uoch,*
because PRON1 all DEM3.DIST PF=1IRR-TV-pass-CAU

miáwan *gey* *la=n-a-jaw.*
all DEM3.DIST PF=1IRR-TV-see
And I have been through all that, I have seen all that.

171) *Giñey* *mod* *a-jlük* *anterior..*
how mode TV-exist previous
That was what it was like before..

172) *A-pey* *mundyow* *xyujch* *kej* *primer*
TV-arrive AGT.PL.die ancestor DEM3.DIST first

sábado, *ap=a-jlük* *rozar.*
Saturday FUT=TV-exist rub
Before, the ancestors who passed away used to get together on Saturdays and pray.

173) *Ngu=mi* *kuchujch* *mungich* *ap=a-nguoch* *rezo* kej.
NEG=NPRS small PL.AGT.youth FUT=TV-answerprayer DEM3.DIST
Young people don't say [their part in]those prayers.

174) *A-jlük* *rosario,* *a-mong-uoch-iw* *rosario* *kuch*
TV-exist rosary TV-pass-CAU-PL rosary small

acólito, *ih.*
altar.boy MIR
There was the rosary, [when] they'd make the altar boy answer [saying] the rosary, oh dear.

175) *Ngüñ=an* *sábado* *temprano,* *viernes* *temprano,* *domingo.*
which=DEL Saturday early Friday early Sunday
On Saturdays mornings, Friday mornings, Sundays.

176) *Nd-oj* *la=a-mb* *ap=a-tüch* *seman,* *wüx=an* *a-rang-üw.*
BND-ITR PF=TV-go FUT=TV-reach week on=DEL TV-do-PL
Then they would go, and a week later they'd do it again.

177) *Ganüy* *nguoy,* *pur* *misa* *tyi=a-jlük,* *pero..*
now no pure mass PRG=TV-exist but
Not in present times [though], now there is just mass, but..

178) *Puro* *pachanga,* *pues.* *La=ngu=m-a-jlük.*
pure party DISC PF=NEG=IRR-TV-exist
It's just a social gathering. That doesn't exist anymore.

179) *Anteriormente* *a-jlük,* *mundyow* *xyujch* *a-jlük*
previously TV-exist AGT.PL.die ancestor TV-exist

rosario, *ganüy* *nguoy.*
rosary now no

There used to be, in the times of our ancestors who passed away, the rosary, now it's not.

180) *La=ngu=m-a-ndyiem-üw.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-want-PL
People don't want to do it any more.

181) *Pero gey puro mi-rosario de junta a-rang-üw.*
but DEM3.DIST pure POS.II.U-rosary of conjoint TV-do-PL
They just do the conjoint rosary.

182) *Ijkew, aryuj rosar, nd-oj ap=m-a-mb.*
two.CL three.CL rosary BND-ITR FUT=IRR-TV-go
Two [or] three rosaries, then they go [home].

183) *P=a-rang-üw tamal, por ejemplo ganüy a-jlük*
FUT=TV-do-PL tamal for example now TV-exist

anuok nueve día ganüy.
one.CL nine day now
They make tamales, for example, nowadays there is [a funerary] [after] nine days.

184) *A-ndyow anop sobrino.*
TV-die one.RND nephew
A nephew just died.

185) *A-pieng-üw México, cuentador*[7] *pues, licenciado.*
TV-speak-PL Mexico accountant DISC bachelor
They say [it happened] in Mexico, he was an accountant, a bachelor [of accountancy].

186) *N-a-yuely mi-najiet pobre kej.*
ST-TV-be.difficult POS.II.U-work poor DEM2.DIST
That poor fellow had a difficult job.

187) *Ajk ganüy nueve día p=a-jlük ñ-u-tyiel,*
DEM1 now nine day FUT=TV-exist ST-TV-LOC

kan=ungyuiejts p=a-jlük velorio. P=a-jlük chaw.
DEM2.PROX=night FUT=TV-exist funeral FUT=TV-exist atole
Now at the nine days [funerary] there are tamales, tonight there will [also] be a wake. There will be atole.

7 Spanish: *contador*; however, the verb *contar* has a vowel alternation (*conta-* → *cuenta-*).

188) *Chaw, a vec-es, atole, dice-n. Ese bupu.*
atole at time-PL atole say-3PL that atole.foam
Atole, sometimes they say *atole* [in Spanish]. That *atole* foam [in Zapotec].

189) *Chaw ñ-u-pop. Ajgey a-suok chaw ñ-u-pop.*
atole ST-TV-be.foamy DEM4.DIST TV-be.said atole ST-TV-be.foamy
Foamy *atole.* That's called foamy *atole.*

190) *Aparte a-suok n-a-j-los tyiel.*
apart TV-be.said ST-TV-PAS-throw LOC
Another [type] is called "thrown-in".

191) *Gey pañely a-mb a-jmyuely tyiel chaw kej.*
DEM3.DIST panela TV-go TV-enter LOC atole DEM2.DIST
That's [with] *panela* going into that *atole*.

192) *Ganüy bupu kej, ap=u-mbüly pues.*
now atole.foam DEM2.DIST FUT=TV-hit DISC
Now this *bupu* is [made by] beating.

193) *Ñ-u-mbüly akiejp bejuco, de..*
ST-TV-hit with plant of
It's beaten with a plant, of..

194) *A-jlük anuok clase de bejuco, ndxyujty a-suok.*
TV-exist one.CL class of plant frangipani[8] TV-be.said
It's one type of plant called *ndxyujty*.

195) *Ndxyujty a-suok en idioma.*
frangipani TV-be.said in language
It's called *ndxyujty* in Umbeyajts.

196) *Ndxyujty ap=u-kujch mi-u-pang kej,*
frangipani FUT=TV-cut POS.II.U-POS.I.U-peel[9] DEM2.DIST

ap=u-ndxiel m-a-kiejp ajtsaj, nd-oj p=u-mbüly
FUT=TV-grind IRR-TV-accompany dough BND-ITR FUT=TV-hit

ganüy, kej p=a-rang mi-espuma.
now DEM2.DIST FUT=TV-do POS.II.U-foam

[8] Frangipani, commonly known in Mesoamerica as *cacalosúchil* or in the Isthmus as *guiechaachi* [Zapotec], is known in Latin as *plumeria rubra.*
[9] See also 4.6.1.1.3 about double possession.

The bark of the frangipani is cut, it is ground with dough and then beaten, that's when it gets foamy.

197) *Ajgey* *a-suok* *bupu.* *Ap=a-jmyuely* *wüx* *u-mal* *chaw*.
DEM4.DIST TV-be.said bupu FUT=TV-enter on POS.I.U-head atole
That's called *bupu*. It goes in on top of the atole.

198) *N-a-ngan* *a-küly,* *hombre,* *m-a-kiejp* *anuok*
ST-TV-be.sweet TV-stay man IRR-TV-accompany one.CL

kuch *tamalito* *kej,* *tranquilo.*
small tamal.DIM DEM2.DIST calm
It gets sweet, oh man, [you eat it] with a little tamal, nice.

199) *Ikon* *ganaw* *m-i-rang-an* *prueba* *gey* *bupu* *kej?*
PRON2.PL not.yet IRR-2-do-PL proof DEM2.DIST bupu DEM3.DIST
Haven't you [guys] tried that *bupu* yet ?

200) *– Xikon?* *– Njá.* *Ganaw* *m-i-rang-an* *prueba.*
PRON1EXCL yeah not.yet IRR-2-do-PL proof
– Us ? – Yeah. Haven't you tried it yet?

201) *– Pero* *Juchitán* *m-a-jlük* *bupu.*
but Juchitán IRR-TV-exist bupu
– But in Juchitán there's [also] *bupu*.

202) *– Eso.* *M-a-jlük,* *m-a-jlük* *Juchitán.*
that IRR-TV-exist IRR-TV-exist Juchitán
– Exactly. There is, there is in Juchitán.

203) *At* *ganüy* *velorio* *kan=ungyuiejts* *ap=a-jlük*
also now wake DEM1.PROX=night FUT=TV-exist

bupu *kej.*
bupu DEM2.DIST
At this wake, too, tonight, there'll be *bupu*.

204) *Ap=a-jlük* *ñ-u-tyiel,* *ap=i-yak* *anuok* *limosna,* *voluntaria* *pues.*
FUT=TV-exist ST-TV-LOC FUT=2-put one.CL alms voluntary DISC
There'll be tamales, you put in a cooperation, it's voluntary.

205) *Ap=i-ndyuj* *mi-chaw,* *ap=i-ndyuj* *mi-ñutyiel,*
FUT=2-receive POS.II.U-atole FUT=2-receive POS.II.U-tamal

de gust *ap=m-ir-yue-ty.*
of taste FUT=IRR-2-TV-eat
You'll get your *atole*, you'll get your *tamales*, and you'll eat enjoyably.

206) *Porque* *al=tyiel* *ñingüy* *anop* *naxuey* *mi-ñüty* *ñiw* *Juan.*
because DUR=LOC here one.CL man POS.II.U-name PRON1 John
By the way there's a man, here, called Juan.

207) *N-a-w* *México* *a-pieng-üw* *gej* *n-a-w.*
ST-TV-go.out Mexico TV-speak-PL where ST-TV-go.out
He was from México, they say that's where he was from.

208) *A-küly* *ñingüy* *dos año-s,* *parece.*
TV-stay here two year-PL it.seems
He stayed here for two years, it seems.

209) *A-mb* *tyiel* *baile,* *a-gañow* *cerveza,* *a-jieng,* *ih,*
TV-go LOC dance TV-drink beer TV-dance MIR

a-jieng *akiejp* *ñipilan* *a-kijmien* *mi-ntaj.*
TV-dance with people TV-bring POS.II.U-wife
He used to go to the dances, drink beer, dance, oh boy. He used to dance with people, and he brought his wife.

210) *A-küly-iw* *ñingüy* *akas* *tiempo.*
TV-stay-PL here some time
They stayed here for some time.

211) *A-mb-üw* *a-ndok-oj* *u-mbey* *ndyuk…*
TV-go-PL TV-fish-PL POS.I.U-mouth sea
They used to go fishing in the sea..

212) *- Juan Fray.* *– Juan Fray,* *Juan Fray..* *Eso.* *–Suizo.*
John Frey John Frey John Frey that Swiss
– Juan Frey. – Juan Frey, Juan Frey.. That's him. – A Swiss [man].

213) *– Eso.* *A-küly* *ñingüy* *akas* *ñat,* *dos año-s..*
that TV-stay here some year two year-PL
– Exactly. He stayed here for some years, two years..

214) *Ih,* *xuwayey* *ñipilan* *a-yajk* *u-mbas.*
MIR many people TV-feel POS.I.U-surface

Oh boy, many people know him.

215) *M-a-jlük* *anuok* *pachanga,* *ñiwew* *a-lyien* *kej.*
IRR-TV-exist one.CL party PRON3PL TV-come DEM2.DIST
[Whenever] there was a party, they would come.

216) *A-gañow* *cerveza* *y* *a-yak-üw* *mi-limosna* *ñiwew.*
TV-drink beer and TV-put-PL POS.II.U-alms PRON3PL
They used to drink beer and put in their alms.

217) *Ñiw* *a-ndyiem* *m-a-jaw* *miáwan* *costumbre* *ñingüy,* *vay.*
PRON3 TV-want IRR-TV-see all tradition here DISC
He wanted to know all the traditions of this place.

218) *A-jlük* *ñ-u-tyiel,* *ajk* *ganüy* *velorio.*
TV-exist LOC-TV-LOC DEM1 now funeral
For example tamales, or the [funerary] wakes.

219) *Kej* *temprano* *lyi=pey* *p=a-ta* *tomar foto,*
DEM2.DIST early PF=arrive FUT=TV-LV take picture

giñey *mod* *a-rang-aran* *ñ-u-tyiel,* *giñey* *mod* *a-tajk-üw*
how mode TV-do-IMP ST-TV-LOC how mode TV-LV-PL

preparar, *miáwan* *gey* *a-mong-uoch* *tyiel* *video.*
prepare all DEM2.DIST TV-pass-CAU LOC video
He would arrive early and take pictures, [of] how tamales are made, how do [people] prepare [them], he used to put all that on film.

220) *Par* *m-a-jaw* *ñipilan giñey mod* *costumbre* *ñingüy.*
for IRR-TV-see people how mode tradition here
For people to see what the traditions are like here.

221) *Y* *asunto de* *mundok,* *a-mb* *tyiel* *ndyuk,*
and matter of AGT.PL.fisherman TV-go LOC sea

a-mb *tyiel* *lancha,* *a-wüñ* *mi-retrat*
TV-go LOC boat TV-take.out POS.II.U-photo

mundok *tyiel* *ndyuk.*
PL.AGT.fisherman LOC sea
And things related to fishermen, he would go to the sea [shore], take a boat, and take pictures of the fisherman on sea.

222) *Miáwan* *gey* *a-rang Juan* *Fray.*
all DEM2.DIST TV-do John Frey
Juan Frey used to do all that.

223) *Xuwayey* *ñipilan t-a-yajk* *u-mbas* *y*
many people PST-TV-feel POS.II.U-surface and

t-a-pieng *xuwayey* *u-mbey-ajts,* *casi que* *miáwan*
PST-TV-speak many POS.I.U-mouth-1INCL almost that all

u-mbey-ajts *a-pieng.*
POS.I.U-mouth-1INCL TV-speak
Many people got to know him, and he spoke a lot of Umbeyajts, he spoke almost all of Umbeyajts.

224) *Y* *t-a-ta* *grabar,* *t-a-juoy,* *bueno.*
and PST-TV-LV record PST-TV-carry DISC
And he recorded [it], he took it away.

225) *Saber* *ngej* *a-küly* *Juan* *Fray* *kej* *kanénkaman..*
know where TV-stay John Frey DEM2.DIST right.now
Who knows where Juan Frey is nowadays.

226) *– Suiza.* *– Tal vez.*
Switzerland perhaps
– In Switzerland. – Perhaps.

227) *La=m-a-jier* *xuwayey* *ñat* *a-küly* *ñingüy* *Juan Frey.*
PF=IRR-TV-have many year TV-stay here John Frey
It is many years ago that Juan Frey stayed here.

228) *T-a-ta* *practicar* *algo* *ñingüy* *kwej* *xikon.*
PST-TV-LV practise something here thing PRON1EXCL
He put some of [what] we [do] here in practice.

229) *A-tüñ* *m-a-ngey* *compañero* *ñingyien,* *a-tüñ* *porque*
TV-ask IRR-TV-hear companion there.DIST TV-ask because

al=tyiel *compañero* *a-ta* *pasar* *mal* *palabra,*
DUR=LOC companion TV-LV pass bad word

ngu=m-a-jñej. *Ngu=m-a-jñej,* *porque* *ñiw* *mismo*
NEG=IRR-TV-be.good NEG=IRR-TV-be.good because PRON3 himself

pobre pur la=m-a-jaw u-mbey-ajts.
poor pure PF=IRR-TV-know POS.I.U-mouth-1INCL
He asked the men [in the village], he asked, and there were men that would pass on bad words, bad words. It's not good, because the poor guy already knew some Umbeyajts.

230) *La=m-a-ta grabar, la=m-a-juoy, seguro que*
PF=IRR-TV-LV record PF=IRR-TV-carry secure that

palabra buena, pero ngu=mi n-a-jñej pues.
word good but NEG=NPRS ST-TV-be.good DISC
He recorded it, he took it away, certainly he took away the good words, but it's not a nice thing [to do].

231) *Cuánto mejor m-i-saj anop naxuey pero..*
how.much better IRR-2-say one.RND man but
It's much better if you say, a man says,

232) *Anop palabra bien, ngu=mi palabra malo pues.*
one.RND word well NEG=NPRS word bad.M DISC
a good word, not bad words.

233) *Porque ñiw ajk a-mb wüx p=a-mb m-a-juoy*
because PRON3 DEM1 TV-go on FUT=TV-go IRR-TV-carry

tyiel mi-graba kej, anuok palabra bien,
LOC POS.II.U-record.3SG DEM2.DIST one.CL word well

anuok palabra bueno, pues, qué bueno, ¿no?
one.CL word good.M DISC what good no
Because if the one who leaves takes with him a good word in his recordings, a decent word, a good word, well, that's good, isn't it?

234) *Ngüñ nüty pues m-a-ta presentar.*
which day DISC IRR-TV-LV present
Some day he will present it.

235) *Jang al=m-a-jaw ngu=m-a-lyeng.*
who DUR=IRR-TV-see NEG=IRR-TV-be.straight
Who will know [if] it's not right.

236) *N-a-lyeng ganüy m-a-saj grosería gey*
ST-TV-be.straight now IRR-TV-say bad.word DEM2.DIST

ngu=m-a-ta *convenir.*
NEG=IRR-TV-LV be.convenient
[But] really, saying bad words is not convenient.

237) *Por ejemplo* *tyiel* *velorio* *kej,* *al=kej* *tyi=a-gañow.*
for example LOC wake DEM2.DIST DUR=DEM2.DIST PRG=TV-drink
For example, during that wake, people drink.

238) *Ñ-i-ndy* *a-puoch,* *m-i-puoch+anajk* *gien.*
ST-TV-feel.like TV-speak IRR-2-speak+COM DEM3.MED
If one feels like talking, you can talk with those.

239) *M-i-puoch+anajk* *gien,* *wüx* *n-a-mb* *tyiel* *velorio,* *ih..*
IRR-2-speak+COM DEM3.MED on ST-TV-go LOC wake MIR
You talk with them, the ones going to the wake, oh dear,

240) *Ty=i-puoch+anajk* *compañero.* *I-puoch+anajk anop,* *i-puoch+anajk olonop…*
PRG=2-speak+COM companion 2-speak+COM one.RND 2-speak+COM one.more.RND
You speak with the men. You speak with one, you speak with the next one..

241) *Gey* *ap=m-a-mb-üw* *temprano* *wüx=an* *tyiel* *n-a-ngaj* *iem.*
DEM3.DIST FUT=IRR-TV-go-PL early on=DEL LOC ST-TV-be.sacred house
Early [in the day] they go to church.

242) *N-a-w* *kej* *ap=a-mb-üw* *tyi=panteón* *m-a-yak-üw* *mbaj.*
ST-TV-go.out DEM2.DIST FUT=TV-go-PL LOC=graveyard IRR-TV-put-PL flower
From there they go to the cemetary to put their flowers [on the grave].

243) *Kej* *a-mb-üw,* *wüx* *nd-oj* *la=a-mb* *cuarenta* *día*
DEM2.DIST TV-go-PL on BND-ITR PF=TV-go forty day

wüx=an *p=a-rang-üw.*
on=DEL FUT=TV-do-PL
Then they go [home], [and] when forty days have gone by they do it again.

244) *Nd-oj* *la=a-mb,* *axta* *cabo* *año*.
BND-ITR PF=TV-go until end year
Then they go, and [there isn't another one] until a year after [the funeral].

245) *Cabo* *año,* *kej* *ap=a-rang-üw* *wüx=an,* *a vec-es*
end year DEM2.DIST FUT=TV-do-PL on=DEL at time-PL

p=a-rang-üw *p=a-ngüy-iw* *misa.*
FUT=TV-do-PL FUT=TV-pay-PL mass
A year after [the funeral], that's when they do it again, sometimes they will do [so that] they pay for a mass.

246) *P=a-jlük* *mole,* *bueno*.
FUT=TV-exist mole DISC
There will be mole.

247) *Y* *ap=a-jlük* *par* *m-i-gañow* *atowan.*
and FUT=TV-exist for IRR-2-drink also
And there will be drinks also.

248) *A-gañow-üw* *mezcal* *a-gañow-üw* *cerveza,* *bueno,* *según* *familia.*
TV-drink-PL mezcal TV-drink-PL beer DISC according.to family
They will drink mezcal, and beer, well, depending on the family.

249) *Al=tyiel* *familia* *xow* *a gust* *chupa* *kej,*
DUR=LOC family very to taste drink DEM2.DIST

al=tyiel *nguoy,* *pues.*
DUR=LOC no DISC
Because there are families that really enjoy booze, and there are [those] that don't.

250) *A-gañow-üw,* *pura* *cerveza* *y* *tranquilo.* *Já.*
TV-drink-PL pure beer and calm EXCLA
They just drink some beer, and things are nice. Heh!

251) *Pero* *al=tyiel* *a-gañow-üw* *xuwayey,* *nguoy,*
but DUR=LOC TV-drink-PL many no

la=m-a-sap *dos* *día-s,* *tres* *día-s* *a-gañow* *kej*.
PF=IRR-TV-grab two day-PL three day-PL TV-drink DEM2.DIST
But there are [those] that drink a lot, oh no, it keeps them drinking for two [or] three days.

252) *Xow* *merral* *ñipilan.* *At* *mod* *s-a-jlük-ien*
very few people also mode 1-TV-exist-PL

costumbrado *ñingüy* *xikon.*
accostumed here PRON1PL
Very few people [do that]. That's the way [of life] we are used to.

253) *De velorio kej, ih…*
of funeral DEM2.DIST MIR
About wakes, oh boy..

254) *Pero en cambio ñingey=an Chicapa ngu=m-a-jlük chaw.*
but in exchange there.DIST=DEL Chicapa NEG=IRR-TV-exist atole
But if we look at Chicapa just over there, there's not [even] atole.

255) *– Ngu=m-a-jlük? – Ngu=m-a-jlük chaw, el único*
NEG=IRR-TV-exist NEG=IRR-TV-exist atole the only

ñ-u-tyiel vay, m-a-kiejp kafey, anuok tas
ST-TV-LOC DISC IRR-TV-accompany coffee one.CL cup

kajwey y ijpüw ñ-u-tyiel, listo, vay.
coffee and two.RND ST-TV-LOC ready DISC
– Isn't there? – There isn't atole, just tamales, with coffee, a cup of coffee and two tamales and that's it.

256) *Ganüy ñingüy nguoy, ih, gasto de chaw,*
now here no MIR expense of atole

para qué gana, vaya.
for what desire DISC
But not here, oh boy, people spend a lot on atole, definitely.

257) *Tina, cuánto-s tina-s de chaw.*
bucket how.many.M-PL bucket.F-PL of atole
Buckets, many buckets of atole.

258) *Ih, ahora, ñipilan en cantidad.*
MIR now people in quantity
Oh boy, and lots of people.

259) *– N-a-xix ñ-u-pop chaw.*
ST-TV-be.tasty ST-TV-be.foamy atole
– Atole is salty [tasty[10]].

260) *– Para qué gana.*
for what desire

[10] The word used for saying something is tasty varies according the foodstuff. It can be sweet (*nangan*), salty (*naxix*) or other foodstuffs (*nawety* – the exact range covered by this term is unclear to me).

– Definitely.

251) *Chaw* *n-a-ngan,* *ñ-u-tyiel* *n-a-xix.*
atole ST-TV-be.sweet ST-TV-LOC ST-TV-be.tasty
Atole is sweet [tasty], tamales are salty [tasty].

252) *Ñ-u-tyiel,* *ajgey* *n-a-xix.* *sabroso,*
ST-TV-LOC DEM4.DIST ST-TV-be.tasty tasty

se *dice* *DEL* *tamal, ¿no?*
RF say.3SG of.the tamal no
Tamales, they are tasty. Tasty [in Spanish], it's what one says of tamales, right?

253) *Ganüy* *chaw* *barr* *n-a-ngan.*
now atole barbarously ST-TV-be.sweet
Now atole is very sweet [tasty].

254) *m-a-jmyuely* *bupu,* *más* *mejor.*
IRR-TV-enter bupu more better
[and] when *bupu* is put in, even better.

255) *Y* *al=m-a-jlük* *olonuok,* *olonuok* *chaw* *a-suok*
and DUR=IRR-TV-exist one.more.CL one.more.CL atole TV-be.said

n-a-j-los *tyiel.* *Gey* *ngu=m-a-jier* *bupu.*
1IRR-TV-PAS-throw LOC DEM3.DIST NEG=IRR-TV-have bupu
And there's another [type], another [type of] atole called "thrown-in". That one doesn't have any foam.

256) *A-yak-üw* *tyiel* *chaw* *kej* *par* *m-a-ngan.*
TV-put-PL LOC atole DEM2.DIST for IRR-TV-be.sweet
They put [something] into the atole that makes it tasty.

257) *Panela,* *pues,* *pañely* *a-jmyuely.*
cane.sugar DISC cane.sugar TV-enter
Cane sugar, they put in cane sugar.

258) *At* *atowan,* *n-a-ngan* *atowan.*
also also ST-TV-be.sweet also
That one is [sweet] tasty too.

259) *Miáwan* *ñingüy* *a-jlük* *costumbre.*
all here TV-exist tradition

Everything is traditional here.

260) *Y* *a-jlük* *olonuok* *clas* *ñingüy* *a-j-nap* *tyiel*
and TV-exist one.more.CL class here TV-PAS-sell LOC

kiambaj *kej,* *chaw* *pinol* *a-suok,* *y* *chaw* *wijk*.
community DEM2.DIST atole pinol TV-be.said and atole corn.grain
And there's another type here that is sold in the community, called *pinol atole*, and "grain *atole"*.

