Eighteenth-Century Cholón
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHOLÓN

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door

Astrid Alexander - Bakkerus
geboren te Batu (Indonesië)
in 1943
Promotiecommissie

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In loving memory of my uncle Frederik H. Hermans
and my mother Mary
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ALC: Arte de la Lengua Cholona
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<td>PRB</td>
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<td>PRO</td>
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<td>PRON</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
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<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
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<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purpose (clause)</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUE</td>
<td>Quechua</td>
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<tr>
<td>QM</td>
<td>question marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>quotation marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUW</td>
<td>question word</td>
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<td>RE</td>
<td>reiterative</td>
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<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
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<tr>
<td>REP</td>
<td>reportative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relational form marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>resultative clause</td>
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<tr>
<td>RFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RST</td>
<td>restrictive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
S       subject
s       singular
SE      stem extension
SEQ     sequential
SIM     simultaneity
Sp      Spanish
SPA     spatial
SR      switch-reference
SUB     subject clause
TEMP    temporal (clause)
TERM    terminative
TOP     topic marker
TV      transitive verb
V       vowel
verb
VB      verbalizer
VOC     vocative

1       first person
2       second person
3       third person
8       morpheme boundary
$       syllable boundary
#       word boundary
/       in the neighbourhood of
_       before or after
*       constructed form
//      phoneme indication
~       varies with
--      distinctive from and vice versa
[ ]     between square brackets: insertion or phonetic transcription/form
< >     between angled brackets: forms written in de la Mata’s spelling
>       resulting in
<       derived from
“ ”    literal citation
‘ ’    gloss
1. Introduction
The main purpose of this book is to give a description of the Cholón language as represented in the Arte de la Lengua Cholona, an eighteenth century grammar written by a Franciscan friar, named Pedro de la Mata. This grammar can be consulted in the British Library (Manuscripts Department, Shelfmark: Additional 25322) in London (United Kingdom). Nowadays, the Cholón language is probably extinct. It was spoken in the Huallaga Valley (department of San Martín and Huánuco) in northern Peru. Cholón formed a small language family together with the neighbouring language Híbito. So far, no wider relationship has been established. In 1996 I visited the valley of the Huallaga River, in order to look for possible surviving speakers of Cholón and Híbito (Alexander-Bakkerus, 1998). There had been reports that in that area, especially in the town of Juanjui and surroundings, Cholón was still used by a very small number of speakers. However, the descendants living in that sector of the river only remembered a few lexical items and expressions from the language of their grandparents. According to my spokesmen, Cholón was no longer spoken in that area. In the higher part of the valley, in the region of Tocache and Monzón, the Cholón language also seems to be extinct.

1.1. Linguistic data
Besides Pedro de la Mata’s Arte de la Lengua Cholona and the lexical items and expressions recorded in the Huallaga Valley in 1996, we have few other data of Cholón at our disposal. In the seventeenth century, a Franciscan priest, Fray Francisco Gutiérrez de Porres, wrote a grammar and a vocabulary of the Cholón language called Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua Cholona. According to Amich ([1854] 1975), he also trans-lated the Christian Doctrine, the Shorter and Longer Catechism, several chants, hymns, prayers, and some religious books into Cholón. Fray Joseph de Araujo, another Franciscan priest, did the same for Híbito (see section 3.1 below). However, the works of both priests are untraceable as yet. In the eighteenth century, Martínez Compañón ([1783] 1978, II: fol. IV) made a word list of Cholón. This list contains 43 lexical items. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Julio Tello, a Peruvian archaeologist and anthropologist, transcribed the first 45 folios of Pedro de la Mata’s grammar. This transcription was published in a magazine called Inca (Tello, 1923). Tessmann (1930: 547, 458-459) gathered 31 words in Cholón and 33 words in Híbito, respectively. He mentions that Cholón, which he transcribes as Tscholón, is autodenominated Seeptsá. Loukotka (1949, 1968) and Greenberg (1987) also published some Cholón data. However, the words given by Loukotka are taken from Martínez Compañón, and Greenberg’s data are based on the information given by Tello, Tessmann and Loukotka. The word lists of Martínez Compañón, Tessmann and Loukotka, and the data of Greenberg can be found in Appendix 7, as well as the words and expressions recorded by me in Juanjui and in Valle. Torero (2002:160-201) and Muysken (2004:460-75) devote a chapter to Cholón in their book. The Peruvian linguist Sofia Latorre is reported to have recorded Cholón materials with the last remaining speakers. These have not
been published so far, however. Pedro de la Mata’s grammar is thus the only extensive available source of information about the language. Therefore, the present description of Cholón will mainly be based on the material provided by this grammar.

1.2. Affiliation and classifications

Cholón or Seeptsá has been classified in a small language family together with Hibito (alternatively Chibito, Hivito, Ibito, Jibito, Xévito, Xibito, Zibito). Nevertheless, there has been some confusion and disagreement about the affiliation of both languages. This uncertainty is reflected in Steward’s *Handbook of South American Indians (HSAI)*, (1948-1950). In Volume III (1948:507) of the *HSAI*, Hiboan and Cholanan are mentioned as different isolated families. This is repeated later (1948:600, 601) where Hibito is called a language isolate. In Volume VI (1950:192), on the other hand, Mason says that the majority of scholars, amongst whom Chamberlain (1913a), Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) and Beuchat & Rivet (1909), support the view that Cholón and Hibito are related to each other; but that this view is not shared by Brinton (1891), Loukotka (1935) and Tessmann (1930). These three authors consider Cholón and Hibito as genetically unrelated languages. It is furthermore said that Jijón y Caamaño places the Cholón family in his macro-Chibchan phylum; that Loukotka and Tessmann believe Hibito to be mixed with Pano; and that the latter believes Cholón to be mixed with Quechua. In the following paragraphs we will discuss these claims in more detail.

In his book *Reise in Chile, Peru und auf dem Amazonstrom* [...] (1836, II:320-337) Pöppig claims that the Hibito speak a language that is completely distinct from the language spoken by the Cholón. As already stated, this is also the opinion of Brinton (1891:288). However, in the chapter about the Arawak stock (1891:243) he notes that the "[...] Cholones are by some classed with the Campas [...]". In contradistinction to what is declared in the *HSAI*, namely that Loukotka (1935) believes Cholón and Hibito not to be related, in an article dating from 1949 about some unknown languages of South-America, Loukotka treats Cholón and Hibito together in one section, as he does with other clusters of related languages, as if they belong to one and the same family, although he does not explicitly say so. Later on, in his *Classification of South American Indian Languages (CSAIL)*, Loukotka (1968:155) actually treats Cholón and Hibito as being related. He classifies them in one stock, Cholona, which he ranges in his North Central Division of the Tropical Forest Languages. He considers the languages as nearly extinct and observes that most of the Cholón speak Quechua. In the section "South American Indian Languages" of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica (EB)*, Suárez (1978:107) also speaks of a Cholanan family composed of Cholón or Seeptsá and Hibito, supposed to be extinct. Tovar (1984:184-185) claims that Cholón and Hibito are two unrelated languages and he has his doubts about their affinity with other languages. He remarks that Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) only includes Cholón into the Chibchan phylum, that Loukotka believes Hibito to be related to Pano, and that Beuchat & Rivet and Loukotka also include both languages into the Chibchan phylum in the book that
they wrote together. However, in his CSAIL, Loukotka neither classifies Cholón and Híbito under his Chibcha stock, nor under his Pano stock. According to the HSAI, both Loukotka and Tessmann do consider Híbito to be mixed with Pano, though not related. Greenberg (1987:383) also distinguishes a Cholonal family composed of Cholón and Híbito. In his classification Cholonal belongs to the Northern Group of the Andean stock of his Amerind family. (He includes Leko, a Bolivian language, in this group. On the basis of lexical data, this is not confirmed by Simon van de Kerke - personal communication -, who is working on this language). In the classification of Kaufman (1990), Cholonal, consisting of Cholón and Híbito, is an isolate language family, and Cholón and Híbito are part of the languages of his Andes region. Kaufman observes that Suárez and Swadesh consider them to be related as well, and that the latter considers Cholonal to be part of the macro-Paesian stock. Torero (1986:533) ranks among the linguists who assume that Cholón and Híbito are unrelated. The SIL (www.sil.org/lla/peru_lg.html, 1996: 2) regards both languages as unclassified. The opinion that Cholón and Híbito are unrelated languages is refuted by Muysken (2004:461-75) on the basis of lexical correspondences between both languages. In addition, he points at the list containing the names of Cholón and Híbito settlements in the Arte de la Lengua Cholona, which may indicate that the grammar could be used not only in the Cholón-speaking villages, but also in the Híbito-speaking villages. In support of Muysken’s evidence the following argument can be adduced. At the end of his grammar, Pedro de la Mata declares that he has used the data of both Fray Francisco Gutiérrez de Porres and Fray Joseph de Araujo: “[...] las he puesto del mismo modo que las usaron los V.V.P.P. Fr. Francisco Gutiérres de Porres y Fr. Joseph de Araujo. It is therefore possible that de la Mata’s Arte is composed of Cholón (Gutiérres’ material) and of Híbito (Araujo’s material). Probably, he could do so because the languages looked alike and both people could understand each other.

Table 1.1 lists the opinions about the relationship between Cholón and Híbito and the classifications of both languages. In this table the names are arranged in alphabetical order. The possible affinity between Cholón and Arawak (Campa) found in Brinton’s treatise about The American Race has been put in parenthesis, because Brinton does not mention the source of this information. The classification of Cholonal as a member of the Chibcha family, which Tovar ascribes to Loukotka, is also in parentheses, because Loukotka does not mention it in his article "Sur quelques langues inconnues de l’Amérique du Sud" from 1949, nor in his classification of 1968. He could have ad-vanced it in an earlier publication. In the overview below the following abbreviations are employed: A: Amerindian; Chb: Chibchan; P: Pano, C: Campa; H: Híbito; Q: Quechua; Ch: Cholón, mP: macro-Paesian.
Table 1.1: The affiliation and classification of Cholón and Híbito

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ch/H</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Chb</th>
<th>Ch/C</th>
<th>Ch+Q</th>
<th>H+P</th>
<th>mP</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brinton</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(+)</td>
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<td>Chamberlain</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greenberg</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jijón y Caamaño</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaufman</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loukotka</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
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<td>Muysken</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>Pöppig</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beuchat &amp; Rivet</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>SII</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suárez</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swadesh</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tessmann</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Torero</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tovar</td>
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1.3. Structure of the book

Before turning to the Cholón language we shall look at the people, their culture, and the ethnohistory of the Cholón (chapter 2). In this ethnohistorical sketch we shall also discuss the demographic development of the ethnic group (and of the Híbito) in the past, and our contact with the descendants. In chapter 3 the manuscript containing Pedro de la Mata’s description of Cholón will be examined. We shall look, among other things, at the outward appearance of the manuscript and at the way the language has been described. In the chapters 4 - 12 the Cholón language itself is described. As already stated, the description is primarily based on the data provided by de la Mata’s *Arte de la Lengua Cholona (ALC)*. Chapter 4 contains a description of the sounds. For this description, a thorough analysis of the symbols employed in the *ALC* for the transcription of Cholón is made, and the relation between the orthography developed by Pedro de la Mata for Cholón and its possible sound structure is examined. This work of interpretation was necessary because of the use in the *ALC* of a non-standardized spelling, according to which several symbols could refer to one sound, and, vice versa, different sounds could be represented by one symbol. Chapter 5 primarily deals with morphological processes in the language. In this chapter attention is also payed to the syllable structure. In chapter 6 nominal structures are examined, and in chapter 7 the verbal complex. Chapter 8 treats the adverbs found in de *ALC*; chapter 9 the interjections; and chapter 10 the discourse markers. They are followed by a discussion about negation (chapter 11) and complex sentences (chapter 12). A lexicon closes our analysis of the language as described by de la Mata. The examples which appear in the chapters 4 - 12 are followed by a number in parentheses. This number corresponds with the number of the page or folio of the *ALC* on which the Cholón
form at issue occurs. The appendices contain maps (Appendix 1); a copy of the first and the last folios of the manuscript Arte de la Lengua Cholona (Appendix 2); a survey the Cholón forms and examples encountered in the ALC (Appendix 3); words showing the positions of the vowel symbols i, e, a, o, u with regard to the consonant symbols p, t, c/k/qu, tz, ch, s/z, x, g/h/j, m, n, ñ, ng(u), l, ll, b/hu/u/v, ñy (Appendix 4.1); consonant clusters and the words in which they occur (Appendix 4.2); a list of Spanish and Quechua loan words (Appendix 5); an index of the geographical names and proper names encountered in the ALC (Appendix 6); the word lists of Martínez Compañón, Tessmann and Loukotka, the data of Greenberg, and the list of words and expressions given by Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Chapa (Appendix 7).
2. The Cholón people

2.1. Sources
Although various authors have reported on the Cholón, information about this group remains fragmented (Pöppig 1836, II:320-337; Amich OFM [1854] 1975:83-86; Herndon & Gibbon 1853-54:136-159; Brinton 1891:288-289; Izaguirre 1922-1929, VI, XII; Tessmann 1930:456-458; Tovar 1966:81; Bonavía 1990:248-261; The Handbook of South American Indians 1948-1950, III, VI, Steward, ed.). The information given by Pöppig, Herndon & Gibbon, and Bonavía is first hand. Pöppig and Herndon & Gibbon have traveled in the Huallaga Valley, where they got in touch, amongst others, with the Cholón and the Híbito. Bonavía is an archaeologist who in 1966 participated in an expedition to the archaeological site of Pajatén (supposed to be an ancient centre of the Cholón or the Híbito). Amich mainly got his information from the reports and journals that Franciscan priests wrote during their voyages. These reports and diaries are kept in the libraries of the convent Colegio de Santa Rosa de Ocopa, an important Franciscan centre, founded in 1732 near Huancayo (Peru). From Ocopa missionaries were sent all over Peru in order to christianize Indians, to man mission stations and to discover new portages and new areas. The data of Brinton are based on the books of Pöppig and Amich. Izaguirre also drew on the archives and library of Ocopa, on Amich and on other sources. Volume VI of Izaguirre's work relates the voyages made by Father Manuel Sobreviela and Fray Francisco Álvarez de Villanueva, and contains the diaries of both priests (pp. 79-267). Volume XII contains, among other things, a section devoted to the Cholón and Híbito, called ‘De los Cholones e Hibitos que más tarde figuran en esta misma región del Alto Huallaga. Época de su aparición histórica, 1671’ (pp. 389-394). Tessman refers primarily to a certain J.W. Harmston, a scholar who did not publish his data, and to Herndon.

Section 2.2 and 2.3 will present a synopsis of the anthropological data found in the sources mentioned above, supplemented with the information obtained by the present author in the Huallaga Valley. In section 2.2 we shall briefly focus on the physical appearance of the Cholón and on their way of life. In section 2.3 we shall focus on the way they lived. We shall also compare them with the Híbito, because their lives were closely interwoven with those of the Híbito by intermarriage and cohabitation. Section 2.4 will give a survey of the Cholón language communities and will report on our visit to the Cholón descendants in the valley of the river Huallaga. For the information about the communities and the demographic data, the same sources as those mentioned above have been consulted, with the exception of Tovar and Bonavía. In addition Fabre (1994:291, 289), Loukotka (1949:65-66, 1968:155), Suárez (1976:107), Solís Foseca (1987:A1 47/4), Tauro (1987, II:677 and Wise (1985:208) have been consulted. The places named in this section can be looked up in Map II - IV in Appendix 1. On Map II the habitats of the Híbito and the Cholón are indicated (Izaguirre 1922, VI:99). Map III is from Martínez Compañón’s Truxillo del Perú ([1783] 1978, I). It shows the conversiones (‘missions’) of Guailillas or Huaylillas with the village of Caxamarquilla or Cajamarquilla
(modern Bolívar) (see section 2.3.4 and 2.4.1): the missions of Jesús de Pajatén and Jesús de Monte Sión for the Híbito people, and the missions of San Buenaventura del Valle and Pisano or Pampa Hermosa, where the Cholón were brought together. Map IV shows the basin of the Huallaga River embedded between the Cordillera Central and the Cordillera Oriental. Map IV has been made by Father Manuel de Sobreviela on the occasion of his trip through the Huallaga Valley in 1790. It contains some rectifications made in 1830 by Amédée Chaumette des Fossés, consul of France in Peru (see also section 3.2).

Names which are characteristic for the region, non-established names, local names for animals, plants and drinks, and foreign words are written in italics.

2.2. Main features of the Cholón

According to the description given by Pöppig, Amich and Izaguirre, the Cholón man is strong and well-proportioned. He has a brown skin and black hair, and is “by far the largest and finest-looking of the aborigines” (Herndon 1853-54:138). His height (six feet: 1.80 meter) makes him conspicuous (Herndon 1853-54:151). With his aquiline nose and his prominent cheekbones he resembled the North American Indian (Pöppig 1836, II:321). Round 1830, the life expectancy of the Cholón was 40 years (Pöppig 1836, II:322). The Cholón woman has a stocky figure and is less attractive. That is why the Cholón men preferred the Híbito women who were reported to be neat (Amich [1975] 1854:85), slender and good-looking. Mrs. A. Gutiérrez and Mr. J. Chapa, the Cholón descendants to whom I have spoken during my stay in the Huallaga Valley, told me that Cholón men often married Híbito girls.

The Cholón also seem to have used body painting. However, the sources contradict each other to some extent concerning this practice and the names of the colours. Tovar (1966:81) remarks that the Cholón painted their faces and their body with jagua and achioté. Herndon (1853-54:138) reports that the Cholón only painted their arms and legs with a dark blue juice obtained from the huitoc, a nut-like fruit; and that it were the Híbito who painted their faces with huitoc as well as with achote [cf. Tovar’s achioté], from which a red colour is extracted. The fact that the Híbito painted their faces blue and red, colours obtained from huitoc and achote, respectively, is also mentioned in the HSAI. In addition, Steward (1948, III:521) writes: “Seemingly all the tribes of Perú and Ecuador stain their teeth black by chewing certain herbs and ashes, which produces a stain that lasts several days (Chantre y Herrera, 1901:63) […] All tribes formerly painted their faces and bodies, often as much for protection against insects as for ornamentation […]. Chagua juice [cf. Tovar’s term jagua] was used to allay itching”.

About their clothing, Amich ([1854] 1975:85), Steward (1948, III:520) and Izaguirre (1922-29, XII:392) mention that in the seventeenth century the Cholón and Híbito country dwellers, men as well as women, were clad in cusmas or cushmanas. These cusmas were single pieces of woven cotton with a slit for the head. They were of a mosslike (Amich [1854] 1975:85) or brown colour and their length varied from above the knees till down to the ankles. On festive occasions and in the cities, the men wore pants, and the women long dresses and shawls or capes which
were procured by trade (Izaguirre 1922-29, XII:392). According to Amich ([1854] 1975:85), pants and shawls were made of baize, and the shirts worn on Sunday of linen. Izaguirre furthermore observes that the Cholón wore neither socks, nor shoes, and that the use of garments, such as pants and capes, was introduced when the mission had gained some influence. According to Steward (1948, III:520) in native times “a complete lack of wearing apparel was not common [...] though many tribes used only some genital cover”. However, Steward and Métraux (1948:603) state that the Cholón and the Híbito people probably grew and wove cotton already in native times. Furthermore, the ornaments of the Montaña tribes consisted of beads, feathers, necklaces, arm and leg bands.

As regards their character, the Cholón people are reported to be cheerful, good-tempered, sober (Herndon & Gibbon 1853-54:137-138), cooperative, kind and reliable (Izaguirre 1922-29, VI:97-98, XII:392). Izaguirre (1922-29, XII:393) remarks in addition that they did not have a thievish nature and that they were neither ambitious, nor greedy. There vices were laziness (Herndon & Gibbon 1853-54:150; Izaguirre 1922-29, XII:393; Pöppig 1836, II:325; Tovar 1966:81) and the fact that they liked drinking (Izaguirre 1922-29, XII:393; Pöppig 1836, II:325; Tovar 1966:81). Under the influence of drink they would become aggressive (Pöppig 1836, II:327). Pöppig (1836, II:325) and Tovar (1966:81) furthermore bring forward that the Cholón are claimed to tend to a dissolute life style, to be proud, suspicious and, contradictory to what Izaguirre reports, to be unreliable. The Híbito are claimed to be less drawn into colonial civilization than the Cholón (Herndon & Gibbon 1853-54:150). Tessmann says that they were wild (1930:458). They led a secluded life, and did not tolerate any outsiders in their neighbourhood. Chapa (personal communication) also referred to the Híbito as the aucas ‘the enemies’ or jíbaros ‘the ferocious people’.

2.3. Habitat and living conditions
The region in which the Cholón and the Híbito lived (and in which their descendants still live) belongs to the zone called the Montaña (HSAI:507). It is a rough, hilly area in which many rapid streams flow, and it is covered with impenetrable wilderness and rain forests. On the lower slopes, up to an altitude of 1500 metres, the forests are tropical. Mesothermal forests appear on the intermediate slopes at an altitude of some 2000 - 2600 metres. The Montaña is separated from the high mountains of the Andes by the so-called Ceja (‘ridge’) de la Montaña (2600 - 3000 metres). This ridge is a rugged, precipitous, cloud-buried, rainy strip where the nights are cold. It is possible that the ancestors of the Cholón and the Híbito used to live in the Ceja, in a region called Pajatén or Abiseo, today a national park in which the ruins of an ancient city are situated. In the book Abiseo. Patrimonio Mundial en Emergencia (1996:95-98) written by Adrián Mendoza Ocampo, it is said that the people from Pajatén spoke Cholón. Amich ([1854] 1975:84) remarks that, amongst the Indians who inhabited this region, the Cholón and the Híbito predominated and that in 1676 the Franciscan friars Father Juan de Campos, Juan Martínez and Jerónimo Caballero christianized many Indians of the Híbito tribe. Bonavia
(1990:249), referring to Raimondi (1876:210-211), also mentions Father Juan de Campos. According to the former source, Juan de Campos had run a concession together with the Híbito people. According to Raimondi, Father Juan de Campos and both other priests were well received not only by the Híbito, but also by the Cholón.

2.3.1. Housing

The ruins of the archaeological site of Abise o are situated at an average altitude of 2,800 metres. They consist, among other things, of relics of big, round houses built on terraces. The walls of these houses were made of stone and adorned with geometric, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures. The roofs were coniform and made of vegetable material. In the time of the colonial period (1630-1830) and the national period (1830-present), the Cholón and Híbito who were not housed in missions, villages and cities, lived in huts. These huts were rectangular. They had an open front, reed walls and a thick palm roof, which lasted three rainy seasons (Pöppig 1836, II: 326). According to Izaguirre, however, the walls were made of stakes attached by lianas. The dwelling only sheltered one family. Cholón families were small and consisted of a father, a mother and one or two children. They lived in isolation or with a few related families in a community of at most three or four huts, widely separated from each other; some 100 yards to a few miles (Herndon & Gibbon). (The absence of big family houses and the rectangular shape of the dwellings seem to be in contradiction with the ruins of the big, round houses found in the archeological site of Abiseo. The HSAI observes that some Tacanan and Arawakan houses were round). These dwellings were not furnished. The Cholón had no stools, beds, nor platforms like some other tribes of the Montaña region. They slept on mats made of palm leaves. The Híbito seemed to have mosquito nets rigged on canoes. For the preparation of the meals, the Cholón women had kitchenware at their disposal, which consisted of calabashes, and of large cooking pots, jars and bowls of earthenware. The pottery was rather rough, and sometimes it was painted red and decorated with simple, crude, white geometric figures. Animals were cooked in their skin. To carry their goods the Cholón and the Híbito used baskets made by themselves. The Cholón also made carrying nets and pouches for small objects.

2.3.2. Fishing and hunting

Isolated family groups used to move frequently, leading a somewhat nomadic existence. For their living the Cholón fished, hunted, gathered wild fruits, honey and cotton, cultivated some crops, and traded. To catch fish they used poison and spears. The HSAI mentions that fish lines were made at the end of the eighteenth century. Izaguirre also mentions the use of fyke nets. For hunting (and warfare) the Cholón used blowguns, bows and poisoned arrows, spears, traps, and clubs. They hunted armadillos, capibaras or river hogs, deer, land turtles, monkeys, peccaries or wild hogs, pumas, snakes and all kinds of birds (such as cormorants, wild ducks, a great variety of parrots, wild turkeys and toucans). However, the killing of armadillos,
capibaras, snakes and black and yellow birds with poisoned arrows appeared to be forbidden. It would namely spoil the hunting poison. According to the HSAI this was also the case when hawks and vultures were killed. Deer was also forbidden game for the Cholón, because it was believed to be a reincarnated soul. The HSAI furthermore mentions that to kill a snake with a blowgun would make the blowgun crooked, and that the hunt on ant-eaters, caimans and iguanas was not allowed either. Killing a caiman with a rifle would ruin the rifle. For their protection and for the safeguard of the hunting, Cholón hunters carried small nets or pouches with all sorts of herbs, and amulets: stones or pits carved with glyphs.

2.3.3. Farming
The Church encouraged farming and stimulated the Indians to settle down, and in the late eighteenth century farming and fishing were the most important sources of food. The fields on which the Cholón cultivated their crops were obtained by slashing and burning a piece of jungle. (The HSAI observes that after the clearing of the ground the Híbito had a celebration in which much chicha or masato, an alcoholic beverage, was involved, and which was accompanied by dance and the music of drums and fifes of reed. The Cholón also employed these instruments to make music. Other musical instruments were bone flutes, horns, jingles and trumpets (Herndon & Gibbon, 1853-54, Izaguirre, 1922-29). With the arrival of the missionaries many new plants (bananas, rice and sugarcane, for instance) were introduced. The Cholón people grew fruits (avocados, bananas, chirimoyas, figs, guavas, oranges, papayas, pineapples), spices (cinnamon, ginger, laurel, pepper, vanilla), trees (acacia, palm, cinchona), vegetables (beans, maize, pumpkins, sacha-papas or potatoes of the woods, yam or sweat potatoes, yucca or sweet manioc), and other crops, such as, cocoa, coffee, cotton, indigo, peanuts, rice, sarsaparilla, sugarcane and tobacco. It was Father Francisco Álvarez de Villanueva (see section 2.1) who noticed the existence of cinnamon trees in the neighbourhood of Santa María del Valle, a village situated near Huánuco (Map II). As regards the other trees, palm trees were very useful. They provided the Cholón with food, wax, wood, and with material for the manufacturing of all sorts of objects. The chonta palm was employed for the manufacturing of blowguns, bows, clubs and spears; from the leaves mats were woven. Baskets and textiles (besides cotton) were made from the fibres of the chambira palm. Herndon & Gibbon report that in Lupuna and the surrounding area almost every woman was engaged in spinning cotton and that a huge amount of balls of cotton-thread was produced. The HSAI furthermore mentions that cotton was woven on a belt loom or horizontal loom. With respect to the other crops, maize was primarily cultivated for the preparation of chicha. It appears that chicha could also be made from bananas and from fruits of the chonta palm (HSAI). Traditionally, the Cholón drank masato which was made from yucca. They fermented it by chewing some mash and by spitting it back into the brew. Sarsaparilla was used as a purgative. The HSAI also mentions that the Cholón were reputed to be powerful curers and that they used ‘cyperus’ as a curative. According to Pöppig they knew and practised all kinds of cures and treatments. Amich writes
According to Herndon and Gibbon, this is the Infidel side where the Cashibo live; Izaguirre writes that the Cashibo, Conibo, Setebo and Shipibo lived in that region, and that they spoke pano which was the lingua franca of the Montaña; Pöppig remarks that it were the Chuncho who lived there. This could mean that the term of Chuncho was the generic name for the tribes living in that area, and that Chuncho was synonymous to Infidel (see also section 3).

2.3.4. Trade

The missionaries also encouraged the Cholón and the Híbito to trade. To facilitate the trade (and to concentrate both people in surveyable regions) the missionaries tried to persuade the Cholón and the Híbito to move to accessible and navigable places, notwithstanding the fact that it required a lot of skill to navigate the Huallaga and its affluents because of the rapids and the gravel banks. In addition, after a rainfall the waters are swirling, tempestuous and contain many objects, such as tree-stumps. However, Herndon & Gibbon, the HSAI and Izaguirre agree that the Cholón mastered the waters in the valley of the river Huallaga, that they had a thorough command of navigation, and that they were excellent boatsmen and pilots. It is obvious that, since time immemorial, the Cholón have navigated the rivers, transporting goods or people. It appears that the Cholón used to gather salt from the salt hills situated on the opposite side, the Amazonian side1 of the Huallaga River. Salt was one of the articles which the Cholón exchanged in the highlands for metal tools and other merchandise. According to Brinton, the Chuncho and the Cholón were said to have been the possessors of the Cerro de Sal, the Salt Mountain (see Map IV). Salt hills were also encountered near Pilluana, Tocache and Uchiza (Herndon & Gibbon). Besides the places mentioned by Herndon & Gibbon, Pöppig mentions other salt regions: Cachiyacu, Chipurana, RioMaria San Miguel, Sapuosa and Yurayacu, for example; and he remarks that the whole valley is in fact a bed of rock salt which crops out here and there and which is sometimes covered with mould, sand and red sandstone (I myself saw a salt hill near Siôn). The word cachi (< Quechua ‘salt’) in the names of places and rivers, and the indications salinas ‘saltmines’ or ‘saltpans’ and tierras salitrosas ‘saline soils’ on Map IV also suggest the presence of salt. The Cholón transported the salt by canoe and on rafts made of balsa. The HSAI observes that salt was also extracted in a place called Callana Hacu (HSAI, III:602). However, the name of Callana Hacu does not occur on the maps. It is possible that Callanayacu ‘Callana River’, near Chasuta, was meant by this name. The fact that the Cholón people extracted salt on the other side of the river suggests that they did not confine themselves to the left side of the Huallaga River and that their habitat possibly extended as far as the Ucayali Basin (see section 3).

Coca leaves were another important product that the Cholón people had traded from time immemorial. Izaguirre calls the Huallaga Valley the región clásica of coca, the region in which coca has traditionally been cultivated. Distance was and

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1 According to Herndon and Gibbon, this is the Infidel side where the Cashibo live; Izaguirre writes that the Cashibo, Conibo, Setebo and Shipibo lived in that region, and that they spoke pano which was the lingua franca of the Montaña; Pöppig remarks that it were the Chuncho who lived there. This could mean that the term of Chuncho was the generic name for the tribes living in that area, and that Chuncho was synonymous to Infidel (see also section 3).
still is measured by **cocadas** 'the effectiveness of a mouthful of coca leaves'. The effectiveness of chewed coca leaves is 35 - 40 minutes, viz. a walking distance of three kilometres in the open field. Working hours are also regulated by **cocadas**: every two hours, workers take a break of a quarter of an hour to chew some coca leaves. In days of old, people from the villages of Valle and Sión, and the surrounding areas used to undertake a trip of eight days to the high mountains, to the village of Cajamarquilla, in order to exchange coca leaves for garments and iron tools. The coca leaves were transported in long baskets which could contain three **arrobas**, some 33 kilogrammes (one **arroba** equals eleven kilogrammes approximately).

Besides salt and coca, the Cholón traded other products, such as salted fish, feathers and bees’ wax. In the mission period, the plants cultivated on the instigation of the missionaries were added to the traditional trading products. The HSAI mentions the trade of candles, **copaiba** oil, copal resin, feathered hats, fish lines (cf. section 2.2.2), laurel wax, manioc meal, peanut oil and woven pouches. Father Francisco Álvarez de Villanueva writes in his diary that he saw a canoe loaded, among other things, with cocoa powder, coffee beans, cinnamon, wax and gold dust from the river Napo. He also remarks that gold and silver have furthermore been found in Cajamarquilla. It appeared that in this place pieces of gold showed up after a downpour.

2.4. Cholón and Híbito territories

Cholón and Híbito were spoken in a vast area. As can be seen on Map II and Map IV, the region of Cholón-speakers and of Híbito-speakers reached from the Huallaga River to the Marañon River and, longitudinally, from Tingo María to Juanjui. The Híbito were found in the northern part of the area, alongside the river Huayabamba and its affluents; the Cholón in the zone south of the Híbito area. However, it is not unlikely that their habitat also extended to the other side of the river, the side where the **gentiles** or unbelievers lived and where they used to extract salt which they subsequently exchanged for other goods in the high mountains (see section 2.2.4). It is very well possible that groups of Cholón who were unwilling to submit to the law of the Church (and of the Spaniards) had fled to the other side of the river, to this Infidel side (cf. ibid. Note 1). According to the HSAI, the Indians of the Montaña resented being brought into the missions by force and being required to observe Spanish customs. “The ban on polygamy was especially intolerable” (Steward, 1948:512). There was also much insubordination and desertion. In addition, they used to move away or to withdraw into inaccessible areas, whenever a contagious disease was rife.

Anyhow, in the Huallaga Valley and the surrounding mountains, concentrations of speakers have been observed in several places through the ages. In section 2.4.1 we shall see that the different sources are not always in agreement concerning the concentrations of Cholón and Híbito, and their number of speakers. Section 2.4.2 will report on my findings in the Huallaga Valley. G. Solís Fonseca, director of the CILA (Centro de Investigación de Lingüística Aplicada) of the San
Marcos University in Lima mentioned in 1987 that there were one or two Cholón speakers in the neighbourhood of Sión, a village situated on the left bank of the Huallaga River. These speakers appear to have been the consultants of Sofía Latorre. In the summer of 1996, I made a trip to this region to search for speakers of Cholón (and, if possible, of Híbito).

2.4.1. Habitat and speakers
Schjellerup (1990: 236-247) mentions that the Inca conquest of the Ceja started from the northeast, and that round 1473 they had reached, for instance, the Bombonaje River, an affluent of the Jelache, a tributary of the Huayabamba River (see Map II). The discovery of a stele and some stone structures show in addition that there had been a flourishing culture in the region before the arrival of the Inca. According to Amich, however, the first peaceful contact with the Híbito took place about 1670, when a cowherd from the province of Cajamarquilla (Pataz, Map III) penetrated into their territory (Amich [1845] 1975: 84). After this encounter two Jesuits from Quito, a priest and a secular cleric, successively entered the territory. Their enter prise to convert the people failed and they retraced their footsteps. In 1676 three Franciscan friars, Father Juan Campos and two lay brothers, Juan Martínez and Jerónimo Caballero, succeeded in their attempt to christianize the Híbito, and they baptized many of them. Shortly afterwards, two other Franciscan priests, Fray José Araujo (Joseph de Araujo, according to Pedro de la Mata) and Fray Francisco Gutiérrez (Gutierrez) de Porres, founded the village of Jesús de Ochanache and of San Buenaventura de Apisonchuc, respectively. In Jesús de Ochanache were gathered the Híbito, and in San Buenaventura de Apisonchuc the Cholón. Both Joseph de Araujo and Francisco Gutiérrez wrote a grammar, an arte, and a vocabulary of the language spoken in their villages (see chapter 3). After their death difficulties arose between the Híbito and the Cholón, who apparently were living together in the missions, and the Church decided to separate them. Four villages were founded, two for each group. The Híbito people were housed in Jesús de Pajatén and in Jesús de Monte Sión; the Cholón people in San Buenaventura del Valle and in San Buenaventura de Pisano or Pampa Hermosa (Map III). Amich furthermore observes that in 1767 there were 4800 persons living in these missions, and that afterwards their number increased very much. However, according to Steward, the missions in the Huallaga-Ucayali area declined after 1767. In that year an uprising took place (the first revolt occurred in 1742, six years before friar Pedro de la Mata wrote his arte) and the Jesuits were expelled from the area. And, in Steward’s words (1948:512), “Their missions were either secularized or taken over by the Franciscans in the capacity of curates, which greatly handicapped them”. This caused the decay of the missions.

Pedro de la Mata wrote his Arte de la Lengua Cholona in 1748 in Trujillo. In 1772 a copy of this grammar was made by Fray Gerónimo Clota in the mission of San Buenaventura del Valle. In this manuscript the names of the villages of Huay-lillas, Pizana (Pisano), Pucala and Soledad are encountered. Apparently, these were the villages or missions with which the people from Valle were in close contact.
Pizana or Pisano was a Cholón mission, as we have seen. Possibly, Huayllillas, Pucala and Soledad were also Cholón villages. At the end of the manuscript are noted the names of settlements of which the inhabitants had not yet been converted. The list of Cholón villages, some of which have Spanish names as well, is as follows:

- Apizoncho
- Xuxante
- Utchinaman
- Chalamuy
- Chillancuy

- Xenquiman ‘Yervas’
- Jallipnatch ‘Cerro de Palo Fuerte’
- Itziuat
- Zalcot ‘Río María Negro’
- Jopeyte ‘Tierra como Sangre’

The list of Híbito settlements consist of the following names:

- Ochañache
- Chillonya ‘Arbol’
- Putonya ‘Arbol’
- Ziumich ‘Palmas’
- Juanjui

Of the villages figuring on these lists, only Apizoncho, Zalcot and Juanjui can be found on a map. Apizoncho appears as the name of a river on Map II and IV. Zalcot, Yanayacu in Quechua, also appears on both maps. Juanjui can be found on Map II.

The missions in the valley of the Huallaga, the "conversiones de Huaylillas" or "Guaylillas", belonging to the diocese of Trujillo, came under the supervision of the College of Santa Rosa of Ocopa after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. The guardian of this convent, Fray Manuel de Sobreviela, made a tour of the Huallaga region in 1787. A year after, Fray Francisco Álvarez de Villanueva also visited the region. (cf. section 2.1). During his round trip Villanueva decided to relocate a number of villages, Pajatén, Valle, Sión, and the former Jesuit missions Playa Grande and Chicoplaya near the Monzón River (Map II and IV), from the inland to the riverside. Thus, Pachiza was founded for the indigenous people of Pajatén, and Tocache for those of Pampa Hermosa. He also decreed that on Wednesdays and on Fridays the instruction of the christian doctrine should be given in Spanish, and that all the children should learn to read Spanish. In his diary, Sobreviela declares that the villages of Pajatén, Valle, Sión, Pampa Hermosa, Playa Grande and Chicoplaya contained 1597 souls, of which 376 were living in Valle and 84 in Chicoplaya. According to Izaguirre there was a concentration of Cholón people in the neighbourhood of Monzón at that time; and according to a certain Father Gabriel Sala (Izaguirre, 1924, VI:501), there were 138 Cholón inhabitants around Chicoplaya. Other Híbito or Cholón zones named in the reports of Sobreviela and Villanueva are Palma Real (cf. Pedro de la Mata’s Utchinaman), the river Pisan or Mixiollo, Buldibuyo, Jucusbamba, Parcoy (a mining place), Soledad (also
mentioned in Pedro de la Mata’s grammar, see above), Tayabamba and Uchiza. In addition, the village of Lupuna is mentioned by Izaguirre as being a Híbito settlement. He also gives an overview of the villages and of the number of Indian inhabitants made by Sobreviela in 1791 (p. 497). According to this list or “Estado del Colegio de Ocopa y de todas sus misiones del Peru y Chiloe, sus hospicios, distancias, pueblos y almas”, Pampa Hermosa has 246 inhabitants, Uchiza 100, Sion 205, Valle 372, Pajatén 358, Jucusbamba 28, Pachisa 100, Playa Grande 204 and Chicoplaya 110. Concerning Pampa Hermosa, Valle and Pajatén, the HSAI gives deviant figures: 205, 378 and 325 respectively. According to the census of Mainas, carried out in 1814 (Izaguirre, 1924, XII:371), Pachiza, Pajatén and Jalopachi together had 3004 inhabitants, Valle de Apichoncho 277, Siôn 204, Balsayacu 85, Tocachi 185, Uchiza 250, Playa Grande 170 and Chicoplaya 200. The total amounts to 4375 inhabitants, which means a considerable growth compared with Sobreviela’s figure (1723 souls). The population of the villages probably increased, due to the arrival of mestizos, Spaniards and other natives (Conibo, for instance, cf. HSAI, III: 600 and VI: 192, respectively). Presumably, not the entire population spoke Cholón or Híbito, the more so since after Sobreviela’s decree in 1787 the children had to read Spanish, and the religious doctrine was taught in Spanish.

In the HSAI, VI:192, the Híbito language is said to have become extinct about 1825, and the Híbito reportedly mixed with the Conibo. Pöppig observes that in 1836 there were 288 Cholón families in the missions of Pachiza, Siôn, Tocache, Uchiza, Chicoplaya and Playa Grande, and that the total number of inhabitants amounted to 900 or 1000 souls. The fact that Pöppig notes that Pachiza and Siôn, which previously were the habitat of the Híbito, are considered to be Cholón settlements arrests the attention. Herndon & Gibbon declare that the district of Tocache (Tocache, Lamasillo, Isonga and Pizana) housed 500 Híbito and the district of Tingo Maria 188 Cholón. Strikingly, the former Cholón missions of Tocache and Pizana (Pisano or Pampa Hermosa), had become Híbito villages. For the district of Pachiza Herndon & Gibbon give the following numbers of married couples: Pachiza 80, Valle 80, Huicunga 30, Siôn 30, Achiras 16, Lupuna 15, Shepti 12, Bijoa 4, Challuayacu 3. The total number of persons was estimated at 1350: five per family. Tessmann, citing J.W. Harmston, notes that the Hibo are living in the woods behind the Bombonaje River. These Hibo seem to have populated the Pajatén area. In his book, Tessmann also gives a list of Hibo and Cholón words. The Hibo words are from an old man and two women from Pachiza. The Cholón words were given to him by an old man who was also living in Pachiza. Tessmann furthermore states that the regions populated by the Cholón are the regions around Huánuco and Tingo Maria, and the zone south of Pachiza between the rivers Huayabamba and Valle or more to the south. Loukotka calls Cholón and Híbito nearly extinct languages. He reports that Cholón is spoken by a few people near Uchiza on the Huallaga River, and Híbito on the Huamo River. In the section about the South American Indian languages of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1976/1984: 107, fifteenth edition), the Cholohán family is held to be extinct by Suárez. This is repeated in the next edition (Volume 22, p. 792).
Lowland Peru: History and Current Status”, Wise states that Cholón as well as Híbito are extinct. Tauro mentions that the Cholón already spoke Quechua in the sixteenth century. Their descendants are living in the department of Huánuco and in San Pedro de Chonta on the Uchiza River. Concerning the number of habitants of each habitat he gives the following data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Huánuco: habitants</th>
<th>S.P. de Chonta: habitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1091</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>4040</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>4961</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fabre locates both the Cholón and the Híbito in the neighbourhood of Sión. He notes that the latter seem to be extinct and that there were one or two speakers of Cholón in 1986. He got this information from Solís. These speakers apparently were the consultants of Sofía Latorre.

The different places in which Cholón and Híbito were located, together with the number of indigenous people and the names of the sources of information are shown in Table 1.2 below. The villages of which the inhabitants have been counted, but of which the number of habitants has not been given, are marked with a plus sign. In this table, the sources of information are chronologically ordered. The data of Father Gabriel Sala concerning Chicoplaya (138 inhabitants), and the deviant figures mentioned in the HSAI regarding the villages of Pampa Hermosa, Valle and Pajatén have been left out. The data of Tauro are also omitted. He remarks that in the sixteenth century the Cholón spoke Quechua, although “elements of an own language still survive”. This remark implies that the Cholón had already made contacts with the Quechua speakers before the arrival of the missionaries in 1676. From Schjellerup’s article we know that the Inca infiltrated the Ceja. It is therefore possible that the inhabitants of the places mentioned by Tauro, except for one or two people, are speakers of Quechua and Spanish.
Table 1.2: Cholón and Híbito communities, the number of inhabitants and the sources: Amich (A), Sobreviela (S), Villanueva (V), the Census of Mainas (M), Pöppig (P), Herndon & Gibbon (H&G)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>H&amp;G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achiras</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balsayacu</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bijao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Challuayacu</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huicunga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juanjui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jucusbamba</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lupuna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pajatén/</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pachiza</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pampa Hermosa/</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tocache</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shepti</td>
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<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sión</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uchiza</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicoplaya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playa Grande</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tingo Maria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>4800</td>
<td>1597</td>
<td>1723</td>
<td>4375</td>
<td>900/1000</td>
<td>2538</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we have seen, there is some confusion concerning the habitat and the language area of the Cholón and the Híbito. Pisana and Tocache, known as Cholón missions, are regarded as Híbito settlements by Herndon & Gibbon. The Híbito villages of Pachiza and Sión are said to have had a Cholón population by Pöppig. This is repeated by Tessman and by Fabre, according to whom Cholón was also spoken in Pachiza (Tessmann) and in Sión (Fabre). And the people from Juanjui believe that Pajatén, which is generally regarded as the cradle of the Híbito, had been populated by the Cholón. The confusion about the habitat of both people is presumably caused by the fact that the Franciscans had gathered the Cholón and the Híbito together in the same mission, and that they have amalgated by intermarriage. By this cohabitation and amalgamation the distinction between Cholón and Híbito settlements and, thus, between the Cholón and the Híbito identity may have become less outspoken. The fact that their languages were disappearing to make way for Quechua and Spanish may have contributed to this loss of distinctivity.

About the moment of disappearance of the languages, of Híbito particularly, there is some disagreement. The HSAI informs that around 1825 Híbito is no longer spoken. It appears however that the language was spoken until the 1960s. Pöppig
mentions in 1836 that the Híbito differ from the Cholón in their tongue. In his book *Die Indianer Nordost-Perus* from 1930, Tessmann still reports on speakers of Híbito. In 1854 Herndon & Gibbon report on 500 Híbito speakers in the Tocache district. In 1968, Loukotka calls Híbito a nearly extinct language. Finally, in 1976, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says that Híbito is no longer spoken. This is also assumed by Wise (1985) and by Fabre (1994), who believes that, today, the Híbito speak San Martín Quechua or Spanish. The language indeed seems to be extinct. With respect to the disappearance of Cholón, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* considers Cholón as an extinct language in 1976. This is also what Wise notes in 1985. Solís, however, mentions two speakers in 1987, which is repeated by Fabre. Nowadays, one of these speakers is dead, whereas the other one appears to be a descendant who does not speak Cholón (see section 2.4.2).

2.4.2. Descendants

As already stated, in the summer of 1996 a journey was made by the author to the valley of the Huallaga to search for possible speakers of Cholón and Híbito. In Pachiza, a meeting was arranged with Mrs. Natividad Grández del Castillo, a Híbito woman of 90 years old. However, the old lady did not remember the language of her youth. I was told that another Híbito lady, Mrs. Juliana Chispa, had already died some forty years earlier. In Juanjui I met Mrs. Aurelia Gutiérrez Cerquera, a Cholón descendant of 76 years old. Her niece, the late Mrs. Victoria Cerquera Ojeda (who had died in 1993), was one of the consultants of Sofía Latorre. Mrs. Gutiérrez knew some Quechua and four or five Híbito words. The second consultant, Mr. José Santos Chapa Ponce (70 years in 1996), lives in Valle. Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Chapa consider Sión as the habitat of the Híbito. Neither Mrs. Gutiérrez nor Mr. Chapa could speak Cholón, but they remembered a few words and expressions (some 150 items). Their grandparents spoke Cholón. The inhabitants of Juanjui claim Cholón to be the language of the ancient Pajatén people. The descendants living in the Lower Huallaga region seem to have dissociated themselves from the way their grandfathers had lived, and to have adapted themselves to a *mestizo* way of life. The people I met in Juanjui, Sión and environs were living in brick houses furnished with beds, chairs, tables, audio and video equipment.

In the Upper Huallaga area, in a small town on the Monzón River, named Cachicoto, the public relations official of the town, Guillermo Pahuelo Storko, informed me that once in a while some people to whom he referred as Cholón descend from the mountains, from Chavín and its vicinity for example, to sell and barter their food (salted fish) on the market that is held on Sundays before the church. On these occasions these people speak Spanish. However, they master another language. This is probably Quechua, although either Cholón or a mixed dialect can not be excluded as possibilities.

It is possible that there is still a small number of Cholón speakers left. They may be living in the remote, mountainous areas west and east of the river Huallaga. The original territory of the Cholón is so extensive and it has so many impassable, impenetrable areas, of which some are still uncharted, that the presence of Cholón
speakers could remain unnoticed. It is also probable that there are speakers of Cholón living in less remote and more accessible areas or in villages, who refuse to speak the *idioma* ‘language’, because they are ashamed of it, and because they are afraid to be considered as primitives and savages, if they would speak it. Furthermore, it is not impossible that there are still descendents who speak a mixed dialect with Cholón elements.
3. The *Arte de la Lengua Cholona*, a colonial grammar

3.1. Introduction
As already stated, Cholón is possibly no longer spoken in the region of the Middle Hua-llaga, and Fray Pedro de la Mata’s *Arte de la Lengua Cholona* appears to be the only extensive source of information about the language. In this chapter the codex containing Pedro de la Mata’s grammar and the grammar itself will be discussed. Section 3.2 will be dedicated to the manuscript and its composition, and in section 3.3 we shall focus on the composition of the language description.

In order to gain an impression of the text written by Pedro de la Mata and of the handwriting of Gerónimo Clota, the missionary who copied Pedro de la Mata’s grammar, a photocopy of the beginning and of the end of the *Arte de la Lengua Cholona* are added in Appendix 2. The copy of the first page of the grammar (fol. 6 according to the numbering of the British Library, see section 2.2) shows that Pedro de la Mata began his grammar with a paragraph about sounds. This is a classical beginning, as we shall see in section 3.3. The photocopy of the last two pages (pp. 248 and 249, viz. fol. 131 verso and 132 recto according to the numbering of the British Library) presents, among other things, the dates of the manuscript and its copy, together with the name of the author, Pedro de la Mata, and the signature of the copyist, Gerónimo Clota. Underneath Gerónimo Clota’s signature we find the names of Cholón and Híbito settlements which were not yet christianized.

3.2. The manuscript
In the following section we shall pay attention to the history and the characteristics of the codex known as *Arte de la Lengua Cholona* (section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, respectively), and to the transcribers responsible for the transcription of Cholón and the different hands encountered in the *Arte* (section 3.2.3).

3.2.1. History
The present *Arte de la Lengua Cholona* appears to be a faithful copy of the *Arte de la Lengua Cholona* written by Pedro de la Mata. The manuscript is namely signed by Fray Gerónimo Clota, who declares that he completed the copy in the village of San Buenaventura del Valle on February 19th of the year 1772. San Buenaventura del Valle was a Franciscan mission situated on the left bank of the Huallaga River (see also chapter 2). Gerónimo Clota designates a certain Fray Pedro de la Mata as the author of the grammar. According to him Pedro de la Mata finished his *Arte de la Lengua Cholona* in Truxillo (Trujillo), a city situated on the north coast of Peru, on October 24th, 1748. Clota’s copy was brought to France, to Paris, by Amédée Chaumette des Fossés, consul general of France in Peru in 1830 (cf. chapter 2.1). Parts of Chaumette des Fossés’ library were successively sold by auction after his death. At an auction held in Paris in 1842, baron Pierre Leopold van Alstein, professor of linguistics at the University of Ghent (Belgium), bought a number of books of Chaumette des Fossés’ library, including the *Arte de la Lengua Cholona*. When professor van Alstein died, his library was also put up for auction. The sale
took place at van Alstein’s house in May 1863. A London librarian, B.M. Quaritch, purchased a part of the manuscripts for the British Library, amongst which Fray Pedro de la Mata’s *Arte de la Lengua Cholona*. The volume was catalogued by the British Library on July 11th, 1863, under the number Additional Ms. 25,322.

3.2.2. Characteristics
The codex Additional Ms. 25,322, which contains Fray Pedro de la Mata’s grammar, is a small *in octavo*. It is a brown, morocco-bound volume with red marbled end leaves. The manuscript is on paper. The volume owes its outward appearance to the British Library which bound and numbered it anew. Originally, the folios of the manuscript were numbered by Fray Gerónimo Clota. He started numbering the pages after the folios containing the table of contents. According to his numbering, the manuscript comprised 249 pages. However, the numbers 243 and 244 are omitted, and the text of page 242 continues without lacunae on page 245. On the other hand, there are two folios which have not been numbered by Gerónimo Clota and which must have been written by him afterwards. They were inserted between page 236 and 237, although the content of both folios does not match with the content of these pages (nor with that of pages 242 and 245). Gerónimo Clota’s numeration was barred by the British Library and has been replaced by a numbering in pencil. According to this numbering the manuscript has 132 folios (1 recto and verso - 132 recto, cf. the copies appended). The British Library also numbered the folios which contain the table of contents, so that Gerónimo Clota’s page 1 corresponds to folio 6 recto in the numbering of the British Library. In the volume bound by the British Library, folio 61 recto and verso is a paper leaf of a more recent date. It obviously was not part of Clota’s manuscript and must have been added later. It contains four lines written in an unidentified language, accompanied by a translation in French. The fact that they had been translated into French suggests that it was Chaumette des Fossés who copied or transcribed the lines. They read as follows:

- **Sho-de-ga-chu** | **la main sanglante** | ‘the bleeding hand’
- **Seet-se-be** | **le soleil du midi** | ‘the midday sun’
- **Mong-shong-shan** | **le cypres incliné** | ‘the arched cypress’
- **Hee-la’hi-deh** | **la pure fontaine** | ‘the pure fountain’

3.2.3. Hands and transcribers
The transcription of the Cholón language can be attributed to at least three persons: the Franciscan friars Pedro de la Mata and Gerónimo Clota, and a later transcriber. At least two hands can be distinguished in the *Arte*: first, the hand of Gerónimo Clota, the copyist of Pedro de la Mata’s grammar; second, that of the later transcriber. In his copy Gerónimo Clota clearly indicates Pedro de la Mata as the author of the *Arte de la Lengua Cholona*. It is therefore likely that we owe the transcription of the Cholón data primarily to Pedro de la Mata. In the last paragraph of the grammar, Pedro de la Mata refers to his predecessors, Fray Joseph de Araujo
and Fray Francisco Gutiérrez de Porres, who “converted and baptized many Cholón and Híbito, and who, with apostolic zeal, initiated them into the Mysteries of the Holy Faith”. Concerning the notation of what he calls *gaturaciones* ‘gutturalizations’ or ‘guttural sounds’ (see also section 4.1), Pedro de la Mata states that he transcribed these sounds the same way as Araujo and Gutiérrez used to, so that both priests can be held responsible for the rendering of de la Mata’s guttural. (It can not be excluded that Pedro de la Mata, for his part, copied parts of the *artes* made by Araujo and Gutiérrez [see Introduction, Linguistic data], when he composed his own *arte*). In the *Arte de la Lengua Cholona*, a number of symbols employed to transcribe Cholón sounds and a number of Cholón words have been rectified or replaced. The handwriting of most of the replacements and, in the majority of cases, the colour of the ink are similar to the handwriting of the copy and to the ink used. Since it is Gerónimo Clota who wrote the copy, these rectifications were apparently his work. Gerónimo Clota can therefore be considered as the second transcriber of the Cholón language described in the *ALC*. In some cases, the handwriting is the same, but the colour of the ink is different. In those cases, the difference may be due to fading or to the fact that it concerns a later rectification for which Gerónimo Clota used another sort of ink. The handwriting of a small number of replacements and the handwriting of the list of non-converted Cholón and Híbito villages added at the end of the grammar differs from the handwriting of Gerónimo Clota. The colour of the ink also differs. These replacements and the list of villages are clearly from another hand, viz. a third, anonymous, transcriber. However, it is not sure whether the handwriting of all these replacements and of the added list are from one and the same person. It is also possible that the list of non-converted settlements and part of the replacements are from different hands. For convenience sake, all the later replacements, rectifications and additions of which the handwriting differs from that of Gerónimo Clota are tentatively ascribed to the second hand, viz. the third transcriber.

### 3.3. The description of Cholón

The *Arte de la Lengua Cholona* is an eighteenth-century grammar and is typically a product of its time. It has some characteristics in common with other colonial grammars, such as the use of an inconsistent orthography, of a certain register and of a specific grammatical model. These characteristics have repercussions for the description of the language (Alexander-Bakkerus, 2000). In the following sections we shall glance at the spelling employed for the transcription of Cholón, at the register used (which is the result of the purpose for which the grammar had been composed), and at the model according to which the language is described.
3.3.1. Spelling
In the eighteenth century orthography was not standardized yet, so that words could be written in different ways. A sound could thus be represented by different graphemes or symbols, and, vice versa, one symbol could refer to different sounds. This makes the interpretation of symbols employed for the transcription of the language difficult. In Pedro de la Mata’s Arte de la Lengua Cholona, for example, the third person singular beneficiary is indicated by the forms ha, sa, or xa; the ablative case alternates between the forms -ge, -he, -je; and the word for ‘to speak’ is transcribed as hilan, jilan, silan, xilan. At first sight, the symbols g, h, j, s, x seem to refer to the same sound. After a thorough analysis it appears that the graphemes h and j indeed symbolize the same sound, if they occur in initial position; that this sound is also represented by the symbol g before i and e; and that the symbols s and x refer to different sounds that are not relevantly distinctive from each other. Furthermore, to represent a so-called ‘guttural’, viz. a velar nasal, several symbols are used, amongst which the symbol ñ. However, this symbol is bivalent and is also employed to represent a palatal nasal. (For the analysis and the values of the consonant symbols mentioned above, see chapter 4).

An additional consequence of the fact that the orthography was not regulated yet is that two separate words could be written as a single word, whereas a word consisting of two morphemes could be written as two words. For instance, according to Pedro de la Mata, the optative preterite of the verb ‘to be’ is alternatively written as cotte moc cot, cottemoc cot or cotte moccot ‘he wished to be’. On further consideration, the second option, cottemoc cot, appears to be the most appropriate transcription for the expression ‘he wished to be’. The morpheme moc ‘wished’ can, in fact, be analyzed as a nominal suffix, and it is only in cottemoc cot that it is indeed represented as a suffix. In this form moc is suffixed to a nominalized form (the infinitive) of the verb cotan ‘to be’. In the other options, cotte moc cot and cotte moccot, the suffix moc is represented as a detached morpheme and as a prefix, respectively.

3.3.2. Purpose and register
Most of the colonial grammars or artes were written by priests or missionaries. In order to be able to preach the Word of God and to make as many converts as possible in a certain region, they had to learn the language of the people living in that area. A grammar of the language was thus a great help - not only for them, but also for later generations of missionaries - when they had to translate Bible verses, prayers, hymns, and when they had to write a sermon. The artes of Franciscan friars were primarily written for missionary purposes. When a priest was transferred, his grammar together with all his notes, translations and sermons was left behind for his successor. Being of domestical use, the material of the book was sometimes unordered. For instance, in the Arte de la Lengua Cholona the section about verbos compuestos ‘compound verbs’ occurs twice, and that of the transiciones ‘transitions’ (fol. 83 recto - 89 verso) is completed elsewhere (fol. 125 recto - 126 recto). Another characteristic which Pedro de la Mata’s grammar has in common
with many other *artes* is the language register which is used in the examples. Since the grammar was written with the objective to preach the Gospel, the register of the phrases which illustrate all kinds of grammatical facts is predominantly religious and the tone is often moralistic (the spelling of the following example is the one as proposed in chapter 4):

```
mi Pedro me-kt-ay, ko ta n'en-te a-n-iglesia-wo-kt-ay
```

2s Pedro 2sS-be-1A this stone face-AD 1SP-REL-church-VB-F-1A

‘You are Peter, [and] on this stone I shall build my church.’

```
kol oco ixiwah o-kot-ay, u'ta-wa kol i-mit-ay
```

death big bad 3sS-be-1A sin-TO death 3sA-3sO.exceed-1A

‘It is better to die, than to sin.’ (literally: ‘Death is a great evil, but sin exceeds it.’)

### 3.3.3. Tradition and model

From time immemorial men have thought about language and its structure, and our grammars are built on the works of earlier generations of philosophers. Many linguistic concepts which we use today were already common property in classical antiquity. Plato, for instance, observed that time can be segmented into past, present and future (Quilis, 1980: 32). According to Aristotle, Protagoras distinguished masculine from feminine and inanimate (Quilis, 1980: 27). Aristotle introduced, amongst other things, the concepts of subject and predicate (Van Peursen, 1958: 82). He also introduced categories like substance, quantity, quality, possession, situation, action and subjection (Störig, 1988: 167). In his *Technè* ‘art’, Dionysius the Thracian, +/- 200-100 B.C. (Lallot, 1989: 40-65) distinguished seven vowels: a, e, ē, i, o, ō, u; five moods: indicative, imperative, optative, conjunctive, infinitive, and divided the sentence into eight constituents: noun, pronoun, verb, participle, article, preposition, adverb, conjunction. In addition, he gives the complete conjugation of a verb. Latin philosophers such as Varro, 116- 26 B.C. (Collart, 1954), Donatus, +/- 350 A.D. (Keil, 1864, IV: 353-402), Priscian, +/- 600 A.D. (Keil, 1855-59, II-III) adopted Aristotle’s philosophical observation about time consisting of past, present and future, and crystallized these notions into tenses, subdividing the past into *praeteritum perfectum, imperfectum* and *plus quam perfectum*. Like Dionysius the Thracian, they also distinguished five moods and eight *partes orationis* ‘parts of the sentence’ including the interjection but excluding the article. The works in question of the philosophers mentioned above, except for Dionysius’ *Technè*, are purely theoretical. In the books concerned the writers philosophize about grammatical questions; they do not give paradigms. (Dionysius was the first theoretician who gave a paradigm as an illustration). This is because language teaching was not the aim; their writings were not meant to be used as grammars. Rather, their first objective was to teach poetics and poetic diction. The second objective was to teach the reader to value poetry. As a consequence, these works have a specific structure. Since knowledge of the structure of the language was a pre-requisite for poetic diction, the philosophers began the book with a
dissertation about voice and sounds or ‘elements’. The chapter about voice and elements was followed by chapters in which the syllable, the word and the sentence were successively discussed. The last part of the book, the largest part, was devoted to prosody and to poetry itself. In this part, fragments of works of great poets were shown in order to illustrate the beauty and supremacy of the art of poetry. The same objectives and the same ordering (voice/ sounds - syllables - words - sentences - prosody/ poetry) are encountered in the first non-Latin grammar: the Gramática de la Lengua Castellana written by Antonio de Nebrija in the year of 1492. However, besides the ambition to teach and promote Spanish poetry, Nebrija also sought to teach the Spanish language to those who did not have Spanish as their mother tongue. He wrote the last book of his grammar (Book V) “for those who want to learn Spanish”. Therefore, Nebrija gives, among other things, a thorough analysis of the Spanish vowels and consonants, an adapted version of the current spelling, several nominal paradigms, and the conjugation of a verb (like Dionysius did in his Technè), casu quo the verb *amar* ‘to love’. The Spanish noun and verb are still treated, partly, after the Latin model. Nebrija declines the Spanish noun and attributes to it the same cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative, vocative) as Latin has - he does the same with the adjectives, the pronouns and the relatives -, and, as far as the verb is concerned, he also distinguishes five moods (indicative, imperative, optative, subjunctive, infinitive) and five tenses (see below).

However, this Latin model, consisting of a nominal declension with six cases and according to which each mood and each tense has its own paradigm, is not valid for Spanish. The Spanish noun has no case endings (the genitive and the dative, for instance, are formed by means of a preposition), and no distinct paradigms for the optative and the subjunctive. The forms of the optative and the subjunctive appear to be the same, on the understanding that the optative present, imperfect and future correspond to the subjunctive imperfect, pluperfect and present, respectively; and that the optative is expressed by means of the words *o si* ‘oh if’ (optative present and imperfect) and *ojalá* ‘I hope’ (future) preceding the forms, whereas the forms of the subjunctive are preceded by the word *como* ‘if’.