261) *– Chaw* *wijk?* *– Chaw* *wijk,* *aparte* *chaw* *blanco.*
atole corn.grain atole corn.grain apart atole white
– Grain *atole*? – [Yes,] grain *atole*, different from white *atole*.

262) *Aparte* *chaw* *wijk,* *chaw* *wijk* *la=m-a-ngiriw* *anuok* *pues.*
apart atole grain atole grain PF=IRR-TV-piece one.CL DISC
Grain *atole* is another one, paper *atole* has pieces in it.

263) *Claro* *que* *gey* *n-a-mbyuely* *os.*
clear that DEM2.DIST ST-TV-burn corn
Of course this is toasted corn.

264) *Nd-oj* *la=m-a-ndxiel,* *a-ta* *cambiar* *pores* *a-suok* *chaw* *wijk.*
BND-ITR PF=IRR-TV-grind TV-LV change therefore TV-be.said atole grain
Then it's ground, it changes [its structure], therefore it's called grain *atole*.

265) *Atol* *pinol,* *a-suok.* *Ajgey* *a-suok* *chaw* *wijk.*
atole pinol TV-be.said DEM4.DIST TV-be.said atole grain
Pinol atole, it's called. That's grain *atole*.

266) *Anteriormente* *a-rang-üw* *at* *ñipilan,* *ñingüy*
previously TV-do-PL also people here

xikon *anterior* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *azúcar,* *pur* *pañely*.
PRON1PL previous NEG=IRR-TV-exist sugar pure cane.sugar
Before, people did [it] like [that], we didn't have sugar here before, just cane sugar.

267) *Pur* *pañely* *m-u-rang* *m-a-jlük* *olonuok* *clase,* *te…*
pure cane.sugar IRR-TV-do IRR-TV-exist one.more.CL class tea
Of cane sugar they also make another type [of drink], tea.

268) *Al=m-a-jier* *anuok* *mata de te* *kej.*
DUR=IRR-TV-have one.CL plant of tea DEM2.DIST

Te *de* *limón.*
tea of lemon
There's a plant of tea. It's lemon tea.

269) *M-i-ta* *cocer* *nd-oj* *la=m-a-jmyuely* *panela,*
IRR-2-LV cook BND-ITR PF=IRR-TV-enter cane.sugar

ajgey *pues* *ganüy.*
DEM4.DIST DISC now
You cook it and then put in cane sugar, that's available nowadays.

270) *Ajgey* *mi-kajwey* *ñipilan* *anterior.*
DEM4.DIST POS.II.U-coffee people previous
That used to be people's "coffee" before.

271) *Ngu=m-a-jlük* *kajwey.*
NEG=IRR-TV-exist coffee
There was no coffee.

272) *Ganüy* *nguoy,* *a-j-nap* *kajwey,* *anterior*
now no TV-PAS-sell coffee previous

nguoy, *té* *p=a-rang* *po* *n-a-jier* *anop*
no tea FUT=TV-do DISC 1IRR-TV-have one.RND

xa-abuelita *mi-nüty* *Na Juana.* *Partera* *ñiw.*
1POS-grandma POS.II.U-name Na Juana midwife PRON3
Now [it's] not [like that], coffee is sold, before it wasn't, tea was made. I had a grandmother named Na Juana, she was a midwife.

273) *Pur* *té* *kej* *p=a-rang* *n-a-gañow-an,* *a-yak*
pure tea DEM2DIST FUT=TV-do 1IRR-TV-drink-PL TV-put

panela, *ajgey* *xa-kajwey* *xikon.*
cane.sugar DEM2.DIST 1POS-coffee PRON1EXCL
She used to make us tea to drink, she'd put in cane sugar, [and] that was our coffee.

274) *Pur* *panela* *a-ta:ra* *ocupar* *par* *p=a-rang*
pure cane.sugar TV-LV:PAS use for FUT=TV-do

chaw	*atowan,*	*p=a-rang*	*chaw*	*wijk,*	*bueno.*
atole	also	FUT=TV-do	atole	grain	DISC

Cane sugar was used to make atole too, and grain atole was made [of it].

275) *Miáwan*	*gey,*	*tyi=a-jlük*	*anuok*	*costumbre*	
all	DEM3.DIST	PRG=TV-exist	one.CL	tradition	
ñingüy	*a-suok*	*huanacaxtle,*	*tsak*	*a-suok.*	
here	TV-be.said	guanacaste	guanacaste	TV-be.said	

[There was]all that, [and] a traditional plant here called guanacaste[11], called *tsak*.

276) – *Tsak?*	*– Tsak.*	*A-jier*	*a-jong,*	*mi-semilla.*	
guanacaste	guanacaste	TV-have	POS.III.U-FRUIT	POS.II.U-seed	

– Guanacaste?– Guanacaste. It used to have fruit, and seed.

277) *Ap=a-jmyuely*	*kiñiek,*	*igual*	*tyityiem.*	
FUT=TV-enter	salt	same	beans	

Salt would be put in, and beans.

278) *Frijoles,*	*aquellos.*	*Hay*	*grande*	*frijol,*	
beans	those	there.is	big	bean	
hay	*pequeño.*	*Igual.*			
there.is	small	same			

Beans, those (pointing). There are big beans and small ones. Both.

279) *M-a-jmyuely*	*kiñiek.*
IRR-TV-enter	salt

Salt was put in.

280) *M-a-xix,*	*uh,*	*de*	*gust*	*m-e-ty*	*akiejp*	*mi-cuchara.*
IRR-TV-be.tasty	EXCLA	of	taste	IRR-2-eat	with	POS.II.U-spoon

It's tasty, oh dear, you enjoy eating it with your spoon.

281) *Y*	*a-ndxiel*	*par*	*m-u-rang*	*piats,*	*a-rang-aran*	
and	TV-grind	for	IRR-TV-do	tortilla	TV-do-IMP	
plato	*de*	*tsak,*	*a-rang-aran*	*piats*	*de*	*tyityiem.*
plate	of	guanacaste	TV-do-IMP	tortilla	of	bean

And people grind it for making tortillas, they would make a plate of *tsak* and make bean tortillas.

11 A tree known as *enterolobium cyclocarpum*.

282) *Bueno,* *tyityiem* *mas* *mejor,* *pero* *tsak* *kej.*
DISC bean more better but guanacaste DEM2.DIST
Well, preferably with beans, but also with guanacaste.

283) *Tyityiem* *n-a-lyeng,* *ajgey* *n-a-lyeng,*
bean ST-TV-be.straight DEM4.DIST 1IRR-TV-be.straight

a-rang-aran *piats,* *barr* *de* *n-a-jñej.*
TV-do-IMP tortilla barbarous of ST-TV-be.good
Beans, really, it's true, they make tortillas out of them, they're unbelievably tasty.

284) *Y* *a-rang-aran* *piats* *de* *sajwok,*
and TV-do-IMP tortilla of coyol[12]

coyol, *se* *dice* *el* *palo,* *¿no?*
coyol RF say-3SG the wood no
And they used to make tortillas out of the coyol fruit, coyol is what the tree is called, right?

285) *M-u-ndxiel* *kej* *akiejp* *ajtsaj..*

IRR-TV-grind DEM2.DIST with dough

286) *Ñ-u-rang* *piats* *barraco* *de* *n-a-jñej,* *n-a-wety*
ST-TV-do tortilla shed of ST-TV-be.good ST-TV-be.tasty

pa *m-e-ty,* *n-a-wety* *pa* *m-e-ty* *akiejp*
for IRR-2-eat ST-TV-be.tasty for IRR-2-eat with

anuok *taza de café,* *de gust.*
one.CL cup of coffee of taste
It is ground with dough.. It makes for an incredibly good tortilla, really tasty, tasty to eat, tasty to eat with a cup of coffee, delicious..

287) *Y* *at* *de* *pyats* *de* *tsak* *kej,* *barba*
and also of tortilla of guanacaste DEM2.DIST barbaric

de *n-a-wety* *m-ir-ie-w* *atowan.*
of ST-TV-be.tasty IRR-2-TV-go.out also
And also of tortilla made out of guanacaste, it comes out wonderfully tasty too.

[12] *Acrocomia aculeata* or coyol palm.

288) *Anteriormente* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *mas* *naxiel,*
previously NEG=IRR-TV-exist more field

ngu=m-a-jlük *os.*
NEG=IRR-TV-exist corn
Before there weren't many corn fields, there was no corn.

289) *Xow* *a-rang-üw* *muntajtaj* *kej* *piats* *tsak*
very TV-do-PL PL.AGT.woman DEM2.DIST tortilla guanacaste

kej, *a-jong* *tsak* *ap=a-jmyuely-iw* *mungich.*
DEM2.DIST TV-fruit guanacaste FUT=TV-enter PL.AGT.youth
Women used to make a lot of tortillas of guanacaste, the fruit of the guanacaste that children used to pick.

290) *Tyityiem.* *Jang* *ñipilan* *m-a-pierr* *tyityiem*
bean who people ST-TV-sow bean

kej, *p=a-ngal-üw* *muxijk.*
DEM2.DIST FUT=TV-buy-PL Zapotec
Beans. There were people who would sow beans so that the Zapotecs would buy them.

291) *A vec-es* *ap=a-jmyuely* *pañely,* *pues*
to time-PL FUT=TV-enter cane.sugar DISC

mas mejor *dulce pues.* *N-a-ngan.*
more better sweet DISC ST-TV-be.sweet
Sometimes cane sugar used to be put in, since it's better because it's sweet. It's [sweet] tasty.

292) *Pero* *al=tyiel* *nguoy,* *kiñiek=an* *a-yak,* *a-xix*
but DUR=LOC no salt=DEL TV-put TV-be.tasty

akiejp *anuok* *mi-cuchara.*
with one.CL POS.II.U-spoon
But there are [people who] don't [do that], they just put in salt, it's [salty] tasty, [you eat it] with a spoon.

293) *Uh,* *de gust* *ap=m-ü-ty* *ñipilan,* *ap=m-ü-ty* *mungich.*
EXCLA of taste FUT=IRR-TV-eat people FUT=IRR-TV-eat PL.AGT.youth
Oh dear, people enjoy eat, youngsters [like to] eat it.

294) *A-mbyol* *de* *comida,* *a-mbyol* *par* *ngu=m-e-ty* *mas* *piats.*
TV-help of food TV-help for NEG=IRR-2-eat more tortilla

Porque	*ñipilan*	*ngu=m-a-jlük*	*molino,*	*al=tyiel*	*ñipilan*
because	people	NEG=IRR-TV-exist	mill	DUR=LOC	people

pues	*a-jier*	*ngu=mi*	*anuok*	*mi-kwal*	*par*	*m-a-ndxiel*	*wüx*
DISC	TV-have	NEG=NPRS	one.CL	POS.II.U-child	for	IRR-TV-grind	on

kow	*kej .*
metate	DEM2.DIST

It helps as a foodstuff, it helps for getting you to not eat too much tortilla. Because people – there was no mill before, so if people had a few children they could grind it on the metate.

295)

O	*ñ-u-key.*	*Ñ-u-key*	*par*	*m-a-ndxiel,*	*m-a-wiel*
or	ST-TV-hand.mill	ST-TV-hand.mill	for	IRR-TV-grind	IRR-TV-support

mi-familia,	*anuok*	*comida,*	*olonuok*	*comida.*
POS.II.U-family	one.CL	meal	one.more	meal

Or a hand-driven mill. A hand-driven mill used for grinding, to support one's family, one meal and another meal.

296)

Ganüy	*al=wüx*	*lyi=jlük*	*molino,*	*muy*
now	DUR=on	PF.DIM=exist	mill	very

tranquilo,	*nada*	*mas*	*que*	*par*	*m-a-yak*	*piats*
calm	nothing	more	than	for	IRR-TV-put	tortilla

kej	*tyi=puow*	*m-a-jüñ*	*y*	*listo.*
DEM2.DIST	PRG=oven	IRR-TV-be.cooked	and	ready

Now that there is a mill already, it's very nice, you have your tortilla just like that, for putting into the oven, cooking, and it's done.

297)

Anteriormente	*nguoy*	*al=m-a-jier*	*m-a-ndxiel*
previously	no	DUR=IRR-TV-have	IRR-TV-grind

mi-os	*kej,*	*tyiel*	*gey*	*anomb*
POS.II.U-corn	DEM2.DIST	LOC	DEM3.DIST	one.TMP

ijmbüw	*repaso*	*par*	*tsi=lyej-w*	*u-a-jtsaj*
two.TMP	repeats	for	PF=soften.up-ITR	POS.I.U-POS.III.U-dough[13]

kej	*par*	*m-a-rang*	*mi-piats.*

[13] See also section 4.6.1.1.3 (p. 125) on double possession marking.

DEM2.DIST for IRR-TV-do POS.II.U-tortilla
Previously it wasn't [like that], you had to grind your corn, and repeat it once or twice for the dough to soften up so that you could make tortillas.

298) *Ganüy nguoy pur molino, primer nguoy, ngu=m-a-jlük molino kej.*
now no pure mill first no NEG=IRR-TV-exist mill DEM2.DIST
Not at present, [now there are] many mills, unlike before, the mill did not exist.

299) *Pur kow a-ta ocupar ñipilan anteriormente,*
pure metate TV-LV use people previously

ap=a-suok a-ndxiel, porque se dice
FUT=TV-be.said TV-grind because RF say-3SG

'a-tajk moler' kej pues.
TV-LV grind DEM2.DIST DISC
People used to employ metates, let's say they would grind, because [that's how] you say 'is grinding'.

300) *Ganüy anteriormente - ganüy lyi=jlük jwábrica*
now previously now PF=exist factory

p=a-ngal mi-pyats wüx kilo, anuok kilo..
FUT=TV-buy POS.II.U-tortilla on kilo one.CL kilo
And before– now there is a factory where you can buy your tortillas by the kilo, a kilo [of them]..

301) *La=ngu=m-a-ndyiem m-u-ndxiel ñipilan.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-want IRR-TV-grind people
People don't want to grind anymore.

302) *Y ganüy xikon tyi=n-a-jaw ganüy*
and now PRON1EXCL PRG=1IRR-TV-see now

lyi=jlük moto, la=ngu=m-a-ndyiem a-jüy tyiet,
PF.DIM=exist motorbike PF=NEG=IRR-TV-want TV-wander earth

m-a-mb anuok mandado, rrum, akiejp moto.
IRR-TV-go one.CL delivery ONO with motorbike

And now we're witnessing the phenomenon of the motorbike[14], when you don't want to walk to go and get something, vroom, [you go] by motorbike.

303) *Axta eso la=ngu=m-a-ndyiem a-jüy.*
until that PF=NEG=IRR-TV-want TV-wander
Even [for] that they don't want to walk anymore.

304) *Anteriormente xik s-a-xily tyiel naxiel ñingien*
previously PRON1 1-TV-brush LOC field there.DIST

myunkej, a las cuatro s-a-mb rr-aw
far to the four 1-TV-go rise.sun-ITR

wüx n-a-pey kej.
on 1IRR-TV-arrive DEM2.DIST
I used to brush in a field far away in that direction (pointing), I would leave at four in the morning to get there.

305) *Ngej a-jlük moto, ngej a-jlük carro, ngej*
where TV-exist motorbike where TV-exist car where

a-jlük bicicleta.
TV-exist bicycle
Where was the motorbike [then], where were the cars, where the bicycles?

306) *Ganüy mungich puro akiejp bicicleta, puro akiejp*
now PL.AGT.youth pure with bicycle pure with

moto la=ngu=m-a-ndyiem a-jüy tyiet mungich.
motorbike PF=NEG=IRR-TV-want TV-wander earth PL.AGT.youth
Now youngsters have lots of bikes, they just travel by motorbike, young people don't want to walk anymore.

307) *– Xikon mungich ñ-i-flojo.*
PRON1EXCL PL.AGT.youth ST-TV-lazy
We young people are lazy.

308) *– Joy.. Lyi=eñch mungich, lyi=eñch*,
EXCLA PF.DIM=be.lazy PL.AGT.youth PF.DIM=be.lazy

[14] Riksha-style motorbikes circulate in San Dionisio (and also, for example, in Juchitán and Oaxaca City; Sp. *mototaxis*) to transport people for a cost of 5 to 10 pesos (2013).

	ap=a-suok	*eñch,*	*eso*	*se dice*	*flojo,*	*ya.*
	FUT=TV-be.said.lazy	that	RF	say.3SG	lazy	already

Oh.. Youngsters are lazy, they are lazy, it's called lazy, it's called lazy, right.

309)	*Lyi=ench,*	*ngu=m-a-ndyiem*	*a-jüy.*	
	PF.DIM=be.lazy	NEG=IRR-TV-want	TV-wander	

They are lazy, they don't want to walk.

310)	*At mod*	*a-jlük*	*primero.*	
	also mode	TV-exist	first	

That's the way it was before..

311)	*Ngu=m-a-jlük*	*miawan*	*cosa*	*kej.*
	NEG=IRR-TV-exist	all	thing	DEM2.DIST

There was none of all these things.

312)	*Ganüy*	*nguoy,*	*mungich*	*kanénkaman*	*kej,*
	now	no	PL.AGT.youth	right.now	DEM2.DIST

	ngu=m-a-jlük	*bicicleta,*	*ngu=m-a-mb*	*m-a-rang*	*mandad.*
	NEG=IRR-TV-exist	bicycle	NEG=IRR-TV-go	IRR-TV-do	delivery

Unlike now, those youngsters from nowadays, if there's no bike they don't want to go and get groceries.

313)	*Anteriormente*	*nguoy,*	*m-i-saj,*	*tsi=a-mb*	*mungich,*
	previously	no	IRR-2-say	PF=TV-go	PL.AGT.youth

	pur	*a-jüy*	*tyiet,*	*ngu=m-a-jlük*	*carro,*	*ngu=m-a-jlük*
	pure	TV-wander	earth	NEG=IRR-TV-exist	car	NEG=IRR-TV-exist

	bicicleta,	*ngu=m-a-jlük.*
	bicycle	NEG=IRR-TV-exist

Unlike before, when you'd tell them to, the youngsters would go, they would walk a lot, there were no cars, there were no bikes, there was none of that.

314)	*Ganüy*	*a-jlük*	*moto,*	*axta*	*muntaj*
	now	TV-exist	motorbike	until	PL.AGT.women

	m-a-mb	*m-a-ngal*	*mandad,*	*m-a-mb*	*anuok*
	IRR-TV-go	IRR-TV-buy	delivery	IRR-TV-go	one.CL

	pachanga,	*a-mb*	*tyiel*	*gey*	*ap=m-a-mb.*
	party	TV-go	LOC	DEM2.DIST	FUT=IRR-TV-go

Now there are motorbikes, even women when they go to get their groceries or they go to a celebration, they'll go in that [motorbike].

315) *La=ngu=m-a-jüy tyiet, de plano, de plano, puro gasto de tomien,*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-wander earth of plain of plain pure expense of money

tyiel gej tyi=a-w, ngej t-a-tajk-üw ganar.
LOC where PRG=TV-go.out where PST-TV-LV-PL earn
They don't walk anymore, really, seriously, a lot of expenses, where does it all come from, where did they earn it?

316) *Pues al=m-a-jlük ñipilan al=m-a-jier mi-kwal*
DISC DUR=IRR-TV-exist people DUR=IRR-TV-have POS.II.U-child

Estado-s Unid tyi=m-a-ta mandar tomien par
state-PL united PRG=IRR-TV-LV send money for

mi-gasto.
POS.II.U-expense

317) *Pero al=tyiel pobre, s-a-mong-uoch jodido, ngu=m-a-jier*
but DUR=LOC poor 1-TV-pass-CAU damned NEG=IRR-TV-have

ñinkwej familia, ñingüy ngu=nd-om m-a-ta ganar.
nothing family here NEG=BND-IRR IRR-TV-LV earn
Well, there are people who have children in the United States who send them money for their expenses, but if [I'm] poor then I will be in a damned state, you can't earn.

318) *Pues a-ndyiem ñ-er-list tyiküy, ngu=m-a-jlük ix ix m-i-nüjp.*
DISC TV-want ST-2-smart bit NEG=IRR-TV-exist iguana iguana IRR-2-sell
Then you need to get smart a bit, [and see if] there's no iguana [for example], iguana that you can sell.

319) *Bueno.. Par amor de m-i-mong-uoch nüty.. Pero*
DISC for love of IRR-2-pass-CAU day but

al=tyiel, pues, la=m-a-ta tender petate, bueno, ñiw
DUR=LOC DISC PF=IRR-TV-LV extend mat DISC PRON3

a-mb wüx p=a-mb m-a-ndyow kej,
TV-go on FUT=TV-go IRR-TV-die DEM2.DIST

la=ngu=m-a-ndyiem *m-a-ta* *vivir* *wüx* *kambajiet.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-want IRR-TV-LV live on world
That is, in order for you to get through your days.. But if one is already extending one's *petate*[15] [to lie on; i.e. give up], well, that person acts like he is going to die, he doesn't want to live on the earth anymore.

320) *Ngu=m-a-jaw* *mi-familia.*
NEG=IRR-TV-see POS.II.U-family
[For example, if] one does not see one's family.

321) *Xik* *s-a-pieng,* *ojalá* *tyiel* *ngu=m-u-kwey* *xi-lyej,*
PRON1 1-TV-speak hopefully LOC NEG=IRR-TV-hurt 1POS-foot

s-a-xily, *al=n-a-jier* *terreno* *par* *n-a-rang* *najiet.*
1-TV-brush DUR=1IRR-TV-have terrain for 1IRR-TV-do work
I say, with heaven's help, if my leg weren't hurting so much I would be slashing, I have a field to work in.

322) *Por* *mas* *que* *ganüy* *la=mong* *tiempo* *pues,*
for more than now PF=pass time DISC

lyi=jlük *avanzado.*
PF=exist advanced
Even though a lot of time has gone by, [the illness in my foot] is already advanced.

323) *Miáwan* *gey* *ü-mb.*
all DEM2.DIST TV-run.out
All of that wears down.

324) *Ni* *que* *fuera* *mandxiek,* *ü-mb.*
neither that be.PST.SUBJUNCTIVE iron TV-run.out
It's not like it's made of iron, it wears down.

325) *Riel* *kej,* *no* *ves,* *riel* *que* *está* *parado*
rail DEM2.DIST not see-2sg rail that is stood

encima *de* *la* *vía-s..*
on.top of the[16] way-PL
[Like] the rails, you don't know? The thing which is put on the train tracks..

[15] A *petate* is a mat commonly used in Mesoamerica for funerary (and other) purposes. In the Aztec and Mixtec codices, depictions of persons sitting on a mat could be used to signify different sorts of ceremonial contexts, principally marriage, if they were facing each other.

[16] Possibly, the *-s* [PL] is pronounced but not clearly audible due to fast speech / assimilation of /-s/ to /v-/.

326) *Está gastando, está quebrando, más que anuok mungich.*
is wearing.out is breaking more as one.CL PL.AGT.youth
It's wearing down, it's breaking, more than when one is young.

327) *Ñipilan, se dice, anop ñipilan de edad,*
people RF say.3SG one.RND people of age
A person, they say, a person who is aged,

328) *Lyi=jlük avanzado cuerpo, la=ngu=nd-om m-a-rang najiet.*
PF.DIM=exist advanced body PF=NEG=BND-IRR IRR-TV-do work
His body is already worn down, he cannot work anymore.

329) *La=ngu=nd-om pues.*
PF=NEG=BND-IRR DISC
It's no longer possible.

330) *Pero anop mungich listo, oh, ñ-i-ndy a-rang*
but one.RND AGT.PL.youth ready oh ST-TV-feel.like TV-do

najiet, contento.
work happy
But a young person is ready [for it], oh, if he wants to work, he happily [does it].

331) *M-a-pey ap=a-rang kwejkwej=an t-a-mb, bueno.*
IRR-TV-arrive FUT=TV-make thing.thing=DEL PST-TV-go DISC
If something to do comes up, it's good.

332) *N-a-pey de segurar u-mbey lol,*
1IRR-TV-arrive of secure POS.II.U-mouth well

tsi=n-a-jimb u-mbey lol, n-a-w=an ronda,
PF=1IRR-TV-sweep POS.I.U-mouth well 1IRR-TV-go.out=DEL round

bueno, ngu=n-a-jlük conforme.
DISC NEG=1IRR-TV-exist satisfied
I just recently secured the well [in my field], I swept the well and made a round, well, I'm not happy about it.

333) *Y tyiel ik m-i-ta abandonar dos, tres año-s,*
and LOC PRON2 IRR-2-LV abandon two three year-s

la=m-a-ndyiem mas n-a-dam trabajo.

PF=IRR-TV-want more ST-TV-be.big work
And if you abandon [it] for two [or] three years it will need even more work.

334) *Por eso,* *cada* *ñat* *i-ta* *remendar,* *atokey.*
for that every year 2-LV repair like.that
That's why every year you fix it, like this.

335) *Ngu=mi* *entero,* *par* *anuok* *jalón* *entero,*
NEG=NPRS entire for one.CL pull(N) entire

hay *que* *ver.*
there.is that to.see
Not all of it in one go, you'll see.

336) *La=m-a-ndyiem* *tomien* *y* *ñipilan.*
PF=IRR-TV-want money and people
It requires money and people.

337) *Kanénkaman* *m-a-ta* *ganar* *cien* *peso-s,* *tsi=a-w.*
right.now IRR-TV-LV earn hundred peso-PL PF=TV-go.out
Right now if [someone] earns a hundred pesos, it's sufficient.

338) *P=a-jmyuely* *a la-s* *seis,* *a la-s* *once,*
FUT=TV-enter at the.F-PL six at the.F-PL eleven

a la-s *doce* *a mucho* *tardar.*
at the.F-PL twelve at much be.delayed
He enters [work] at six, [until] eleven, or twelve, at the latest.

339) *Pero* *si* *nguoy* *s-a-rang* *najiet* *rr-aw* *axta*
but if no 1-TV-do work dawn-1ITR until

ap=a-ñajk-üy *s-a-lyiek.*
FUT=TV-set.sun-RF 1-TV-come
But if not, I work [alone] from early in the morning and only get back in at night.

340) *A* *la-s seis* *a vec-es* *n-a-pey.*
at the.F-PL six to time-PL 1IRR-TV-arrive
Sometimes I get back in at six o'clock.

341) *Y* *madrugada* *la=s-a-mb.*
and early.morning PF=1-TV-go
And I leave early in the morning.

342) *Kanénkaman* *ñipilan* *la=ngu=m-a-ndyiem*
right.now people PF=NEG=IRR-TV-want

m-a-rang *najiet.* *A la-s* *doce,* *fuera,* *vaya.*
IRR-TV-do work at the.F-PL twelve outside DISC
Now people no longer want to work, they're out by twelve, really.

343) *Tyiel* *m-i-ndyiem* *m-i-ngüy,* *nguoy,* *y* *pores*
LOC IRR-2-want IRR-2-buy no and therefore

la=ngu=m-a-jlük *m-u-rang* *najiet* *ñingüy kanénkaman.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-exist IRR-TV-do work here right.now
If you want that, you pay, [but] no, and that's why there's nobody working here right now.

344) *Xow* *merral,* *anop* *rico* *p=a-ngüy* *cuatro,*
very few one.RND rich FUT=TV-pay four

cinco *día-s,* *ronda,* *bueno.*
five day-PL round DISC
[There are] very few, a rich person can pay for four or five days, a round [of work].

345) *La=ngu=m-a-jlük* *chamba,* *pura* *máquina,* *tractor.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-exist work pure machine tractor
There are no jobs anymore, just machines, [like] tractors.

346) *P=a-jmbaj* *iet,* *ap=a-jimb,* *bueno.*
FUT=TV-be.broken earth FUT=TV-sweep DISC
It can dig, it can sweep.

347) *Pero* *anteriormente* *xikon* *nguoy.*
but previously PRON1EXCL no
But before, we didn't [have all that].

348) *N-a-tajk-an* *destroncar* *par amor de* *m-a-mong*
1IRR-TV-LV-PL remove.trees for love of IRR-TV-pass

arado *tranquilo* *porque* *m-a-jlük* *tronco*
ploughing calm because IRR-TV-exist trunk

ñing *arado.*
REL.LOC ploughing

We had to [manually] remove the tree trunks for the ploughing to take place nicely because there were tree trunks in the [path of the] ploughing.

349) *Ngu=nd-om* *m-i-mong-uoch,* *ih.*
NEG=BND-IRR IRR-2-pass-CAU MIR
[meaning] you can't make it go through, oh boy.

350) [Inaudible due to wind]

351) *Ni* *ap=a-mong* *mi-arado,* *xow* *tronco,* *pues.*
neither FUT=TV-pass POS.II.U-ploughing very[17] trunk DISC
Your plough can't get through if there are a lot of trunks.

352) *A-ta* *costar* *m-i-lujk* *mi-tronco* *pa* *m-i-ta* *asear*
TV-LV cost IRR-2-pull POS.II.U-trunk for IRR-2-LV tidy.up

anuok *terreno.*
one.CL field
It takes [effort] for you to pull your tree trunks so that you can tidy up a field.

353) *Ya* *par* *m-i-rang-an* *najiet* *akiejp* *buoy,* *uh,*
already for IRR-2-do-PL work with bull MIR

tranquilo *ap=ir-ie-mb* *i-kiejp* *mi-buoy.*
calm FUT=IRR-TV-go 2-accompany POS.II.U-bull
Working with a bull [on the other hand], my, you go [through] easy with your bull.

354) *Per* *tyiel* *n-a-jier* *tronco* *a-j-tüch* *axta* *ñiw,*
but LOC 1IRR-TV-have trunk TV-PAS-reach until PRON3

a-ta *ñiw* *castigar,* *pues.*
TV-LV PRON3 punish DISC
But if I have tree trunks [in the field] that reach up to him, it hurts him.

355) *Y* *a* *vec-es* *la=pal-aw* *mi-arad.*
and at time-PL PF=close-ITR POS.II.U-ploughing
And sometimes your ploughing gets stuck.

356) *Ngu=nd-om* *m-i-suojk* *la=m-i-nduojk* *par amor de* *m-i-mong.*
NEG=BND-IRR IRR-2-insert PF=IRR-2-cut for love of IRR-2-pass

[17] *Xow* is used instead of *xuwayey* or *xowayey* here. Normally, *xow* occurs modifying a (usually verbal or adjectival) predicate.

You can't sow, you have to cut it so that you can pass.

357) *Per* *tyiel* *m-i-luojk* *tronco,* *at* *mi-iet,*
but LOC IRR-2-pull trunk also POS.II.U-earth

pur *a-jlük* *tranquilo* *mi-buoy.*
pure TV-exist calm POS.II.U-bull
But if you pull the trunks, then your field, your bull will be at ease.

358) *Xik* *t-a-jier-as* *anuok* *terreno* *tyi=a-w* *trece*
PRON1 PST-TV-keep-1 one.CL field PRG=TV-go.out thirteen

almo-s.
almo-PL
I used to have a field that was producing thirteen *almos*.

359) *Pero* *bien* *vay,* *ngu=mi* *tyi=m-a-jier* *ñinkwej* tronco.
but good DISC NEG=N.PRS PRG=IRR-TV-keep nothing trunk

360) *Pores* *jang* *al=m-a-mong* *m-a-jaw,* *ju,*
therefore who DUR=IRR-TV-PASS IRR-TV-see EXCLA

chulada de surco *m-i-yak* *iet* *wüx* *ngu=m-a-jier*
beauty of IRR-2-put earth on NEG=IRR-TV-keep

tronco.
trunk
Whoever would pass would see, oh, beautiful furrows, you make in the earth when there aren't any trunks.

361) *Pero* *tyiel* *m-a-jier* *tronco* *aunque fuera* *mas*
but LOC IRR-TV-have trunk even.if be-SUBJUNCTIVE.PST more

ngu=nd-om *m-i-yak* *mi-surco* *al=n-a-lyeng.*
NEG=BND-IRR IRR-2-put POS.II.U-furrow DUR=ST-TV-be.straight
But if it has trunks, then whatever you do you can't make furrows that are straight.

362) *Ajk* *tronco* *ñingien,* *düy* [18] *ñingien*
DEM1 trunk there.DIST towards there.DIST

ap=ir-ie-mb *y* *ñin* *máquina* *ngu=nd-om*

[18] A shortened form of *andüy* 'towards'.

FUT=2-TV-go and not.even machine NEG=BND-IRR

m-i-jmyuely-ich.
IRR-2-enter-CAU
Those trunks, there they are, [if] you head towards [the part of the field] there, you can't even get a machine in.

363) *Ganüy nguoy, a-jmyuely máquina porque*
now no TV-enter machine because

la=ngu=m-a-jier tronco. Y a poco[19] *por ser*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-keep trunk and to few for to.be

de máquina ap=a-rang najiet tyiel tronco? Jamás.
of machine FUT=TV-do work LOC trunk never
But if not, a machine [can] get it because there aren's any more trunks. And don't think that just because it's a machine it will work if [there are] trunks, never.

364) *A-ndyiem tyi=luj u-wily tronco.*
TV-want LOC=pull POS.I.U-backside trunk
It's necessary to drag the trunks [away]. (i.e. holding them at one end, hence *uwily*)

365) *Par máquina kej al=nd-om m-a-rang najiet.*
for machine DEM3.DIST DUR=BND-IRR IRR-TV-do work
In order for the machine to be able to do [its] work.

366) *Y máquina kanénkaman la=m-a-ta ganar*
also machine right.now PF=IRR-TV-LV earn

ocho ciento-s por hectárea.
eight hundred-PL for hectar
And [with] a machine you can currently make eight hundred [pesos] per hectare.

367) *Y tyiel ngu=m-i-ta ganar, perdido ap=ir-ie-mb.*
and LOC NEG=IRR-2-LV earn lost FUT=2-TV-go
And if you don't earn money, you'll be lost.

368) *Por eso ñipilan al=nd-om m-a-rang anuok*
therefore people DUR=BND-IRR IRR-TV-do one.CL

posible per tyiel ora ngu=m-a-ta ganar p=a-tyow wüx.

[19] *A poco* is an expression in Mexican Spanish signaling doubt and a smaller or greater degree of disbelief.

possible but LOC hour NEG=IRR-TV-LV earn FUT=TV-count on
[Even] people doing all possible remain lacking if they don't earn [money] [when the appropriate] time [arrives].

369) *Mejor ap=a-rang kiriw kej buoy kej miáwan*
better FUT=TV-do piece.DIM DEM2.DIST bull DEM2.DIST everything

nd-om.
BND-IRR
It's better do do a little bit using a bull [who] can do it all.

370) *Porque ngu=m-i-juoy seguro tyi=ap=i-ta ganar.*
because NEG=IRR-2-carry secure LOC=FUT=2-LV earn
Because you have no guarantee that you're going to earn [money].

371) *Pues tyiel m-i-ta ganar qué bueno.*
DISC LOC IRR-2-LV earn what good
If you earn, well, that's good.

372) *Kwej ap=i-ta perder? Pero tyiel ngu=m-i-ta ganar,*
thing FUT=2-LV loose but LOC NEG=IRR-2-LV earn

ir-ie-mb perdido. M-i-pierr jonjolyin, perdido.
2-TV-go lost IRR-2-sow sesame lost
What do you loose [then]? But if you don't earn, you're lost. You can [only] sow sesame, [you're] lost.

373) *M-i-pierr naxiel igual.*
IRR-2-sow milpa same
Or you sow corn.

374) *Pues ñingey a-ta disgustar anuok ñipilan.*
DISC DEM2.DIST TV-LV dislike one.CL people
For example there is this one person who dislikes it.

375) *Me dice: S-a-rang xa-najiet y s-a-ngüy.*
to.me say-3SG 1-TV-do 1POS-work and 1-TV-pay
He tells me: "I do my work and I [end up] paying"

376) *Al=tyiel m-i-jier anuok kuchujch sow m-i-nüjp*
DUR=LOC IRR-2-keep one.CL small pig IRR-2-sell

par amor de m-i-ngüy ñipilan, m-i-rang najiet.

for love of IRR-2-pay people IRR-2-do work

tyi=nguoy *pues* *ñinkwej*.
if=no DISC nothing
Or you keep a little pig that you can sell so that you can pay your workers, you work, otherwise [there's] nothing.

377) *Pues* *ir-ie-mb* *jodido*.
DISC 2-TV-go damned
Then you're damned.

378) *Para* *olonuok* *ñat* *la=m-ü-jch* *ik* *… .*
for one.more year PF=IRR-TV-give PRON2 [inaudible]
For another year you already get [inaudible]

379) *Pero* *tyiel* *a-jlük* *costumbrado* *masey* *ngu=m-i-jlük* *conforme*..
but LOC TV-exist used.to though NEG=IRR-2-exist conformed
But even if [one] is used to [it], one isn't in agreement

380) *I-ta* *sequir* *wüx=an,* *m-i-xily* *piat,* *m-i-xily* *piat,*
2-LV follow on=DEL IRR-2-brush jungle IRR-2-brush jungle

wüx *tiempo* *ap=i-mbyuely,* *tyiel* *m-a-juoty,* *m-i-pierr.*
on time FUT=2-burn LOC IRR-TV-rain IRR-2-sow
And you continue again, you brush the wilderness again and again, at the appropriate time you burn, if i trains you sow.

381) *Tyiel* *Dios* *m-ü-jch* *pues qué bueno,* *la=m-i-ta* *ganar.*
LOC God IRR-TV-give DISC what good PF=IRR-2-LV earn
If God gives [something] than that's great, you already made some money

382) *Y* *tyiel* *ngu=m-ü-jch,* *pues* *ngu=m-i-ta* *ganar.*
and LOC NEG=IRR-TV-give DISC NEG=IRR-2-LV earn
But if he doesn't give, you don't make anything.

383) *Pero* *culpa* *ngu=m-a-jier* *ñinjang.*
but fault NEG=IRR-TV-keep nobody
But nobody is responsible.

384) *Solamente* *Dios* *ajgey* *ngu=m-a-ndyiem* *m-ü-jch* *ik*
only God DEM2.DIST NEG=IRR-TV-want IRR-TV-give PRON2

yew, *o* *a vec-es* *por* *pasado* *de* *a-juoty,* *axta eso*
water or at time-PL for passed of TV-rain until that

la=ngu=m-a-ta *gustar* *naxiel,* *naxiel* *ngu=m-a-ndyiem* *mas* *yew.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-LV like field field NEG=IRR-TV-want more water
Only God [decides if] he doesn't want to provide you with water, or sometimes it rains too much, that is not good for the field either, the field can't take too much water.

385) *Jonjolyin* *ngu=m-a-ndyiem* *mas* *yew,* *tyiel* *m-a-jlük* *tanto,* *wüx*
sesame NEG=IRR-TV-want more water LOC IRR-TV-exist so.much on

xow *m-a-juoty,* *a-mb* *perdido,* *ngu=m-a-juoty,* *tampoco, igual*
very IRR-TV-rain TV-go lost NEG=IRR-TV-rain neither same
Sesame can't handle much water [either], if there's too much, if it rains a lot, you loose, if it doesn't rain, the same.

386) *Ngu=m-a-juoty,* *ngu=m-a-juoty* *a-mb* *perdido,* *a-wajk,*
NEG=IRR-TV-rain NEG=IRR-TV-rain TV-go lost TV-dry

a-mbiy *sequedad.*
TV-kill draught
[If] it doesn't rain, [if] it doesn't rain, you end up losing, it dries out and the draught kills it.

387) *Porque* *ñ-u-rrajrr* *u-kwej* *iet* *kej.*
because ST-TV-be.hot POS.I.U-thing earth DEM2.DIST
Because the earth heats up.

388) *Ngu=m-a-ta* *aguantar* *xiel* *kej.*
NEG=IRR-TV-LV bear tree DEM2.DIST
The trees can't bear it.

390) *Kanénkaman* *miáwan* *lyi=jlük:* *A-jlük* *líquido,* *m-i-pier* *naxiel,*
right.now everything PF.DIM=exist TV-exist liquid IRR-2-sow field

al=m-a-jlük *líquido* *par* *m-a-mbiy* *suox.*
DUR=IRR-TV-exist liquid for IRR-TV-kill weed
Now there is everything: There's liquid to [help you] sowing corn, there is liquid to kill the weeds.

391) *Ngu=m-a-mbiy* *naxiel,* *a-ta* *rociar,* *pues favorable*
NEG=IRR-TV-kill field TV-LV spray DISC convenient

par *anuok* *campesino,* *pues.*

for one.CL farmer DISC
It doesn't kill the corn, you spray it, it's really convenient for a farmer.

392) *I-ta* *rociar* *akiejp* *bomba,* *en cambio* *akiejp* *machety,* *híjole,*
2-LV spray with pump in exchange with machete MIR

dos o tres día-s.
two or three day-PL
You spray with a pump, on the other hand [if you were to do it] with a machete, oh boy, [it would take] two or three days.

393) *Ngu=m-i-ta* *avanzar* *algo.* *Ganüy* *bomba,* *ganüy* *i-ta*
NEG=IRR-2-LV advance something now pump now TV-LV

rociar *tyi=m-i-ta* *recorrer* *surco* *kej* *naxiel* *kej,*
spray PRG=IRR-2-LV go.around furrow DEM2.DIST field DEM2.DIST

ih, *fácil de* *al=nd-om* *m-i-jüy* *tyiel* *anuok*
MIR easy of DUR=BND-IRR IRR-2-carry LOC one.CL

hectárea *anuok* *nüty,* *jwavor.*
hectar one.CL day favour
You don't make any progress. Now [with] the pump, now you spray, you go around the furrows, the field, oh boy, you easily do a hectare in a day, it's favourable.

394) *Pero* *líquido* *la=m-u-mbety* *cien peso-s,* *ciento veinte*
but liquid PF=IRR-TV-cost 100 peso-PL 100 twenty

anop *kuchux* *frasco,* *ajgey* *anuok* *hectárea.*
one.PL small container DEM4.DIST one.CL hectar
But the liquid is expensive, a hundred or a hundred and twenty pesos per little container, that's [for] one hectare.

395) *Al=nd-om* *m-i-ta* *rociar* *anuok* *hectárea* *tyiel*
DUR=BND-IRR IRR-2-LV spray one.CL hectar LOC

m-a-jlük *pegad* *lol.*
IRR-TV-exist beside well
You can spray a hectare if there's a well nearby.

396) *Tyiel* *guoy* *ap=i-lyej* *yew.*
LOC no FUT=2-carry water
If not, you need to bring water.

397) *Per* *siempre* *jwavor.* *Porque* *tyiel* *m-i-rang* *najiet*
but always favour because LOC IRR-2-do work

wüx *machety,* *cuatro* *cinco* *surc* *m-ir-ie-mb.*
on machete four five furrow IRR-2-TV-go
But it's still favourable. Because if you work with a machete, if you do four, five furrows

398) *M-i-mong* *anuok* *nüty.*
IRR-2-do one.CL day
It takes you a day.

399) *Pero* *en* *cambio* *akiejp* *ajk* *bomba* *kej*
but in exchange with DEM1 pump DEM2.DIST

nguoy, *jwásil.*
no easy
Unlike with that pump, it's easy.

400) *Anuok* *hectárea* *ap=i-ta* *rociar* *anuok* *nüty.*
one.CL hectar FUT=2-LV spray one.CL day
You can spray a hectare in one day.

401) *Tsi=m-i-ta* *avanzar.* *Más* *jwavor* *par* *kej*
PF=IRR-2-LV advance more favour for DEM2.DIST

anop *campesino* *tyi=jlük* *líquido.*
one.RND farmer LOC=exist liquid
You progress [quickly]. It's better for a farmer to have liquid.

402) *Por ejemplo* *xik* *al=ñingien* *al=n-a-jier* *anuok* *terreno,* *s-a-ngal*
for example PRON1 DUR=THERE.DIST DUR=1IRR-TV-keep one.CL field 1-TV-buy

líquido *matatodo,* *s-a-ta* *rociar* *intere* *ronda,* *medid* *a-ndyiem.*
liquid kill.all 1-TV-LV spray entire round measure TV-want
For example [if] I have, over there (pointing) a field, I buy "Kill-it-all" liquid, I spray an entire round, as much as is needed.

403) *Anuok* *kuch* *ronda,* *no,* *ngu=mi* *mas* *n-a-dam,*
one.CL small round no NEG=N.PRS more ST-TV-be.big

pues, *intere* *vuelta* *dos día-s.*
DISC entire turn two day-PL

A little round, not too big, well, the whole thing [will take me about] two days.

404) *Pues* *ganüy* *líquido* *ngu=m-a-ta* *costar,* *dos día-s,*
DISC now liquid NEG=IRR-TV-LV cost two day-PL

ajgey *para* *m-a-ta* *rociar* *akiejp* *bomba,* *ih..*
DEM4.DIST for IRR-TV-LV spray with pump MIR
Well, with liquid, it doesn't cost [effort], two days, that's [what it takes] to spray with a pump, imagine,

405) *Anuok* *nüty,* *olonuok* *nüty* *la=i-mb.*
one.CL day one.more.CL day PF=TV-end
[Just] one day, the next day it's over.

406) *M-a-w* *inter* *vuelta.* *Más favorable.* *Tyi=n-a-jaw*
IRR-TV-go.out entire round more convenient PRG=1IRR-TV-see

ngu=n-a-ta *avanzar,* *pues* *s-a-ta* *rociar* *wüx* *op*
NEG=1IRR-TV-LV advance DISC 1-TV-LV spray on leaf

mirasol[20] *kej.*
sunflower DEM2.DIST
'[One can do] an entire round. It's better. If I see I'm not making progress, I spray the leaves of the sunflowers.'

407) *Pero* *akiejp* *líquido* *matatodo,* *ih..*
but with liquid kill.everything MIR

miáwan *a-küly* *ñ-i-kants* *tyiet,* *a-wajk* *anomb=an.*
everything TV-stay ST-TV-be.red earth TV-be.dry one.TMP=DEL
But with "Kill-it-all" liquid, oh boy.. All the earth turns red, it dries out quickly.

408) *Ganüy* *al=nd-om* *m-i-jüy* *tyiel* *ronda,*
now DUR=BND-IRR IRR-2-wander LOC round

ganüy *gej* *al=n-a-ndüy* *ngu=nd-om* *m-i-wityow,*
now where DUR=1IRR-TV-be.directed NEG=BND-IRR IRR-2-ascend

mirasol, *en* *cantidad.*
sunflower in quantity

[20] Usually known in Spanish as *girasol*, literally 'turn'+'sun'. Here: *Mirasol*, 'look'+'sun'.

Now you can go around [the field], where I walk you can't get up [and reach up to see the field], [there are] heaps of sunflowers.

409) *Gey* *a-ndyiem* *kajw* *abril* *y* *kej* *p=a-ndajp*.
DEM3.DIST TV-want month april and DEM2.DIST FUT=TV-burn.ITR
What is needed is [for] April [to arrive], then it's going to burn.

410) *P=a-ndajp,* *en parte, en parte* *i-rang,* *montón,*
FUT=TV-burn.ITR in part in part 2-do heap

wüx=an *ap=i-mbyuely.*
on=DEL FUT=2-burn
It will burn, you do it part by part, [when you get] a heap, you burn it again.

411) *Ganüy xik* *s-a-ngal* *xa-bomba* *tajñat.*
now PRON1 1-TV-buy 1POS-pump last.year
Now I bought myself a pump last year.

412) *La=n-a-jier* *bomba de quince litro.*
PF=1IRR-TV-keep pump of fifteen litre
I have a pump of fifteen liters now.

413) *Ganüy líquido* *n-a-ngal* *la=n-a-ta* *rociar.*
now liquid 1IRR-TV-buy PF=1IRR-TV-LV spray
But I already used up the liquid I had bought.

414) *Atokey* *mod* *tyi=m-ü-jch* *s-a-rang* *najiet,*
like.that.MED mode PRG=IRR-TV-give 1-TV-do work

a-pey *anuok* *xa-chijk.* *M-ü-w.*
TV-arrive one.CL 1POS-little.brother IRR-TV-borrow
That's the way it was, I was working [and then] one of my younger brothers arrived and borrowed [it].

415) *Ora* *lyi=juoy,* *m-a-ngal* *mi-líquido,* *más*
hour PF.DIM=carry IRR-TV-buy POS.II.U-liquid more

tyi=a-w *favor* *porque..* *asunto de..* *par* *mijor*
PRG=TV-exit favour because matter of for better

kej *machete* *a-suok,* *hay* *que* *ver.*
DEM2.DIST machete TV-be.said must that see

He took it away now, he bought liquid, it's better, because concerning.. What people say about the machete being better, it remains to be seen.

416) *A-kuey* *tyi=pyuech.* *Duele* *bajo* *tu* *cintura,*
TV-hurt LOC=back.DIM hurt.3SG under your belt

tanto *agachando,* *pues.* – *Sí.*
so.much bending DISC yes
My back hurts. It hurts under one's belt area, of so much bending. – Yes.

417) – *Ganüy* *líquido,* *oh,* *tyi=m-i-ta* *rociar.*
now liquid EXCL PRG=IRR-2-LV spray
– Now the liquid, oh dear, you can just spray it.

418) *Más* *tranquilo.*
more calm
[It's] easier.

419) *Nd-oj* *p=a-kijmien* *mi-yow* *m-ü-jch* *ik,* *i-yak*
BND-ITR FUT=TV-bring POS.II.U-water IRR-TV-give PRON2 2-put

u-mal *mi-bomba* *y* *sigue.*
POS.I.U-head POS.II.U-pump and continue.3SG
Afterwards [someone] brings you water, you load it into the pump and on you go.

420) *Pero* *en* *cambio,* *machete,* *hijo..*
but in exchange machete MIR
But with a machete, oh dear.

421) *Barraco de* *jodid* *pa* *xikon.*
extremely damned for PRON1EXCL
It's awfully bad for us.

422) *Ganüy* *nguoy,* *favor* *de* *Dios.*
now no favour of God
Not in these times, thank God.

423) *Giñey=an* *mod* *tyi=n-a-mong-uoch-ien* *mas* *mejor* *akiejp*
how=DEL mode PRG=1IRR-TV-pass-CAU-PL more better with

líquido.
liquid
Whatever the case we are better off with liquid.

424) *Al=m-a-jlük* *anuok* *clas* *a-suok* *matatodo.*
DUR=IRR-TV-exist one.CL class TV-be.said kill.everything
There's one type called kill-it-all.