Nevertheless, Nebrija’s Gramática de la Lengua Castellana undeniably marks a new era in which a grammar was no longer considered as a book of art (in the Middle Ages, grammar belonged to the seven *artes liberales* ‘liberal arts’: grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, geometry, arithmetics, astronomy and music) written for the benefit of poetry, but as a book written for the benefit of language teaching. The reputation of Nebrija as an innovator is not only based on the fact that he wrote the first non-Latin grammar and the first book with the object to teach a language, but also on the fact that he introduced new perceptions and new elements into his language description (see the adapted orthography, for instance). Another innovation is that Nebrija classifies the gerund, the infinitive and the participle in one mood, the infinitive mood, consisting of three forms: a gerund, a *nombre participial infinitivo* ‘infinitive participle noun’ and a participle. Since the participle belongs to the eight parts of the sentence, Nebrija considers the gerund and his infinitive participle noun also as parts of the sentence. In Spanish he then
distinguishes ten partes orationis instead of eight: noun, pronoun, article, verb, participle, gerund, nombre participial infinitivo ‘infinitive participle noun’, preposition, adverb, conjunction. Furthermore, Nebrija is the first linguist who explicitly points out that Latin has actually two future tenses (Quilis, 1980: 40): a futurum imperfectum and perfectum, versus languages such as Spanish which have only one. Another improvement is that Nebrija preferably uses a non-Latin terminology in his description of Spanish. He designates the tenses by Spanish names and employs the terms no acabado ‘not finished’ and acabado ‘finished’ to indicate the concepts ‘imperfect’ and ‘perfect’, respectively. Nebrija thus distinguishes the following tenses: presente ‘present’, passado no acabado ‘imperfect’, passado acabado ‘perfect’, passado más que acabado ‘pluperfect’, venidero ‘future’. In addition to the past tenses of the indicative, optative and subjunctive, Nebrija also gives alternative paradigms which express the same notions por rodeo ‘by a roundabout way’ and/or en otra manera ‘in another way’. The forms of these paradigms are usually composite forms consisting of a finite form of the auxiliary ser ‘to be’ or haber ‘to have’ followed by the past participle of a verb. For instance, for the perfect tense of the indicative, a paradigm which begins with the form amé ‘I loved’, Nebrija gives two alternative paradigms: first, el mismo tiempo, por rodeo ‘the same tense, by a roundabout way’ beginning with the form e amado ‘I have loved’; second, el mismo tiempo, por rodeo en otra manera ‘the same tense, by a roundabout way in another way’ which begins with the form ove amado ‘I have loved’.

Traces of this long tradition of language description are found in the Arte de la Lengua Cholona. Pedro de la Mata also opens his grammar with sounds and he also ends with prosody. In the first paragraph of the ALC de la Mata talks, among other things, about unfamiliar sounds and at the end of the grammar there is a remark about stress. Traditionally, he distinguishes five moods and five tenses and declines the noun as a Latin noun producing a paradigm with six cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative, vocative). In addition, Pedro de la Mata often uses the Latin terminology, for instance, to designate the tenses: praesens, imperfectum, perfectum, plus quam perfectum, futurum. Like the Latin grammarians Pedro de la Mata distinguishes in Cholón:
(a) eight parts of the sentence: noun, pronoun, verb, participle, postposition, adverb, interjection, conjunction (since Cholón has no prepositions - directives, locatives and the like are suffixed to a noun or a nominal form - Pedro de la Mata replaced the preposition with the postposition);
(b) a gerund and a participle which are not considered as separate parts of the sentence;
(c) four gerund cases: genitive, dative, accusative and ablative;
(d) supines I and II;
(e) two indicative future tenses: imperfect and perfect.
It is understandable that de la Mata recurs to Latin and to the Latin paradigms in his description of Cholón. As a priest, he was familiar with Latin and the Latin grammar. He was probably also influenced by Nebrija. In an article about colonial
grammars of indigenous Colombian languages, Christine Dümmler (1997: 413-432) remarks that these grammars are based on Nebrija’s *Introductiones Latinae* from 1481; and that the writers of the colonial grammars analyzed by her had taken Nebrija’s description of Latin as a model in order to describe the Amerindian language. In the introduction of their textedition of the *Introductiones Latinae* from 1488, a bilingual Latin - Spanish grammar, Esparza and Calvo (1996: xxiv) remark that Nebrija himself makes a distinction between an “orden natural de la gramática” ‘natural order of grammar’, which is used to describe the own language, and an “orden de la doctrina” ‘doctrinaire order’, which is used for the description of a foreign language. The former order starts with a complete explanation of the ‘letters’ (sounds) followed by that of syllables, words and the parts of the sentence in order to end with a discussion about belles-lettres. The latter starts with a short overview of the ‘letters’, syllables and parts of the sentence, and ends with paradigms illustrating the declension and conjugation of words and verbs. On page xxiii Esparza and Calvo show that this is indeed the order which Nebrija employs when he - in Book V of his *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* - teaches Spanish to non-Spanish speakers. As we have seen, this order is more or less followed by Pedro de la Mata. However, conversely to what Nebrija prescribes, he does not end with paradigms. Paradigms are found in different sections, and de la Mata ends with some observations about structure of the sentence, accent, pronunciation and orthography. The influence of Nebrija’s *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* is mainly noticeable in the fact that, like Nebrija, de la Mata also adds alternative paradigms to the five tenses, representing them in *otra manera* ‘another way’; and that he also uses the words *o si* ‘oh if’ and *ojalá* ‘I hope’ to form an optative. Pedro de la Mata furthermore distinguishes a permissive, a prohibitative and a dubitative. As a consequence, his conjugation of a verb presents a large amount of paradigms (36) and forms (219, including a participle form and 2 gerund forms which do not occur in a paradigm, but appear as independent forms). Table 3.2 gives an overview of Pedro de la Mata’s arrangement of the verb. It gives evidence of the profusion of paradigms (and forms) distinguished by de la Mata.

As already stated, in his description of the Cholón language de la Mata sometimes uses Latin as a model. At first sight, this may obscure the grammatical facts. For example, in Pedro de la Mata’s declension of the noun appear a nominative in -tup and in -a/-va, a genitive in -ilou, an accusative and an ablative in -te. The fact that -tup, -a/-va, -ilou, -te occur as endings in the declension of a noun may suggest that these elements are case endings, which they are not. The element -tup appears to be an agent marker consisting of adessive -tu + ablative -a(p); and -a/-va a topic marker. The form *ilou* is a verbal form consisting of a third person singular marker i, an object marker -l- and the perfect of ‘to do’ -ou: *i-l-ou* ‘he made it’. The suffix -te functions as a locative ‘at’, ‘in’ and as a directive ‘to(wards)’. It is used after objects; after persons occurs the suffix -tu.

With regard to the verb, the Latin model does not satisfy either. For instance, Pedro de la Mata mentions an imperfect and a perfect tense. However, both Latin tenses are represented by the same paradigm, so that we may conclude that there is
no distinction between imperfect and perfect in Cholón. In addition, de la Mata’s conjunction presents an overlap of tenses and forms, so that some Latin moods or tenses can be omitted. The preterite imperfect/perfect of the indicative, for instance, has the same verbal forms as the preterite of the participle; the imperative future and the infinitive present also have the same forms; the same holds for the infinitive future and the participle future which present the same paradigm; the permissive and the optative also have a paradigm in common; the first person plural of the imperative corresponds to the first person plural of the infinitive present; and the third person singular and plural of the imperative are similar to those of the permissive/optative paradigm. In chapter 7 we shall further analyze Pedro de la Mata’s ‘moods’ and ‘tenses’.

A summary of the table of contents, as they have been written in 1772 by Gerónimo Clota, the transcriber of Pedro de la Mata’s grammar, are given below in Table 3.1. Table 3.2 contains an overview of Pedro de la Mata’s conjugation of the verb.

Table 3.1: Summary of the contents of the Arde de la Lengua Cholona and the matching folio number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>About non-familiar sounds, the declination of the noun, number and gender</td>
<td>About the verb</td>
<td>About the relative and interrogative pronoun</td>
<td>About the postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the verb</td>
<td>fol. 23</td>
<td>About the translation of certain Latin adjuncts and subordinate clauses</td>
<td>About the adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the transitive verb</td>
<td>fol. 55</td>
<td>fol. 134</td>
<td>About the interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fol. 1</td>
<td>fol. 87</td>
<td>fol. 153</td>
<td>fol. 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 93</td>
<td>About the transitive verb</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 99</td>
<td>About the intransitive verb</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 105</td>
<td>About the compound and derivative verb</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 108</td>
<td>About the defective verbs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 111</td>
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<td></td>
<td>fol. 112</td>
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<td></td>
<td>fol. 118</td>
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<td></td>
<td>fol. 134</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.2: Moods, tenses and nominalized forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Paradigms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>5 paradigms: present, preterite imperfect + perfect, preterite pluperfect, future imperfect, future perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>5 paradigms: present + future, a second future tense paradigm which, according to de la Mata, can also be used for the indicative future imperfect, permissive, prohibitative, dubitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative</td>
<td>5 paradigms: 3 present and preterite imperfect paradigms, 2 preterite perfect and pluperfect paradigms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>2 paradigms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>3 paradigms: present, preterite, future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>7 paradigms: 1 present, 2 preterite, 4 future; 1 third person present form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>genitive, dative and accusative: 2 paradigms each; ablative: 2 forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supine I</td>
<td>2 paradigms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supine II</td>
<td>1 paradigm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Sounds and symbols

4.1. Introduction
In this chapter we propose a reconstruction of the Cholón sound system on the basis of the data presented by Pedro de la Mata. For this purpose, we shall first consider de la Mata’s observations concerning the use of certain symbols and the sounds represented by these symbols. Then we shall examine the full inventory of symbols found in the ALC, as well as their use. In section 4.2 the vowel symbols will be discussed, and in section 4.3 the consonant symbols.

The orthography or notation employed to transcribe the Cholón language can be ascribed to Pedro de la Mata. Gerónimo Clota, the transcriber of the ALC, and a later hand (see 3.2.3) are responsible for a number of replacements. In the analysis of the use of the symbols, we will look at their distribution and at their distinctivity in relation to other symbols. The many replacements of symbols that are found in the text will also be scrutinized. When necessary, reference will be made to the spoken data recorded in Peru in the summer of 1996 (see 2.4.2) in order to justify an interpretation.

On the basis of the analysis and the interpretation of the symbols used in the ALC, it will be possible to establish an inventory of sounds and a tentative representation of the language’s sound system. Subsequently, a practical spelling will be proposed (section 4.7). This spelling will facilitate the presentation and the analysis of the grammatical facts of the language (chapters 5 - 10).

4.1.1. Pedro de la Mata’s observations on the symbols
In book I, paragraph 1 (fol. 1), de la Mata provides us with information about some of the symbols which he employs to represent Cholón sounds. Not all symbols used in the ALC are discussed here. The remarks concern those symbols which obviously have a different function in the transcription of Cholón with regard to their use in the representation of Spanish: symbols that are not necessary for the interpretation of Cholón, symbols with a language-specific interpretation, and symbols representing a phenomenon referred to as “gutturación” (henceforth ‘gutturalization’).

In the initial paragraph, de la Mata indicates the symbols that are not “pronounced” in Cholón: “B, D, F, y la R”2. This statement can be interpreted to the effect that the sounds these symbols normally represent in Spanish are not found in the Cholón language. Notwithstanding this, the symbols b, d, f and r do occur in loan words (section 4.4), and the symbol b is encountered in a few Cholón words as well (see section 4.3.2).

Furthermore, Pedro de la Mata lists symbols that represent non-Spanish sounds. To this category belong the vowel symbols e and o, and the consonant

---

2 “No se pronuncia en esta lengua las letras B, D, F, y la R, [...]” ‘In this language, the letters B, D, F and R, [...] are not pronounced’. 
symbols $g$, $h$, and $j$. Concerning the vowel symbols $e$ and $o$, he writes: “La E la pronuncian entre E y Y, esto es, que es ni E claro, ni Y. La O la pronuncian entre O y U”. This remark seems to indicate that the vowels corresponding to the symbols $e$ and $o$, as they are used in the transcription of Cholón, possibly had a higher or a more closed articulation than in Spanish. Regarding the consonant symbols $g$, $h$, $j$, Pedro de la Mata remarks: “La G en el principio de los nombres, y verbos unas veces la pronuncian como $g$ y otras como C. La J la pronuncian como los estrangeros. La G antes de E, y de la I la pronuncian tan suave como J. La H á veces como J y á veces apenas se percibe”. The symbols $e$, $o$, $g$, $h$, and $j$ have been singled out, because their values do not coincide with those of the corresponding symbols in Spanish (cf. section 4.2.5 and 4.3.10).

Finally, Pedro de la Mata mentions a phenomenon that he designates by the name of gutturalization. He states that it can be used with any of the five vowels $a$, $e$, $i$, $o$, $u$: “Usan guturacion [...] con todas cinco A E I O U”. In continuation, he provides the reader with five examples of gutturalization followed by each of these vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaaan (1)</td>
<td>‘he makes me’ $a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguech (2)</td>
<td>‘his mother’ $e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngix (3)</td>
<td>‘something dry’ $i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milongoque (4)</td>
<td>‘you would have made it’ $o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguch (5)</td>
<td>‘his father’ $u$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We shall see in section 4.3.11 that there is a strong evidence that de la Mata’s gutturalized sound represents a velar nasal.

---

3 ‘E is pronounced between E and I, i.e. it is neither a clear E, nor I. O is pronounced between O and U’.

4 In the citations, de la Mata’s use of capitals and small letters has been maintained, although the difference between capitals and small letters does not seem to be relevant. For the discussion of the relevance of this distinction see section 4.3.10.

5 ‘At the beginning of nouns and verbs, G is sometimes pronounced as $g$ and sometimes as C. J is pronounced as the foreigners do. G before E and I is pronounced as softly as J. H sometimes as J, and sometimes it is hardly perceived’.

6 ‘Gutturalization is used with all five A E I O U’

7 At the end of the *ALC*, in a paragraph named “Dela orthografia”, Pedro de la Mata refers to his opening statement about the pronunciation of gutturalizations, and he writes: “La ortografia de esta lengua es la que esta puesta en todas las declinaciones, conjugaciones, oraciones y exemplos hasta aqui escritos y quanto á las [...] guturaciones, como no ay letras con que expresarlas, las he puesto del mismo modo que usaron los V.V.P.P. Fr. Francisco Gutierres de Porres y Fr. Joseph de Araujo” ‘The orthography of this language is the one used in all the declinations, conjugations, phrases and examples written till now, and concerning the [...] gutturizations, since there are no letters to express them, I wrote them in the same way as the Venerable Fathers, Fr. Francisco Gutierres de Porres and Fr. Joseph de Araujo, used to do’ (cf. the copy of the last page
4.1.1.1. Evaluation

The introductory paragraph brings to light the difficulties de la Mata encountered in his endeavours to transcribe the unfamiliar sounds of Cholón. Notwithstanding his efforts, the description of these sounds remains unclear on certain points. For instance, the observations that a sound is “neither a clear E, nor I” and that a sound is “pronounced between O and U” do not explain how these sounds must be articulated. Also ambiguous remains the clarification of the use of the symbols g, h and j (Alexander-Bakkerus, 2005, in press). According to Pedro de la Mata, the symbol g in initial position can symbolize two sounds: a sound that can be represented by the symbol g and another sound that can be symbolized by the grapheme c. At the same time, the symbol g is equivalent to j before the symbols e and i. It can furthermore have the same value as the symbol h, because h is sometimes equivalent to j. About the symbol j de la Mata says that it is “pronounced” as foreigners would pronounce it and that it represents a ‘soft’ sound. The symbol h also appears to be plurivalent: sometimes it is equivalent to j, and sometimes ‘it is hardly perceived’. These apparently contradictory statements can be summarized as follows:

\[ \#g = g = g/\_e, \ i = j = \text{soft} = \text{foreign} = \text{sometimes } h \]
\[ \#g = \text{sometimes } c \]
\[ h = \text{sometimes } j \]
\[ h = \text{sometimes almost } \emptyset \]

Pedro de la Mata does not define the context in which the symbols g and h are equivalent to g and j, respectively, nor the conditions under which g is equivalent to the symbol c and the conditions under which h is hardly perceived. He also fails to indicate the language and the native country of the foreigners by whom j is “pronounced” in the indicated way. Finally, he does not explain what he means by a ‘soft’ sound.

As for de la Mata’s observation that there are no letters to represent the ‘guttural’ (Sp. ‘gutural’) sound (see note 6 in section 4.1.1), it does not say anything about the phonetic nature of the phenomenon in question. It does not clarify what he means by gutturalization, nor how the corresponding sound should be pronounced.

In the explanation, the symbols e, o, c, g, h, j which Pedro de la Mata employs as reference material obviously have the same value as in Spanish. However, examples of Spanish lexical items containing the symbols that represent the sounds the author has in mind are missing. Another omission, is the fact that no attention is payed to the glottal stop, which must have been present. The data collected in the Huallaga valley (Appendix 7) reveal a frequent occurrence of the glottal stop in 20th century Cholón. Possibly, no observations were made about this phenomenon, because it was not distinctive. There is some evidence that the glottal stop was
symbolized in the ALC either by a circumflex accent (section 4.5), by a word-final h or j (section 4.3.10), by a syllable-final c (see section 4.3.3), or by vowel collision (see ma ‘not’, section 11.1).

4.1.2. Symbols employed
As we have seen in section 3.2.3, three different individuals participated in the transcription of Cholón in the ALC. They used the following symbols of the Latin alphabet: a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, x, y, z. The symbol k only appears twice in the ALC (see section 4.3.3), where it is used as an equivalent of the digraph qu. In some positions the symbols v and y are notational variants of u and i, respectively (cf. section 4.2.4 and 4.2.3). Besides these symbols, the transcribers also used a number of diacritical marks (section 4.5), namely, a circumflex accent, a grave accent, an acute accent, and a tilde. The circumflex accent appears to be a notational variant of the tilde, when it appears above the symbols g and n. In addition to the basic symbols listed above the following combinations occur: cc, ch, chch, ĝ(u), ĝ(u), ~g, hu, jj, ll, llll, mg, mm, nc, ñ, ñ, ng(u), ng(u), ngh, hgh(u), hgh(u), hñ, hñ, ññ, pp, ss, tt, tz, yy. The bi-segmental symbol or digraph hu employed as a notational variant of the symbols b, u is not to be confused with the sequence -hu which consists of two elements: a consonant symbol h + a vowel symbol u, see cot-hu-â ‘being’, section 4.3.2. The digraph nc occurs only twice in the ALC. It is employed in the lexical items nenc ‘hand’ (see section 4.3.11) and oncxa ‘deep well’ (see chapter 5, section 3).

Some of the basic and complex symbols mentioned above are symbols occurring in replacements. In the text of the ALC, a number of symbols have been modified systematically by the intervention of Gerónimo Clota himself (same handwriting, same colour of ink) and by the later hand. The modifications generally consist in superscript replacements of barred symbols. In a few cases, the modifications are written beneath the line. The replacement of symbols does not occur consistently, so that a number of words present alternative spellings. Now they appear in their original, unchanged spelling, now in the altered orthography. The symbols that can be subject to replacement are the symbols: e, o, ch, h, s/ss, x, and the symbols which have been employed to represent a ‘guttural’ sound: g, g, n, ng, ń. These symbols and their replacements are represented in the table below.
Table 4.1: Original symbols and their replacements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>original symbols</th>
<th>replacements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e &gt; i/y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o &gt; u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch &gt; tz/z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h &gt; g (non-‘guttural’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/ss &gt; x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x &gt; s/z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g &gt; g/ng/ng/ng/ng/ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g/ng/h &gt; ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n &gt; g/ng/ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The substitution of the symbol tz/z for ch occurs consistently. Another type of modification that occurs frequently is the replacement of consonant symbols by their doubled counterparts. These modifications may concern both simple consonant symbols and complex ones, as is shown in the table below.

Table 4.2: Original symbols and their modified counterparts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>original symbols</th>
<th>modified counterparts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c &gt; cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch &gt; chch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j &gt; jj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l &gt; ll</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll &gt; lll</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m &gt; mm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n (non-‘guttural’) &gt; nn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō/ō (non-‘guttural’) &gt; ōō/ōō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p &gt; pp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t &gt; tt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x &gt; xx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y &gt; yy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases, the substitutions can lead to ambiguity. For instance, the replacement of ng/ng by ō/ō, indicating a ‘guttural’ sound, may give rise to misinterpretations, because elsewhere, the grapheme ō/ō is employed to indicate a palatal nasal. In other cases, the substitutions clarify the notation. For example, the replacement of the suffix -he ‘benefactive’ by -ge after a morpheme ending in Vc is useful, because the symbol sequence Vc he (VcS + -he ‘benefactive’) may wrongly be interpreted as [Vēe], whereas, in this case, it should be read as [Vkhe] or [Vkxe]. The replacement of Vc he by Vc ge avoids such misreading.
4.1.3. Conclusion

In the ALC the language in which Cholón is described, the metalanguage, is Spanish. The symbols used for the metalanguage are also used for Cholón, the object language. Since the symbols of the object language are similar to those of the metalanguage, there is reason to believe that the former are employed in the same way as the latter. Therefore, the symbols employed for the transcription of Cholón - except for e, o, g, h, j, which are explicitly mentioned as having a deviant use - must refer to similar sounds as the corresponding symbols in the metalanguage. However, since there is no adequate account of the use of the symbols, nor of that of the diacritics, it is not possible to obtain absolute certainty on this matter. On the basis of occasional sound specifications and the general framework of the spelling employed, a tentative interpretation of the sounds represented can be made.

4.2. Vowel symbols

4.2.1. Introduction

Although Pedro de la Mata mentions the existence of the five vowels a, e, i, o, u, he uses six different graphemes to represent them. The grapheme y must be added to the symbols listed above. As is usual in coeval Spanish texts, y may appear as a notational variant of i. The alternative use of both graphemes is positionally determined and will be treated in section 4.2.3. (In section 4.2.2 the symbol u will be analyzed). Attention will furthermore be paid to the symbol u, which, apart from its usual vowel function, is used as a notational variant of the consonant symbol v in certain positions. The value of the grapheme u will be examined in section 4.2.4. In section 4.2.5 we will discuss the symbols e and o, and the problematic character of the sounds symbolized by these graphemes. In section 4.2.6 a survey of the vowel symbols and their possible value will be given, as well as a tentative vowel system. Combinations of two like vowel symbols, and combinations of a vowel symbol + i/y or u/v (possibly representing diphthongs), will be treated in section 4.2.7 and 4.2.8, respectively.

In the analysis of the vowel symbols a, e, i/y, o, u, we shall, amongst other things, look at their distribution and, on the basis of minimal pairs, at their distinctivity. In most word forms, vowel symbols are separated by one or two consonant symbols (see 5.3). However, sequences of two and even three vowel symbols have also been encountered in the ALC. Along with these vowel sequences, we shall examine the sequences consisting of a vowel symbol + a consonant symbol, and vice versa, that can co-occur in a syllable. As already stated, consonant symbols can consist of one or more elements. Appendix 4.1 shows that the vowel symbols a, e, i/y, o, u may occur before and after the following consonant symbols: b/hu/v, c/k/qu, ch, g (non-‘guttural’), g/hj, i/y, l, ll (non-doubled), m (non-guttural), n (non-guttural), ñ/~n/~ng/~nn/~ng/~nnj (~ng/~nnj), p, s/z, t, tz, x, and ng(u)/m/n representing a ‘guttural’ sound (represented also by the symbols g/g/~g/mg/ng/ng/ng/ng/ng/ng/ng/ñ/ñg/~ng/ñ/ñg/~ng/nc). It should be noticed, that

(i) a, e, i, o, u are never found before b/hu/v; they are found before u instead;
(ii) *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* never occur before *k/qu*, they do occur before *c* instead;
(iii) *i*, *o*, *u* are not encountered before *g* (equal to *h/j*), but they are encountered before *h/j*, as are *a* and *e*;
(iv) *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* do not appear before *g* (non-‘guttural’ and not equal to *h/j*);
(v) *a* does not occur before *h/ð* (non-‘guttural’);
(vi) *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* are never found before *ng*, they are found before *m/n* instead;
(vii) *a*, *o*, *i* are not encountered after *b*, and *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* not after *hu*, the five vowel symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* are however encountered after *w/v*;
(viii) *a*, *o*, *u* do not occur after *g* (equal to *h/j*), they do occur after *h/j*, and only *e* and *i* are found after *g* (equal to *h/j*);
(ix) only *a* occurs after *g* (non-‘guttural’ and not equal to *h/j*);
(x) *a*, *o*, *u* do not occur after *k/qu*, but they do occur after *c*;
(xi) *e* and *i* are not found after *c*, but after *k/qu*;
(xii) the vowel symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* are not encountered after *m/n* representing a ‘guttural’ sound, but after *ng(u)*.

The sequences *Vb/hu/v*, *ig, og, ug, Vk/qu, a˘n/ð*, *ba, bi, bo, hue, huo, huu, go, gu, ka, ko, ku, qua, quo, quy*, *Vng, m/nV* have not been encountered within a syllable. Table 4.2.1 will show the occurrence of the vowel symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* with regard to the consonant symbols *b/hu/u/v, c/k/qu, g/h/j, g* (non-‘guttural’, not equal to *h/j*), *ng(u)/m/n* (‘guttural’), *n~g(u)/m/n* (‘guttural’), *ñ/^n* (non-‘guttural’).

Table 4.2.1. The occurrence and non-occurrence of *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* before and after *b/hu/u/v, c/k/qu, g/h/j, g* (non-‘guttural’, not equal to *h/j*), *ng(u)/m/n* (‘guttural’), *n~g(u)/m/n* (‘guttural’). The occurrence is marked by a plus sign, the non-occurrence by a minus sign, the terms ‘guttural’, non-‘guttural’ and ‘g equal to *h/j*’ are indicated by the symbols *g, n-g and g=h/j*, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>before</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>after</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b/hu/v</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>hu</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>u/v</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k/qu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g=h/j</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k/qu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h/j</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>g=h/j</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g (n-g; ≠ h/j)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>h/j</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng (g)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>g (n-g; ≠ h/j)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/n (g)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ng (g)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n~g (n-g)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>m/n (g)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.2. Symbol a

Since Pedro de la Mata gives no comments on the use of the symbol a, it is probable that the sound represented by this symbol was not problematic. Therefore, it may be assumed that his symbol a had the same value as in Spanish and that the sound represented by it did not deviate from Spanish [a].

The symbol a can occur before the symbols i, e, o, u, and after the symbols i, e, u:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{main} & \quad (\text{ma-in}) & 'not yet' \\
\text{maecqui} & \quad (\text{m-a-ec-qui}) & 'Give me!' \\
\text{aoitzan} & \quad (\text{a-o-itz-an}) & 'I am made' \\
\text{micolehauch} & \quad (\text{mi-cole-ha-uch}) & 'your (p) lover' \\
\text{tonlan} & \quad (\text{a-ton-li-an}) & 'I sit down' \\
\text{ayteaj!} & \quad (\text{ayte-aj}) & 'Be quiet!' \\
\text{cothuâ} & \quad (\text{cot-hu-â}) & 'being'
\end{align*}
\]

In these examples and in the following instances of vowel sequences (sections 4.2.3 - 4.2.5), the successions of vowel symbols are all intersected by a morpheme boundary (cf. the forms in parentheses).

Regarding the occurrence of the vowel symbol a + a consonant symbol within a syllable, a has been found to occur before and after the consonant symbols or a variant/equivalent of the consonant symbols named in section 4.2.1, except before the symbol ñ/ñ (non-'guttural'), cf. section 4.2.1. No other restrictions concerning the occurrence of a before and after a consonant symbol have been found but for the restrictions mentioned in section 4.2.1. In the example cothuâ ‘being’, the form huâ consists of two syllables and the following morphemes: hu ‘nominalization suffix’ + a ‘topic marker’. The symbol sequence huâ, however, can also refer to one syllable. If this is the case, hu is a notational variant of u/v representing the bilabial approximant [w] (see the example llahuân ‘he goes’ in Appendix 4.1).

The minimal pairs below show that the symbol a is used distinctively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.3: Minimal pairs with the vowel symbol a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - i: yap 'wild pig' --- yip 'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - e: atpan 'I walk' --- atpen 'I let walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - o: pan 'mother' --- pon 'group' (classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - u: pac 'eight' --- puc 'digestible' (classifier)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3 Symbol i/y

In order to symbolize the high front vowel, Pedro de la Mata uses not only the grapheme i, but also the symbol y. The latter either appears syllable-initially, or syllable-finally after another vowel symbol. In these positions it is used as a notational variant of i:
In a later section (fol. 10), de la Mata specifies: “la Y [...], si hiere en la letra que le sigue, es ypsilon ô consonante [...], pero si no hiere, es I vocal”8. From the examples it can be deduced that both i and y may symbolize a consonant, a palatal approximant or glide [y], if they appear before a vowel symbol in syllable-initial position, or after a vowel symbol in syllable-final position. When occurring syllable-initially before a consonant symbol, the symbols i and y represent a vowel; i also symbolizes a vowel in other positions: between two consonant symbols and syllable-finally after a consonant symbol. A special case is the final i occurring after a syllable-final consonant symbol in ‘preterite’ forms. In such forms, the grapheme i, may represent a sequence consisting of a high front vowel and a palatal glide (see the paragraph after Table 4.4 and see section 4.2.7.3).

When functioning as a vowel symbol, the grapheme i/y probably had the same value as Spanish [i]. In the sequences of vowel symbols encountered in the Arte, i can occur before the symbols e, a, o and after the symbols e, a, o, u. See the examples main ‘not yet’ and atonium ‘I sit down’ in section 4.2.2 above, and the examples below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mienan} (2076) & \quad (\text{mi-e-n-an}) \quad \text{‘you gave yourself’} \\
\text{miotzan} (1007) & \quad (\text{mi-o-it-z-an}) \quad \text{‘you are made’} \\
\text{goliyêinco} (1465) & \quad (\text{goliy-ê-inco}) \quad \text{‘he who had died’} \\
\text{hayuilou} (22) & \quad (\text{hayu-i-lou}) \quad \text{‘the man’s’, ‘of the man’}
\end{align*}
\]

With respect to the consonant symbols, in a syllable, the vowel symbol i/y can occur before and after all the consonant symbols mentioned in section 4.2.1 (see the examples in Appendix 4.1), except before the consonant symbols b/hu/v and k/qu (see the restrictions in the same section).

Table 4.4 gives evidence that the vowel symbol i/y is employed distinctively.

Table 4.4: Minimal pairs with the vowel symbol i

\[
\begin{align*}
i \sim e: & \quad \text{zip ‘his house’} \quad \sim \text{zep ‘meat’} \\
i \sim a: & \quad \text{yip ‘house’} \quad \sim \text{yap ‘wild pig’} \\
i \sim o: & \quad \text{qui- ‘we’} \quad \sim \text{co ‘there’} \\
i \sim u: & \quad \text{jil ‘word’} \quad \sim \text{jul ‘pine cone’}
\end{align*}
\]

In a number of ‘preterite’ forms, ‘preterite’ is indicated by a postconsonantal i:

\[
\text{Y [...], if it ‘hits’ the letter that follows, is an upsilon or consonant [...], but if it does not ‘hit’, it is a vowel’}.\]
The preterite perfect and the preterite imperfect end in ay, ey, i or yí, oy, ou. The preterite pluperfect is formed by adding ye to the preterite perfect, if it ends in y, and ve, if it ends in v.

Here i is likely to represent a sequence [iy] instead of just the high vowel [i]. In the ‘pluperfect’ forms, which consist of a ‘preterite’ form + the suffix e/que, ‘preterite’ is presumably indicated by the symbols iy and followed by e. The graphemes iy presumably symbolize a sequence of a high front vowel [i] + a palatal glide [y]:

actiye (302) (a-ct-iy-e) ‘I had been’.

If ‘preterite’ would have ended in a vowel [i], it would have been followed by que, not by e. The former is namely used postvocally, and the latter postconsonantly:

angolluye (697) (a-ngoll-iy-e) ‘I had loved him/her/it’
m ingollihaque (701) (mi-ngoll-i-ha-que) ‘You (p) have loved him/her/it’

Pedro de la Mata says also about ‘preterite’ and ‘pluperfect’ (fol. 24): “[…] el preterito perfecto é imperfecto se terminan en ay, ey, i l. yí, oy, ou. […] El preterito plusquamperfecto se forma del preterito perfecto, añadiéndole, si acaba en y ec, y si en v ve”. According to this statement, a final glide is characteristic for ‘preterite’. The last symbol of de la Mata’s ‘preterite endings’ ay, ey, oy, ou may represent a glide: a palatal glide [y] and a bilabial glide [w]. In the remark about ‘pluperfect’, the ‘preterite’ ending is again indicated by means of the symbols (y and v), which presumably represent the glides [y] and [w], respectively (for the value and equivalence of the symbols u and v, see section 4.2.4). Since a final glide is so typical for the ‘preterite’, the third ‘preterite’ ending mentioned by de la Mata, i or yi, may therefore be interpreted as [y] or [iy], respectively: [y] after a stem-final vowel (here i) and [iy] after a stem-final consonant: cf.

a(c)qui (1868) (a-(c)qui-i) [akiy] ‘I became’, ‘I was’
acti (296) (a-ct-i) [aktiy] ‘I was’

4.2.4. Symbol u
Like the grapheme i, u may be plurivalent and symbolize two sounds. Whenever u constitutes the nucleus of a syllable, it has vocalic status and may be equivalent to Spanish [u]. In syllable-initial and in syllable-final position, before or after a vowel symbol, it has a consonantal status, and may symbolize a bilabial glide [w]. The use of u as a consonantal symbol will be analyzed in section 4.3.2.
The same restriction as in the case of the final \( i \) of an \( ii \) sequence - where the final \( i \), although occurring after a vowel symbol, does not necessarily represent a glide - has to be made regarding the final \( u \) of a \( uu \) combination. It is not sure whether \( u \) symbolizes a glide in this position (cf. section 4.2.7.5).

In structures composed of vowel symbols, the symbol \( u \) can appear before the symbols \( i, a, o \), and after the symbols \( e \) and \( a \):

- **hayuilou** (22) \((hayu-i-lou)\) ‘the man’s’, ‘of the man’
- **cothuà** (1588) \((cot-hu-à)\) ‘being’
- **cupul(l)uongo** (1074) \((cu-pul(l)u-o-ngo)\) ‘abominable’
- **acoleuch** (1062) \((a-cole-uch)\) ‘my lover’
- **micolehauch** (1785) \((mi-cole-ha-uch)\) ‘your (p) lover’

The following minimal pairs show that the vowel symbol \( u \) represents a distinctive sound.

**Table 4.5: Minimal pairs with the vowel symbol \( u \)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( u ) - ( i ):</td>
<td>jul</td>
<td>‘pine cone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( u ) - ( e ):</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td>‘intestines’, ‘inside’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( u ) - ( a ):</td>
<td>puc</td>
<td>‘digestible’ (classifier)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( u ) - ( o ):</td>
<td>-chu</td>
<td>‘negative’, ‘diminutive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.5. Symbols \( e \) and \( o \)

The interpretation of the symbols \( e \) and \( o \) is problematic, because the observations made by Pedro de la Mata about the value of these symbols are not straightforward. Furthermore, although a number of lexical items in the *Arte* give evidence that \( e \) and \( o \) are both distinctive, in other cases they appear to be equivalent to \( i \) and \( u \), respectively. For the interpretation of the symbols \( e \) and \( o \) we will review the remarks of de la Mata on these symbols in combination with data extracted from later sources, viz. the word lists of Martínez Compañón, Tessmann, Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Santos Chapa (see chapter 1).

4.2.5.1. Symbol \( e \)

In the first paragraph of the *ALC*, Pedro de la Mata remarks that “\( E \) has to be pronounced between \( E \) and \( I \)”, and that it is neither a “clear \( E \) nor \( I \)”. It may have referred to \([1]\) (an intermediate sound between the vowels \([e]\) and \([i]\)), to \([8]\) (the open counterpart of \([e]\)), or, possibly, to an unrounded central vowel \([\emptyset]\).

In the data of Martínez Compañón (MC) and Tessmann (T), the sound or sounds de la Mata’s \( e \) presumably refers to are transcribed in various ways. The following notations are found:
Martínez Compañón gives no justification of the spelling he uses. As in Spanish, his symbol e may have represented a mid front unrounded vowel. It may have represented a close [e] in open syllables, and an open [ɛ] in closed syllables. At first sight, the double ee could symbolize a long vowel and the tilde nasализation. However, if we compare the words in which the symbols ee and e occur with the same words transcribed by Tessmann or recorded from Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa (see Table 4.6), both these interpretations seem unlikely.

The sound represented by double ee in Martínez Compañón’s lexical items peel ‘moon’ and mees-ñgup ‘tree’ is transcribed as e or as ɛ by Tessmann in the forms pel ‘moon’ and mes ‘stick’, respectively. In these transcriptions the vowel does not appear to be long. Tessmann indicates length by means of a macron. Vice versa, a long e in the transcription of Tessmann is not transcribed as a double e by Martínez Compañón. For instance, in the transcription of Tessmann, the lexical item pey ‘earth’ has a long e, and Aurelia Gutiérrez also pronounced the word [pɐ:yktu:] ‘peccary’ with a long mid vowel, whereas in the transcription of Martínez Compañón length is not indicated. In Martínez Compañón’s word list, the form -pey (< lluspey ‘earth’) is written with a single e. Martínez Compañón would probably have written the form -pey with a double e, if his double e did represent a long vowel. Like Pedro de la Mata, Martínez Compañón obviously did not distinguish long vowels in his transcription, and his single e may have stood for a long vowel as well. So his doubling of e presumable does not indicate length. The sequence ee may, however, have indicated that the vowel had a close articulation in a closed syllable, instead of the expected open articulation, or, on the contrary, it may have designated an open articulation. Martínez Compañón’s ee in the lexical items peel ‘moon’ and mees-ñgup ‘tree’ may then stand for a close-mid front unrounded [e] or an open-mid front unrounded [ɛ]. The latter hypothesis could be true for the lexical item mees-ñgup ‘tree’, because, according to the transcription of Tessmann, the Cholón word for ‘tree’, meš, was pronounced with an open-mid front unrounded [ɛ] (see the discussion about Tessmann’s e below).

Regarding Martínez Compañón’s tilde on the symbol e in the lexical item vêt ‘fire’, we may note the following. Pedro de la Mata transcribes the word for ‘fire’ as et and Tessmann transcribes it as utmə. In both transcriptions, an indication of nasализation is missing. Nasализation is also missing in the word [uːt] ‘fire’, as pronounced by Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa. I therefore assume that the tilde does not symbolize nasализation. Martínez Compañón may have employed the diacritic in order to indicate a centralized articulation. A mid central vowel could very well serve as an intermediary between the mid front articulation suggested by Martínez Compañón’s e without the tilde and the high back articulation expressed by Tessmann’s u in his word for ‘fire’: utmə, and by Aurelia Gutiérrez’s and José Santos Chapa’s [u] in their expression for ‘fire’: [uːt]. So if Martínez Compañón’s
basic symbol $e$ represented a mid front unrounded vowel [e] or [ɛ], his symbol $\dot{e}$ with a tilde may have represented a mid central unrounded vowel [ə].

Tessmann does not explain the value of his symbols. He followed the practice of contemporary German phoneticians in his transcriptions. His basic symbol $e$ without diacritics may thus represent a mid front vowel [e]. Tessmann only explains the use of his diacritics. He states that length is indicated by a macron, width by an underline, brevity by a superscript breve, nasalization by a tilde, and that he uses an arch underneath the vowel to designate that the vowel is “nur gehaucht” (‘only aspirated’). Stress is marked by an acute accent. For modern readers, the terms ‘width’ or ‘wide’, and “nur gehaucht” (‘only aspirated’) are ambiguous.

The former qualification, ‘wide’, is synonymous to ‘open’. German predecessors of Tessmann, phoneticians like C.R. Lepsius and E. Sievers made a distinction between narrow vowels and wide vowels. Lepsius (in Kemp, [1863] 1981: 48) also used an underline to indicate that the vowel concerned had a ‘broad open’ articulation. He gave the following words as examples of the sound represented by his underlined $e$. In these examples length is represented by a macron, and brevity by a breve. E.g.:

- French être, German Bär
- English head, French nette, German fett

In his Grundzüge der Phonetik, Sievers states that ‘wide’ is synonymous to ‘open’ (1893: 93). On page 96, he presents the vowel table of Bell (1865) to which he adds Sweet’s description of the vowels (1877) and Storm’s symbols (1892). In this table, the vowel $e$ is designated as being unrounded, and Sievers gives the following instances of the sound which is described as a ‘wide mid-front’ $e$ by Sweet, and which Sievers himself transcribes as $e^{\checkmark}$ (the narrow counterpart is marked by a superscript 1, as $e^1$): Danish træ. German Männer, English men.

From the observations made by Lepsius and Sievers and from the examples given it can be deduced that, in German linguistic literature of that period, a wide $e$ stood for an open-mid front unrounded [ɛ]. Tessmann’s symbol $\acute{e}$ is therefore likely to represent an open-mid front unrounded [ɛ], and his lexical item melis ‘canoe’ should thus be read as [mɛɻ].

The meaning of the term ‘only aspirated’ is open to various interpretations. It may for instance mean that the vowel was only slightly pronounced or ‘whispered’. Such a vowel, a vowel with an arch underneath, is found in Tessmann’s lexical item melis ‘canoe’. In this word, the symbol $\acute{e}$ thus stands for an ‘only aspirated’ sound, or it may stand for a slightly pronounced, ‘whispered’ [e]. The same lexical item melis ‘canoe’ is transcribed as mellus by Pedro de la Mata. In his transcription, Tessmann’s $\acute{e}$ appears as $u$, which probably symbolizes a high back vowel [u]. The vowel represented by Tessmann’s symbol $\acute{e}$ could thus be an intermediate vowel between the mid front unrounded vowel symbolized by Tessmann’s basic symbol $e$ and de la Mata’s supposed high back vowel [u]. This centralized vowel could be a mid central unrounded [ə] or schwa, because a schwa is a very short vowel which
could be designated as being ‘slightly pronounced’ or ‘whispered’. Lepsius also uses the term ‘aspirated’. In his terminology, ‘aspirated’ possibly means ‘unvoiced’ (Kemp, 1981: 66*). He distinguishes two ‘unvoiced’, ‘only whispered’ vowels in Rumanian, i and ü (Kemp, [1863] 1981: 168). In his transcription, the ‘whispered’ articulation is marked by a superscript breve. Sievers also mentions an ‘unvoiced’ vowel which is otherwise designated by the terms ‘indefinite’ and ‘murmured’. According to Sievers, the ‘unvoiced’, ‘indefinite’, ‘murmured’ vowel is a shwa [ə] (Sievers, 1893: 103). Later, on page 140, he mentions the phenomenon of a ‘leisen Hauch’ (‘slight aspiration’) and remarks that vowels can have a ‘leise gehauchter Einsatz’ (‘lightly aspirated onset’), which, for instance, can be heard in the transition between two vowels and in diphthongs. And he transcribes the rising diphthong [ye] as i, as i followed by e with an arch underneath (!).

Therefore, Tessmann’s sequence ï in the word méligs is likely to represent a rising diphthong. The ‘only aspirated’ vowel symbolized by his ï may be an ‘unvoiced’, ‘only whispered’ vowel, as observed by Lepsius in Rumanian. This ‘unvoiced’, ‘only whispered’ vowel may also be Sievers ‘unvoiced’, ‘indefinite’, ‘murmured’ vowel [ə] or schwa. Tessmann thus distinguishes a mid front vowel [e] that could be articulated with length, with width (as [e] presumably), or with ‘aspiration’ (as [ə] possibly).

In our field data recorded in 1996 in Peru, an open-high front vowel [i], instead of close-mid [e], is frequently heard. Since [i] is the intermediate vowel between the vowels [i] and [e], this would confirm the observation of Pedro de la Mata, according to whom the sound corresponding to his symbol e is “pronounced between e and i”. In a closed syllable Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Santos Chapa also pronounced an open-mid [e]. A close-mid [e] could be heard in an open syllable, in the word [ctlef’a] ‘legs’ for instance. A long vowel was perceived in the words [pey kutata] ‘peccary’ and [sey kutak] ‘peccary’, and a schwa in the expression [móníto kilaktata] ‘let’s go to the forest’.

The different transcriptions of same lexical items in Table 4.6 give evidence that the vowel de la Mata’s symbol e is referring to could be pronounced in several ways. According to my interpretation of the spellings of Martínez Compañón and Tessmann, it could be pronounced as a front [e], [e:], [e], [e], and probably as a central [ə] (MC, T). Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Santos Chapa pronounced the vowel corresponding to the grapheme e as an open-high [i]. This vowel was also realized as a close-mid [e], as an open-mid [e] and as a mid central [ə]. The vowel [e] could be pronounced with length as well. Therefore, it is probable that de la Mata’s symbol e was plurivalent and that it could have had the following articulations: [i], [i:], [e], [e], [e], [ə].

In Table 4.6, different transcriptions of the same words given by de la Mata, Martínez Compañón and Tessmann will be shown. They are followed by the transcription of words pronounced by Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa. In Table 4.7 the symbols used by de la Mata, Martínez Compañón and Tessmann and their possible value are represented together with the vowels as pronounced by the Cholón descendants in the Huallaga valley. Since the central vowel derivable from
the transcription of Tessmann and recorded in the speech of Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa is a mid central [ø], it is plausible that the central vowel which, assumingly, was represented by de la Mata’s symbol e and Martínez Compañón’s è was also a mid central [ø].

Table 4.6: The transcriptions of Pedro de la Mata (PM), Martínez Compañón (MC), Tessmann (T), Aurelia Gutiérrez (AG), and José Santos Chapa (JSC) of same lexical items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PM</th>
<th>MC</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>AG</th>
<th>JSC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>behind</td>
<td>monte</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let’s go to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>montø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the forest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kilaktø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body</td>
<td>acho-quez</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ques/quez</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[gtsnun]/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[gësnun]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>hila</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[hilagts]/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ques/quez</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[hilagës]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>chel</td>
<td>chel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>chel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[čtlef:a]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>chel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>mellus</td>
<td>melïs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>atelpa/</td>
<td>atejwá</td>
<td>atelpa</td>
<td>[atlića]/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[atejwá]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[atlića]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>pey/pei</td>
<td>lluspey</td>
<td>pèy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peccary</td>
<td>[peyku?]/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[së:kutak]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[sëyku?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>kinjelšé</td>
<td>[n’ačt]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[n’ačt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>setch</td>
<td>mutšitšé</td>
<td></td>
<td>[čučt]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roundness</td>
<td>che</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>vèt</td>
<td>utmò</td>
<td>[u:t]</td>
<td>[u:t]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.7: The symbols of Pedro de la Mata (PM), Martínez Compañón (MC) and Tessmann (T), their tentative value, and the vowels as pronounced by Aurelia Gutiérrez (AG) and José Santos Chapa (JSC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PM</th>
<th>MC</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>AG</th>
<th>JSC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>pel</td>
<td>peel</td>
<td>pel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>monzey</td>
<td>kimonżéi</td>
<td>[mont‘ey]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>mech</td>
<td>mees-ngup</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>branch</td>
<td>mech</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stick</td>
<td>mech</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>meš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.5.1.1. Positions and use
According to the data of de la Mata, the symbol e can occur before the symbols i, a, u and after i, a, o:

- galiyéinco (1465) (gol-i-yê-inco) ‘he who had died’
- ayeaj!  (2195) (ayte-aj) ‘Be quiet!’
- acoleuch (1783) (a-cole-uch) ‘my lover’
- mienan  (2076) (mi-e-n-an) ‘you gave yourself’
- aenam  (2076) (a-e-n-an) ‘I gave myself’
- apoectehe (2796) (a-po-ec-te-he) ‘that I shall give them’

In the sequences composed of a vowel symbol and a consonant symbol within one syllable, the symbol e can occur before and after the consonant symbols named in the Introduction, except before and after those mentioned in the restrictions in section 4.2.1 (cf. the examples in Appendix 4.1).

In addition, the following minimal pairs are found showing that the symbol e has a distinctive use.
Table 4.8: Minimal pairs with e

| e ↔ i:  | zep  ‘meat’ | ↔ zip  ‘his house’ |
| e ↔ a:  | atpen ‘I let walk’ | ↔ atpan ‘I walk’ |
| e ↔ o:  | nem ‘day’ | ↔ nom ‘something’ |
| e ↔ u:  | le ‘teeth’ | ↔ lu ‘intestines’, ‘inside’ |

Regarding the distinctive character of the symbol e, although this symbol appears to be distinctive in the ALC and to be in opposition to the symbol i, in the following case the opposition between the sounds symbolized by both symbols seems to have been neutralized: the lexical item ento  ‘how’, ‘what’, ‘where’, also written as into.

4.2.5.2. Symbol o
About the symbol o Pedro de la Mata states that it is “pronounced between o and u”, presumably as something between [o] and [u], for instance, [ø], a vowel heard in the speech of Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Santos Chapa. However, de la Mata’s o could also have meant another rounded vowel, such as an open-mid back rounded [ɔ], or a close-mid centralized rounded [ʊ], a rounded schwa. An open-mid back rounded [ɔ] was also pronounced by Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa; a rounded schwa was assumedly represented in the transcriptions of Martínez Compañón and Tessmann.

In the word lists of Martínez Compañón (MC) and Tessmann (T) we find the following transcriptions that can be related to the sound(s) symbolized by Pedro de la Mata’s grapheme o:

MC:  o, õ
T:  o, õ, ŵ, ũ, ţ

The basic symbol o employed in the transcription of Martínez Compañón possibly had the same value as the corresponding symbol in Spanish. It may have represented a close-mid back rounded [o] if occurring in an open syllable, and an open-mid back rounded [ɔ] in a closed syllable (cf. Table 4.9). This would be in accordance with the data collected in the Huallaga valley. José Santos Chapa, for example, also pronounced a close-mid back rounded [o] in an open syllable and an open-mid back rounded [ɔ] in a closed syllable.

Concerning Martínez Compañón’s symbol ŵ, the sound that is transcribed as ŵ in the lexical item quɔt ‘water’ is unlikely to be a nasalized sound, because this same lexical item is transcribed as kɔta by Tessmann and is pronounced as [kɔt] by Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Santos Chapa, without nasalization. However, just as in the case of the lexical item vet ‘fire’ (section 4.2.5.1) where the tilde presumably indicates that the front unrounded vowel was centralized, in this case, the tilde could
In Greek the tilde was used to indicate a lingering or falling tone, which was the result of the contraction of two sounds. We may not exclude the possibility that Martínez Compañón also employed the tilde to indicate length + tone, or a transition of two sounds. He may have used the tilde in the lexical items \(\tilde{v}e\) and \(\tilde{w}o\) as a linking mark in order to connect the vowel symbols \(e\) and \(\tilde{o}\) with the preceding symbols \(v\) and \(u\), respectively. The symbols \(v\) and \(u\) may have stand for \(\tilde{v}\) and \(\tilde{u}\), respectively. The symbols \(v\) and \(u\) may have stand for \(\tilde{v}\) and \(\tilde{u}\), respectively.

As has been noticed, Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa pronounced a close-mid back rounded \(\tilde{o}\) in an open syllable and an open-mid back rounded \(\tilde{u}\) in a closed syllable. The vowel \(\tilde{u}\) has been recorded in an open stressed syllable. This may be the intermediate sound to which Pedro de la Mata is referring when he says that \(o\) is "pronounced between \(o\) and \(u\)". A long close-mid back rounded vowel was pronounced in the word \(\text{camyo}h\) 'red monkey', as in Table 4.9.
Table 4.9: The transcription of words given by Pedro de la Mata (PM), Martínez Compañón (MC), Tessmann (T) and of same words pronounced by Aurelia Gutiérrez (AG) and José Santos Chapa (JSC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PM</th>
<th>MC</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>AG/JSC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brother</td>
<td>axot</td>
<td>Azot</td>
<td>[aʃ ot]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>cot</td>
<td>Quöt</td>
<td>kőta</td>
<td>[kɒt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰou</td>
<td>[kʰou]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[how] (JSC)</td>
<td>[camyo] (AG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[camyo:h] (JSC)</td>
<td>[aʃgo] [aʃgʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>algō</td>
<td>[aʃgo] [aʃgʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan</td>
<td>chapllon</td>
<td>tsaplión</td>
<td>[kaplain]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the different notations of the words given by Martínez Compañón, Tessmann, Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa, de la Mata’s symbol o, which assumedly represents an open-high back [o], may represent other articulations as well; the more so since the sound represented by this symbol is described as an ‘in-between’ sound by Pedro de la Mata. His symbol o probably represented the same sounds as those symbolized by Martínez Compañón’s graphemes o and õ, and Tessmann’s õ, ŵ, ŵ, ŵ, and as those observed in the speech of Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa. According to my interpretation of his transcription, Martínez Compañón may have observed the following sounds: [o], [oː], [o], [ŋ], [ɹ], [ŋ]. Tessmann noticed the vowels [o], [oː], [o], and a short [æ], probably, [ɹ]. An open-high [ʊ], a close-mid [o], a long close-mid [o] and an open-mid [o] were heard in the utterances of Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa. Since Pedro de la Mata does not distinguish length, I suppose his o to symbolize the following vowels: open-high back [ʊ]/[ʊ], open-mid back [o]/[o], and a mid central rounded [ŋ]. Mata’s symbol o is unlikely to represent a close-mid back [o], because he notes that o is “pronounced” differently. He would not have said so, if his o would symbolize Spanish [o].

Table 4.10 presents a survey of the symbols employed by Martínez Compañón and Tessmann which assumedly correspond to the symbol o in the ALC, and of the corresponding vowels pronounced by Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa.
Table 4.10: The tentative value of the symbol \( o \) in the ALC, of similar symbols of Martínez Compañón and Tessmann, and the vowels pronounced by Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PM</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>[( \text{o} )], [( \text{\text{\text{o}}} )]</th>
<th>MC</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>[( \text{o} )], [( \text{\text{o}} )]</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>[( \text{o} )]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[( \text{\text{\text{o}}} )]</td>
<td>[( \text{\text{o}} )]</td>
<td>[( \text{\text{o}} )]</td>
<td>[( \text{\text{\text{o}}} )]</td>
<td>[( \text{\text{\text{o}}} )]</td>
<td>[( \text{\text{\text{o}}} )]</td>
<td>[( \text{\text{o}} )]</td>
<td>[( \text{\text{o}} )]</td>
<td>[( \text{\text{\text{o}}} )]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG/JSC</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>[( \text{o} )], [( \text{\text{o}} )]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[( \text{\text{o}} )]</td>
<td>(in a closed syllable)</td>
<td>[( \text{\text{o}} )]</td>
<td>(in an open stressed syllable)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.5.2.1 Positions and use

The symbol \( o \) can appear before the symbols \( i \) and \( e \), and after \( i, a, u \). E.g.

- \( \text{aoitzan} \) (1006) (a-o-itz-an) ‘I am made’
- \( \text{mipoecqui} \) (1454) (mi-po-ecqu-i) ‘give them’
- \( \text{miotiitzan} \) (1007) (mi-o-itz-an) ‘you are made’
- \( \text{cupul(l)uongo} \) (1074) (cu-pul(l)u-o-ngo) ‘abominable’

The following table furthermore shows that the symbol \( o \) is employed distinctively.

Table 4.11: Minimal pairs with \( o \)

| \( o \leftrightarrow i \): | co- ‘here’ | \( \leftrightarrow \) qui- ‘we’ |
| \( o \leftrightarrow e \): | moc ‘oh, if’ | \( \leftrightarrow \) mec ‘all’ |
| \( o \leftrightarrow a \): | pon ‘group’ | \( \leftrightarrow \) pan ‘mother’ |
| \( o \leftrightarrow u \): | -cho ‘already’ | \( \leftrightarrow \) -chu ‘negative’, ‘diminutive’ |

Notwithstanding the fact that de la Mata’s material give evidence that the symbol \( o \) is distinctive from the symbol \( u \), it seems that in one case the distinction is neutralized and that a fluctuation of \( o \) and \( u \) is possible. This is the case of the agentive marker -uch, which is also written as -och.

4.2.6. Evaluation: tables and diagrams

Table 4.12 shows the positions which the vowel symbols can take with respect to each other, when they occur in a cluster. Table 4.13 presents the positions of a vowel symbol occurring within a syllable in a sequence with consonant symbols. Furthermore, a survey is given showing the tentative values of the vowel symbols employed by de la Mata (Table 4.14). The distinctive vowels presumed is presented in table 4.15.
Table 4.12: Sequences of vowel symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 4.12 the sequences of two similar vowel symbols, sequences like ii, ee, aa, oo, uu, have been omitted. These are treated in section 4.2.7. In Table 4.13 the positions of the vowel symbols are represented before and after a consonant symbol in the same syllable. The positions of the vowel symbols before (b) an adjacent consonant symbol are given first; the second row indicates their occurrence after (a) a consonant symbol. In the diagram, the notational variants - but for k/qu - are treated separately in order to show that their distribution does not always coincide. The symbol ň, the notional variant of ň, has been left out, as well the symbols g and ň that do not represent a ‘guttural’ sound. This sound is represented by the complex symbol ng(u). The symbol g stands for both ‘g non-guttural’ and ‘g equal to h/j’ (cf. Table 4.2.1). Examples of the positions that vowel symbols can take with regard to consonant symbols within a syllable are found in Appendix 4.1.

Table 4.13: Diagram of the positions of the vowel symbols i, e, a, o, u before (b) and after (a) the consonant symbols p, t, c, k/qu, tz, ch, s, z, x, g, h, j, m, n, ň, nḡ, l, ll, b, hu, u, v, i, y, in a syllable.

|   | p  | t  | c  | k/qu | tz | ch | s  | z  | x  | g  | h  | j  | m  | n  | ň  | nḡ | (u) | l  | ll | b  | hu | u  | v  | i  | y  |
|---|----|----|----|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| b: i | +   | +   | +   | -   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   |
| a:  | +   | +   | -   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   |
| b: e | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   |
| a:  | +   | +   | -   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   |
| b: a | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   |
| a:  | +   | +   | -   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   |
| b: o | +   | +   | +   | +   | -   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   |
| a:  | +   | +   | -   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   |
| b: u | +   | +   | +   | +   | -   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   |
| a:  | +   | +   | -   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | +   | (+) | +   |
Since length is not systematically indicated, de la Mata’s vowel symbols may have represented long vowels. According to Pedro de la Mata, the duration of the vowels is not relevant. However, there are indications that he may have noticed length (see section 4.2.7).

4.2.7. Sequences of similar vowel symbols
With respect to the length of the syllables, Pedro de la Mata observes that “en esta lengua no ay dimension de sylabas breves ô largas” \(^\text{11}\) (\textit{ALC}, fol. 247). Nonetheless, sequences of same vowel symbols are found in the \textit{ALC}. These sequences may have represented long vowels, because the doubling of a vowel symbol could be a method to designate length.

However, other readings are also possible. If the vowel symbols are divided by a morpheme boundary, they may have symbolized a sequence of separately pronounced vowels, a vowel sequence with an intervening glide [y] or [w], or a vowel sequence interrupted by a glottal closure [\text{‘}]. The sequences \text{ii} and \text{uu} may furthermore have represented the falling diphthongs [iy] and [uw], respectively, with a palatal central approximant [y] or a bilabial central approximant [w]. Occasionally, the \text{ii} sequence may also have represented a consonant-vowel combination [yi]. Schematically:

1: a long vowel: [V:\];
2a: a bi-syllabic structure: [VV];
2b: a bi-syllabic structure with an intervening glide [VV] or [V\text{‘}V];
2c: a bi-syllabic structure with an intermediate glottal stop: [VV];
3: a falling diphthong: [Vy/w];

\(^{12}\) ‘in this language there is no mesure is short syllables or long syllables’
4: a consonant-vowel sequence: [y/w] (given the overall structure of the language we prefer not to use the term ‘rising diphthong’).

4.2.7.1. aa sequences
Sequences of aa have been found in the following cases:
I  the first person singular forms of the verbs am(o) ‘(to) put into one’s mouth’, ‘(to) eat’ and an ‘(to) come’;
II the forms in an of the verb (o) ‘(to) do’, ‘(to) make’, ‘(to) tell’ preceded by an object marker a ‘ls’ or another prefix ending in a;
III maal ‘nothing more’ which consists of the intensifier ma ‘very’ + the suffix -all ‘only’, ‘nothing else’;
IV -ochaaam ‘the (variety of) fruit?’ (ochaa ‘(variety of) fruit’ + -am ‘question marker’);
V  -alluaanco ‘I who go’; analiuua ‘How many species?’; maacsaquianco ‘he who rejoices’.

In the first three cases the aa sequence is divided by a morpheme boundary. Furthermore, the circumflex accent in the verbal form âamoctan ‘I shall eat’ seems to indicate that the circumflexed vowel was pronounced separately. Therefore, there is reason to believe that, in these cases, the aa sequences symbolize either a ‘vowel-glottal stop-vowel’ [a’a] sequence, or a ‘vowel-vowel’ [aa] sequence. Examples of cases I - III are

I (1) â-amo-ct-an (1512)
   1ss-eat-F-IA
   ‘I shall eat’

II (3) ng-å-å-an (2948)
   3sa-1so-make-IA
   ‘he makes me’

III (5) ma-all (2672)
   INT-RST
   ‘nothing more’

In the form ochaaam (case 4), which occurs only once in the Arte, the aa sequence is not divided by a morpheme boundary and may therefore symbolize a long vowel. However, the possibility to interpret it as a [VV] or a [V’V] combination can not be excluded. It could also be a mistake: cf. analiuua/analiuua below.

IV (6) ochaa-am (1410)
   variety of fruit-QM
   ‘[as for] the (variety of) fruit?’
In the three remaining items (case 5), aa possibly represents a long vowel, because both segments belong to a same morpheme, and because the elements aaanco, (ui)aa and maac are normally spelled with one a: cf. actanco ‘I who am’; annaliumam ‘How many colours?’; maacsaitan ‘he rejoices’. The doubling of a could therefore indicate length. However, it could also be a mistake, since there is no other evidence for long [a:] in the ALC.

V (7)  
\text{a-llu-aan-co} (1189)  
1SS-go-IA-DEM 
‘I who go’

(8)  
\text{ana-liu-aam} (1424)  
how-many-CL:multiform/coloured-QM 
‘How many?’

(9)  
\text{o-maacsu-qui-an-co} (1634)  
3SS-happiness-be/become-IA-DE 
‘he who rejoices’

And thus, if the aa sequence is divided by a morpheme boundary, it may symbolize an [aa] or [a’a] sequence; in other circumstances, it may represent a long vowel [a:].

4.2.7.2. ee sequences

A sequence of two e is found in the words:

(10)  
\text{che-e-n-an} (2076)  
3ps-give-RFL-IA 
‘they give themselves’

(11)  
\text{me-etzo-lam} (1503)  
2ss-steal-FN1 
‘your stealing’

(12)  
\text{me-etzo-u-ynco} (2007)  
2ss-steal-PST-DEM 
‘you who stole’

(13)  
\text{ey, heey} (2863)  
yes 
‘yes’

(14)  
\text{ñeetz} (2990)  
3spSPOS-mother 
‘someone’s mother’

The ee sequence is unlikely to represent a long vowel in the first three forms. In these words the combination is divided by a morpheme boundary, and what is more, the prefixes che- ‘they’ and me- ‘you’ are person markers that have assimilated with the vowel e of the stems -e- ‘give’ and -etz- ‘steal’. Their neutral form is chi- and mi- respectively. The underlying structure of the ee sequence is thus an i-e sequence, presenting two different vowels. Intersected by a morpheme boundary, and fundamentally consisting of two non-similar vowels, the ee sequence in the forms cheenan, meetzolam and meetzounco may be interpreted as an uninterrupted [ii] vowel sequence, as a sequence with an intervening glide: [yr], or as a sequence interrupted by a glottal stop: [r’:].
As far as the words eeey/heey and ñeetz are concerned, they are alternatively spelled with one e, as jey (3595) and nguech (4), respectively. By doubling the vowel, the author of the ALC, or its transcriber, may indeed have intended to express length. A pronunciation as eey ‘yes’ (long mid front vowel + palatal glide) was observed in the spoken data gathered in the Huallaga valley. Mr. José Santos Chapa and Mrs. Aurelia Gutiérrez, namely, pronounced the word [sę:ykuta?] ~ [sę:ykutak] ‘peccary’ with a long mid front vowel followed by the palatal glide [y].

The ee cluster may thus symbolize the sequences [II], [iyi], [I’i], if it is divided by a morpheme boundary, and a long vowel [I:], [e:], or [e:], if the segments belong to one morpheme.

4.2.7.3. ii sequences
The combination ii may be interpreted as [i:], [iy], [yi], [ii], [iyi] or [i’i]. It has been found in
I - the verb piip(o) ‘(to) work’;
II - several forms of the verb yip(o) ‘(to) make a house’;
III - the word quimejjuch ‘our teacher’;
IV - the forms a(c)quii or a(c)quiî, atonliiye, atzachitan and cotiinco, verbal forms, which - according to Pedro de la Mata - represent a preterite, a pluperfect (preterite + a pluperfect ending), a future and a past participle, respectively.

I (15) chi-piip-an (66) (also written chi-piy-p-an)
3ps-work-IA
‘they work’

(16) meip-an (2867) (17) piip-o (1183, 1575, 2874)
3ss.work-IA work-FN2
‘he works’ ‘supine’

(18) piip-pacna (1575) (19) piip-te-ge (2783)
work-NE.NOM work-INF-BEN
‘negation’ ‘gerund’

The orthography of chi-piip-an could favour the phonetic interpretation of ii as a falling diphthong [iy]. However, this would give the stem a CVCC shape which would coincide with a syllable in a form such as piip-te-ge: *[piipStShi/xt]. In Cholón a cluster of two consonants in a same syllable was not normally allowed, so that the reading of ii as a falling diphthong is unlikely. (Clusters of two consonant symbols in one syllable have only been encountered in one lexical item and in three verb forms, cf. section 4.3). This restriction is also in conflict with the phonetic interpretation of ii as a CV sequence [yi], because, in that case, the CCVC stem would also coincide with a syllable containing a combination of two consonants not separated by a syllable boundary. The form meip-an gives evidence that the ii sequence of the other forms of the verb does not represent one long vowel, but two
distinct vowels that can dissimilate. If we pass over the possibility to interpret the \(ii\) combination - in the verb \(piip(o)\) - as a long vowel, a falling diphthong or a CV combination, what remains is the reading of \(ii\) as a ‘vowel-vowel’, a ‘vowel-glide-vowel’ or a ‘vowel-glottal stop-vowel’ sequence, as [ii], [i\(\ddot{y}\)] or [i\(\dddot{y}\)], respectively. Accordingly, the \(ii\) sequence in meipan ‘he works’ may be read as [i\(\ddot{y}\)], [i\(\dddot{y}\)] or [i\(\dddot{y}\)].

In the case of \(piip(o)\) there is still the possibility of another reading. The \(ii\) sequence may be interpreted as a ‘vowel-glide’ sequence [i\(\ddot{y}\)] which, in order to avoid a cluster of two consonants ([yp]) within a syllable, was followed by a shwa. The form \(piip(o)\) may then be read as [piy\(\ddot{c}\)p(o)].

The \(ii\) sequence in the first two words may have been composed of the final \(i\) of the person marker \(mi\) + the stem vowel \(i\) with the suppression of the initial glide of \(yip-\). However, according to the other data in the \(ALC\), consonant suppression does not occur in Cholón. It is rather the stem vowel that is elided (cf. me-kt-\(an\) < *me-kot-\(an\) in section 5.4.2, a section about vowel suppression). Presumably, this is what has occurred in both forms. Obviously, the stem vowel \(i\) of the verb \(yip(o)\) has been elided, and the second element of the sequence \(ii\) should probably be interpreted as a palatal glide, the initial \(y\) of \(yip-\). The sequence could therefore represent a falling diphthong [iy], divided by a morpheme boundary. The sequence could furthermore represent a ‘vowel-palatal glide-vowel’ sequence [i\(\ddot{y}\)] composed of \(i\) (the ending of the person marker) + \(yi\) (the first two elements of \(yip-\)), giving us [miy\(\ddot{p}\)]/[miyi\(\ddot{p}\)] and [kiy\(\ddot{p}\)]/[kiyi\(\ddot{p}\)]. The form miiepoujan occurs only once in the \(ALC\). The second grapheme of the \(ii\) sequence in this form apparently symbolizes the initial palatal glide of \(yip-\). The sequence could therefore be read as [miy\(\ddot{p}\)wan] or [miy\(\dddot{p}\)wan]. (The reading of miiepoujan as [miy\(\ddot{p}\)wan] or [miy\(\dddot{p}\)wan] should not be excluded either). The imperative form \(ipoc\) is regularly composed from the morphemes \(ip\) ‘house’ + (o) ‘(to) make’ + the imperative ending \(c\), and can be read as [yi\(\ddot{o}\)k]. In both forms, miiepoujan as well as \(ipoc\), the \(ii\) sequence may thus be interpreted as a CV combination.

It has been derived from the verb yam-e(h) ‘(to) teach’, which has an initial glide. In the form quiimejjuch, the stem vowel \(a\) has been suppressed (cf. \(yip-\) above). The
double *ii* is presumably a combination of the ending *i* of the person prefix *qui* + the initial glide of the verb *yam-*(*h*). Therefore, the second segment of the sequence *ii* is presumably a palatal glide, and the sequence could be interpreted as a falling diphthong [iy], of which the elements belong to different morphemes.

**IV** (25)  
*a(c)*quii (1868)/*a(c)*quii (247)  
1sS-be/became-PST  
‘I was’, ‘I became’

(26)  
atonliyye (676)  
1sS-sit.down/stay-PST-ANT  
‘I had sat down’, ‘I had stayed’

(27)  
cotiinco (1458)  
3sS-be-PST-DEM  
‘he who was’

(28)  
azchiitan (254)  
1SA-3SO-SE-F-IA  
‘I shall see him/her/it’

In the first four forms, the *ii* sequence is divided by a morpheme boundary, and the second element of the *ii* sequence represents the ‘preterite’ ending. Since the ‘preterite’ ending *i* may be interpreted as a glide [y], when occurring after a vowel symbol, and as a falling diphthong [iy], when occurring after a consonant symbol (see section 4.2.3), the cluster *ii* may represent a diphthong [iy] in the words *a(c)*quii and atonliyye, and a ‘diphthong-vowel’ sequence [iyi] in the word *cotiinco*. If this is correct, the words *a(c)*quii, atonliyye and *cotiinco* may be read as [akiyi], [atonliyyi] and [kotiinyko], respectively. By contrast, the circumflex accent on the final *i* in the form *a(c)*quii may have indicated a glottal stop. If so, the *ii* cluster may have represented a ‘vowel-glottal stop-diphthong’ sequence, so that *a(c)*quii may be read as [akiyi]. The word *azchiitan* is a first person singular future form of the verb *yach(o)/yatz(o)/yax(o) ‘(to) see’. The future is formed by means of the suffix -(k)t(e): -kt(e) after a vowel symbol and -t(e) after a consonant symbol. Since -t(e) appears after a consonant symbol, the last symbol of the *ii*-sequence must represent a consonant, viz. a palatal glide, and the sequence as a whole may be interpreted as a falling diphthong [iy].

Regarding the analysis of the cases in which the *ii* sequence appears, I assume that the cluster, occurring in a stem, could symbolize a sequence of two high vowels with or without an intermediate glide or glottal stop: [ii], [iyy] or [i’i], rather than a long vowel. As a boundary cluster, produced by the prefixation of a person marker, it may also represent a falling diphthong [iy]. In initial position, not intersected by a morpheme boundary, the *ii* cluster can be interpreted as a CV sequence [yi]. When occurring after a verb stem, whether or not intersected by a morpheme boundary, it
assumedly represents a falling diphthong. In a form, such as, *cottiinco* the cluster *ii* possibly symbolizes a VCV sequence [iyi]. When the second element of the cluster is accentuated by a circumflex, it may even represent a VCVC sequence [i'yi].

4.2.7.4. *oo* sequences
The sequence *oo* has been encountered in verbal forms composed of the stem *o* ‘(to) do’, ‘(to) make’ preceded by the person marker *mo-* or *po-* ‘them’ (see chapter 5 and 7):

(29)  
\[ \text{i-mo-o-ngø (1515)} \]  
\[ \text{3SA-3PO-make-FN2} \]  
\[ \text{he has to make them} \]

(30)  
\[ \text{mi-tzoø (143)} \]  
\[ \text{2sPO-guinea.pig} \]  
\[ \text{your guinea pig} \]

(31)  
\[ \text{qui-tzoø (143)} \]  
\[ \text{1pPO-guinea.pig} \]  
\[ \text{our guinea pig} \]

(32)  
\[ \text{y-tzoø (143)} \]  
\[ \text{3pPO-guinea.pig} \]  
\[ \text{their guinea pig} \]

In these forms the sequence is divided by a morpheme boundary, and the sequence *oo* probably does not symbolize a long vowel, but has to be interpreted as a vowel-vowel sequence [c157/c157], as a vowel-glide-vowel sequence [c157w/c157], or as a vowel-glottal stop-vowel sequence [c157?/c157].

The *oo* combination may represent a long vowel in the following paradigm, where it is not intersected by a morpheme boundary:

In favour of the assumption that double *oo* could represent a long vowel, there is first the fact that [o:] has been attested in the utterances of José Santos Chapa. He pronounced the word for ‘red monkey’ as [camyo:h], with a long vowel. In this word, the articulation of a long vowel has assumedly been favoured by the following glottal fricative. Such pronunciation could possibly have been symbolized by the sequence *ooh* in the forms *michooh*, *quiachooh* and *ychooh*. A second argument would be the fact that the other elements of the paradigm are spelled with one *o* (*oo* may thus have symbolized *o* + length):
“[...] there is only one accent, on the last syllable, in nouns as well as in verbs”.

(33)  
\[
\text{yotz (143) (absolute form)} \\
\text{guinea.pig} \\
\text{‘guinea pig’}
\]

(34)  
\[
\text{a-tzotz (143)} \\
\text{1sPOS-guinea.pig} \\
\text{‘my guinea pig’}
\]

(35)  
\[
\text{zotz (143)} \\
\text{3sPOS.guinea pig} \\
\text{‘his guinea pig’}
\]

(36)  
\[
\text{mi-zotz-ja (143)} \\
\text{2POS-guinea.pig-PL} \\
\text{‘your (p) guinea pig’}
\]

In the paradigm mi-tzooz, qui-zooz, y-tzooz, double o may stand for [ɔː] ~ [oː].
When intersected by a morpheme boundary, the sequence oo may stand for the sequences [ʊʊ], [ʊˈʊ] and [ʊˈʊ].

4.2.7.5. uu sequences
A combination of two u not intersected by a morpheme boundary has only been encountered in two interjections:

(37)  
\[
\text{uchuu! (2935)} \\
\text{‘How warm!’}
\]

(38)  
\[
\text{uñuu! (2945)} \\
\text{‘How praiseworthy!’}
\]

In these exclamations, the uu combination may have symbolized a long vowel or a falling diphthong [uw] (cf. section 4.2.3). The interjection uchu is elsewhere namely written as uchu, with a single final u; and uñuu had originally also been written with a single final u as ühu. The later hand has added the symbol u to ühu. The added final u may have indicated a bilabial approximant [w]. The later hand may also have amplified the exclamation with an additional symbol u in order to indicate that the vowel was long or stressed. (A long back vowel [u:] was heard in the word [u:t] ‘fire’ as pronounced by Mr. Santos Chapa). However, the doubling of the last symbol in order to indicate that the vowel is stressed does not seem plausible, because in Cholón the last syllable was normally stressed, or, as Pedro de la Mata observes, “[...] no tiene mas [acentos] que uno en la ultima siylaba, assi en nombres como en verbos”15. Therefore, a final syllable does not need to be marked such. The interjection acu! ‘exclamation of affection’, for example, also ends in a stressed high back vowel and is written with a single u, which is not doubled. The double uu in the expressions uchu and uñuu! may thus be read as a diphthong [uw] or as a long high back vowel [u:].
4.2.7.6. Conclusion

A sequence of two similar vowels may indicate that the vowel is long ([Vː]). This can be the case when the sequence is not divided by a morpheme boundary. In the spoken data, explicitly long vowels have been noticed too. It concerns the vowels [ɛː], [ɔː] and [uː]. If the vowels of the sequences belong to different morphemes, they may have been pronounced separately as two successive vowels: [VV], as two vowels with an intermediate glide: [V^wV], or as a sequence interrupted by a glottal stop: [V^V].

An ii sequence is unlikely to represent a long vowel, even when not intersected by a morpheme boundary. It may, however, have represented a rising diphthong [yi] and a falling diphthong [iy]. In ‘preterite’ forms, the ii cluster, divided by a morpheme boundary, may also represent a [VyV] sequence (cf. cotinco [kotiyinko]), and a [V^V] sequence when the final element of the cluster is circumflexed. The uu combination, which only appears in two lexical items in which it is not intersected by a morpheme boundary, could symbolize a long vowel or a falling diphthong [Vw].

In table 4.16, the possible readings of the sequences examined above are put together. The possible reading of a ii cluster, with a circumflexed final i, is not listed in this table. Sequences that are divided by a morpheme boundary are separated by a hyphen.

Table 4.16: A tentative sound interpretation of the sequences of two similar vowels occurring in the ALC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[Vː]</th>
<th>[VV]</th>
<th>[V^wV]</th>
<th>[V^V]</th>
<th>[V^w]</th>
<th>[yV]</th>
<th>[VyV]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-e</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-i</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-o</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uu</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.8. Diphthongs

In the data of Pedro de la Mata, sequences composed of a vowel followed by i, y or u are frequently attested. In some of these combinations, the elements i, y and u may be considered as glides, and the sequences can be interpreted as falling diphthongs. In this way, the following falling diphthongs can be assumed. (In the phonetic representation of the diphthongs, the symbol e occurring in a closed syllable and the symbols o before the palatal glide y are valued as [ɛ] and [ɔ], respectively, in accordance with the diphthongs as pronounced by Aurelia Gutiérrez and José Santos Chapa).

(39) [iw] liu (1896) ‘painting’
(40) [iy] aquii (1868) ‘I became’, ‘I was’
(41) [ɛw] leu (1907) ‘worm’
(42) [ɛy] pcy (1399) ‘earth’
(43) [ɔy] ayte! (2194) ‘Quiet!’
(44) [ow] oulum (1637) ‘snake’
(45) [ɔy] aloy (963) ‘I wet’
(46) [uy] atzui (976) ‘I anointed’

The sequence au appears in borrowings from Quechua only, and may well have been

(47) [aw]: allau! (2938) ‘How painful!’
      auca (2821) ‘enemy’

If we leave out the diphthong [aw] - which occurs in Quechua loan words - and the double uu - which occurs only twice in an interjection and which may designate a long vowel as well -, it appears that among the vocalic elements of the diphthongs, only [i], [ɛ] and [ɔ] are followed by both a bilabial and a palatal glide. This is illustrated by the diagram below.

Table 4.17: Vowels + off-glide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[w]</th>
<th>[y]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is evidence in the ALC, that some of the diphthongs observed occur in minimal pairs (see Table 4.18).
Table 4.18: Minimal pairs with falling diphthongs

\[
\text{liu} \quad \text{‘painting’} \quad \sim \quad \text{leu} \quad \text{‘worm’}
\]
\[
\text{liu} \quad \text{‘painting’} \quad \sim \quad \text{lou} \quad \text{‘something made’}
\]
\[
\text{nay} \quad \text{‘firewood’} \quad \sim \quad \text{nai} \quad \text{‘someone’s backside’}
\]
\[
\text{ay} \quad \text{‘backside’} \quad \sim \quad \text{oy}! \quad \text{‘exclamation of concession’}
\]

It comes as no surprise that no minimal pairs have been found with the “borrowed” diphthong \([aw]\), nor with the sequences \(ii\) and \(uu\). The table below shows the falling diphthongs which, according to data in the \(Arte\), are relevant.

Table 4.19: Tentative falling diphthongs

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{iw}] \\
[\text{e}w], [\text{ey}] & \quad [\text{ow}], [\text{oy}] \\
[\text{ay}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

In addition, in the words recorded in the area, the following diphthongs were attested: \([\text{ey}], [\text{ay}], [\text{oy}], [\text{iw}], [\text{ew}]/[\text{ew}], [\text{ow}]:

(48) \[\text{se:ykuta’}/[\text{se:ykutak}] \quad \text{‘peccary’}
(49) \[\text{ay}] 
\text{‘exclamation to frighten someone’}
(50) \[\text{oy}] 
\text{‘exclamation to confirm something’}
(51) \[\text{kitiw}] 
\text{‘ear’}
(52) \[\text{alkusew}]/[\text{alkusew}] 
\text{‘a variety of fish’}
(53) \[\text{how}] 
\text{‘tigre’}

The grammar contains many combinations of a vowel symbol + a consonant symbol in which the first symbol can be interpreted as a central approximant \([y]\) or \([w]\). Although such \([yV]\) and \([wV]\) successions can be interpreted as rising diphthongs, it is more convenient, given the overall structure of the language, to interpret these sequences not as a rising diphthong - an on-glide + vowel cluster -, but just as a succession of a consonant and a vowel.

In syllable-initial position before a vowel symbol, \(u\) is often a substitute for the grapheme \(v:\)

(54) \(\text{llavi} \ (2467) \sim \llau (79) \quad \text{‘he went’}\)
(55) \(\text{ilven} \ (905) \sim \alwen (905) \quad \text{‘I went’} \sim \text{‘they went’}\)
(56) \(-\text{va} \ (1853) \sim -\text{ua} \ (1630) \quad \text{‘topic marker’}\)
(57) \(-\text{voch} \ (2373) \sim -\text{uoch} \ (1042) \quad \text{‘verbalizer -va/-uo + factivizer -(e)ch’}\)
(58) \(-\text{vuch} \ (1445) \sim -\text{uuch} \ (1444) \quad \text{‘agentive’}\)

Being alternatively employed in this position, the graphemes \(v\) and \(u\) apparently refer to the same sound. The sound they are referring to can not be a voiced bilabial
fri\-cative, because, according to de la Mata this sound does not occur in Cholón (fol. 1): “No se pronuncia en esta lengua [...] F [...] ni fuerte, ni suave”\textsuperscript{13}. They presumably symbolize a bilabial glide \[w\].

The grapheme \(u\) is also encountered in syllable-final position preceded by a vowel symbol. In this position it has a consonantal status and is possibly employed as a notational variant of \(v\). The consonant symbol \(v\), namely, does never appear syllable-finally after a vowel symbol, only \(u\) is found in this position (cf. Appendix 4.1). Since the symbol \(u\) has a consonantal status when it appears in this position and since it occurs in complementary distribution with \(v\), it assumedly also represents a bilabial glide \[w\].

4.3. Consonant symbols

4.3.1. Introduction

The symbols employed by the author and the transcriber(s) of the \textit{ALC} may consist of one basic symbol, or may be composed of more than one element, including the circumflex accent, which is alternatively used as a tilde, and the tilde itself. The consonant symbols which have been used for the transcription of Cholón and the sections in which they are analyzed are shown in the following survey:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b) (in non-borrowed words), (hu), (u/v)</td>
<td>4.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c), (qu), (k)</td>
<td>4.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ch), (tz/z)</td>
<td>4.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i/y)</td>
<td>4.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l, ll) (non-doubled)</td>
<td>4.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m, n, \tilde{n}/\hat{n}) (non-‘guttural’), and (nc)</td>
<td>4.3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p, t)</td>
<td>4.3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s/z, x)</td>
<td>4.3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) (non-‘guttural’), (h, j)</td>
<td>4.3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) (‘guttural’), (g(u)/\hat{g}(u)), (\alpha-g), (mg), (ng), (n\tilde{g}(u)/n\hat{g}(u)), (n\tilde{g}h), (\hat{n}h) (‘guttural’), (\tilde{n}g(u)/\hat{g}(u)), (\tilde{n}g)</td>
<td>4.3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doubled symbols: (cc), (ch), (j), (g(\prime)), (h), (j)</td>
<td>4.3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mn), (\tilde{m}/\hat{m}), (pp), (ss/\tilde{z}), (tt), (uu/vu), (xx), (yy)</td>
<td>4.3.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>symbols restricted to loan words: (b), (d), (f), (r)</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{tabular}

The doubled consonant symbols are mostly found as replacements of single (non-doubled) symbols. The symbols \(gh\), \(gj\), \(hg\), \(hj\), \(jg\), \(jh\) are used instead of \(gg\), \(hh\), or \(jj\). To indicate doubled \(u\) or \(v\) the sequences \(uu\) and \(uv\) are employed. The

\textsuperscript{13} ‘In this language, F, whether strong or soft, is not pronounced’.
sequence, \( uv \), is never the result of a replacement, because neither one of the two symbols is found as a replacement of another.

Apart from the tilde and the circumflex accent, the author and the transcriber(s) of the \( ALC \) also employed an acute accent and a grave accent. The use of the diacritics will be discussed in section 4.5.

In the analysis of the consonant symbols we shall look, among other things, at alternative spellings and at their position with regard to the vowel symbols. Examples of these positions are given in Appendix 4.1. In this analysis, for so far as the mid vowels are concerned, the transcription of Pedro de la Mata will be followed. The mid vowels are represented by [e] and [o], respectively, disregarding the possible variations described in section 4.2.5. A survey of the symbols and their value is given in section 4.6.1 and 4.6.2. In section 4.6.3 non-distinctive sounds are sorted out and a table of hypothetical phonemes is presented. After the discussion, in section 4.7, a modern interpretative spelling will be introduced.

4.3.2. The symbols \( b \), \( hu \), \( u/v \)

The grapheme \( b \) usually occurs in Spanish loan words (cf. section 4.4), where it supposedly stands for a ‘softly pronounced’ voiced bilabial fricative \([\beta]\) (see de la Mata’s remark below) or a ‘strongly pronounced’ voiced bilabial stop \([b]\) (ibid.). In the transcriptions of originally Cholón words, it only appears in the words \( \sim \)golebuch ‘lover’, and \( \sim \)bem ‘sweet potato’. In these transcriptions \( b \) can not stand for \([\beta]\), nor for \([b]\), because, according to Pedro de la Mata, Cholón has no voiced bilabial fricative nor stop (fol. 1): “No se pronuncian en esta lengua las letras B, […] ni fuerte, ni suave”\(^{14}\) (cf. section 4.1).

The word \( \sim \)golebuch is written elsewhere as \( \sim \)goleuuch and \( \sim \)colevuch. In these words the graphemes \( u \) and \( v \) alternate with \( b \). Below, we shall see that the symbol \( u/v \) may be interpreted as a bilabial approximant \([w]\) when it appears before or after a vowel symbol in a syllable. Since in the case of \( \sim \)golebuch the grapheme \( b \) alternates with both \( u \) and \( v \) before the vowel symbol \( u \), it may be interpreted as a bilabial approximant \([w]\) in this position. The word \( \sim \)golebuch should therefore be read as \([\text{jolewu}u]\), and \( \text{bem} \), on the analogy of \( \sim \)golebuch, as \([\text{wem}]\).

In Spanish, the grapheme \( hu \), when appearing syllable-initially before a vowel symbol, has the value of a bilabial glide \([w]\). In the \( ALC \) the symbol \( hu \) may also represent the bilabial glide \([w]\) when it occurs in syllable-initially before a vowel symbol. In this position it appears only before the symbol \( a \) (N.B., this sequence is not to be confounded with the complementizeng suffix \(-hu\), [hu], cf. section 4.2.2). The combination \( hua \) has been found in the following forms:

\[
\text{(59) ol i-l-o-u-hua-m co-\(\acute{a}\) (96) who 3SA-3SO-make-PST-TOP-QM this-TOP 'Whose is this?'}
\]

\(^{15}\) ‘In this language, the letters B, […] are not pronounced, neither strongly, nor softly’.
In this language, F, whether strong or soft, is not pronounced.ø-llahu-an

i-llahu-an

3sS-go-IA
‘he goes’

3ps-go-IA
‘they go’

hualiu

strength/beauty

‘strong/beautiful’

In the word i-lou-hua-m-co-ã, the morpheme hua is a topic marker which is alternatively spelled as va or ua. The preterite and pluperfect of llahu-an are llav-i and llau-i-yê, respectively. These spellings show that hu can be replaced by u and v which symbolize a bilabial glide or approximant [w] (see below). Since it is replaceable by u and v, the digraph hu has presumably the same value as u and v, and may thus symbolize a bilabial sound [w] as well. This could also hold for the sequence hu in the lexical item hualiu, which should probably be read as [waliu]. Since hualiu is the only lexical item that begins with the sequence hua [wa], this lexical item is likely to be a loan word. It may have been borrowed from Spanish vale ‘good’, ‘o.k.’ or from Quechua baliq ‘very’, ‘considerable’ (Willem Adelaar, personal communication).

Concerning the symbol u, in section 4.2.4 we have already noticed that it has a consonantal status, whenever it occurs before or after a vowel symbol in a syllable. In syllable-initial position before a vowel symbol, u is often a substitute for the grapheme v:

llavi (905) ~ llau (78) ‘he went’
illven (905) ~ alluen (905) ‘they went’ ~ ‘I went’
v-ch (6) ~ -ua (77) ‘topic marker’
-vo-ch (2097) ~ -uo-ch (1042) ‘verbalizer-factitive’
-vuch (1782) ~ -uch (1444) ‘agentive’

Being employed alternatively in this position, the graphemes u and v apparently refer to the same sound. The sound they refer to can not be a voiced labiodental [v], because, according to de la Mata this sound does not occur in Cholón (fol. 1): “No se pronuncia en esta lengua [...] F [...] ni fuerte, ni suave.” They presumably symbolize a bilabial approximant [w]. The symbol u is also encountered in syllable-final position preceded by a vowel symbol. In this position it constitutes the sole option, because v never appears syllable-finally (cf. Appendix 4.1). Since, in this position, the symbol u has a consonantal status and occurs in complementary distribution with v, it must also have represented a bilabial approximant or glide [w] (see 4.2.8).

---

16 ‘In this language, F, whether strong or soft, is not pronounced.’
The examples above show that both \( u \) and \( v \) can occur before the vowel symbols \( i, e, a, o, u \); the examples in Appendix 4.1 give evidence that only \( u \) appears after these vowel symbols.

The following minimal pair shows that \( u/v/hu \), symbolizing a bilabial glide [w], is distinctive from \( h \):

(68) \( ll(a)u \) (2072) ‘(to) go’ — \( llah \) (2072) ‘(to) bring’

No other minimal pairs with \( u/v/hu \) - showing a semantic contrast between the sound symbolized by these symbols and those symbolized by other graphemes - have been found.

4.3.3. The symbols \( c, qu, k \)
As in Spanish, the grapheme \( c \) is plurivalent. Before the front vowel symbols, it presumably has the value of a sibilant [s]. Elsewhere the symbol \( c \) refers to a velar stop [k]. In the transcriptions of Cholón, \( c \) does not occur before \( i \), and it occurs only twice before \( e \):

(69) \( a-m-pi-e-n \) (1173) \( mi-chace-n-lê \) (2969)
\( 1sA-2sO-as-k-PST-IA \) \( 2sS-joke-IA-QM \)
‘I asked you’ ‘Are you joking?’

The former verb - \( p(i)s \) ‘(to) buy/ ask’, \( m(i)s \) ‘(to) buy/ ask something’ - is usually written with \( s \) or \( z \), as in \( amsan \) ‘I buy it’ (3022) or \( imzan \) (3025) ‘he buys’, representing a sibilant (see section 4.3.9). In the form \( pice-n \), the symbol \( c \) can be interpreted as a sibilant [s] as well. By analogy with \( pic-en \), the grapheme \( c \) before \( e \) in the form \( mi-chace-n-lê \) can also be interpreted as [s].

The symbol \( c \) furthermore appears syllable-initially before \( a, o, u \), as well as syllable-finally. In these positions it may be equivalent to [k]:

(71) \( c-a- \) (558) ‘\( 1pO-\)AP’
(72) \( co \) (1292) ‘here’, ‘this’
(73) \( oc \) (1268) ‘I’, ‘me’
(74) \( cu- \) (109) ‘our’

The symbol \( c \) of the first person plural marker \( c- \) or \( cu- \) is replaced by \( qu \), before the graphemes \( i \) and \( e \):

(75) \( qui-quill \) (117)
\( 1pPOS-wall \)
‘our wall’
(76) \( que-chesmiñ \) (120)
\( 1pPOS-cedar \)
‘our cedar’
(77) \( cu-pul \) (141)
\( 1pPOS-son \)
‘our son’
The examples show that the symbols c and qu are equivalent and symbolize the velar occlusive [k], because they are used in complementary distribution: qu before the vowel symbols i and e, c elsewhere.

In addition, in ki-tzmehj-o ‘our having to be taught’ and in kennà ‘stars’ the symbol k has been used instead of qu. The prefix ki ‘1p’ in ki-tzmehj-o is normally written as qui with qu instead of k. The item kennà was transcribed as que-nac by Martínez Compañón. The graphemes c, qu and k may thus refer to [k], whereas c is bivalent. When occurring before e, it can also refer to [s].

In syllable-final position, the symbol c could also have represented a glottal stop. The word micothaclamge ‘so that you (p) are’, for instance, may be read as [mikotha?lamhe] (see also section 7.3.2).

For pairs illustrating the distinctive character of [s], symbolized by c/_e, s or z, see section 4.3.9. With regard to the velar stop [k], symbolized by the graphemes c/qu and k, the following examples show that it is distinct from the velar nasal [ŋ] symbolized by ng (cf. section 4.3.11), as well as from other stops, i.e. the bilabial and the alveolar stop, symbolized by the graphemes p, t, respectively.

(78)  cot (114) ‘water’  – nŋot (114) ‘his water’
(79)  -c-a- (558) ‘1po-AP’  – -p-a- (560) ‘3po-AP’
(80)  co (1292) ‘this (one)’  – to (1231) ‘(to) do’

4.3.4. The symbol ch
The symbol ch is an ambiguous symbol. In most of the lexical items it remains unmodified, e.g. cham ‘chain’ (see section 4.3.4.1), whereas in a number of forms it has been crossed out and replaced by both tz and z: chap ‘his wild pig’ > tzap, zap; or by the symbol z only: yphok ‘six’ > ypszok; and in some cases it alternates with the symbols s and x: ich– ~ is-/ix- ‘three’ (see section 4.3.4.2).

4.3.4.1. The symbol ch without replacement (henceforth ch)
In a number of roots and morphemes, Pedro de la Mata’s symbol ch has never been found replaced by the symbols tz and z, nor alternating with the symbols s and x. There is no compelling reason to assign to it any other value than that of Spanish ch, representing an unvoiced palatal affricate [c].

(81)  chi- (13) ‘they’  (82)  checho (1249) ‘silver’
(83)  -a)ch (1316) ‘reportative’

The symbol in question may occur before and after the vowel symbols a, e, i, o and u (see Appendix 4.1). The palatal affricate symbolized by ch is distinctive with regard to the supposed alveo-dental affricate represented by t (see section below) and to palatals represented by other symbols:
4.3.4.2. The symbol $ch$ with replacement (henceforth $ch^+$)

The symbol $ch$ has on many occasions been barred and replaced by both the symbol $tz$ and the symbol $z$. This replacement mainly occurs in the relational forms which have $ch$ in initial position and which have been derived from an absolute form with initial $y$ (see section 5.5). The replacement $ch > tz/z$ futhermore occurs in borrowings (cf. etza ‘meat’ < Q aycha) and in some 20 other lexical items (e.g. the word chipiou ‘a (variety of) fruit’, see below). The substitution of $z$ for $ch$ mostly takes place in syllable-initial position and between vowel symbols; $tz$ as a replacement of the symbol $ch$ generally appears between vowel symbols and syllable-finally:

\[
\begin{align*}
(85) \text{Sch} & \rightarrow \text{Sz-: chipiou} \rightarrow \text{zipiou} (121) \quad \text{‘a (variety of) fruit’} \\
(86) \text{-ch} & \rightarrow \text{-z-: michipiou} \rightarrow \text{mitzipiou} (121) \quad \text{‘your (variety of) fruit’} \\
(87) \text{-ch} & \rightarrow \text{-tz-: ichipiou} \rightarrow \text{itzipiou} (121) \quad \text{‘their (variety of) fruit’} \\
(88) \text{-ch} & \rightarrow \text{-tz-: michmen} \rightarrow \text{mitzmen} (944) \quad \text{‘you teach’}
\end{align*}
\]

In a number of cases, the symbol $ch^+$ is only replaced by $z$:

\[
\begin{align*}
(89) \text{chel} & \rightarrow \text{zel} (1082) \quad \text{‘numeral classifier for big objects and quadrupeds’, ‘numeral classifier for one human being’} \\
(90) \text{ypchoc} & \rightarrow \text{ypzok} (1087) \quad \text{‘six’}
\end{align*}
\]

However, many forms may also occur with their original $ch$; in those cases the symbol $ch$ has not been crossed out and replaced by $tz/z$ (or by $z$), e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
(91) \text{Sch-: chipiou} (121) & \quad (92) \text{-ch-: mi-chipiou-ha} (121) \\
\text{3sPOS-fruit} & \quad \text{2POS-fruit-pl} \\
\text{‘his fruit’} & \quad \text{‘your (p) fruit’} \\
(93) \text{-chS: yehmen} (944) & \\
\text{3sA-3sO.know-CAU-IA} & \\
\text{‘he teaches’} & \\
(94) \text{an-chel} xê (7) & \quad (95) \text{ypchocc-o ypchocc-o} (1137) \\
\text{one-CL:truncal hair} & \quad \text{six-DIS six-DIS} \\
\text{‘one humain hair’} & \quad \text{‘in sixes’}
\end{align*}
\]
Occasionally, the symbol \(ch'\) alternates with the symbols \(s\) and \(x\), which represent the sibilants \([s]\) and \([\tilde{s}]\), respectively (see section 4.3.9):

(96) \(ich-\) (94) \(\sim is/-ix-\) (1084/1094) ‘three’
(97) \(-che\) (94) \(\sim -xe\) (1095) ‘numeral classifier for round objects’

The sound corresponding to \(ch'\) may have been identical to the one corresponding to \(ch\), because both can be represented by the same symbol. Therefore, if \(ch'\) represented an unvoiced palatal affricate \([\tilde{c}]\), \(ch'\) may have had that value too. However, the fact that \(ch'\) was regularly barred and replaced by other symbols also shows that the transcriber was insecure about the representation of the sound in question, and that it may have differed from the one symbolized by its counterpart \(ch\). At the same time, the sound represented by \(ch'\) must have borne resemblance with that represented by \(tz\) and \(z\), because \(ch'\) is interchangeable with \(tz\) and \(z\). In section 4.3.4.3 we shall see that both \(tz\) and \(z\) may well refer to an unvoiced alveolar affricate \([t\dot{s}]\). This sound only differs from a palatal affricate by its place of articulation: alveolar versus palatal. It will furthermore appear that the symbol \(z\) may also have represented an unvoiced alveolar \([s]\). In addition, the \(ch \sim s\) alternation in the example \(ich- \sim is-\) ‘three’ shows that the sound represented by the symbol \(ch'\) could be replaced with \([s]\). In either case, the difference between the sounds symbolized by \(ch'\) and by \(z\) or \(s\) is not only a matter of palatality, but also of the presence of an obstruent element: \([t\dot{s}] > [s]\).

The fact that palatal \([\tilde{c}]\) is interchangeable with alveolar \([t\dot{s}]\) is in line with the alveolar/palatal equivalence observed in the liquids and the sibilants. The alveolar lateral \([l]\) may optionally be articulated as a palatal \([l']\) in syllable-final position (cf. section 4.3.6), and the alveolar fricative \([s]\) as a palatal fricative \([\tilde{s}]\) (cf. the example \(is\) \(\sim is\) \([is]\) ‘three’ above and see section 4.3.9). The equivalence between the palatal and the alveolar articulation of the affricate, the lateral and the fricative in question may be due to

(i) dialect variation: the consultants of Pedro de la Mata (responsible for the original symbols) and those of Geronimo Clota (who may have been responsible for the replacing symbols) could have spoken different dialects;
(ii) idiolectal variation: different speakers with different pronunciations (cf. the alveolar and palatal articulation of the sibilants in section 4.3.9);
(iii) a sound change in progress, which consisted in depalatalization: + palatal > - palatal (i.e. alveolar).

The last hypothesis, the possibility of a sound change in progress, may also hold for the sound to which the symbol \(ch'\) (see section 4.3.4.1) referred. The different use of the symbols \(ch\) and \(ch'\) makes it likely to assume that \(ch\) and \(ch'\) referred to different sounds. It is conceivable that the sound symbolized by \(ch\) had a retracted articulation and that \(ch'\) symbolized a retroflex \([\tilde{c}]\) which was shifting into a palatal \([\tilde{c}]\); the symbol \(ch'\) possibly represented a palatal affricate \([\tilde{c}]\) which was losing its palatal articulation and was changing into an alveolar affricate \([t\dot{s}]\). An analogous development occurred in Ancash Quechua. Quechua originally
distinguished retroflex [c] from palatal [c]. The latter changed into affricate [ts], whereby the apical – palatal opposition was removed. Since the place occupied by palatal [c] became free, retroflex [c] could shift into palatal [c], replacing the former retroflex – palatal opposition with a palatal – alveolar opposition (Torero, 1964).

With respect to the positions of the symbol ch before and after a vowel symbol, see the positions of the symbol tz in Appendix 4.1. With regard to the sound symbolized by ch, there appears to have been no distinctive contrast with those represented by the symbols tz, z and s. The examples above suggest that the symbols ch, tz, z and s were interchangeable. Assuming that Gerónimo Clota and the later hand saw the phonemic distinctions in Cholón, the sounds symbolized by these graphemes, as a consequence, must have been interchangeable as well. Not surprisingly, no semantic oppositions based on the palatal affricate sound symbolized by ch and [ts]/[s], respectively [ts] and [s], have been found. On the other hand, it appeared that the symbol ch represented a sound which was semantically distinctive from the palatal glide [y]. Lexical items beginning with a palatal glide [y], symbolized by i/y (see section 4.3.5), namely, have a relational form which begins with the symbol ch, tz or z (see section 2.5). The distinction: absolute form – relational form is thus represented by the opposition: i/y – ch/tz/z:

(98) yip ‘house’ – -chip/-tzip/-zip ‘somebody’s house’

4.3.4.3. The symbols tz and z as substitutes for ch
As has been stated, the symbol ch has often been replaced by the symbols tz and z in all relevant contexts. For example, in the paradigm of the lexical item zaluch ‘an Ethiopian black person’, ‘a black man’ (Sp ‘negro etíope’ in the ALC) the forms which have originally been written with ch are written with tz and z; and in the paradigm of the lexical item zipiou ‘a variety of fruit and its tree’ the forms are alternatively written with ch, tz and z:

(99) azaluch (119) ‘my black man’ azipiou (121) ‘my fruit’
imizaluch (119) ‘your black man’ mizi pou (121) ‘your fruit’
mitzaluch (119) ‘his black man’ mitchipiou (121) ‘his fruit’
quitzaluch (119) ‘our black man’ quichipiou (121) ‘our fruit’
mitzaluchja (119) ‘your black man’ mitchi pouha (121) ‘your fruit’
ytzaluch (119) ‘their black man’ ytzipiou (121) ‘their fruit’

The sound represented by the digraph tz apparently represents a consonant which consists of two sounds: a first sound represented by the grapheme t, an unvoiced alveolar occlusive [t], a second sound represented by the grapheme z, an unvoiced alveolar fricative [s]. Since both [t] and [s] are unvoiced alveolar consonants, the digraph tz is likely to symbolize an unvoiced alveolar consonant as well, probably an unvoiced alveolar affricate [ts].

The symbol z may have represented different sounds. In the case discussed here the symbol z may have had the same value as the digraph tz, because it was
interchangeable with it, namely, [tʰ]. In section 4.3.9, however, we shall see that z was also used as a notational variant of s, symbolizing [s]. The symbol z may also have represented this sound when it was employed as a substitute for the symbol ch'. This assumption seems plausible, if we consider the fact that the affricate sound represented by the symbol ch' could be replaced by fricative [s] (cf. the example ich' ~ is- ‘three’ in section 4.3.4.2), and that the former, the affricate sound, was not relevantly distinctive from [s]. As a consequence, since the palatal affricate symbolized by ch' not only fluctuated with [s], but with [tʰ] as well, we may assume that [tʰ] also fluctuated with [s]. The more so since both sounds, [tʰ] and [s], did not form minimal pairs (see section 4.3.4.2). As a matter of fact, Mr. José Santos Chapa Ponce (see chapter 1), pronounced the word for ‘bat’ in two ways: with affricate [tʰ] and with fricative [s], as [kat'ik] and as [kasik], respectively. The [tʰ] ~ [s] fluctuation gives evidence that fricative [s] can function as an allophone of [tʰ]. It is therefore possible that the symbol z used in the ALC, by analogy with the affricate ~ sibilant fluctuation observed in the speech of Chapa, also represented a sibilant [s] when it alternated with the symbol tz.

Concerning the use of the symbol z, we should furthermore mention that this symbol can also replace the symbol h, when employed as an alternative for tz. In the words mitzooz, quizooz and ytzooz - replacements of the forms michoooh, quichooh and ychooh ‘my, our and their guinea pig’, respectively -, the final z is employed as a substitute for the symbol h. In the 17th century Quechua manuscript of Huarochírri (Adelaar, 1988) the symbol h is often found instead of ch in syllable-final position, e.g., ahca [aĉka] ‘many’, ychah [iĉah] ‘maybe’, pihca [piĉqa] ‘five’. It is therefore possible that -oooh should be read as [o:ĉ]. (The sequence of double o in the endings -oooh and -ooz, appears to indicate length, notwithstanding the fact that de la Mata states that no distinction is made between short and long syllables, i.e. between long and short vowels, cf. section 4.2.1).

As far as the positions of tz/z are concerned, the symbol tz and its equivalent can appear before and after the vowel symbols i, e, a, o, u (see Appendix 4.1). In this appendix the symbol tz also stands for the alternative symbol z). The affricate [tʰ] symbolized by tz and z, and its possible counterpart, the sibilant [s] symbolized by z, are relevantly distinctive from the palatal glide [y] (cf. section 4.3.4.2). The distinctive character of these sounds with regard to palatal [y] is also illustrated by the following oppositions:

(100)  atzuch (144) ‘my alfalfa’ -- zuch (144) ‘his alfalfa’ -- yuch (144) ‘alfalfa’
4.3.5. The symbol /y
In the *ALC*, the graphemes *i* and *y* are notational variants (section 4.2.2). As we have seen, *i* and *y* can refer to a consonant, viz. a palatal approximant or glide [y], when in syllable initial position followed by a vowel symbol, and when in syllable final position preceded by a vowel symbol. The symbol /y can thus appear before and after a vowel symbol, for examples see Appendix 4.1.

The minimal pairs below show that the palatal sound symbolized by the grapheme /y, can be relevantly distinguished from other palatal sounds symbolized by other graphemes. The last pair shows that the sound represented by the symbol /y is distinctive from the sound symbolized by the grapheme *h*, which may represent a glottal fricative [h] (cf. section 4.3.10.2):

(101) yan (211) ‘give’
(102) yach (186) ‘(to) see’
(103) lu (1039) ‘interior’
(104) lan (2671) ‘(to) do/make something’
(105) al-lec (1109) ‘ten’
(106) jul-l (1603) ‘pine cone’

4.3.6. The symbols *l*, *ll*
In view of Spanish practice, we may assume that the grapheme *l* refers to an alveolar lateral sound [l] and that *ll* refers to a palatal lateral sound [l'y]. Both graphemes can appear before and after a vowel symbol (cf. Appendix 4.1).

The forms below show that the sound symbolized by *l* is relevantly distinctive from other alveolars, and from its palatal counterpart *ll* (if *ll* occurs in initial position):

(103) lu (1039) ‘interior’
(104) lan (2671) ‘(to) do/make something’
(105) al-lec (1109) ‘ten’
(106) jul-l (1603) ‘pine cone’
By separating the two elements, and by presenting them as two distinct symbols, the transcriber apparently intended to avoid the reading of ll as a palatal [l̩], and wanted it to be interpreted as the representation of two alveolar liquids.

In the lexical item jul-ll, the hyphen has been introduced in a sequence of two same liquids in final position. This could mean that the originally palatal articulation of the lateral ll was changed into an alveolar articulation. This is obviously true for the lexical items el ‘cassava’ and colol ‘almond’, ‘kernel’, of which the last symbol, the grapheme l, represents an alveolar lateral. Like the item jul-ll, they had originally been written with a final ll sequence, apparently representing a palatal lateral. A hyphen had been introduced in the sequence, which, at first, produced the forms el-l and colol-l, respectively. Then the final l has been barred, giving evidence that the l-l sequence which has been derived from ll should indeed be read as [l] and not as [l̩].

However, in the case of jul-ll, where the final liquid has not been crossed out, the representation of two liquids separated by a hyphen: l-l, can also mean that both articulations, palatal as well as alveolar, were possible in final position. This would be analogous to the optional alveolar ~ palatal articulation of the affricates [tʃ] and [tʃ̩] (section 4.3.4.2), and of the fricatives [s] and [ʃ] (section 4.3.10).

The fact that in the lexical items colol and el palatal [l̩] was changed into alveolar [l] and that both articulations were possible as far as the word jul-ll is concerned, may indicate that a change from palatal into non-palatal was in progress (see section 4.3.3 and 4.3.9).

4.3.7. The symbols m, n, ñ/^n (non-‘guttural’), and nc

The symbols m, n, ñ/^n and nc refer to nasal sounds: m symbolizes a bilabial nasal, n an alveolar nasal, ñ/^n a palatal nasal, and nc a velar nasal. (N.B., ñ/^n may also have represented a velar nasal [ŋ], see section 4.3.11). Appendix 4.1 illustrates the fact that m, n and ñ/^n can occur before and after vowel symbols.

The graphemes m, n, ñ/^n are not only formally different, they also create minimal pairs:


They can contrast with other graphemes, symbolizing sounds that assumedly have the same point of articulation:

(108) bilabial: m -- p: ma (1226) ‘intensifier’ -- pa (139) ‘father’
(109) alveolar: n -- l: nan (414) ‘go’ -- lan (2038) ‘do/make it’

-- t: lu (1039) ‘interior’ -- -tu (17) ‘adessive’
(110) palatal: ñ/^n -- ch: ñan (80) ‘sleep’ -- chan (1744) ‘(to) attach’

-- y: -- yan (2521) ‘give’

-- ll: ñu (54) ‘daughter’ -- llu (133) ‘peacock’
Despite the fact that the symbols \( m \) and \( n \) normally refer to sounds that are relevantly distinctive, a number of lexical items present \( m \sim n \) fluctuation in word-final position. For example, the following lexical items are alternatively written with final \( m \) or \( n \):

(111) pullem (60) ~ pullen (53) ‘corresponding consort’
(112) pum (2440) ~ pun (1973, 1811) ‘dust’, ‘flour’
(113) xum (1449) ~ xun (1107) ‘accumulations’ (classifier)

It seems as if in these cases the opposition between \( m \) and \( n \) has been neutralized. There are reasons to assume that these symbols, when occurring syllable-finally, do not necessarily refer to a bilabial and an alveolar nasal, respectively, but that they can also refer to another nasal, viz. the velar nasal [ŋ]. The lexical item nen ‘hand’, for instance, is also spelled as nenc. The symbol combination nc indicates that the sound represented by it had been a nasal (indicated by the symbol \( n \)) + a velar (indicated by \( c \) [k], see section 4.3.3) point of articulation (see also section 4.3.11). Thus, the sound represented by the symbol \( n \) in final position was not an alveolar nasal but rather a velar nasal [ŋ], the sound for which Pedro de la Mata had no unequivocal symbol and which he designated by the term of ‘guttural’ (cf. section 4.3.11). (Compare the nc sequence in the lexical item oncxa ‘deep well’, which was originally spelled as onsa. Presumably, the symbol \( n \) has been replaced by the digraph nc in order to indicate that the sound in question was a velar nasal [ŋ]). In order to represent this sound in a prevocalic position de la Mata employed, among others, the symbols m̱g, űg(u), ng, ng(u), űg(u). These symbols are encountered in the words listed below, which have been derived from lexical items that end in \( m \) or in \( n \) and that are followed by a suffix:

\begin{align*}
\text{} & \text{chan (1103) ‘bundled’ (classifier)} & > \text{chaŋ + am (1433) ‘bundled + question marker’} \\
\text{} & \text{pan (140) ‘mother’} & > \text{paŋ + a (1341) ‘mother + topic marker’} \\
\text{} & \text{pon (1106) ‘group’ (classifier)} & > \text{paŋ + am (1442) ‘troop + question marker’} \\
\text{} & \text{xum/ xun (1449/1107) ‘accumulations’ (classifier)} & > \text{xum + am (1448) ‘heap + question marker’} \\
& & \text{axum + all (2490) ‘together’, ‘one heap only’} \\
\text{} & \text{chan (1744) ‘(to) attach’} & > \text{mipochu + i (1744) ‘you attached them’} \\
\text{} & \text{ton (507) ‘he has/is’} & > \text{tuŋu + i (513) ‘he had/was’} \\
& & \text{toŋu + iye (519) ‘he has had/had been’} \\
& & \text{toŋ + in (1181) ‘he is still [at home]’} \\
\text{} & \text{aton (782) ‘I have’} & > \text{aŋgú + i (647) ‘I had’} \\
\text{} & \text{pan (588) ‘negative verb ending’} & > \text{laepang + in (1180) ‘he does not go yet’} \\
& & \text{miquipang + in (2836) ‘you are not yet’}
\end{align*}

The appearance of a symbol representing a ‘guttural’, assumedly a velar nasal [ŋ], as a substitute for a final \( m \) or \( n \) indicates that these graphemes in final position may
have represented a velar nasal rather than a bilabial or an alveolar nasal, respectively. On the analogy of the lexical item xum/xun ‘heap’, where both m and n are employed to indicate a velar nasal in final position, the m/n-ending in the items pullem/pullen ‘corresponding consort’ and in pum/pun ‘dust’, ‘flour’ may have had the same function. In these four cases, the symbols m and n may thus be equivalent and represent a velar nasal [ŋ]. On the analogy of the verb forms chan, ton and pan above, where n is used to indicate a velar nasal, we may assume that in verb forms ending in n, this symbol may have represented a velar nasal everywhere. The symbol n almost certainly also symbolizes a velar nasal, when it occurs before the symbol e/qu representing a velar stop [k]. In the lexical items inco ‘this’ and jonques ‘something old’, for example, the symbol n may have represented a velar nasal [ŋ]. As could be verified, for most of the cases, n in final position was used to symbolize the velar nasal sound. This may mean that n in final position was either bivalent - representing both an alveolar nasal [n] and a velar nasal [ŋ] - or, more likely, univalent, representing only a velar nasal [ŋ]. (Even when the symbol n in final position should be bivalent, the sounds [n] and [ŋ] represented by it obviously were not distinctive in this position. Note that a velar nasal is also the usual word-final allophone of /n/ in Quechua).

The symbol m is also found in final position in many other lexical items (see Appendix 4.1) in which it does not alternate with n and so obviously does not represent velar nasal [ŋ], but bilabial [m]. In addition, the sound [m] is relevantly distinctive from [ŋ]. The following minimal pair gives evidence that there is a semantic contrast between both consonants:

(114)  nem [nem] (1186) ‘day’  ↔  nen [neŋ] (73) ‘hand’

Like the symbols m and n, the grapheme ñ/^n also has two values. It generally symbolizes a palatal nasal [n’], and occasionally (in the words ñeech ‘his mother’ and ñix ‘something dry’, for example) the velar nasal [ŋ]; see section 4.3.11.

4.3.8. The symbols p, t
I will assume that p refers to a bilabial stop [p], and t to an alveolar stop [t]. It appears that these symbols can occur before and after a vowel symbol; for examples see Appendix 4.1. The minimal pairs below give evidence that the symbols p and t represent distinctive sounds. The minimal pairs furthermore show that p is in opposition with m, and that t is distinctive with regard to other alveolars:
4.3.9. The symbols s/z and x
The symbol s refers to an unvoiced alveo-dental sibilant [s] in Hispano-American Spanish, and we may venture the conclusion that the symbol s in the transcription of Cholón also referred to that sound. The symbol z is bivalent. In section 4.3.4.3 we have seen that z is often employed as a replacement of the symbol ch; that, in these cases, z is equivalent to tz, and may represent an alveolar affricate [tʃ]. However, in a number of cases, z functions as a notational variant of s. The lexical item m(i)s ‘(to) ask/buy something’ (with s), for example, is alternatively written as m(i)z (with z). In such cases, the symbol z has obviously the same value as s, and, since s assumedly symbolizes an unvoiced sibilant [s] (see above), the symbol z may also represent an unvoiced sibilant [s].

A sibilant sound can be represented by the symbol x as well, in which case fluctuation with s is also possible. For instance, the verb s(i)l ‘(to) say something’ and the person marker sa ‘3s’ have an alternative spelling with x: cf. x(i)l and xa, respectively, which could indicate that the symbol x is equivalent to s. However, this is not likely. The symbol x is often used by a later hand to replace the characters s or ss, and, vice versa, x is often replaced by s or z:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Replacement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sipnall</td>
<td>xipnall (1189) ‘quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sax</td>
<td>xax (125) ‘armadillo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onsa</td>
<td>oncxa (2463) ‘deep well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imsexposan</td>
<td>imxeposan (2227) ‘It (the wind) is blowing at you’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chexmiñ</td>
<td>chesmiñ (120) ‘cedar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maxou</td>
<td>masou (2181) ‘he was born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amxi</td>
<td>amzi (68) ‘I bought’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that the replacement of s or ss by x, and of x by s or z took place afterwards, suggests that x was not just an alternative symbol for s/z. The difference in notation may symbolize a difference in articulation. Probably, the grapheme s/z symbolizes an alveolar articulation [s], whereas x symbolizes a palatal sound [ʃ]. In the modern data, for instance, the word for ‘armadillo’ and the exhortation ‘drink!’ were pronounced as [šaš] and as [šišya], respectively, with a palatal fricative; and they
were spelled as *xac and as *xih in the ALC. In these forms, analogous to the spoken data, the symbol x possibly represents a palatal fricative [ʃ].

The replacements may refer to a dialectal difference between the consultants of Pedro de la Mata and those of Gerónimo Clota or his reviser. More likely, however, the many replacements back and forth - s, ss > x and x > s, z - show the hesitation of the transcriber about the representation of the fricative sound. This hesitation could be the result of variation between speakers, between an alveolar and a palatal pronunciation. It is therefore possible, that in Cholón both pronunciations were acceptable. This is probably why the forms s(i)l and sa could also be spelled with x.

In a number of cases the symbol x never alternates with s, ss or z. The word muxac ‘sun’, for instance, never appear as *musac/mussac/muzac. We may assume that in these cases the symbol x also refers to an unvoiced palatal sibilant [ʃ].

The examples in Appendix 4.1 show that the graphemes s/z and x can appear before and after a vowel symbol. In the Arte, no items have been found of which minimal pairs could be made showing that the symbols s, z and x are distinctively used with regard to each other. This is not surprising, given the fact that s and z are interchangeable, and that the symbol x has often been replaced by both. The following examples give evidence that the alveolar and palatal fricative sounds [s] and [ʃ], represented by s/z and x, respectively, are relevantly distinctive from other alveolar and palatal sounds:

(127) sa/xa ‘3s’ → pa (139) ‘father’
    → ta (1906) ‘stone’
    → c-a (558) ‘1p applicative’
    → la (696) ‘3p’
    → na (2838) ‘negation’
    → ña (80) ‘sleep’
    → yan (2521) ‘give’

4.3.10. The symbols g (non-‘guttural’), h and j
The consonant symbols g (non-‘guttural’), h and j are problematic, because de la Mata’s commentaries about these symbols (see section 4.1) are not straightforward. According to Pedro de la Mata, the symbols g and h, each refer to two different sounds, but he does not specify what sounds. In addition, the graphemes g, h and j now and then appear to be equivalent and to refer to a “soft” (“suave”) sound that can be represented by the symbol j, but the explanation of what is meant by a “soft” j is missing. Furthermore, the symbol j can also represent a “foreign” (“como los estrangeros”) sound of unknown character. Because of these uncertainties, the exact value of these symbols can not be recovered. The use of the symbols g, h and j, when they alternate, appears to be positionally determined.
4.3.10.1. The symbol $g$ (non-‘guttural’)

According to Pedro de la Mata, the grapheme $G$ (capital) in syllable-initial position represents two different sounds that can be symbolized by the graphemes $g$ (lower case) and $C$ (capital), respectively. In his explanations, de la Mata normally employs a capital to indicate a sound. In the observation above, however, de la Mata uses lower case. He makes a distinction, first, between lower case $g$ and capital $G$, and, second, between lower case $g$ and capital $C$. In the first case, lower case $g$ apparently refers to one particular sound only, whereas the capital stands for a plurivalent symbol. Later on, in his explanation about the sound represented by $g$, he employs the capital again, nullifying the distinction between the univalent lower case and the plurivalent capital. In the second case, by opposing lower case $g$ to capital $C$, he maybe wanted to put into strong relief that the sounds represented by both graphemes are fundamentally different, and that the sound symbolized by $C$ is not just a variant of $g$.

About the non-‘guttural’ sound symbolized by $g$ Pedro de la Mata states that $g$ before $e$ and $i$ is “pronounced” as a soft $j$; that $j$ is “pronounced” as foreigners would do it; and that $h$ sometimes is equivalent to $j$. This means that his symbol $g$ has the same value as $j$, when it occurs before the symbols $e$ and $i$; that the sound represented is soft and may resemble a foreign sound/foreignly pronounced; and that this sound can also be symbolized by the grapheme $h$ (cf. the equation $\#g/e,i = j = \text{soft = foreign = sometimes } h$ in section 4.1.1.4).

In the transcription of Cholón, $g$ (non-‘guttural’) normally appears syllable-initially. It may also appear syllable-finally after the vowel symbols $a$ and $e$: agllem ‘my friend’, choyeg! ‘Let him cry!’ . In syllable-initial position, it generally occurs before the vowel symbol $e$ and occasionally before $i$:

(128) \(-ge\) (15) ‘dative case’
(129) \(allgi\) (2652) ‘something sweet’

The equivalence of symbol $g$ before $e$ and $i$ with the symbols $h$ and $j$ is shown by the fact that the forms -$ge$ ‘benefactive’ and -$allgi$ ‘something sweet’ are alternatively written with $h$ and $j$, as -$he$/$je$ and -$allhi$, respectively. In addition we find -$gllem$ ‘friend’ $\sim$ -$hllem$ and final -$g/-h/-j$ ‘imperative’ (cf. Appendix 4.1).

The symbol $g/e,i$ and the alternative symbol $j$ may represent a similar sound as the corresponding symbols in Spanish, because they are used in the same way as in Spanish. In the Spanish text, the symbol $g$ before $e$ and $i$, and the symbol $j$ are also equivalent, e.g., $mu$ger $\sim$ $mujer$ ‘woman’, representing velar fricative [x]. Since Pedro de la Mata says that the sound symbolized by $g/e,i$, and by $j$, is pronounced “softly” and “foreignlike”, they may represent a velar fricative [x] articulated with less friction. However, given the fact that it can also be symbolized by the grapheme $h$, which in a number of languages represents a glottal fricative [h], the symbols $g/e,i$, and $j$ may also have represented a glottal fricative [h]. In addition, (i) the glottal fricative [h] can be described as being a soft sound;
(ii) it does not occur in Spanish, but in foreign languages, such as English and German, and can therefore be designated as a foreign sound;
(iii) in Quechua /h/ may be pronounced as [h] (and as [x] pronounced with less friction).

With respect to the second sound represented by the symbol $g$, Pedro de la Mata observes that it is “pronounced as $C$”. Since the first sound is the sound that is represented by $g$ before the vowel symbols $e$, $i$, the second sound should be the sound that is represented by $g$ before the other vowel symbols: $a$, $o$, $u$. In Spanish, $g$ before $a$, $o$, $u$, (and before or after a consonant symbol within a syllable) symbolizes a voiced velar stop [$g$], and there is little reason to assume that, in the transcription of Cholón, $g$ before $a$, $o$, $u$ should not have the same value. Pedro de la Mata probably chose the grapheme $c$ to indicate the sound at issue, because $c$ before $a$, $o$, $u$ also symbolizes a velar stop, and because the difference between $c/_a$, $o$, $u$ and $g/_a$, $o$, $u$ is only a matter of voicing. The consonant symbolized by the former is unvoiced, whereas the consonant symbolized by the latter is voiced. A possible reason why de la Mata, in his explanation, employed the grapheme $c$ to designate $[g]$ is that the grapheme $c$ was used in Latin to symbolize both a voiced velar stop and a voiceless velar stop. In this way, the abbreviation $C.$ stands for the Latin name Gaius. As a friar who had studied Latin, Pedro de la Mata may have been familiar with this.

In the transcriptions of Cholón, the symbol $g$ representing $[g]$ has only been encountered in one lexical item: pangala ‘turkey of the forest’. In this item it occurs before the vowel symbol $a$. It has not been found before $o$, $u$, nor before or after a consonant symbol in one syllable, where it may also symbolize a voiced velar stop like in Spanish. The grapheme $g$ symbolizing $[g]$ usually appears in loan words:

1. (130) castigan (1631) ‘to punish’
2. (131) domingo (1575) ‘sunday’
3. (132) alguacil (400) ‘police officer’
4. (133) iglesia (2815) ‘church’
5. (134) gratia (2859) ‘grace’

(The symbol $g$ may furthermore represent a ‘guttural’ sound, the velar nasal [ŋ], see section 4.3.1 and 4.3.11).

4.3.10.2. The symbol $h$

Pedro de la Mata observes about the symbol $h$, that it is now and then “pronounced” as $j$, and that it is sometimes hardly perceived. Unfortunately, de la Mata neglects to mention the conditions under which the symbols $h$ and $j$ refer to a same sound, and under which the grapheme $h$ refers to almost $ø$.

In the Arte, the symbol $h$ is used as a notational variant of $j$, and is found before and after the vowel symbols $a$, $e$, $i$, $o$, $u$ (cf. Appendix 4.1). The following minimal pairs show that the symbol is distinctively used.
-he (15) ‘benefactive’
-te (16) ‘adessive’, ‘directive’
-le (279) ‘interrogation marker’

hil (2203) ‘word’
sil (1127) ‘his word’
liahan (2072) ‘bring’
liluhuan (1814) ‘go’
hachan (1243) ‘make a field’
y(a)ch (1521) ‘(to) see’

As a distinctive symbol, h may represent a glottal fricative [h] or a velar fricative [x], sounds that are similar to the ones represented by the g/e,i and by the symbol j: see section 4.3.10.1.