425) *Parejo* *kej* *a-mbiy* *wajchiek.*
straight DEM2.DIST TV-kill wilderness
It kills the wilderness right away.

426) *Con todo zacate mata.*
with all weed kill.3SG
It kills the weed along with it.

427) *Y hay otra clase, matamonte.*
and exist other class kill.weed
And there's another type, Weed-Killer

428) *Solo* *suox,* *a-küly* *wajchiek,* *a-küly* *pastura.*
only grass TV-stay wilderness TV-stay grass
[It] only [kills] weeds, the wilderness remains, the grass remains

429) *Ajgey,* *ganüy* *la=n-a-xom-an* *jwavor* *todavía.*
DEM4.DIST now PF=1IRR-TV-find-PL favour still
That's it, things have begun looking a bit more favourable for us.

430) *Qué bueno pues,* *poco a poco* *tyi=n-a-rang-an* *kiriw*
what good DISC little to little PRG=1IRR-TV-do-PL piece.DIM

najiet, *ganüy* *xik* *s-a-jlük* *avanzado* *pero* *mungich* *tyi=m-a-jaw*
work now PRON1 1-TV-exist advanced but PL.AGT.youth PRG=IRR-TV-see

giñey *mod.*
how mode
It's good, little by little, we do some work, now as for me I'm already an old [man] but youngsters can find a way.

431) *Con el tiempo* *mungich* *m-i-ndy* *a-rang*
with the time PL.AGT.youth IRR-TV-feel.like TV-do

najiet *tyi=m-a-jaw-üw* *giñey* *mod* *tyi=m-ü-jch* *a-jlük*
work PRG=IRR-TV-see-PL how mode PRG=IRR-TV-give TV-exist

maneja *de* *najiet.*

handle of work
Over time youngsters who want to work know how to handle work.

432) *Porque* *ngu=mi* *como quiera.*
because NEG=N.PRS as want.3SG
Because [you] can [not just] do it any way you please

433) *Al=tyiel* *ñipilan* *ngu=m-a-jier* *gusto de* *najiet,*
DUR=LOC people NEG=IRR-TV-keep desire of work

mas *a gust* *de* *pesca.*
more to desire of fishing
There are people who don't feel like working, they feel more like fishing.

434) *Pero* *pesca* *kanénkaman* *la=ngu=m-a-tajk-üw* *ganar*
but fishery right.now PF=NEG=IRR-TV-LV-PL earn

y *pur* *flojo* *pur* *ñ-i-eñch* *pues.*
and pure lazy pure ST-TV-be.lazy DISC
But they are not earning [well] [with] fishery at the moment, and there are many lazy [people], well many lazy ones.

435) *La=ngu=m-i-ndy* *a-rang najiet* *tyiel* *campo.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-feel.like TV-do work LOC countryside
They don't want to work in agriculture anymore.

436) *M-a-mb* *anuok* *nüty* *m-a-jaw,* *jodido,* *claro que..*
IRR-TV-go one.CL day IRR-TV-see damned clear that
If they go and see [the work] one day, it's bad, of course..

437) *Pero* *como* *m-a-jier* *jang* *tyi=m-a-wiel* *ñiw,*
but as IRR-TV-keep who PRG=IRR-TV-maintain PRON3

pues *tranquilo* *ñiw* *tyi=ü-ty ..*
DISC calm PRON3 PRG=TV-eat
But they have someone who takes care of them, so they eat nicely..

438) *S-a-rang* *najiet, s-a-ndok* *küty,* *ngu=m-a-ndok,* *bueno.*
1-TV-do work 1-TV-fish fish NEG=IRR-TV-fish DISC
I work, I fish [they say], if they don't, it's alright

439) *M-a-j-tsamb,* *a-suok,* *listo,* *tyi=a-mong* *nüty.*
IRR-TV-PAS-bite TV-be.said ready PRG=TV-pass day

"It's eaten", one says, that's it, the day has gone by.

440) *Kwej* *chamba* *ap=i-rang* *ñingüy?*
thing work FUT=2-do here
What kind of work will you do here?

441) *Xikon* *ñingüy* *s-a-pety-ien* *cinta* *s-a-saj-an.*
PRON1EXCL here 1-TV-weave-PL band 1-TV-say-PL
We make what we call belts[21].

442) *Tyiel* *al=n-a-jier* *anuok* *terrenito* *kej.*
LOC DUR=1IRR-TV-keep one.CL field.DIM DEM2.DIST
Suppose I have a little field

443) *Bueno* *wüx* *n-a-pyety* *cinta,* *pero* *kwej* *ap=i-ta*
DISC on 1IRR-TV-weave band but thing FUT=2-LV

ganar *wüx?*
earn on
It's good to weave some belts, but what are you going to earn with [it]?

444) *Anuok* *rollo,* *cinco,* *cuatro* *peso-s.*
one.CL roll five four peso-PL
One roll [yields] four [or] five pesos.

445) *Tyi=p=i-rang* *anuok* *rollo,* *nd-om* *m-i-rang* *cuatro,* *cinco* *rollo-s,*
if=FUT=2-do one.CL roll BND-IRR IRR-2-do four five roll-PL

ngu=mi *mas,* *solamente* *máquina,* *tal vez.*
NEG=N.PRS more only machine perhaps
If you make a roll… You can make four or five rolls, not a lot, only [with] a machine, maybe.

446) *Pero* *ñipilan* *muy raro* *m-a-pety* *cuatro,* *cinco* *rollo-s.*
but people very rare IRR-TV-weave four five roll-PL
But people weave four or five rolls very rarely.

447) *Muy raro,* *xik* *atokey* *s-a-pety* *anots,*
very rare PRON1 like.this 1-TV-weave one.long

ijtsüw *la semana,* *n-a-jier* *cuatro* *cint..*
two.long the week 1IRR-TV-keep four band

[21] Palm stringed into a belt.

Very rarely, [if] I like make one or two a week, I will have four..

448) *Cuatro peso-s cada rollo, pues sí*
four peso-PL every roll DISC yes
Four pesos a roll, yeah..

449) *Para m-a-w u-mbety piats kaxtily, a-suok.*
for IRR-TV-go.out POS.I.U-price tortilla Castilla TV-be.said
So that I get out enough to pay for some bread, as people tend to say.

450) *Pan. A-mbyol, de medio kilo azúcar.*
bread TV-helpof of half kilo sugar
Bread. It helps, half a kilo, some sugar..

451) *Pues algo, pues. Pur ngu=m-i-mey, porque*
DISC something DISC pure NEG=IRR-2-sleep because

ngu=m-i-jier ko=m-i-rang, la=tsot-orr.
NEG=IRR-2-keep when-IRR-2-do PF=sit.AUG-2
It's something. As long as one doesn't fall asleep, because one hasn't gotten anything to do, one just sits around.

452) *Pur i-ndy i-mey.*
pure TV-feel.like 2-sleep
One feels like drowsing.

453) *M-a-pey anuok amigo m-i-puoch+anajk*
IRR-TV-arrive one.CL friend IRR-2-speak+with

pues m-a-jlük tranquilo.
DISC IRR-TV-exist calm
If a friend stops by you talk to him/her, it's nice.

454) *Pero tsot-om-iar solito, radio ap=i-ngey,*
but sit.aug-IRR-2 alone.DIM radio FUT=2-hear

tyiel nguoy, ñinkwej.
LOC no nothing
But if you're sitting on your own, you [just] listen to the radio, or if not, [you do] nothing.

455) *P=i-mey.*
FUT=2-sleep
You [just] sleep.

456) *Por eso* *a-ndyiem* *m-i-yamb* *añey* *forma,*
for that TV-want IRR-2-seek how form

masey *kiriw,* *tyi=m-ü-jch* *a-w* *u-mbety*
even.if piece.DIM PRG=IRR-TV-give TV-go.out POS.II.U-cost

anop *kuch* *pan* *kej.*
one.RND small bread DEM2.DIST
That's why it's good to find some way, even if only a little bit, to take out enough money for a little piece of bread.

457) *Al=nd-om* *m-i-ta* *ganar.*
DUR=BND-IRR IRR-2-LV earn
You earn.

458) *Pero* *tyiel* *ngu=m-i-yamb* *ñingüñ* *najiet,* *ngu=nd-om.*
but LOC NEG=IRR-2-seek not.any work NEG=BND-IRR
But if you don't look for something to do, it's impossible.

459) *Xik* *nguoy,* *de* *mungich,* *cuánto-s trabajo-s* *s-a-rang?*
PRON1 no of youngster how.much.m-PL work-PL 1-TV-do
[But] not me, when I was young how many jobs did I [not]have?

460) *S-a-mb* *s-a-wüñ* *ix,* *s-a-mb* *s-a-kujch* *xiel,*
1-TV-go 1-TV-get.out iguana 1-TV-go 1-TV-cut wood

s-a-mb, *bueno.*
1-TV-go DISC
I used to go iguana-hunting, I used to go to cut wood, I used to – well.

461) *M-a-xom* *xik* *jang* *m-a-ngüy* *xik,* *la=s-a-mb,* *tyi=anuok*
IRR-TV-find PRON1 who IRR-TV-pay PRON1 PF=1-TV-go LOC=one.CL

semana, *o quince día-s,* *la=n-a-ta* *ganar algo.*
week or fifteen day-PL PF=1IRR-TV-LV earn something
[Whenever] someone would find me who would pay me, I would go, and a week or two later I had already earned some [money].

462) *Pero* *tsot-om-iar* *ngu=mi* *i-ya-mb* *añey* *mod,* *giñey mod*
but sit.aug-IRR-2 NEG=N.PRS TV-go how mode how mode

p=a-pey *pues,* *ñipilan* *ngu=mi* *ap=a-pey* *m-a-yamb*

FUT=TV-arrive	DISC	people	NEG=N.PRS	FUT=TV-arrive	IRR-TV-seek	
ik,	*p=a-mb-ar*	*ñingien,*	*nguoy,*	*i-yamb*		
PRON1	FUT=TV-go-INCL.DU	there.DIST	no	2-seek		
trabajo,	*a-jlük*	*ñipilan*	*tyiel*	*nguoy*	*ngu=nd-om.*	
work	TV-exist	people	LOC	no	NEG=BND-IRR	

But if you [just] sit here and it's not that you're looking for a way, how is it going to get there? People don't come and look for you, [saying] "let's go to a place", no, you [have to] find work, there are people, if not then it won't happen.

463) *Tyiel*	*olonuok*	*lugar,*	*olonuok*	*kiambaj,*	*olonuok*	
LOC	one.more	place	one.more	community	one.more	
colonia,	*al=m-a-jier*	*conocido,*	*m-a-jlük*	*chamba*		
colony	DUR=IRR-TV-keep	known	IRR-TV-exist	job		
m-a-jlük	*chamba*	*m-a-jlük*	*p=i-ta*	*ganar,*	*mas*	*mejor.*
IRR-TV-exist	job	IRR-TV-exist	FUT=2-LV	earn	more	

If you have an acquaintance in another place, another town, another village, there may be work [there], there may be work, there may be a possibility to earn [money], it's very good.

464) *La=m-i-jaw*	*añey*	*midid*	*nd-om*	*m-i-ta*	*ganar,*	*pues.*
PF=IRR-2-see	how	measure	BND-IRR	IRR-2-LV	earn	DISC

[Then] you see how much you get out of it.

465) *Lyaw*	*gey,*	*i-xily*	*kiriw*	*mi-piat,*	
according.to	DEM3.DIST	2-brush	piece.DIM	POS.II.U-wilderness	
ajgey	*la=m-a-mbyol.*				
DEM4.DIST	PF=IRR-TV-help				

Similarly, you can slash a piece of your field, it helps a lot.

466) *I-xily*	*piat,*	*ap=a-ndajp,*	*y*	*ngu=wity-iem*		*mas*	*suox.*
2-brush	wilderness	FUT=TV-burn		and	NEG=arise-IRR	more	grass

You slash the wild plants, you burn [them] and no more weed will come up.

467) *Xikon*	*puro*	*akiejp*	*machete*	*al=rr-am*	*la=n-a-rang-an*		*najiet*	*tyiel*
PRON1EXCL	pure	with	machete	DUR=dawn-IRR	PF=1IRR-TV-do-PL		work	LOC
hasta	*pañajk.*	*Por amor de*	*n-a-ta*	*lograr*				
until	afternoon	for love of	1IRR-TV-LV	succeed				

s-a-xily, *pues.*
1-TV-brush DISC
We [in San Dionisio] with just a machete, work in [it] early, until sundown. Just so I can slash.

468) *Pero* *ganüy* *nguoy,* *lyi=jlük* *líquido.*
but now no PF.DIM=exist liquid
But nowaydays it's different, there's liquid now.

469) *Siempre* *la=n-a-xom-an* *olonuok* *forma* *mas* *tyikyuy,*
always PF=1IRR-TV-find-PL one.more form more little.bit

jwavor *par* *xikon,* *para* *campesino* *pues.*
favor for PRON1EXCL for farmer DISC
We always find another way, it's favourable for us, that is, for agrarians.

470) *Pero allí está, tyiel* *a-jlük* *avanzado* *de* *trabajo,*
but there is LOC TV-exist advanced of work

jwavor *la=ngu=nd-om* *mas.*
favour PF=NEG=BND-IRR more
But there it is, if [one] is saturated with work it can't be favourable anymore.

471) *Antes,* *tal vez,* *n-a-ta* *aprovechar* *mas* *todavía*
before perhaps 1IRR-TV-LV take.advantage more still
In the past I maybe took even more advantage of it

472) *Pero bueno..* *Por* *algo,* *pues.*
but DISC for something DISC
But well, [I had my reasons]

473) *At* *s-a-pieng* *xik* *par* *m-a-mong-üy* *nüty*
also 1-TV-speak PRON1 for IRR-TV-pass-RF day
I like to say [that I did it] because I had to get through the day

474) *Tranquilo,* *porque* *tyiel* *xik* *ngu=n-a-rang* *najiet*
calm because LOC PRON1 NEG=1IRR-TV-do work

tyi=temporada *ajk* *midid* *s-a-jlük..* *ngej*
LOC=period DEM1 measure 1-TV-exist where

s-a-ta *ganar?*
1-TV-LV earn

Nicely, because if I don't work enough in the season, where am I going to get [my money] [from]?

475) *Giñey* *mod* *sa=n-a-rang* *najiet.*
how mode fut1=1IRR-TV-do work
How am I going to [get] work?

476) *Ñipilan kanénkaman* *la=ngu=m-a-ndyiem* *m-a-rang* *najiet.*
people right.now PF=NEG=IRR-TV-want IRR-TV-do work
People don't want to work right now.

477) *Ganüy* *m-u-rang* *najiet* *de reloj* *todavíy.*
now IRR-TV-do work of watch still
And [what is worse] nowadays people work by the clock.

478) *M-a-jaw* *mi-reloj* *a-lyamb* *or.*
IRR-TV-see POS.II.U-watch TV-hit hour
They look at their watch [and wait for] the clock to hit.

479) *Y* *la=a-w,* *vay,* *ngu=mi* *patrón* *ap=a-pieng*
and PF=TV-go.out DISC NEG=N.PRS boss FUT=TV-speak

p=a-w-ar *o* *nguoy.* *m-a-jaw* *mi-reloj,* *marcar*
FUT=TV-go.out-INCL.DU or no IRR-TV-see POS.II.U-watch mark

hora "patrón, luox".
hour *boss* *throw*[22]
And then they go! It's not that the boss says 'let's (the two of us) go' or not. People look at their watch [for it] to mark the hour and [say] "boss, jot [your signature]."

480) *Luox* *ñingien* *mi-garrabato* *y* *rrun..*
throw there.DIST POS.II.U-scribble and ONO

La=ngu=m-a-ta *mandar* *patrón.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-LV steer boss
He jots his signature there and there you go, the boss is no longer in charge.

481) *Pur* *i-ta* *rogar,* *por amor de* *m-a-rang* *mi-najiet*.
pure 2-LV beg for love of IRR-TV-do POS.II.U-work
You just [have to] beg so that people do their work.

[22] This form would usually be considered ungrammatical (as a bare root). This, however, is fast speech, and the form is probably a shortened form of imperative *i-luox* [2-throw].

482) *Y* *tyiel* *ik* *m-i-saj* *ap=i-ta* *abandonar* *mi-najiet,*
and LOC PRON2 IRR-2-say FUT=2-LV abandon POS.II.U-work

nguoy *pues.*
no DISC
And if you say [to them] ”you are going to leave work” (i.e. be fired), [you can] not [do that] either.

483) *Por eso* *ajk* *midid* *tiempo* *par* *ganüy*
therefore DEM1 measure time for now

la=ngu=nd-om *m-i-rang* *najiet* *xuwayey.*
PF=NEG=BND-IRR IRR-2-do work much
That’s why, a lot of time [is wasted] and you can’t get a lot of work done anymore.

484) *Porque* *mano* *xow* *p=i-ndor-uojch* *tomien* *pues.*
because hand very FUT=2-BND.PAS-CAU money DISC
Because, well, [by hiring] [a day labourer] you will spend a lot of money.

485) *Ap=i-ngüy* *mano* *par* *m-u-ji:ri:mb,* *ap=u-kujch*
FUT=2-pay hand for IRR-TV-sweep:PAS FUT=TV-cut

jonjolyin, *ap=u-kujch,* *bueno.*
sesame FUT=TV-cut DISC
You pay a day labourer for the sweeping to be done, the sesame to be cut, well.

486) *A-ndyiem* *xuwayey* *tomien.*
TV-want much money
‘[You] need a lot of money.’

487) *Casi que* *ngu=m-i-ta* *ganar* *ñinkwej* *pues.*
almost that NEG=IRR-2-LV win nothing DISC
You almost [end up] not earning anything!

488) *Pur* *p=i-ndor-uojch* *p=i-ndoruojch* *mi-tomien* *y*
pure FUT=2-BND.PAS-CAU FUT=2-BND.PAS-CAU POS.II.U-money and

tyiel *m-a-w* *semilla* *nd-om* *m-i-naj-* *-nüjp*
LOC IRR-TV-go.out seed BND-IRR IRR-2-DERR- sell

casi que *ajk* *midid* *m-i-ndoruojch* *kej.*
almost that DEM1 measure IRR-2-BND.PAS-CAU DEM2.DIST

You only spend, you spend money and if seeds [of sesame] come out [then] you can buy- sell them, approximately [for] as much as you spend.

489) *Ajgey* *ap=i-wüñ.*
DEM4.DIST FUT=2-get
That's what you're going to get.

490) *Nguoy* *xik* *s-a-rang* *najiet* *per* *mas mejor*
no PRON1 1-TV-do work but more better

ajk *pyat* *iet,* *es monte.*
DEM1 wilderness earth be.3SG wilderness
No.. I better work [with] the wild ground, that is, the wild plants.

491) *I-xily* *piat,* *i-xily* *piat,* *ajgey*
2-brush wilderness 2-brush wilderness DEM4.DIST

ganüy, *a-mbyol* *xik* *más* *nd-oj* *a-pierr*
ahora TV-help PRON1 more BND-ITR 1-TV-sow

naxiel, *a-pierr jonjolyin,* *s-a-w* *mas favorable.*
work TV-sow sesame 1-TV-go.out more favourable
You slash the wilderness, you slash it, now thát helps me more, afterwards I sow corn, I sow sesame, I end up [in a] more favourable [position].

492) *Ngu=m-a-jierr* *mas* *suox* *par* *n-a-pierr* *jonjolyin.*
NEG=IRR-TV-keep more grass for 1IRR-TV-sow sesame
I don't have more grass, so that I can sow sesame.

493) *Asunto* *de* *buoy* *xow* *mi-cabrón.*
matter of bull very POS.II.U-jerk
The thing with the bull is very difficult.

494) *A-jierr* *suox,* *xow* *mi-cabrón* *iet,* *ajk* *iet*
TV-keep grass very POS.II.U-jerk earth DEM1 earth

avanzado de arado *kej,* *mas mejor* *tyiel* *tyiet.*
advanced of ploughing DEM2.DIST more better LOC down
There are weeds, the earth is very difficult, the earth which has not been ploughed for a long time, it's better down there.

495) *Por ejemplo* *xik* *al=n-a-jierr* *korrüly ñingien,*
for example PRON1 DUR=1IRR-TV-keep corral there.DIST

ñingien	m-u-xily-aran,	ganüy	ijpüw	amigo
there.DIST	IRR-TV-brush-IMP	now	two.RND	friend

andüy	*ñingüy*	*a-ndyiem*	*m-a-xily.*
towards	here	TV-want	IRR-TV-brush

For example, I have a barnyard there, where they slash, now two friends over there want to slash.

496) *Par m-a-pierr mi-jonjolyin, s-a-saj: N-a-jñej.*
for IRR-TV-sow POS.II.U-sesame 1-TV-say ST-TV-be.good
For sowing sesame, I find it good.

497) *Tyiel u-mbiem Domingo sa=n-a-kiejp nativo*
LOC POS.I.U-house Domingo 1fut=1IRR-TV-accompany native

kej	*ngüñ*	*parte*	*par*	*m-a-xily-iw.*
DEM2.DIST	which	part	for	IRR-TV-brush-PL

In Domingo's house I will accompany [some] indigenous[23] people to some place for slashing.

498) *M-a-w poste, s-a-ta remendar xa-alambre, m-a-w*
IRR-TV-go.out pole 1-TV-LV mend 1-thread IRR-TV-go.out

poste, cinta, bueno.
pole band DISC
If poles appear, I repair my wiring, well, if poles and band appear.

499) *Miáwan gey ñ-u-tam, ndyiem*[24] *m-a-wüñ*
all DEM1.DIST ST-TV-be.useful want IRR-TV-get

mi-ndyix	*m-a-wüñ*	*ndyix,*	*ap=a-nüjp*	*ndyix.*
POS.II.U-rubbish	IRR-TV-get	tiras	FUT=TV-sell	rubbish

It can all be used, even if one gets rubbish, one can sell the rubbish one gets. (i.e. leaves, weeds)

500) *Y ap=a-wüñ mi-cosecha.*
and FUT=TV-get POS.II.U-harvest
And one gets one's harvest.

[23] Interestingly, this expression is used to refer to a few Zoque-speaking men who work with some of the agricultors of San Dionisio.
[24] This speakers uses *ndyiem* (again, a bare root of a prefixing verb) to express Spanish *siquiera* 'even [only]'.

501) *Anteriormente* *xikon* *wüx* *n-a-xily-ien,* *s-a-rang-an* *korrüly.*
previously PRON1EXCL on 1IRR-TV-brush-PL 1-TV-do-PL corral
Previously when we used to do slashing, we would make a barnyard.

502) *Sea* *de cinta,* *o sea* *de ramo,* *miáwan*
be.conj.3SG of band or be.conj.3SG of branch all

kej sa=n-a-rang-an per buen, ngu=m-a-jmyuely
DEM2.DIST 1fut=1IRR-TV-do-PL but good NEG=IRR-TV-enter

waküx *ñipilan* *ü-ty* *mi-cosecha.*
cow people TV-eat POS.II.U-harvest
Either with belts, or with branches we [can] do all that, but at least [then], people's cows don't get in [and] eat one's harvest.

503) *Ganüy* *la=nguoy,* *al=n-a-jier* *korrüly,* *ty=u-myajts* *ap=a-xily.*
now PF=no DUR=1IRR-TV-keep corral LOC=POS.I.U-inside FUT=TV-brush
[That doesn't happen] anymore now, if I have a barnyard, inside it the slashing is done.

504) *Cualquier* *hora* *m-a-pey* *mi-waküx* *ñipilan* *pero*
any hour IRR-TV-arrive POS.II.U-cow people but

ngu=mi *ap=a-jmyuely* *m-ü-ty* *mi-a-xily*[25].
NEG=N.PRS FUT=TV-enter IRR-TV-eat POS.II.U-TV-brush
People's cows may come at any time, but they don't come in [and] eat one's harvest.

505) *A-jlük* *seguro.* *S-a-saj* *al=n-a-jier* *terreno*
TV-exist secure 1-TV-say DUR=1IRR-TV-keep field

par *m-i-xily-ien* *tyi=m-i-ndyiem-an.*
for IRR-2-brush-PL LOC=IRR-2-want-PL
There's security. As I said, I have a field where you (PL.) can do some slashing if you want.

506) *Al=n-a-jier* *familia* *lyi=pey* *m-u-pieng* *ap=a-xily,*
DUR=1IRR-TV-keep family PF.DIM=arrive IRR-TV-speak FUT=TV-brush IRR-TV-sow

m-a-pierr mi-jonjolyin, a-jaw-üw al=m-a-jlük compañer a-wüñ
POS.II.U-sesame TV-see-PL DUR=IRR-TV-exist companion TV-get

mi-jonjolyin.

[25] This form, which returns several times in the speech of this speaker, indicates that *axily* may be treated as a possession class III noun (see 4.6.1.1.1, p. 121-2), in which case this could be analysable as double possession marking. See also 4.6.1.1.3 (p. 125).

POS.II.U-sesame
I have family who came and said they would slash [and then] sow their sesame, they saw that there is a companion who got his sesame.