In exclamations, the symbol h can alternate with o, if it occurs in syllable final position after the vowel symbol a, and in syllable initial position before e:

heey, jey, eey (2863-61) ‘yes’
inchamma, inchammah (1352, 2719) ‘What’s the matter?’
jinah, jina, jayya, jayah (2187, 2463, 2228, 2463) ‘I don’t know!’

In such cases, the symbol h probably represents the second sound symbolized by h, the one described as “apenas se percibe” ‘hardly perceived’. Alternating with o in syllable initial position, h may thus symbolize a glottal fricative [h] that is ‘hardly perceived’. The term ‘hardly perceived’ can mean that the glottal fricative is weakly articulated and thus sometimes is not written down. If the h – o alternation appears syllable-finally, the sound symbolized by h may also be a weakly articulated glottal fricative [h] which is optionally pronounced, or, rather, a glottal catch [ʔ]. The recordings made in the Huallaga valley show that the glottal catch is not an unfrequent sound, and that it is often pronounced syllable-finally or at the end of a word.

4.3.10.3. The symbol j
About the symbol j Pedro de la Mata remarks that it has the same value as the symbol g/e,i, and sometimes as the symbol h; and that it represents a soft, foreign, sound. With regard to the use of the symbol j, in the sections 4.3.10.1 and 4.3.10.2 we have seen that j, h, and g/e,i are interchangeable. This can also be deduced from the examples in Appendix 4.1. (In a small number of words, such as jihan ‘cherish’, jayya ‘I do not know’ and jill ‘mosquito’, the h ~ j alternation does not occur, but these words occur only once in the ALC).

4.3.11. Pedro de la Mata’s ‘guttural’
According to the ALC, the phenomenon called “guturación” or ‘gutturalization’ consists of a consonant, a ‘guttural’, followed by a vowel. For the representation of this sound the symbols g, ~g, g, mg, ng, ng, ngh, n, h, ñg, ñh, ñg appear. The symbols g, g, ng, ngh occur most frequently, whereas ~g, ngh, ñh, ñg appear only once. In his discussion of gutturalization Pedro de la Mata generally uses the symbol ng(u).
The designation ‘guttural’ indicates that this sound was probably pronounced at the back of the oral cavity, as a velar or uvular. In the representations of this ‘guttural’ we also find the indication of nasality: the consonant symbol n and the tilde ~ (or its notational variant the circumflex accent). Because of the combination ‘nasality’ + ‘uvular or velar articulation’, the most likely candidates are:

- a prenasalized velar stop [ŋg],
- a uvular nasal [N],
- a velar nasal [ŋ].

The fact that g alternates with ñ and ñ suggests that the segment in question was not a stop, but rather a resonant. The option of prenasalized velar stop is, therefore, less plausible.

Grammatically, the forms g/g/~g/ng/ng/ng/ngh/h/h/ngh/hg/hg represent a third person singular agent, object or possessive marker. Such forms are derived from nouns and verbs which begin with an unvoiced velar stop [k] symbolized by c and qu (section 4.3.3):

(142) cot (114) ‘water’
nŋor (114) ‘his water’

The suppletive third person forms nŋuch ‘his father’ and nŋuetz/heetz ‘his mother’ have the symbols ng and ñ, symbolizing a same nasal sound, in initial position. They correspond to the formally unrelated, unmarked nouns pa ‘father’ and pan ‘mother’. They may have been derived from nouns corresponding to Híbito cotc ‘father’ and queec ‘mother’, respectively (Martínez Compañón, 1783). Given the connection with the velar stop, I assume that the ‘guttural’ had the same point of articulation and that it may have coincided with velar nasal [ŋ].

Apparently, the author of the ALC found it difficult to symbolize a velar nasal, because in Spanish [ŋ] is only a distributional variant of [n]. It occurs in combination with [x], [g] or [k] (e.g., ángel, angustia, banco), but never word-initially or before a vowel as in Cholón. As it is in complementary distribution with [n] and has no independent status or phonemic value of itself, it requires no distinctive symbol in Spanish. When Pedro de la Mata had to symbolize his ‘guttural’ nasal in word initial position or before a vowel, he preferred the sequence ng to nc or nqu in order to indicate that the sound in question was not an unvoiced stop. The use of superscript tilde was meant to underscore the reading of g as [nasal]. His symbol ng could therefore be read as ‘nasal homorganic to [g]’.

Concerning its position in a syllable: syllable-initially, the symbol nŋ can appear before the vowel symbols a, e, i, o, u. Syllable-finally, it only appears after the symbol i (see Appendix 4.1). However, after other vowel symbols the velar nasal may have been symbolized by m, n or nc: cf. the lexical items pan ‘mother’, nenc ‘hand’, pon ‘group’, xum ‘accumulation’ in section 4.3.7. Regarding the distinctive nature of the sound symbolized, we have seen that the velar nasal sound [ŋ] can be semantically distinguished from the velar stop [k]: cf. [ŋot] ‘his water’...
4.3.12. Sequences of same consonant symbols

In most cases, double consonant symbols are the result of a textual replacement. Many words containing a double consonant symbol were originally written with a single consonant symbol. This symbol is duplicated by a superscript double:

\[
\begin{align*}
(143) \quad & \textit{apon} + p \text{ superscript} > \textit{appon} (1106) \text{ ‘one herd/flock/troop’} \\
(144) \quad & \textit{atu} + t \text{ superscript} > \textit{attu} (1098) \text{ ‘one joint/articulation’} \\
(145) \quad & \textit{achan} + ch \text{ superscript} > \textit{achchan} (1435) \text{ ‘one heap or pile’} \\
(146) \quad & \textit{acotan} + c \text{ superscript} > \textit{accotan} (555) \text{ ‘I have’} \\
(147) \quad & \textit{anguissiň} + s \text{ superscript} > \textit{anguissiň} (240) \text{ ‘I cheat/decieve/betray’} \\
(148) \quad & \textit{alec} + l \text{ superscript} > \textit{allec} (1142) \text{ ‘ten’} \\
(149) \quad & \textit{ylami} + m \text{ superscript} > \textit{ylammi} (87) \text{ ‘he killed someone’} \\
(150) \quad & \textit{manap} + n \text{ superscript} > \textit{mannap} (1219) \text{ ‘from’, ‘between’, ‘more’} \\
(151) \quad & \textit{coñap} + ñ \text{ superscript} > \textit{coññap} (1384) \text{ ‘this size’}
\end{align*}
\]

This double is unlikely to have been introduced just to facilitate the split of a word into evenly balanced syllables.

Words containing double consonant symbols that are not the result of a superscript double are found as well. In these cases, a sequence of same consonant symbols seems to have an analytic function. It marks a dividing line between different morphemes:

\[
(152) \quad \textit{yxê} (1360) \text{ ‘three round (things)’} < \textit{yx-xê} \text{ ‘three-roundness’} < \textit{*yx-che}
\]

However, in the examples above - apon ... coñap -, the superscript double does not mark a morpheme boundary.

In one case Pedro de la Mata seems to make a distinction between single t and double t. In the paradigm of the verb c(o)t ‘(to) be’ the neutral forms are written with single t, whereas the future tense forms in cottom, the imperative micotti, the ‘gerund’ cotto + derived forms are written with double t. These forms are never alternatively spelled with single t and, with the exception of only one future tense form (cotton > cottom ‘he will be’), the double consonant symbol is never the result of a superscript double. In the forms with cottom, the tt sequences are intersected by a morpheme boundary. These forms, namely, consist of a verb root ending in t: cot + the future tense marker -(k)ite. In this case, the appearance of double t is obviously due to an analytic spelling. However, this can not be true for the forms micotti and cotto, because in such forms the double consonant symbol is not intersected by a morpheme boundary. The words micotti and cotto are composed of the verb root cot + an imperative ending -i and a ‘gerund’ ending -o, respectively. Analytically spoken, they should have been written with single t. Furthermore, it should be noticed that the form cotte ‘infinitive’ and its derivatives are sometimes
written with single \(t\), whereas they should be spelled with double \(t\). The word \(cotte\), namely, consists of a root \(cot\) + the ending -(k)te ‘infinitive’. This seems to indicate that in the paradigm of the verb \(c(o)t\) ‘(to) be’ the symbols \(t\) and \(tt\) are interchangeable and that the latter is not distinctive from its single counterpart.

In the following example, the superscript symbol does not form a sequence of two identical consonant symbols:

(153) \(a\)-che + \(t\) superscript > \(at\)che (1095) ‘one round thing’

Word internal gemination seems to underlie the doubling of the consonant symbols, as well as the consonant symbol combinations in words such as \(at\)che ‘one round thing’. Partial and complete gemination may occur at the transition from the penultimate to the ultimate syllable, and is possibly connected with prosody and duration. Presumably, the consonant symbolized as a geminate - or, in the case of \(at\)che as [tɛ] -, was pronounced sustainedly, and perceived as a long consonant.

Another example of a superscript symbol which does not form a sequence of two identical consonant symbols - but which may be a case of assimilation - is found in the following word:

(154) \(que\)-nguti-i-te: \(t\) deleted + \(c\) superscript >
\(que\-nguti-i-a-te\) (19)
1ps-be.seated-PST-NOM-AD
‘where we were’

The substitution of the symbol \(c\) for \(t\) is rather strange, because the form is derived from a verb with an initial \(t\): \(ton\) ‘(to) be seated’. Velar assimilation with the contiguous consonant is possibly the reason why \([t]\) is replaced by \([k]\) symbolized by \(c\): \([t]\) > \([k]\).

The status of double \(l\) - whether it is the result of a superscript double or not - in intervocalic position remains problematic. In word-initial or word-final position, it equals Spanish \(ll\), and probably symbolizes a palatal lateral \([l']\). Intervocally, however, the double consonant can be interpreted either as a geminate \([l]\) or as \([l']\) (cf. section 4.3.6). As an additional complication, some lexical items, originally spelled with double \(l\), have a superscript geminate. This superscript quadruples the lateral consonant symbol and produces a rather perplexing spelling: e.g. \(olle\) ‘saliva’ + superscript \(ll\) > \(ollle\). It occurs more than fifty times in the manuscript, and concerns the following lexical items.
The superscript symbol leaves no other interpretation than that of a geminate palatal
for illl. Therefore, I suppose the double l in the cases listed above to be univalent
and to stand for [l̪y], Spanish ll. In other cases, however, the interpretation of double
l, is uncertain. It may either refer to palatal lateral [l̪], or to a geminate alveolar
lateral.

4.4. The transcription of loan words
Pedro de la Mata begins his ALC with the statement that, in the Cholón language,
‘the letters B, D, R, F [...] are not pronounced, neither strongly, nor softly’ (see
section 4.1.1.1). Evidently, in his days the Spanish sounds [β]/[b], [d], [r], [f] - the
soft and strong sounds represented by the symbols B, D, R, and F, respectively, - did
not belong to the Cholón sound system. These consonants usually appear in
borrowings from Spanish or Quechua:

(155) Sp \(\text{baptismo} \ (9984)\) \ ‘baptism’
\(\text{domingo} \ (793)\) \ ‘sunday’
\(\text{fiesta} \ (1575)\) \ ‘feast’
(156) Que \(\text{rasu} \ (1198/2201)\) \ ‘hail’, ‘snow’.

The interpretation of the symbols utilized in the loan words presents no difficulties.
They must, in general, have had the same value as the corresponding symbols in
Spanish or in Quechua.

This means that the symbols \(b\) and \(v\) are equivalent, both representing a bilabial
fricative [β] or a voiced bilabial stop [b], a sound which, according to de la Mata,
did not exist in Cholón. Possibly, the Spanish sounds [β] and [b] had been adapted
to Cholón and changed into [w], at least in a number of cases. As has been observed
in section 4.3.2, the lexical item \(\text{bem} \ ‘\text{sweet potato’}\) should be read as \([w̪\text{em}]\), and
the Spanish loan word \(\text{vaca} \ ‘\text{cow’}\), transcribed as \(\text{baca}\) in the ALC, was pronounced
as [waga] by José Santos Chapa.
Regarding the other symbols used in the transcription of borrowings:

- the symbol \( h \) assumedly is equivalent to \( o \) or to \( [h] \). Originally, in Spanish the glottal fricative \( [h] \) was pronounced. As a notational variant of \( j \) it has the same value as \( j \) and as \( gl/\_e \) and \( i \), and symbolizes an unvoiced velar fricative \( [x] \) or glottal \( [h] \);
- the symbol \( qu \) corresponds to \( [k] \). In the word \textit{quatrotemorras} ‘Ember day’, however, the sequence \( qu \) corresponds to \( [kw] \);
- in the sequence \( gu \) in the word \textit{alguael} ‘police officer’, \( u \) also symbolizes a voiced bilabial approximant \([w]\);
- the symbol \( x \), when used as a notational variant of \( j \), may represent an unvoiced velar fricative \( [x] \) (cf. \textit{Truxillo} > \textit{Trujillo}). Otherwise it may symbolize an unvoiced palatal sibilant \([\text{s}]\). The lexical item \textit{vexa} ‘sheep’ may thus have been pronounced as \( [\text{we}\text{s}a] \); compare old Spanish \([\text{o}\text{be}\text{s}a]\) and Tarma Quechua \([\text{u}\text{s}a]\) ‘sheep’ (Adelaar, 1977: 489).

In the examples below, the borrowings in Cholón (Ch) are followed by the translation in Spanish (Sp) given by Pedro de la Mata, or by the Quechua word the lexical item is borrowed from. The instances show, amongst other things, that no distinction is made between the symbols \( b \) and \( v \), between \( cu \) and \( qu \), and between \( s \) and \( z \). (The word \textit{camayoc} ‘holder of a certain position/post’ is a borrowing from Quechua). E.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ch (157)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Sp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{baca camayoc} (1155)</td>
<td>\textit{baquero}</td>
<td>‘cowherd’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{vexa camayoc} (1154)</td>
<td>\textit{pastor de ovejas}</td>
<td>‘shepherd’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{quatrotemorras} (2793)</td>
<td>\textit{cuatrotemporeras}</td>
<td>‘Ember day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{vigilia} (2793)</td>
<td>\textit{vigilia}</td>
<td>‘vigil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{rezan qui} (1738)</td>
<td>\textit{rezar}</td>
<td>‘(to) pray’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{rezan qui} (1638)</td>
<td>(\textit{qui} ‘to be’, ‘to become’, ‘to do’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ch (158)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Que</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{lasumuillan} (2201)</td>
<td>\textit{rasu}</td>
<td>‘snow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\textit{muillan} ‘fall down’, ‘bury’)</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘(to) hail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{rasumuill} (1198)</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘It hailed’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{utza/uza} (1204/1222)</td>
<td>\textit{huça}</td>
<td>‘fault’, ‘guilt’, ‘sin’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples above indicate that foreign words could undergo some changes when they were borrowed, and that sounds that did not belong to the sound system of Cholón were adapted. We have already seen that the Spanish sounds \( [\text{b}] \) and \( [\text{b}] \) were changed into \( [\text{w}] \). Other phonetic adaptations are depalatalization and lateralization. The word for ‘guilt’ shows that palatal \( [\text{c}] \), represented by the symbol \( ch \), has been depalatalized and changed into \( [\text{t}] \). The borrowing \textit{lasumuillan} ‘to hail’ shows that the non-native vibrant \( [\text{r}] \) of Quechua \textit{rasu} ‘snow’ was replaced by the more familiar lateral \( [\text{l}] \).
For the morphonological changes that may occur when non-native words are adapted to Cholón, see section 5.6. Appendix 5 lists the loan words encountered in the ALC.

4.5. The use of the diacritics

In the ALC diacritics are not infrequent; the following diacritics occur: circumflex accents, acute accents, grave accents, and tildes. In the Spanish text, the circumflex accent in the digraph n indicates that the nasal in question is palatal \( \text{n}^\prime \). Usually, the Spanish preposition \( \text{a} \) ‘to’, as well as the conjunctions \( \text{e} \) ‘and’ and \( \text{o} \) ‘or’, are also written with a circumflex accent. In these cases, the circumflex accent apparently indicates that the preposition \( \text{a} \), and the conjunctions \( \text{e} \) and \( \text{o} \) are independent forms which are neither part of the preceding, nor of the following word, and that they should be pronounced separately. In a small number of cases these forms are written without an accent. Stress is not indicated in the Spanish text.

In the transcription of Cholón, both the circumflex accent and the tilde are alternatively employed to indicate a palatal nasal \( \text{n}^\prime \) and a velar nasal \( \text{n} \). The palatal nasal \( \text{n}^\prime \) can thus be symbolized by \( \text{n} \), as well as by \( \text{ñ} \); the velar nasal \( \text{n} \) can for instance be symbolized by the digraphs \( \text{g} \), \( \text{g}^\prime \), \( \text{ng} \), \( \text{ng}^\prime \), \( \text{n} \), \( \text{n}^\prime \), and \( \text{ng}^\prime \). Although used indifferently, these diacritics tend to have a different distribution. The circumflex accent more often appears above the symbol n and the tilde above the symbol g. As a consequence, the palatal nasal \( \text{n}^\prime \) is symbolized by the digraph \( \text{n} \), rather than by \( \text{ñ} \); the velar nasal \( \text{n} \) is represented by the symbols \( \text{g}^\prime \) and \( \text{ng} \), rather than by \( \text{g}^\prime \) and \( \text{ng}^\prime \).

The circumflex accent can furthermore be used as a stress marker, as can the stroke which now and then occurs above the vowel symbol i. (However, in most cases, a stroke above the symbol i replaces the dot and has no particular significance). In his paragraph about the accent, de la Mata mentions that in Cholón stress is word-final, and he gives the following examples:

\[\begin{align*}
(159) \quad \text{mallá} \ (2979) & \quad \text{‘something raw’} \\
(160) \quad \text{llin} \ (2980) & \quad \text{‘something green’} \\
(161) \quad \text{lléz} \ (2982) & \quad \text{‘alfalfa’} \\
(162) \quad \text{patóx} \ (2981) & \quad \text{‘remnant’, ‘residue’}
\end{align*}\]

In one of the first paragraphs - book I, paragraph 5 -, the word \text{llú} ‘his peacock’ is also spelled with a circumflex accent. Apparently, stress is marked by a circumflex accent above the vowel symbols \( \text{a} \), \( \text{e} \), \( \text{o} \) and \( \text{u} \), and by a stroke or acute accent above the vowel symbol \( \text{i} \).

The circumflex accent may also have indicated that the vowel must be pronounced separately (see the remarks above about the use of this diacritic in the transcription of Spanish). In that case the vowel may have been separated from the neighbouring vowel by a glottal stop (cf. \( \text{āamoctan} \ [\text{a}’\text{moktan}] \ ‘\text{I shall eat’}, \text{section 4.2.7.1} \)). (The glottal stop might also have been represented by the symbol e, which
otherwise represents the velar stop [k], see section 4.3.3; and by the symbol ʰ, see section 4.3.10.2).

Occasionally, a grave accent may have the function of a stress mark: in the lexical items mallà ‘something raw’ and quexim ‘nose’, for instance. However, the colour of the ink of this accent differs from that of the other stress marks. As it occurs rarely in the _ALC_, this was obviously neither de la Mata’s, nor Clota’s habitual way of marking stress, and it may have been added by the later hand (see chapter 2).

4.6. Concluding remarks

On the basis of the information compiled in the previous sections it will be possible, first, to give an overview of the consonant symbols employed in the _ALC_ together with their most likely values (section 4.6.1, Table 4.21). Secondly, an inventory of the attested consonants will be presented (section 4.6.2, Table 4.22). Within limitations, it will also be possible to establish which distinctions are relevant and which are not. Some of the distinctions, such as the oppositions between the alveo-dental and the palatal sibilants, are not contrastive; the oppositions involving sounds borrowed from Spanish and Quechua, viz. the voiced stops [b] and [d] and the vibrant [ɾ], vis-à-vis their unvoiced counterparts [p] and [t] and the lateral [l], respectively, are only contrastive in loan. By sorting out the non-relevant distinctions, a chart of tentative consonant phonemes can be presented (Table 4.23). Thirdly, an unambiguous and more consistent spelling of all the symbols used in the Cholón transcriptions will be proposed (section 4.7, Table 4.24). The orthography of the borrowings will remain unaltered.

4.6.1. The consonant symbols and their most likely values

The chart below, Table 4.21, presents a survey of the symbols used by Pedro de la Mata in his transcription of Cholón and in loan words. The plurivalence of some symbols, notably, of those symbolizing friction, becomes clearly evident. The symbols, alphabetically arranged, are accompanied by their most likely phonetic value. The double consonant symbols _cc_ , _chch_ , _gh/gj/hg/hj/jg/jh/jj_ , _ll_ , _lll_ , _mm_ , _nn_ , _ññ/^n^n_ , _pp_ , _ss/zz_ , _tt_ , _uv_ , _xx_ and _yy_ may have the value of geminated consonants: [kk], [ʃʃ], [ʃʃ], [ʃʃ], [ʃʃ], [ʃʃ], [ʃʃ], [ʃʃ], [ʃʃ] and [ʃʃ], respectively. These symbols and values have been left out in the overview below.
Table 4.21: The *ALC*’s consonant symbols and their tentative value symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>symbol</th>
<th>Cholón</th>
<th>borrowings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[β], [b], [w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>[ĉ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch ~ tz/z</td>
<td>[t']</td>
<td>[t']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>[d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td>[f]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g (non-‘guttural’)</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/$_i, e$</td>
<td>[x], [b]</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g (‘guttural’), $\ddot{g}$/g/-g, m$\ddot{g}$/ng/g/ng, $\ddot{n}$/n (‘guttural’), $\ddot{n}$/ng/ng</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>[x], [h]</td>
<td>[h], [o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/_ee:y/</td>
<td>[h], [o]</td>
<td>[h], [o], ['']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/_a_#</td>
<td>[h], [o], ['']</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu/$_a$</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i /$-$V, V-$</td>
<td>[y]</td>
<td>[y]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>[x], [h]</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/_ey/</td>
<td>[h], [o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll/$_-$</td>
<td>[l'], [l']</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m ~ n /_/</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/_/Sc. _$qu</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nc/$_S$</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\ddot{n}$/n (non-‘guttural’)</td>
<td>[ŋ']</td>
<td>[ŋ']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>[p]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qu</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>[k], [kw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tz</td>
<td>[t']</td>
<td>[t']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u /$-$V, V-$</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/$_g$</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>[β], [b], [w]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>[x], [s]</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y /$-$V, V-$</td>
<td>[y]</td>
<td>[y]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6.2. Inventory of consonants
A survey of the Cholón consonants is given in the table below. In this chart, the consonants [β/b], [d], [f] and [r], occurring in Spanish and Quechua loan words, are included, as is the hypothetical glottal stop [ʔ] represented by the circumflex accent, cf. section 4.2.7.1, and possibly by the symbol \( h \) in final position after \( a \), cf. section 4.3.10 (or by the symbol \( c \), cf. section 4.3.3). The borrowed consonants are in square brackets in order to distinguish them from the Cholón consonants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unvoiced</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>[β/b]</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>ě</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n’]</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrants</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>l’</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6.3. Distinctive and non-distinctive differences
The sounds [p], [t], [k], [t’], [ě], [s]/[š], [x]/[h], [m], [n], [n’], [η], [l], [l’], [w], [y] represent distinctive units. However, a sound represented by a single consonant symbol is not distinctive in relation to the sound represented by its double counterpart. No minimal pairs have been found involving the unvoiced stops [p], [t] and [k] and their voiced pendants [β]/[b], [d], and [g], respectively. Regarding the stops [β]/[b] and [d], this is not surprising, because, as has been noticed, these voiced stops occur in loan words, and do not belong to the original Cholón sound system. The symbol g, representing a voiced velar [g], appears only once in a native lexical item, pangala ‘forest turkey’. This word could also be a borrowing, possibly from a neighbouring language. Like the obstruents [β]/[b] and [d], the consonants [f] and [r] only appear in borrowings; no minimal pairs involving [f] and [r] have been found either.

As regards bilabial [w], symbolized by b/hu/u/ν, it appears to have a low functional load. Syllable-initially, it is symbolized by the grapheme u, and represents the bilabial off-glide in a falling diphthong (with respect to minimal pairs involving diphthongs see section 4.2.8). In syllable-initial position [w] is represented by the symbols b/hu/u/ν; in this position it is infrequent. It is found in the lexical items bem
[wem] ‘sweet potato’, vey ‘firewood’, hualiu [waliw] ‘something beautiful’, ‘strong’, which may be a loan word (see section 4.3.2); in the paradigm of the verb llau [l'aw] ‘(to) go’; and in the following suffixes: -buch [wuc] ‘agentive marker’, also written as -uch or -uch; -wa/-ua [wa] ‘topic marker’ -ua; -w(o)/-u(o) [w(o)] ‘verbalizer’. In internal position the bilabial sound [w] symbolized as b/u/v is mainly found between a stem ending in a vowel and a suffix beginning with a vowel (the suffixes mentioned above occur as -uch, -a, -(o), respectively, when used after a consonant-final stem); its function seems to be that of a euphonic element meant to avoid a hiatus between two vowels. The initial [w] of vey ‘firewood’ also appears to fill up a gap before a vowel. In the paradigm in question the absolute form vey corresponds with a possessed or relational form ney ‘someone’s firewood’. An epenthetic n usually appears in the paradigm of a lexical item of which the absolute form begins with a vowel (cf. el ‘cassava’ > anel ‘my cassava’, section 5.5). This means that the absolute form vey has a status somewhat equivalent to forms with initial e. If we compare Martínez Compañón’s transcription of the word for ‘fire’ v~et with Pedro de la Mata’s et ‘fire’, we notice that the bilabial sound [w] - represented by the symbol v in Martínez Compañón’s transcription - also alternates with ø. In the case of vey ‘firewood’ and v~et ‘fire’, the occurrence of bilabial [w] thus appears to be non-functional.

The functional load of the affricate [c] is high. In section 4.3.4 we have seen that this sound is represented by the symbol ch and that, in fact, two cases must be distinguished:

1 - ch’ which is never replaced by another symbol; it is univalent, because it refers to one sound only, and is relevantly distinctive from other stops and palatals (cf. section 4.3.4.1);
2 - ch’ which is regularly replaced by the symbols tz and z; it is plurivalent, because it also refers to the consonants [t'] and [s] otherwise symbolized by tz and z, respectively; as a result it is not distinctive from [t'] and [s], but it is distinctive from palatal y. (ch’, tz and z mark the relational forms of lexical items of which the absolute form begins with y).

The difference in use, value and distinctiveness of ch and ch’ suggests that they refer to different sounds: [č] and [č'], respectively. The former may have had a retracted articulation (see section 4.3.4.2), the latter had the alveolar affricate [t'] and the alveolar sibilant [s] as alternatives. In the tentative phoneme chart represented Table 4.23, the former affricate, [č], is represented by palatal č; the latter affricate, [č'], by the alveolar affricate t'.

The symbol z is also used ambiguously. First, the symbol z is employed as a replacement of the symbol ch’. In this function, a, it alternates with the symbol tz;
b, it is not interchangeable with the symbol x representing [š];
c, it not only refers to the affricate [t’], but may also refer to the sibilant [s];
d, it symbolizes a sound which is relevantly distinctive from palatal [y] only (see section 4.3.4.3);
e, it symbolizes a sound which is an allophone of [t’];
f, it is represented by the consonant t in the table below.

Second, the symbol z is used as a notational variant of the symbol s. Functioning as a variant of s,
a, it does not alternate with τ;
b, it is interchangeable with the symbol x representing [ʃ];
c, it only symbolizes the sibilant [s];
d, it symbolizes a sound which is relevantly distinctive from other alveolar and palatal sounds (see section 4.3.9);
e, it symbolizes a sound which is an allophone of [ʃ];
f, it is represented by the consonant s in the table below.

As for the palatal fricative [ʃ] mentioned above, we have seen that it is an allophone or a free variant of the alveolar fricative [s], represented by the symbols s and z (see also section 1.3.9). This explains the [s] ~ [ʃ] alternation in the prefix is- [is]- ~ ix- [iʃ]- ‘three’ (see section 4.3.4).

Reconsidering the observations above, the following consonants are proposed as possible phonemes: [p], [t], [k], [tʃ], [ç], [s], [x], [m], [n], [n̩], [ŋ], [l], [l̩], [w], [y]. The consonants [ʃ] and [h] do not figure in the table below, because they are considered as allophones of [s] and [x], respectively.

Table 4.23: Tentative minimum inventory of native consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n̩</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l̩</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
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4.7. A practical spelling

In order to clearly present and analyze the grammatical facts of Cholón, the following symbols are introduced as substitutes for the graphemes used in the ALC.

In this spelling, de la Mata’s vowel symbols a, e, i, o, u are maintained. Symbols representing borrowed sounds - b, d, f, r - have not been included in the survey below. The doubled symbols which may represent geminated consonants have also been omitted (cf. section 4.6.1).
Table 4.24: The orthography employed in the *ALC* and the spelling proposed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The ALC’s symbols</th>
<th>Spelling proposed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
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<tr>
<td>b; hu/a; u/S V, V_$/</td>
<td>w</td>
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<tr>
<td>c; k, qu</td>
<td>k</td>
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<td>c/; e, _/-; s; z ~ s</td>
<td>s</td>
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<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>€</td>
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<td>ch ~ tz, tz, z ~ ch/tz</td>
<td>r’</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g (‘guttural’), ĝ, ĝ, ~-g, mg, ng, ng, ng, ng, ň/ň (‘guttural’), ň. ň, ň; m ~ n/ň; nc/ $; n/ $ ~ ‘guttural’;</td>
<td>g</td>
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<tr>
<td>n$/ _/-; c, q; n#</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g (non-‘guttural’)/ _/-</td>
<td>g</td>
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<tr>
<td>i, y/$, (C)$</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>i/S V, V_$/y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<td>i/i/ iyi ‘perfective aspect’</td>
<td>iy</td>
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<tr>
<td>l</td>
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<tr>
<td>ll/S V, V_$/</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<td>ň/ň (non-‘guttural’)</td>
<td>n’y</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>š</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
5. Morphology

5.1. Introduction
In this chapter we will look at sounds within the framework of the word, as interrelated parts of a morphonological entity. In this entity, vowels can undergo processes such as harmonization and suppression (Alexander-Bakkerus, 2002). The latter is linked to the syllable structure of the words. Consonants can alternate in stem-initial position, and, when the stem begins with a vowel, consonant insertion may take place. There are also two possible cases of consonant dissimilation and one possible case of consonant assimilation.

In section 5.2 attention will be paid to the structure of syllables, and in section 5.3 to consonant clusters. In section 5.4.1 we shall look at vowel harmony, and in section 5.4.2 at vowel suppression. Stem alternation and the insertion of a stem-initial consonant will be analyzed in section 5.5. The cases of consonant dissimilation and assimilation are treated in section 5.6. In section 5.7 the morphonological processes that occur in loan words will be discussed. In Appendix 4.2 boundary clusters are listed together with the words in which they occur.

The Cholón examples are normally written in the spelling introduced in section 4.6.2, Table 12. When necessary, forms are written in the orthography employed by Pedro de la Mata and his copyists. Such forms are put in angled brackets: < >. Spanish loan words are written in the orthography in which they are encountered in the Arte.

5.2. Syllable structure
Cholón syllables have the following canonical structure: (C)V(C). A syllable may thus consist of a vowel (V), a vowel and a consonant (VC or CV) or a vowel and two consonants (CVC). According to our interpretation of the ALC, these four types of syllables can figure word-initially:

1. a$lan (2138) ‘I do/make something’
2. al$hi (1033) ‘something sweet’
3. e$do (2034) ‘silver’
4. ku$fha (2977) ‘life’

Syllables figuring in the middle of a word generally have an initial consonant, although medial syllables of the V type have been observed in the ALC:

5. a$u$m (2054) ‘I eat’

As for a form such as <atu$pia$tan> ‘I shall walk again’, it is not sure whether it contains a medial syllable of the VC or the CVC type: it can be read as a$tu$pia$yah$tan, as a$tu$pia$yah$tan, or as a$tu$pia$yah$tan. Final syllables also tend to be consonant-initial, but syllables consisting of a vowel or a VC sequence, such as $e and $in in the words ma$e ‘falsely’ and ma$in ‘not yet’ occasionally occur in
word-final position. The words <mae> and <main> may, respectively, be interpreted as ma$e and ma$in, as ma$e and ma$in, and as ma$ye and ma$yin. However, since the syllables ma, e, in refer to different morphemes (‘not’/‘negation’, ‘yes’/‘true’, ‘yet’, respectively), the latter reading is less plausible. The fact that the syllables refer to different morphemes makes a reasonable case for one of the former readings. Mono-segmental words have not been found in the material collected. Monosyllabic words consist of two or three segments:

(6)  oy (2939) ‘yes’
(7)  pa (139) ‘father’
(8)  pay (140) ‘mother’

The maximum number of syllables per word found in the ALC appears to be eight:
mi$me$m$r' o$Sh$a$ki$Sah$Ste$ke/mi$me$m$r' o$Sh$a$ki$Sah$Ste$ke <mimeñohaquiahteque > ‘that you (p) wanted it again’.

In word forms a pattern of regularly alternating consonants and vowels is preferred. This is illustrated by the fact that suffixes may have consonant-initial and vowel-initial allomorphs which are affixed to vowel-final and consonant-final stems, respectively. For instance, the topic marker -a and the verbalizer -(o) have allomorphs with initial w, when they are suffixed to a form ending in a vowel (see also 5.3); and the suffix -l ‘only’, ‘nothing else but’ has an allomorph -al after a final consonant. In addition, the suffix -n ‘as’, ‘like’ has -miny as allomorph, when suffixed to a word ending in a consonant. Not all suffixes exhibit this type of alternation, however.

(9)  Luis (78) ‘Luis’ > Luis-a (79) ‘as for Luis’
     Pedro (79) ‘Pedro’ > Pedro-wa (78) ‘as for Pedro’
(10) yip (1550) ‘house’ > a-yip-ag (1550) ‘I make a house’
(11) eče (2034) ‘silver’ > eče-l (1173) ‘only silver’
      wem (1174) ‘sweet potato’ > wem-al (1174) ‘only sweet potato’
(12) ko (1292) ‘this’ > ko-n (2493) ‘like this’
      et’ (2328) ‘thief’ > et’-min’ (2328) ‘like a thief’

5.3. Consonant clusters
Clustering of consonants within one syllable hardly ever occurs in Cholón. The avoid-ance of consonant clusters within a syllable is most convincingly illustrated by the way Spanish words were adapted to Cholón. In the following example, the Spanish ‘muta cum liquida’ sequence is broken up by the insertion of a copy vowel (see anaptyxis, section 5.7):
We have only found two examples of a sequence of two consonants in the same syllable: the verb form maksayiktay <maacsakitay> ‘he shall rejoice’ and the verb stem šayš/ šayč <xaix/ xaich> ‘(to) whip’. Elsewhere, the verb ‘to rejoice’ is transcribed as <maacsakian> maaksakian/maaksakiyan, a form which does not contain the cluster <ic> yk. It is possible that the <ic> sequence in the word <maacsakin> was a slip of the pen and that the transcriber intended to write *<maacsaquin>. It is also possible that the word <maacsacin> should be interpreted as maksayiktay or maksá iktaq. The verb stem šayš/ šayč is obviously a case of onomatopoeia. However, the possibility of interpreting this stem as šayís/ šayič or šaís/ šaič cannot be excluded.

Consonant clusters mainly appear at syllable boundaries (cf. the cluster f/m <tzm> in the example et-min <etzmiñ> ‘like a thief’). Examples of words containing sequences of two consonants divided by a syllable boundary are shown in Appendix 4.2. In the inventory of boundary clusters the doubled consonants which are the result of a replacement (written in superscript) have been left out. Possibly, these consonants were doubled in order to indicate that the consonant concerned was either pronounced sustainedly as a geminate consonant, or was otherwise perceived as long. Since they may have referred to length, these doubled consonants are not considered here as boundary clusters.

The contrast between the obstruents s, š and t - symbolized in the Arte by <s>/<z>, <x> and <tz>/<z>, respectively - is not distinctive. <s>, <x>, <tz> and <z> do not normally occur together in a boundary cluster: *<stz/ztz>, *<sx>. However, in the orthography used in the Arte, clusters such as <zx>, <xs>, <tzs> and <tzz> have been encountered. In the paradigm of the lexical item yušam <yuxam> ‘armadillo’, the relational forms are spelled as <tuzxam> with a <zx> sequence. Combinations represented by the symbols <xs> and <xz> have been found in the words kilišso kilišso <quilixsô quilixsô> ‘in sevens’ and kilišťel <quilixzel> ‘seven’ (+ the classifier tśel ‘truncal object’). A tś sequence, symbolized by the graphemes <tzs> and <tzz>, has been found in the verbal forms atśișiyay <atzitziyan> ‘I return’ and metśișiyay <metzitzziay> ‘you returned’. These sequences of obstruents - the sequences st <zx>, šs <xs/xz> and tś <tzz/tzz> - may indicate that the consonants s <s/z>, š <x>, and t <tz> were pronounced sustainedly, viz. that they were long. This may very well have been the case for the form kilišso, because the endings in -o, described by Pedro de la Mata as gerund or supine endings, are generally preceded by a double consonant, e.g. kotto <cotto> ‘having to be’, atončehio <atonchejio> ‘my having to roam’. It is certainly true for -tśișiyay <tzitzziay>, which is alternatively spelled as -čichčiyay with double <ch>. Above we have seen that the doubling of a consonant may have designated length. Thus the clusters <zx>, <xs/xz> and <tzz/tzz> - in view of the likely possibility that they represent a double consonant -have also been excluded from the inventory of boundary clusters in Appendix 4.2.
The only clusters of nasal consonants encountered are the clusters \textit{mn} <mn> and \textit{nm} <nm> (and double \textit{m} <m> and \textit{n} <n>). The \textit{n’m} <ñm> sequence found in the form \textit{sin’milowha} <síñmilouhan> 'you (p) wasted' has not been taken into account, because this form consists of two words: a noun \textit{sin} 'waste' and a verbal form \textit{milowha} 'you (p) did', so that the sounds \textit{n’} <ñ> and \textit{m} <m> are separated by a word boundary.

Conversely, the expression \textit{mahal} \textit{ly} <mahall \textit{liw} > 'many different things', written in two words, must be analyzed as one form consisting of a word indicating quantity (\textit{mahal}) + a classifier (\textit{liw}). In the \textit{Arte}, classifiers are generally suffixed to the quantifier: cf. \textit{alliw} <alliu> 'one different, coloured thing', \textit{mahal} \textit{pok} <mahallpoc> 'many times'. Therefore, de la Matas separated forms <mahall \textit{liu} > are to be interpreted as \textit{mahal \textit{liw} }, and the sequence \textit{Fl} <ll> is interpreted as a boundary cluster.

The positions which the boundary segments can take with regard to each other are represented in Table 5.1. In this outline the occurrence of one of the consonants of the vertical axis before a consonant of the horizontal axis is indicated by a plus sign, the non-occurrence by a minus sign. Note, only attested boundary clusters are represented (also in Appendix 4.2). Non-attested, but possibly viable clusters have been omitted, as a result of which Table 5.1 (and the Appendix) is not necessarily exhaustive. For instance, according to Table 5.1, \textit{\textit{F}l} occurs in seven boundary clusters. In these clusters it is preceded by the segments \textit{p}, \textit{s}, \textit{n}, \textit{y}, \textit{l}, \textit{y}. However, the case marker -\textit{\textit{F}ak-pat} 'because of' can be suffixed to any noun, and, since nouns may end in any segment mentioned in Table 5.1, the boundary clusters \textit{Flp}, \textit{klp}, \textit{rlp}, \textit{slp}, \textit{mlp}, \textit{nlp}, \textit{Flp}, \textit{wp} may very well have occurred.
Table 5.1: The matrix of consonantal boundary clusters

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<th>p</th>
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5.4. Vowel harmony and suppression in non-borrowed forms

Vowel harmony and vowel suppression are frequent phenomena in Cholón. The vowel *i* of a personal reference prefix can either be assimilated or suppressed. A stem vowel can also be suppressed. A prefix consisting of only one vowel can not be subject to suppression, nor are the third person plural marker *č* and the third person object marker *po-/*mo-. (These prefixes are treated in section 6.2 and 7.6).

5.4.1. Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony in Cholón is a case of non-contact assimilation or distant assimilation, also known as metaphony (Lass, 1984: 171). This harmony is regressive, so that the vowel of a personal reference prefix harmonizes with the vowel of a nominal or a verbal stem. Harmonization of the vowel *i* of a nominal prefix with a stem vowel takes place when the stem contains the vowels *e* or *u*:

(14)  

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{*mi-kil* (117)} & \text{*mi-šaš* (125)} \\
2\text{sPOS-wall} & 2\text{sPOS-armadillo} \\
\text{‘your wall’} & \text{‘your armadillo’} \\
\text{*mi-kot* (114)} & \text{*mi-šaš* (125)} \\
2\text{sPOS-water} & 2\text{sPOS-armadillo} \\
\text{‘your water’} & \text{‘your armadillo’}
\end{array}
\]
However, the vowel $i$ does not harmonize with the vowel $e$ of a nominal stem when the stem begins with $k$, $p$, $m$ or $y$. There is only one example of a noun with a $k$-initial $e$-stem:

(17) $mi$-$kešum$ (118)

2sPOS-nose
‘your nose’

Nouns with a $p$-initial, $m$-initial or $y$-initial $e$-stem are normally derived from a verb:

(18) $mi$-$per'ó-wuc'$(1065) < $per'(o)$ ‘(to) want’

2sO-want-AG
‘your lover’

(19) $mi$-$men'$ (1059) < $per'(o)$ ‘(to) want’

2sPOS-wish
‘your wish’

(20) $mi$-$ve-lam$ (2965) < $y(e)$ ‘(to) sleep’

2sS-sleep-FN1
‘your bed’

The examples show that nouns with a $p$-initial and $m$-initial $e$-stem have been derived from the same verb. This is due to the fact that initial $p$ of a verb stem alternates with $m$ (see section 5.5). The reason for the non-assimilation of the vowel $i$ of the prefix with the stem vowel $e$ of a derived noun may be that the prefix at issue is counted as verbal. The vowel $i$ of a verbal prefix does not normally harmonize with a stem vowel $e$. It only harmonizes with an $u$ stem:

(21) $mi$-$ših$-$ia$-$g$ (955)

2sS-drink-RE-IA
‘you drink again’

(22) $mi$-$men'$-$ag$ (807)

2sA-3sO-want-IA
‘you want him/her/it’

(23) $mi$-$o$-$Fah$-$ag$ (917)

2sA-3sO-bring-IA
‘you bring something’

(24) $mi$-$o$-$lo$-$g$ (962)

2sA-3sO-wet-IA
‘you wet something’

(25) $mu$-$o$-$Fup$-$ag$ (1926)

2sA-3sO-eat-IA
‘you eat something’
In one example, in the form *ku-layam* ‘we doubt’, *ku* instead of *ki* is found before a verbal *a* stem; in three examples and in the paradigm of the verbs *n-eštek-w(o)* ‘(to) make one’s clothes’ and *n-eštek-(o)* ‘(to) cloth’, derived from the noun *eštek* ‘cloth’, the vowel *i* harmonizes with a verbal *e*-stem:

(26)  *e-e-n-ag* (2076)
3ps-give-RFL-IA  ‘they give themselves’

(27)  *e-yl-eh-ag* (2059)
3sA-3sO.die-CAU-IA  ‘he let him die’, ‘he kills him’

(28)  *e-šepos-ag* (2229)
3ps-blow-IA  ‘they blow’

(29)  *me-n-eštek-w-ag* (2015)
2sS-REL-cloth-VB-IA  ‘you make your clothes’

(30)  *me-o-n-eštek-o-ag* (2064)
2sA-3sO-REL-cloth-VB-IA  ‘you cloth him/her/it’

Furthermore, in two examples the vowel *e* instead of *u* is encountered before an *u* stem, and in one example *e* is encountered before an *i* stem:

(31)  *ke-o-lusay-pakna o-kot-ag* (2806)
1pA-3sO-pity-NE.NOM 3sS-be-IA  ‘He does not deserve to be pitied by us’.

(32)  *e-pul-i-y* (1414)
3ps-fall-PST  ‘they fell’

(33)  *me-fit-ia-y* (2445)
2sS-come-RE-PST  ‘you return’

(The stem <-tzitzia-> of the last word is a replacement of <-cheichia->, which has *e* in-stead of *i* as a stem vowel. Maybe this is why we find *me-* instead of *mi-* before the stem <-tzitzia>). The vowel *e* instead of *i* is also encountered
(a) before an elided *o*-stem:

(34)  *me-kt-ag* (291)  < *mi-kot-ag* 2sS-be-IA  ‘you are/have’

(b) once before an elided *a*-stem:

(35)  *ke-p′w-ey* (2887)  < *ke-Φaw-ey* 1sS-go-PST  ‘we went’

(c) four times before the stem *t(a)/ to* ‘(to) do’:
The person marker po- is employed to indicate a third person object. This is possibly why the vowel o can not be copied in vowel harmony. Prefixes of the type C-o- are discussed in chapter 7.6.3. They represent an indirect object, indicating that the person is affected by the action. Vowel assimilation has also been found stem-internally in loan words. In those cases, the inserted vowel harmonizes with the following stem vowel, see section 5.7.

An interesting case of vowel assimilation is found in the following verb forms: ø-pokot-te-ke and ø-pokot-o-ke, meaning ‘that it was’. According to Pedro de la Mata both are optative forms of pak(o)t ‘(to) be (there)’. In the forms ø-pokot-te-ke and ø-pokot-o-ke, an original, non-inserted vowel a is harmonized with the following stem vowel o. The ALC contains two more examples of verb stems with two vowels of which the second vowel is o and in which harmonization of the preceding vowel with o takes place. In the first example it is the vowel e which harmonizes with o, in the second example the vowel u assimilates with o:

(40) mi-pon‘o-w-la (406) < mi-pen‘o-w-la
2sO-love-PST-3PA
‘they (p) loved you’

(41) ø-lapoh-o (2171) < lupoh(h) ‘(to) do/make’
3sO-do/make-IMP
‘Do it!’ ‘Make it!’

The form l-u-pul-e-nap found once in the ALC, also presents an interesting case of vowel assimilation. The form stands for

(42) l-o-pul-e-nap (2174)
3sO-do-stop-SE-SEQ
‘after having stopped doing it’
Regularly, the stem vowel of a main verb does not assimilate with the stem vowel of a bound verb. In the form o-l-u-pul-e-nap, however, the stem vowel of the main verb (o) ‘(to) do/make’ does harmonize with that of the bound verb pul ‘(to) stop’.

5.4.2. Vowel suppression
Another commonly occurring process, besides assimilation, is vowel suppression. In the word

\[
\text{mekt-ag (291)} < *\text{mi-kot-ag}
\]

\[
\text{2ss-be-IA}
\]

‘you are’

for example, the vowel o has been suppressed. This is only possible when there is no threat of a consonantal clash within a same syllable, and when resyllabification can occur. In a form consisting of three syllables or more, the vowel of the second syllable is often suppressed whenever the syllable structure permits it. In a noun + verb compound, the vowel of the second and the fourth syllable can be suppressed. Examples include:

(43) \[\text{me-kt-ag (291)} < *\text{mi-kot-ag}\]

\[
\text{2ss-be-IA}
\]

‘you are’

(44) \[\text{*a-\&ala} > a-\&la (148)\]

\[
\text{1sPOS-wife}
\]

‘my wife’

(45) \[\text{*a-\&aw-ag} > a-\&w-ag (904)\]

\[
\text{1ss-go-IA}
\]

‘I go’

(46) \[\text{*a-makuplew} > a-mkuplew (135)\]

\[
\text{1sPOS-passion.fruit}
\]

‘my passion fruit’

(47) \[\text{*a-mana-y\&ag} > a-mna-y\&ag (1895)\]

\[
\text{1ss-road-see-IA}
\]

‘I watch the road’

When a verb form is preceded by two person markers, the vowel -i of the second person marker is thus suppressed. However, when the second person marker is a ‘1s’, it is the vowel -i of the first person marker which is suppressed:

(48) \[\text{a-m-kol-ag (1646)}\]

\[
\text{1sA-2s0-love-IA}
\]

‘I love you’

(49) \[\text{a-m-aphat-iy (1728)}\]

\[
\text{1sA-2s0-APL-bring-PST}
\]

‘I brought for you’

(50) \[\text{m-a-kole-ki (1698)}\]

\[
\text{2sA-1s0-love-IMP}
\]

‘Love me!’
Guarani also has nouns that distinguish an absolute form from a relational form. These nouns also have a stem-initial alternation. They generally have \( t \) in initial position in the absolute form, \( r \) in a relational form (a form preceded by a determiner), and \( h \) in the relational third person singular form. E.g. 

\[
\text{tera} \quad \text{‘name’}
\]
\[
\text{che-rera} \quad \text{‘my name’}
\]
\[
\text{hera} \quad \text{‘his name’}
\]

(Adelaar, 96: 5).

Remember that the vowel \( o \) of the person prefix \( po-/mo- \) is never suppressed (cf. the remark in the previous section):

\[
\text{(51) } \quad \text{mi-po-kol-ay (2914)}
\]
\[
\text{2SA-3PO-love-IA}
\]
\[
\text{‘you love them’}
\]

5.5. Stem alternation

A number of nouns make a distinction between an absolute form - the free form that can for instance appear as a lemma in a dictionary - and a relational form\(^\text{16}\). The relational form appears in the possessive paradigm of a noun, where it occurs after a prefixed person marker or in the zero-marked third person singular form.

Nouns that distinguish between an absolute and a relational form are those of which the stem begins with a vowel or with one of the following consonants: \( p, k, h, y \). The vowel-initial nouns take an epenthetic \( n \) in their relational forms: \( \#V \rightarrow n-V/$$_v$$\):

\[
\text{(52) } \quad \text{el (125) ‘cassava’ } \rightarrow \text{a-n-el ‘my cassava’}
\]
\[
\text{me-n-el ‘your cassava’}
\]
\[
\text{o-n-el ‘his/her/its cassava’}
\]
\[
\text{ke-n-el ‘our cassava’}
\]
\[
\text{me-n-el-ha ‘your (p) cassava’}
\]
\[
\text{e-n-el ‘their cassava’}
\]

Borrowings from Quechua and Spanish which have a vowel in initial position also take an epenthetic \( n \) in their relational forms:

\[
\text{(53) } \quad \text{ut’a (3547) ‘sin’ } \quad < \text{Q hucha: a-n-ut’a (2892) ‘his/her/its sin’}
\]
\[
\text{a-n-ut’a (1626) ‘my sin’}
\]

\[
\text{(54) } \quad \text{anima (1490) ‘soul’ } \quad < \text{Sp anima: o-n-anima (1204) ‘his/her/its soul’}
\]
\[
\text{ki-n-anima (1204) ‘our soul’}
\]

Verbs derived from nouns which in their absolute form have a vowel in initial position are derived from the relational form, so that the stem of these verbs also begins with an epenthetic \( n \):

\[
\text{(55) } \quad \text{eštek (2014) ‘cloth’}
\]
\[
\text{a-n-eštek-w-ay (2015) ‘I make clothes’}
\]

---

\(^{16}\) Guarani also has nouns that distinguish an absolute form from a relational form. These nouns also have a stem-initial alternation. They generally have \( t \) in initial position in the absolute form, \( r \) in a relational form (a form preceded by a determiner), and \( h \) in the relational third person singular form. E.g. \( tɛɾa \) nameɛ, \( cʰe-ɾɛɾa \) my nameɛ, \( hɛɾa \) his nameɛ (odetɛɾa, \( a = v \); \( l \)).
The *p*-initial, *k*-initial, *y*-initial and *h*-initial nouns alter the beginning of their stem. This alternation occurs as follows:

\[ ^\text{Ip} > m/\text{S} : \text{nouns with a stem-initial bilabial stop} \text{ p change} \text{ p into nasal} \text{ m in their relational forms:} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pana} & \quad (138) \quad \text{‘road’} \\
\text{a-mna} & \quad \text{‘my road’} \\
\text{ki-mna} & \quad \text{‘our road’} \\
\text{mi-mna} & \quad \text{‘your road’} \\
\text{mi-mna-ha} & \quad \text{‘your (p) road’} \\
\text{ø-mana} & \quad \text{‘his road’} \\
\text{…} & \\
\text{i-mna} & \quad \text{‘their road’}
\end{align*}
\]

The nouns *pa* ‘father’, *paj* ‘mother’, *pul* ‘son’ and *pulu* ‘husband’ are exceptional. They keep initial *p* in all forms but for the third person singular form. Third person singular of *pa* and *paj* is derived from different stems: it is *o-guc‘his father* instead of *o-ma* and *o-get‘his mother’ instead of *o-mag*, respectively. In the case of *pul ‘son’ and puluc‘husband’ (possibly < pul-uč ‘son maker’) only third person singular has a regular relational form with *m* in initial position: *o-mul ‘his son’; *o-muluč ‘her husband’, respectively.

\[ ^\text{Ik} > p/\text{S} : \text{nouns with the stop} \text{ k in initial position have only one relational form, which is also the third person singular form. In this form, velar k changes into the velar nasal y; see the example kot ‘water’ > o-get ‘his water’in section 4.3.3 and 4.3.11. This k > y substitution may also explain the deviant forms o-guc‘his father’ and o-get ‘his mother’ in the paradigm of pa ‘father’ and paj ‘mother’, respectively. The lexical items pa ‘father’ and paj ‘mother’ may be newly introduced forms, whereas the deviant forms o-guc‘his father’ and o-get ‘his mother’ may reflect absolute forms in disuse with a velar k in initial position: *kuč and *keč, respectively. On the other hand, instead of being inherited elements, the deviant forms o-guc and o-get could also be borrowings from Híbito. In Híbito the words for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ have been recorded as *cote and *queec, respectively (Martínez Compañón, 1783). We may venture to interpret these Híbito words as kot/kut and ket/ket (cf. chapter 4, section 4.2.5), respectively. They do have the stem-initial k which in Cholón regularly changes into y in the third person singular form. While adopting these forms, Cholón could have changed the final segment of both *o-get/o-get ‘son maker’) and o-get/o-get into palatal e (see also section 4.3.11, footnote 3) or it may reflect a previous phase of Híbito.

\[ ^\text{Ih} > s/\text{S} : \text{nouns which begin with a velar or glottal fricative h (see section 4.3.10.2), have a relational third person singular form which begins with fricative s:} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hil} & \quad (1126) \quad \text{‘word’} > \quad o-sil & \quad (1184) \quad \text{‘his word’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ ^\text{Iy} > t/\text{S} : \text{nouns which begin with a central approximant y alter this consonant into affricate} \text{ t (<ch> ~ <tz> ~ <z>, see section 4.3.4.3) in their relational forms. It appears that <tz> and <z> are not systematically distributed. However, third person singular forms beginning with the symbol <tz> have not been found. They always have <z> (or <ch>) in initial position:} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hil} & \quad (1126) \quad \text{‘word’} > \quad o-sil & \quad (1184) \quad \text{‘his word’}
\end{align*}
\]
The derived noun ye-lam ‘bed’, mi-ye-lam ‘your bed’ in section 5.4.1, however, shows that initial y of an absolute form does not always change into t in a relational form. The fact that in this case absolute y does not alternate with relational t is probably because ye-lam is derived from an intransitive verb. Stem-initial p, k, h, and y of transitive verbs do change into m, õ, s, t, respectively, in order to indicate that the object is a third person singular (see hereafter).

# $y > /t/ ¥$ ; Pedro de la Mata gives only one example of a noun with y in initial position that modifies this central approximant into t in its relational forms. This is the lexical item yušam ‘armadillo’, which occurs as tusšam <tuzxam> in its relational forms. Since Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Chappa pronounced the word for ‘armadillo’ as [tušam], the word is represented as tušam in the relational forms listed below:

(60)  
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-tušam (145)</td>
<td>‘my armadillo’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-tušam (145)</td>
<td>‘your armadillo’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-tušam (145)</td>
<td>‘his armadillo’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku-tušam (145)</td>
<td>‘our armadillo’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-tušam-ha (145)</td>
<td>‘your (p) armadillo’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-tušam (145)</td>
<td>‘their armadillo’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already noticed in the discussion in section 5.4.1 about derived nouns with a p-initial or a m-initial stem and in the discussion above about the non-substitution of t for initial y in the word mi-ye-lam ‘your bed’, intransitive and transitive stems alternate in the same way as nominal stems do, namely, #p > -m, #k > -g, #h > -s, #y > -t. Initial m, g, s, t then indicate that the subject or the direct object, respectively, is a third person singular:
(61) **y-a-po-ʼy (205)**

3SA-1SO-burn-I\(\)A
‘he (the sun) burns me’

**i-mo-ʻy (205)**

3SA-3SO.burn-I\(\)A
‘he burns him’

\(\alpha\)-pen’o-ʼit-’ag (991)

1SS-want-PAS-I\(\)A
‘I am wanted’

men’o-ʼit-’ag (1018)

3SS.want-PAS-I\(\)A
‘he is wanted’

(62) **a-po-kol-’ag (2913)**

1SA-3po-love-I\(\)A
I love them’

a-po-kol-’ag (685)

1SA-3SO.love-I\(\)A
‘I love him’

pole-ʼit-’ag (997)

3SS.love-PAS-I\(\)A
‘he is loved’

(63) **a-p-hina-’ag (2066)**

1SA-1SB-hear-I\(\)A
‘I hear for myself’

a-sina-’ag (1741)

1SA-3SO.hear-I\(\)A
‘I hear him’

(64) **a-yoy-e-ʼag (2060)**

1SS-cry-I\(\)A
‘I cry’

a-ʼoy-e-ʼag (2061)

1SA-3SO.cry-CAU-I\(\)A
‘I cause him to cry’

In two consecutive examples with the verb y(a)č’ y(a)š ‘(to) see’, -t instead of -t’ is found (cf. absolute yušam > relational tušam above):

(65) **mi-taš-t-ʼag (1602)**

2SA-3SO.see-F-I\(\)A
‘you will see it’

mi-taš-te (1603)

2SA-3SO.see-F
‘you will see it’

The alternated stem-initial consonants may be the result of a merger of an originally prefixed nasal (N) (cf. the prefix n- before a vowel-initial nominal stem):

\(N + \#p > \#m\)

\(N + \#k > \#g\)

\(N + \#h > \#s\)

\(N + \#y > \#i’, t\)

The prefixed nasal may be a dental-alveolar nasal n indicating ‘nominal relational form’ or a velar nasal ŕ indicating ‘third person singular object’ (see also section 7.6.3).

If we compare the cases of stem alternation with those of non-harmonization of the vowel i of a person prefix with a stem vowel e (see section 5.4.1), and with those
of the use of the person marker āi-'3p' instead of i-'3p’ before certain consonants (see section 6.4.1), it appears that all three phenomena (stem alternation, non-harmonization of i with e, and the use of āi- instead of i-) have to do with the nature of a stem-initial consonant. Stem alternation takes place when the stem begins with p, k, h, y, as we have seen; the vowel i of a person marker does not harmonize with a stem vowel e when the stem begins with p/m, k, y; the person marker āi- is employed when the stem begins with p/m, k, h, when it concerns a nominal stem and with p/m, k, h, y, V, when it concerns a verbal stem. It is possible that non-assimilation of i with e also occurs before a stem-initial h but such cases have not been attested. An h-initial nominal stem followed by e has not been encountered in the ALC.

5.6. Consonant dissimilation and assimilation
Consonant dissimilation and assimilation hardly ever occur in the ALC. They are found in only one case each. The prefix p/-m-, a person marker indicating that the beneficiary is the subject itself, is found in six verb forms. In four forms, before a stem-initial con-tinuant and lateral, the form p- is found, and in two forms, before a stem-initial stop, m- is encountered. In one of both forms, p- has presumably changed into a nasal in order to distinguish itself from the following stop:

(66) ki-m-köl-ay (2068) < *āi-p-köl-ay
1ps-1pb/REC-love-IA
we love ourselves (reciprocally)'

cf. ki-p-hina-ay (2067)
1ps-1pb/REC-hear-IA
‘we hear ourselves (reciprocally)’

In the second form, on the other hand, p- may have changed into m- by assimilation with the following bilabial nasal:

(67) āi-m-men-ay (2069) < *āi-p-men-ay a-p-yalp-ay (2070)
3ps-3pb/REC-want-IA 1sa-1sb-gather-IA
‘they want themselves (reciprocally)’ ‘I gather for myself’

The reflexive/reciprocal form āi-m-men-ay above has a transitive stem -men- ‘3sO.want’ instead of an intransitive stem -pen- ‘want’ (stem-initial p changes into m, when the object is a third person singular, see section 5.5). This is irregular because reflexive and reciprocal forms are intransitive. Since the change from #p into m can not be the result of a merger of p and an underlying third person singular direct object y, it may be the result of assimilation of p with the preceding benefactive person marker m-.
5.7. Morphonological processes in loan words

Most of the loan words were adopted without major modifications. The lexical items of this category belong primarily to the semantic fields of authority, liturgy and Gospel. A few names of formerly unknown animals were also adopted without alterations:

(68) alcalde (468) ‘mayor’
(69) alguacil (400) ‘police officer’
(70) cruz (987) ‘cross’
(71) hostia (1968) ‘Eucharist’
(72) Jesus (1457) ‘Jesus’
(73) virgen (201) ‘virgin’
(74) elefante (1253) ‘elephant’
(75) mula (2316) ‘donkey’

A number of borrowings were adapted to the pronunciation and the word structure of Cholón. In addition to depalatalization and lateralization (see section 4.4), loan words belonging to this category also went through other formal processes, such as:
- devoicing or fortition,
- cluster simplification by the insertion of a vowel (anaptyxis) (cf. Sp plátano > palantu: pl > pal, section 5.3),
- internal deletion or syncope,
- transposition of segments or metathesis:

(76) Sp padre ‘father’:
- devoicing: padre > *patri
- anaptyxis: *patri > *patiri
- lateralization: *patiri > patili (2787)

(77) Sp plátano ‘banana’:
- anaptyxis: plátano > *palatanu
- syncope: *palatanu > *palatnu
- metathesis: *palatnu > palantu (1454)

The examples give evidence that - following the general pattern - in the case of anaptyxis the inserted vowel is a copy harmonizing with the following vowel. They also show that the Spanish mid-vowels [e] and [o] in final position were highered when they were adapted to Cholón: e > и and o > u.

The following examples of loan words were given by Mrs. Aurelia Gutiérrez and Mr. José Santos Chappa. In these borrowings, besides the processes of adaptation, vowel harmony and the highering of e and o, other phenomena can be observed, such as:
- voicing
- loss of a final element or apocope:
(78) Sp plátano ‘banana’ > palantu (see above)
   - syncope: palantu > [pantu]

(79) Sp compadre ‘friend’: padre > patili (see above)
   - voicing: *kumpatili > *kumbatili
   - apocope: *kumbatili > [kumbati]
6. Nominal morphosyntax

6.1. Introduction
Alongside verbs, nouns constitute the principal word class in Cholón. In this chapter we will discuss nominal inflection and derivation (section 6.2 - 6.4), nominal subclasses (section 6.5 - 6.10), as well as derived nouns (section 6.11) and different nominal constructions (section 6.12). Cholón nouns can take both prefixes and suffixes. Possessive person markers (section 6.2) are prefixed, except for the pluralizing element -\(\text{ha}\) of the second person, which is suffixed. Possessive person markers function as bound, possessive pronouns. The collective marker is also prefixed (section 6.3). The anteriority marker -\(\text{(k)e}\) (section 6.4.1) and case markers (section 6.4.2 - 6.4.4) are suffixed, as are the affixes mentioned in section section 6.4.5. Numeral classifiers (section 6.10.2) are also suffixed.

Although the class of nouns was most probably an open word class, it comprises several subclasses which are closed and limited in size. Thus, the language had a set of seven emphatic pronouns (\(\text{ok, mi, pi, sa, ki-ha, mi-na-ha, ñi-ha}\), section 6.5) and, parallel to it, a set of seven periphrastic possessive pronouns (see section 6.6). It also had the following nominal determiners: four demonstratives (\(\text{ko, ipko, pe, into-ipko}\), section 6.7), five question words or interrogative stems (\(\text{ana, inã, into, into-ipko, ol}\), section 6.8), and six indefinite pronouns (\(\text{alum, an-t'el, inã, mek, n'anmak, ol}\), section 6.9). Cholón furthermore had a set of numerals (section 6.10).

To prevent misunderstandings, the term ‘pronoun’ will only be used to designate the free, emphatic elements of the pronominal category. The pronominal affixes of a noun or a nominalized form are indicated by the term ‘(possessive) person marker/ prefix’.

6.2. Possessive markers
Possessive markers are nominal prefixes which indicate the possessor of the object designated by the noun to which they are prefixed. The use of possessive person prefixes regularly leads to nasal epenthesis and stem alternation. Nasal epenthesis occurs when the stem of the noun begins with a vowel and stem alternation when the stem begins with one of the consonants \(p, k, h, y\) (see section 5.5). Table 6.1 shows the possessive person markers. In this table the person markers appear in their neutral form, which is either \(i\) or ends in \(-i\) where variation occurs. As we have seen in section 5.4.1, this vowel \(i\) can assimilate to the stem vowels \(e\) and \(u\). The vowel \(\text{a-}\) of the first person singular marker remains unchanged.
Table 6.1: Possessive markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-...-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>mi-...-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>(ø)-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate the use of first person singular and plural: e.g.:

(1) \(a-l\)y\(i\)š (131) ‘my monkey’ (small variety)  
\(ki-l\)y\(i\)š (131) ‘our monkey’

(2) \(a-\)és\(m\)in (120) ‘my cedar’  
\(ke-\)és\(m\)in (120) ‘our cedar’

(3) \(a-tak\)la (127) ‘my armadillo’ (a variety)  
\(ki-tak\)la (127) ‘our armadillo’

(4) \(a-kolol\) (113) ‘my kernel’  
\(ki-kolol\) (113) ‘our kernel’

(5) \(a-sup\) (126) ‘my deer’  
\(ku-sup\) (126) ‘our deer’

(6) \(a-n-atel\)pa (100) ‘my chicken’  
\(<atel\)pa ‘chicken’  
\(ki-n-atel\)pa (103) ‘our chicken’

(7) \(a-mangala\) (136) ‘my turkey’  
\(<pangala ‘turkey’  
\(ki-mangala\) (136) ‘our turkey’

(8) \(a-\)t\(ip\) (2289) ‘my house’  
\(<yip ‘house’  
\(ki-\)t\(ip\) (173) ‘our house’

(9) \(a-tušam\) (145) ‘my armadillo’  
\(<yušam ‘armadillo’ (terrestrial variety)  
\(ku-tušam\) (145) ‘our armadillo’

The examples below show that a stem initial \(k\) and \(h\) change into \(ŋ\) and \(s\), respectively, when the possessor is a third person singular:

(10) \(polol\) (113) ‘his kernel’  
\(<kolol ‘kernel’

(11) \(sil\) (1184) ‘his word’  
\(<hil ‘word’
The second person singular is special in that the possessive form is specified for gender: *mi* for masculine and *pi* for feminine: e.g.:

(12)  *mi-kt'ok* (1275)  
2smPOS-box  
‘your (m) box, case, chest’

(13)  *pi-kt'ok* (1277)  
2sfPOS-box  
‘your (f) box, case, chest’

The gender distinction is restricted to the singular. In the plural, the possessed noun takes the prefix *mi*– in combination with a suffix -*ha*. So the marker for second person plural is discontinuous: *mi*– *ha*:

(14)  *mi-kešum-ha* (118)  
2POS-nose-PL  
‘your (p) nose(s)’

Third person singular lacks a special marker; however, the relational stem - which may or may not differ from the absolute form (cf. section 5.5) - is used, so that third person singular is either indicated indirectly by stem modification, or not at all:

(15)  *o-šaš* ‘his armadillo’ (125)  
< šaš ‘armadillo’ (aquatic) (no change)

(16)  *o-n-ofe* ‘his saliva’ (108)  
< ofe ‘saliva’ (n-insertion)

(17)  *o-makuplew* ‘his passion fruit’ (135)  
< pakuplew ‘passion fruit’ (p > m)

(18)  *o-giř* ‘his wall’, ‘his fence’ (117)  
< kiř ‘wall’, ‘fence’ (k > g)

(19)  *o-tušam* ‘his armadillo’ (145)  
< yušam ‘armadillo’ (terrestrial)  
(y > t)

(20)  *o-yof* ‘his guinea pig’ (143)  
< yof ‘guinea pig’ (y > ţ)

(21)  *o-so* ‘his blood’ (1204)  
< ho ‘blood’ (h > s)

The possessive third person plural is either designated by a prefix *i*– (with vowel harmony, *e*–, *u*–), or by a prefix *či*– (with vowel harmony, *ču*–). The vocalic prefix *i*–, *e*–, *u*– appears before a relational stem beginning with an alveolar or a palatal consonant (*č, t, ʃ, s, ŋ, n, ŋ, l, ř*): e.g.:

(22)  *e-česmin* (120)  
3ppos-cedar  
‘their cedar’
The possessive person marker ēi- or ėu- occurs before relational stems with an initial bilabial (p- and m-) or velar (k- and h-): e.g.:

(28) ēi-paŋ (140) (no stem modification)
3ppos-mother
‘their mother’

(29) ėu-myup (137) $< \text{myup} : p > m$
3ppos-bridge
‘their bridge’

(30) ēi-kama (111) (no stem modification)
3ppos-illness
‘their illness’

(31) ēi-hač (112) (no stem modification)
3ppos-field
‘their fields’

In the data the form ēi- ‘3p’ is not attested before a nominal stem, but it does occur as a verbal prefix (see section 5.4.1 and chapter 7).
6.3. Collective marker
A collective is indicated by means of the morpheme *pa*, prefixed to nouns:

(32)  *pa-lew*  ušuš  *i-ľaw-ag* (1979)
    COL-caterpillar butterfly 3ps-become-IA
‘Caterpillars become butterflies’.

Cf.  *lew*  ušuš  *o-ľaw-ag* (1975)
caterpillar butterfly 3ss-become-IA
‘The caterpillar becomes a butterfly’.

(33)  *maha-ľ*  *pa-mo*  *p-a-ľač-ib* (1677)
    INT-RST COL-fruit 2sfA-1so.APL-3so.see-PST
‘You (f) saw a lot of fruits for me’.

Cf.  *mo-ke-ľ* (1164)
    fruit-ANT-RST
‘full of fruit’

6.4. Suffixes
Nouns, pronouns, demonstratives and question words can be followed by different types of suffixes, such as, a nominal past marker, case markers and discourse markers. The nominal past marker, case markers and special combinations of case markers are analyzed in section 6.4.1, 6.4.2, and 6.4.3, respectively. Section 6.4.4 contains three overviews: a table showing the occurrence of case markers and combinations of case markers after nouns, pronouns and demonstratives; a table concerning the combinability of case markers with each other; and a table presenting a canonical order of case markers. Other suffixes, restrictive -(a)ľ, diminutive -ľa, plural marker -loľ, adjectivizer -(k)jo, indefinite marker -pľt and natural pair marker -pul'eg, are discussed in section 6.4.5. (Suffixes which can be translated as an adverb are treated in chapter 8, together with adverbs. Discourse markers are treated in chapter 10). As a rule, no more than three suffixes can be attached to nouns, pronouns, and demonstratives. Only the interrogative stem *into* can be followed by four suffixes. In this section, mainly examples with nouns, pronouns and demonstratives are given. Question words are treated in section 6.8.

6.4.1. Anteriority marker -(k)ej
The suffix -(k)ej ‘from’, ‘of’ (-e after consonants, -ke after vowels) indicates ‘antiority’, ‘past’, viz. origin, the point of departure, a former location, or a closed, bygone period. It can be attached to verb forms (see section 7.4.3) and to nominal stems. When -(k)ej is attached to nominal stems, it expresses belonging, provenance, or material, and it can function as a nominal past marker, indicating a ‘former state’. The nominal anteriority marker -(k)e is found after nouns, pronouns and demonstratives:
(34) kapí-ke (156) (35) ampal-e (155)
present.day-ANT yesterday-ANT
‘today’s’ ‘yesterday’s’, ‘something of the old days’

(36) a-pa gól-iy o-kot-ap-ko-man-ap,
1sPOS-father 3sS.die-PST 3sS-be-IA-DEM-INES-ABL
oko-e a-kl-iy a-kot-te-he a-men’o-go (2784)
1s-ANT 1sS.die-PST 1sS-be-INF-BEN 1sA-3sO.want-FN2
‘I would prefer to be dead, than that my father has died’.

(37) ko-ke yap-o (2593)
this-ANT 3sO.take-IMP
‘Take from this!’

It can also occur after the indefinite pronoun mek ‘all’, when this pronoun refers to
inanimate objects:

(38) mek-e, mek-liw-e yap-o (157)
all-ANT all-CL:multiform/coloured-ANT 3sO.take/receive-IMP
‘Take/receive all sorts of things!’

Expressions referring to material are formed, when -(k)e is suffixed to a noun
designating a material (English ‘made of’):

(39) ñêö-ke (152) (40) mecé-e (2277)
silver-ANT tree/wood-ANT
‘silver’, ‘made of silver’ ‘wooden’, ‘made of wood’

(41) tu-ke (2276)
stone-ANT
‘sone’, ‘made of stone’

The following phrase is a good example of nominal past. It can only be used when
Luis and Juana are deceased:

(42) Luis-e, Juana-ke u-n’u (154)
Luis-ANT Juana-ANT 3pPOS-daughter
‘the late Luis’ and the late Juana’s daughter’

When the suffix -(k)e appears after a place name or a noun designating a locality, it
is often preceded by the adessive case marker -te ‘at’, ‘in’:
España-te-ke a-kt-ag (2280)
Spain-AD-ANT 1sS-be-1A
‘I am from Spain’.

ko-te-ke a-kt-ag (2283) (45) Lima-te-ke (2279)
here-AD-ANT 1sS-be-1A Lima-AD-ANT
‘I am from here’. ‘from Lima’

The following example shows that -(k)e is synonymous with ablative -(a)p, when occurring after personal adessive -tu ‘at someone’s place’:

ow-tu-p/ow-tu-ke (2271)
distance-AD-ABL/distance-AD-ANT
‘from (a)far’

6.4.2. Case markers
Cholón has the following suffixes that can function as case markers: ablative -(a)p, benefactive -he, terminative -le, inessive -man, comparative -(mi)n’, perlicative -nake, prolative -nayme, comitative -nik, instrumental -pat, allative -pi, and the adessives -te and -tu. All case markers but for -nake, -nayme and -nik have been found in combinations with other case markers. Frequent combinations with specialized meanings are -l’ak-pat, -l’ak-te-p, -man-ap, -pat-le, -te-p, -tu-p and -tu-p-e. These combinations are analyzed in section 6.4.3. For other combinations involving case markers, see section 6.4.5.

6.4.2.1. Ablative -(a)p
The ablative case marker -(a)p ‘after’, ‘from’, ‘of’ usually occurs after another suffix. The form -ap is used after a consonant, -p after a vowel. There are only a few expressions where the forms -ap and -p occur not preceded by another suffix: e.g.:

liman-ap (1728) (47)
mountain-ABL
‘from the mountains’

igko-p-al’ (2752)
that-ABL-RST
‘constantly’

pe-p (2416)
yonder-ABL
‘on the other side’

Only once the suffix -(a)p was encountered after a pronoun:
(50) into-ŋko-pit mučam a-l-o-kt-ag-ŋko, sa-p-sim
which-DEM-COR kiss 1sA-3sO-do-F-IA-DEM 3s-ABL-EMP
a-kot-ag, mi-ŋap-ha-ki (1474)
3sS-be-IA 2A-3sO.catch-PL-IMP
‘And he whom I shall give a kiss, from him it is, catch him!’

6.4.2.2. Benefactive -he

The suffix -he ‘for’, ‘for the benefit of’ is found after nouns and pronouns:

(51) hayu-he (23) 
man-BEN
‘for the man’

(52) ok-he (159) 
1sS-BEN
‘for me’

(53) Dios-he a-lu-pakt-ag (164)
Dios-BEN 1ss-interior-be-IA
‘I think of God’.

(54) ki-ha-he mučam ki-pa to-ki (168)
1p-PL-BEN prayer 1pPOS-father do-IMP
‘Pray for us!’

Benefactive -he is also used to express a need. A compliment in -he + the verb k(o)t ‘(to) be’ expresses a ‘need for’:

(55) kač-he a-kt-ag (165) 
maize-BEN 1sS-be-IA
‘I have a need for maize’.

(56) mi-he a-kot-p-ag (166) 
2sS-BEN 1sS-be-NE-IA
‘I do not need you’.

6.4.2.3. Terminative -le

The suffix -le ‘until’ indicates a movement up to a certain point. It often occurs with the instrumental case marker -pat (see terminative -pat-le, section 6.4.3.2). It does not occur with other suffixes. In combinations with other suffixes the derived form -pat-le is preferred. This derived form -pat-le can be used after nouns, pronouns and demonstratives, whereas the use of -le is restricted to nouns:

(57) liman-le (2244)
mountain-TERM
‘until the mountains’, ‘up to the mountains’
6.4.2.4. Inessive -\textit{man}

The suffix -\textit{man} indicates location within a given space. It can be attached to nouns and pronouns:

(58) \textit{iglesia-man} (2395)  \quad (59) \textit{mi-na-ha-man} (2396)
\text{church-INES} \quad \text{2-CON-PL-INES}
\text{‘in the church’} \quad \text{‘in your (p) midst’}

(60) \textit{o-n’an-man-\textit{at}} (2290)
\text{3sPOS-face-INES-RST}
\text{‘in someone’s presence only’, ‘face to someone only’}

Inessive -\textit{man} is often followed by the ablative case marker -(\textit{a)p} (see -\textit{man-ap}, section 6.4.3.6). It can furthermore be followed by the non-personal adessive case marker -\textit{te} ‘at’, ‘in’:

(61) \textit{ok a-n’an-man-\textit{te}} (2287)
\text{1s 1sPOS-face-INES-AD}
\text{‘in my presence’, ‘face to me’}

6.4.2.5. Comparative -(\textit{mi)n\textit{t}}

The suffix -(\textit{mi)n\textit{t}} functions as a comparative case marker ‘as’, ‘like’, ‘according to’. Both allomorphs occur after demonstratives:

(62) \textit{ko-n’} (2598)  \quad (63) \textit{ko-min’} (2597)
\text{this.one-CMP} \quad \text{this.one-CMP}
\text{‘like this one’} \quad \text{‘like this one’}

(64) \textit{igko-n’} (2747)  \quad (65) \textit{igko-min’} (994)
\text{that.one-CMP} \quad \text{that.one-CMP}
\text{‘like that one’} \quad \text{‘like that one’}

(66) \textit{pe-n’} (2738)
\text{that.one.yonder-CMP}
\text{‘like that one yonder’}

The form -n’ can be followed by the ablative case marker -(\textit{a)p and the allative case marker -\textit{pi}:

(67) \textit{ko-n’-ap} (2528)  \quad (68) \textit{ko-n’-\textit{pi}} (2408)
\text{this-CMP-ABL} \quad \text{here-CMP-AL}
\text{‘of this size’} \quad \text{‘to here’}
Everywhere else the form -\textit{min} is the only one possible. It can be attached to nouns and pronouns:

(69) \textit{faksa suku-min} (2327)
ligh\textit{t}ness bird-CMP
‘light as a bird’

(70) \textit{et-min} \textit{ay-te-\textit{\textendash}mi\textit{\textdagger}t-ag} (2328)
thief-CMP background/backside-AD-DIM 3sS.come-IA
‘He comes quietly as a thief’.

(71) \textit{ki\textendash\textit{ha-min}} (2495)
1p-PL-CMP
‘like us’

6.4.2.6. Perlative -\textit{nake}
The suffix -\textit{nake} means ‘by the agency of’, ‘by means of’, ‘through’, ‘via’. It can indicate, (i), a cause or source of action; (2) a substituted item (instead) or a pretext. When -\textit{nake} indicates a cause or source of action, it is found after nouns and pronouns:

(72) \textit{mi-hil-nake a\texthyphen{}eye\texthyphen{}la-\textit{\textendash}g} (2385)
2sPOS-word-PER 1sO-laugh-3pA-IA
‘Because of your words, they laugh at me’.

(73) \textit{mi\textendash\textit{nake a\texthyphen{}nu\texthyphen{}po\texthyphen{}la-\textit{\textendash}g} (2386)
2s-PER 1sO-interior-burn-SE-3pA-IA
‘Because of you, they abhor me’.

When -\textit{nake} indicates a substituted item or a pretext it is attached to nouns, and can be translated as ‘instead (of)’:

(74) \textit{ki\texthyphen{}ha\texthyphen{}wa ki\texthyphen{}l\texthyphen{}o\texthyphen{}pakna\texthyphen{}ke, mi\texthyphen{}nake mi\texthyphen{}l\texthyphen{}a-g} (2383)
1p-PL-TOP 1pA-3sO-do-NE.NOM-ANT 2s-PER 2sA-3sO-do-IA
‘What we could not do, you do’.

(75) \textit{fierro kot\texthyphen{}nake sint\texthyphen{}pit, a\texthyphen{}n\texthyphen{}e\texthyphen{}\textdagger{\textendash}t\texthyphen{}pit i\texthyphen{}ms\texthyphen{}ag} (2382)
iron.tools being-PER ribbon-IND 3sPOS-REL-cloth-IND 3sA-3sO.buy-IA
‘Instead of iron tools, he buys clothes and ribbons’.
6.4.2.7. Prolative -nayme

The suffix -nayme ‘by’, ‘through’, ‘via’ was probably derived from the noun ay ‘back(side)’, which has a relational form n-ay: as in mi-n-ay-ha ‘your (p) back’. It is encountered after nouns and pronouns (and after the interrogative stem into ‘where’, ‘which location’, ‘which’, see section 6.8.3):

\[(76)\]  
\[\text{pana-nayme Soledad-te ki-ante-kte-he, Huaylillas-nayme} \]
\[\text{road-PRO Soledad-AD 1ps-arrive-INF-BEN Huaylillas-PRO} \]
\[\text{ki-paI-ay (2304)} \]
\[1ps-pass-IA \]
\[\text{‘To arrive at Soledad by road, we pass through Huaylillas’}. \]

\[(77)\]  
\[\text{liman-nayme a-t'if-ia-y (2446)} \]
\[\text{mountain-PRO 1sS-go-RE-IA} \]
\[\text{‘I return through the mountains’}. \]

\[(78)\]  
\[\text{ko-nayme (2605)} \]
\[\text{here-PRO} \]
\[\text{‘through here’} \]

\[(79)\]  
\[\text{pe-nayme (2606)} \]
\[\text{there-PRO} \]
\[\text{‘through there’} \]

\[(80)\]  
\[\text{into-nayme me-t'if-ia-y (2445)} \]
\[\text{where-PRO 2sS-go-RE-PST} \]
\[\text{‘Through where did you return?’} \]

6.4.2.8. Comitative -nik

The case marker -nik ‘with’, ‘in the company of’, derived from the noun nek ‘company’, appears after nouns and pronouns: e.g.:

\[(81)\]  
\[\text{hayu-nik (32)} \]
\[\text{man-COM} \]
\[\text{‘with/in the company of the man’} \]

\[(82)\]  
\[\text{sa-nik (214)} \]
\[\text{3s-COM} \]
\[\text{‘with him’} \]

\[(83)\]  
\[\text{ki-ha-nik (216)} \]
\[\text{1p-PL-COM} \]
\[\text{‘with us’} \]

The suffix -nik can also be used to designate an internal or external characteristic feature (‘provided with’): e.g.:

\[(84)\]  
\[\text{ãul-nik (1160)} \]
\[\text{snot-COM} \]
\[\text{‘snotty’} \]

\[(85)\]  
\[\text{n'ansik-nik (1042)} \]
\[\text{effort-COM} \]
\[\text{‘laborious’} \]
It can furthermore function as an instrumental ‘with’: e.g.:

(87) inča fuhlam-nik-am (2811)
thing objective-COM-QM
‘With what objective?’

6.4.2.9. Instrumental -pat
The suffix -pat ‘with (the help of)’, ‘by (means of)’ indicates the instrument or means by which an action takes place, or the reason why something happens. It usually appears after nouns and pronouns:

(88) meč-pat i-ao-lowt-iy (30)
stick-INS 3SS-3SO-hit-PST
‘He hit him with a stick’.

(89) inča-pat-am m-a-lu-po-g (189)
what-INS-QM 2SA-1SO-interior-burn-IA
‘Why do you hate me?’.

(90) mi-pat a-luyum-ag (188)
2s-INS 1SS-suffer/be.ill-IA
‘Because of you I suffer/am ill’.

The form -pat is only twice found after a demonstrative, namely, after ko ‘this’. In these examples, however, ko occurs after an imperfective aspect form and functions as a relativizer ‘this one which/who’:

(91) pana išiwah a-pakt-ag-ko-pat ma n’ansik-pat
road bad 3SS-be-IA-DEM-INS INT effort-INS
mi-pahat-iy-ha me-kt-iy-ha-g (320)
2s-descend-PST-PL 2s-be-SE-PL-IA
‘Since the road is bad, you (p) have descended with great effort’. (lit.: ‘You have descended with great effort, because of the road which is bad’).

(92) kečvak a-kt-ag-kof-ʃak)-pat, a-hʃem mi-kot-p-ag (411)
poor 1SS-be-IA-DEM-(NF)-INS 1SPOS-friend 2SS-be-NE-IA
‘Since I am poor, you are not my friend’.

Instrumental -pat, when suffixed to the noun tu ‘direction’, also means ‘in’. The combination tu-pat can be translated as ‘against’, ‘for’, ‘of’, ‘to(wards)’:
The suffix -pat is often found in combination with the form -lak- (see the example a-kt-ag-ko(-lak)-pat ‘because I am’ above). This form may be a nominalized form of the verb lal’aw ‘(to) go’: -l’a + -k ‘nominalizer’. According to de la Mata’s ‘declination of the noun’ (fol. 3), -pat and -lak-pat are synonyms. However, -lak-pat indicates the reason why something happens, so that its meaning is more causal than instrumental, and it is found after nouns, pronouns and demonstratives, whereas -pat mainly occurs after nouns and pronouns:

6.4.2.10. Allative -pi
The suffix -pi ‘to’ expresses a movement towards a goal or location. It is not found after a personal pronoun: e.g.:

Allative -pi can also express a movement towards a certain moment or time, when suffixed to ana ‘when’:
Ana-pi-čo (2485) when-AL-already-QM ‘When?’

Ana-pi-čiń (2482) when-AL-NE ‘I do not know when’.

Ana-pi-m mi-ľa-kt-aŋ (1971) when-AL-QM 2sS-go-f-IA ‘When will you go?’

The ending -pi can be followed by the ablative case marker -(a)p. The meaning of the combination is that of an ablative. This sequence -pi-p can then be preceded by the non-personal adessive case marker -te:

Pisana-pi-p (2451) Pisana-AL-ABL ‘from Pisana’

Pucala-te-pi-p (2452) Pucara-AD-AL-ABL ‘from Pucara’

Cf. the form Lima-te-ke ‘from Lima’, section 6.4.1, where the nominal past marker -(k)e, which is synonymous with ablative -(a)p, is also preceded by the non-personal adessive case marker -te when occurring after a place name or a noun designating a locality.

6.4.2.11. Non-personal adessive -te
The suffix -te ‘at’, ‘in’, indicating location, occurs after nouns and demonstratives. (After personal pronouns the suffix -tu is found, see section 6.4.2.12 below).

Ki-tip-te ke-tg-aŋ (173) 1pPOS-home-AD 1pS-sit/stay-IA ‘We are at home’.

Dios-te amehe-na a-ki-aŋ (178) God-AD truth-QUOT 1ss-speak-IA ‘I say: “The truth is in God”/“I believe in God”’.

Ko-te (175) this-AD ‘here’

The suffix -te may also function as a directional ‘into’, ‘to’, especially when occurring with a motion verb:

Putam-te a-Fw-aŋ (174) village-AD 1ss-go-IA ‘I go to the village’.
6.4.2.12. Personal adessive -tu
The suffix -tu ‘at’, a derivation of the noun tu ‘direction’ (cf. ø-tu 3sPOS-direction ‘his/her/its direction’), is attached to nouns and pronouns. It indicates that the location is someone’s house or place (cf. section 6.4.1):

(112) Pedro-tu ki-top-t-ag (184) (113) sa-tu (219)
    Pedro-AD 1pS-sit/stay-F-IA 3s-AD
    ‘We shall stay at Pedro’s’.
    ‘at his house’

Like -te it can also function as a directive ‘to someone’s house’ when it occurs with verbs which express a motion:

(114) Juan-tu a-fw-ag (183)
    Juan-AD 1sS-go-IA
    ‘I go to Juan’s’.

(115) a-pa-tu mi-pa-ha-tu-pit a-moh-n-ag (2331)
    1sPOS-father-AD 2POS-father-PL-AD-COR 1sS-go.up-RFL-IA
    ‘I go up to my father’s and to your (p) father’s house’.

6.4.3. Fixed combinations

6.4.3.1. Suffix combination -man-ap ‘ablative’
Inessive -man often occurs together with ablative -(a)p. The ending -man-ap, indicating primarily posteriority, can be translated as ‘after’, ‘as’, ‘from’, ‘in the quality of’. It can be attached to nouns, pronouns and demonstratives:

(116) ko-man-ap (2590)
    here/this-INES-ABL
    ‘after this’, ‘from here’

(117) mi-man-ap ni-ča-nik kes Pedro o-kot-ag (1221)
    2s-INES-ABL bit-DIM-COM old Pedro 3sS-be-IA
    ‘Pedro is older than you’.
(118) hayu-man-ap (209)  
man/human.being-INES-ABL  
‘as a human being’, ‘in the quality of a human being’

(119) virgen Santa Maria-man-ap o-maso-w (201)  
virgin Saint Mary-INES-ABL 3sS-be.born-PST  
‘He was born from the virgin Saint Mary’.

6.4.3.2. Suffix combination -pat-le ‘terminative’
The form -pat-le contains the instrumental case marker -pat (see section 6.4.2.9) and the terminative case marker -le (see section 6.4.2.3). Unlike the terminative case marker -le, which is only used after nouns and which does not normally occur with other suffixes, -pat-le can be used after nouns, pronouns and demonstratives, and does occur with other suffixes:

(120) 
liman-pat-le m-a-pta-te-he a-m-pis-ey,  
mountain-INS-TERM 2sA-1sO-accompany-INF-BEN 1sA-2sO-ask-PST
puyup-pat-le-l’ na-he-pit m-a-pta-iy-pit-o (2839)  
bridge-INS-TERM-RST not-BEN-COR 2sA-1sO-accompany-PST-NE-FN2  
‘I asked you to accompany me until the mountains, and you did not even accompany me as far as the bridge’.

(121) mi-te-p ok-pat-le (2255)  
2s-AD-ABL 1s-INS-TERM  
‘from you to me’

(122) ko-te-p pe-pat-le (2254)  
here-AD-ABL yonder-INS-TERM  
‘from here to yonder’

Like terminative -le, the suffix combination -pat-le, meaning ‘as far as’, ‘to’, ‘until’, indicates a limit of space (see the examples above). However, it can also mean ‘for’, ‘(with)in’, ‘until’ and indicate a limit of time, when suffixed to a temporal indicator:

(123) ana-pat-le-m. ana-pat-le-čim (2509)  
when-INS-TERM-QM. when-INS-TERM-NE  
‘Until when?’. ‘I do not know until when’.

(124) ana mol-pat-le-he-m mi-ʃw-ay (2257)  
how.many day-INS-TERM-BEN-QM 2sS-go-IA.
ip-semana-pat-le (2878)  
two-CL:week-INS-TERM  
‘For how many days do you go?’ ‘For two weeks’.
(125) \textit{ana pel-pat-le-m mi-l-o-kloh-t-ag} (2262)  
\textit{how.many month-INS-TERM-QM 2sA-3sO-do-finish-f-IA}  
‘In how many months will you finish it?’

(126) \textit{kapi nem-te-p} \textit{ip'ok-mol-pat-le} (2260)  
\textit{today day-AD-ABL six-Cl:day-INS-TERM}  
‘From now in six days’.

6.4.3.3. Suffix combination \textit{-te-p} ‘instrumental’, ‘elative’  
The ending \textit{-te-p} ‘by’ is composed of adessive \textit{-te} and ablative \textit{-ap}. As an  
instrumental, it indicates the source of action. It can also function as an elative  
‘from’. This case marker combination can be attached to nouns, pronouns and  
demonstratives, including the demonstrative \textit{ko} functioning as a relativizer ‘this one  
which/who’ (see \textit{-pat}, section 6.4.2.9):

(127) \textit{espiritu santo i-t mey-te-p hayu}  
\textit{Spirit Saint 3sPOS-3sO.know-CAU-PST-AD-ABL man o-ki-iy (199)}  
\textit{3ss-become-PST}  
‘He became a man by/ because of the work of the Holy Spirit’.

(128) \textit{nun-lol-te-p} (44)  
\textit{man-PL-AD-ABL}  
‘by the men’, ‘from the men’

(129) \textit{mi-te-p ok-pat-le} (2255)  
\textit{2s-AD-ABL 1s-INS-TERM}  
‘from you up to me’

(130) \textit{pe-te-p ko-pat-le} (2254)  
\textit{yonder-AD-ABL here-INS-TERM}  
‘from yonder up to here’

(131) \textit{kečwak a-kt-ag-(ťak)-te-p, a-hľem mi-kot-p-ag}  
\textit{poor 1ss-be-IA-DEM(-NF)-AD-ABL 1sPOS-friend 2ss-be-NE-IA (411)}  
\textit{kečwak a-kt-ag-(ťak)-pat, a-hľem mi-kot-p-ag}  
\textit{poor 1ss-be-IA-DEM(-NF)-AD-ABL friend 2ss-be-NE-IA (411)}  
‘Since I am poor, you are not my friend’.

Like \textit{-pat}, \textit{-te-p} is often preceded by \textit{-ťak-}, assumedly a nominalized verb form  
consisting of a stem \textit{ťa} + a nominalizer \textit{-k} (see \textit{-ťak-pat}, section 6.4.2.9). According  
to de la Mata, \textit{-ťak-te-p} is synonymous with \textit{-te-p} (and with \textit{-pat} and \textit{-ťak-pat}).  
Both \textit{-te-p} and \textit{-ťak-te-p} are instrumentals and indicate the source of an action.  
However, \textit{-te-p} can also indicate a ‘motion from’ and it can be suffixed to nouns,
pronouns and demonstratives, whereas -\textit{fak-te-p} can not be used in that way and is mainly suffixed to nouns:

\begin{verbatim}
(132) nun-lol-fak-te-p (44)
     man-PL-NF-AD-ABL
     ‘by the men’
\end{verbatim}

6.4.3.4. Suffix combination -\textit{tu-p} ‘agent’, ‘focus’; ‘source’; ‘from someone’s house or place’; ‘at’

The ending -\textit{tu-p} is a combination of personal adessive -\textit{tu} and ablative -\textit{p}. This suffix combination is multifunctional. It is considered to be a nominative or agent marker by Pedro de la Mata. It appears, however, that the ending -\textit{tu-p} mostly functions as a focus marker (see section 6.4.3.4.1). Furthermore, -\textit{tu-p} can indicate an oblique case, rather than a ‘nominative’, namely, when it occurs with the meaning ‘because of’, ‘by/through the agency of’ and indicates a source or agent (section 6.4.3.4.2); in a few cases, -\textit{tu-p} also means ‘from (someone’s) house or place’ (see section 6.4.3.4.3), or ‘at’ in temporal expressions (see section 6.4.3.4.4).

6.4.3.4.1. Suffix combination -\textit{tu-p} ‘agent’, ‘focus’

According to de la Mata the suffix -\textit{tu-p} is an agent marker\textsuperscript{17}, and he gives the following example:

\begin{verbatim}
(133) Juan-tu-p Pedro i-o-lam-iy (87)
     Juan-AD-ABL Pedro 3sA-3sO-kill-PST
     ‘Juan killed Pedro’.
\end{verbatim}

The ending occurs after nouns and pronouns:

\begin{verbatim}
(134) hayu-lol u-n-uf’a pa mek &-kt-iy kot-nap,
     man-PL 3p-POS-REL-sin INT all 3ps-be-PST be-SEQ,
     Dios-tu-p yam mo-o-w (777)
     God-AD-ABL punishment 3sA,3pO-do-PST
     ‘Since the sins of the men were numerous, God punished them’.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{17} “\textit{tu} se pospone al nominativo, denotando siempre la persona que hace [...], para distinguir la que hace de la que padece” (‘\textit{tu} is postponed to the nominative, denoting always the person that acts [...], to distinguish the agent from the patient’).
‘Estevan says: “They say that the public prosecutor will whip us”’.

‘You love us’.

‘You, you wait for me’.

The suffix \textit{-tu-p} is also translated as ‘self’, ‘in fact’:

‘God himself/in fact created the man’.

‘I myself’

The use of a specific ending \textit{-tu-p} to mark the agent is optional. In most cases, the agent can be recognized by its position, or because it is indicated in the verb form. At the syntactic level, Cholón has SOV order, and, in the verb form, person markers indicating the agent usually precede those indicating the object. The ending \textit{-tu-p} occurs in thirty-four sentences as a ‘nominative’ or ‘agent’ marker: fourteen simple sentences and twenty-two compound sentences. In compound sentences, \textit{-tu-p} can occur only once. The clause in which \textit{-tu-p} then occurs may be the main clause (see the second example: \textit{Dios-tu-p yam mo-o-w}) or a subordinate clause (see the third example: \textit{fiscal-tu-p-a-i-k-shayš-t-an-na}). However, in two cases the use of an agent marker is necessary:

(i) when a first person plural marker \textit{ki-} occurs together with a second person marker \textit{-m-}. In a verb form, namely, \textit{ki-} always precedes the second person marker, no matter whether \textit{ki-} is the agent or the object. In the clause \textit{mi-tu-p ki-m-kol-ag} ‘you love us’ (fourth example), for instance, the word \textit{ki-m-kol-ag} by itself would be glossed as: \textit{1pA-2sO-love-IA} ‘we love you’; viz. first person plural would be considered the agent and second person plural the object. Therefore, in this clause, the pronoun + \textit{-tu-p} is obligatory, and can not be omitted;

(ii) in the following clause in which the agent follows the object:
In the other thirty-two examples the agent regularly precedes the object, so that the use of -\textit{tu-p} to mark an agent is redundant. The suffix -\textit{tu-p} may there be used to mark a focus. In the following compound sentence (a variant of the previous example \textit{mel\textsuperscript{us}-pit insoney-tu-p i-o-n\textsuperscript{antup}-\textit{šipe-y} ‘and the gulf nearly covered the boat’), for instance, the focus of the sentence, not the emphasis, is indicated by -\textit{tu-p}. Emphasis is indicated by means of the suffix -\textit{sim}:

\begin{exe}
\ex{(141) ko-sim-a an-\textsuperscript{el} ki-o-nano-yo o\textsuperscript{o} kas mek here-EMP-TOP one-CL:truncal 1pA-3SO-fear-FN2 big wind all kot-man a-tapači-y, insoney-tu-p mel\textsuperscript{us} a-n\textsuperscript{antup}-la-kt-eč(779) water-INES 3sS-rise-PST gulf-AD-ABL boat 3SO-cover-3pA-F-FAC ‘Look here, a big frightful wind rose in the sea, the gulfs were about to cover the boat’.
\end{exe}

In the example below -\textit{tu-p} marks the agent argument as contrastively focussed:

\begin{exe}
\ex{(142) mek-tu-p ći-hil-hu, ko-l’ sil-p-ag(2662) all-AD-ABL 3ps-speak-SR this-RST 3ss-speak-NE-IA ‘Since all are speaking, only this one does not speak’.
\end{exe}

6.4.3.4.2. Suffix combination -\textit{tu-p} ‘source’
The \textit{ALC} contains one example of a reflexive verb with a -\textit{tu-p} argument indicating ‘source’ or ‘agency’. The ending -\textit{tu-p} can then be translated as ‘because of’, ‘by/through the agency of’:

\begin{exe}
\ex{(143) Dios-tu-p i-čšn-ag(2830) God-AD-ABL 3ps-be.afraid/be.frightened-IA ‘They are afraid/frightened because of/by the agency of God’. ‘They fear God’.
\end{exe}
6.4.3.4. Suffix combination -tu-p 'from (someone’s) house or place'

In the following example, -tu-p, suffixed to a noun, indicates ‘from (someone’s) house or place’ (cf. personal adessive -tu ‘at someone’s house or place’, section 6.4.2.12). Normally, when -tu-p means ‘from (someone’s) house or place’, it is suffixed to a pronoun and followed by the nominal past marker -(k)e (see the suffix combination -tu-p-e, section 6.4.3.5 below):

(144)  a-pa-tu-p a-an-a
       1sPOS-father-AD-ABL 1sS-come-IA
       ‘I come from my father’s house’.

6.4.3.4. Suffix combination -tu-p in temporal expressions

When -tu-p is found after demonstrative igko ‘that’, followed by the word n’alok ‘time’, it means ‘at’. In this case, adessive -tu has a temporal use:

(145)  igko-tu-p n’alok (2786)
       that-AD-ABL time
       ‘at that time’, ‘then’

(146)  igko-tu-p n’alok-al (2886)
       that-AD-ABL time-RST
       ‘at that same time’

6.4.3.5. Suffix combination -tu-p-e ‘provenance’

The suffix combination -tu-p-e consists of the following case markers: personal adessive -tu, ablative -(a)p and nominal past marker -(k)e. It usually occurs after pronouns. In this combination, -tu-p means ‘provenance from someone’s house or place’ (see also section 6.4.2.12 and 6.4.3.4). The form -tu-p-e has a deictic function and is translated as ‘those from’ and as a possessive pronoun ‘mine’, ‘yours’, etc. when it occurs together with a pronoun:

(147)  ow-tu-p-e (2588)
       distance-AD-ABL-ANT
       ‘those from a distant place’, ‘those from afar’

(148)  ok-tu-p-e (2338)  mi-na-ha-tu-p-e (2336)
       1s-AD-ABL-ANT 2-CON-PL-AD-ABL-ANT
       ‘mine’, ‘my family/people’ ‘yours’, ‘your (p) family/people’

(150)  ĉi-ha-tu-p-e (2337)
       3p-PL-AD-ABL-ANT
       ‘theirs’, ‘their family/people’
6.4.4 Overviews

Table 6.2 presents an overview of the case markers and suffix combinations -he, -le, \(-l\)\(y\)ak-pat, \(-l\)\(y\)ak-te-p, -man, -man-ap, -(mi)n', -nake, -(a)p, -nayme, -nik, -te-p, -pat, -pat-le, -pi, -te, -tu, -tu-p, -tu-p-e and their occurrence after nouns, pronouns and demonstratives. Since -\(-tu-p\) occurs only once after a demonstrative, and since -\(-tu-p-e\) has only once been found after a noun, the plus signs of -\(-tu-p\) and -\(-tu-p-e\) for demonstratives and nouns, respectively, are in parentheses. In Table 6.4 an overview is given of the mutual combinability of the case markers -(a)p, -he, -le, -man, -(mi)n', -pat, -pi, -te, -tu, analyzed in section 6.4.2.1 - 6.4.2.12. Perlative -nake ‘by (the agency of)’, ‘by means of’, ‘instead of’, ‘through’; prolative -nayme ‘by’, ‘through’, ‘via’ and comitative -nik are not listed in this table, because they are never followed by a case marker. (Fixed suffix combinations, but for the combination -\(-pat-le\) ‘terminative’, which can be followed by the case marker -he, are never followed by a case marker either). It appears that the ablative case marker -(a)p is most frequently found in combinations with other case markers. Table 6.4 gives an overview of a canonical order of the case markers which can occur together.

Table 6.2. Case markers + suffix combinations occurring with nouns (N), pronouns (PRON) and demonstratives (DEM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>PRON</th>
<th>DEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(a)p</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>-man-ap</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>-te-p</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>(-l)ak-te-p</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-he</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-le</td>
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<tr>
<td>-pat-le</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>-man</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-(mi)n'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-nake</td>
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<tr>
<td>-nayme</td>
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<td>-nik</td>
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<tr>
<td>-pat</td>
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<tr>
<td>(-l)ak-pat</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>-pi</td>
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<td>-te</td>
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<tr>
<td>-tu</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.3. Mutual combinability of the case markers -(a)p, -he, -le, -man, -(mi)n(\textdagger), -pat, -pi, -te, -tu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a)p</th>
<th>-he</th>
<th>-le</th>
<th>-man</th>
<th>-(mi)n(\textdagger)</th>
<th>-pat</th>
<th>-pi</th>
<th>-te</th>
<th>-tu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>-man</td>
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<tr>
<td>-(mi)n(\textdagger)</td>
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<td>-pat</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

6.4.5. Other suffixes
Other suffixes, besides discourse markers (see chapter 10), found after nouns, pronouns and demonstratives, are restrictive -(a)l, diminutive -\textmu, plural marker -\textit{l}, adjectivizer -(\textk), indefinite -pit and natural pair marker -pu\textit{l}ep. The suffixes -(a)l and -\textit{pit} always occur word-finally (see Table 6.6, section 6.4.5.7). The suffix -pu\textit{l}ep has a limited use.

6.4.5.1. Restrictive -(a)l\textdagger\textdagger
The suffix -(a)l\textdagger functions as a restrictive ‘nothing else but’, ‘only’. It is encountered after nouns and demonstratives. The suffix -(a)l\textdagger is then often preceded by case markers: -(a)p ‘ablative’, -\textit{man} ‘inessive’, -\textit{nin} ‘comitative’, -\textit{pat} ‘instrumental’, -\textit{pat-le} ‘terminative’, -\textit{pit} ‘allative’, -\textit{te} ‘adessive’. It has never been encountered before a case marker. The form -(a)l\textdagger usually occurs after a vowel, -(a)l\textdagger after a consonant.

\textsuperscript{19} Cf. Quechua -\textit{a} ‘restrictive’.
It can also be preceded by the nominal past marker -(k)e:

(161) čë-ke-’l (1163)
    grain-ANT-RST
    ‘full of grains’, ‘only grains’

The suffix -(a)l’ is also used to form adverbs (see chapter 8) and is often found in adverbial expressions:

(162) amehe-ke-’l (2713)
    truth-ANT-RST
    ‘really’, ‘truly’

(164) ko-n’-sim-’l (2599)
    this-CMP-EMP-RST
    ‘in the same manner/way’

According to the ALC, -(a)l’ has the suffix -kapokal’ as an equivalent. The form
-kapoka’ is not explained. It presumably consists of an element kapok and the suffix -al’. The combination kapok-al’ has been found as a suffix after the noun wem ‘sweet potato’ and after the case marker -man ‘in’:

\[(166)\]  
\[wem-kapok-al’ a-men’-ap (1174)\]  
\[sweet.potato-?-RST 1sa-3s.o.want-IA\]  
\[‘I want sweet potatoes only’.\]

Cf.: \[wem-al’ a-men’-ap (1174)\]  
\[sweet.potato-RST 1sa-3s.o.want-IA\]  
\[‘I want sweet potatoes only’.\]

\[(167)\]  
\[a-lu-man-kapok-al’ a-lu-pakt-iy (2572)\]  
\[1spos-interior-ines-?-RST 1ss-mind-be-PST\]  
\[‘In my interior only I thought’.\]

6.4.5.2. Diminutive marker -ču
Diminutives are formed by means of the suffix -ču\(^1\). It can be attached to nouns and demonstratives:

\[(168)\]  
\[ila-ču (1258)\]  
\[woman-DIM\]  
\[‘little woman’\]

\[(169)\]  
\[inča-ču-pit ma (1351)\]  
\[thing-DIM-IND not\]  
\[‘[I have] nothing’\].

\[(170)\]  
\[ko-ču-ap (2587)\]  
\[here-DIM-ABL\]  
\[‘from nearby’\]

\[(171)\]  
\[ko-ču-te-p (2587)\]  
\[here-DIM-AD-ABL\]  
\[‘from nearby’\]

Diminutive -ču is found preceded by the case markers -pi ‘allative’ and -te ‘adessive’; and followed by the case markers -(a)p ‘ablative’ (see the example ko-ču-ap ‘from nearby’ above), -te ‘adessive’ and -te-p ‘elative’ (see ko-ču-te-p ‘from nearby’ above), and by the suffix -(a)l’ ‘restrictive’:

\[(172)\]  
\[ko-pi-ču nom (1296)\]  
\[this-AL-DIM bit\]  
\[‘a little bit closer’\]

\[(173)\]  
\[ay-te-ču (2475)\]  
\[background/backside-AD-DIM\]  
\[‘a little bit on the background’, ‘peaceful’\]

\[(174)\]  
\[ko-ču-te (2580)\]  
\[here-DIM-AD\]  
\[‘nearby’\]

\[(175)\]  
\[ay-te-ču-al’ (2476)\]  
\[background/backside-AD-DIM-RST\]  
\[‘secretly’\]

\(^1\) Cf. Quechua -ču ‘diminutive’.
Diminutive -ču also occurs in the lexicalized combinations inču ‘a small thing’ (< inča-ču ‘something small’, see section 6.9.3), kunču ‘something small’, mosču ‘some-thing tiny or small’ and niču ‘a little bit’ (section 6.12.3), and pelču ‘a little bit’.

6.4.5.3. Plural marker -lol
The suffix -lol is employed as a plural marker. It is suffixed to nouns, pronouns and demonstratives, and it can be followed by the same suffixes as those attached to nouns, pronouns and demonstratives:

(176) yamkuila nun-lol-he (1038)
   diligence man-PL-BEN
   ‘for the diligent men’
(177) nun-lol-man-ap (45)
   man-PL-INES-ABL
   ‘from the men’
(178) nun-lol-pat (44)
   man-PL-INS
   ‘through the men’
(179) nun-lol-ťak-pat (44)
   man-PL-NF-INS
   ‘through the men’
(180) šokot-lol-te (27)
   river-PL-AD
   ‘at/in the rivers’
(181) oš-lol-če (1341)
   who-PL-QM 3ps-be-IA
   ‘Who are they?’
(182) inča inča mi-po-yč-ia-p-ko, 5po-č-ia-p-ko
   thing thing 2A-3po-see-PST-PL-IA-DEM 3pa-3po-see-IA-DEM
   nʻač-lol-a pe mek makhay 6po-č-ia (1471)
   eye-PL-TOP those all happiness 3ps-be-IA
   ‘As for the eyes which see all the things you (p) saw, they are happy’.
(183) inča-ńit pey o-nʻan-te mi-o-čt-ia-p-igko, 2A-o-nʻan-te mi-o-čt-ia-p-igko
   thing-IND earth 3pos-face-AD 2A-5o-bind-F-IA-DEM
   te senta-lol-ńit mi-po-čp-ia a-ko-t-ia (1744)
   height heaven-PL-COR 2A-3po-bind-PST 3ss-be-F-IA
   ‘No matter what things you will tie on the earth, you will have bound them in the heavens also’.

6.4.5.4. Adjectivizer -(k)o
The morpheme -(k)o is encountered after the nouns nun ‘man’ and ila ‘woman’ (num-o ‘male’, ila-ko ‘female’), after cardinal numbers, and after the suffixes -(mi)n-čp-o in the forms ko-čn-čp-o ‘of this size’ and -mišč-čn-o ‘as’, ‘like’. The form -(k)o occurs postconsonantally, -(ko) postvocally. The function of the suffix is unclear. Pedro de la Mata remarks that -(k)o is employed as a distributive when it is suffixed to a cardinal number. For example:

(184) iš-te (1094) ‘three’ > iš-ćo-ko iš-ćo-ko ‘in/of threes’
Compare Mochica, where a suffix -\(o\)~ -yo functions as an adjectivizer (Adelaar, 2004: 333-34).

De la Mata does not mention the function of the suffix in the other cases. However, in all the above-mentioned cases, forms ending in -(k)o function as attributive adjuncts. The suffix -(k)o is therefore likely to be an adjectivizer\(^{20}\).

The combination -min’-ap-o (comparative-ablative-adjectivizer) has only been found in the following example, where it is used as an alternative for -min’:

\[(186) \text{a}t\text{el’}\text{pa} ~ \&-\text{min’}-\text{ap-o} ~ \text{rasu} ~ \text{mu}l'-\text{iy} (1198)\]

chicken egg-CMP-ABL-ADJ hail 3sS.fall-PST
‘Hailstones as big as chicken’s eggs came down’.

\[(187) \text{a}t\text{el’}\text{pa} ~ \&-\text{min’} ~ \text{rasu} ~ \text{mu}l'-\text{iy} (1198)\]

chicken egg-CMP hail 3sS.fall-PST
‘Hailstones as big as chicken’s eggs came down’.

6.4.5.5. Indefinite -\(p\)it

The suffix -\(p\)it functions, (i), as an indefinite marker ‘(wh ...)ever’, and, (ii), as a co-ordinating sentential marker ‘and’, ‘too’\(^{21}\) (see section 10.6 and 12.1). When -\(p\)it functions as an indefinite marker, it can be attached to nouns and pronouns.

Examples in which -\(p\)it is used as an indefinite marker are

\[(188) \text{in}ča-\text{pit} (1338) \quad (189) \text{o}l-\text{pit} (1337)\]

what-IND who-IND
‘whatever’ ‘whoever’

\[(190) \text{in}ča \text{a} \text{m-a} \text{a-kot-ag,} \quad \text{mek in}ča-\text{pit}\]

which all thing 3sS-2sO-APL-be-IA all what-IND
mi-pr’eh-la-kt-ag (1366)
2sO-leave-3pA-F-IA
‘All the things you have, they all will leave you’.

Indefinite -\(p\)it has been found after the case markers -\(m\)an ‘inessive’, -\(p\)i ‘allative’, -\(te\) ‘adessive’; the nominal past marker -(k)e; and after diminutive -\(c\)u:

\[(191) \text{into-ke-\text{pit}} (2538)\]

where-AD-ANT-IND
‘from wheresoever’

\(^{21}\) Compare Mochica, where a suffix -\(o\) – -yo functions as an adjectivizer (Adelaar, 2004: 333-34).

\(^{22}\) The use -\(p\)it is similar to Quechua -\(pas\) ‘(wh ...)ever’, ‘too’.
(192) into-ŋko o-tip-man-pi t o-toγle-khe (1346)
which-DEM 3sPOS-house-INES-IND 3sS-sit.down-IMP
‘May he sit down in any house!’

(193) ana-pi-pit (2483)
when-AL-IND
‘never again’

(194) in gladly-te-pit muñ-ol/ in gladly-te-pit muñ-e-ki (2737)
thing-AD-IND 3sO.put-IMP/ thing-AD-IND 3sO.put-SE-IMP
‘Put it in something whatsoever!’

(195) in gladly-ču-pit ma (1351)
thing-DIM-IND not
‘I have nothing’

6.4.5.6. Natural pair marker -puləŋ
The suffix -puləŋ (60) ‘pair’ is attached to basic kin terms: ‘father’, ‘mother’, ‘son’, ‘daughter’, ‘husband’, ‘wife’. When these lexical items make a distinction between an absolute form and a relational form, -puləŋ is suffixed to the relational or third person singular possessive form. It indicates a pair which is formed by the family member in question + its counterpart:

(196) puc-puləŋ (51) (197) mul-puləŋ (52)
3sPOS.father-pair 3sPOS.son-pair
‘father and son’ ‘son and father’

(198) puc-puləŋ (53) (199) o-n’u-puləŋ (54)
3sPOS.mother-pair 3sPOS.daughter-pair
‘mother and daughter’ ‘daughter and mother’

(200) muluc-puləŋ (55)
3sPOS.husband-pair
‘husband and wife’
6.4.5.7. Overview

Table 6.5 below shows the combinability of the suffixes -(a)l ‘restrictive’, -ču ‘diminutive’, -lol ‘plural marker’, -(k)o ‘adjectivizer’, -pit ‘indefinite marker’, -puľ’eŋ ‘natural pair marker’ with nouns, pronouns and demonstratives. It appears that all suffixes occur after nouns; that only -pit can occur after a pronoun; and that -(a)l, -ču, -lol also appear after a demonstrative. Table 6.6 shows the combinability of the suffixes analyzed in section 6.4.5.1 - 6.4.5.6 with case markers. It appears that -(a)l, -ču, -(k)o and -pit can be suffixed to a case marker; that only -ču and -lol have been found before a case marker; and that -puľ’eŋ is neither found before nor after a case marker. The case markers which can be suffixed to diminutive -ču and plural marker -lol are not specified in the table below. The case markers which occur after restrictive -(a)l, diminutive -ču, adjectivizer -(k)o and indefinite -pit, on the other hand, are mentioned in Table 6.6. Table 6.6 furthermore shows that the suffix -(a)l is easily combinable with other suffixes, followed by -pit. The former has been found after seven different case markers and after one suffix combination, the latter has been encountered after four different case markers.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>PRON</th>
<th>DEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(a)l</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ču</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lol</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(k)o</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pit</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-puľ’eŋ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>before</th>
<th>after</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(a)l</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-(a)p, -(k)e, -man, -nik, -pat(-le), -pi, -te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ču</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-pit, -te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lol</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(k)o</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-(mi)n’-ap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pit</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-(k)e, -man, -pi, -te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-puľ’eŋ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.5. Personal pronouns
For personal reference, Cholón disposes of free, non-affixed pronouns in addition to the bound person markers discussed in section 6.2. The paradigm of these pronouns is given in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6. Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ki-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mi-na-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>mi-na-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>ã-ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm shows that the second person singular has distinct forms for masculine and feminine (cf. section 6.2), and that plural is marked by the suffix -ha. In the case of the second person plural form mi-na-ha, the plural marker is suffixed to mi by means of a linking element -na-.

6.6. Periphrastic possessive pronouns
Pedro de la Mata observes that possessive pronouns are formed by means of the particle <lou> or <lou>/<ylou> (“<lou>, declinandola con sus posessivos, significalo que meus, mea, meum”, fol. 8), and he gives the following paradigm:

<oc alou> (1282) ‘mine’
<mimilou> (1283) ‘yours’
<sa ilou> (1284) ‘his’, ‘hers’
<quiha quilou> (1285) ‘ours’
<mimilouha> (1286) ‘yours’ (p)
(also: <minahamimilouha> or <minajamilouha>)
<chilha loula> (1287) ‘theirs’

According to de la Mata, <mimilouha> is the most common second person plural form. What we see here is not just the attachment of a ‘particle <lou>’ to the independent pronoun. In addition to the vowel <i>-<y>-<lou>, already noted by de la Mata, other elements are involved. The interposed and postponed elements are in fact the verbal agent markers a- ‘1sA’, mi- ‘2sA’, i- ‘3sA’, ki- ‘1pA’, mi ... ha ‘2pA’, -la ‘3pA’. The form to which they are attached, -low, looks like a transitive (3rd person singular object) preterite of the indicative of the verb -(o) ‘to do’, ‘to make’, ‘to say’ (l-o-w-o ‘3s0-do/make-PST-NOM’). Cholón uses this construction to express pronominal possession, because it has no equivalents for the terms ‘mine’, ‘yours’, ‘his’, etc. Neither does it have a verb with the meaning ‘to possess’. Therefore, the concept of ‘to possess’ has to be rendered in a different way. Table 6.7 presents the
paradigm of the periphrastically constructed possessive pronouns in the revised spelling:

Table 6.7. Periphrastic possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ok a-low</td>
<td>ki ka ki-low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mi mi-low</td>
<td>mi mi-low-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sa i-low</td>
<td>0t ha low-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second person singular form *mi mi-low* is obviously the masculine form. A second person singular feminine *pi pi-low* does not occur in the ALC.

The use of a periphrastic possessive pronoun is shown in the following example:

(201) 

ok a-low y-a-l ah-ag (98)

1s 1sPOS-possession 3sA-1sO.APL-take.away-1A

‘He takes away what is mine’.

6.7. Demonstratives

Cholón has four demonstratives: *ko* ‘(the one) here’, ‘this’; *iak* ‘(the one) there’, ‘that’; *pe* ‘(the one) yonder’; and *into-ko* ‘that one there’. The deictics *ko, iak, pe* can refer to an item or to a place. Deictic *onto-ko* only refers to items. The demonstratives *ko, iak* and *into-ko* are also used as relative pronouns with the meaning ‘this one who’, ‘that one who’ and ‘that one which/who/whom’, respectively (for relative clauses, see chapter 10).
6.7.1. Demonstratives *ko, *iŋko, *pe
In Cholón three degrees of distance are distinguished. The forms employed to designate persons and objects situated in a deictic space are:

- *ko  ‘this (one), ‘here’
- *iŋko ‘that (one), ‘there’
- *pe  ‘that one yonder’, ‘yonder’

These demonstratives are used attributively as well as independently. Attributive demonstratives are located before the noun.

(202)  *ko putam-te-ke (2284)  (attributively used demonstrative)
       this village-AD-ANT
       ‘from this village’

(203)  *ko ok  a-low (1298)  (independently used demonstrative)
       this 1s 1sPOS-possession
       ‘This is mine’.

Independent demonstratives usually occur with suffixes, such as a variety of case markers. When a demonstrative is followed by a locative case marker, it indicates a location (see also the examples in section 6.4.2):

(204)  *ko-ke (2592)  (205)  *ko-te-ke (2589)
       here-ANT
       ‘from here’

(206)  *ko-te-p pe-pat-le (2594)
       here-AD-ABL  yonder-INS-TERM
       ‘from here till yonder’

(207)  *ko-pi nom (2595)  (208)  *ko-te (175)
       here-AL  bit
       ‘a (little) bit nearby’

(209)  *iŋko-te (176)  (210)  *pe-te (177)
       there-AD
       ‘there’

---

22 There is a striking resemblance with demonstratives in Tupi-Guarani (e.g. Guarani *ko ‘this’ and *pe ‘that’).
To form expressions of time, the demonstrative *i*j*ko* is used in combination with the suffixes -(a)p (see *i*j*ko-p-al* ‘constantly’, section 6.4.2.1); -c*ot* ‘then’, ‘thus’; -na < ana ‘when’ (cf. the example *i*j*ko-na-pi ‘then’ and *i*j*ko-na-pi-*l* ‘just at that very moment’ in section 6.4.5.1); and with the word *n*’alok which is only found together with *i*j*ko in a few expressions (cf. *i*j*ko-tu-p *n*’alok ‘at that time’ in section 6.4.3.4):

\[(\text{211}) \quad \text{*i*j*ko-\-c*ot} (2746) \quad \text{(212)} \quad \text{*i*j*ko-na-pi-p (2750)}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{that-then} & \quad \text{‘that then’} \\
(\text{213}) \quad \text{*i*j*ko \-n*’alok} (2734) & \quad \text{(214)} \quad \text{*i*j*ko \-n*’alok-te} (2735) \\
\text{that time} & \quad \text{‘that time’, ‘then’} \\
\text{‘at that time’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(\text{215}) \quad \text{*i*j*ko-tu-p \-n*’alok-*l* (2886)} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{that-AD-ABL} & \quad \text{time-RST} \\
\text{‘at that time only’, ‘then immediately’}
\end{align*}
\]

6.7.2. Demonstrative pronoun *into-*j*ko*

The pronoun *into-*j*ko* (1645) ‘that one there’ is composed of two elements: the interrogative stem *into* ‘where’, ‘which’ and the pronominal suffix -j*ko* ‘that one’. The latter must be a reduced form of the demonstrative pronoun *i*j*ko ‘the one there’, ‘that one’, because they have the same form and the same meaning. The pronoun *into-*j*ko* can be used independently, and be followed by the adessive case marker -te ‘at’ and the indefinite determiner -pit ‘(wh ...)ever’:

\[(\text{216}) \quad \text{*i*j*ko-te-pit} (1345) \quad \text{a-*l*a-khe (1345)} \quad \text{3Ss-go-PERM} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{where/which-DEN-IND} & \quad \text{3Ss-go-PERM} \\
\text{‘Let him go to no matter where, to no matter whom’}.
\end{align*}
\]

\[(\text{217}) \quad \text{*i*j*ko-pit (1336)} \quad \text{which-DEN-IND} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{‘whatever/whoever/whichever’}
\end{align*}
\]

Before nouns, it can also be used as a modifier:

\[(\text{218}) \quad \text{*i*j*ko \-n*e-k*ip-\-m} (1343) \quad \text{a-*n*’e-kt-ag (1343)} \quad \text{3Ss-sleep-F-IA} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{which-DEN} & \quad \text{3SPOS-house-AD-QM} \\
\text{‘In which of the houses will he sleep?’}
\end{align*}
\]

Since the former element, *into*, is an interrogative stem (see section 6.8.3), the word *into-*j*ko* can also function as an interrogative pronoun ‘which?’ (see section 6.8.4).
6.8. Question words

Cholón has five stems which often appear in interrogative noun phrases and are normally followed by other elements, such as, case markers. These interrogative stems are *ana* ‘when’, ‘how many’; *inča* ‘what’; *into* ‘where’, ‘which’; *into-ĩko* ‘which’; and *ol* ‘who’ (section 6.8.1 - 6.8.5, respectively). Through addition of case markers and the indefinite pronoun *mek* ‘all’, *ana* and *into* can express concepts of quantity, time, manner and space. Other concepts, such as cause, instrument and purpose, are expressed by means of the noun *inča* in combination with case markers (see Conclusion, section 6.8.6).

6.8.1. Interrogative stem *ana*

The stem *ana* (1721) ‘when’, ‘how many’ is often found in interrogative noun phrases with the question marker -*(a)m*. Only in one instance *ana* has been found as a question word in a clause without a question marker:

(219) *ana*-pimok-nik  mi-nąć-ɑ (1440)

how-many-CL:space- COM  2sPOS-house-TOP

‘As for your house, how many rooms [has it]?’

The interrogative stem *ana* always occurs with other elements: nouns, numeral classifiers (see the example above), case markers or other suffixes. When *ana* is not followed by a suffix, it may have had an alternative form *anak* (possibly *ana*?):

(220) *anak*  čag-am  candela-wa (1433)

how-many bundle-QM  candle-TOP

‘As for candles, how many bundles are there?’

The question marker -*(a)m* is attached to the elements that follow the stem:

(221) *ana*-pat-le-ɑ (2507)  (222) *ana*-tu-h-am (1421)

when-INS-TERM-QM  how-many-CL:detachable-QM

‘Until when?’ ‘How many joints?’