507) *Ajgey* *añiw* [26] *mi-vida,* *a-ta* *ganar,* *ñ-i-ndy*
DEM4.DIST traditional POS.II.U-life TV-LV earn ST-TV-feel.like

a-xily *y** *cosecha* *de* *küty,* *la=ngu=m-a-jlük* *küty.*
TV-brush and harvest of fish DUR=NEG=IRR-TV-exist fish
That's the traditional life, one earns, one wants to slash, and harvest fish, there aren't any fishes anymore.

508) *Atokey* *mod.*
like.that.DIST mode
That's the way it's like.

509) *M-a-mb* *a-ndok,* *ñinkwej.*
IRR-TV-go TV-fish nothing
If you go fish, nothing.

510) *Mejor* *n-a-rang* *najiet.*
better 1IRR-TV-do work
It's better to work [in agriculture].

511) *Pues* *ik* *i-jaw,* *a-jlük* *lugar.*
DISC PRON2 2-see TV-exist place
Well you have seen it, there are places

512) *Nd-om m-er-xily.*
BND-IRR IRR-2-brush
You can slash.

513) *M-i-wüñ* *poste,* *s-a-ta* *remendar* *xa-alambre.*
IRR-2-get pole 1-TV-LV mend 1POS-thread
You get poles, I repair my wire.

514) *Ñingüy* *anuok man* *par* *m-a-pierr* *poste* *kej.*
here one.vclhand for IRR-TV-sow pole DEM2.DIST
There is [possibly] a day labourer for planting the poles

[26] This noun is difficult to translate and tends to be, upon request, rendered in Spanish as 'tradicional'. *Son añiw* (or *son añú*) means 'traditional music'. This form bears an obvious phonological resemblance to the third person pronoun *ñiw*.

515) *Per* *axta* *wüx* *ap=a-juoty.*
but until on FUT=TV-rain
But [not] until it will rain (i.e. the rain reason)

516) *Kanénkaman* *la=wajk* *iet,* *lyi=wajk.*
right.now PF=dry.out earth PF.DIM-dry.out
The earth das dried out now, it has dried out.

517) *N-a-pak* *iet* *par* *m-er-u-jty* *pues.*
ST-TV-be.strong earth for IRR-2-TV-dig DISC
Meaning the earth is hard to dig in

518) *Akiejp* *barreta* *pero* *m-a-ta* *costar* *trabajo,*
with spade but IRR-TV-LV cost work

ganüy *par* *escarba* *hoya* *al=nd-om* *pero* *en cambio*
now for dig hole DUR=BND-IRR but in exchange

ganüy *medio* *abril* *kam,* *hijo..*
now half april DEM2.PROX MIR
With a spade, but it takes effort, now it's possible to dig a hole but by contrast soon in mid April, oh no.

519) *N-a-wajk* *iet* *hasta para* *m-i-rang* *iet* *akiejp*
ST-TV-dry.out earth until for IRR-2-do earth [with

hoyo- *akiejp* *barret,* *a-ta* *joder.*
hole-]$_{DERR}$ with spade TV-LV disturb
The earth is dry [then] even for doing the earth with a hole- with a space, it's irritating.

520) *Tiempo* *de* *a-juoty* *kej* *ganüy* *a-ta*
time of TV-rain DEM2.DIST now TV-LV

remendar *alambre.*
mend thread
Now when it's rainy season one repairs the wiring.

521) *Xik* *pur* *tiempo* *de* *a-juoty* *s-a-ta* *reparar*
PRON1 pure time of TV-rain 1-TV-LV repair

xa-korrüly, *kej* *jwavor.*
1POS-corral DEM2.DIST favour
I do a lot of repairing of my barnyard, it's favourable.

522) – *Ganüy* *ap=m-ü-mb* *xa-grabadora.*
now FUT=IRR-TV-run.out 1POS-recording.device
– Now my recording device[‘s battery] is ending.

523) *Pero* *nd-om* *m-i-pieng* *mi-nüty?*
but BND-IRR IRR-2-speak POS.II.U-name
But can you say your name?

524) – *Kwej?*
thing
– What [do you mean]?

525) – *Minüty* *ik.*
POS.II.U-name PRON2
– Your name.

526) – *Xa-nüty?* – *Ajá.*
1POS-name yeah
– My name? – Yes.

527) – *Xik* *xa-nüty* *Justo Juárez.* – *Ah.*
PRON1 1POS-name Justo Juárez ah
– My name is Justo Juárez. – Oh.

Dios *m-a-ngüy* *ik.*
God IRR-TV-pay PRON2
Thank you.

528) – *Justo Juárez Ramírez* *xa-nüty* *xik.*
Justo Juárez Ramírez 1POS-name PRON1
– Justo Juárez Ramírez is my name.

Appendix B. Text 2

Pedro Pérez's story
Pedro Pérez, M, 67 (abbreviations: P = Pedro Pérez, O = Obdulio Muriel Díaz, M = Mikko Salminen)

1) O: *Ap=a-ngey-iw* *muoly* *a-ndüy* *ñingien.*
FUT=TV-hear-PL foreigner TV-be.directed there.DIST
Those foreigners there will hear it.

2) *i-potsuech* *pues..* *giñey-..* *giñey* *i-rang* *wüx* *korrüly.*
2-begin DISC how how 2-do on corral
So begin.. How.. How do you do [work] on the corral,

3) *i-yamb os,* *giñey..* *Ngej* *i-ngal..*
2-seek corn how where 2-buy
look for corn, how.. Where do you buy..

4) P: *Xikon* *ñingüy* *s-a-jier-an* *costumbre.*
PRON1EXCL here 1-TV-keep-PL tradition
We (excl) have a tradition here

5) *Par* *a-mb* *i-pier* *naxiel* *pues.*
for TV-go 2-sow field DISC
for sowing the field.

6) *Ñing* *a-jlük* *piat,* *n-a-dam* *xiül* *pues,* *i-xily*.
LOC.REL TV-exist jungle ST-TV-be.big tree DISC 2-brush
where there is wilderness, big trees, you slash.

7) *I-xily* *quiere* *decir,* *va-s* *a* *rozar,* *¿no?* *Así.*
2-brush want.3SG say go-2 to slash no like.that
"ixily" means [that] you're going to slash, right? Like that.

8) O: *Atokey* *i-pieng,* *i-pieng,* *ik* *i-pieng.*
like.that.MED 2-speak 2-speak PRON2 2-speak
Talk like that, talk, you [just keep] talking.

9) P: *Ah,* *bueno.* *I-xily,* *i-xily* *miáwan,* *la=m-i-xily*
oh DISC 2-brush 2-brush all PF=IRR-2-brush
Oh, alright. One slashes, one slashes everything, [until] one has slashed

anuok *hectárea*, *o* ijkew *héctarea*.
one.CL hectare or two.CL hectare
one hectare, or two hectares.

10) *La=m-a-tüch* *kajw* *abril,* *o* *m-a-tüch* *cerca* *mayo,* *ap=i-mbyuely*,
PF=IRR-TV-reach month April or IRR-TV-reach close.to May FUT=2-burn
[Then] it's already April, or it's already close to May, [then] one burns

	par	*sa=n-a-pier*	*pues.*					
	for	FUT1=1IRR-TV-sow	DISC					
	so that I can sow.							
11)	*Xikon*	*ñingüy*	*s-a-pieng-an*	*u-mbey-ajts*	*estak,*	*s-a-pier-an*	*os.*	
	PRON1EXCL	here	1-TV-speak-PL	POS.I.U-mouth-1INCL	stake	1-TV-sow-PL	corn	
	We say here, in Umbeyajts, *estak*, we sow corn.							
12)	*Entons*	*tyiel*	*u-wily*	*naxiel*	*kej*	*s-a-pier-an*	*jonjolyin,*	*tyiel*
	then	LOC	POS.I.U-backside	DEM2.MED	1-TV-sow-PL	sesame	LOC	
	Then, we sow sesame in the margins of the field, in							
	u-wily	*naxiel.*						
	POS.I.U-backside	field						
	the margins of the field.							
13)	*S-a-pier-an*	*jonjolyin,*	*y*	*s-a-pier-an*	*pasto*	*para*	*m-ü-ty*	*wakük.*
	1-TV-sow-PL	sesame	and	1-TV-sow-PL	grass	for	IRR-TV-eat	cow
	We sow sesame, and we sow grass for the cows to eat.							
14)	*N-a-jier-an*	*ijpüw*	*vaca.*	*Pues..*				
	1IRR-TV-keep-PL	two.RND	cow	DISC				
	We have two cows. So..							
15)	*Entons*	*la=m-a-tüch*	*tiempo*	*la=m-i-pier*	*a-lyiek*	*naxiel*	*midid*	*kej,*
	then	PF=IRR-TV-reach	time	PF=IRR-2-sow	TV-come	field	measure	DEM2.MED
	then [when] the time has come, one sows, when the cornfield is coming [up] sufficiently							
	la=pots	*m-i-jimb*	*m-i-rang*	*mi-liempieza.*				
	PF=INC	IRR-2-sweep	IRR-2-do	POS.II.U-cleanliness				
	one can start sweeping in order to clean it.							
16)	*Pero*	*ganüy*	*como*	*a-jlük*	*líquido.*			
	but	now	as	TV-exist	liquid			
	But now there is liquid							
17)	*S-a-pier-an,*	*s-a-tajk-an*	*rociar*	*m-a-kiejp*	*bomba.*			
	1-TV-sow-PL	1-TV-LV-PL	spray	IRR-TV-accompany	pump			
	We sow, we spray with a pump							
18)	*Pa*	*m-a-ndyow*	*este,*	*pasto.*				
	for	IRR-TV-die	erm	grass				
	So that the, erm, weeds die.							
19)	*M-a-ndyow*	*suox,*	*pues.*					
	IRR-TV-die	grass	DISC					
	The grass dies.							
20)	*Para*	*wity-iem*	*naxiel.*					
	for	ascend-IRR	field					

So that the corn [can] come up.

21) *Par wity-iem naxiel, par m-a-yak mbey.*
for ascend-IRR field for IRR-TV-put mazorca
So that the corn [can] come up, so that it can produce mazorca.

22) *Tyi=gwey ngu=mi p=a-yak mbey.*
LOC=no NEG=N.PRS FUT=TV-put mazorca
If not, it won't produce mazorca.

23) *Tyi=gwey ngu=mi p=a-yak.*
LOC=no NEG=N.PRS FUT=TV-put
If not, it won't produce [it].

24) M: - *Mbey - mazorca.* - P: *Sí, exactamente*.
mazorca mazorca yes exactly
Mbey [is] mazorca. Yes, exactly.

25) *Pues m-ü-mb gey la=m-i-jimb u-mbas naxiel kej*
DISC IRR-TV-end DEM3.MED PF=IRR-2-sweep POS.I.U-surface field DEM2.MED
So when that finishes one sweeps the surface of the field

o naxiel la=a-mb, la=a-mb.
or field PF=TV-go PF=TV-go
or the field goes [out of control].

26) *La=a-mb, ii - de gust.*
PF=TV-go MIR of pleasure
It goes out of control, oh dear, plenty.

27) *Pero a vec-es Dios padre a-tsap-ijch yew tyiel,*
but to time-PL God father TV-let.loose-CAU water LOC
But sometimes God the father will let water loose into it,

de gust ap=a-yak a-jong. Ap=a-yak a-jong.
of pleasure FUT=TV-put POS.III.U-fruit FUT=TV-put POS.III.U-fruit
it will produce plenty of fruits. It will produce fruits.

28) *Pero de repente, mal tiempo - ngu=m-a-juoty.*
but of sudden bad time NEG=IRR-TV-rain
But [if] suddenly [it's] bad weather, it won't rain.

29) *A vec-es xikon sacar perder.*
to time-PL PRON1EXCL extract loose
Sometimes [all] we get out [is] loss.

30) *Ngu=m-a-jlük yew. A, ngu=m-a-jlük yew.*
NEG=IRR-TV-exist water ah NEG=IRR-TV-exist water
There's no water. Oh, there's no water.

31) *A vec-es* *ap=m-a-jlük* *ñat.*
to time-PL FUT=IRR-TV-exist year
Sometimes it can last a year.

32) *Pero* *cin* - *como* *cinco* *ñat,* *o* *cuatro* *o* *más.* *Buen* *tiempo.*
but five- like five year or four or more good time
But [these] five.. Like five years, or four, or more. [It's] good weather.

33) *Buen* *n-a-ngaj* *tiempo,* *pues.*
good ST-TV-be.sacred time DISC
Good blessed weather.

34) *De* *gust* *m-a-juoty,* *de* *gust* *a-jlük* *yew,* *de* *gust..*
of pleasure IRR-TV-rain of pleasure TV-exist water of pleasure
It rains plentifully, there's lots of water, plenty.

35) *A-jlük* *pasto,* *a-jlük* *par* *m-u-xyujp* *tyi=korrüly* *pues.*
TV-exist grass TV-exist for IRR-TV-bathe LOC=corral DISC
There's grass there is [enough] to soak the corral.

36) *Lam,* *de* *gust* *a-jier* *yew.* *Ajá.*
river of pleasure TV-keep water yeah
[Like] a river, it has plenty of water. Yeah.

37) *Pues* *a-jlük* *vida,* *para* *waküx,* *como* *naxiel.*
DISC TV-exist life for cow as field
So there's life, for the cows, like corn.

38) *Y* *buen* *cosecha.*
and good harvest
And good harvest.

39) *Bueno* *pues,* *de* *repente* *al=tyiel* *compañero* *a-jier* *mi-manera* *ap-..*
DISC DISC of sudden DUR=LOC companion TV-keep pos.ii-u-manner FUT-
Well, on occasions there are companions that [find] a way to..

40) *S-a-pieran* *a-kiejp* *máquina.*
1-TV-sow TV-accompany machine
We sow with machines.

41) *La=a-mb* *naxiel* *towan.*
PF=TV-go field also
The corn goes [growing] [like that] too.

42) *S-a-pier-an* *naxiel,* *s-a-pier-an* *jonjolyin,* *sorgo,* *este..* *bueno.*
1-TV-sow-PL field 1-TV-sow-PL sesame sorghum DISC DISC
We sow corn, we sow sesame, sorghum, erm, well.

43) *Pero* *ñat* *kam* *a-mong* *kej* *xow* *t-a-juoty,* *ajk*
but year DEM2.PROX TV-pass DEM2.MED very PST-TV-rain DEM1

ñat *kam.*
year DEM2.PROX
But this past year it rained a lot, this year.

44) *Xuwayey* *compañero* *ngu=m-a-pier* *este* *a-kiejp* *máquina*.
much companion NEG=IRR-TV-sow erm TV-accompany machine
Many companions didn't sow

45) *Xow* *yew,* *pues.*
very water DISC
[Too] much water.

46) *Ngu=nd-om* *m-a-jmyuely* *máquina.* *Ngu=nd-om.*
NEG=BND-IRR IRR-TV-enter machine NEG=BND-IRR
The machine can't get in [then]. It can't.

47) *Por eso* *xow* *anuok.nuok* *pues,* *jang* *a-jier,* *ngu=mi* *miáwan.*
for that very one.CL.red DISC who TV-keep NEG=N.PRS all
That's why it's in particular cases, [those] who have, not everyone.

48) *Ngu=mi* *miáwan.*
NEG=N.PRS all
Not everyone.

49) *Pues* *este,* *nganüy* *tyi=m-ü-jch* *s-a-kujch* *jonjolyin...*
DISC erm now LOC=IRR-TV-give 1-TV-cut sesame
Well, now I'm sowing sesame..

50) *Tyi=m-ü-jch* *s-a-kujch* *jonjolyin* *tsi=nd-oj* *n-a-xeng* *xa-mbey.*
PRG=IRR-TV-give 1-TV-cut sesame PF=BND-ITR 1irr-TV-pick.up 1pos-mazorca
I'm cutting sesame, I already picked up my mazorca.

51) *Al=ñingey* *tsi=nd-oj* *m-ü-mb* *n-a-xeng* *miáwan.*
DUR=there.MED PF=BND-ITR IRR-TV-run.out 1irr-TV-pick.up all
It's there, I have finished picking it all up already.

52) *Nganüy* *jonjolyin* *tyi=n-a-kujch.* *Ajá.*
ahora sesame PRG=1irr-TV- cut yeah
Now I'm cutting sesame. Yeah.

53) *Pues..* *M-ü-mb* *jonjolyin* *kej.*
DISC IRR-TV-run.out sesame DEM2.MED
Well, I already ran out of sesame.

54) *La=nd-oj* *cosecha.*
PF=BND-ITR harvest

The harvest is already over.

55) *La=nd-oj, la=m-i-xeng, la=m-i-nüjp, a-pey ñ-u-ngal ñiw.*
PF=BND-ITR PF=IRR-2-pick.up PF=IRR-2-sell TV-arrive ST-TV-sell PRON3
It's over, one picks it up [and] one sells it, people come to buy it.

56) *A-pey n-a-w afuera. A-pey..*
TV-arrive ST-TV-go.out outside TV-arrive
[People] from outside come. They come..

57) *Pero lo malo.. Ngu=m-a-ngüy-iw más, ñ-u-mbety kilo.*
but 3acc.n bad.m NEG=IRR-TV-pay-PL more ST-TV-cost kilo
But the bad thing is, they don't pay more, a kilo is [expensive.

58) *Lyi=a-w... 14, 15 peso kilo jonjolyin.*
PF.DIM=TV-go.out 14 15 peso kilo sesame
It's already… 14, 15 pesos [per] kilo of sesame.

59) *Anuok kilo. Y de repente, pues..*
one.CL kilo and of sudden DISC
One kilo. And all of a sudden..

60) *A-jmiek más. Más.. Menos pres.. Pues..*
TV-descend more more less price DISC
It [can] go up more. More.. Less price.

61) *Nd-oj gey.. La=m-a-tyiemp este por ejemplo nganüy,*
BND-ITR DEM3.MED PF=IRR-TV-time erm per example now
After that.. It's already time, erm, for example now

este, noviembre, diciembre.
erm November December
erm.. In November [or] December.

62) *Ap=a-xojt algo pobr hom-.., al=tyiel la=m-a-pots-uoch wüxan a-xily.*
FUT=TV-rest something poor man DUR=LOC PF=IRR-TV-begin-CAU again TV-brush
A poor man can rest a bit, then one begins slashing again.

63) *Ajá. Órale, de nuevo.*
yeah come.on of new
Yeah. Come on, again.

64) *Ñing a-mb, ñing ngu=m-a-mb, atokey la=a-mb ap=a-.. m-a-tüch abril.*
LOC.rel TV-go LOC.rel NEG=IRR-TV-go like.that.MED PF=TV-go FUT=TV IRR-TV-reach April
Sometimes it goes [growing], sometimes it doesn't, [when] it goes like that it.. [When] it's April

65) *La=m-a-ta avanzar algo. Wüxan. Ajá, abril.*
PF=IRR-TV-lv advance something again yeah April
One has advanced a bit. Again. Yeah, April.

66) *Ap=a-mbyuely* *wüxan.*
FUT=TV-burn again
One burns again.

67) *At* *mod* *tyi=n-a-saj* *ikon,* *at* *mod* *tyi=n-a-pieng,* *ajk*
mode PRG=1irr-TV-say PRON2pl also mode PRG=1irr-TV-speak DEM1

la=m-a-tyemp *mayu,* *wüxan,* *la=juoty* *pues.*
PF=IRR-TV-time May also PF=rain DISC
That's the way I'm telling you, that's what I'm saying, when May comes, [one does it] again, it starts raining.

68) *A-juoty* *wüxan,* *de* *nuevo* *sa=n-a-pier-an,* *wüxan.*
TV-rain again of new fut1-1irr-TV-sow-PL again
It rains again, we sow again, again.

69) *Atokey* *xikon* *cada* *ñat* *pues.*
like.that.MED PRON1EXCL each year DISC
That['s the] way we do it every year.

70) *Ajá,* *atokey* *cada* *ñat.*
yeah like.that.MED each year
Yeah, that way every year.

71) *Ajgey* *cosecha* *s-a-jier-an* *ñingüy,* *ajgey* *vida* *pues.*
DEM4.MED harvest 1-TV-keep-PL here DEM4.MED life DISC
That's the harvest we have hear, that's the life.

72) *Y* *al=tyiel* *pues* *este..*
and DUR=LOC DISC erm
And if, erm..

73) *Ngu=m-a-jier,* *este,* *costumbre* *m-i-ñdy* *a-pier* *naxiel,* *pur* *pesca.*
NEG=IRR-TV-keep erm tradition IRR-TV-feel.like TV-sow field pure fishery
One doesn't have the tradition [that] one wants to sow the field, [then] just fishery.

74) *Tyiel* *ndyuk.*
LOC sea
In the sea.

75) *Ajá,* *ajgey* *mi-vida* *vaya.* *A-mb* *a-ndok..*
yeah DEM4.MED POS.II.U-life DISC TV-go TV-fish
Yeah, that's one's life [in that case]. One goes fishing.

76) *De* *repente* *a-xom* *ü-jch* *ñiw* *dios* *la=m-a-ta* *ganar* *kiriw.*
of sudden TV-find TV-give PRON3 God PF=IRR-TV-lv earn piece.DIM
Sometimes one [just] finds what God gives, one earns a bit.

77) *Tsi=a-w* *par* *mi-gasto* *pues.*
PF=TV-go.out for POS.II.U-expense DISC
Well, it covers one's expenses.

78) *Y* *de* *repente* *pues*, ngu=m-a-xom.
and of sudden DISC NEG=IRR-TV-find
And on occasions one doesn't find it.

79) *Y* *como* a-w *para* a-tsa:ra:mb *pues*. *Pues* *algo*.
and how TV-go.out for TV-eat :pas DISC DISC something
And one gets food from it. It's something.

80) *Entere* *gey,* *este* *a-jlük* *manera* *de* *que* *at* *mod* *s-a-küly-ien*
entire DEM3.MED erm TV-exist manner of that also mode 1-TV-wait-PL

ñingüy *xikon.*
here PRON1EXCL
All that, erm, is the way we live here.

81) *Y* *tyiel* *pobre* *tsi=a-mb* *norte*. *Estado-s* *Unido-s* *pues.*
and LOC poor PF=TV-go north state-PL united.m-PL DISC
And there are poor [ones] that have gone north. [To] the United States.

82) *Por ejemplo* *xik* *al=kej* *xa-kwal.*
per example PRON1 DUR=DEM2.MED 1pos-child
For example, I have a child.

83) *A-jier* *ijpuw,* *arojpuw* *al=kej,* *Estado-s* *Unido-s.*
TV-keep two.RND three.RND DUR=DEM2.MED state-PL united.m-PL
[who] has two [or] three [children] who are there, in the United States.

84) *A vec-es* *anuok..* *Lyaw* *prepa*, *escuela*, *lyaw* *prepa,*
to time-PL one.CL according college school according college

la=ngu=m-a-jlük *manera.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-exist manner
Sometimes one.. Concerning college, the school, concerning college there's no way. (i.e. to continue education)

85) *La=ngu=m-a-jlük* *tomien* *pues.*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-exist money DISC
There's simply no money.

86) *Par* *m-a-ta* *estudiar*, *pues.*
for IRR-TV-lv study DISC
For studying.

87) *Ñiw* *pobre* *a-ndyiem.*
PRON3 poor TV-want

The poor one wants to.

88) *A-ndyiem* *m-a-ta* *estudiar,* *pues,* *pero* *a-ndyiem* *tomien.*
TV-want IRR-TV-lv study DISC but TV-want money
One wants to study, but money is needed.

89) *Anop* *pobre,* *ngu=n-a-jier-an* *sueldo,* *pues.*
one.RND poor NEG=1irr-TV-keep-PL salary DISC
[Being] a poor one we don't have salary.

90) *Ngej* *n-a-tajk-an* *ganar,* *ngej,* *pues.*
where 1irr-TV-lv-PL earn where DISC
Where are we going to earn, where.

91) *Tyiel* *pobre* *la=m-a-ta* *idear..*
LOC poor PF=IRR-TV-lv reflect
If a poor [person] reflects [on it]

92) *Bueno,* *la=a-mb.*
DISC PF=TV-go
Well, one [is inclined] to go.

93) *Ñingien* *a-jlük* *najiet,* *ñingien.*
there.DIST TV-exist work there.DIST
There there's work, over there.

94) *Pero..* *por* *base* *de* *coyote,* *pues.*
but per base of coyote DISC
But.. By means of a *coyote*.

95) *Ajgey* *ap=a-kiejp* *ñiwew.*
DEM4.MED FUT=TV-accompany PRON3PL
That one accompanies them. (i.e. over the border)

96) *Coyote* *kej* *ap=a-monguoch* *ñiwew,* *pobre* *la=mb-üw.*
coyote DEM2.MED FUT=TV-answer PRON3PL poor PF=go-PL
The coyote waits for them there [and] [there] they go, the poor ones

97) *M-a-jlük* *kiriw* *tomien* *ap=a-ta* *ganar* *coyote,*
IRR-TV-exist piece.DIM money FUT=TV-lv earn coyote
The coyote also earns a little bit of money.

98) *Ap=a-ta* *ganar* *algo.*
FUT=TV-lv earn something
He'll earn something.