Thus the concepts expressed by *ana* are those of time and quantity. The idea of time is expressed when *ana* is followed by (1) a noun designating a period of time, such as, *mol* ‘day’, *pel* ‘month’, *piliw* ‘year’:

---

24 It occurs as <annac> in Pedro de la Mata’s spelling, final <c> may be read as [t] or [k], see section 4.3.3.
Ana mol-pat-le-he-m mi-tw-ag (2256)
How many day-INS-TERM-BEN-QM 2SS-go.away-IA
‘For how many days will you go away?’

Ana pel-te-m (2265) (225) Ana piliw-te-m (2266)
How many month-AD-QM How many year-AD-QM
‘After/In how many months?’ ‘After/In how many years?’

(2) The following case markers: terminative -pat-le (see also section 6.4.3.2), allative -pi (cf. section 6.4.2.10), and adessive -te ‘at’, ‘in’:

Ana-te-pit (2491)
When-AD-IND
‘Whenever’ (also: ‘in whatever quantity’)

The examples ana-pi-čin ‘I do not know when’, ana-pi-čo-m ‘when?’ and ana-pi-m mi-la-kt-ag ‘When will you go?’ in section 6.4.2.10, and the examples below give evidence that the form ana-pi ‘when-AL’ refers to time in the future:

Ana-pi-he-m (2876) (238) Ana-pi-pit (2483)
When-AL-BEN-QM When-AL-IND
‘For when?’ ‘Whenever’.

Ana-pi-m ko-te mi-top-t-ag (2478)
When-AL-QM Here-AD 2SS-be-F-IA
‘When will you be here?’

The sequence ana-pi ‘when’ can be used as a suffix. It then occurs as -na-pi:

Iko-na-pi (2486) (231) Mi-kot-o-na-pi (2479)
That-when-AL 2SS-be-FN2-when-AL
‘then’, ‘when’ ‘when you are’

The concept of quantity can be expressed when ana is followed by the case marker -te, for instance in ana-te-pit ‘in whatever quantity’ above. It is particularly unambiguous when ana is followed by

(1) the indefinite pronoun mek:

Ana mek-am (1405)
How many all-QM
‘How many/much?’
(233) ana mek-am hayu če-kt-ag (1406)
how.many all-QM man 3ps-be-IA
‘How many men are there?’

(234) ana mek atel pa če-m (1411)
how.many all chicken egg-QM
‘How many chicken’s eggs?’

(235) ana mek šiptet-am (1409)
how.many all anona-QM
‘How many anonas?’

(236) ana mek šokot-am mu-o-lum-čik-iy-ha
how.many all river-QM 2pa-3so-top-come.over-PST-PL
pana-te-wa (1446)
way-AD-TOP
‘How many rivers did you (p) cross on the way?’

(2) by a numeral classifier:

(237) ana-če-m atel pa (1412)
how.many-CL:round-QM chicken
‘How many chickens?’

(238) ana-če-m o-čip-nik putam-a
how.many-CL:round-QM 3sPOS-house-COM village-TOP
o-kot-ag (1413)
3sS-be-IA
‘How many houses does the village has?’

(239) ana-čap-am me-n-ešek o-m-a-tog (1415)
how.many-CL:portable-QM 2sPOS-REL-cloth 3sS-2so-APL-be
‘How many clothes do you have?’

(240) ana-čap-am ašwa či-pil-te če-puš-iy (1414)
how.many-CL:portable-QM fish 3pPOS-net-AD 3ps-fall-PST
‘How many fish has fallen in their nets?’

(241) piliw n’anmak ana-puč-am mi-hač-o-wa-ha-n (1429)
year every how.many-CL:completed-QM 2s-field-make-SE-PL-IA
‘How many fields do you (p) make every year?’

(3) by nouns other than those indicating a period of time:
The combination of _ana_ + _mek_, meaning ‘how many?’, can also be followed by a numeral classifier:

(244)  
*ana* _mek-čup-am mu-cuchillo-nik_ (1417)  
how.many all-CL:portable-QM 2sPOS-knife-COM  
‘How many knives [have you]?’

(245)  
*ana* _mek-puč-am mi-hač-nik me-kt-ag_ (1416)  
how.many all-CL:completed-QM 2sPOS-field-COM 2sS-be-IA  
‘How many fields do you have?’

(246)  
*ana* _mek-pimok-am me-n-čestek me-mel-ag_ (1439)  
how.many all-CL:space-QM 2sPOS-REL-cloth 2sA-3sO.see-I,A  
‘How many of your dresses do you see?’

(247)  
*ana* _mek-šup-am putam-nayme mi-pal-y ha_ (1444)  
how.many all-CL:accumulation-QM village-PRO 2s-pass-PST-PL  
‘How many villages did you (p) pass through?’

6.8.2. Interrogative _inča_

The indefinite pronoun _inča_ ‘(some)thing’ can be employed as a question word to ask for things: ‘what (thing)?’. In this function it is generally followed by the question marker -(a)m although this is not necessary:

(248)  
*inča-čot_ (2866)  
what-then  
‘What then?’

(249)  
*inča-m ki-ho-kr-ag_ (2845)  
what-QM 1sA-3sO-do-3sA-IA  
‘What shall we do?’

(250)  
*inča-m Francisco liw i-sē-ag_ (2850)  
what-QM Francisco book 3sA-3sO.see-I,A  
‘What does Francisco read?’

When interrogative _inča_ is followed by a case marker, the use of question marker -(a)m is necessary:

(251)  
*inča-he-m_ (161)  
what-BEN-QM  
‘Why?’

(252)  
*inča-te-m_ (2902)  
what-AD-QM  
‘What for?’
The question word *inča-m* ‘what?’ may be followed by the interjection *ah!* ‘vocative’ and by the person markers *ma* ‘vocative 2s masculine’ and *pa* ‘vocative 2s feminine’:

(253) *inča-m-ah* (2719)  (254) *inča-m-ma* (1352)

what-QM-EX
‘What is the matter?’
what-QM-2smVO
‘What do you say, man?’
‘What do you want, man?’

(255) *inča-m-pa* (1353)

what-QM-2sfVO
‘What do you say, woman?’
‘What do you want, woman?’

The noun which most frequently occurs after the question word *inča* ‘what?’ is *yu* ‘kind’, ‘species’, ‘type’, ‘variety’:

(256) *inča* *yu-am*  *i-m-o-w* (2727)

thing  kind-QM  3SA-2SO-do-PST
‘What did he do to you?’

(257) *inča* *yu*  *caballu-m* *ipko-wa* (1396)

thing  species  horse-QM  the.one.there-TOP
‘As for the one there, what species of horse is it?’

In the following example, the noun *inča* does not function as a question word, although it occurs in a clause with the disjunctive question marker -le ‘or?’. This is because the question does not concern the noun *inča* ‘(some)thing’, but rather the verbal form *o-kot-p-ag* ‘he/she/it is not’:

(258) *inča*  *o-kot-p-ag-le* (2722)

something  3ss-be-NE-IA-QM
‘Isn’t there any news?’

6.8.3. Interrogative stem *into*

The interrogative stem *into* refers to a location: ‘where’, ‘which location’, ‘which’;

(259) *into*? (2428)

‘What is the matter with him, where is he?’

Interrogative *into* can be followed by several elements, such as, case markers. No more than four suffixes were found attached to the stem *into*:
‘What? Through your fault, I am to be whipped by them?’

Elements which can appear after *into* are perlative -*nayme* ‘through’, ‘via’ and non-personal adessive -*te* ‘at’, ‘in’ + the combinations -*te-*ke ‘from’, -*te-*p ‘from’ and -*te-*pi ‘to’:

(260) *into-n’-a-he-m*  *mu-n-ut’a-l’ak-pat-le*  *a-šaiš-la-go* (2855)
    which-CMP-?BEN-QM 2sPOS-REL-fault-NF-INS-QM 1sO-whip-3pA-FN2
    ‘What? Through your fault, I am to be whipped by them?’

(261) *into-nayme-m* (2431)  (262) *into-te-m* (2467)
    where-PRO-QM  where-AD-QM
    ‘Through where?’  ‘Where?’

(263) *into-te* (2430)  (264) *into-te-ke-pit* (2537)
    where-AD  where-AD-ANT-IND
    ‘in there’  ‘from anywhere’

(265) *into-te-p-am*  *mi-n-ag* (2438)  (266) *into-te-p* (22429)
    where-AD-ABL-QM 2sS-come-IA
    ‘Where do you come from?’  ‘from there’

(267) *into-te-pi-m*  *mi-l’w-ag* (2447)  (268) *into-te-pi* (2432)
    where-AD-AL-QM 2sS-go-IA
    ‘Where do you go to?’  ‘to there’

However, the elements most frequently encountered after interrogative *into* are the indefinite pronoun *mek* ‘all’, the comparative case marker -*n* ‘like’, and the demonstrative/relativizer -*gko* (see section 6.7.2). With the indefinite pronoun *mek* the concept of ‘quantity’ is expressed. E.g.:

(269) *into mek-am* (1364)  (270) *into mek* (1427)
    which all-QM  which all
    ‘how much?’  ‘so much’, ‘that much’

(271) *into mek-nik* (2518)  cf. *into mek ni-ču-nik* (1380)
    which all-COM  which all bit-DIM-COM
    ‘so much more’  ‘the more’

(272) *into mek-pit* (1379)  (273) *into mek-pok* (2514)
    which all-IND  which all-CL-repeatable
    ‘no matter how many/much’  ‘that many times’

(274) *into mek-te nom* (1377)
    which all-AD bit
    ‘so much less’
into mek m-a-y-ag, into mek-al' a-m-e-kt-ag (2521)
which all 2SA-1SO-give-IA which all-RST 1SA-2SO-give-F-1A
‘As much as you give me, that much I shall give you’.

The concept of manner is expressed by the suffix -n’. The derived form into-n’ means ‘how’:

(276) into-n’-am (2907)
which-CMP-QM
‘How?’

(277) into-n’-am me-kt-ag/ into-n’-am mi-ki-ag (2540)
which-CMP-QM 2SS-be-IA/ which-CMP-QM 2SS-be-IA
‘How do you do?’

(278) into-n’-am i-m-o-w (2524)
which-CMP-QM 3SA-2SO-do-PST
‘What did he do to you?’

(279) into-n’ ki-l-o-pakna ø-kot-ag (390)
which-CMP 1PA-3SO-do-NE.NOM 3SS-be-IA
‘We can not do anything’.

(280) into-n’-ap-ag (1383) (281) into-n’-pit-hin-ah (2463)
which-CMP-ABL-QM which-CMP-IND-maybe-EX
‘Of which size?’ ‘I do not know anything!’

(282) into-n’-čin (2531)
where/which-CMP-NE ‘I do not know how’. ‘I do not know where’.

Time can be expressed when into-n’ is followed by the suffix -čo ‘already’:

(283) into-n’-čo-m ø-pakt-ag (2541)
which-CMP-already-QM 3SS-be-IA
‘What time is it?’

The instance into-n’ ki-l-o-pakna ø-kot-ag above shows that the concept of ‘nothing’
can be expressed by means of a negative verb form (cf. inča, section 6.8.3 and ol,
section 6.8.5).
6.8.4. Interrogative demonstrative pronoun into-ŋko
Interrogative into-ŋko(-m) ‘which?’ refers both to humans and non-humans, whereas its counterpart, the interrogative pronoun ol ‘who?’ (see section 6.8.5), only refers to humans. Like the counterpart ol ‘who?’, interrogative into-ŋko(-m) can be followed by the plural marker lol when it is used to ask for people:

(284) into-ŋko(-m) (1342) into-ŋko(-m) o-ľa-kt-ag (1343) which-DEM(-QM) which-DEM(-QM) 3ss-go-F-IA ‘Which?’ ‘Which one will go?’

(286) into-ŋko-lol-am (1360) which-DEM-PL-QM ‘Which persons?’

6.8.5. Interrogative pronoun ol
The stem ol ‘who’ primarily functions as an interrogative pronoun, and it can be followed by the question marker -(a)m:

(287) ol(-am) (1339) ol(-am) mi-ps-ag (1340) who-QM who-QM 2ss-come-IA ‘Who?’ ‘Who is coming?’

(289) ol i-l-o-w-o-(am) (1289) who 3sA-3sO-make-PST-NOM(-QM) ‘Whose?’

(290) ol i-l-o-w-a-am ko-wa (96) who 3sA-3sO-make-PST-NOM-QM this-TOP ‘To whom does this belong?’

To indicate plural the interrogative pronoun ol is followed by the plural marker -lol:

(291) ol-lol-am (1359) who-PL-QM ‘Who?’, ‘Which persons?’

(292) a-pag-a ol-am a-šot-a ol-lol-am 1sPOS-mother-TOP who-QM 1sPOS-brother-TOP who-PL-QM če-kt-ag (1351) 3ps-be-IA ‘Who is my mother, and who are my brothers?’.

The concept of ‘nobody’ is obtained by adding a negation marker (cf. into, section 6.8.3 and inca, section 6.8.3). This suffix is attached to a verb of which ol
‘somebody’ is the subject (a negative verb form of which ol is the object has not been found):

(293) mi-pot-iy-man-ap, ol-pit a-moh-p-ag
2sS-come-PST-INES-ABL who-IND 3sss-come.up-NE-IA
‘After you came, nobody has come up’.

6.8.6. Conclusion

The words ana, inča, into, into-gko, ol belong together insofar that all five can be used as interrogatives. However, the interrogative stem ana is normally followed by -(a)m when used in questions. It has only once been encountered without a question marker while functioning as an interrogative. The stems ana and into have some points in common:

(i), both stand apart in that the presence of one or more additional elements is required (ana is normally followed by nouns, by the indefinite pronoun mek ‘all’, by numeral classifiers, or by case markers; into is followed by the indefinite pronoun mek ‘all’, or by case markers);

(ii), they can not directly be followed by the discourse markers -(a)m ‘question marker’, -čin ‘I don’t know’ and the indefinite marker -pit ‘(wh ...)ever’, which, on the other hand, can directly be attached to inča, into-gko and ol without the interposition of another element. In the case of ana and into, the question marker -(a)m occurs after one of the elements mentioned in point (i); the discourse marker -čin and the indefinite marker -pit occur after some case markers (see the examples ana-pi-čin, ana-pi-pit, ana-te-pit, into-te-ke-pit, into-n’-čin in section 6.8.1 for ana and 6.8.3 for into).

The group ana, inča, into, into-gko, ol can thus be divided into two parts: bound and free. The bound stems ana and into on the one hand, and the free stems inča, into-gko and ol on the other. In some points, however, the words ana and into differ from each other:

(1) into may be used as a question word without the occurrence of the question marker -(a)m, which is rarely the case with ana;

(2) ana refers to human beings as well as to objects, whereas into refers to places and objects.

As far as the reference to human beings and objects of the words inča, into-gko and ol is concerned, inča only refers to objects, into-gko both to persons and objects, and ol only to persons. The difference in reference to humans and non-humans is shown in Table 6.8.
Table 6.8. The words *ana, inča, into, ol* and their reference, marked by a plus sign (+), to humans and non-humans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>humans</th>
<th>non-humans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ana</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>inča</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>into</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>into-ŋko</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ol</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the concepts ‘quantity’, ‘time’, ‘manner’, ‘space’, ‘cause’, ‘instrument’, ‘purpose’, we have seen that they can be expressed by the words *ana, into* and *inča* by adding certain elements. The idea of quantity can be expressed by *ana, inča* and *into*; the idea of time can be indicated by *ana* and *into*; the concept of space by *into* and *into-ŋko* (see the example *into-ŋko-te-pit* ‘no matter where’ in section 6.8.2); the concept of manner by *into*; and the notions of cause, instrument and purpose by *inča*. Those concepts are indicated by means of the following elements:

(a) ‘quantity’ by means of the element *mek* ‘all’ (*ana mek, into mek*), of nouns (*ana* +several nouns), and of numeral classifiers (*ana* + several numeral classifiers);

(b) ‘time’ by means of nouns (*ana* + nouns indicating a period of time); of case markers (*ana* + -*patle* ‘until’, -*pi* ‘to’, -*te* ‘at’, ‘in’; and of the suffix -*čo* ‘already’ (*into-*n*-čo* ‘what time’);

(c) ‘manner’ by means of the suffix -*n* ‘like’;


(e) ‘cause’, ‘instrument’ and ‘purpose’ by means of the case markers -*he* ‘for the benefit of’, ‘by’, -*pat/-vak-pat* ‘with’, and -*te* ‘to’, respectively.

The fact that *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko* refer to different concepts as different elements are added to them, distinguishes them from *ol*. The word *ol* is an independent pronoun and refers to a third person singular or plural. The group *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko, ol* may thus again be split up into two parts: the words *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko* referring to variable concepts against the pronoun *ol* referring exclusively to a ‘3s/p’.

Table 6.9 presents an overview of the above mentioned concepts expressed by *ana, inča, into, into-ŋko* by mediation of added elements. The elements shown are the indefinite pronoun *mek* ‘all’, nouns (*N*), numeral classifiers (*CL*), case markers, and the suffix sequence -*n*-*čo* (comparative ‘like’ + adverbial ‘already’).
Table 6.9. Concepts and the words ana, inča, into, into-ŋko + added elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ana</th>
<th>into</th>
<th>into-ŋko</th>
<th>inča</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quantity</td>
<td>mek, N, CL</td>
<td>mek</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>N (period)</td>
<td>-ŋ‘-čo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-pat-te, -pi, -te</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>space</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-rayme, -ŋ‘, -te-ke, -te-pi, -te-p</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manner</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ŋ‘</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-he, -l‘ak-pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instrument</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purpose</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.9. Indefinite pronouns
Cholón has the following indefinite pronouns:

- **alum** ‘other’, ‘some’
- **an-t’sel** ‘one’, ‘another’
- **inča** ‘(some)thing’
- **mek** ‘all’
- **n’anmak** ‘each’
- **ol** ‘who’

6.9.1. Indefinite pronoun *alum*
The indefinite pronoun, *alum*, is used attributively:

(294)  *quaresma alum nem-te-wa, [...] ayča o-l‘up-la-pakna*
Lent other day-AD-TOP [...] meat 3so-eat-3pa-NENOM
* o-kot-ag (2793)
3ss-be-IA
‘As for the other days of Lent, [...] they are not allowed to eat meat’.

(295)  *alum nem-te-a-čo, eyť’a o-l‘up-la-go ēe-kt-ag (2794)*
other day-AD-TOP-now meat 3so-eat-3pa-FN2 3ps-be-IA
‘Now, as for the other days, they may eat meat’.

6.9.2. Indefinite pronoun *an-t’sel*
The word *an-t’sel* primarily functions as a numeral ‘one’. It is composed of the following morphemes: the numeral *an* ‘one’ and the numeral classifier *t’sel* ‘truncal object’ (for examples with numeral classifiers, see section 6.10.2). When *an-t’sel*
functions as an indefinite pronoun, it is used independently, viz. not followed by a countable noun:

(296)  an-ťel-sim (1310)
one-CL:truncal-EMP
It is another one’.

(297)  an-ťel  a-ťap-te-na  sepeh-he-nake,  an-ťel
one-CL:truncal 1SA-3SO.catch-F-QUOT say-SIM-PER one-CL:truncal
i-ťp-ag (2387)
3SA-3SO.catch-IA
‘Instead of catching one, he catches another one’.
(lit. ‘By saying: “I shall catch one”, he catches another one’).

6.9.3. Indefinite pronoun inča
The indefinite pronoun inča ‘(some)thing’ is used for objects (cf. the pronoun ol ‘who’, which is used for persons). The indefinite pronoun inča also functions as an interrogative stem (see section 6.8.2). When it does not function as an interrogative stem, it is often preceded by the indefinite pronoun mek ‘all’, indicating a ‘whole’ or a ‘plurality of things’:

(298)  mek inča (1355)
all thing
‘everything’, ‘the whole thing’, ‘all the things’

(299)  mek inča  Dios  kamat’ın  a-ki-ap-ko (1866)
all thing God command 3sS-speak-IA-DEM
‘God who commands everything’.

(300)  mek inča  če-po-hina-y-e-o-te (1473)
all thing 3pA-3pO-hear-PST-ANT-NOM-AD
‘after/from all the things they had heard’

Plurality of things is also expressed by the reduplication of inča. In addition, the reduplicated pronoun may be preceded by the indefinite pronoun mek, and it may be followed by the noun yu ‘kind’, ‘species’:

(301)  inča  inča  mi-po-yč-iy-ha-ŋ-ko (1471)
thing thing 2A-3pO-see-SE-PL-IA-DEM
‘all the things you see’

(302)  mek inča inča (1361)  (303)  mek inča inča yu (1363)
all thing thing  all thing thing kind
‘all the things’  ‘all kinds of things’
The following suffixes have been encountered after inča: comitative -nik ‘with’, adessive -te ‘in’ (see the example inča-te-pit muč ‘Put it in something whatsoever!’ in section 6.4.5.5), and allative -pi ‘to’ when suffixed to -te:

(304) ma-ma-ta inča-nik o-kot-ag (2697)
    INT-INT-CL:firm/stony thing-COM 3sS-be-IA
    ‘He is rich, abundant in everything’.

(305) inča-te-pi o-šoh-o (3398)/ inča-te-pi mi-o-šoh-i (2736)
    thing-AD-AL 3sO-pour-IMP thing-AD-AL 2sA-3sO-pour-IMP
    ‘Pour it into something!’

The indefinite pronoun inča can also be followed by the diminutive marker -ču. The form inča-ču can be reduced to inču ‘minimal thing’:

(306) inča-ču (1356)        (307) mek inča inču-pit (1362)
    thing-DIM all thing.DIM thing.DIM-IND
    ‘something small’ ‘all possible minimal things’

The concept of ‘nothing’ is expressed by means of the word ma ‘nothing’ or by means of a negative verb form (cf. into, section 6.8.3 and ol, section 6.8.5):

(308) inča(-ču)-pit ma (1351) (309) inča o-kot-p-ag (2723)
    thing(-DIM)-IND not thing 3sS-be-NE-IA
    ‘I have nothing’. ‘There is nothing’. ‘Nothing matters’. ‘It doesn’t matter’.

(310) inča a-sina-y-pit-o (2725)
    thing 1sA-3sO.hear-PST-NE-FN2
    ‘I heard nothing’.

6.9.4. Indefinite pronoun mek
The indefinite pronoun mek ‘all’ can be employed both as a head and as a modifier. In the following examples the pronoun mek is used independently:

(311) mek mi-kol-ha-kt-ag (49)
    all 2s-die-PL-F-IA
    ‘You (p) all will die’.

(312) Dios neg-te mek ke-tg-ag (2440)
    God hand-AD all 1ps-be-IA
    ‘We all are in the hands of God’.
The word *mek* can also appear after an attributive pronoun or demonstrative. Its function as a head is shown in the following examples:

(313) \[ mi \ ok \ mek \ me-kt-\text{a} \] (1373)
\[ 2s \ 1s \ all \ 2ss-be-\text{IA} \]
‘You are of my size’.

(314) \[ ko \ mek \] (1368)
\[ this.\text{one.here} \ all \ ‘all the ones here’ \]
(315) \[ iyko \ mek \] (1368)
\[ that.\text{one.\text{there}} \ all \ ‘all the ones \text{there}’ \]

(316) \[ pe \ mek \] (1368)
\[ yonder \ all \ ‘all the ones yonder’ \]
(317) \[ ko \ mek-al’ \] (2603)
\[ this.\text{one.here} \ all-\text{RST} \]
‘all the ones \text{here only’/’this is all’}

When *mek* is used as a modifier, it can occur before or after a noun:

(318) \[ mek \ angel-a/\text{angel} \ mek-a \ espiritu-\text{a} \ & \ \epsilon-e-kt-\text{a} \] (2975)
\[ all \ \text{angel-TOP/\text{angel} all-TOP spirit-RST} \ 3ps-be-\text{IA} \]
‘As for all the angels, they are spirits only’.

6.9.5. Indefinite pronoun *n’anmak*

The indefinite pronoun *n’anmak* is the opposite of *mek*: *mek* ‘all’ pluralizes, whereas *n’anmak* ‘each’, ‘every(one)’ individualizes. It is mainly employed attributively, and it can occur before or after a noun:

(319) \[ nem \ n’anmak \ ki-am-\text{a} \] (1186)
\[ day \ every \ 1ps-eat-\text{IA} \]
‘We eat every day’.

(320) \[ n’anmak \ hayu \ i-\text{t’ip-te} \ i-\text{t’or’} \]
\[ every \ \text{Indian/man 3pPOS-house-AD 3pPOS-guinea.pig} \]
\[ o-p\text{-a-ha-kot-\text{a}} \] (1187)
\[ 3ss-3p0-\text{APL-PL-be.there-IA} \]
‘Every Indian has guinea pigs in his house’.

When the noun with which *n’anmak* appears indicates a period of time, *n’anmak* occurs after this noun (see also the example *nem n’anmak* ‘every day’ above):

(321) \[ makač \ n’anmak \] (2459)
\[ evening \ every \]
‘every evening’
(322) \[ semana \ n’anmak \] (2460)
\[ week \ every \]
‘every week’
In one example *n’anmak* is not used attributively. In this instance, the indefinite pronoun is preceded by a third person plural marker and followed by the distributive marker -(k)o:

(324) *i-n’anmak-o an-’el palantu mi-po-e-ki* (1454)

3pPOS each-DIS one-CL:truncal banana 2sa-3po give-IMP

‘Give one banana to each one of them!’

6.9.6. Indefinite pronoun *ol*

The pronoun *ol* which is mainly used as an interrogative pronoun (see section 6.8.5) can also function as the indefinite pronoun ‘somebody/someone’, ‘who’:

(325) *ol-pit* (1337)

who-IND

‘whoever’, ‘anyone’, ‘everybody’

6.10. Numerals and classifiers

Pedro de la Mata distinguished cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers and distributive numbers. The numbers ‘one’, ‘two’, ‘three’ always occur with classifiers; the numbers ‘four’ - ‘nine’ also appear with classifiers, but for one exception, viz. when they quantify human beings. The cardinal, ordinal and distributive numbers are treated in section 6.10.1; the classifiers in section 6.10.2.
6.10.1. Cardinal, ordinal and distributive numbers

The cardinal numbers ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’ are indicated by the morphemes *a(C)*-, *ip*-, *iš*-/*ís*-; respectively (*iš*- is found before classifiers with an initial *t*, *č*, *š*, *l*; *iš*-before classifiers which begin with *h* or *p*; *iš*- alternates with *iš*- before the classifier *ta* ‘firm/stony object’, see also section 4.3.4 and 4.3.9). These morphemes never appear independently; they are always followed by a classifier. The numeral *a*- ‘one’ occurs as *a*- in the word *a*-nim ‘one man’ (< one-*CL*: truncal object) and *a*-kan ‘one book/cloth/knife (< one-*CL*: portable object); and as *a*- in the words *a*-ki ‘one egg’ (< one-*CL*: round object), *a*-hil ‘one word’ (< one-*CL*: speech), *a*-kot- ‘first’ (one-be-begin-IA-which), and *a*-waranga ‘one thousand’. The Cholón words for the numerals four - nine are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{*min*ip} & \quad \text{‘four’} & \text{kiliš} & \quad \text{‘seven’} \\
\text{kio}k & \quad \text{‘five’} & \text{pak} & \quad \text{‘eight’} \\
\text{ipt*ok} & \quad \text{‘six’} & \text{okon} & \quad \text{‘nine’}
\end{align*}
\]

These numerals are likewise followed by classifiers, except when indicating human beings. The concept of ‘ten(s)’ is indicated by the morpheme -*lek*. This morpheme is suffixed to the units. E.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
(326) & \quad \text{*ip*-lek (1110)} \quad \text{‘twenty’} \\
(327) & \quad \text{*iš*-lek (1111)} \quad \text{‘thirty’} \\
(328) & \quad \text{*mi*ni*š*-lek (1112)} \quad \text{‘forty’}
\end{align*}
\]

To express intervening numbers tens are followed by units:

\[
\begin{align*}
(329) & \quad \text{a-lek an*-č*el (1120)} & \quad \text{a-lek ip-ta (1121)} \\
& \quad \text{one-ten one-*CL*:truncal} & \quad \text{one-ten two-*CL*:firm/stony} \\
& \quad \text{‘eleven men’} & \quad \text{‘twelve men’}
\end{align*}
\]

(331) \quad \text{a-lek *mi*ni*š* (1119)}

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{one-ten four} \\
& \quad \text{‘fourteen men’}
\end{align*}
\]

The intervening numbers can also be formed by means of the suffix -*nik* ‘with’ attached to the units:

\[
\begin{align*}
(332) & \quad \text{a-lek ipt*ok-nik (1123)} \\
& \quad \text{one-ten six-COM} \\
& \quad \text{‘sixteen’}
\end{align*}
\]

---


The Cholón expressions for ‘one hundred’ and ‘one thousand’ are *a-pičak* and *at-waranga*, respectively.

Ordinal numbers are formed by the interposition of the form *o-kot-mul-y-ag-ko* ‘the one here who/which is beginning’ between the numeral and the classifier. The form *o-kot-mul-y-ag-ko* contains two verb stems: *kot* ‘be’ and *mul* ‘start an action’ followed by imperfective aspect *-ag* and the demonstrative/relativizer *ko*:

(333)  
\begin{align*}
\text{at-kot-mul-y-ag-ko} & \quad \text{hil (1127)} \\
\text{one-be-begin-IA-DEM word} & \\
\text{‘the first command’}
\end{align*}

The interposition of the form *o-kot-mul-y-ag-ko* can be omitted. When this is the case, ordinal numbers are equal to cardinal numbers as regards their form:

(334)  
\begin{align*}
\text{at-hil (1126)} & \\
\text{one-CL:speech} & \\
\text{‘one word’} \\
\end{align*}

(335)  
\begin{align*}
\text{at-hil} & \quad \text{sil-ag (1131)} \\
\text{one-CL:speech} & \quad \text{3sO:say-IA} \\
\text{‘the first command’} & \\
\end{align*}

It appears that numerals (followed by suffixed classifiers) are used as cardinal numbers and function as a determiner when they occur before a noun:

(336)  
\begin{align*}
\text{iš-ta} & \quad \text{hayu atem-e ē-pal-y-iy (1314)} \\
\text{three-CL:firm/stony man morning-ANT 3ps-pass-PST} & \\
\text{‘Three men passed in the morning’}. & \\
\end{align*}

They are used as ordinal numbers and function as an argument when they occur before a verb (see also the example *at-hil o-sil-ag* ‘the first command above):

(337)  
\begin{align*}
\text{iē-hil} & \quad \text{o-sil-ag (1129)} \\
\text{three-CL:speech 3sS:say-IA} & \\
\text{‘the third command’} & \\
\end{align*}

The ordinal number ‘first’ may also be formed by means of the adverb *ašman* ‘before’, ‘first’, ‘rather’ + *o-kot-mul-y-ag-ko* ‘the one here who/which is beginning’:

(338)  
\begin{align*}
ašman & \quad \text{o-kot-mul-y-ag-ko (1127)} \\
\text{first 3sS-be-begin-IA-DEM} & \\
\text{‘the one who/which is first’, ‘the first one’} & \\
\end{align*}

26 They are borrowings from Quechua *pačak* ‘hundred’ and *waranga* ‘thousand’.
Distributive numbers are usually formed by means of reduplication of the numeral and the suffix -(k)o, attached to each reduplicated element. The form -o is found after a consonant, -ko after a vowel. The numeral ‘one’ occurs as il or yel when it is employed as a distributive. In this case, the numeral is not followed by a classifier and neither are the numerals ‘four’ and higher. They are immediately followed by the suffix -(k)o. The classifier which is suffixed to the numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’ when they are used as distributives is the classifier ta ‘firm/stony object’:

- il-o, yel-o yel-o ‘one by one’, ‘in ones’
- ip-ta-ko ip-ta-ko ‘two by two’, ‘in twos’
- iš-ta-ko iš-ta-ko ‘three by three’, ‘in threes’
- min’ip-o min’ip-o ‘four by four’, ‘in fours’
- kiok-o kiok-o ‘five by five’, ‘in fives’
- ipřok-o ipřok-o ‘six by six’, ‘in sixes’
- kiliš-o kiliš-o ‘seven by seven’, ‘in sevens’
- pak-o pak-o ‘eight by eight’, ‘in eights’
- okon’-o okon’-o ‘nine by nine’, ‘in nines’
- a-lek-o a-lek-o ‘ten by ten’, ‘in tens’
- a-lek an-řel-o a-lek an-řel-o ‘eleven by eleven’, ‘in elevens’

6.10.2. Numeral classifiers
Cholón has morphemes which can be suffixed to numerals (see 6.10.1) and to the interrogative stem ana (see section 6.8.1). These morphemes indicate a characteristic or property of the items quantified by the numeral or the interrogative stem, assigning the quantified items to different classes. This classification takes place on the basis of the shape or the property of the items involved (bundled, round, portable, etc.). According to Pedro de la Mata everything has to be classified when counted, so that Cholón has a multitude of such numeral classifiers. He gives fifteen paradigms to illustrate the use of classifiers with numerals. He also mentions the type of objects for which each classifier is used. The following paradigm is employed to count human beings:

- an-řel ‘one man’
- ip-ta ‘two men’
- iš-ta ‘three men’
- min’ip ‘four men’, etc.

The suffix řel ‘truncal object’ is employed for the classification of one man, ta ‘firm/stony object’ is used for the classification of two and three men. No classifier intervenes when more than three men are counted. The classifiers appearing in the other paradigms + the items thus classified are shown in Table 6.10. The table furthermore presents the classes to which the objects are assigned.
Table 6.10. The numeral classifiers and the corresponding items mentioned by Pedro de la Mata, together with the classes indicated by the classifiers (objects which do not occur in the paradigms, but which are mentioned elsewhere in the ALC are in parentheses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifiers</th>
<th>Objects:</th>
<th>Classes:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aõ</td>
<td>bundles, bunches, (candles, firewood)</td>
<td>bundled objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>birds, fruits, (eggs, grains, houses)</td>
<td>round objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñp</td>
<td>axes, books, clothes, combs, feathers, fish, knives, machetes, scissors, shoes</td>
<td>portable objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hñl</td>
<td>commands, orders, regulations, words</td>
<td>speech</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| lñw | colours, different things, (books, dresses, letters, paintings, parrots, writings) | multicoloured/
multiform objects |
| pñmok | heavens, hems, rooms, spaces, (skirts) | space |
| pñk | times/turns, (sins) | repeatable events |
| pñh | armies, herds, troops, (hogs) | groups of living beings |
| pñc | fields, (periods of time) | completed/full entities |
| pñk | bites | digestible chunks |

Spaces of time may also function as classifiers, although De la Mata does not label them as such. They are namely found after the numbers ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’, which are not used independently, but are always accompanied by a classifier. The following words, indicating a space of time, are encountered after these numbers: mita ‘season’, mol ‘solar day’, nem ‘day’, pel ‘lunar month’, pilñw ‘solar year’, and semana (< Sp semana) ‘week’:

(339) at-mita (2558) (340) poho-pat at-mol-e (2261)
one-CL:season morning-INS one-CL:day-ANT
‘one season’ ‘the day after tomorrow’

(341) ko-te-p ip-nem-te (2569)
here-AD-ABL two-CL:day-AD
‘two days from now’
The use of a classifier depends on the angle from which the object is looked at, viz. on the property which is singled out. A dress, for example, may be considered as something portable, as something colourful or as something which contains air or space, depending on whether the speaker wants to accentuate the fact that the dress is something which can be worn, or whether it is the multicolouredness or the spaciousness of the garment which catches the eye of the speaker. In the first case the dress is classified into the category ‘portable things’ by the classifier čup, in the second case it is classified into the category ‘colourful things’ by the classifier liw, in the third case it is classified into the category ‘space’ by the classifier pimok:

(345) ana-čup-am me-n-eštek o-m-a-top (1415)  
how.many-cl:portable-qm 2sPOS-REL-cloth 3ss-2sO-APL-be.there  
‘How many dresses do you have?’

(346) ana-liw-am me-n-eštek-a (1423)  
how.many-cl:multiform-qm 2sPOS-REL-cloth-TOP  
‘As for your dress, how many colours [does it have]?’

(347) ana-pimok-am me-n-eštek me-mel-ag (1439)  
how.many-cl:space-qm 2sPOS-REL-cloth 2sA-3sO-see-IA  
‘How many skirts do you see?’

The above-mentioned lexemes which function as numeral classifiers also occur as independent nouns. For instance, the lexemes če, hil, liw, tél, šug, ta also appear as nouns, in which case če means ‘egg’, ‘grain’; hil means ‘word’; liw means ‘book’, ‘letter(s)’, ‘species’; šug means ‘heap’; ta means ‘stone’; tél means ‘leg’, ‘foot’. We may assume that more lexemes, besides those mentioned in Table 6.10, functioned both as a noun and as a numeral classifier. The more so since de la Mata remarks that Cholón had many more of such class-indicating words, and that each item, no matter which, had to be classified when counted.
6.11. Derived nouns
Nouns can be derived from verb stems. First, a non-reduced (see section 7.3.1) verb stem (with an alternated stem initial consonant indicating a third person singular object) may function as a noun, referring to the event or its object:

kole/kol ‘(to) love’ > pôle (1061) ‘love’
k(o)t ‘(to) be’ > kot (1044) ‘being’, ‘essence’
pen’(o) ‘(to) wish’ > men’ (1057) ‘wish’
ših/š(i)k ‘(to) drink’ > ših (1067) ‘drink’

Second, nouns may be formed by means of a verb stem and one of the following suffixes: 1, the suffixes -(w)u ‘agentive’ and -(e)č ‘complementizer’; 2, the nominalizers -lam ‘future participle’ and -(g)ơ ‘gerundive’. The former, those ending in -(w)uč and -(e)č, indicate a human being, viz. ‘the one who’. According to Pedro de la Mata, nouns in -(w)uč are derived from a ‘present participle’ in -(w)uč, which he translates as a relative clause:

kot-uč (432) ‘he/she who is’ > ‘a being’
pôle-uč (749) ‘he/she who loves somebody/something’ > ‘a lover’
pen’o-wuč (861) ‘he/she who wants’ > ‘a lover’

In the ALC, in only one sentence a form in -(w)uč is translated as a relative clause. In the other examples in which a form in -(w)uč occurs, this form is translated as a noun. The suffix -(w)uč occurs after non-reduced stems: -uč postconsonantally as well as postvocally, -wuč only postvocally. Examples:

a-kole-(w)uč (1062) ‘my lover’ < kole/kol ‘(to) love’
mi-kole-uč (1063) ‘your lover’ < kole/kol ‘(to) love’
kot-uč (1046) ‘a being’ < k(o)t ‘(to) be’
ašwa lamih-uč (1490) ‘killer of fish’ < lam(a) ‘(to) kill’
l’tih-uč (1072) ‘magistrate’ < l’tih ‘(to) correct’
ayèa l’up-uč (1148) ‘eater of meat’ < l’up ‘(to) swallow down’
lusay-e-uč (1150) ‘mercyful or pious man’ < lusat(y) ‘(to) pity’, ‘(to) have compassion’, ‘(to) be in distress’

pa’ōw a-ō-wuč (1779) ‘my benefactor’ < (o) ‘(to) do’, ‘(to) make’
kamat’in ki-wuč (1070) ‘ruler’ < kama’t’in ki ‘(to) rule’
a-pen’o-wuč (1064) ‘my lover’ < pen’(o) ‘(to) want’
mi-pen’o-wuč (1065) ‘your lover’
pihih-uč (1158) ‘tailor’ (?), ‘someone’ < *pihih ‘(to) sew’ (?), ‘(to) be charged with a duty’ (?), ‘charged with’ (?)

a-psawoh-uč (1776) ‘my creator’ < *psaw(wo)h ‘(to) create’
ših-uč (1068) ‘drinker’ < ših/š(i)k ‘(to) drink’
ki-šp-eh-uč(1187) ‘our Redeemer’ < šp-e(h) ‘(to) liberate’
ašwa ţap-uč(1152) ‘catcher of fish’, ‘fisherman’ < y(a)p ‘(to) catch’
tup-uč(1151) ‘walker’ < t(u)p ‘(to) walk’
uf’a-uč(1908) ‘sinner’ < uf’a ‘a sin’
a-n uf’a-weh-uč(1181) ‘my judge’ < uf’a-we(h) ‘(to) judge’
ki-ym-eh-uč(1186) ‘our creator’ < yam-e(h) ‘(to) let know’, ‘(to) teach’
p-a-ym-eh-uč(421) ‘teacher’ < y(a)m-e(h) ‘(to) let know’, ‘(to) teach’

Forms in -(e)č are normally translated as present participles or subordinate clauses. Only one form in -(e)č is used as a noun:

t’am-o-č(2974) ‘wisdom’ < t’am(o) ‘(to) know something’

The word t’am-o-č can also be used as an adjective with the meaning ‘learned’ (39, 111). Another form in -(e)č, also derived from a verb stem in o, which is also translated as an adjective is the word

n’ansik-wo-č(1041) ‘laborious’ < n’ansik-w(o) ‘(to) work’

The nominalizer -lam, a future ‘participle’ ending, is suffixed to a non-reduced stem. It indicates that something has to be done or is going to happen. When -lam occurs in a nominal form, it can be translated as ‘future’:

(348) kot-lam (1053)  a-kuř ha a-kot-lam (1051)  be-FN1  1sPOS-life  1ss-be-FN1
‘(the fact of) being’, ‘my existence’, ‘the future being of my life’

(350) men’o-lam (1057)  gøle-lam (1061)  3sO.want-FN1  3sO.love-FN1
‘someone’s wish’, ‘someone’s future wishing’, ‘someone’s love’, ‘someone’s future loving’

(352) a-o-ših-lam (1067)
1sA-3sO-drink-FN1
‘my drink’, ‘my future drinking’

The nominalizer -(g)ø is in fact a gerundive ending. It is also suffixed to a non-reduced stem and it indicates that something has to be done or can possibly be done. A nominalized form in -(g)ø can function both as an adjective (cf. forms in -(k)ø in section 6.4.5.4) and as a noun, although it is more often encountered as an adjective. In such forms, the agent is always first person plural:
6.12. Nominal constructions

In this section we will deal with the genitive construction (section 6.12.1); attributive or adjectival use of nouns (section 6.12.2); comparative constructions (section 6.12.3); and lexical gender and number assignment in section 6.12.4 and 6.12.5, respectively.

6.12.1. Genitive constructions

In the sections 6.4.2.1 and 6.4.1 we have seen that a possessive relation can be expressed by means of the suffixes: -(a)p and -(te)-(k)e, respectively. For instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ow-tu-p</td>
<td>‘from afar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ampal-e</td>
<td>‘yesterday’s’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima-te-ke</td>
<td>‘from Lima’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-ke</td>
<td>‘made of stone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the more common method to express a possessive relation between two nouns is by juxtaposition. In that case the possessed head noun occupies the final position in the possessive phrase, takes its relational form (if any) and possessive personal reference markers (when possible).

Juxtaposition is used when the possessor is not pronominal. The possessor can be singular or plural. A possessive third person singular can not be overtly marked, but it can be inferred from the fact that the modified noun (for so far as it differs from the absolute form) takes its relational form, see section 5.5. Ex.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šokot</td>
<td>‘the river mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>‘Pedro’s cloth(es)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>3sPOS-mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>3sPOS-R1i1-cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(353)  ki-o-čikno-m (1076)

1PA-3SO-fear-FN2
‘frightening’, ‘something frightening’

(354)  ku-o-puluwo-m (1074)

1PA-3SO-disgust-FN2
‘abominable’, ‘something abominable’

(355)  ki-ša (1078)

1PA-3SO-see-FN2
‘visible’, ‘something visible’
If the possessor is plural, the possessive relation is expressed by the possessive third person markers ʔ- (or the copy vowels ʔ- and u-) and ʔ- (or ʔu-) preceding the head noun in its relational form (cf. section 5.4):

(359) hayu ʔ-iʔip (1187)  (ʔip < yip ‘house’)
man/Indian 3ppos-house
‘the houses of the Indians’

(360) Luis-e Maria-ke ʔe-pul (2285)
Luis-ant María-ant 3ppos-child
‘the child(ren) of late Luis and María’

6.12.2. Adjectival use of nouns
It appears that Cholón has no separate class of adjectives, or as Pedro de la Mata stated: "[…] strictly speaking, there are no adjectives in this language"26. However, we have seen that attributive expressions can be formed by means of the suffixes -nik (section 6.4.2.8), -(k)o (section 6.4.5.4), -(e)č (section 6.10), and -(g)io (section 6.10):

comitative -nik:  šeš-nik (1043)  ‘scabby’
adjectivizer -(k)o:  nun-o (235)  ‘female’
factivizer -(e)č  t'amo-č (405)  ‘learned’
nominalizer -(g)io  ki-t'ač-o (1178)  ‘visible’

A nominalized form in -lam can be used to form an attributive:

(361) mula lum-te ku-tup-lam pana (2316)
mule top-AD 1ps-walk-FN2 road
‘a mulepath’.

In addition, instead of adjectives, Cholón employs nouns designating a quality or a property to modify another noun (see also the nouns ila ‘woman’ and mun ‘man’ in section 6.12.4). Such nouns are juxtaposed to the noun to be modified. To this category belong primarily those nouns denoting dimension (large ~ small), colour (light, white ~ dark, black), age (new ~ old) and value (good ~ bad). In a number of languages these words are adjectives that form a closed adjective class (see

26 "[…] en rigor de adjetivo no tiene ninguno esta lengua […]” (fol. 88)
Schachter, 1985: 14-15, referring to Dixon 1977 and Welmers & Welmers 1969). In Cholón, the following nouns indicating dimension, colour, age and value can be mentioned, including also taste as a category:

dimension:  
- ovoir (1235) ‘something large’, ‘large’
- kunmi (1254) ‘something small’, ‘small’
- moson (1263) ‘tiny’, ‘tiny’

colour:  
- ćeće (1389, 2621) ‘clarity’, ‘whiteness’, ‘white’
- kisna (1846) ‘blueness’, ‘blue’
- Ḩaka (1400) ‘something coloured’, ‘redness’, ‘red’
- Ḩin (2980) ‘greenness’, ‘green’
- pul (1401) ‘yellowness’, ‘yellow’
- (rí)ral (1399) ‘blackness’, ‘black’

age:  
- kes (1630) ‘maturity’, ‘oldness’, ‘old’

value:  
- išiwah (1037) ‘badness’, ‘bad’
- yun’a (1032) ‘softness’, ‘nice’
- palow (405) ‘goodness’, ‘good’
- waliw (1031) ‘strength’, ‘something beautiful’, ‘beautiful’

taste:  
- aḥi (1033) ‘sweetness’, ‘happiness’, ‘sweet’

De la Mata explains that these lexical items are ‘almost adjective nouns’, because they do not indicate a substance, but a quality. The following examples show that these nouns can occur with a possesive person prefix, which confirms that they are not adjectives, but nouns. The examples furthermore show that the adjectival nouns išiwah ‘bad’ and palow ‘good’ which designate a value make a distinction between an absolute form and a relational form (#V > #n-V, #p > #m, see section 5.5), when they occur with a prefixed possessive person marker. As yet, it is not clear why this is not the case with the noun ovoir ‘greatness’. It has no relational form *n-ovoir, as would be expected. Ex.:

(362)  

mi-ovoir (2323)  (363)  a-n-išiwah (2323)  
2sPOS-greatness 1sPOS-REL-badness  
‘your greatness’ ‘my badness’

(364)  

Ḥaka (183) ‘something coloured’, ‘redness’, ‘red’:
- a-Ḥaka  ‘my coloured thing’
- mi-Ḥaka  ‘your (m) coloured thing’
- Ḩaka  ‘his/her coloured thing’
- ki-Ḥaka  ‘our coloured thing’
- mi-Ḥaka-ha  ‘your (p) coloured thing’
- i-Ḥaka  ‘their coloured thing’

(365)  

palow (2642) ‘goods’, ‘advantage’, ‘good’:
- a-malow  ‘my good(s)’, ‘my advantage’
Other examples of adjectival nouns mentioned by de la Mata in this same section are ay-te-ču ‘quiet’, ‘peace’ (literally ‘a little bit at the background’), kačiw ‘a cripple’, ončap’la ‘talker’, šep ‘infertility’, yamkuyla ‘diligence’.

According to Pedro de la Mata, the modifier may precede or follow the modified element (“a veces se anteponen y á veces se posponen”, fol. 89). However, the modifier always precedes the modified noun when the latter has a suffixed case marker. Notwithstanding Pedro de la Mata’s remark that an adjectival noun may precede or follow the modified noun, it appears that, in addition to the cases in which the latter has a suffixed case marker (e.g. yamkuyla hayu-lol-he ‘for diligent men’), the adjectival noun normally precedes the latter:

(366) očo kas (779) \(\equiv\) (367) čeč kot (2621)  
\text{great wind} \quad \text{white water}  
\text{‘a great wind’} \quad \text{‘clear water’} 

(368) išiwah hayu (1037) \(\equiv\) (369) ay-te-ču hayu (1041)  
\text{bad man} \quad \text{background-AD-DIM man}  
\text{‘a bad man’} \quad \text{‘a quiet man’, ‘a peaceful man’} 

When an adjectival noun indicating a dimension modifies another adjectival noun, it also appears preposed:

(370) kol očo išiwah o-kot-ag (2966)  
\text{death great badness 3s3-be-la}  
\text{‘Death is a great evil’}.

In his section about adjectival nouns, de la Mata gives only one example of a postponed modifying noun:

(371) čel kačiw (1036)  
\text{foot/man cripple}  
\text{‘someone with a lame foot’, ‘a cripple’} 

Another example of a postponed adjectival noun was given by José Santos Chappa:

(372) ges nun \(\leftrightarrow\) hila ges  
\text{old man} \quad \text{woman old}  
\text{‘an old man’} \quad \text{‘an old woman’}
The opposite order, *mun ges and *ges hila, was rejected, so that the phrases ges nun and hila ges appeared to be fixed expressions. Since the expression ēl kačw is the only example given by de la Mata to illustrate that a modifier can be postponed, and since the expression *mun ges was not attested and hila ges appeared to be a fixed expression, we may assume that the construction ‘head + modifier’ was not productive. However, in his section about gender in Cholón, de la Mata shows that the nouns ila ‘femininity’ and nun ‘manliness’ can be postponed when they function as modifiers, in case hayn ‘human being’ is the head noun (see section 6.12.4).

Adjectival nouns are used predicatively when they appear with a discourse marker replacing a copula, such as the question marker -le ‘or?’, ‘is it?’ or the emphasis marker -sim ‘(look, yes) it is’:

\[(373) \text{tsal-le (1389)} \quad \text{black-QM}\]
\[\text{‘Is it black?’}\]

\[(374) \text{lōlše-sim (1390)} \quad \text{Spanish/Spaniard-EMP}\]
\[\text{‘It is Spanish/It is a Spaniard’; ‘They are Spanish/They are Spaniards’}\]

6.12.3. Comparison

In the ALC degree of comparison is explained by means of the nouns očō ‘bigness’, ‘big’, and kunču ‘smallness’, ‘small’ or mosču ‘something scanty/tiny’, ‘tiny’. Cholón has no declination for degrees of comparison. The comparative is formed by a preposed ni-ču-nik ‘with a little bit’, consisting of the following elements: the noun ni ‘bit’, diminutive -ču and the comitative case marker -nik ‘with’, ‘in the company of’. (The word ni-nik ‘a.bit-\text{COM}', which is synonymous with ni-ču-nik and which also means ‘more’, does not occur in comparisons). The superlative is formed by a preposed element ma, an intensifier indicating a high degree. A superlative of mosču is not given.

\[(375) \text{očō (1235) ‘great/large’}\]
\[\text{ni-ču-nik očō (1257)} \quad \text{ma očō (1257)} \quad \text{bit-DIM-COM great/large} \quad \text{INT great/large}\]
\[\text{‘(a bit) greater/larger’ ‘very great/large’}\]

\[(376) \text{kunču (1255) ‘small’}\]
\[\text{ni-ču-nik kunču (1256)} \quad \text{ma kunču (1256)} \quad \text{bit-DIM-COM small} \quad \text{INT small}\]
\[\text{‘(a bit) smaller’ ‘very small’}\]

\(\text{Cf. Ayacucho Quechua: as-wan ‘more’; a.little.bit-with.}\)
A high degree is not only expressed by the intensifier *ma*, but also by the following related forms: *maha-l*’, *ma-ma*, *ma-ma-ta*, *ma pa-te-p*, *pa-te-p*, *pa-te-p ma*. According to the *ALC*, *ma* and *pa-te-p* are synonymous and are glossed as ‘many’, ‘much’ and ‘very’. The suffix -*te-p* marks an oblique case and functions as an elative and instrumental ‘from’, ‘by’ (see section 6.4.3.3). (The word *pa-te-p* seems to mean ‘by far’, ‘to a large extent’).

The form *pa-te-p* can also occur together with the expressions *maha-l*’ and *ma-ma-ta*. The forms *maha-l*’ and *ma-ma-ta* are synonyms and designate ‘a large amount’ or ‘a large quantity’. In the former term, the element -*l*’ is the restrictive suffix ‘only’, ‘nothing else but’ (see section 6.4.5.1). In the latter term, the element *ta* may be identified with *ta* ‘rock’, ‘stone’. If so, it is suffixed to the intensifier *ma* and functions as a classifier meaning ‘firm/stony object (see section 6.10.2)’. Comparisons in which two objects are compared are formed by means of the case marker combination -*man-ap* ‘after’, ‘(starting) from’. In such constructions the object of reference or object of comparison (X) precedes the compared object (Y), and the case marker combination -*man-ap* is suffixed to the object of comparison:

1. ‘X-from ...er Y is’
2. ‘X-from the ...est Y is’

The comparative degree in comparison 1 is formed by means of the word *ni-ču-nik* (see above), and the superlative in comparison 2 by means of an intensifier such as...
ma, pa-te-p, or a combination of both. The word ni-ču-nik and the intensifiers are then followed by a noun indicating the property or quality compared.

(383) mi-man-ap ni-ču-nik kes Pedro o-kot-ag (1221)
2s-INES-ABL bit-DIM-COM old Pedro 3ss-be-IA
‘Pedro is older than you’.

(384) mek ila-man-ap ma pałow-sim pe-k’t-ag (202)
all women-INES-ABL INT good-EMP 2sf-be-IA
‘You are the best of all women’.

No instances have been found of constructions consisting of kunču or mosču followed by a noun.

6.12.4. Gender indication
Although de la Mata discusses categories of nominal gender, from a structural point of view gender distinctions do not play a role in Cholón, apart from the grammatical gender distinction found in the personal reference system (see section 6.2, 6.5, 6.6, and chapter 7). When necessary, gender can be indicated by means of a noun, for instance, to specify whether a human being, an animal or a plant is masculine or feminine, with the terms nun (301) ‘man’, ‘manliness’, and ila (302) ‘woman’, ‘femininity’. When these modifiers are used with a human being, they can precede or follow the modified noun; with an animal or a plant, they follow the noun in question:

(385) nun hayu/ hayu nun (225)
manliness human.being/ human.being manliness
‘a man’

(386) ila hayu/ hayu ila (226)
femininity human.being/ human.being femininity
‘woman’

(387) kuči nun (229)               kuči ila (230)
pig manliness                  pig femininity
‘boar’                         ‘sow’

(388) papaya nun (233)           papaya ila (234)
papaya manliness           papaya femininity
‘male papaya’           ‘female papaya’

The quality of ‘manliness’ with the connotation of ‘bigness’ can also be attributed to objects. José Santos Chappa called a large, big saucepan a čap’oŋ nun (pan
manliness). The terms nun and ila can be followed by adjectivizer -(k)o (see 6.4.5.4):

(389)  
\[ \text{ul'ukiow nun-o (235)} \quad \text{ul'ukiow ila-ko (236)} \]

partridge manliness-ADJ  \quad \textit{partridge femininity-ADJ}

‘male partridge’  \quad ‘female partridge’

In section 6.4.5.4 we have seen that a morpheme -(k)o is found as a distributive after cardinal numbers. In this case, occurring after the words nun and ila, the suffix -(k)o is likely to function as an adjectivizer.

6.12.5. Number
The suffixes -ha and -lol are used to indicate pronominal (see section 6.2 and 6.5) and nominal (see section 6.4.5.3) plurality, respectively. In the latter case, indication of number is optional. Usually, an unmarked noun can be singular as well as plural and the numerical interpretation depends on the context:

(390)  
\[ \text{hayu (21)} \quad \text{hayu-lol (777)} \]

‘a (native) man’, ‘an Indian’,  \quad man-PL.

‘(native) men’, ‘Indians’  \quad ‘(native) men’, ‘Indians’

(391)  
\[ \text{hayu i-t} \quad \text{ip pusim-pat o-n’antum-iy-la \&-kt-ag (47)} \]

\[ \text{Indian 3pPOS-house straw-INS 3sO-cover-PST-3pA 3pS-be-IA} \]

‘The houses of the Indians are covered with straw’.

Plural can also be indicated by means of the indefinite determiner mek ‘all’ (cf. section 6.9.4), by means of the reduplication of the indefinite pronoun inça ‘(some)thing’ (cf. inça section 6.9.3) and by means of a numeral (see section 6.10.1):

(392)  
\[ \text{mek upa (1461)} \]

all infant  \quad all thing

‘all infants’  \quad ‘all the things’

(393)  
\[ \text{mek inça (11355)} \]

(394)  
\[ \text{inça inça (1361)} \]

\[ \text{ip-hil (1097)} \]

\[ \text{two-CL:speech} \quad \text{‘two words’} \]

Plurality can furthermore be indicated by the intensifiers ma and pa-te-p, both designating a high degree, and the composites maha-p, ma maha-p, ma-ma-la, ma pa-te-p, pa-te-p ma (see section 6.12.3 above).
7. Verbal morphosyntax

7.1. Introduction
At the beginning of his first chapter dealing with the verb Pedro de la Mata distinguishes several kinds of verbs: intransitive verbs ‘verbo substantivo’, transitive verbs ‘verbo activo’, passive verbs ‘verbo pasivo’, compound verbs ‘verbo compuesto’, simple verbs ‘verbo simple’, impersonal verbs ‘verbo impersonal’, neutral verbs ‘verbo neutro’ and defective verbs ‘verbo defectivo’. He explains that passive verbs and compound verbs are formed by means of an ‘auxiliary’. These ‘auxiliaries’ appear to be bound verbs (see 7.3.3.2) or derivational suffixes (see 7.3.4). Simple verbs are non-compound verbs. Impersonal verbs as well as neutral verbs have only an impersonal third person singular ‘it’ as subject. The two kinds of verbs are treated in section 7.5 and 7.6, respectively. De la Mata’s defective verbs may be analyzed as interjections (chapter 9).

According to Pedro de la Mata all Cholón verbs end in \( n \), and the ‘present tense of the indicative’ always ends in \( an, en, in, on, \) or \( un \). He gives the following examples (the division into morphemes is mine):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-tp-a-} & \quad \text{‘I walk’} \\
\text{a-šk-e-} & \quad \text{‘I cause to drink’} \\
\text{a-gisi-n} & \quad \text{‘I cheat’} \\
\text{a-or-lu-po-} & \quad \text{‘I abhor someone/something’} \\
\text{a-mu-} & \quad \text{‘I taste something’/‘I bring it to my mouth’}
\end{align*}
\]

However, the vowel \( e \) of de la Mata’s ‘present tense’ ending \(-e-g\) above appears to be a separate suffix with a number of different functions (see section 7.4.2.2); the form \( a-gisi-n’ \) is the only ‘present tense’ form ending in a palatal nasal; and the vowels \( i, o \) and \( u \) of de la Mata’s endings \(-i{n}, -o{g} \) and \(-u{g} \) are part of the verb stem. The ‘present tense’ is thus likely to end in \(-a{g}\). This suffix, however, appears to indicate incompletive aspect rather than a present tense. The complex behaviour of incompletive \(-a{g}\) is discussed in 7.4.1.

De la Mata furthermore remarks that the preterite (both ‘perfect’ and ‘imperfect’) ends in \( ay, ey, y/i, o{y}, uy, \) or \( ow \). (The ending \( y/i \) was transcribed as \( <i/yi> \) by de la Mata. For our interpretation of de la Mata’s transcription, see section 4.2.3). This remark is accompanied with the following examples (the division into morphemes again is mine):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-tp-a-g} & \quad \text{‘I walk’} \\
\text{a-šk-e-g} & \quad \text{‘I cause to drink’} \\
\text{a-gisi-} & \quad \text{‘I cheat’} \\
\text{a-or-lu-po-g} & \quad \text{‘I abhor someone/something’} \\
\text{a-mu-g} & \quad \text{‘I taste something’/‘I bring it to my mouth’}
\end{align*}
\]
a-sina-y (244) (< sinah '(to hear)') 'I heard someone/something'
a-šk-e-y (245) 'I drank/ I caused to drink'
a-kt-i-y (246) 'I was'
kama a-ki-y (247) 'I was ill'
a-a-lu-po-y (248) (< lu-poh '(to abhor)') 'I abhorred someone/something'
u-mu-y (249) (< *muh '(to taste/ he tasted/ he brought to his bring to the mouth') mouth')

An example with the ending ow is not given, but the examples above can be supplemented with the following form:

(1) a-l-o-w (2139)
1SA-3SO-do/make-PST
'I did it'/ 'I made it'

The examples show that the preterite normally ends in -(i)y, but that it ends in -w after verbs ending in o, such as the verb o '(to do/make' in the example above; -iy is used after a consonantal stem and -y after a vocalic stem or a stem in h, which is then lost; the vowels a, o, u belong to the verb stem, and the vowel e is a separate suffix.

De la Mata also says that the simple future tense ends in <ctan>, <htan>, <ptan>, <itan>. These 'endings' actually consist of three elements: 1: the stem endings k/h/p/y, respectively; 2: the future marker -(k)t(e); 3: the incompletive aspect marker -(a)õ. De la Mata’s indications reflect the fact that the short ending -(k)t- is used after stems which end in a consonant (in p, t, č, k, č, t, s, š, h, n, g, w, y; stems ending in m have not been found), whereas -kt-ag is found after stems ending in a vowel. The ending <itan> can also be interpreted as -(i)y-t-a, which then consist of the following elements: -(i)y ‘stem extension’, -t- ‘future’, -a ‘imperfective aspect’. The forms in -(i)y-t-a are less common. They only occur in the following cases:
(i) the derived verbs k(o)loh-ia(h) ‘(to) finish again’ and pať'a-kia(h) ‘(to) be busy continuously’, which are formed by means of the derivational suffix -(k)ia(h) ‘reiterative’, have a future form in -(i)y-t-a:

(2) a-l-o-kloh-ia-y-t-a (2178)
1SA-3SO-do-finish-RE-SE-F-IA
'I shall finish doing it again'

(3) a-l-o-č a-pať'a-kia-y-t-a (2179)
1SA-3SO-do-FAC 3SS-take.all.day-RE-SE-F-IA
'I shall do it continuously'
Actually, the verbs in question are \textit{kole/kol} \textit{y} and \textit{pen} \textit{y} (o). De la Mata concludes the third person object marker which consists in nasalization of the initial consonant.