99) *Ajgey* *ap=a-jaw* *tyiejt* *pues,* *ajgey* *a-jaw* *tyiejt.*
DEM4.MED FUT=TV-see road DISC DEM4.MED TV-see road
He knows the way, he knows the way.

100) *La=a-mb* *m-a-kiejp* *ñiwew.*
PF=TV-go IRR-TV-accompany PRON3PL
He accompanies them.

101) *La=a-mb-üw.*
PF=TV-go-PL
They are gone.

102) *Pero* *gracias* *a* *Dios* *a-tüch-iw* *kej,* *a-tüch-iw.*
but thanks to God TV-reach-PL DEM2.MED TV-reach-PL
But thank God they made it there, they made it.

103) *Trabajo* *n-a-lyeng,* *trabajo,* *pues.*
work ST-TV-be.straight work DISC
It's a [hard] job, a [hard] job.

104) *Ap=monguoch-iw..* *Vida,* *mal* *vida,* *mal* *castigo* *pues.*
FUT=answer-PL life bad.m life bad.m punishment DISC
They confront [a hard] life, a bad life, a bad punishment.

105) *Puro* *a-jüy* *tyiet,* *puro* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *carro* *pues.*
pure TV-wander ground pure NEG=IRR-TV-exist car DISC
They walk a lot, there is no transport.

106) *Pues* *ñingüy,* *este,* *primer* *este,* *costumbre* *s-a-jier-an* *ñingüy,*
DISC here erm first erm tradition 1-TV-keep-PL here
But here, the main tradition that we have here,

este *nangoxnüty* *este,* *patrón,* *San Dionisio.*
erm celebration erm patron Saint Dionysius
erm, [is] the celebration, erm, [of the] patron [saint] of San Dionisio.

107) *Cada* *ñat.* *Octubre,* *nueve* *de* *octubre* *mi-nüty-ey* *pues.*
each year October nine of October POS.II.U-day-rf DISC
Every year. [In] October, the ninth of October is his name day.

108) *Nueve.* *Uh,* *n-a-dam* *nangoxnüty,* *n-a-dam* *nangoxnüty,*
nine EXCLA ST-TV-be.big celebration ST-TV-be.big celebration TV-arrive
Nine. Oh dear, it's a big feast, a big feast,

a-pey *ñipilan* *n-a-w* *afuera.* *N-a-w* *Veracruz,* *a veces* *n-a-w*
TV-arrive people ST-TV-go.out outside ST-TV-go.out Veracruz to time-PL ST-TV-go.out
people arrive from outside. From Veracruz, [and] sometimes from

México *o* *Chiapas.* *Bueno.*
Mexico.City or Chiapas good.m
Mexico [City] or Chiapas. Well.

109) *N-a-dam* *nangoxnüty* *patrón,* *pues* *atokey* *xikon* *costumbre,*
ST-TV-be.big celebration patron DISC like.that.MED PRON1EXCL tradition

ap=a-jlük *baile,* *a=pots-om* *paseo* *día* *primero.*
FUT=TV-exist dance DUR=stand-IRR hike day first
It's the big celebration of the patron [Saint], that's the way we [keep] tradition, there is the procession of the first day.

110) *Día* *primero* *de* *octubre,* *paseo.*
day first of October hike
The first day of October, it's a procession.

111) *La=a-mb* *este* *olonuok* *nüty,* *este,* *día* *cuatro,*
PF=TV-go erm one.more day erm day four
[After] it passes, erm, another day, erm, the fourth day,

parada *de* *ramada.*
procession of enramada
The procession of the brush shelter

112) *Mi-mardomo* *pues,* *m-a-jier* *mi-mardomo,* *a-jlük* *apoyo,*
POS.II.U-mayordomo DISC IRR-TV-keep POS.II.U-mayordomo TV-exist support

a-jlük, *este,* *ayudante,* *ñ-u-rang* *ramada,* *bueno.*
TV-exist erm helper ST-TV-do enramada good.m
[It has] a mayordomo, it has a mayordomo, there is support, there is a helper, one who makes the *enramada*.

113) *Cuatro, cinco, día* *seis* *día* *de* *tamal-es,* a-rang-uw ñ-u-tyiel *pues.*
four five day six day of tamal-PL TV-do-PL ST-TV-LOC DISC
Four [or] five days, [then] the sixth is the day of tamales, they make tamales.

114) *Día* *de* ñ-u-tyiel, ap=u-rang ñ-u-tyiel, *día* *seis.*
day of ST-TV-LOC FUT=TV-do ST-TV-LOC day six
The day of tamales, tamales are made, [on] the sixth day.

115) *Ap=a-jlük* *ñ-u-pop,* *ajá,* *ap=a-jlük* *ñ-u-pop.*
FUT=TV-exist ST-TV-be.foamy yeah FUT=TV-exist ST-TV-be.foamy
There's atole, yeah, there's atole.

116) *Para* *día* *siete,* *kej* *ap=a-jlük* *ñ-u-pop* *kej.*
for day seven DEM2.MED FUT=TV-exist ST-TV-be.foamy DEM2.MED
On the seventh day, there is atole.

117) *Y..* *Kej* *lyi=jüñ* *ñ-u-tyiel* *kej.*
and DEM2.MED PF.DIM=be.cooked ST-TV-LOC DEM2.MED
And.. Then the tamales are ready,.

118) *Tsi=jlük* *list* *ñ-u-tyiel* *vaya.*

PF=exist ready ST-TV-LOC DISC
The tamales are already cooked.

119) *Ii, ap=a-jlük velorio, ap=a-jlük visita, ñing a-jlük mayordomo.*
MIR FUT=TV-exist wake FUT=TV-exist visit LOC.rel TV-exist mayordomo
Oh dear, there is a wake, there is a visit, to where the mayordomo is.

120) *Ii, ap=a-jlük mezcal, ap=a-jlük cerveza, ap=a-jlük.. bueno.*
MIR FUT=TV-exist mezcal FUT=TV-exist beer FUT=TV-exist good.m
Oh dear, there is mezcal, there is beer, there is.. Well.

121) *Pues siete, ocho, ora kam tyi=m-ü-jch este, este, regada,*
DISC seven eight hour DEM2.PROX PRG=IRR-TV-give erm erm regada

la=mb-üw ñing capitán, capitana, reina.
PF=go-PL LOC.rel captain.m captain.f queen
Well, [then] the seventh, on the eighth, at this time there is erm, a regada, [and] people go to the captain's, the queen's.

122) *Ii, n-a-dam nangoxnüty wüx ocho.*
MIR ST-TV-be.big celebration on eight
Oh dear, it's a big celebration, on the eighth.

123) *Nueve kej ap=a-jlük misa, casi que bis nüty ap=a-jlük misa.*
nine DEM2.MED FUT=TV-exist mass almost that entire day FUT=TV-exist mass
[On] the ninth there is a mass, there's mass nearly all day.

124) *Ajá, ap=a-jlük misa kwej patrón.*
yeah FUT=TV-exist mass thing patron
Yeah, there's mass, mass for the patron.

125) *Kej a-mb-üw ap=a-ngüy mayordomo, ap=a-ngüy presidente,*
DEM2.MED TV-go-PL FUT=TV-pay mayordomo FUT=TV-pay president

ap=a-ngüy capitán, bueno.
FUT=TV-pay captain good.m
The mayordomo, the mayor and the captain go to pay there, well.

126) *Jang a-jier gusto.*
who TV-keep pleasure
Whoever wants to.

127) *Bis nüty a-jlük misa.*
entire day TV-exist mass
There is mass all day.

128) *Y ñipilan atokey, ngu=nd-om m-i-jmyuely tyumpots.*
and people like.that.MED NEG=BND-IRR IRR-2-enter LOC.church
And [so many] people such [that] you can't get into the church.

129) *Ngu=nd-om* *m-i-jmyuely.* *Mil-es* *de* *ñipilan.*
NEG=BND-IRR IRR-2-enter thousand-PL of people
You can't get in. Thousands of people.

130) *Ajgey* *costumbre* *nangoxnüty* *patrón.*
DEM4.MED tradition celebration patron
That's the tradition of the patron [saint]'s celebration.

131) *Patrón* San Dionisio.
patron Saint Dionysius
The patron [saint] of San Dionisio.

132) *Gey* *cada* *ñat.*
DEM3.MED each year
It [takes place] every year.

133) *Tsi=jlük* *señalado* *mayordomo.*
PF=exist appointed mayordomo
A mayordomo has already been appointed.

134) *Ap=a-jlük* *cambiado* *wüx* *ocho* *ungyuiejts.*
FUT=TV-exist exchanged on eight night
The change [of mayordomos] is on the night of the eighth.

135) *Nuevo* *mayordomo*. *Próximo* *año*, *nuevo* *mayordomo*.
new mayordomo next year new mayordomo
A new mayordomo. Next year, [again] a new mayordomo.

136) *Atokey* *tsi=jlük* *mayordomo.*
like.that.MED PF=exist mayordomo
That way there's a mayordomo already.

137) *Y* *tsi=jlük* *cola,* *tsi=pey* *tyiel* *lista.*
and PF=exist queue PF=arrive LOC list
And there's already a queue, you get on a list.

138) *Ii,* *saber* *jang* *m-ien-üw* *wüx* *lista.*
MIR know who IRR-come-PRON3 on list
Oh dear, who knows who gets to be on the list.

139) *La=m-a-yak* *mi-nüty* *wüx* *cuaderno.*
PF=IRR-TV-put POS.II.U-day on notebook
They put one's name in a notebook.

140) *Ñingien* *ñing* *patrón,* *par* *ke* *ñiw* *ap=a-tüch* *ngüñ* *nüty,*
there.DIST LOC.rel patron for that PRON3 FUT=TV-reach which day

per *ñiw* *tsi=pey* *tyiel* *lista.*

but PRON3 PF=arrive LOC list
There at the patron's place, so that one gets [one's turn] some day, at least one is already on the list.

141) *Ajgey* *costumbre*.
DEM4.MED tradition
That's the tradition.

142) *Ii,* *pues* *este,* *ajgey* *ñingüy,* *pues* *este,* *nangoxnüty,* *y* *este..*
MIR DISC erm DEM4.MED here DISC erm celebration and erm

atowan *m-a-jlük* *olonuok* *fiesta* *del* *pescador,* *¿no?* *25* *de* *abril* *¿no?*
also IRR-TV-exist one.more party of fisher no 25 of April no
Oh dear, well, that's the erm, local celebration, and erm.. there is also the feast of the fisherman, right? The 25th of April, right?

143) *N-a-dam* *nangoxnüty* *atowan.*
ST-TV-be.big celebration also
It's also a big party.

144) *Per* *gey* *lad* *mondok.*
but DEM3.MED side PL.AGT.fisherman
But that's the side of the fisherman.

145) *Miáwan* *lanchero* *m-a-jlük* *mi-baile* *ñiwew,* *p=a-jlük*
all steerman IRR-TV-exist POS.II.U-dance PRON3PL FUT=TV-exist

conjunto, *p=a-jlük* *chaw,* *p=a-jlük* *ñ-u-pop* *towan.*
band FUT=TV-exist atole FUT=TV-exist ST-TV-be.foamy also
All the boat men have there dance, there's a band, there's atole, there's also foamy atole.

146) *Anuok* *pasión.* *Pasión* *de* *pescador-es* *a-saj-üw.*
one.CL passion passion of fisherman-PL TV-say-PL
A passion. The passion of fishermen, it's called.

147) *Ajgey* *mi-patrón* *ñiwew.*
DEM4.MED POS.II.U-patron PRON3PL
That's their patron saint.

148) *Ajgey* *pasión,* *pasión* *verde,* *pasión* *pescador,* *ngwo?*
DEM4.MED passion passion green passion fisherman no
It's the passion, the green passion, the passion of the fishermen, right?

149) *Ajgey* *a-rang-uw* *nangoxnüty* *abril.* *At* *a-rang-üw,* *este,* *Esquipula.*
DEM4.MED TV-do-PL celebration April also TV-do-PL DISC Esquipulas
That's what they do in the April celebration. They also do [that], erm, [in] Esquipulas[27].

[27] According to a Zapotec story, the town of Esquipulas in Guatemala (where a Black Christ is kept) has an ancient common origin with Juchitán de Zaragoza, but I have not investigated this topic in more depth.

150) *Ajgey* *quince* *de* *enero.* *Esquipula.*
DEM4.MED fifteen of January Esquipulas
That's the fifteenth of January. [In] Esquipulas.

151) *Pues,* *este*.. Ajgey *costumbre* xikon ñingüy.
DISC erm DEM4.MED tradition PRON1EXCL here
Well, erm.. That's our tradition here.

152) *Pues,* *este*.. *Ciertamente* *xuwayey* *campesino* *pues,* *ajgey* *a-jlük* *ñingüy.*
DISC erm certainly much farmer DISC DEM4.MED TV-exist here
Well, erm.. There are certainly many farmers, that's what there is here.

153) *Pues* *maestro* *m-a-jlük* *towan,* *tsi=jlük* *akas.*
DISC teacher IRR-TV-exist also PF=exist how.many
There are also teachers, there are some now.

154) *Más* *antes* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *maestro,* *puro* *n-a-w* *afuera.*
more before NEG=IRR-TV-exist teacher pure ST-TV-go.out outside
Before, there were no teachers, just [people] from outside.

155) *Puro* *a-pey* *n-a-w* *Unión,* *n-a-w* *Juchitán*..
pure TV-arrive ST-TV-go.out Unión.Hidalgo ST-TV-go.out Juchitán
[They] arrived a lot from Unión Hidalgo, from Juchitán..

156) *Primero* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *carretera,* *puro* *tren.*
first NEG=IRR-TV-exist highway pure train
Before, there was no road, just a train.

157) *Pur* *tren,* *a-jüy* *tyiet* *a-mb* *pobre* *ñipilan* *hasta* *Yolanda.* *A-jüy* *tyiet.*
pure train TV-wander ground TV-go poor people until Yolanda TV-wander ground
Just a train, [and] the poor people used to walk until Yolanda. They walked.

158) *Ngu=m-a-jlük* *carro,* *ngumajlük* *carretera.*
NEG=IRR-TV-exist car NEG=IRR-TV-exist highway
There was no bus, [as] there was no road.

159) *Mas-..* *Mas* *mongich* *xik* *pues.*
more-DERR more AGT.PL.youth PRON1 DISC
More.. I was younger.

160) *Carreta*. *Hasta* Yolanda *como*.. *Dos* *legua-s*.
carriage until Yolanda as two league-PL
[There were] carriages. Until Yolanda [it's] like.. Two leagues.

161) *Ejkew* *legua,* *ngwo.* *Myunkej.*
two.CL league no far
Two leagues, right? [It was] far.

162) *Caminando* *va* *uno*, a-jüy tyiet.

walking go one TV-wander ground
One used to walk, one used to walk.

163) *At muntaj, mungich, munüx.*
also AGT.PL.woman AGT.PL.youth AGT.PL.girl
Women, young men and girls alike.

164) O: - *Ajgey mi-karret la=a-mb.*
DEM4.MED POS.II.U-carriage PF=TV-go
[If] you [had] a carriage, you'd go.

165) P: - *La=a-mb mi-karret.*
PF=TV-go POS.II.U-car
You'd go in your carriage.

166) O: - *A-juoy ñipilan.* P: - *Ajá. Puro carreta, a-juoy.*
TV-carry people yeah pure car TV-carry
People would carry things. Yeah, lots of carriages, they carried.

167) *Atokey.. Mas trabajo a-jlük-iejts primero.*
like.that.MED more work TV-exist-incl first
Like that.. We used to have more work before. (i.e. life consisted of harder work)

168) O: - *Mas.* P: - *Mas.*
more more
Definitely. Yeah.

169) O: - *Ngu=n-a-tüch n-a-jaw xik, pero atokey a-saj xik*
NEG=1irr-TV-reach1irr-TV-see PRON1 but like.that.MED TV-say PRON1

xa-mam.
1pos-mother
I didn't witness it, but that's what my mum told me.

170) P:- *Ñiw mas nd-oj-ey wijk-iaw pues, mas nd-oj-ey.*
PRON3 more BND-ITR-rf born-ITR DISC more BND-ITR-rf
She was born later, later.

171) *N-a-tang-as xik pues. Xuwayey, xuwayey.*
ST-TV-be.mature-1 PRON1 DISC much much
I'm old[er]. Much, much [older].

172) *Ñingey najtaj kej, xa-suegra.*
there.MED woman DEM2.MED 1pos-mother.in.law
There's that women, my mother-in-law.

173) *A-mb kialüy kam, xa-suegra.*
TV-go north DEM2.PROX 1pos-mother.in.law
She went north, my mother-in-law.

174) *Ngu=m-u-jaw.* *Ngu=m-u-jaw,* *anomb=an* *pal-aw,* *ngu=m-u-jaw.*
NEG=IRR-TV-see NEG=IRR-TV-see one.TMP=del close-ITR NEG=IRR-TV-see
She can't see. She can't see, she's all shut, she can't see.

175) *Ajgey* *mi-mam* *ñiw,* *ajgey* *xantaj.*
DEM4.MED POS.II.U-mother PRON3 DEM4.MED 1pos.wife
It's her mum, that's my wife.

176) *Ajgey* *xantaj,* *entonces* *ñiw* *xa-suegra.*
DEM4.MED 1pos.wife then PRON3 1pos-mother.in.law
That's my wife, therefore she's my mother-in-law.

177) *Pues,* *atokey* *mod.* *Atokey* *moda* *a-jlük* *San Dionisio.*
DISC like.that.MED mode like.that.MED mode TV-exist San Dionisio
Well, that's what things are like. That's the way San Dionisio is like.

178) *Problema.* *De* *necesidad,* *de* *najiet,* *del* *campo.*
problem of need of work of.the countryside
[There are] problems. Of need, of work, of the countryside.

179) *Mas* *tiempo* *mongich* *xik,* *s-a-jaw* *ngu=m-a-juoty.*
more time AGT.PL.young PRON1 1-TV-see NEG=IRR-TV-rain
When I was younger, I witnessed it didn't rain.

180) *Híjole,* *a-ndyow* *n-a-ngaj* *naxiel,* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *a-juoty.*
MIR TV-die ST-TV-be.sacred field NEG=IRR-TV-exist TV-rain
Oh dear, the blessed corn fields died, it didn't rain.

181) *Puro* *verano,* *puro..* *Más* *antes,* *pues.*
pure summer pure more before DISC
It was just summer, just.. Before, I mean.

182) *Pero* *nganüy* *tsi=i-mb* *akas* *ñat,* *bueñ,* *bueñ,* *tiempo* *bueñ.*
but now PF=TV-run.out how.many year good good time good
But now a few years have already passed by [that it's] good, [it's] good, the weather [is] good.

183) *A-juoty,* *pues,* *n-a-jñej* *a-juoty.*
TV-rain DISC ST-TV-be.good TV-rain
It rains, I mean, it rains beautifully.

184) - O: *Ajk* *mi-os* *ajk* *ap=i-pieng* *gej* *i-yar,* *i-ngal,* *o* *i-jier...*
DEM1 POS.II.U-corn DEM1 FUT=2-speak where 2-bring 2-buy or 2-keep
That corn of yours, tell [us] where you take it, do you buy it, or do you have..

185) P: *Ah* *bueno,* *eso* *pues,* *s-a-ngal.*
ah good.m that DISC 1-TV-buy
Oh, right, yeah, I buy it.

186) O: - *M-a-kiejp* *muxijk?*

IRR-TV-accompany Zapotec
With the Zapotecs?

187) P: *A-kiejp* *muxijk* *n-a-w* *Pueblo Nuevo*.
TV-accompany Zapotec ST-TV-go.out town new.m
With the Zapotecs from Pueblo Nuevo[28].

188) O: - *Ah,* *n-a-w* *ñingien?*
oh ST-TV-go.out there.DIST
Oh, it's from there?

189) P: *Jorong* *a-suok.* *A San Francisco.* *Atokey.*
San.Francisco TV-be.said to San Francisco like.that.MED
It's called *Jorong*. San Francisco [is]. Like that.

190) *A-pey-iw* *m-a-nüjp-iw* *mbey* *ñingüy,* *por* *carreta.*
TV-arrive-PL IRR-TV-sell-PL mazorca here per carriage
They come to sell mazorca here, by the carriage.

191) *T-a-ngal-as* *como* *ijkew* *carreta.*
PST-TV-buy-1 as two.CL carriage
I bought like two carriages.

192) O: - *Par* *m-i-pier* *ngwoy?* P: - *Ngwey*, *para* *gasto*.
for IRR-2-sow no no for expense
To sow, right? No, for consumption.

193) *Como* *tajñat* *mas* *n-a-paty-ey* *mbey* *s-a-wüñ.*
as last.year more ST-TV-diminish-rf mazorcva 1-TV-extract
Since last year I got out less mazorca.

194) O:- *Wüx* *i-wüñ* *xowayey,* *este,* *i-yar* *tyiküy,* *giñey* *sa=n-a-pieng,*
on 2-extract much erm 2-bring little how fut1=1irr-TV-speak
If you get a lot, erm, you bring a little, how shall I say,

i-pal *tyiküy* *par..*
2-close little for
you conserve a little for..

195) P: - *Ajá*, *s-a-ta* *guardar* *tyiküy* *para* *la* *semilla*.
yeah 1-TV-lv conserve little for the.f seed
Yeah, I conserve a little for sowing.

196) *Ajá,* *xa-semilla.* O: - *Ajgey*. P: - *Ajgey*.
yeah 1pos-seed DEM4.MED DEM4.MED
Yeah, my seeds. Exactly. Right.

[28] I.e. San Francisco del Mar, Pueblo Nuevo.

197) *Ajgey* *s-a-pier,* *ajá,* *s-a-pier* *ñingüy.*
DEM4 1-TV-sow yeah 1-TV-sow here
I sow them, yeah, I sow them here.

198) *Ajk* *s-a-pier* *ñingüy,* *ajk* *mbey* *al=n-a-jier* *ñingüy,*
DEM1 1-TV-sow here DEM1 mazorca DUR=1irr-TV-keep here
What I sow here, the mazorca I have here,

199) *semilla* n-a-w San Francisco.
seed ST-TV-go.out San Francisco
the seeds are from San Francisco.

200) O: - *Akas* *nüty* *ap=a-mong* *para* *ap=m-e-ty* *mi-as,* *o* *akas* *kajw?*
how.many day FUT=TV-pass for FUT=IRR-2-eat POS.II.U-cob or how.many month
How many days pass until you can eat your cob, or how many months?

201) P: - *Ajá,* *este..* *Os* *kej* *de* *ejkew* *kajw*.
yeah erm corn DEM2.MED of two.CL month
Yeah, erm.. That corn [is] of two months.

202) *Ejkew* *kajw* *vay,* *la=pal-aw* *mi-nüty,* *ajá,* *la=pal-aw* *mi-nüty,*
two.CL month DISC PF=close-ITR POS.II.U-day yeah PF=close-ITR POS.II.U-day
Two months, [and] its time is exact, yeah, its time is exact,

la=m-a-jier *as* *mer* *kej* *nganüy* *ap=i-chyup-ey* *par*
PF=IRR-TV-keep cob mere DEM2.MED now FUT=2-peel-rf[29] for
[for] the cobs to be so that you can peel [them] for you

m-e-ty *pues*.
IRR-2-eat DISC
to eat [them].

203) O: - *M-e-ty* *piats* *as.* P: - *Piats* *as,* *chaw,* *chaw* *as,* *ajá.* *Y* *este*..
IRR-2-eat tortilla cob tortilla cob atole atole cob yeah and erm
You eat corn tortillas. Corn tortillas, atole, corn atole, yeah. And, erm..

204) O: - *A-w* *ajk* *a-suok* *chaw* *a-lom.*
TV-go.out DEM1 TV-be.said atole TV-stand
[You] also [get] what is called *chaw alom*.

205) P: - *Ajk* *ñiw.* *Pero* *mas* *lyi=tang* *os* *kej.*
DEM1 PRON3 but more PF.DIM=be.mature corn DEM2.MED
That's the one. But that corn is more mature.

206) O: - *Mas* *lyi=tang?* P: - *Ajá,* *tyiküy* *..* *mi-os*
more PF.DIM=be.mature yeah little [inaudible] POS.II.U-corn
More mature? Yeah, it's corn is a little [inaudible]

[29] This use of the reflexive (benefactive) is described in 9.3.2 (p. 243).

kej *pues* *la=ngu=m-a-jier* *leche.*
DEM2.MED DISC PF=NEG=IRR-TV-keep milk
it doesn't have juice anymore.

207) O: - *Piats* *akwak.* *P: - Piats* *akwak,* *exactamente.* *Piats* *akwak.*
tortilla spider tortilla spider exactly tortilla spider
[and] tortilla [called] *akwak*. Tortilla [called] *akwak*, exactly. Tortilla [called] *akwak*.

208) *Ajgey* *ñiw* *jüy* *os,* *pues,* *jüy* *os.*
DEM4 PRON3 new corn DISC new corn
That one is new corn, new corn.

209) *Ajgey,* *este,* *os* *kej,* *ñiw* *a-ndyiem* *a-wety* *pues.*
DEM4.MED erm corn DEM2.MED PRON3 TV-want TV-be.tasty DISC
That one, erm, that corn gets savoury.