\textit{Cf. \textit{a-l-o-kiah-t-\text{ag}} (2163)}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1sA-3sO-do-RE-F-I\text{A}  \\
  \text{\textquoteleft I shall do it again\textquoteright}  \\
\end{itemize}

\textit{\textit{a-l-o-pale-kiah-t-\text{ag}} (2177)}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1sA-3sO-do-pace.up.and.down-RE-F-I\text{A}  \\
  \text{\textquoteleft I shall do it pacing up and down\textquoteright}  \\
\end{itemize}

(ii): the future of \textit{\textit{\textit{f}(a)w}/\textit{\textit{f}a} \textquoteleft(to) go (away)\textquoteright} ends in \textit{-iy-t-\text{ag}} when the verb is used impersonally. The stem is then preceded by an applicative object:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{f}}-k-a-f'aw-iy-t-\text{ag}} (1824)} \textit{cf. \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{f}}-a-kt-\text{ag}} (907)}}  \\
  \begin{itemize}
    \item 3sS-1pO-APL-go.away-SE-F-I\text{A}  \\
    \text{\textquoteleft it will go away from us\textquoteright}  \\
    \item 3sS-go-F-I\text{A}  \\
    \text{\textquoteleft he/she/it will go\textquoteright}  \\
  \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

(iii): verbs passivized with the derivational suffix \textit{it\textprime} and the verb \textit{y(a)\textacute{\textit{\textit{\textit{y}}}}(a)š \textquoteleft(to) see\textquoteright} have an alternative future form in \textit{-iy-t-\text{ag}}:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{k}}i-kole-if\textprime} iy-t-\text{ag}} (1002)} \textit{cf. \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{c}}}kole-if\textprime} t-\text{ag}} (1002)}}  \\
  \begin{itemize}
    \item 1pS-love-PAS-SE-F-I\text{A}  \\
    \text{\textquoteleft we shall be loved\textquoteright}  \\
    \item 3pS-love-PAS-F-I\text{A}  \\
    \text{\textquoteleft they will be loved\textquoteright}  \\
  \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{a-pen\textacute{y}}}o-it iy-t-\text{ag}} (1022)}}  \\
  \begin{itemize}
    \item 1sS-want-PAS-SE-F-I\text{A}  \\
    \text{\textquoteleft I shall be wanted\textquoteright}  \\
  \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{a-t\acute{\textit{\textit{\textit{c}}}i-y}}}t-\text{ag}} (254)}} \textit{cf. \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{a}}t\acute{\textit{a}}sh-t-\text{ag}} (254)}}  \\
  \begin{itemize}
    \item 1sA-3sO.see-SE-F-I\text{A}  \\
    \text{\textquoteleft I shall see him/her/it\textquoteright}  \\
    \item 1sA-3sO.see-F-I\text{A}  \\
    \text{\textquoteleft I shall see him/her/it\textquoteright}  \\
  \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

\textit{\textit{cf. \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{a-mna-y\acute{\textit{\textit{\textit{c}}}t}}}t-\text{ag}} (2030)}}  \\
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1sS-way-see-F-I\text{A}  \\
  \text{\textquoteleft I shall watch the way\textquoteright}  \\
\end{itemize}

Thereupon, Pedro de la Mata presents the conjugation of an intransitive verb, the verb \textit{k(o)t \textquoteleft(to) be\textquoteright}, and two transitive verbs: \textit{gole/pol\textprime} \textquoteleft to love someone/something\textquoteright and \textit{mer\textacute{(o)} \textquoteleft (to) want someone/something\textquoteright}. The conjugal paradigms of these verbs are represented in Appendix 3.2. On the basis of these conjugations, person markers, stems and endings can be distinguished. It appears that a verb form can consist of a stem + several affixes: one or two person markers,

\footnote{Actually, the verbs in question are \textit{kole/kol\textprime} and \textit{pen\textacute{(o)}}. De la Mata concludes the third person object marker which consists in nasalization of the initial consonant.}
an applicative marker, bound stems, derivationals, an aspect marker, stem extension and past tense markers, future and imperative markers, nominalizers, subordinators, and case markers. Person markers are mostly prefixed; the applicative marker is also prefixed; the other affixes are suffixed. A form such as \(a\text{-}mna\text{-}y\text{-}t\text{-}ap\) ‘I shall watch the way’ above, which contains a nominal base, -mna-, as well as a verbal root, -y\text{-}, shows that nouns can be incorporated into verbal stems. (The nominal base -mna- is a reduced relational form of pana ‘road’, ‘way’. The verbal root -y\text{-}, \(<y(a)\text{c} ‘(to) see’, has also been reduced by vowel suppression. For vowel reduction or suppression, see section 5.4; and for relational forms, see section 5.5). (The example \(a\text{-}t\text{aš}\text{-}t\text{-}ap\) ‘I shall see him/her/it’ shows that the palatal occlusive articulation of the final segment of the non-reduced stem \(ya\text{c}\) changes into an alveo-dental fricative articulation before an alveo-dental stop. In only one example -ac does not change into aš before t:

(8) \(mi\text{-}t\text{ač\text{-}te}\ (764)\)  
\(2\text{SA}\text{-}3\text{SO}\text{-see-F}\)  
‘you will see it’

However, when the stem is reduced, it keeps its final palatal occlusive articulation and -\text{c} then does not change into š before alveo-dental t, see the example \(a\text{-}mna\text{-}y\text{-}t\text{-}ap\) ‘I shall watch the way’).

Personal reference is analyzed in section 7.2; stems, bound verbs and derivational suffixes are examined in section 7.3; the remaining suffixes in 7.4. The analysis of suffixes is followed by sections about impersonal verbs, neutral verbs and verbs derived from nouns. A section about fixed expressions completes the chapter.

7.2. Personal reference
In Cholón verb forms several affixes referring to persons and objects that play a role in the expressed event can be distinguished. These affixes or person markers may function as subject (S) of an intransitive verb form; agent (A) of a transitive verb form; direct or indirect object (O) (indirect objects are marked by the additional presence of an applicative marker); beneficiary (B) of a transitive verb form. (The distinction between subject, agent and object and the indications S ‘intransitive subject’, A ‘transitive subject’, and O ‘transitive object’ are taken from Dixon, 1994: 6. In our description, however, O may refer to a direct object as well as to an indirect object). Intransitive forms can be distinguished from transitive forms by the absence (intransitive) or presence (transitive) of a direct object and by the use of different third person markers. In an intransitive form, a third person singular subject is either not marked, or it is indicated by means of the prefix l- or by a modified stem, and a third person plural subject is indicated by means of the prefix \((\text{č})\text{-}\). In a transitive form, a third person singular subject is marked by means of the prefixes i- or y-, and a third person plural agent is referred to by means of the suffix \(-la\); cf. the following examples:
Reflexive verbs are treated as intransitives. For instance, the verb _kole-n(o) _‘(to) love oneself’, consisting of the stem _kole _‘(to) love’ + the derivational suffix -n(o) ‘reflexive’ is intransitive. The third person singular subject is referred to by means of a modified stem-initial _g_, and the third person plural subject is indicated by means of the prefix _i-. If the verb would have been transitive, (i) the stem-initial _k_ of _kole/ kol_ would have been changed into a stem-initial velar nasal _õ_ indicating a third person singular object; (ii) this stem-initial _õ_ would occur in combination with another person marker, viz. an agent marker; (iii) a third person singular agent would have been marked by means of the prefix _i-, and third person plural by means of the suffix _-la_:

(13)  _gôle-n-ag_ (1526)  
3sS.love-RFL-IA  
‘he loves himself’

(14)  _ki-kôle-n-ag_ (1527)  
1ps.love-RFL-IA  
‘we love ourselves’

(15)  _ći-kôle-n-ag_ (1529)  
3ps.love-RFL-IA  
‘they love themselves’

The subject, agent, object and beneficiary markers are prefixed, but for _-la_ ‘3pA’ and _-ha_ ‘second person plural marker’. Two is the maximum number of person markers that can be affixed to a verb form, not including the second person plural
marker -ha and the applicative marker. Stems of intransitive verbs can be accompanied with one person marker, indicating the subject, or with an object marker accompanied by an applicative marker. In the latter case, the subject is always impersonal (a third person singular ‘it’) and therefore not marked on the verb:

(16)  ke-tq-ag (508)          (17)  o-k-a-kot-ag (558)
     1pS-be.(seated)-IA       3SS-1pO-APL-be.there-IA
       ‘we are/ sit’         ‘it is there for us’/‘we have’

Stems of transitive verbs can be accompanied with two person markers: one referring to the agent and a second one referring to an object (whether or not followed by the applicative marker -a), or a beneficiary. The agent normally precedes the object and the beneficiary:

(18)  a-m-kol'-ag (1646)
     1sA-2sO-love-IA
       ‘I love you’

(19)  mi-sak-ha  i-m-a-puč-iy-ha-g (1692)
     2POS-food-PL  3sA-2pO-APL-put.down-SE-PL-IA
     ‘He puts down your (p) food for you (p)’.

(20)  a-t-hil-ag (2136)
     1sA-3sB-speak-IA
     ‘I intercede [for someone]’ (lit. ‘I speak for someone’)

A reference to three arguments can be observed with stems modified with a stem-initial consonant, such as t’ač’atl’atl’as (to see something) < yač’yač’ (to see). The modified stem-initial alveo-dental then designates a third person singular object:

(21)  maha-t pa-mo a-m-a-tač-ag (1676)
     INT-RST COL-fruit 1sA-2sO-APL-3sO.see-IA
     ‘I see that you have a lot of fruits’. (lit. ‘I see a lot of fruits for you’).

(22)  mi’anta-ha  ki-m-a-tač-iy-ha (1680)
     2POS-face-PL  1PA-2O-APL-3sO.see-PST-PL
     ‘We saw your (p) faces (for you)’.

The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs does not seem to be clear-cut in Cholón. The stem of an intransitive verb can be part of a transitive verb form, and vice versa. The stem tup (to walk), for instance, usually belongs to an intransitive verb, in which case third person singular subject is not marked and third person plural is indicated by means of the prefix u- (< i-, see section 5.5 about
vowel harmony). On the other hand, the stem *tup* can also occur with the agent markers *u-* ‘3sA’ and *-la* ‘3pA’, in which case it is part of a transitive form ‘(to) cause to walk’:

(23)  
\[ o-tup-ag \] (931)  \[ u-o-tp-ag \] (2050)  
3sS-walk-IA \[ 3SA-3sO-walk-IA \]  
‘he walks’ ‘he causes him/her/it to walk’

(25)  
\[ u-tup-ag \] (931)  \[ o-tup-iy-la-g \] (2050)  
3pS-walk-IA \[ 3sO-walk-SE-3pA-IA \]  
‘they walk’ ‘they cause him/her/it to walk’

The stem *n-eštek-w(o) RF-cloth-VB* (see also section 7.7) ‘(to) make someone’s clothes’, ‘(to) sew’ can also be both transitive and intransitive. In the incomplete aspect paradigm of this verb, an intransitive third person singular and a transitive third person plural form are encountered:

(27)  
\[ o-n-eštek-w-ag \] (2015)  \[ o-n-eštek-wo-w-la-g \] (2015)  
3sS-REL-cloth-VB-IA \[ 3sO-REL-cloth-VB-SE-3pA-IA \]  
‘he makes (his) cloth(es)’ ‘they make someone’s cloth(es)’

The former has an intransitive form, because third person singular is not marked. If it were a transitive form, third person singular would have been indicated by means of the prefix *e-* ‘3sA’ (a harmonized *i-* ‘3sA’). The latter has a transitive form, because third person plural is marked by means of the agent marker *-la* ‘3pA’. Otherwise, third person plural would have been marked by means of the prefix *e-* ‘3ps’.

The markers *a-* ‘1s’, *mi-* ‘2sm’, *pi-* ‘2sf’, *o-* ‘3s’, *ki-* ‘1p’, *mi-...-ha* ‘2p’, *(qi)*- ‘3p’, which are used to indicate a possessor (see section 6.2), also indicate an argument: the first and second person markers *a-, mi-, pi-, ki-*...-*ha* can refer to a subject, agent or object, and the third person markers *o-* and *(qi)*- refer to a subject. (For harmonization and suppression of the vowel *i* of the person prefixes, see section 5.4.1 and 5.4.2, respectively):

(29)  
\[ u-a-l'up-ag \] (1926)  \[ i-k-kole-khe \] (1713)  
3SA-3sO-eat-IA \[ 3SA-1pO-love-IMP \]  
‘he eats something’ ‘may he love us’

(31)  
\[ m-a-kole-kte \] \[ mi-men'-ag \] (1746)  
2sA-1sO-love-INF 2sA-3sO.want-IA  
‘You want to love me’.
As regards the position of the second element of the person marker mi- ... -ha, the plural marker -ha, we have noticed that -ha is directly suffixed to the nominal stem when mi- ... -ha functions as a possessive person marker (see section 6.2). When mi- ... -ha functions as an argument, -ha can not always directly be suffixed to a verb stem. In most forms, plural marker -ha is preceded by the stem extender and past tense markers -(i)y or -w, namely, in

(i) incomplete aspect forms ending in -(a)jø:

(32) me-kt-iy-ha-ø (294)                          (33) mi-go₁-iy-ha-ø (689)
    2S-be-SE-PL-IA                          2A-3sO.love-SE-PL-IA
    ‘you (p) are’                          ‘you (p) love him/her/it’

(34) mi-men’o-w-ha-ø (810)
    2A-3sO.want-SE-PL-IA
    ‘you (p) want him/her/it’

(ii) preterite forms (-ha can then be followed by the anteriority marker -(k)e) (section 6.4.1 and 7.4.3):

(35) me-kt-iy-ha (300)                          (36) me-kt-iy-ha-ke (297)
    2S-be-PST-PL                            2S-be-PST-PL-ANT
    ‘you (p) were’                          ‘you (p) had been’

(37) mi-go₁-iy-ha (695)                          (38) mi-men’o-w-ha-ke (822)
    2A-3sO.love-PST-PL                       2A-3sO.want-PST-PL-ANT
    ‘you (p) loved him/her/it’               ‘you (p) had wanted him/her/it’

(iii) three attested forms in -(e)č ‘factivizer’; ‘purposive subordinator’:

(39) me-kt-iy-ha-č (423)
    2S-be-SE-PL-FAC/ 2S-be-SE-PL-PURP
    ‘that you (p) are’/ ‘so that you (p) are’

(40) me-tp-iy-ha-č (544)
    2S-be,(seated)-SE-PL-FAC/ 2S-be,(seated)-SE-PL-PURP
    ‘that you (p) are (seated)’/ ‘so that you (p) are (seated)’

(41) o-m-a-ťaw-iy-ha-č (1837)
    3sS-2o-APL-go.away-SE-PL-FAC/ 3sS-2o-APL-go.away-SE-PL-PURP
    ‘that he/she/it goes away from you (p)’/ ‘so that he/she/it goes away from you (p)’

When the plural marker -ha occurs with a derivational suffix or a bound stem, it regularly follows them. In the incomplete aspect forms in -(a)jø and in the preterite
forms, -ha is then also preceded by the stem extenders -(i)y and -(i)w. Although examples of preterite forms in which plural marker -ha occurs with a bound verb have not been found, we may assume that in such forms -ha would also have been preceded by the suffix -(i)y/-(i)w. Examples of incompleteive aspect second person plural forms:

(42) mi-men’o-ka-y-ha-g (868)  
2A-3sO.want-ICA-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) cause him/her/it to want’

(43) mi-foy-e-y-ha-g (1921)  
2A-3sO.cry-CAU-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) cause him/her/it to cry’

(44) mi-l-o-kol-iy-ha-g (2168)  
2A-3sO.do/make-finish-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) finish doing/making it’

(45) mi-l-o-çu-po-w-ha-g (2169)  
2A-3sO.do/make-do.tenderly-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) tenderly do/make it’

Examples of preterite forms of preterite second person plural forms:

(46) mi-men’o-ka-y-ha (860)  (47) mi-kole-it-iy-ha (1001)  
2A-3sO.want-ICA-PST-PL 2A-3sO.want-PL-RE-PST  
‘you (p) caused him/her/it to want’ ‘you (p) were loved’

However, when the plural marker -ha occurs in a derived verb form with the derivational suffix -(k)ia(h) ‘reiterative’, it precedes that suffix and is then not preceded by neither -(i)y nor -(i)w:

(48) mi-men’o-ha-kia-g (891)  (49) mi-men’o-ha-kia-y (892)  
2A-3sO.want-PL-RE-IA 2A-3sO.want-PL-RE-PST  
‘you (p) want him/her/it again’ ‘you (p) wanted him/her/it again’

(50) mi-men’o-ha-kia-t-ag (893)  
2A-3sO.want-PL-RE-F-IA  
‘you (p) will want him/her/it again’

In summary, we may conclude that the plural marker -ha is always preceded by stem extension (by -(i)y or -(i)w), except in combinations with -(k)ia(h). It should be observed, however, that not all possible combinations have been found in the ALC.
Subject, agent and object person markers are examined in more detail in the sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2 and 7.2.3, respectively. In addition to these person markers, de la Mata mentions the prefixes *t- and *p-/ *m- which indicate a beneficiary. These prefixes are treated in section 7.2.6.

### 7.2.1. Subject markers

In many aspects, the paradigm of the subject markers is similar to that of the possessive person markers. It has a zero-marked third person singular and it also uses the forms *i- and *i- to indicate a third person plural: *i- occurs before stem-initial *p, *m, *k, *h, *y, before a vowel, and before the reflexive beneficiary and reciprocal marker *m- (reflexive and reciprocal verbs are intransitive, see section 7.2); *i- appears before initials of the alveo-dental range *t, *t, *s, *n, *l, including the palatalized counterparts č, ɗ, *n', *l'. Below, examples of subject marking (left column) are contrasted with examples of possessive marking (right column):

(51)  
\[ \text{a-}kt-ag (290) \quad \text{a-}t'la (148) \]  
1sS-be-IA \quad 1sPOS-wife  
‘I was’ \quad ‘my wife’

(52)  
\[ \text{me-}kt-i'y (297) \quad \text{mi-}pap (140) \]  
2sms-be-PST \quad 2sPOS-mother  
‘you (m) were’ \quad ‘your (m) mother’

(53)  
\[ \text{pe-}kt-i'y (315) \quad \text{pu-puluč} (149) \]  
2sfS-be-PST \quad 2sfPOS-husband  
‘you (f) were’ \quad ‘your (f) husband’

(54)  
\[ \text{a-}kot-i'y (298) \quad \text{a-}r-\text{atel}'pa (102) \]  
3ss-be-PST \quad 3sPOS-REL-chicken  
‘he was’ \quad ‘his chicken’

(55)  
\[ \text{ke-}kt-i'y (299) \quad \text{ki-}kot (114) \]  
1ps-be-PST \quad 1pPOS-water  
‘we were’ \quad ‘our water’

(56)  
\[ \text{me-}kt-i'y-ha (300) \quad \text{me-n-el-ha} (106) \]  
2s-be-PST-PL \quad 2pos-REL-yucca-PL  
‘you (p) were’ \quad ‘your (p) yucca’

(57)  
\[ \text{e-}kt-i'y (301) \quad \text{či-mna} (138) \]  
3psS-be-PST \quad 3pos-road  
‘they were’ \quad ‘their road’
However, there are some differences between the nominal possessor paradigm and the verbal subject paradigm:

(1) In addition to the non-marked third person singular, there is a subject prefix \( l \)- which has the same function. It is used when the verb stem begins with a vowel:

(58)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{i-m-kol-ag \) (64) }} \\
3pA-3pBREC-love-IA \\
\text{‘they love each other’}
\end{array}
\]

(59)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{i-top-iy \) (516) }} \\
3ps-be.(seated)-PST \\
\text{‘they were (sitting)’}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{e-\( \text{es \) (130) } \) \) } \\
3pros-alfalfa \\
\text{‘their alfalfa’}
\end{array}
\]

(60)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{l-am-ag \) (2054) } \\
3ss-eat-IA \\
\text{‘he eats’}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{l-e-n-ag \) (2076) } \\
3ss-give-RFL-IA \\
\text{‘he gives himself’}
\end{array}
\]

(61)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{l-o-n-ag \) (2167) } \\
3ss-make-RFL-IA \\
\text{‘he makes himself’}
\end{array}
\]

(2) A third person singular subject can furthermore be referred to by means of a modified stem-initial \( m, g, r, s; \):

(62)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{men'o-it-ag \) (1018) } \\
3ss.want-PAS-IA \\
\text{‘he is wanted’}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{a-pen'o-it-ag \) (1016) } \\
1ss.want-PAS-IA \\
\text{‘I am wanted’}
\end{array}
\]

(63)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{pol-iy \) (2784) } \\
3ss.die-PST \\
\text{‘he died’}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{a-kl-iy \) (2784) } \\
1ss.die-PST \\
\text{‘I died’}
\end{array}
\]

(64)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{r'oy-ag \) (2060) } \\
3ss.cry-IA \\
\text{‘he cries’}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{a-yoy-ag \) (2060) } \\
1ss.cry-IA \\
\text{‘I cry’}
\end{array}
\]

(65)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{sil-ag \) (1127) } \\
3ss.speak-IA \\
\text{‘he speaks’}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\( \text{mi-hil-mulo-pe-\( \text{ap \) (1621) } \) } \\
2ss.speak-begin-NE-FAC-ABL \\
\text{‘before you begin to speak’}
\end{array}
\]

The modified consonants can be interpreted as the result of the merger of a nasal, indicating third person singular subject, and stem-initial \( p, k, y, h \) (see also section 5.5). Since both third person singular agent and object can be referred to by means
of the prefix y(o) (see below), the nasal which underlies the modified initial consonant of an intransitive verb stem may have been a velar nasal as well:

\[
\begin{align*}
* y + \# p & > \# m \\
* y + \# k & > \# y \\
* y + \# y & > \# t' \\
* y + \# h & > \# s \\
\end{align*}
\]

(3) another difference between the nominal possessor paradigm and the verbal subject paradigm is that third person plural marker ći- can appear before y and before a vowel when it is used as a subject marker, whereas it never occurs before y nor before a vowel when it functions as a possessive marker. This is because (i) nouns which have y or a vowel in initial position change y into t' or take an epenthetic n in their relational forms, respectively (see section 5.5); and (ii) i-, not ći-, occurs before t' and epenthetic n. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(67)</th>
<th>ći-yoy-ap (1917)</th>
<th>i-t'ip (47)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ps-cry-IA</td>
<td>‘they cry’</td>
<td>3pPOS-house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(68)</th>
<th>ći-am-ap (2054)</th>
<th>i-n-atel pa (105)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ps-eat-IA</td>
<td>‘they eat’</td>
<td>3pPOS-REL-chicken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows the subject markers:

Table 7.1. Subject markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>k(t)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m</td>
<td>m(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)- ... -ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f</td>
<td>p(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)- ... -ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ći- / _ p, k, m, y, h, V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l / V</td>
<td>i / _ č, t, f, s, š, n, n', l, ć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#m, #g, #t', #s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.2.2. Agent markers

The first and second person affixes a-, mi-, pi-, ki-...-ha, and the third person plural affix ɛ-, which are used to refer to a possessor or to a subject, can also be used to indicate an agent. However, the prefix ɛ- is only used as an agent marker when the object is a third person plural. Examples:

(69)  a-pokl'-ag (685)  
1SA-3sO,love-IA  
‘I love him/her/it’

(70)  mi-men'-ag (807)  
2smA-3sO,want-IA  
‘you (m) want him/her/it’

(71)  pi-i-o-w (2880)  
2sfA-3sO-do-PST  
‘you (f) did it’

(72)  ki-pokl'-ag (688)  
1PA-3sO,love-IA  
‘we love him/her/it’

(73)  mi-men'ow-ka-g (810)  
2A-3sO,want-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) want him/her/it’

(74)  ñ-po-hia-g (1661)  
3PA-3pO-wait.for-IA  
‘they wait for them’

In addition, Cholón has two different prefixes to indicate a third person singular agent: i- and ñ-, and one suffix to designate a third person plural agent: -la. The third person singular agent marker ñ- is used when the object is a first person singular. It may also underlie the nasal initial of the prefix mo- ‘3sA.3pO’, which appears to be derived from *ñ’3sA’+ po ‘3pO’ (cf. *ñ + #p > #m, section 7.2.1):

(75)  i-men'-ag (808)  
3SA-3sO,want-IA  
‘he wants him/her/it’

(76)  p-a-kole-kte  i-men'-ag (1748)  
3SA-1sO,love-INF 3SA-3sO,want-IA  
‘he wants to love me’

(77)  ñ-a-hia-g (1648)  
3SA-1sO,wait.for-IA  
‘he waits for me’

(78)  mo-kol'-ag (2151)  
3SA-3pO,love-IA  
‘he loves them’

The suffix -la ‘3pA’ is used when the object is not a third person plural. Like the plural marker -ha, third person plural marker -la is preceded by the stem extenders and preterite markers -(i)y and -w when occurring in incompletive aspect forms and preterite forms (see the remarks about the use of plural marker -ha in section 7.2.1). In the former, -la is then also followed by the incompletive aspect marker -(a)k in the latter, -la is also either not followed by any suffix, or followed by the anteriority marker -(k)e:
Unlike plural marker -ha, which can be preceded by the stem extender -(i)y when followed by the factivizer -(e)č, the third person plural marker -la is never preceded by -(i)y when followed by the ending -(e)č. It is then always directly suffixed to the verb stem:

In a derived verb form, -la ‘3pA’, like the plural marker -ha, occurs before the derivational suffix -(k)ia(h) ‘reiterative’ but after the derivational suffixes -(k)e(h) ‘causative’ and -ka(h) ‘causative’, which are then followed by stem extension -(k)e-y, -ka-y. (It can not appear in a derived form with passivizer -it and reflexivizer -(o), because such verb forms are considered to be intransitive, and the third person plural subject marker of intransitive verbs is regularly -(či)-):

In forms composed with a bound verb, -la usually precedes the bound verb (the plural marker -ha normally follows the bound verb):
In two attested cases, -la follows the bound verb, which then undergoes stem extension:

(91)  lo-ču-po-w-la-g (2169)  3SO-do-do.tenderly-SE-3pA-IA
   ‘they do it tenderly’

(92)  lo-kol-iy-la-g (2168)  3SO-do-finish-SE-3pA-IA
   ‘they finish doing it’

(*lo-la-čup-ag and *lo-la-kol-ag have not been encountered). When a derivational suffix is attached to a bound verb, -la regularly follows the derivational suffix, even when this suffix is -(k)ia(h) (see before):

(93)  lo-kloh-ia-y-la-g (2168)  3SO-do-finish-RE-SE-3pA-IA
   ‘they finish doing it again’

When -ha and la- occur together in one verb form, the latter regularly precedes the former:

(94)  mi-hia-y-la-ha-g (1660)  2O-wait.for-SE-3pA-PL-IA
   ‘they wait for you (p)’

In two examples, ċi- instead of -la is used. In one of them ċi- occurs before a transitive stem with a modified initial consonant m indicating a third person singular object:

(95)  ċi-mal ow-e-g (2230)  (< pal'ow-e(h) ‘(to) benefit’)
   3PS-3SO.benefit-VB-IA
   ‘they benefit him/her/it’

In the other example, ċi- occurs before a stem beginning with p (cf. ċi- = 3pA, when followed by po- ‘3pO’):

(96)  ċi-o-paso-lam-he (1581)  3pA-3SO-preach-FN1-BEN
   ‘in order that they preach it’

In the following table the agent markers are represented. (The exceptional use of ċi- as an agent marker in ċi-mal ow-e-g and ċi-o-paso-lam-he is disregarded).
Table 7.2. Agent markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>k(i)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m</td>
<td>m(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)- ... -ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f</td>
<td>p(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)- ... -ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>čē/- _3pO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p/- a/- ‘1sO’</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.3. Object markers

The personal reference markers mentioned in 7.2.1 and 7.2.2, again except for the third person markers, are also used to indicate an object:

(97)  m-a-kole-ki (1698)  2SA-1sO-love-IMP
‘Love me!’

(98)  i-m-kole-khe (1700)  3SA-2smO-love-IMP
‘May he love you (m)’!

(99)  i-p-kole-khe (1700)  3SA-2sfO-love-IMP
‘May he love you (f)’

(100)  t’i-tu-p  i-k-lo-y (2218)  downpour-AD-ABL  3SA-1po-wet-PST
‘The downpour wet us’.

(101)  i-m-lo-y-ha (2219)  3SA-2O-wet-PST-PL
‘he wet you (p)’

A third person singular direct object can be referred to by means of a modified stem-initial m, p, t’, s, due to an underlying *g’3so’ (see section 7.2.1 and 7.2.2):

(102)  i-mo-g (2223)  (< po ‘(to) burn/bite’)
  3SA-3sO.burn-1A
  ‘he burns/bites him/her/it’

(103)  i-pol-ag (687)  (< kole ‘(to) love’)
  3SA-3sO.love-1A
  ‘he loves him/her/it’
A third person singular direct object can also be indicated by means of the prefixes _l_- and _õo_. The former appears when the verb stem begins with a vowel:

(106)  _a-l-o-ag (2138) (107)  _i-l-o-w (775)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sA-3sO-make-IA</th>
<th>3sA-3sO-make-PST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘I make it’</td>
<td>‘he made it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix _õo_ only occurs in a construction consisting of a transitive main verb + auxiliary _k(o)t_ ‘(to) be’. The main verb appears as a subordinated form in -(k)he ‘simultaneity’ and is accompanied by the direct object prefix _õo_. There is no agent marker. The auxiliary _k(o)t_ is in the incompletive aspect form, and its subject functions as the agent of the predicate:

(108)  _po-kole-khe  a-kt-a (1796) (109)  _po-kole-khe  âé-kt-ag (1802)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3sO-love-SIM  1sS-be-IA</th>
<th>3sO-love-SIM  3pS-be-IA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘I am loving him’</td>
<td>‘they are loving him’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all other cases, third person singular object is not indicated, viz. it is zero-marked, and the existence of a third person singular object appears to be implied:

(110)  _a-l-up-iy-la-g (1926)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3sO-eat-SE-3sA-IA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘they eat something’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third person plural direct object is indicated by _p(o)-_, realized as _m_- and _p_- before an applicative marker (see Table 7.3 below), and as _mo_ and _po_ elsewhere. The form _m(o)-_ is a nasalized form of _p(o)-_; *g- ‘3sA’ + _p(o)-_ ‘3pO’ > _m(o)-_ ‘3sA.3pO’.

(111)  _mo-lo-y (2220) (112)  _mi-po-kol-ay (2916)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3sA.3pO-wet-PST</th>
<th>2sA-3pO-love-IA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘he wet them’</td>
<td>‘you love them’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An interesting case is _<incollan>_, which, according to Pedro de la Mata, means ‘He loves us’: _i-n-kol-ag_ ‘3sA-1pO-love-IA’. The prefix _-n_ should then refer to a first person plural, which would be anomalous. However, the form may be mistaken for
i-goI-agf: 3Sa-3So-love-IA ‘he loves him/her/it’. Another possibility would be that -k-k is automatically replaced by -g-k).

In the following table the object markers are summarized.

Table 7.3. Object markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 m</td>
<td>m(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)- ... -ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f</td>
<td>p(i)-</td>
<td>m(i)- ... -ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>p(o)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1- / _V</td>
<td>#m, #n, #r', #h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go- / ... -(k)he + k(o)I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.4. Prefix order

As stated before, in a verb form personal reference markers occur before the verb stem, and agent markers normally precede object markers: A-O-stem. However, when the agent is a second person and the object the first person plural, the latter precedes the former: 1pO-2sA-stem(-SE)(-ha). This reversed order may cause ambiguity. For instance, the form

(113)  

ki-m-kol-ag (1664)  
lPO-2SA-love-IA  
‘you love us’

can also be interpreted as 1pA-2so-love-IA ‘We love you’. In addition, the second person agent marker can be followed by the applicative marker -(h)a, which then relates to the first person plural object:

(114)  

ki-sak  ki-m-a-puc-ag (1689)  
lPOs-food 1pO-2sA-APL-put.down-IA  
‘You put down our food [for us]’.

In the alternative case, the applicative marker (see section 7.2.5) is suffixed to the object marker, not to the subject or agent marker: S/A-O-APL-stem, so that the example above would be interpreted as lPOs-food 1pA-2so-APL-put.down-IA ‘We put down our food [for you]’. When the context does not clearly bring forward that the second person is the agent and not the object, and that the first person plural is
the object and not the agent, the verb form can be preceded by a form consisting of a second person pronoun, *mi* or *mi-na-ha*, + the suffix combination -tu-p, functioning as an agent marker, in order to clarify that the second person is the agent:

(115) *mi-tu-p ki-m-kol-ag* (1664)
    2s-ABL 1pO-2SA-love-IA
    ‘You love us’.

(116) *mi-na-ha-tu-p ki-ha č ki-m-a-tačiy-ha* (1681)
    2POs-CON-PL-ABL 1pPOs-field 1pO-2A-APL-3sO-see-SE-PL
    ‘You (p) saw our fields [for us]’.

7.2.5. Applicative
The first and second person object markers, the zero-marked third person singular object, the third person plural object marker *p(o)-*, and the second person subject or agent markers can be followed by the applicative marker -(h)a. The applicative forms which are obtained when -(h)a is attached to a person marker are as follows:

1s:  a- + -(h)a- > a-
2sm: m(i)- + -(h)a- > m-a-
2sf: p(i)- + -(h)a- > p-a-
3s:  ø- + -(h)a- > ha-
1p:  k(i)- + -(h)a- > k-a-
2p:  m(i)- ... -ha + -(h)a- > m-a- ... -ha
3p:  p(o)- + -(h)a- > p-a- + PL -ha > p-a-ha
     m(o)- + -(h)a- > m-a- + PL -ha > m-a-ha

Like *mo-*, *m-a-ha* is a nasalized form, the result of a merger of *3sO* + *p-a-ha*:

(117) *mućag m-a-ha-tiki-ag* (2129)
    prayer 3sA.3pO-APL-PL-do-IA
    ‘he prays for them’

Applicative -(h)a occurs with intransitive as well as transitive stems. It is normally combined with an object marker, indicating that the event takes place to the benefit or to the detriment of the person involved:

(118) *a-a-kot-ag* (555)
    3sS-1sO-APL-be-IA
    ‘it is for me’/ ‘I have’
(119)  
a-cečo  m-a-pen'-aq (1732)
1sPOS-money  2sA-1sO.APL-want-IA
‘You want my money (from me).’

(120)  
liman-ap  kaša  a-m-a-puhat-iy (1728)
mountain-ABL  needle  1sA-2sMO.APL-bring-PST
‘From the mountains I brought you (m) needles’. 

(121)  
pi-sak  p-a-puč-iy-la-y (1696)
2sfPOS-food  2sO.APL-put.down-SE-3PA-IA
‘They put down your (f) food for you (I)’. 

(122)  
o-ha-tog (643)
3ss-3sO.APL-be
‘it is for him’/ ‘he has’

(123)  
mi-n’anta-ha  ki-m-a-fač-iy-ha (1680)
2POS-face-PL  1PA-20.APL-3sO.see-PST-PL
‘We saw your (p) faces (for you)’. 

(124)  
i-ťip  mi-p-a-fač-iy-ha-k’t-ap (1684)
3pPOS-house  2A-3pO.APL-PL-3sO.see-SE-PL-F-IA
‘You (p) will see their houses for them’. 

However, in the case of the inversion of second person subject or agent and first person plural object (see section 7.2.4) the applicative marker -(h)a, indicating that the event takes place to the benefit/detriment of the object, is then not suffixed to the object marker but to the subject or agent marker (see also the examples in section 7.2.4):

(125)  
mi-na-ha-tu-p  ki-m-a-hia-y-ha-y (1656)
2POS-CON-PL-AD-ABL  1pO-2sA-APL-wait.for-SE-PL-IA
‘You (p) wait for us’. 

7.2.6. Person markers \(-t\) and \(-p/-m\)

In addition to the form \(-ha\) ‘3s.O.AP’ which indicates a third person singular indirect object, prejudiced person or beneficiary, Cholón also disposes of a third person singular beneficiary marker: \(-t\). The difference between \(-ha\) and \(-t\) is that the former can indicate both a beneficiary and a non-beneficiary, and that it is anaphoric. It refers to a person which has been mentioned before. The latter, on the other hand, indicates a beneficiary only, and it is non-anaphoric:

\((126)\) \(a-t-hi\-\text{il}-ag\) (2136)

1sA-3sB-speak-IA

‘I intercede for him/her’

The person marker \(-p/-m\) also refers to a person who benefits from the event. A distinction between the applicative markers and the prefix \(-p/-m\) is that the latter is reflexive: it is used to indicate that the beneficiary is the subject itself. The prefix \(-p/-m\) can also function as a reciprocal person marker when the subject is plural. De la Mata gives six examples. In five forms \(-p/-m\) refers to a first person, and in one, exceptional, form \(-p/-m\) refers to a third person plural. According to these examples, the form \(-p\) occurs before a verb stem which has \(h\), \(y\), \(l\) in initial position; \(-m\) is used when the verb stem begins with \(k\), or \(m\) (< *\(p\)). The nasalization of \(-p\) before \(k\) and *\(p\) may have resulted from dissimilation: \(-p\) is employed before a continuant and a lateral; \(-m\) before a stop and a nasal (see section 5.6). Examples:

\((127)\) \(a-p-hina\-g\) (2066)

1sS-1sB-hear-IA

‘I hear for myself’

\((128)\) \(a-p-yalp\-ag\) (2070)

1sS-1sB-gather-IA

‘I gather for myself’

\((129)\) \(a-p\-lah\-ag\) (2072)

1sS-1sB-take-IA

‘I take for myself’

\((130)\) \(k\-i-p-hin\-ag\) (2067)

1pS-1pREC-hear-IA

‘we hear each other’

\((131)\) \(k\-i-m-kol\-\text{ip}\-ag\) (2068)

1pS-1pB/REC-love-IA

‘we love for ourselves/ each other’

\((132)\) \(\ddot{c}\i-m-men\-\text{ip}\-ag\) (2069)

3pS-3pREC-want-IA

‘they want each other’

This last form is exceptional because of the modified stem-initial consonant of the verb stem *\(men\)*. Normally, it indicates a third person singular object, which is not the case here, because the verb is reciprocal and reciprocal verbs are intransitive (see section 7.2). Regularly, the stem would have had \(p\) in initial position: *\(pen\)*. For a possible explanation of the occurrence of initial \(m\) instead of \(p\), see section 5.6.
7.2.7. Overview
In the previous sections (7.2.1 - 7.2.6) we have seen that the person marker a- occurring in a verb form can indicate a subject, agent, direct object and applicative object; that m(i)-, p(i)-, k(i)-, m(i)- ... -ha are used to indicate a subject, agent and direct object; that they turn into an applicative object by means of the suffix -a; and that there are several forms to mark a third person subject, agent, object or beneficiary. Table 7.4 shows the third person markers indicating a subject, agent and object, including the zero-marked third person singular. In this overview, the prefix p-, indicating a third person singular, also represents the underlying velar nasal of the modified stem-initials m, p, t, s. Since the form m(o)-’3pO’ equals p(o)-’3pO’ + an underlying p- ’3sS/A/O’, represented in the table, this form is not included.

Table 7.4. Third person subject (S), agent (A) and object (O) markers, and the non-anaphoric benefactive (B) marker t-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s:</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p:</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ø)i-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-la-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p(o)-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3. Stems
The stem of a verb can be simple, compound or derived. A compound stem is formed by means of an incorporated (pre-root) noun or bound (post-root) verb, a derived stem by means of a derivational suffix. Simple, compound and derived stems are either vocalic or consonantal: vocalic stems end in e, a or o, consonantal stems in a consonant. These stems can be followed by suffixes expressing aspect, tense, mood, subordination, etc. Simple stems are treated in section 7.3.1 and 7.3.2; compound stems in section 7.3.3; derived stems in section 7.3.4.

A majority of the stems can be reduced either by means of the omission of their last segment, or by means of vowel internal suppression: the vocalic stems and the stems in h can drop their ending, the other consonantal stems can suppress their stem vowel. Reduction occurs when the stem is followed by the incompletive aspect marker -(a)p, the stem extension and past tense markers -(ii)y and -(e)y, or the derivational suffix -(ke)(h) ‘causativizer’. Regularly, the vowel of a consonantal stem is also suppressed when the stem is followed by the purposive subordinator -(e)/(ø)c. (The suffix -(e)/(ø)c can also function as a factivizer. When it is used as such it is attached to a non-reduced stem, see below and section 7.4.6.4).

Stems which are not reduced are the following:
(i) a ‘(to) do’, č ‘(to) give birth’, es ‘(to) enter’, layum ‘(to) suffer’, łup ‘(to) eat/swallow something’, puš ‘(to) fall’, šawšayš ‘(to) whip’, šepos ‘(to) blow’;
(ii) ki ‘(to) become’ or ending in ki: ayki ‘(to) stay’, hakik ‘(to) think’, łusak ‘(to) pity’, tikik ‘(to) be(come)’;
(iii) compound stems formed by means of the bound verbs -pît ‘(to) do while passing by’ and -puš ‘(to) rest from’;
(iv) derived stems formed by means of the suffix -it ‘passivizer’;
(v) stems with an impersonal use, but for pak(o)t ‘(there) is’.

7.3.1. Reducible stems
In the preceding section we have seen that a number of simple stems are not liable to reduction. There may be more non-reducible stems. However, the available data of a great number of other verbs is not enough to decide whether the stem of these verbs is reducible or not. We have also seen that, regularly, the stem of an impersonal verb is not reduced. When the verbs k(o)t ‘(to) be’, łyaaw/łya ‘(to) go (away)’ and t(o)ŋ ‘(to) be (seated)’ are used impersonally, their stem is kot, łyaw/łya and toŋ, respectively.

On the basis of their morphological behaviour (the shape of their stems, the way they are reduced and the use of the suffixes -(a)ŋ ‘incompletive aspect marker’, -e(y) ‘stem extension and past tense marker’, -(i)y/-w ‘stem extension and past tense marker’, -(e)č ‘factivizer’, ‘purposive subordinator’, -(k)e(h) ‘causativizer’) verbs with a reducible stem can be divided into five classes:
1: verbs like k(o)t ‘(to) be’, with a consonantal stem other than h. They can be reduced by vowel suppression when the stem is preceded by a person marker indicating the subject and followed by the suffixes -(a)ŋ, -(e)č, functioning as a purposive subordinator, or -(k)e(h). Verbs of this class have an intransitive stem which can be transitivized by means of causativizer -(k)e(h). The verb k(o)t ‘(to) be’ never occurs with causativizer -(k)e(h), but other verbs, such as t(u)ŋ ‘(to) walk’, do. Examples:

(133)  o-kot-ag (292)
  3ss-be-IA
  ‘he is’

(134)  ke-kt-e-g (293)
  1ps-be-PST-IA
  ‘we were’

(135)  me-kto-iy (297)
  2ss-be-PST
  ‘you were’

(136)  a-kt-eč (423)
  1ss-be-PURP
  ‘so that I am’

(137)  a-o-tp-eh-t-ag (934)
  1SA-3S0-walk-CAU-F-IA
  ‘I shall cause him/her/it to walk’

2: verbs with a consonantal stem in h, e.g. hia(h) ‘(to) wait for’, pilčči(h) ‘(to) break’, lo(h) ‘(to) wet’ and łu(h) ‘(to) anoint someone/something’. These verbs drop the
ending $h$ before the incompletive aspect marker -(a)$y$ and stem extender -(i)$y$: *hiah-$a$g > hia-$g$, *hiah-$i$y > hia-$y$. Stem extender -(e)$y$ does not occur with verbs of this class, and subordinator -(e)$c$ is not directly suffixed to the verb stem, but to the future marker -(k)t(e). Class 2 verbs can be transitive as well as intransitive. An intransitive stem can be causativized by -(k)e(h) ‘causativizer’, a transitive stem by -ka(h) ‘indirect causativizer’. The latter suffix is regularly attached to a non-reduced stem. (Although preterite forms of verbs in /i(h) have not been found, we may assume that they also drop $h$ before -(i)$y$).

Examples:

(138) $a$-milčê-$g$ (2859)
1SA-3SO.breach-IA
‘I break him/her/it’

(139) $a$-o-lo-$g$ (962)
1SA-3SO.wet-IA
‘I wet it’

(140) $a$-o-t'u-$g$ (974)
1SA-3SO.anoint-IA
‘I anoint him/her/it’

(141) $a$-o-loh-t-e$ê$ (966)
1SA-3SO.wet-F-PURP
‘so that I wet him/her/it’

(142) $a$-hina-ke-$g$ (1582)
1SS.hear-CAU-IA
‘I cause to hear’

3: verbs like $kol(e)$ ‘(to) love’ and $pal(e)$ with a vocalic stem ending in $e$. This ending is dropped when the stem is followed by the incompletive aspect marker -(a)$y$ and by the stem extenders -(i)$y$ and -(e)$y$; lateral $l$, the segment preceding the ending $e$, is then palatalized: *kole-(a)$y$ > kol-$ag$, *kole-(i)$y$ > kol-$iy$; *kole-e > kol-$ê$. The suffix -(e)$c$ ‘factivizer’ is suffixed to the non-reduced stem in $e$ and -(e)$ê$ ‘purposive subordinator’ to future marker -(k)t(e). Verbs of class 3 are transitive, and are causativized by means of the suffix -ka(h).

Examples:

(143) $a$-gol$ê$-$ag$ (685) < gol(e) ‘(to) love someone/something’
1SA-3SO.love-IA
‘I love him/her/it’

(144) $a$-gol$ê$-$iy$ (691)
1SA-3SO.love-PST
‘I loved him/her/it’

(145) $a$-gol$ê$-e$g$ (691)
1SA-3SO.love-PST-IA
‘I loved him/her/it’
(146) *a-pole-č* (758)  
1SA-3SO.love-FAC  
‘that I love him/her/it’

(147) *a-pole-kt-eč* (766)  
1SA-3SO.love-F-PURP  
‘so that I love him/her/it’

(148) *a-pole-ka-g* (867)  
1SA-3SO.love-ICA-IA  
‘I cause him/her/it to love’

The verb e ‘(to) give’ also belongs to this class: e is also replaced by a palatal articulation and becomes y before -(a)y. Forms of the verb e containing the stem extenders -e(y) (*a-l-y-e-g*) and -(i)y (*y-i-y), viz. in past tense forms, or the ending -kt-eč, have not been encountered. Examples:

1SA-3SO.give-IA  
‘I give something’

(150) *a-l-e-ka-g* (2075)  
1SA-3SO.give-ICA-IA  
‘I cause him/het/it to give’

(151) *a-l-e-č*  
*pat’a-ka-g* (2100)  
1SA-3SO.give-FAC  3SS-take.all.day-RE-IA  
‘I continuously give it’.

4: verbs with a vocalic stem ending in a, such as *lam(a)* ‘(to) kill’ and *pat’(a)* ‘(to) take all day’. They lose their vocalic ending before the stem extender -(i)y. Before -(a)y their final vowel is merged with that of the suffix. They are neither encountered with the stem extender -e(y), nor with causativizer -(k)e(h). Factivizer -(e)č is attached to the non-reduced, vocalic stem. Subordinated forms in -eč-(k)t-eč have not been found, possibly due to lack of data. Verbs belonging to class 4 can be transitive as well as intransitive. Transitive verbs are causativized by means of the suffix -ka(h). No cases of an intransitive verb in a that is causativized have been found. Examples:

(152) *a-o-lama-g* (2057)  
1SA-3SO.kill-IA  
‘I kill him/her/it’

(153) *a-lam-iy-la-g* (2057)  
3SO.kill-SE-3PA-IA  
‘they kill him/her/it’

(154) *a-o-lama-ka-g* (2058)  
1SA-3SO.kill-ICA-IA  
‘I cause him/her/it to kill’

(155) *a-pat’a-g* (2094)  
3SS-take.all.day-IA  
‘it takes the whole day’

(156) *a-pat’-iy* (2094)  
3SS-take.all.day-PST  
‘it took the whole day’
5: verbs like *pen’(o) ’(to) want’ with a vocalic stem ending in o. The stem drops the ending o when followed by the incompletive aspect marker -(a)γ. *pen’-o-ay > pen’-ag. The stem extenders and past tense markers -(e)y and -(i)y and causativizer -(k)e(h) do not occur with verbs of this class. The stems of verbs like *pen’(o) are extended by means of the suffix -w. This extension marker is suffixed to the stem without omission of the final o. Nominalizer -(e)č is suffixed to the non-reduced stem in o and subordinator -(e)č to the future marker -(k)t(e). Verbs of this class are transitive and, like those of class 3, they can be causativized by means of the derivational suffix -ka(h) which is also added to a non-reduced stem. The verb (o) ’(to) do/make’, which consists of only one segment, also belongs to this class. (This verb can also function as a verbalizer, see section 7.7). Examples:

- (157) a-l-o-č a-pať-a-č(2180)
  1SA-3SO-do-FAC 3SS-take.all.day-FAC
  ‘that I do it all day long’

- (158) a-men’-ag (806) < men’(o) ’(to) want someone/something’
  1SA-3SO.want-IA
  ‘I want him/her/it’

- (159) a-l-o-w-e (1) (160) a-l-o-č (2140)
  3SA-1SO-make-IA 1SA-3SO-do/make-PST-ANT
  ‘he/she/it makes me’ ‘I had done/made him/her/it’

- (161) a-l-o-ka-g (2162)
  1SA-3SO-do/make-ICA-IA
  ‘I cause him/her/it to do/make’.

- (162) a-men’o-kah-t-ag (874)
  1SA-3SO.want-ICA-F-IA
  ‘I shall cause him/her/it to want’

For all five subclasses, it holds that the remaining suffixes (not treated above) occur only after a non-reduced stem:

- (163) mi-kot-i (321) ‘Be!’
- (164) a-pole-khe (723) ‘May I love him/her/it (!)’
- (165) a-o-loh-hu (966) ‘(1s) wetting him/her/it’, ‘that I wet it’
- (166) mi-o-loh-te (966) ‘you shall wet it’
- (167) a-kot-lam (431) ‘(1s) having to be’, ‘that I have to be’
- (168) kot-nap (427) ‘(after) having (been)’, ‘because (it was)’
- (169) ki-men’o-go (863) ‘(3s) having to be wanted by me’, ‘that he/she/it is having to be wanted by me’
- (170) mi-pen’o-wuč (1230) ‘your lover’
(171)  *a-kole-it-ag* (995)  ‘I am loved’
(172)  *a-t'uh-ia-g* (981)  ‘I anoint him/her/it again’
(173)  *a-e-n-ag* (2082)  ‘I give myself’
(174)  *a-kot-p-ag* (462)  ‘I am not’

Most of the Cholón verbs belong to class 5. The stems of the five classes of verbs and their characteristics are shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class</th>
<th>stem reducible by the suppression of before</th>
<th>character</th>
<th>description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>consonantal vowel -a, -iy, -e(y), -e'c</td>
<td>‘PURP’</td>
<td>‘subordinator’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>consonantal in h h</td>
<td>-a, -iy, -k)e(h)</td>
<td>‘subordinator’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vocalic in e e</td>
<td>-a, -iy, -e(y)</td>
<td>‘factivizer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>vocalic in a a</td>
<td>-iy</td>
<td>‘subordinator’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>vocalic in o o</td>
<td>-ay</td>
<td>‘subordinator’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards the use of the subordinator and nominalizer -e'c, we have seen that
(i) verbs of class 1 have only one form in -e'c, a form in which -e'c ‘subordinator’ is suffixed to the reduced, consonantal stem;
(ii) class 2 verbs have also only one form in -e'c: a form in which subordinator -e'c occurs after the future marker -(k)t(e);
(iii) verbs of class 3 and 5 have two forms in -e'c: a nominalized form in which -e'c ‘factivizer’ is attached to the non-reduced, vocalic stem; and a subordinated form in which -e'c ‘subordinator’ is suffixed to future marker -(k)t(e);
(iv) verbs of class 4 have one form in -e'c. In this form nominalizer -e'c is also suffixed to the non-reduced, vocalic stem.

De la Mata names the forms in -e'c ‘subjectives’, which he translates as ‘present participles’ or as subordinates clauses. According to his description, verbs of class 1 and 2 have a second ‘subjunctive’ in -hu, also translated as a ‘present participle’ or a subordinate clause. The suffix -hu (in fact a subordinator + with reference, viz. it indicates that the subject of the form to which it is attached is other than that of the main verb, see section 7.4.6.1) is attached to a non-reduced stem. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(175) mi-top-hu (541)</th>
<th>(176) a-a-loh-hu (966)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sS-be.(seated)-SR</td>
<td>1sA-3sO-wet-SR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(1s) being.(seated)’, ‘that I was seated’</td>
<td>‘(1s) wetting it’, ‘that I wet it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(177) pa'low mi-kot-hu, ok-pit pa'low a-kot-t-ag (399)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>good 2sS-be-SR 1s-also good 1sS-be-f-IA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ‘When you are good, I shall also be good’.
(literally: ‘You being good, me too, I shall be good’). |
An overview of the use of the suffixes -(e)č ‘purpose subordinator’, ‘factivizer’ and -hu ‘subordinator + switch reference’, and of their occurrence with the different verb classes is presented in the following table.

Table 7.6. Use and occurrence of the suffixes -(e)č ‘PUR’, ‘FAC’ and -hu with the verbs of class 1 - 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class 1</th>
<th>reduced stem</th>
<th>non-reduced stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- (e)č ‘PURP’</td>
<td>-hu</td>
<td>-(k)t-eč ‘PURP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 3 + 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-(e)č ‘FAC’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-(e)č ‘FAC’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs like t'(a)m(o) ‘(to) know/acknowledge/realize’ are hybrids. They have characteristics of a verb both of class 5 and class 1. Like a verb of class 5, t'(a)m(o) e.a. have (i) a vocalic stem in o which is dropped before the suffix -(a)y:

(178) a-t'm-ap (938)
1SA-3SO.know-IA
‘I know something’

cf. a-t'mo-č (939)
1SA-3SO.know-FAC
‘that I know something’

(179) a-t'mo-w (939)
1SA-3SO.know-PST
‘I knew something’

(ii) an o-stem which is extended by means of the stem extender and past tense marker -w:

(180) a-t'mo-č (939) a-t'mo-kt-eč (939)
1SA-3SO.know-FAC 1SS-3SO.know-F-PURP
‘that I know something’ ‘so that I know something’
However, they also behave like a verb of class 1. Like \( k(o)t \) ‘(to) be, \( t(a)m(o) \) e.a. have (i) a consonantal stem which is reduced by means of suppression of the stem vowel (see the examples above); (ii) stem reduction does not take place when the stem is not preceded by a person prefix:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(182)} & \quad a\text{-}(a)m\text{-}ag(938) \quad \text{cf.} \quad mi\text{-}m\text{-}ag(938) \\
& \quad 3ss\text{-}3sO\text{-}know\text{-}IA \quad 2ss\text{-}3sO\text{-}know\text{-}IA \\
& \quad \text{‘he knows something’} \quad \text{‘you know something’}
\end{align*}
\]

(iii) it can be causativized by means of the derivational suffix \(-(k)e(h)\), attached to the reduced consonantal stem:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(183)} & \quad i\text{-}(a)m\text{-}e\text{-}g(944) \\
& \quad 3sA\text{-}3sO\text{-}know\text{-}CAU\text{-}IA \\
& \quad \text{‘he causes to know it’/’he teaches it’}
\end{align*}
\]

In addition, \( t(a)m(o) \) has the following particularities:

(i): a stem consisting of two parts: a consonantal part: \( t(a)m \), and a vocalic part: \( o \); (ii): the consonantal part is not only reduced when it is followed by \(-(a)y\) ‘incompletive aspect’ and \(-(k)e(h)\) ‘causative’, but also when it is followed by the vocalic part \( o \) or by other suffixes; (iii): although it looks like a transitive verb, it partly behaves like an intransitive verb. Like a transitive stem, it has a modified stem-initial consonant \( t' < y: t'(a)m(o) < y(a)m \) ‘(to) know’), normally indicating a third person direct object (see section 7.2.3), and it is causativized by means of the suffix \(-ka(h)\):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(184)} & \quad a\text{-}m\text{-}ka\text{-}g(942) \\
& \quad 1sA\text{-}3sO\text{-}know\text{-}ICA\text{-}IA \\
& \quad \text{‘I cause to know something’}
\end{align*}
\]

On the other hand, like an intransitive verb, third person singular (subject or agent) is not marked on the verb and third person plural is marked by means of \( i\) (see the examples \( a\text{-}fam\text{-}ag \) ‘he knows something’ and \( i\text{-}fam\text{-}ag \) ‘they know something’ above). In addition, \( t(a)m(o) \) is also causativized by means of the suffix \(-(k)e(h)\), which is usually limited to intransitive verbs. It then behaves as a regular transitive verb: the modified stem-initial consonant then indicates a third person singular object; third person singular agent is indicated by means of the prefix \( i\) (see the example \( i\text{-}m\text{-}e\text{-}g \) ‘He causes to know it’/’He teaches it’ above), and third person plural agent by means of the suffix \(-la\):
222

(185)  *t*am-e-y-la-g (944)
  3S0.know-CAU-SE-3pA-IA
  ‘they cause to know it’/
  ‘they teach it’

(186)  *a*-ṭ*m*-eh-ta-g (944)
  1SA-3s0.know-CAU-F-IA
  ‘I shall cause to know it’/
  ‘I shall teach it’

(187)  *a*-ṭ*m*-e-ka-g (950)
  1SA-3s0.know-CAU-ICA-IA
  ‘I cause to teach it’

(We may assume that the verb p(ᴠ)(o) ‘(to) swim’, which only occurs once in the data, also belongs to the group of hybrids:

(188)  *a*-pto-kte-he (2900)
  1ss-swim-INF-BEN
  ‘that I swim’).

7.3.2. Irregularities
The following stems present some irregularities:
1: The verb (a)n(a)/nan ‘(to) come’ has three stems: a regular stem n(a), and two irregular stems: an and nan. The stem n(a), n before the past tense marker and stem extender -(i)y and na elsewhere, is used with the first and second person singular and plural, and with the third person plural. Examples:

(189)  a-na-g (2451)
  1ss-come-IA
  ‘I come’

(190)  a-n-iy (2886)
  1ss-come-PST
  ‘I came’

(191)  mi-na-e-la-g (2813)
  2s-come-SE-PL-IA
  ‘you (p) come’

(192)  mi-n-iy-ha-g (422)
  2s-come-SE-PL-IA
  ‘you (p) come’

(193)  či-na-g (785)
  3ps-come-IA
  ‘they come’

(194)  či-n-iy (1586)
  3ps-come-PST
  ‘they came’

The stem an occurs after the first person plural marker a-. It is once found after the third person plural marker či-:

(195)  a-an-ag (2333)
  1ss-come-IA
  ‘I come’

(196)  či-an-nap (780)
  3ps-come-SEQ
  ‘(after) they have come’

The stem nan is used in third person singular forms:
2: The verb h(i)l ‘(to) say’, ‘(to) speak’ has a second stem: hila. This stem appears before the causativizer -(k)e(h). Regularly, this suffix is attached to a reduced stem (cf. hina < hinah ‘(to) hear’ below):

(199)  a-hila-ke-y (1583)
1ss-speak-CAU-IA
‘I cause to speak’

(200)  opey-lol mo-hina-ke-y mo-hila-ke-y-pit (1584)
deaf-mutes-PL 3SA.3po-hear-CAU-PST 3SA.3po-speak-CAU-PST-COR
‘The deaf-mutes, he made them hear and speak’.

3: The verb hint iw/ hint i ‘(to) talk’ has a long stem in w and a reduced stem in a vowel (cf. f(a)iw/ Fa, item 6 below). It occurs in three different verb forms in the data: in a past tense form in -i(y), in a nominalized form in -(g)o, and in a derived causative form. However, it is the long, non-reduced, stem which is used before the suffixes -(i)y ‘past tense’ and -(k)e(h) ‘causativizer’, regularly attached to a reduced stem; and it is the short, reduced, stem which is used before future nominizer -(g)o, regularly attached to a non-reduced stem:

(201)  mi-hint’iw-iy’ (1328)
2ss-talk-PST
‘you talked’

(202)  a-hint’iw-e-ka-y (2052)
1ss-talk-CAU-ICA-IA
‘I am joking’

(203)  a-hint’i-i-po (1612)
1sS-talk-FN2
‘that I talk’

4: The verbs lam(a) ‘(to) kill’ and t(a) ‘(to) do’ (class 4) also have a second stem: lamih and to, respectively. This second stem does not occur before a stem reducing suffix, such as -(a)g ‘incompletive aspect marker’ and -(i)y ‘stem extender’. The stem lamih is found in the derived noun ašwa lamih-uč (fish kill-AG) ‘fisher’ (1423), the reflexive stem lamih-n(o) (kill-RFL) ‘(to) kill oneself’ (2139), and in the following example:

(204)  ašwa mi-po-lamih-te-he mi-ľ’a-pe-kt-ag čoti (2820)
fish 2sA-3po-kill-INF-BEN 2sS-go-NE-F-IA 1.bet
‘I bet that you will not going to fish’.
The stem to- is only found in future tense forms with the benefactive marker t- or the applicative marker -(h)ja:

(205)  mučay ki-p-a-ha-to-kt-ag (2130)  cf.  a-o-ta-kt-ag (2119)
prayer 1ps-3pO-APL-PL-do-F-IA  1sA-3sO-do-F-IA
‘we shall pray for them’  ‘I shall do it’

(206)  mučay ke-t-to-kt-ag (2131)
prayer 1PA-3sB-do-F-IA
‘we shall pray for him’

It should furthermore be noticed that t(a)/to is used in fixed expressions and in combination with a noun, see section 7.8.

5: Two verbs have a stem in y: lusay ‘(to) be sad’ and maksay ‘(to) be happy’. The verb maksay is probably related to makhay ‘happiness’. Both verbs lose y before the derivational suffix -(k)ia(h) ‘reiterative’:

(207)  a-lusa-kia-y (1568)  cf.  m-a-lusay-ki (2323)
1ss-be.sad-RE-IA  2ss-1sO.APL-be.sad-IMP
‘I regret’  ‘Pity me!’

(208)  ø-maka-kian-ko (1634)  cf.  a-maksay-kt-ag (1633)
3ss-be.happy-RE-DEM
‘he who rejoices’  ‘he will rejoice’

6: The verb l’(a)w/l’a ‘(to) go (away)’ also has two stems: l’a which occurs before the incompletive aspect marker -(a)ŋ and the stem extenders -(i)y and -(i)y, as might be expected, but the elongated stem, l’a. The latter form is then normally reduced by suppression of the stem vowel when preceded by a person marker and (i) followed by -(a)ŋ ‘incompletive aspect marker’, (ii) by the stem extension and past tense markers -(i)y and -(i)y; (iii) the by purposive subordinator -(e) società (see the verbs of class 1):

(209)  a-ľw-ąŋ  ‘I go’ (904)
(210)  ø-ľw-ąŋ  ‘he goes’ (9045)
(211)  a-ľw-iy  ‘I went’ (905)
(212)  ki-ľw-iy-e  ‘we had gone’ (906)
(213)  mi-ľw-e-y  ‘you went’ (905)
(214)  a-ľw-e società  ‘so that I go’ (914)

The short stem l’a is used before other suffixes, such as the imperative marker -(k)t(i), the future marker -(k)t(e), and the nominalizers -(e) società, -lam, -(ŋ)io:
The verb \( l(a)w/l\) thus has three forms ending in \(-(e)c\):
(i) a subordinated form and a nominalized form in which \(-(e)c\) is directly preceded by a the stem \( l(a)w-\), see the examples \( a-l\) \(w\)-\(e\) above;
(ii) a subordinated form and a nominalized form in which \(-(e)c\) is directly preceded by the stem \( l(a)\), see the example \( a-l\) \(a\)-\(c\) above;
(iii) a subordinated form in which \(-(e)c\) is preceded by the stem \( l(a) + \) future marker \(-(k)t(e)\) (see the example \( a-l\) \(a\)-\(k\)-\(t\)-\(e\) above).