210) *Para* *piats.* *Piats* *akwak* *s-a-saj-an.*
for tortilla tortilla spider 1-TV-say-PL
For tortillas. We call it *akwak* tortilla.

211) *Ajgey* *jüy* *os,* *pues,* *jüy* *os.* *Pues* *este..*
DEM4.MED new corn DISC new corn DISC erm
That's new corn, new corn. Erm..

212) O: - *Nd-oj* *kwej* *a-suok* *ap=i-ngwap* *pues?*
BND-ITR thing TV-be.said FUT=2-harvest DISC
And then, when can you say that you harvest?

213) P: - *Ajá,* *ándale,* *por ejemplo* *nganüy* *ap=i-xeng* *mi-mbey*
yeah right per example now FUT=2-pick.up POS.II.U-mazorca
Yeah, exactly, for example, now you pick up your mazorca.

kej *s-a-pieng-an* *xikon* *s=ñ-u-ngwap,* *xi=ñ-u-ngwap.*
DEM2.MED 1-TV-speak-PL PRON1EXCL 1-ST-TV-harvest fut1.DIM=ST-TV-harvest
Then we say, "I'm going to harvest", "I'm going to harvest".

214) *Porque* *n-a-xeng* *xa-mbey* *pues,* *ñ-u-ngwap.*
because 1irr-TV-pick.up 1pos-mazorca DISC ST-TV-harvest
Because I pick up my mazorca, it's harvested.

215) *Tyi=m-ü-jch* *ü-jch* *ñ-u-ngwap.*
PRG=IRR-TV-give TV-give ST-TV-harvest
It's yielding harvest.

216) *O* *kwej* *i-l=wüx?* *Tyi=m-ü-jch* *s-a-ngwap.*
or thing 2-DUR=on PRG=IRR-TV-give 1-TV-harvest
Or "what are you [working] on?" "I'm harvesting."

217) *A vec-es* *s-a-tüñ* *m-a-ngey* *compañero,* *kwej* *i-l=wüx?*
to time-PL 1-TV-request IRR-TV-hear companion thing 2-DUR=on
At times I ask a companion, "What are you [working] on?"

218) *Tyi=m-ü-jch* *s-a-ngwap.*
PRG=IRR-TV-give 1-TV-harvest
"I'm harvesting."

219) *Ajgey* *puoch* *para* *m-i-xeng* *mi-mbey,* *pues,* *i-kijmien.*
DEM4.MED expression for IRR-2-pick.up POS.II.U-mazorca DISC 2-bring.along
That's the expression for [when] you pick up your mazorca, you take it with you.

220) *Ajgey* *puoch* *para..* *M-er-ngwap,* *pues.*
DEM4.MED expression for IRR-2-harvest DISC
That's the expression for.. Well, for you to harvest.

221) O: - *Ganüy..* *Ajk* *a-op* *a-küly..*
now DEM1 POS.III.U-leaf TV-stay
Now.. Those leaves stay..

222) P: - *Ajá,* *atowan,* *ajgey* *anop* *pichim,* *pichim op.*
yeah also DEM4.MED one.RND folded folded leaf
Yeah, also, that's a folded leaf.

223) O: - *Wüx* *ap=i-xeng,* *ngwey,* *o* *giñey?*
on FUT=2-pick.up no or how
When you pick them up, right, or how [is it]?

224) P: - *Ngwey,* *pichim kej* *p=i-puoly* *op* *kej.*
no folded DEM2.MED FUT=2-fold leaf DEM2.MED
No, *pichim* means you fold the leaves.

225) O: - *Ah,* *p=i-puoly?* *Pichim.*
oh FUT=2-fold folded
Oh, you fold [them]? Pichim..

226) P: - *Ajá,* *ajgey* *p=i-chim.* *Quiere decir:* *Sa=n-a-chim* *xa-op.*
yeah DEM4.MED FUT=2-fold want-3SG say FUT1=1IRR-TV-fold 1POS-leaf
Yeah, that's *pichim*. It means: I'm going to fold my leaves.

227) *Eso,* *sa=n-a-chiw* *xa-op.*
that FUT1-1IRR-TV-fold 1POS-leaf
That's it, "I'm going to fold my leaves."

228) *I-puely kiejp* *i-wix.*
2-fold with 2POS-hand
You fold them with your hands.

229) *Pra, pra, pra* *ahora.*

ONO now
Pra, pra, pra now.

230) *Pur* *p=i-puoly,* *puro* *manoj-ito.*
pure FUT=2-fold pure bundle-DIM
You just fold them, [into] lots of little bundles.

231) O: - *Ajá,* *i-puely* *para* *m-ü-ty,* *este,* *waküx..*
yeah 2-fold for IRR-TV-eat erm cow
Yeah, you fold them so that the erm.. cows can eat hem.

232) P: - *Para* *m-ü-ty* *waküx.*
for IRR-TV-eat cow
For the cows to eat.

233) *M-ü-ty* *waküx,* *m-ü-ty* *ñiw* *buoy.*
IRR-TV-eat cow IRR-TV-eat PRON3 bull
For the cows to eat, the bulls eat them.

234) *Ap=i-xeng,* *ap=i-tsajk.* *Ap=i-rang* *manojo* *tercio,* *anuok* *ters* *a-juoy*
FUT=2-pick.up FUT=2-bind FUT=2-do bundle a.third one.CL a.third TV-carry
You pick them up, you bind them. You make a bundle [with] a third, one third consists of

diez *manoj-ito-s.*
ten bundle-DIM-PL
ten little bundles.

235) O: - *Nd-oj* *m-i-ngwap,* *akas* *nüty,* *este,* *ap=a-mong* *para* *ap=i-xeng,*
BND-ITR IRR-2-harvest how.many day erm FUT=TV-pass for FUT=2-pick.up
Then you harvest, some days, erm, go by [until] you pick them up

i-pieng *ik..*
2-speak PRON2
you say..

236) P: - *Nguoy,* *más* *antes.* *Primero..*
no more before first
No, before. Before..

237) O: - *No,* *akas..* *akas..*
no how.many how.many
No, how many.. How many..

238) P: – *Primero* *ap=i-chim* *op,* *par* *kej* *i-ngwap.*
first FUT=2-fold leaf for DEM2.MED 2-harvest
First you fold the leaves, to harvest afterwards.

239) O: - *Ah,* *atokey?* P: - *Ajá,* *primero.* O: - *A-lyien* *m-a-tyek.*
ah like.that.MED yeah first TV-DUR IRR-TV-be.green

Oh, is it like that ? Yeah, first. [While] it's still green.

240) P: - *A-lyien* *m-a-tyek* *naxiel* *kej.*
TV-DUR IRR-TV-be.green field DEM2.MED
The field is still green then.

241) *Kej* *par* *m-i-puoly* *pues.*
DEM2.MED for IRR-2-fold DISC
At the time you fold, that is.

242) *La=tüch* *midid* *par* *m-i-chim* *pues,* *ajgey* *mi-punto* *towan.*
PF=reach measure for IRR-2-fold DISC DEM4.MED POS.II.U-point also
It has reached a point where you [can] fold, that's a stage it goes through.

243) *Ngu=mi* *mer* *n-a-tyek* *pues,* *la=i-ñdy* *a-kaw,*
NEG=N.PRS mere ST-TV-be.green DISC PF=TV-feel.like TV-be.mature.tasty
It's not so green then, it's almost mature.

ajgey *s-a-pieng-an,* *la=i-ñdy* *a-kaw,* *la=i-ñdy*
DEM4.MED 1-TV-speak-PL PF=TV-feel.like TV-be.mature-tasty PF=TV-feel.like
that's what we call, it's almost mature, it's almost

amariy *pues.*
yellow DISC
yellow.

244) *Ajgey* *la=m-a-tüch* *punto,* *ap=i-chim,* *pues.*
DEM4.MED PF=IRR-TV-reach point FUT=2-fold DISC
That's [when] it has reached this stage, for you to fold it.

245) *Nd-oj* *la=m-i-chim,* *la=m-a-jlük..* *A-küly* *pur* *mbey.*
BND-ITR PF=IRR-2-fold PF=IRR-TV-exist TV-stay pure mazorca
Then you fold it, it's already.. The mazorca is what remains.

246) O: - *Pur* *mbey.* P: *Ajá,* *pur* *mbey,* *atokey.*
pure mazorca yeah pure mazorca like.that.MED
Just the mazorca. Yeah, just the mazorca, like that.

247) *Ajgey* *ganüy* *la=wajk* *ganüy* *kej.*
DEM4.MED now PF=dry.out now DEM2.MED
It has dried by then.

248) *La=wajk* *mbey* *kej,* *como..*
PF=dry.out mazorca DEM2.MED as
It's already dry, that mazorca, like..

249) *Bueno,* *más bien,* *este..*
good.m more well erm
Well, rather, erm..

250) *Mbey* *kej* *al=nd-om* *m-er-ngwap* *como..*
mazorca DEM2.MED DUR=BND-ITR IRR-2-harvest as
You can harvest that mazorca, like..

251) *Arjuy* *kajw,* *la=m-a-tüch* *m-er-ngwap* *pues.*
three.CL month PF=IRR-TV-reach IRR-2-harvest DISC
[After] three months, [then] it has reached [the point for] you to harvest [it].

252) *La=wajk* *naxiel,* *mbey* *kej* *pues,* *la=wajk* *ora* *sí*
PF=dry.out field mazorca DEM2.MED DISC PF=dry.out hour yes
The corn field is already dry, well, it's really dry now,

lyi=wajk *vay.*
PF.DIM=dry.out DISC
It's already dry.

253) *Ora* *ngem* *i-xeng,* *ngem* *m-er-ngwap* *vay.*
hour go.IMPE2-pick.up go.IMPEIRR-2-harvest DISC
Now go and pick it up, go and harvest it.

254) *Aryuj* *kajw.* *Ajgey* *lyi=waj.* *Ajgey* *lyi=waj.*
three.CL month DEM4.MED PF.DIM=dry.out DEM4.MED PF.DIM=dry.out
Three months. It's dry already. It's dry already.

255) *Ganüy* *op* *kej,* *más* *antes..*
now leaf DEM2.MED more before
Now those leaves, before..

256) O: - *Wüx* *tsi=nd-oj* *m-i-pier* *akas* *nüty,* *este,* *giñey* *mod*
on PF=BND-ITR IRR-2-sow how.many day erm how mode
When you have already sown a few days, erm, how

m-i-pier *para* *ngu=m-ü-ty* *ñiw* *wyierr* *pues?*
IRR-2-sow for NEG=IRR-TV-eat PRON3 vulture DISC
do you sow so that vultures don't eat it?

257) P: - *Ajá,* *eso.* O: - *Akas* *nüty* *ap=ir-ie-mb,* *ap=i-jier..*
yeah that how.manyday FUT=2-TV-go FUT=2-keep
Yeah, exactly. How many days do you go, do you keep..

258) P: - *Ap=i-jier* *como..* *quince* *día-s.*
FUT=2-keep as fifteen day-PL
You keep [it] around fifteen days.

259) O: - *Atokey?* P: - *Ajá.* *La=m-a-t-..* *La=pyuch-yuj* *kux* *naxiel.*
like.that.MED yeah PF=IRR-TV-DERR PF=stand.DIM-ITR small field
[Is it] like that? Yeah. It already.. The little corn plants are already standing.

260) *Quince* *día-s,* *ajk* *medid* *kej* *la=m-a-kyuety.*
fifteen day-PL DEM1 measure DEM2.MED PF=IRR-TV-leave
Fifteen days, that's the measure [in which] one leaves it.

261) O: - *La=ngu=nd-om* *m-a-lujk.*
PF=NEG=BND-IRR IRR-TV-pull
It won't be able to pull them anymore [then].

262) P: - *La=ngu=nd-om* *m-a-lujk,* *la=m-a-jier* *mi-xijch.*
PF=NEG=BND-IRR IRR-TV-pull PF=IRR-TV-keep POS.II.U-root
It won't be able to pull them anymore, they already have roots [then].

263) *Ajá,* *la=ngu=nd-om.* *Wyierr.* *A vec-es* *a-rang* *wyierr.*
yeah PF=NEG=BND-IRR vulture to time-PL TV-do vulture
Yeah, it won't be able to. The vultures. Sometimes vultures do [that].

264) *Ajá,* *a-wyierr* *kej* *quiere decir* *a-lujk* *naxiel,* *pues.*
yèah TV-vulture DEM2.MED want.3SG say TV-pull field DISC
Yeah, the vulture does that, it means it pulls the corn plants.

265) *Maíz* *tokey,* *clav-ito.*
corn like.that.MED key-DIM
The corn, like that, [of] *clavito* [type]

266) *Tyi=ngu=m-i-jier* *ap=a-lujk,* *paj paj paj,* *surco* *por* *surco.*
LOC=NEG=IRR-2-keep FUT=TV-pull ONO furrow per furrow
If you don't guard it, they will pull it, *pah-pah-pah*, furrow after furrow.

267) *Por eso,* *p=i-jier* *wyierr* *kej.*
therefore FUT=2-keep vulture DEM2.MED
That's why you [should] guard [for] those vultures.

268) *Bueno,* *madruqada* *ap=ir-ie-mb.*
good.m early.morning FUT=2-TV-go
Well, you go in the early morning.

269) *Par* *m-i-tüch* *ñingien.*
for IRR-2-reach there.DIST
So that you get there [on time].

270) *Ñimal* *kej* *tsi=pey* *kej.*
animal DEM2.MED PF=arrive DEM2.MED
Those animals are already there.

271) *Pores* *ik* *tsi=r-pey* *kej* *ik.*
therefore PRON2 PF=2-arrive DEM2.MED PRON2
That's why you go there.

272) *Tyi=r-ngwey* *p=a-lujk.*

LOC=2-no FUT=TV-pull
If you don't, they will pull it.

273) *Ngu=mi* *p=u-tam* *mi-najiet.*
NEG=N.PRS FUT=TV-be.useful POS.II.U-work
Your work will have been useless.

274) *Ap=a-lujk* *wyierr.*
FUT=TV-pull vulture
The vultures will pull it.

275) *Por eso* *ajgey,* *este,* *puro animal,* *pues,* *este,* *ñ-i-ñdy* *i-ty,* *ü-ty*
therefore DEM4.MED erm pure animal DISC erm ST-TV-feel.like 2-eat TV-eat

towan, *pues.*
also DISC
That's why, they erm, they are just animals, [just like] you feel like eating, well they also feel like eating.

276) *Ñ-i-ñdy* *ü-ty.*
ST-TV-feel.like TV-eat
They are hungry.

277) *Ñ-i-ñdy,* *este,* *es* *que* *tyiel* *u-wily* *naxiel* *kej*
ST-TV-feel.like erm is.3SG that LOC POS.I.U-backside field DEM2.MED

a-jlük *os.*
TV-exist corn
They feel like [eating], erm, [and] in the margins of the field there is corn.

278) *Ajgey* *gana* *m-ü-ty* *pues.*
DEM4.MED now IRR-TV-eat DISC
It [wants] to eat that.

279) *Pores* *a-lujk* *naxiel* *kej,* *os* *kej* *al=wüx,* *wüx*
therefore TV-pull field DEM2.MED corn DEM2.MED DUR=on on

mi-xijch *os* *kej.*
POS.II.U-root corn DEM2.MED
That's why it pulls the field, the corn that is on it, [it pulls] on the roots of that corn.

280) *Ajgey* *ganüy* *ap=m-ü-ty* *ñiw.* *Por eso,* *mucho* *cuidado.*
DEM4.MED now FUT=IRR-TV-eat PRON3 therefore much care
That's what it wants to eat. That's why [you need to take] a lot of care.

281) *Ngem* *m-i-jier* *mi-trabajo* *pues,* *porque* *a-ta* *costar* *pues,* *trabajo*
come.IMPE IRR-2-keep POS.II.U-work DISC because TV-lv cost DISC work

i-rang. *Xowayey* *trabajo* *i-rang.*

2-do much work 2-do
Come and guard your work, because it has cost [you], you did work. You did a lot of work.

282) *I-jaw ngej i-pots-uoch i-xily. Ap=i-mbyuely.*
2-see where 2-stand-CAU 2-brush FUT=2-burn
You look where you [can] begin slashing. You burn.

283) *Tyi=ngu=m-a-jier korrüly ap=i-rang korrüly.*
LOC=NEG=IRR-TV-keep corral FUT=2-do corral
If there's no corral, you make one.

284) *Ap=i-rang mi-korrüly.*
FUT=2-do POS.II.U-corral
You make your corral.

285) *Tyi=ngu=m-i-jier alambre ap=i-rang de xiel.*
LOC=NEG=IRR-2-keep wire FUT=2-do of tree
If you don't have wire you make [wiring] out of wood.

286) *Más antes ngu=m-a-jlük alambre, bueno m-a-jlük pero ñ-u-mbety pues.*
more before NEG=IRR-TV-exist wire good.m IRR-TV-exist but ST-TV-cost DISC
Before there was no wire, well, there was but it was expensive.

287) *Pur pobre ñipilan puro de xiel pues. De cinta.*
pure poor people pure of tree DISC of belt
Just poor people, [so] just out of wood. [Or] of palm string.

288) *A-kujch xiel nd-oj la=m-a-tsajk.*
TV-cut tree BND-ITR PF=IRR-TV-bind
One used to chop the wood and then bind it.

289) *La=m-a-pal wakük kej.*
PF=IRR-TV-closecow DEM2.MED
It shut out the cows.

290) *La=ngu=m-a-jmyuely bak, tyiel nguoy ap=m-ü-ty bak, i-rang mi-korrüly, i-pal*
PF=NEG=IRR-TV-enter cow LOC no FUT=IRR-TV-eat cow 2-do POS.II.U-corral 2-close

pues. I-tajk seguro. Por eso este.. Miáwan..
DISC 2-lv secure per that erm all
Cows wouldn't enter, otherwise cows would eat [it], [if] you made your corral you close dit. You secured it. That's why erm.. All of it..

291) O: - *Atowan wüx este, tsi=jlük mbey, a-jlük mbaw.*
also on erm PF=exist mazorca TV-exist badger
Also when erm, there is already mazorca, there's badgers

292) P: - *Ajá, eso. Pues ganüy la=ü-mb kas ñat ñingüy*
yeah that DISC now PF=TV-run.out how.many year here

xikon	*xow*	*a-rang*	*perfisio..*	*mbaw, y*	*a-saj-üw*	*anuok*
PRON1EXCL	very	TV-do	jeopardy	badgerand	TV-say-PL	one.CL

pixich[30]	*a-saj-üw.*
badger	TV-say-PL

Yeah, exactly. Well now a few years ago here those badgers did a lot of damage here, and they call them *pixich* (badgers).

293)

O: - *Pixix?*	P: - *Pixich.*	*Ajgey*	*a-jüy*	*wüx*	*cardumo*[31]*.*
badger	badger	DEM4.MED	TV-wander	on	shoal

Badgers? Those go around in groups.

294)

Ii,	*ñing*	*ap=a-mbyuely*	*ñimal*	*kej*	*atokey*	*a-w*
MIR	LOC.rel	FUT=TV-burn	animal	DEM2.MED	like.that.MED	TV-go.out

u-mbey	*u-mbey.*
pos.i-mouth	pos.i-mouth

Oh dear, where one burns, that animal goes like this with its mouth.

295)

Ñing	*anuok*	*mbey*	*ngu=m-a-juoty.*	*Miáwan*	*ü-ty.*
LOC.rel	one.CL	mazorca	NEG=IRR-TV-rain	all	TV-eat

Where there is mazorca [and] it doesn't rain. It eats all [of it].

296)

Por	*eso,*	*este,*	*a-mong*	*ñat*	*kam,*	*tajñat*	*pues*	*a-rang*
for	that	erm	TV-pass	year	DEM2.PROX	last.year	DISC	TV-do

perfisio	*ñimal*	*kej.*
jeopardy	animal	DEM2.MED

That's why, erm, a year ago, last year, that animal did damage.

297)

Mbaw	*a-saj-üw,*	*o-*	*mbaw,*	*ajgey*	*u-mbey-ajts.*
badger	TV-say-PL	or-DERR	badger	DEM4.MED	POS.I.U-mouth-1incl

They call it badger, or-.. Badger, that's [in] Umbeyajts.

298)

Mbaw.	*Y*	*este..*
badger	and	erm

Badgers. And erm..

299)

Atowan	*achú*	*pendej*	*xirüw*	*a-jlük*	*towan.*
also	DEM5	jerk	fox	TV-exist	also

There's also these bloody foxes.

300)

O: – *Xirüw*[32]?	P: - *Ajá,*	*xirüw.*
fox	yeah	fox

Foxes? Yeah, foxes.

[30] The Zapotec word for badger is *bixidxu.*

[31] In standard Spanish, 'shoal' is *cardumen*, not *cardumo.*

[32] This word could be a loan from Sp. *zorrillo* or *zorro* 'fox'.

301) *Y at, este, mich pyat.*
and also erm cat jungle
And also, erm, jaguars.

302) *Ajá, a-jlük towan. O: - Miáwan gey xik s-a-pieng, este..*
yeah TV-exist also all DEM3.MED PRON1 1-TV-speak erm
Yeah, there's that one too. All those, I mean, erm...

303) P: - *Ñiw koyuoty.* O: - *Koyuety.*
PRON3 coyote coyote
Those coyotes. Coyotes.

304) P: - Koyuoty atowan.
coyote also
Coyotes too.

305) *Miáwan gey mi-ñimal pyat, pues.*
all DEM3.MED POS.II.U-animal jungle DISC
All those are wild animals.

306) *Gey ñimal kej pur, mi-ñimal tyiek, pues.*
DEM3.MED animal DEM2.MED pure POS.II.U-animal mountain DISC
Those animals are just animals from the wilderness.

307) *Saber gej a-küly-iw ñimal de Dios kej, pero wüx la=m-i-jier naxiel,*
know where TV-exist-PL animal of God DEM2.MED but on PF=IRR-2-keep field

la=m-i-jier la=pots-oj p=a-yak wüx mbey kej, uh, la=m-a-xim
PF=IRR-2-keep PF=begin-ITR FUT=TV-put on mazorca DEM2.MED oh PF=IRR-TV-smell

ngej a-jlük, pues.
where TV-exist DISC
Who knows where those animals live, but [as soon as] you have corn, [and] it begins having mazorca, it already smells where it is.

308) *La=a-mb a-yajk, lami*[33] *p=a-kyuety, tyiel m-i-jier n-a-jñej*
PF=TV-go TV-feel almost FUT=TV-leave LOC IRR-2-keep ST-TV-be.good

pyuety, ap=ir-ie-mb m-i-jier ungyuiejts, para que la=ngu=m-ü-ty
dog FUT=2-TV-go IRR-2-keep night for that PF=NEG=IRR-TV-eat

i-xily.
2-slash

[33] This word, which I have encountered only rarely, has been translated by consultants as 'almost'. Another context in which it was encountered was *Lami pur yow.* 'it's almost just water [that remains]'. It looks like this expression grammaticalised from a combination of *la=* [PF] and *=mi* (which also occurs in *ngu=mi* [NEG=N.PRS]), but I have not been able to figure out its exact grammaticalisation path.

It goes and senses if you leave it, if you have a good dog you go and guard at night, so that it doesn't eat [what] you slashed.

309) *O* *tyi=ngwey* *ngu=m-ir-ie-mb* *m-i-pey* *a-w* *nüty,* *ii.*
or LOC=no NEG=IRR-2-TV-go IRR-2-arrive TV-go.out day MIR
Otherwise, if you don't go, [and] you go there in the morning, good heavens.

310) *Barr ('bárbaro')* *de* *ü-ty* *ñimal* *kej.* *Ü-ty* *ñimal* *kej.*
barbarous of TV-eat animal DEM2.MED TV-eat animal DEM2.MED
That animal eats incredible. It eats.

311) *Ajgey* *xow* *perfisio* *a-rang* *ñimal* *kej* *ñingüy* *pues.*
DEM4.MED very jeopardy TV-do animal DEM2.MED here DISC
It does a lot of damage here, that animal.

312) *Miáwan* *lugar* *de* *ñingüy,* *de* *ñingien.*
all place of here of there.MED
In all places, here, there.

313) *La=m-i-ngey* *cuenta,* *a-pieng* *kej* *la=m-a-xom* *xik* *uj*
PF=IRR-2-hear account TV-speak DEM2.MED PF=IRR-TV-find PRON1 animal

a-pieng, *la=m-a-xom* *xik* *mbaw* *a-pieng.*
TV-speak PF=IRR-TV-find PRON1 badger TV-speak
You hear stories, [people] say "I was struck by the animal, I was struck by badgers"

314) *Ajá,* *a-pieng* *anuok* *ñingüy.* *Xik* *andalüy* *kej* *s-a-jier*
yeah TV-speak one.CL here PRON1 north DEM2.MED 1-TV-keep

korrüly. *Ñingüy* *andalüy.* *Ajá.*
corral here north yeah
Yeah, [there was] one here [who] said so. I have a corral up north. Here further north. Yeah.

315) *Nguow* *p=ir-ie-mb* *m-i-yajk* *xa-korrüly,* *vay.*
when FUT=2-TV-go IRR-2-feel 1pos-corral DISC
When will you go and get to know my corral?

316) P: - *Tyi=m-ü-jch* *m-a-saj* *ik* *tyiel* *ap=ir-ie-mb* *i-yajk* *ñingien.*
PRG=IRR-TV-give IRR-TV-say PRON2 LOC FUT=2-TV-go 2-feel there.DIST
He's asking you when you're going there to see.

317) *Ir-ie-mb* *i-jaw* *gej* *a-jlük.*
2-TV-go 2-see where TV-exist
[When] you're going to see his place.

318) M: - *Ajá.* *Kej* *s-a-rang* *najiet.* *Sa=n-a-mb..* P: - *Nguow* *p=i-jier..*
yeah DEM2.MED 1-TV-do work fut1=1irr-TV-go when.n.PST FUT=2-keep
Yeah. I [can] work there. I'll go. When will you have..

319) *U-mbey* *carretera* *s-a-küly,* *u-mbey* *carretera..*
POS.I.U-mouth highway 1-TV-stay POS.I.U-mouth highway
I stay alongside the highway, alongside the highway.

320) O: - *Ap=i-jüy.* *Ap=i-jüy* *tyiel* *carro.*
FUT=2-wander FUT=2-wander LOC car
You'll drive there. You'll get there by bus.

321) M: - *Ganaw* *n-a-mb.*
not.yet 1irr-TV-go
M: I haven't gone there yet.

322) P: - *A-jlük* *moto.* *Veinticinco* *peso-s.*
TV-exist motorbike twenty.five peso-PL
There are motorbikes. Twenty five pesos.

323) *Pues,* *u-mbey* *carretera,* *kej* *p=i-jaw* *xa-korrüly,*
DISC POS.I.U-mouth highway DEM2.MED FUT=2-see 1pos-corral

ap=i-jaw *gej* *s-a-rang* *najiet,* *ap=i-jaw* *xa-lol.*
FUT=2-see where 1-TV-do work FUT=2-see 1pos-well
Well, alongside the highway, there you'll see my corral, you'll see where I work, you'll see my well.

324) *Ap=i-jaw* *este,* *pasto* *ñing* *s-a-pier.* *Y* *ap=i-jaw* *waküx.*
FUT=2-see erm grass LOC.rel 1-TV-sow and FUT=2-see cow
You'll see the, erm, grass where I sow. And you'll see cows.

325) *Y* *ap=i-jaw* *lugar* *pur* *ñimod* *a-jlük,* *pur* *tyiek.*
and FUT=2-see place pure how.mode TV-exist pure mountain
And you'll see the place just as it is, just wilderness.

326) O: - *Ganüy,* *este,* *akas..* Akas munxyuey a-tam par wüx
now erm how.many how.many PL.AGT.man TV-be.useful for on

ap=m-ir-ie-mb *m-i-pier?* *Ap=m-ir-ie-mb..*
FUT=IRR-2-TV-go IRR-2-sow FUT=IRR-2-TV-go
Now, how many.. How many men are needed for when you begin sowing? You go..

327) P: - *Ah, bueno.* *A-ndyiem* *kas..* *Kas* *peón.*
ah good.m TV-want how.many how.many worker
Oh, right. A few.. A few workers are needed.

328) *A-ndyiem* *akas* *peón.*
TV-want how.many worker
A few workers are needed.

329) *Por ejemplo,* *m-i-jier* *anuok* *hectárea,* *a-ndyiem,* *este,* *arojpuw* *peón.*
per example IRR-2-keep one.CL hectare TV-want erm three worker
For example, [if] you have a hectare, you need, erm, three workers.

330) *Arojpuw..* *Arojpüw.* *Bueno,* *m-a-jlük* *cuatro,* *a-ta* *avanzar.*
three.RND three.RND DISC IRR-TV-exist four TV-lv advance
Three.. Three. Well, [if] there are four, it advances.

331) *Pur* *estaca.* *Ganüy* *wüx,* *este..*
pure stick now on erm
Lots of corn plants. Now if, erm..

332) *Ganüy* *arado* *kej,* *a-ndyiem,* *este,* *mas* *mejor,* *ijpüw* *sembrador.*
now ploughing DEM2.MED TV-want erm more better two.RND seeder
Now the ploughing needs, erm, [it's] better [with] two seeders.

333) *¿Por qué?* *Para* *que* *m-a-pier* *n-a-jñej,* *m-a-yak* *iet.*
per what for that IRR-TV-sow ST-TV-be.good IRR-TV-put earth
Why? So that one can sow nicely, so that the earth will produce.

334) *M-a-mb* *despacio* *pues.* *Porque* *a vec-es* *a-ta* *ocupar* *anuok.*
IRR-TV-go slow DISC because to time-PL TV-lv use one.CL
It goes slowly. Because sometimes one engages [just] one.

335) *Pero* *a vec-es* *ngu=m-a-pujch* *os* *kej,* *n-a-jñej.*
but to time-PL NEG=IRR-TV-cover corn DEM2.MED ST-TV-be.good
But sometimes it doesn't cover [all] the corn, it's good. (i.e. to have more than one)

336) *Es que* *n-a-feñ* *a-mb,* *pues..* *Ii.*
is.3SG that ST-TV-be.fast TV-go DISC MIR
Because it goes fast [then], oh dear.

337) *Pores* *a-ndyiem* *ijpüw.* *La* *mitad* *pur.*
therefore TV-want two.RND the.f half pure
That's why [you] need two. Half of it.

338) *Kej* *por* *mitad,* *la=a-mb* *ñingien,* *la=a-mb* *ñingüy.*
DEM2.MED per half PF=TV-go there.DIST PF=TV-go here
You do it by half, you go to one side [and] you go to the other side.

339) *Pores* *tranquil* *a-jndsuop* *naxiel* *n-a-jñej,* *pues.*
therefore calm TV-surge field ST-TV-be.good DISC
That's why the corn field comes up nicely.

340) *Pal-an.* *Y* *ngu=m-ü-ty* *ñiw* *uj* *os* *kej.*
close-IRR and NEG=IRR-TV-eat PRON3 animal corn DEM2.MED
It comes up just right. And animals don't eat your corn.

341) *Y* *de a-pier* *buoy* *kej,* *ajk* *midid* *kej*
and of a-sow bull DEM2.MED DEM1 measure DEM2.MED

la=m-a-miet *u-wily.*

PF=IRR-TV-bury POS.I.U-backside
And when you do the sowing with a bull, it buries the field.

342) *Ap=a-miet* *u-wily.* *Ap=a-miet* *u-wily* *naxiel* *kej.*
FUT=TV-bury POS.I.U-backside FUT=TV-bury POS.I.U-backside field DEM2.MED
One buries the margins. One buries the margins of the field.

343) *Es* *que* *de* *arado* *a-ta* *avanzar* *mas,* *por* *ejemplo* *anuok*
is.3SG that of ploughing TV-lv advance more per example one.CL

nüty *najiet* *n-a-jier* *de* *a-pier* *buoy,* *anuok* *almo.*
day work 1irr-TV-keep of TV-sow bull one.CL almo
Because the ploughing goes faster, for example [if] I have a day's work of sowing [with] the bull, [it's] one *almo*.

344) *Ajgey* *tarea.*
DEM4.MED task
That's the task.

345) O: - *Lyumb+nüty* *lyumb-yuj,* *o..*
stand.DIM+day stand.DIM-ITR or
At midday it's ready, or..

346) P: - *Pues,* *según..* *según* *buoy,* *giñey* *mod* *a-mb* *pues.*
DISC according according bull how mode TV-go DISC
Well, depending.. Depending on the bull, how it goes.

347) *Pero* *ñiw* *m-a-jmyuely* *temprano,* *a* *la-s* *once,* *listo.*
but PRON3 IRR-TV-enter early to the.f-PL eleven ready
But [if] it starts early, it's finished by eleven.

348) *La=m-a-mbich* *anuok* *almud.* *O* *dejad,* *dejad* *a* *la* *una,*
PF=IRR-TV-finish one.CL almuda or left left to the one

o *a* *la-s* *doce.*
or to the.f-PL twelve
It has finished an *almuda.* Or leaves at one, or at twelve.

349) *La=m-a-mbich* *anuok* *almud.* *Ajgey* *tarea,* *vay.*
PF=IRR-TV-finish one.CL almuda DEM4.MED task DISC
It finishes an *almuda* [by then]. That's the task.

350) O: - *Akas* *os* *a-luox-iw* *tyiel?*
how.manycorn TV-throw-PL LOC
How much corn do they throw in?

351) P: - *Cada* *siembra,* *cada* *pasto* *kej* *pikiw.*
each sowing each grass DEM2.MED four
Each sowing four per grass.

352) *Ajgey,* *vay,* *o* *cinco* *de* *repente.* *Cuatro.*
DEM4.MED DISC or five of sudden four
That's it, or five sometimes. Four.

353) *A vec-es* *ngu=m-a-jndxyup* *par* *anuok,* *pues.*
to time-PL NEG=IRR-TV-appear for one.CL DISC
Sometimes one of them doesn't grow.

354) *A vec-es* *a-ta* *fallar,* *a vec-es,* *pero..*
to time-PL TV-lv fail to time-PL but
Sometimes it fails, sometimes, but..

355) *A* *cinco* *kej* *más* *seguro.* *De* *cuatro* *a* *cinco.*
to five DEM2.MED more secure of four to five
[With] five it's more secure. Four or five.

356) *Pues,* *este..* *O* *sea,* anuok nüty ap=i-ngüy ijkew *yunta.*
DISC erm or be.itone.CL day FUT=2-pay two.CL yoke
Well, erm.. On one day you pay two yokes.

357) *Uh,* *ap=a-jüy* *p=a-rang* *ijkew* *almud,* *anuok* *nüty=an.*
EXCLA FUT=TV-wander FUT=TV-do two.CL almuda one.CL day=del
Oh dear, it goes and does two *almudas* in just one day.

358) *Anuok nüty.* *O* *tres,* *aryuj* *yunta.*
one.CL day or three three.CL yoke
[In] one day. Or three, three yokes.

359) *Pues* *aryuj* *almud.* *Un* *chingo,* *demasiado.*
DISC three.CL almuda one load too.much
Then [it's] three *almudas*. A lot, [it's] much.

360) *A-jier,* *este,* *a vec-es* *a-jier-üw* *hasta* *fanega* *a-pieng-üw.*
TV-keep erm to time-PL TV-keep-PL until bushel TV-speak-PL
It has, erm, sometimes they have up to a bushel, they say.

361) *Doce* *almo-s.* *Ajgey.* *Doce* *almo-s.* *Uh,* *ap=a-wüñ* *como*
twelve almo-PL DEM4.MED twelve almo-PL EXCLA FUT=TV-get.outlike

veinticinco *carreta-s,* *o* *más.*
twenty.five car.load-PL or more
Twelve *almos*. Really. Twelve almos. Oh dear, one gets like twenty five car loads, or more.

362) *Primero,* *este,* a-jlük Cele Ramírez. *Bueñ* tiempo.
first erm TV-exist Cele Ramírez good time
Before, erm, there was [someone called] Cele Ramírez. [That was a] good time.

363) *Ajgey,* *este,* *buoy* *de* *ijkew* *yunta,* *aryuj* *yunta* *por* *eso* *mismo*

	DEM4.MED	erm	bull	of	two.CL	yoke	three.CL	yoke	per	that	self.m
	mi-buoy	*ñiw,*	*pues.*								
	POS.II.U-bull	PRON3	DISC								

That was, erm, two yokes of bulls, three yokes, including his own bull.

364)	*Pores*	*wüx*	*ap=a-wüñ*	*mbey*	*ajk*	*tiempo*	*kam,*	
	therefore	on	FUT=TV-get.out	mazorca	DEM1	time	DEM2.PROX	
	la=pots-uoch	*a-ngwap.*						
	PF=begin-CAU	TV-harvest						

That's why when he got mazorca, he would start harvesting.

365)	*A-wüñ*	*de*	*veinticinco*	*carretas.*	
	TV-get.out	of	twenty.five	car.loads	

He used to get twenty five car loads.

366)	*Intere*	*gey*	*ap=a-yak*	*a-mal,*	*ap=a-yak*	*mi-troja*[34]*.*	
	entire	DEM3.MED	FUT=TV-put	TV-carry.water	FUT=TV-put	POS.II.U-trough	

He used to carry all of that and fill his trough.

367)	*Ii,*	*cantidad,*	*ya*	*jonjolín*	*kej*	*tonelada*	*a-wüñ.*
	MIR	quantity	already	sesame	DEM2.MED	ton	TV-get.out

Oh dear, a lot, just the sesame he would already get a ton out of.

368)	*M-a-kiejp*	*mi-koj*	*ñiw*	*mi-nüty*	*Juan Ramírez.*
	IRR-TV-accompany	POS.II.U-brother	PRON3	POS.II.U-name	Juan Ramírez

Together with his brother who was called Juan Ramírez.

369)	*Ajgey*	*competencia*	*a-mb-üw.*
	DEM4.MED	competence	TV-go-PL

Those were competing.

370)	*A vec-es*	*a-mbüly*	*mas*	*Juan Ramírez,*	*a vec-es*	*a-mbüly*	*mas*	*ñiw.*
	to time-PL	TV-hit	more	Juan Ramírez	to time-PL	TV-hit	more	PRON3

Sometimes Juan Ramírez used to hit more, sometimes he (i.e. Cele).

371)	*Puro*	*munxyuey*	*a-rang*	*najiet,*	*pues.*
	pure	PL.AGT.man	TV-do	work	DISC

They were men working.

372)	*Campesino-s*	*ciento*	*por*	*ciento,*	*per*	*ganüy*	*tsi=ndyow-üw.*
	farmer-PL	hundred	per	hundred	but	now	PF=die-PL

Farmers. A hundred percent, but now they are dead.

373)	*Mi-kwal-üw*	*a-küly-iw*	*ganüy*	*per*	*la=ngu=m-a-tüch*	*ajk*	*mod*	*ñiwew.*
	POS.II.U-child-PL	TV-stay-PL	now	but	PF=NEG=IRR-TV-reach	DEM1	mode	PRON3PL

[34] The word for trough in standard Spanish is *troje*.

Their children still remain, but they don't reach their [levels].

374) *A-ta* *cambiar* *ahora.* *Pores,* *este,* *ñiw..*
TV-lv change now therefore erm PRON3
[Things] have changed now. That's why, erm, he..

375) *Ganüy,* *pues..*
now DISC

376) *Siempre* *ganüy* *mungich* *ñipilan,* *la=ngu=mi*
always now PL.AGT.youth people PF=NEG=nprs

at *primer* *m-a-rang* *najiet* *o.*
also first IRR-TV-do work DIM
Now, [they're] always young people, they don't do work like before.

377) *Primer* *muntaxyuey* *kej,* *y* *a* *vec-es..*
first PL.AGT.man DEM2.MED and to time-PL
Before, the men, and sometimes..

378) *Muntaxyuey* *kej,* *pues,* *xow* *activo* *ñiwew* *tyiel* *najiet* *pues.*
PL.AGT.man DEM2.MED DISC very active PRON3PL LOC work DISC
Well, the men, were very active in working.

379) *Pero* *ganüy* *xikon* *ñingüy* *ganüy..*
but now PRON1EXCL here now
But now, we, here..

380) *Xow* *a-jlük* *bulla,* *xow* *a-jlük* *bebida.* *Fiesta.*
very TV-exist noise very TV-exist drink party
There is a lot of noise, there's a lot of drinking. Party.

381) O: - *Nangoxnüty.* P: - *Ajá,* *nangoxnüty.* *Bulla* *ñingien,* *bulla* *ñingien.*
celebration yeah celebration noise there.DIST noise there.DIST
O: Celebration. P: Yeah, celebration. Noise over there (pointing) [and] noise over there (pointing).

382) *Puro* *tomien* *de* *cerveza.*
pure money of beer
Lots of money [spent on] beer.

383) *Ñ-u-mbety* *anuok* *cartón.* *Cien* *peso-s.* *Híjole.*
ST-TV-cost one.CL cardboard hundred peso-PL MIR
A crate [of beer] is expensive. A hundred pesos. Oh dear.

384) *Pues..* *Primero* ngu=mi atokey. *Primero,* *más* *antes..* *No.*
DISC first NEG=N.PRS like.that.MED first more before no
Well.. Before it wasn't like that. Before, before.. No.

385) O: - *N-a-paty-ey.* P: - *N-a-paty-ey* *a-jlük* *bulla.*
ST-TV-diminish-rf ST-TV-diminish-rf TV-exist noise
It was very little. The noise was very little.

386) *Y* *at* *casamiento* *kej,* *pues..* *Ngu=m-a-rang-üw* *aton* *ganüy.*
and also wedding DEM2.MED DISC NEG=IRR-TV-do-PL also now
And weddings, too, well they are not done alike nowadays.

387) *A-nguoch* *xik,* *wüx* *tiempo* *a-nguoch* *xi-wix..*
TV-meet PRON1 on time TV-meet 1pos-hand
When I married, the time I got married,

388) *Bendición*=an tyilyiem.. *Listo*.
blessing=del LOC.house ready.m
[It was] just a blessing at home.. [and] ready.

389) *Cada* *quien..* *Su* *casa,* a-pieng ñiw. Ngu=m-a-jlük *baile*.
each who PRON3pos house TV-speak PRON3 NEG=IRR-TV-exist dance
Everyone.. To their homes, one would say. There was no dance.

390) *Ganüy nguoy.*
now no
Today it's the contrary.

391) *P=a-jlük* *conjunto,* *p=a-jlük* *padrino,* *de* *cerveza,* *padrino-s* *de*
FUT=TV-exist band FUT=TV-exist godfather of beer godfather-PL of

regalo, *bueno,* *ii*..
present DISC MIR
There's a band, there's a godfather/sponsor, of beer, gift sponsors, well, oh dear..

392) *Barr* *de* *alegre*.
barbarous of joyful
It's very joyful.

393) *O* *düy* *ñingien* *ngu=m-a-jlük* *bulla* *ngu=m-i-rang-an* *atokey* *ikon?*
or towards there.DIST NEG=IRR-TV-exist noise NEG=IRR-2-do-PL like.that.MED PRON2PL

Or over there [in your country] there's no noise made by you like that?

394) *Al=kej* *atowan?* M: - *Al=kej.*
DUR=DEM2.MED also DUR=dem.2med
Is there also? There is.

395) *Pues* *este,* *pero* *mala* *costumbre* *a-jier* *ñipilan.*
DISC erm but bad.f tradition.f TV-keep people
Well, erm, but people have bad habits.

396) *At* *a-pey* *anop* *n-a-w* *Perú,* *at* *mod* *a-pey* *ñiw..*

also TV-arrive one.RND ST-TV-go.out Peru also mode TV-arrive PRON3
There was also one from Peru, he also came..

397) *N-a-w* *Perú.* O: - *Kwej* *minüty?* *Ngu=lyaj* *i-miajts?*
ST-TV-go.out Peru thing POS.II.U-name NEG=remember 2-inside
From Peru. What was he called? Don't you remember?

398) O: - *A-pieng* *chük* *en* *Perú,* *ngu=m-ü-ty-iw* *os* *kej.*
TV-speak rep in Peru NEG=IRR-TV-eat-PL corn DEM2.MED
Theys ay in Peru, [people] don't eat corn.

399) *Peruano,* *Perú.* *Pur,* *este,* *kwej* *mi-nüty.*
peruvian Peru pure erm thing POS.II.U-name
Peruvian, [of] Peru. Just, erm, what is its name.

400) *At* *m-i-jaw* *cebolla.* *Papa.* *Ajgey* *mi-piats* *ñiwew* *chük.*
also IRR-2-see onion potato DEM4.MED POS.II.U-tortilla PRON3PL rep
Like onion. Potatoes. That's [what] they [have instead of] tortilla.

401) *Perú.* *Puro* *papa* *chük.* *Os* *kej..*
Peru pure potato REP corn DEM2.MED
Peru. Just potatoes. The corn..

402) *A-pieng* *os* *kej* *sólo* *para* *marrano* *come,* *vay.*
TV-speak corn DEM2.MED only for pig eat.3SG DISC
They say corn is eaten only by pigs.

403) *At* *a-pieng* *gey.*
also TV-speak DEM3.MED
That's what that one said.

404) *Ganüy* *tyi=m-a-tüñ* *m-a-ngey* *xik* *tyi=ngu=n-a-jaw* *jang* *nahual*
now PRG=IRR-TV-request IRR-TV-hear PRON1 PRG=NEG=1irr-TV-see who Nahual

ñingüy *chük.*
here REP
Now he was asking me if I didn't know which Nahuales there are here.

405) *U-mbas+ük.* *ñiwew* *a-ngey-iw,* *noticia* *kej.*
POS.I.U-surface+cloud PRON3 TV-hear-3PL news.item DEM2.MED
Witches, they heard, [on] the news.

406) *Ñiwew* *tyi=m-a-yamb-uw* *jang* *nahual* *xik.*
PRON3PL PRG=IRR-TV-seek-PL who Nahual PRON1
They were trying to find out what Nahual I am.

407) *A-tüñ* *m-a-ngey* *xik.*
TV-request IRR-TV-hear PRON1
They asked me.

408) *At* *a-pieng* *ñiw* *n-a-saj* *xik* *ñiwew,* *jang* *mi-nahual*
also TV-speak PRON3 1irr-TV-say PRON1 PRON3PL who POS.II.U-Nahual

kej, *ngej* *a-jlük* *pues. .... . 35'00.*
DEM2.MED where TV-exist DISC
They also asked me to tell them who their Nahuales are, where they are.

409) *A-rang-uw* *xik* *pregunta* *tyiel* *ngu=n-a-jier,* *este,* *conocimiento* *nahual.*
TV-do-PL PRON1 question LOC NEG=1irr-TV-keep erm knowledge Nahual
They asked me if I didn't have, erm, knowledge of Nahuales.

410) *Ngu=n-a-ta* *entender* *kwej* *ñiw* *nahual.*
NEG=1irr-TV-lv understand thing PRON3 Nahual
I don't understand what a Nahua lis.

411) O: - *Nahual* *ñipilan.* P: - *Saúl?* *Kwej?* *Kwej* *minüty* *ñiw?*
Nahual people Saúl what what POS.II.U-name PRON3
People [have a] Nahual. Saúl? [Or] what? What was his name?

412) O: - *Jang*? P: - *Naxyuey* *kej.* *Naxyuey* *kej.*
who man DEM2.MED man DEM2.MED
Whose? That man's. That man's.

413) *La=m-a-jier* *ñat.*
PF=IRR-TV-keep year
It's years ago already.

414) O: - *Porque* *a-pieng* *ñiw* *tyiel...* *¿Qué?* *1930?* *José López?*
because TV-speak PRON3 LOC what 1930 José López
Because he says.. What? [In] 1930? José López?

415) M:- *Juan López, 1912.* O: - *T-a-pieng akas* *cuent* *wüx* *umbeyajts.* *Ta-..*
Juan López, 1912. PST-TV-speak how.many story on POS.I.U-mouth-1incl PST-TV-
Juan López, [in] 1912. He told some stories in Umbeyajts. He..

416) P: - *Jang*? O: - *Atokey,* *pues.* *A ver,* *tsi=ndyow,* *pues,* *porque..*
who like.that.MED DISC to see PF=die DISC because
Who? Well like I was saying. [But] let's see, he is already dead, because..

417) *Ñingüy* *wüx* *u-mbey-ajts* *a-pieng.* *La=m-a-jier* *ñat.*
here on POS.I.U-mouth-1incl TV-speak PF=IRR-TV-keep year
He spoke Umbeyajts from here. It's years ago.

418) *Al=wüx* *nawijk,* *pues,* *kwej* *a-pieng* *ñiw,* *la=m-a-jier* *ñat.*
DUR=on book DISC thing TV-speak PRON3 PF=IRR-TV-keep year
It's in a book, what he said, it's years ago.

419) *Ñiw* *a-jier* *nawijk* *kej.* P: - *Xik* *wijk-iaj-os* *1944.*
PRON3 TV-keep paper DEM2.MED PRON1 be.born-ep-1 1944

He has that book. I was[n't] born [until] 1944.

420) O: - *I-jaw.* P: - *Kej* *wijk-iaj-os.* *Allí* *nací.*
2-see DEM2.MED be.born-EP-1 there be.born.PST.1SG
You see? That's when I was born. That's when I was born.

421) *Xik* *xa-nüty* *Pedro, Pedro Pérez.*
PRON1 1pos-name Pedro Pedro Pérez
My name is Pedro, Pedro Pérez.

422) O: - *Ganüy* *ngu=m-i-jier* *kuchux ndok* *par* *m-ir-ie-mb* *tyiel* *u-mbey* *ndyuk?*
now NEG=IRR-2-keep little net for IRR-2-TV-go LOC POS.I.U-mouth sea
Now don't you have a little fishing net for going to sea to fish?

423) *Ngu=m-ir-ie-mb* *ik,* *ngu=m-ir-ie-mb* *más?*
NEG =IRR-2-TV-go PRON2 NEG=IRR-2-TV-go more
You don't go, you don't go anymore?

424) P: - *Ngwey,* *ngu=n-a-rang* *más* *pescador.* *Más* *puro* *campesino.*
no NEG=1irr-TV-do more fisherman more pure farmer
No, I don't do fishing anymore. Just farming..