Unlike a verb of class 1, \( l(a)w/l\) thus does not have a ‘second subjunctive’ in \(-hu\), but like a verb of class 3 and 5, it has a second subordinated form in \(-(k)t\)-\(e\).

The verb \( l(a)w/l\) ‘(to) go (away)’ can also function as an impersonal verb when preceded by an applicative object (see section 7.2.3):

(i) a subordinated form and a nominalized form in which \(-(e)c\) is directly preceded by a the stem \( l(a)w-\), see the examples \( a-l\) \(w\)-\(e\) above;
(ii) a subordinated form and a nominalized form in which \(-(e)c\) is directly preceded by the stem \( l(a)\), see the example \( a-l\) \(a\)-\(c\) above;
(iii) a subordinated form in which \(-(e)c\) is preceded by the stem \( l(a) + \) future marker \(-(k)t(e)\) (see the example \( a-l\) \(a\)-\(k\)-\(t\)-\(e\) above).

Before the imperative marker \(-(k)he\), the future marker \(-(k)t(e)\), and the nominalizer \(-(k)te\), the form \( l\) \(aw\)-\(e\)(y), consisting of the stem \( l\) \(aw\) + stem extender \(-e\)(y), is encountered:
Impersonal \( l \) is only found before the nominalizers -(e)\( \mathbf{c} \) and -(go)\( \mathbf{c} \):

\[
\text{(226)} \quad \text{o-p-a-ha-law-e-kte-ke (1828)} \\
\begin{array}{l}
3\text{S}-3\text{P}-\text{APL-PL-go.away-SE-INF-ANT} \\
\text{‘that it had to go away from them’}
\end{array}
\]

When \( l(a)w/l \) is used impersonally, it thus also has two forms in -(e)\( \mathbf{c} \): a subordinated form (see the examples o-a-law-e\( \mathbf{c} \) ‘so that it goes away from me’) and a nominalized form (see the example o-a-law-\( \mathbf{c} \) ‘that it goes away from me’); and it also has an irregular future form (see also section 7.1):

\[
\text{(229)} \quad \text{o-ha-law-iy-t-ag (1824)} \\
\begin{array}{l}
3\text{S}-3\text{O}-\text{APL-go.away-SE-F-IA} \\
\text{‘it will go away from him’}
\end{array}
\]

(cf. hint\( \text{w} \)/hint\( \text{i} \) ‘(to) talk’ above. However, in the case of hint\( \text{w} \)/hint\( \text{i} \), the long stem in \( w \) is not reduced before -(i)y, nor before -(k)e(h)).

7: The verb \( l(a)woh \) ‘(to) carry’, ‘(to) take away’ does not drop the ending \( h \) before the incompletive aspect marker -(a)\( \mathbf{g} \) and the stem extension and past tense marker -(i)y (cf. the verbs of class 2, which do). The stem is reduced by the suppression of the elements -wo:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{(230)} \quad \text{a-lah-ag (917)} \quad \text{‘I carry’} \\
\text{(231)} \quad \text{a-lah-iy (918)} \quad \text{‘I carried’}
\end{array}
\]

The non-reduced stem \( l\text{awoh} \) is used before other suffixes, as is usual; and, like a verb of class 2, \( l\text{awoh} \) has a ‘present participle’ or ‘subjunctive’ form in -hu and a ‘second subjunctive’ form in -(k)r-e\( \mathbf{c} \):

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{(232)} \quad \text{a-lawoh-t-ag (919)} \quad \text{‘I shall carry’} \\
\text{(233)} \quad \text{l\text{awoh-he} (927)} \quad \text{‘that he carries’} \\
\text{(234)} \quad \text{a-lawoh-lam (924)} \quad \text{‘(1s) having to carry’, ‘my future carrying’, ‘that I have to carry’} \\
\text{(235)} \quad \text{a-lawoh-hu (923)} \quad \text{‘that I carry’} \\
\text{(236)} \quad \text{a-lawoh-t-e\( \mathbf{c} \) (923)} \quad \text{‘so that I carry’}
\end{array}
\]

8: The verb ‘(to) sow’ has an irregular stem: \( m(ih) \) instead of *\( m(ih) \). Regularly, consonantal stems in \( h \) are reduced by means of the suppression of the ending \( h \) (see class 2 verbs, which drop the ending \( h \) before the imperfective aspect marker -(a)\( \mathbf{g} \),
the past tense marker -(ii)y, and causativizer -(k)e(h)). However, the stem of this verb is reduced by means of the suppression of both the segment h and the preceding segment i before the imperfective aspect marker -(a)y (past tense forms nor causative forms of m(ih) have not been found):

(237) a-m-ag (2007)  
1sS-sow-IA  
‘I sow’

(238) mi-m-ag (2962)  
2sS-sow-IA  
‘you sow’

(239) a-mih-ia-g (2008)  
1sS-sow-RE-IA  
‘I sow again’

9: The verbs ših ‘(to) drink’ and n’ih ‘(to) take away’ have a second stem: š(i)k and n(i)k, respectively. The vowel i of š(i)k is regularly suppressed when this stem is preceded by a person marker and followed by the incompletive aspect marker -(a)y, the stem extension and past tense markers -(ii)y and -(e)y, and the causativizer -(k)e(h). Before other suffixes the stem ših is used:

(240) i-o-šk-ag (951)  
3sA-3sO-drink-IA  
‘he drinks it’

(241) mi-o-šk-iy-ha-g (951)  
2A-3sO-drink-SE-PL-IA  
‘they drink it’

(242) a-o-šk-ey (952)  
1sA-3sO-drink-PST  
‘I drank it’

(243) mi-o-šk-e-g (953)  
2sA-3sO-drink-CAU-IA  
‘you caused him/her/it to drink’

(244) a-o-ših-hu (965)  
1sS-3sO-drink-SR  
‘that I drink it’

(245) a-o-ših-t-ič (952)  
1sA-3sO-drink-F-PURP  
‘so that I drink it’

In the case of the verb n’ih/n(i)k ‘(to) take away’, only two forms have been encountered: one form with the reducible stem n(i)k and another form with the non-reducible stem n’ih. The former has been found in a first person incompletive aspect form, the latter in an imperative form:

(246) a-o-n’k-ag (2781)  
1sA-3sO-take.away-IA  
‘I take it away’

(247) o-n’ih-ø (2782)  
3sO-take.away-IMP  
‘Take it away!’

By analogy with ših/š(i)k ‘(to) drink (something)’, it is likely that n’(i)k, the second stem of n’ih, was also used before the stem extension and past tense markers -(ii)y and -(e)y and maybe also before the causativizer -(k)e(h). Since both verbs have a consonantal stem which can be reduced by the suppression of the stem vowel before
the suffix -(a)y (and, in the case of ših/ š(i)k, also before -(i)y and -(k)e(h)), and since ših/š(i)k (and, possibly, also n’ih/n’(i)k) can be causativized by means of the causativizer -(k)e(h), they behave like a verb of class 1. The main difference between these two verbs and those of class 1, is that the former are transitive, whereas the latter are intransitive. Furthermore, ših - unlike a class 1 verb, but like a verb of class 2 - has a form in -(k)t-eč.

10: The derived verb ših-iah ‘(to) drink again’ has irregular second person plural and third person plural agent forms. In finite verb forms the plural marker -ha and the third person plural agent marker -la, regularly precede the derivational suffix -(k)t-ia(h) (see section 7.1 and 7.2.2, respectively). In nominalized or subordinated verb forms, however, -ha and -la follow this suffix:

(248) mi-o-ših-ha-kia-y (955) cf. mi-o-ših-iah-ha-šo-ke (959)
2A-3SO-drink-PL-RE-IA ‘you drink it again’
2A-3SO-drink-RE-PL-FN2-ANT ‘that you (p) drank it again’

(249) o-ših-la-kia-y (956) cf. o-ših-iah-la-č (960)
3SO-drink-3PA-RE-PST ‘they drank it again’
3SO-drink-3PA-FAC ‘that they drank it again’

(250) o-ših-la-kiah-t-ag (957) cf. o-ših-iah-la-kt-eč (960)
3SO-drink-3PA-RE-F-IA ‘they will drink it again’
3SO-drink-3PA-F-PURP ‘so that they will drink it again’

11: The stem of the verb t(o)ag ‘(to) be (seated), ‘(to) sit’ (class 1) is regularly reduced by means of vowel suppression when preceded by a person marker and followed by the incompletion aspect marker -(a)y, the stem extension and past tense markers -(e)y and -(i)y, and the purposive subordinator -(e)eč. However, third person singular and plural have irregular forms:

(i): in the incompletion aspect form, third person singular and plural are not followed by the incompletion aspect marker -(a)y;

(ii): in the incompletion aspect form and in a past tense form in -(i)y, third person plural has a non-reduced stem:

(251) a-tp-ag (505) ‘I am/sit’
a-tp-i(y) (511) ‘I was/sat’
a-tog (507) ‘he is/sits’
io-tog (516) ‘they were/sat’
i-toog (510) ‘they are/sit’
a-tp-eč (515) ‘so that I am/sit’

When the verb toag is used impersonally, it has not only just one stem, but it also lacks the ending -(a)y in the incompletion aspect forms of first and third person singular and plural, and of second person singular:
(252)  $o$-$a$-$t$øg (641)  
3s$S$-1sO.APL-be  
‘it is there for me’/ ‘there is for me’/ ‘I have’

(253)  $o$-$m$-$a$-$t$øg (642)  
3s$S$-2sO-APL-be  
‘there is for you’/ ‘you have’

(254)  $o$-$h$a-$t$øg (643)  
3s$S$-3sO.APL-be  
‘there is for him’/ ‘he has’

(255)  $o$-$k$-$a$-$t$øg (644)  
3s$S$-1pO-APL-be  
‘there is for us’/ ‘we have’

(256)  $o$-$p$-$a$-$h$a-$t$øg (646)  
3s$S$-3pO.APL-PL-be  
‘there is for them’/ ‘they have’

cf.  $o$-$m$-$a$-$t$øg$y$-$h$a-$g (945)  
3s$S$-2o-APL-be$SE$-PL-IA  
‘there is for you (p)’/ ‘you (p) have’

12: Normally, the stem of the verb $t(u)p$ ‘(to) walk’ is regularly reduced before the imperfective aspect marker -(a)$y$, the stem extension and past tense marker -(i)y/-w and causativizer -(k)e(h) (cf. the stems of class 1 verbs). However, in the ALC two conjugations of this verb are encountered and in both conjugations occur some irregularities. In the first conjugation of $t(u)p$ ‘(to) walk’ two irregular forms with non-reduced stems are found: one irregular form in the imperfective aspect paradigm, and another irregular form in the causative paradigm:

(257)  $u$-$t$up$y$ (931)  
3p$S$-walk$IA$  
‘they walk’

(258)  $u$-$o$-$t$up$-$e$-$g$ (933)  
3sA-3sO-walk$CAU$-IA  
‘he/she/it causes him/her/it to walk’

In the causative paradigm, we find a second $u$-$o$-$t$up$-$e$-$g$ form, indicating the third person plural ‘they cause him/her/it to walk’. This second form must be a slip of the pen. A third person plural agent is namely indicated by means of the suffix $-la$, and the correct form should therefore be $o$-$t$up$-$e$-$y$-$la$-$g$ ‘they cause him/her/it to walk’, as indicated in the second conjugation of $t(u)p$ ‘(to) walk’.

In the second conjugation we find, on the other hand, the following irregular paradigm:

$a$-$t$up$y$  ‘I walk’
$mu$-$t$up$y$  ‘you walk’
$u$-$t$up$y$  ‘he/she/it walks’
$ku$-$t$up$y$  ‘we walk’
$mu$-$t$up$-$y$-$h$a$-$g$  ‘you (p) walk’
$t$up$-$y$-$la$-$g$  ‘they walk’

This paradigm is irregular because
(i) first and second person singular and plural also have a non-reduced stem instead of a reduced one;
(ii) third person singular and plural have the shape of transitive forms: the person prefix *u* in *u-tp-ag* and the person suffix *-la* in *tup-iy-la-g* indicate, respectively, a third person singular agent and a third person plural agent. The regular intransitive counterparts of *u-tp-ag* and *tup-iy-la-g* would have been *tup-ag* (1151), as encountered in the first conjugation, and *u-tp-ag*, respectively. In addition, *tu(p) ‘(to) walk’* does not have a purposive form in *(e)č* like the other class 1 verbs, but it does have a purposive form in *(k)t-eč*, which the other verbs of this class lack:

\[(259)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
& a-tup-t-eč (932) \\
& 1s\text{ss-walk-F-PURP}
\end{align*}
\]
‘so that I walk’

13: In his grammar, de la Mata presents two conjugations of the passive verb *(to) be made*: a regular conjugation, occurring at the beginning of his grammar, in Book 1, fol. 85/86, and a second, irregular, conjugation in Book 3, fol. 189. In the former conjugation, the derived stem is regularly *o-it* *(make-PAS)* (see the example above, and see the examples in section 7.3.4.1). In the latter, the stem *lo-it' instead of o-it' is encountered:

\[(260)\]
\[
 a-lo-it'-ag (2161) \quad ‘I am made’
\]
\[(261)\]
\[
 a-lo-it'-iy (2161) \quad ‘I was made’
\]
\[(262)\]
\[
 a-lo-it'-t-ag (2161) \quad ‘I shall be made’
\]

In addition, the third person plural of the imperfective aspect has an active form, viz. it contains the third person plural agent marker *-la*, instead of *č*: *lo-it'-la-g* ‘they are made’, instead of *č-o-it'-ag*. The third person singular, on the other hand, has the regular form: *l-o-it-ag*. It is possible that in the non-regular forms the initial segment *l*- of the stem *lo-* was no longer considered as a grammatical element, indicating a third person singular object, but rather as an inseparable part of the (intransitive) stem. By contrast, the third person plural agent marker *-la* in the irregular third person plural passive form *lo-it'-la-g* seems to favour the interpretation of *l*- as an object marker. (The existence of competing forms for the passive of *(o) ‘(to) do’ leaves open the possibility that some of these forms may have been constructed by the author).

14: Normally, the derivational suffix *-ka(h)* ‘indirect causativizer’ is suffixed to a non-reduced stem. However, three stems in *h*: *lupoh-, pištoh-, t'm-eh*, lose this segment before *-ka(h)*. The loss of *h* may have occurred on the analogy of the suffix *(k)e(h)* ‘causativizer’, which also causativizes and is attached to a reduced stem:
231

(263)  \textit{a-t\textsuperscript{m}-e-ka-g} (950)
1sA-3sO.know-CAU-ICA-A
‘I cause to let know it’, ‘I cause to teach it’

(264)  \textit{a-o-lu-po-ka-g} (972)
1sA-3sO-interior-burn-ICA-IA
‘I cause him/her/it to abhor’

(265)  \textit{a-mot} \textit{y-a-pi\textsuperscript{š}-to-ka-g} (2484)
1sPOS-name/honour 3sA-1sO-break/lose/nullify-ICA-IA
‘He causes me to lose my honour’.

15: Regularly, the future marker -(k)t(e) is attached to a non-reduced stem. In one example, it was found suffixed to the stem extender -w:

(266)  \textit{mi-špo-w-t-aq} (2949)  cf. \textit{mi-špo-kt-aq} (2849)
2ss-be.free-SE-F-IA  2ss-be.free-F-IA
‘you will be free’  ‘you will be free’

16: In six forms an element \textit{k}, and in one form an element \textit{h} were found inserted after \textit{a} or \textit{o}. In these forms, \textit{k} and \textit{h} appear to have no grammatical function. Possibly, they may have represented a glottal stop (see section 4.3.3 and 4.3.10.2):

(267)  \textit{mi-kot-ha-k-\textsuperscript{l}am-he} (446)  (268)  \textit{o-\textsuperscript{t}a-k-p-ap-\text{-i}g} (930)
2s-be-PL-(k)-FN1-BEN  3sS-go-(k)-NE-IA-yet
‘that you are having to be’  ‘He has not gone yet’.

(269)  \textit{mi-men\textsuperscript{ō}-k-\textsuperscript{h}a-ki} (835)  (270)  \textit{mi-men\textsuperscript{ō}-k-\textsuperscript{h}a-kt-aq} (828)
2A-3sO.want-(k)-PL-IMP  2A-3sO.want-(k)-PL-F-IA
‘Want (p) him/her/it!’  ‘you (p) will want him/her/it’

(271)  \textit{men\textsuperscript{o}-k-la-k\textsuperscript{a}-t-aq} (874)
3sO.want-(k)-3pA-ICA-F-IA
‘they will make him/her/it want it’

(272)  \textit{o-pat\textsuperscript{a}-k-\textsuperscript{l}am-he} (2180)  (273)  \textit{u-ku-per\textsuperscript{o}-h-lam} (2378)
3ss-take.all.day-(k)-FN1-BEN  3sA-1pO-want-(h)-FN1
‘that it should take all day’  ‘that he will want us’
7.3.3. Compound stems

There are two kinds of compound stems in Cholón:
1. compound stems consisting of a nominal stem and a verb stem (cf. the form *a-mna-yé-ag* ‘I watch the way’ in section 7.1);
2. compound stems consisting of a verb stem and a bound stem:

\[(274)\]  
\[i-l-o-čap-ay (2169)\]  
\[3sA-3sO-do-do.tenderly-IA\]  
‘he does it tenderly’

7.3.3.1. Compound stems formed by means of a noun

A compound stem can be formed by the incorporation of a nominal stem into the verb. The incorporated noun undergoes the same processes of vowel reduction and stem alternation as a free noun (see the form *a-mna-yé-ag* < *a-pana-yé-ag* ‘I watch the way’). Nouns referring to body parts seem to be particularly suitable for compounding. They are found in most of the compound stems. Alongside the noun *pana* ‘road’ mentioned above, the following incorporated nouns have been found: *lu* ‘interior’, ‘intestines’:

\[(275)\]  
\[šal'a-maŋ kuka puč a-lu-kt-ay (1196)\]  
basket-INES coka accumulation 3ss-interior-be-IA  
‘There is plenty of coca in the basket’.

\[(276)\]  
\[aľhi a-lu-pakt-ay (2653)\]  
\[m-a-lu-po-g (190)\]  
\[sweet 1ss-interior-be-IA 2sa-1sO-interior-burn-IA\]  
‘I am sweet’. ‘you abhor me’

The compound *lu-pak(o)t/lu-pok(o)t* ‘be inside’ also means ‘(to) think’, ‘(to) remember’, ‘(to) advise’:

\[(278)\]  
\[inča-m mu/pu-lu-pakt-ay. Dios-he a-lu-pakt-ay (163)\]  
what-QM 2smS/2sfS-interior-be-IA. God-BEN 1ss-interior-be-IA  
‘What do you (m/f) think of? ‘I think of God’.

\[(279)\]  
\[m-a-lu-pokot-te-he mu-tu a-an-ag.\]  
\[2ss-1sO.APl-interior-be-INF-BEN 2sPOS-direction 1ss-come-IA\]  
\[empek-le a-ki-čeh-te-he a-fa-kt-ag-a (2798)\]  
\[good-QM 1ss-do-wander-INF-BEN 1ss-go-F-IA-TOP\]  
‘I come to you so that you advise me, whether it would be a good idea that I should go for a walk’.

*lum* ‘top’:
(280)  *n'ansik-sim-čot ku-lum-čap-o* (2864)  
work-EMP-thus 1pA-top-3sO.catch-FN2  
‘It is work that we thus have to embrace’.

(281)  *ana mek šokot-am mu-lum-čik-iy-ha pana-te-wa* (1446)  
how-many all river-QM 2s-top-pass-PST-PL road-AD-TOP  
‘How many rivers did you pass on your road?’

*n'an (< n'anta) ‘face’:

(282)  *n'anmito* ‘the owner’ (2007) < *o-n'an-mit-o*  
3sS-face-3sO.win-FN2  
lit.: ‘(3s) having to be face-won’

(283)  *o-n'an-puill-he* (2660)  
3sS-face-fall-SIM  
as he is ashamed’

(284)  *a-l'a-lam o-kot-nap a-n'an-šip-a* (916)  
1sS-go-FN1 3sS-be-SEQ 1sS-face-break.off-IA  
‘Because I have to go, I hurry’.

(285)  *mel'us-pit insoney-tu-p i-n'an-tup-šipe-y* (781)  
boat-COR wave-AD-ABL 3sA-face-cover-break.off-PST  
‘and the wave nearly covered the boat’

7.3.3.2. Compound stems formed by means of a bound verb

Bound verbs occur in combination with other verb stems and are attached to the non-reduced form of the latter. Most bound stems are regularly reduced before the suffixes -(a)y 'incompletive aspect' and -(i)y 'stem extender', 'past tense marker'. Bound verbs do not occur with the stem extender -(e)y; but they may be followed by a derivational suffix, such as -(k)i(a)y ‘reiterative’. In the examples given by Pedro de la Mata the following bound verbs occur in several semantic categories with the verb stem *(o)* ‘(to) do’:

A. Movement:

(1)  *-če(h)* ‘(to) wander’

(286)  *a-l-o-če-g* (2175)  
1sA-3sO-do-wander-IA  
‘I do it while wandering’

(287)  *a-l-o-če-h-t-ag* (2175)  
1sA-3sO-do-wander-F-IA  
‘I shall do it while wandering’

The bound verb *-če(h)* behaves like a verb of class 2: *Vh > Vl_ -(a)y, -(i)y*. It is also found with the verbs *ti(o)y* ‘(to) be (seated)’ and *ki* ‘(to) do’:
The stem -pale-kia(h) consists of a bound stem -pale ‘pass by’ and the derivational suffix -(k)ia(h) ‘reiterative’. It also occurs with other verbs, for instance, with the verb muč(h) ‘(to) fulfil’:

(292) mu-muč-eh-pale-kia-y (2378)
2SA-3sO.put.down-CAU-pass.by-RE-IA
‘you fill up’

The verb pale ‘(to) pass by’ is also used as a non-bound verb. Its reduced stem is pal, and it belongs to class 2: cf. kole ‘(to) love’, reduced stem kol. When pale/pal is used as a non-bound stem, it can be followed by the bound stem -pale-kia(h):

(293) kas male-pale-kia-y (2378)
wind 3sO.pass.by-pass.by-RE-IA
‘The wind blows from all parts’.

When pale is used as a bound verb, it is always followed by -(k)ia(h).

3: -píř ‘(to) pass by’

(294) a-l-o-píř-aj (2176)
1SA-3sO-do-pass.by-IA
‘I do it while passing by’

(295) a-l-o-píř-t-aj (2176)
1SA-3sO-do-pass.by-IA
‘I shall do it while passing by’

The stem of -píř is never reduced. The bound verb -píř is also found with other verbs:
The verb *pit* ‘(to) pass by’ also occurs as a non-bound verb. It may then be followed by a bound verb. In the example below, *pit* is followed by its synonym *pale*:

(298)  
\[ a-ta\-\textit{pit}-ag (2086) \]  
\[ 1sA-3sO.\textit{see-pass.by-IA} \]  
\[ 'I see it while passing by' \]

The bound verb -\textit{-pit} behaves like a verb of class 5: \( o > \textit{a} / _{-}(a)y \). It also occurs with other verbs, such as, *kole/kol* ‘(to) love’ and *pen*‘(to) want’:

(300)  
\[ a-l-o-\textit{-up(a)} (2169) \]  
\[ 1sA-3sO.\textit{love-do.tenderly-IA} \]  
\[ 'I love him/her/it tenderly' \]

The bound verb -\textit{-up(a)} behaves like a verb of class 5: \( o > \textit{a} / _{-}(a)y \). It also occurs with other verbs, such as, *kole/kol* ‘(to) love’ and *pen* ‘(to) want’:

(301)  
\[ mi-l-o-\textit{-up(a)} (2169) \]  
\[ 2sA-3sO.\textit{do-do.tenderly-IA} \]  
\[ 'you will do it tenderly' \]

The bound verb -\textit{-up(a)} behaves like a verb of class 5: \( o > \textit{a} / _{-}(a)y \). It also occurs with other verbs, such as, *kole/kol* ‘(to) love’ and *pen* ‘(to) want’:

(302)  
\[ a-pole-\textit{-up(a)} (2109) \]  
\[ 1sA-3sO.\textit{love-do.tenderly-IA} \]  
\[ 'I love him/her/it tenderly' \]

(303)  
\[ a-mew\textit{-o-up(a)} (2110) \]  
\[ 1sA-3sO.\textit{want-do.tenderly-IA} \]  
\[ 'I want him/her/it tenderly' \]

C. Course of event

(1)  
\[-k(o)(oh) ' (to) finish' \]

(304)  
\[ a-l-o-\textit{-kol-ag} (2168) \]  
\[ 1sA-3sO.\textit{do-finish-IA} \]  
\[ 'I finish doing it' \]

(305)  
\[ a-l-o-\textit{-kol-h-ag} (2169) \]  
\[ 1sA-3sO.\textit{do-finish-f-IA} \]  
\[ 'I shall finish doing it' \]

The bound verb -\textit{-kol(a)} is irregular. Its stem is reduced by means of vowel suppression and, in addition to that, by means of the omission of the ending \( oh \). The bound verb -\textit{-kol(a)} can also occur with the suffix -\textit{ia(h)}: -\textit{-kol(h)-ia(h)} ‘(to) finish a reiterative event’:

(306)  
\[ a-l-o-\textit{-kol-h-ia(h)} (2170) \]  
\[ 1sA-3sO.\textit{do-finish-f-IA} \]  
\[ 'I shall finish doing it' \]
The bound verb -k(o)l(oh) is also found with other stems:

(307)  a-o-shh-kol-ag (2083)
1sA-3sO-drink-finish-IA
‘I finish drinking it’

(The stem k(o)l is used as a non-bound verb, meaning ‘(to die)’).

2: -l’uk(oh) ‘(to) have finished’

(308)  a-l-o-l’uk-ag (2173)
1sA-3sO-do-have.finished-IA
‘I have finished doing it’

Like -k(o)l(oh), -l’uk(oh) also drops the segments oh before -(a)ŋ and -(i)y. The stem -l’uk(oh) has not been found with other verbs, but it has been found functioning as a non-bound verb. In that case, the vowel u stead of the segment oh is suppressed when the stem is preceded by a person marker. (The suppressed stem vowel u is then copied by the vowel of the person marker):

(310)  o-l’uk-ag (2548)
3ss-have.finished-IA
‘It finishes’

(311)  kua-l’ koh-iy-nap (2549)
1pA-3sO-have.finished-SE-SEQ
‘after having finished it’

3: -mul(o) ‘(to) begin’, ‘(to) start’

(312)  a-l-o-mul-ag (2172)
1sA-3sO-do-start-IA
‘I start doing it’

The bound verb -mul(o) behaves like a verb of class 5: o > o/ -a)ŋ. It has also been found with other verbs:

(314)  t’i mahat-mul-o-w (2549)
rain 3sS.fall.down-start-PST
‘The rain started to fall down’.

(315)  o-seh-mul-ag (2081)
3sS-grow-start-IA
‘it (seed) starts to grow’
4: -pul ‘(to) rest from’

(316)  a-l-o-pul-ag (2174)  (317)  a-l-o-pul-t-ag (2174)
    1sA-3sO-do-rest.from-1A  1sA-3sO-do-rest-F-1A
‘I rest from doing it’  ‘I shall rest from doing it’

The stem of -pul is never reduced. It has only been found with the verb (o) ‘(to) do’.

5: -šipe/*-šipeh ‘(to) break off’, ‘(to) nearly do’
A non-reduced stem of -šipe has not been found. It may be *-šipeh. The stem -šipe has not been found with the verb (o) ‘(to) do’. The following examples illustrate the use of -šipe/*-šipeh ‘(to) break off’/‘(to) nearly do’ with other verb stems:

(318)  a-rap-šipe-g (2091)  (319)  a-sinah-šipe-g (2093)
    1sA-3sO.catch-nearly.do-1A  1sA-3sO.hear-nearly.do-1A
‘I nearly catch him’  ‘I nearly hear him’

(320)  a-kol-šipe-y (2427)
    1sS-die-nearly.do-PST
‘I nearly died’

7.3.4. Derived stems
Derived stems are formed by means of the derivational suffixes -it ‘passive’; -kai(h) ‘indirect causative’; -(k)e(h) ‘direct causative’; -(k)ia(h) ‘reiterative’; -n(o) ‘reflexive’; -(p)e ‘negative’. (The use of negativizer -(p)e is treated in chapter 11 together with other negators, such as -(č)m, -(m)u, -(n)ik). Regularly, the derivational suffixes are attached to a non-reduced stem. When the suffix -(k)e(h) is attached to the stem of a verb belonging to class 1 and class 2, it is attached to the reduced stem. It is not found after the stem of verbs belonging to one of the other classes.

The stem of a derived verb formed by means of the suffix -it is irreducible; that of a derived verb formed by means of one of the other derivational suffixes is reducible. Derived verbs composed with causativizer -(k)e(h), indirect causativizer -kai(h) and reiterative -(k)ia(h) behave like the verbs of class 2. They also have a consonantal stem in h, which is dropped before the suffixes -(a)iy ‘incompletive aspect marker’ and -(ii)y ‘stem extender’, ‘past tense marker’. Reflexive verbs composed with the suffix -n(o) behave like the verbs of class 5: o is dropped before -(a)iy, and the stem is extended by means of the suffix -w ‘stem extender’, ‘past tense marker’, attached to a non-reduced stem. In section 7.3.4.1-7.3.4.5 we take a closer look at the derivational suffixes. In section 7.3.4.7 we go more closely into the passive voice.
7.3.4.1. Derivational suffix -it ‘passive’

A passive verb can be formed by means of the suffix -it. Passivizer -it is only used with transitive verbs. It turns the transitive verb into an intransitive verb, i.e. the agent of the transitive verb is suppressed and the direct object of the transitive verb becomes the subject of the passive verb:

(321)  
\[ a\text{-}gõl\text{-}it\text{-}ag (685) \quad a\text{-}kõle\text{-}it\text{-}ag (995) \]  
\[ 1\text{SA}\text{-}3\text{SO}\text{.love}\text{-IA} \quad 1\text{SS}\text{.love}\text{-PAS}\text{-IA} \]  
\[ 'I love him/her/it' \quad 'I am loved' \]

(322)  
\[ i\text{-}l\text{-}o\text{-}it\text{-}ag (2138) \quad l\text{-}o\text{-}it\text{-}ag (1008) \]  
\[ 3\text{SA}\text{-}3\text{SO}\text{.make}\text{-IA} \quad 3\text{SS}\text{.make}\text{-PAS}\text{-IA} \]  
\[ 'he/she/it makes him/her/it' \quad 'he/she/it is made' \]

(323)  
\[ men\text{'o\text{-}w\text{-}la\text{-}g (811) } \quad ě\text{-}pen\text{'o\text{-}it\text{-}ag (1021) \]  
\[ 3\text{SO}\text{.want}\text{-SE\text{-}3\text{PA}\text{-IA} \quad 3\text{PS}\text{.want}\text{-PAS}\text{-IA} \]  
\[ 'they want him/her/it' \quad 'they (p) are wanted' \]

Derived stems with -it may have an alternative future form in which future marker -(k)t(e) is not directly suffixed to the non-reduced stem -it, but to the stem extender -(i)y (see also section 7.1). This has been found with the verbs kole/kol ‘(to) love’ and pen(o) ‘(to) want’, but it may have occurred with other verbs as well:

(i): first person singular and plural, and second and third person singular of the verb kole/kol ‘(to) love’;

(ii): first person singular - and possibly also first person plural and second and third person singular and plural (the data are missing) - of the verb pen(o) ‘(to) want’:

\[ a\text{-}kõle\text{-}it\text{-}iy\text{-}t\text{-}a\text{-}ag (1002) \quad 'I shall be loved' \]
\[ mì\text{-}kõle\text{-}it\text{-}iy\text{-}t\text{-}a\text{-}ag (1002) \quad 'you will be loved' \]
\[ gõle\text{-}it\text{-}iy\text{-}t\text{-}a\text{-}ag (1002) \quad 'he/she/it is loved' \]
\[ kì\text{-}kõle\text{-}it\text{-}iy\text{-}t\text{-}a\text{-}ag (1002) \quad 'we shall be loved' \]
\[ a\text{-}pen\text{'o\text{-}it\text{-}iy\text{-}t\text{-}a\text{-}ag (1022) } \quad 'I shall be wanted' \]

Cf.  
\[ mì\text{-}kõle\text{-}it\text{-}iy\text{-}ha\text{-}kt\text{-}a\text{-}ag (1002) \quad 'you (p) will be loved' \]
\[ ě\text{-}kõle\text{-}it\text{-}t\text{-}a\text{-}ag (1002) \quad 'they will be loved' \]
\[ a\text{-}o\text{-}it\text{-}t\text{-}a\text{-}ag (1013) \quad 'I shall be made' \]

Verbs formed by means of the derivational suffix -it ‘passivizer’, have no forms in -eč/(k)t-eč, but they do have a form in -hu:

(324)  
\[ a\text{-}kõle\text{-}it\text{-}hu (1005) \]  
\[ 1\text{SS}\text{.love}\text{-PAS}\text{-SR} \]  
\[ 'that I am loved' \]

(325)  
\[ a\text{-}o\text{-}it\text{-}hu (1015) \]  
\[ 1\text{SS}\text{.make}\text{-PAS}\text{-SR} \]  
\[ 'that I am made' \]
7.3.4.2. Derivational suffix -ka(h) ‘indirect causative’
The suffix -ka(h) causativizes transitive verbs. It does not occur with intransitive verbs:

(326)   a-l-o-kah-t-ag (1941)  (327)   a-tuh-ka-g (980)
1SA-3sO-do-ICA-F-IA              1SA-3sO.anoint-ICA-IA
‘I shall cause to do it’          ‘I cause to anoint him/her/it’

(328)   a-l-o-ka-y (2162)
1SA-3sO-do-ICA-PST
‘I caused to do it’

7.3.4.3. Derivational suffix -(k)e(h) ‘causative’
The derivational suffix -(k)e(h) primarily causativizes intransitive stems (see section 7.3.1, verbs of class 1). It can also causativize transitive stems. In section 7.3.1 we have seen that the suffix -(k)e(h) appears after the reduced stem of verbs of class 1 and 2. It also occurs with stems which are not liable to reduction, such as *l'up ‘(to) eat something’. The form -e(h) is attached to a consonant; -ke(h) to a vowel:

(329)   mu-tp-iy-ha-g (931)  (330)   mu-o-tp-e-y-ha-g (933)
2s-walk-SE-PL-IA                2A-3sO-walk-CAU-SE-PL-IA
‘you (p) walk’                  ‘you (p) cause him/her/it to walk’

(331)   a-m-hinah-p-ag (1742)  (332)   a-o-hina-ke-g (1582)
1SA-2sO-hear-NE-IA              1SA-3sO-hear-CAU-IA
‘I do not hear you’             ‘I cause him/her/it to hear’

(333)   a-o-l'up-ag (2048)  (334)   a-o-l'up-e-y (1932)
1SA-3sO-eat-IA                  1SA-3sO-eat-CAU-PST
‘I eat something’               ‘I caused him/her/it to eat (some thing)’

In one case, -(k)e(h) is suffixed to the reduced stem of a verb of class 5:

(335)   a-am-ag (2054)  (336)   a-l-am-e-g (2055)
1sS-eat-IA                      1SA-3sO-eat-CAU-IA
‘I eat’                          ‘I cause him/her/it to eat’

(337)   mi-am-w-ha-g (2054)  (338)   mi-l-am-e-y-ha-g (2055)
2s-eat-SE-PL-IA                 2A-3sO-eat-CAU-SE-PL-IA
‘you (p) eat’                    ‘you (p) cause him/her/it to eat’
(The verbs *am(o)* and *ly* both mean ‘(to) eat’. However the former is intransitive, whereas the latter is transitive). In the following special case -*(k)e(h)* is suffixed to a non-reduced stem (see also section 7.3.2):

(339)  
\[
\text{a-ø-hila-ke-g (1583)} \quad (< h(i)l 'to speak')
\]

1SA-3sO-speak-CAU-IA

‘I cause him/her/it to speak’

Causativizer -*(k)e(h)* can be followed by the indirect causativizer -*ka(h)*. When -*(k)e(h)* precedes -*ka(h)*, the ending *h* can be dropped (cf. stems in *ah* and *oh* which can also lose *h* before indirect causativizer -*ka(h)*, section 7.3.4.2):

(340)  
\[
a-t’sm-e-ka-g (950) \quad \text{cf. a-t’m-eh-ia-g (948)}
\]

1SA-3sO.know-CAU-ICA-IA 1SA-3sO.know-CAU-RE-IA

‘I cause to know it’/ ‘I teach it’  ‘I teach it again’

The direct causativizer -*(k)e(h)* can also be followed by a bound verb:

(341)  
\[
a-t’m-eh-koloh-nap-al (2883)
\]

1SA-3sO.know-CAU-finish-SEQ-RST

‘just after I had finished it’

The suffix -*(k)e(h)* can furthermore function as a verbalizer (see section 7.7).

7.3.4.4. Derivational suffix -*(k)ia(h)* ‘reiterative’

Reiterative verbs are formed by means of the suffix -*(k)ia(h)*:

(342)  
\[
mi-l-o-kiah-i (2163)
\]

2sA-3sO-do-RE-IMP

‘Do it again!’

(343)  
\[
a-o-loh-ia-g (970)
\]

1SA-3sO-wet-RE-IA

‘I wet it again’

(344)  
\[
t’oyo-kia-g (2002)
\]

3sS.cry-RE-IA

‘he cries again’
7.3.4.5. Derivational suffix -n(o) ‘reflexive’
A reflexive verb can be formed by means of the suffix -n(o), attached to transitive stems. Reflexive verbs are intransitive:

(345)  a-o-no-č (2167)  (346)  mi-o-no-k (2167)
1sS-make-RFL-FAC  2sS-make-RFL-IMP
‘that I make myself’  ‘Make yourself!’

(347)  a-yokete-no-w (2833)  (348)  a-yokete-no-k-t-ag (2833)
1sS-revenge-RFL-PST  1sS-revenge-RFL-F-IA
‘I revenged myself’  ‘I shall revenge myself’

(349)  a-lu-poh-n-ag (1720)  (350)  a-n-čštek-o-n-ag (2063)
1sS-interior-burn-RFL-PST  1sS-REL-cloth-make-RFL-IA
‘I abhor myself’  ‘I cloth myself’

7.3.4.6. Excursus on the passive voice
In section 7.3.4.1 we saw that a passive voice can be obtained morphologically by means of the derivational suffix -it, attached to a non-reduced verb form. A passive voice can furthermore be formed syntactically by means of a preterite form and the auxiliary k(o)t ‘(to) be’:

(351)  a-m-kol-iy  me-kš-iy (984)
1SA-2sO-love-PST  2sS-be-PST
‘You were loved by me’. (lit. ‘I loved you, you were’).

(352)   crut-čte  pawi-n  l-o-w-la  o-kot-e-g.
cross-AD nail  3sO-do-PST-3PA  3sS-be-PST-IA
špol-e-g.  mu-y-la-sim  o-kot-e-g (987)
3sS.die-PST-IA  3sO.bury-PST-3PA-EMP  3sS-be-PST-IA
‘He was nailed to the cross [by them], he died, [and] he was buried by them’.

The difference between the use of -it and k(o)t is that when -it is used, the verb form becomes intransitive: the agent is dropped and the object of the active form becomes subject in the passive form. In a passive voice with k(o)t, the main verb remains transitive and the object becomes subject of the auxiliary, so that the object of the transitive verb corresponds to the subject of the auxiliary.
7.4. Inflexional suffixes
As already stated, a verb stem can be followed by all kinds of suffixes. Alongside bound verbs and derivational suffixes, treated in section 7.3.3.2 and 7.3.4, respectively, it can be followed by the incompletive marker -(a)õ; the stem extenders and past tense markers -(i)y/-w and -(e)y; future marker -(k)i(t)e-; imperative markers -(k)(i) and -(k)he; nominalizers (+ case markers); and subordinators (+ case markers). A verb form can also be followed by discourse markers or sentential suffixes (chapter 10).

7.4.1. Incompletive aspect marker -(a)õ
In the first chapter about verbs Pedro de la Mata observes that <an> as well as <en> are endings of the present tense of the indicative. The observation that the present tense of the indicative can end in eõ is in contradiction to what is shown in the conjugation of the verbs k(o)t ‘(to) be’ (class 1) and pole ‘(to) love’ (class 2). In these conjugations, eõ is not the ending of the present tense, but a preterite ending (‘preterito imperfecto y perfecto’). The alleged present indicative in eõ or, rather, in -õ (we have seen that de la Mata’s ending eõ should be interpreted as -e-õ) thus corresponds to a preterite indicative in the data. The correspondence between de la Mata’s present indicative and his preterite can furthermore be observed when we look at the second person plural form. Second person plural ‘present’ and second person plural ‘imperfect and perfect’ have the same ending in -õ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(353)</th>
<th>‘present indicative’</th>
<th>‘imperfect and perfect indicative’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me-kt-iy-ha-õ (294)</td>
<td>me-kt-iy-ha-õ (300)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-be-SE-PL-IA</td>
<td>2s-be-SE-PL-IA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you (p) are’</td>
<td>‘you (p) were’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparently, when a verb form ends in -(a)õ it can express ‘present’ as well as ‘past tense’. This means that in Cholón there is no such dichotomy as ‘present tense’ versus ‘past tense’, but, rather, that of ‘imperfective or incompletive aspect’ (present or past tense) versus ‘perfective past tense or preterite’. Since the suffix -(a)õ is primarily used to express ‘present tense’, indicating that the event has not been finished or completed yet, it is likely to represent an incompletive aspect. The use of -(a)õ is also shown in the following examples (for more examples, see section 7.1 et seq.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(354)</th>
<th>a-šk-ãg (951)</th>
<th>(355)</th>
<th>a-čm-e-ãg (944)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ss-drink-IA</td>
<td>1sA-3sO.know-CAU-IA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I drink’</td>
<td>‘I cause to know it’/ ‘I teach it’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(356)</th>
<th>a-o-lo-õg (962)</th>
<th>(357)</th>
<th>o-lo-y-la-g (962)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sA-3sO-wet-IA</td>
<td>3sO-wet-SE-3pA-IA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I wet something’</td>
<td>‘They wet him/her/it’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.4.2. Stem extension and past tense markers

Cholón has two groups of affixes which function both as a stem extender and as a past tense marker: -(iy) -e, -ey, -w. The main options -(iy)/-w and -e(y) are used under different circumstances. In some cases, however, -e(y) functions as a substitute for -(iy)/-w.

7.4.2.1. Stem extender and past tense marker -(iy)/-w

The allomorphs of the stem extension and past tense marker -(iy)/-w, differ from each other in that -w is used after the non-reduced, vocalic stem in *o* of a verb of class 5 or a verb + *no-‘reflexive’ (see section 7.3.4.5), the only verbal affix in *o*, whereas -(iy) occurs after the reduced stem of a verb of any other class (-iy after a consonant, -y after a vowel). When -(iy) is used after a derivational suffix, however, the derived stem is not reduced. The elements -(iy) and -w are used as stem extenders when they occur

(i) before the second person plural marker -ha and third person plural agent marker -la, when -ha and la are followed by -(a)y ‘incompletive aspect’:

(358) mi-o-lam-iy-ha-g (1980)  
2A-3sO-kill-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) kill him/her/it’

(359) o-lam-iy-la-g (2057)  
3sO-kill-SE-3pA-IA  
‘they kill him/her/it’

(360) mi-men’o-w-ka-y-la-g (868)  
2s-love-PAS-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) are loved’

(361) men’o-w-la-g (811)  
3sO.want-SE-3pA-IA  
‘you (p) cause him/her/it to want’

(362) mi-kole-it-iy-ha-g (999)  
2s-love-PAS-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) are loved’

(363) mi-men’o-ka-y-la-g (868)  
2A-3sO.want-ICA-SE-PL-IA  
‘you (p) cause him/her/it to want’

(364) men’o-ka-y-la-g (868)  
3sO.want-ICA-SE-3pA-IA  
‘they cause him/her/it to want’

It appears, however, that the forms *me-kt-iy-ha-g* ‘you (p) are’ (385) and *po’t-iy-la-g* ‘they love him/her/it’ (837), may also be translated as past tense forms, as ‘you (p) were (392)’ and ‘they loved him/her/it’ (844), respectively. The suffix -(iy) then also functions as a past tense marker.
(ii) before the second person plural marker -ha, when -ha occurs after a reduced stem of a verb of class 1 and it is followed by the purposive subordinator -(e)č:

\[(365) \text{me-kt-iy-ha-č} (423) \quad \text{me-tg-iy-ha-č} (544)\]

2S-be-SE-PL-PURP 2S-be.(seated)-SE-PL-PURP
‘that you (p) are’ ‘that you (p) are (seated)’

(iii) before the negator -mu, when functioning as a prohibitive marker ‘(do) not’:

\[(367) \text{ah n’ip-iy-mu-a} (2941)\]

INTJ touch-SE-NE-EX
‘Oh, do not touch it!’

(iv) before subordinator -(ŋ)ap ‘after’:

\[(368) \text{išaki-pat ku-ľkoh-iy-nap, ţi mahat-mulo-w} (2549)\]

job-INS 1ps-finish-SEQ rain 3sS.come.down-begin-PST
‘After we had finished the job, it started raining’.

In all other cases, -(i)i/y/-w functions exclusively as a past tense marker:

\[(369) \text{a-poľ-iy} (691) \quad (370) \text{mi-poľ-iy-ha} (695)\]

1S-SO.love-PST 2A-SO.love-PST-PL
‘I loved him/her/it’ ‘you (p) loved him/her/it’

\[(371) \text{a-men’o-w} (812) \quad (372) \text{men’o-w-la} (817)\]

1S-SO.want-PST 3S-SO.want-PST-3P
‘I wanted him/her/it’ ‘they wanted him/her/it’

\[(373) \text{a-t’m-e-y} (944) \quad (374) \text{a-men’o-ka-y} (869)\]

1S-SO.know-CAU-PST 1S-SO.want-ICA-PST
‘I caused to know it’/ ‘I taught it’ ‘I caused him/her/it to want’

\[(375) \text{a-ših-la-y} (955)\]

1S-SO.drink-RE-PST
‘I drank again’

\[(376) \text{baptizan o-ki-y-mu o-kot-ag} (2656)\]

baptism 3S-so-SE-NE 3S-be-IA
‘He is without baptism’.

Past tense forms in -(i)i/y/-w can be followed by the copula (po)k(o)t ‘(to) be’ in order to construct a perfect tense: future perfect tense; perfect of the ‘optative’; perfect of the ‘infinitive’. Future perfect tense is formed by means of a past tense
form in -(i)y/-w and an imperfective aspect form of $k(o)t$. Both forms have the same subject:

(377) $me-kt-iy-ha$ $me-kt-iy-ha-y$ (318)
2S-be-PST-PL 2S-be-SE-PL-IA
‘you (p) will have been’

(378) $ki-gol^i-y$ $ke-kt-ag$ (712)
1PA-3S0.love-PST 1PS-be-IA
‘we will have loved him/her/it’

(379) $mi-men^o-w$ $me-kt-ag$ (831)
2S0-3S0.want-PST 2S-be-IA
‘you will have wanted him/her/it’

Perfect of the ‘optative’ consists of a past tense form in -(i)y/-w followed by the impersonal third person singular verb forms $ø-(po)kot-te-ke$ or $ø-(po)kot-o-ke$:

(380) $ce-kt-iy$ $ø-(po)kot-te-ke/ø-(po)kot-o-ke$ (382)
3ps-be-PST 3S-be-INF-ANT/3S-be- FN2-ANT
‘they wished they had been’, ‘if only they had been’

(381) $mi-pol^i-y$ $ø-(po)kot-te-ke/ø-(po)kot-o-ke$ (757)
2SA-3S0.love-PST 3S-be-INF-ANT/3S-be- FN2-ANT
‘You wished you had loved him/her/it’.

(382) $a-men^o-w$ $ø-(po)kot-te-ke/ø-(po)kot-o-ke$ (840)
1SA-3S0.want-PST 3S-be-INF-ANT/3S-be- FN2-ANT
‘I wished I had wanted him/her/it’.

(For the forms in -(k)te-ke and -(g)o-ke, see section 7.4.6.2 and 7.4.6.4, respectively).

Perfect of the ‘infinitive’ is formed by means of a past tense form in -(i)y/-w followed by impersonal $ø-kot-nap$ ‘because’, ‘for’ (for the explanation of $ø-kot-nap$ ‘because’, ‘for’ see section 7.4.6.3):

(383) $a-kt-iy$ $ø-kot-nap$ (428)
1SS-be-PST 3SS-be-SEQ
‘for I have been’
Past tense forms in -(i)y/-w can furthermore be followed by a zero-nominalizer and function
(i) as a 'past participle', translated as an agentive 'the one who ...':

(385)  
a-men'ô-w  o-kot-nap (858)  
1SA-3sO.want-PST  3ss-be-SEQ 
‘for I have wanted him/her/it’

(386)  
o-kot-iy-o (433)  
3ss-be-PST-NOM 
‘the one who was’

(387)  
mi-gol'-iy-o (799)  
2sA-3sO.love-PST-NOM 
‘you who loved him/her/it’

(388)  
a-men'ô-w-a-o (861)  
1SA-3sO.want-PST-NOM 
‘I who wanted him/her/it’

(ii) as a noun:

(389)  
inê-a-pat-am  ki-kal'o-it-iy-o-a  ku-muêh-t-ag (2858)  
what-INS-QM  1sS-order-PAS-PST-NOM-TOP  1pA-3sO.fulfil-F-IA 
‘How shall we fulfil our obligation’.

(390)  
a-l-o-w-a-o (89)  
1SA-3sO-make-PST-NOM 
‘my making’ (< ‘(1s) made’ < ‘I have made it’)

Nominalized past tense forms can be followed by case markers (see section 7.4.7).

7.4.2.2. Stem extender and past tense marker -e(y)
The suffix -e(y) primarily functions as a past tense marker. It is then suffixed to a reduced stem of a verb of class 1 and 2 and followed by the incompletive aspect marker -(a)g:

(391)  
ke-kêt-e-g (299)  
1ps-be-PST-IA 
‘we were’

(392)  
ki-gol'-e-g (694)  
1pa-3sO.love-PST-IA 
‘we loved him/her/it’
In four examples, -e(y) functions as a past tense marker, although it is not followed by the incompletive aspect marker -(a)y. In these forms, -e(y) is used as a variant of -(i)y:

(393)  \[\text{ma n'\text{alok-al}' ke-\text{f}w-ey (2887)}\]  (394)  \[\text{a-\text{shk-ey (952)}}\]  
\[\text{INT time-RST 1pS-go-PST 1sS-drink-PST}\]
‘We went just at the same time’.  ‘I drank’

(395)  \[\text{angal-pit mo-sh-ey-na-\text{-he};}\]
\[\text{angal-COR 3SA.3PO-speak-PST-QUOT-REP-IS}\]
\[\text{\v{c}ik-no-w-\text{mu-\text{-he-na mo-hil-we-y (1587)}}}\]
‘and the angel said to them that they should not be afraid’

(396)  \[\text{soldado-tu-p putam t'ap-ey-la (2882)}\]
\[\text{soldier-AD-ABL village 3SO.take-PST-3PA}\]
‘The soldiers took the village’.

In the following attested form, -e(y) also replaces -(i)y. However, in this example it apparently functions as a stem extender, since it does not indicate a past tense:

(397)  \[\text{o-\text{shik-ey-la-p (951)}}\]
\[\text{3SO-drink-SE-3PA-IA}\]
‘they drink it’

In addition, an element -e- can be recognized in the ending -e-nap. Verb forms in -e-nap occur in temporal subordinate clauses. The ending -e-(n)ap indicates a previous event, a sequence, and can also be translated as ‘after’:

(398)  \[\text{to-p-e-nap (550)}\]
\[\text{be.(seated)-SE-SEQ}\]
‘(after) having been.(seated)’

(399)  \[\text{kalo\v{c} pey-te mu\v{c}-e-nap, mu-tup-i}\]
\[\text{plate ground-AD 3SO.put-SEQ 2SS-walk-IMP}\]
\[\text{mi-nep-put pako\v{c} \v{c}ih-o (2824)}\]
\[\text{2SPOS-hand-INS door open-IMP}\]
‘Put first the plate on the ground and open the door with both hands’.

(lit. After having put the plate on the ground, go and open the door with both hands’).

Elements -e- and -ey- are furthermore found in the following three cases:
1: in the impersonal paradigm of the verb ḍaw ‘(to) go away from’ before the ending -khe ‘imperative’ (see section 7.4.5), the future marker -(k)it(e) (see section 7.4.4), and the nominalizer -(k)te ‘infinitive’ (see section 7.4.6.2):

(400)  o-ha-ṭaw-e-khe (1826)  o-m-a-ṭaw-ey-ha-kte (1826)
3sS-3sO.APL-go.away-SE-IMP  3sS-2O.APL-go.away-SE-PL-F
‘May it go away from him/her/it!’ ‘May it go away from you (p)!’

(402)  o-a-ṭaw-e-kte (1837)
3sS-1sO.APL-go.away-SE-INF
‘that it goes away from me’

2: in one purposive form before the nominalizer -(k)te:

(403)  i-ta-e-kte-he  o-ṭaw-iy (2388)
3sA-3sO.see-SE-INF-BEN  3sS-go.away-PST
‘He went away to see him’.

3: in three attested imperative forms before the imperative ending -(k)i:

(404)  mu-ṭe-k (2728)  (405)  t’a-ṭe-k (258)
3sO.put down-SE-IMP  3sO.see-SE-IMP
‘Put it down!’ ‘Look at it!’

(406)  mi-ta-ṭe-k (258)
2sA-3sO.see-SE-IMP
‘Look at it!’

7.4.3. Anteriority marker -(k)ẹ
We saw that -(k)ẹ can indicate ‘past’ and be used as a nominal past marker, when suffixed to a nominal stem (section 6.3.1.3). The suffix -(k)ẹ also indicates ‘past’, or, rather, ‘anteriority’, when it is attached to past tense forms in (i)y/-w, and nominalized forms in -(k)ẹ ‘infinitive’ and -(g)ọ ‘future nominalizer 2’. In the former case, -(k)ẹ is used to form a pluperfect. The ending -(k)ẹ can be replaced by -ate ‘then’, which can then also occur after the past tense marker -(e)y:

(407)  a-γo-ṭe-iye (697)  (408)  a-γo-ṭe-aye (697)
1sA-3sO.love-PST-ANT  1sA-3sO.love-PST-then
‘I had loved him/her/it’ ‘I had loved him/her/it’

(409)  ke-kte-iye (305)  (410)  ke-kte-aye (305)
1pS-be-PST-ANT  1pS-be-PST-then
‘we had been’ ‘we had been’
(411)  
*men’o-w-la-ke* (823)

3SO want-PST 3PA ANT
‘they had wanted him/her/it’

When the anteriority marker -(k)e occurs after -(i)y in a subordinated clause, it indicates that the event has taken place before another event, and it can often be translated as ‘after’:

(412)  
*ø-l*y aw-iy-e-wa, into-n’-am ki-l-o-go o-kot-ag*

3SS go-PST ANT TOP which-CMP QM 1PA 3SO do-FN2 3SS be-IA
pe-n’-al’-o o-kot-he (385)
that-CMP RST already 3SS be-IMP
‘If he has gone, what can we do, let him be [a fugitive]’.

(413)  
*kasaran o-ki-y-e, gol-iy* (872)

marriage 3SS do-PST ANT 3SS die-PST
‘After having married, he died’.

(414)  
*gol-iy-e, qinha-wo-w* (873)

3SS die-PST ANT 3SS life-VB PST
‘After having died, he resuscitated’.

The anteriority marker -(k)e can also be suffixed to the nominalizers -(k)te ‘infinitive’ (section 7.4.6.2) and -(g)jo ‘future nominalizer 2’ (section 7.4.6.4), in order to form an irrealis. The endings -(k)te-ke and -(g)jo-ke express a ‘future in the past’, viz. a wish or non-realized event. (For examples and further remarks, see the sections 7.4.6.2 and 7.4.6.4, respectively).

7.4.4. Future marker -(k)t(e)

The ending -(k)t(e) indicates future. It is attached to a non-reduced stem. The form -(k)t- is used before the imperfective aspect marker -ag in order to form a future tense and before subordinator -(k)te- in order to indicate a purposive clause (see subordinator -(k)te-eč, section 7.4.6); the form -(k)te is used elsewhere. Forms with initial -t- occur after a consonant, those with initial -kt- after a vowel. Some examples of the future tense are

(415)  
*mi-kot-t-ag* (309)

‘you will be’

(416)  
*mi-kot-ha-kt-ag* (312)

‘you (p) will be’

(417)  
*mi-pole-kt-ag* (704)

‘you will love him/her/it’

(418)  
*mi-men’o-kt-ag* (825)

‘you will want him/her/it’

(419)  
*o-loh-la-kt-ag* (964)

‘they will wet him/her/it’
Future forms without the aspect marker are, for instance:

(420)  
ki-kot-te (330)  
‘we shall be’

(421)  
i-m-kole-kte (721)  
‘he will love you’

They are used to form
(i) a first person plural of the imperative:

(422)  
ki-kot-te (323)  
‘Let us be!’

(423)  
ki-gole-kte (717)  
‘May we love him/her/it!’

(424)  
ki-mer’o-kte (834)  
‘May we want him/her/it!’

(ii) an optative mood or irrealis by means of the suffix -mok ‘hopefully’, ‘I wished’ and the verb form ø-kot ‘it is’. The suffix -mok can be attached to the future marker -(k)te or to a noun preceding the form in -(k)te. Impersonal ø-kot ‘it is’ always follows the form in -(k)te(-mok):

(425)  
(a)  
pal’ow-mok  
a-kot-te  
ø-kot (370)  
good-hopefully  
1ss-be-F  
3ss-be  
‘I wished I had been good’.

(b)  
pal’ow  
a-kot-te-mok  
ø-kot (370)  
good  
1ss-be-F-hopefully  
3ss-be  
‘I wished I had been good’.

(426)  
(a)  
Pedro-mok  
santo  
ø-kot-te  
ø-kot (373)  
Pedro-hopefully  
saint  
3ss-be-F  
3ss-be  
‘If only Pedro had been a saint’.

(b)  
Pedro  
santo  
ø-kot-te-mok  
ø-kot (373)  
Pedro  
saint  
3ss-be-i-hopefully  
3ss-be  
‘If only Pedro had been a saint’.

7.4.5. Imperative markers -(k)(i) and -(k)he

The imperative (second person) is formed by means of a non-reduced stem + the ending -ø, -i, -k or -ki. Person marking can be omitted in a second person singular form; it is necessary in a second person plural form. The endings -ø, -i, -k, -ki are allomorphs; -ø or -i are used after a consonant, -k or -ki after a vowel:

(427)  
kot, mi-kot-i (321)  
‘Be!’

(428)  
mi-kot-ha-k, mi-kot-ha-ki (324)  
‘Be (p)!’

(429)  
gole-k, mi-gole-ki (715)  
‘Love him/her/it!’

(430)  
mi-gole-ha-ki (718)  
‘Love (p) him/her/it!’
In section 7.4.4 we have seen that a first person plural imperative can be expressed by means of the future marker -(k)te. A first and third person imperative (‘permissive’ according to de la Mata) is formed by means of the ending -(k)he (The ending -(k)he may consist of an imperative ending -ø/-k and a benefactive element -he). It is suffixed to a non-reduced stem:

(433)  o-kot-he (335)       ‘Let him be’.
(434)  i-men’o-khe (833)    ‘May he want him/her/it’!
(435)  i-pole-khe (167)    ‘May we love him/her/it’.
(436)  ñi-kot-he (338)      ‘Let them be’.
(437)  pole-la-khe (719)    ‘May they love him/her/it’.

The imperative forms in -(k)he can be used to express a wish. If the verb in question is preceded by a noun (object or nominal predicate) the element -he may be attached to that preceding noun:

(438)  santo ki-kot-he (346)      ‘I wished we were saints’.
(439)  santo-he ki-kot-o (346)     ‘I wished we were saints’.
(440)  Dios pole-la-khe (737)      ‘I wished they loved God’.
(441)  Dios-he pole-la-khe (737)    ‘I wished they loved God’.

7.4.6. Nominalizers
In Cholón we can distinguish two kinds of nominalization:
(i): nominalization of the stem;
(ii): nominalization of finite forms.

Stem nominalization takes place by means of the suffixes -(e)č (section 7.4.6.1), -(k)te (section 7.4.6.2), -lam (section 7.4.6.3), -(g)jo (section 7.4.6.4), and -(w)úč (section 7.4.6.5). They are regularly attached to a non-reduced stem. In the ALC most of these suffixes occur in nominal or non-finite forms: -(k)te is labeled ‘infinitive’, -lam ‘future of the infinitive’, -(g)jo ‘supine’, and -(w)úč ‘present participle’. The suffix -(e)č is used in constructions labeled ‘ablativus absolutus’ or ‘subjunctive’ by de la Mata, and translated as a present participle or as a subordinate clause. In section 6.10 we have seen that forms in -(e)č, -(k)te, -(g)jo, and -(w)úč can be used as nouns, and that forms in -(e)č and -(g)jo can also function as adjectives. Forms in -(e)č, -(k)te, -lam, and -(g)jo can furthermore indicate a subject clause, a direct object clause, an indirect complement, a nominal predicate, an attributive extension of the direct object, a causal clause, and a relative clause. Nominalized
forms in -lam and -(g)o can also function as a main predicate. All of the nominalizers mentioned can be followed by specific case markers.

Finite forms may be nominalized by means of a zero-nominalizer (see section 7.4.2.1 and 7.4.7); and by means of the deictics ko ‘this one’ and ipko ‘that one’ (section 7.4.6.6). These deictics can also be followed by specific case markers.

7.4.6.1. Nominalizer -(e)c ‘factivizer’
The suffix -(e)c can be used as a factivizer (‘the fact that ...’) in a subject or direct object clause; and it can be used to indicate an attributable extension of the direct object. In the latter case, -(e)c can also indicate ‘cause’. Nominalizer -(e)c (-e after a vowel and -e after a consonant) is attached to the non-reduced stem of a verb of class 3, 4, 5 (see Table 7.6). (Verbs of class 1 and 2 have no nominalized forms in -(e)c, but they do have subordinated forms in -hu and -(k)t-eç instead, see also Table 7.6 and section 7.4.6). Ex.:

(442) a-pøle-ç (758) ‘(the fact) that I love him/her/it’
(443) mi-pøle-ha-ç (762) ‘(the fact) that you (p) love him/her/it’
(444) pøle-la-ç (762) ‘(the fact) that they love him/her/it’
(445) a-men’o-ç (842) ‘(the fact) that I want him/her/it’
(446) mi-men’o-ha-ç (845) ‘(the fact) that you (p) want him/her/it’
(447) men’o-la-ç (846) ‘(the fact) that they want him/her/it’

Forms in -(e)c function as subject clauses when the main verb is mas(o) ‘(to) take all night’ or pat(a) ‘(to) take all day’:

(448) a-pšawo-ç a-pat’a-g (2095)
1ss-spin-FAC 3ss-take.all.day-IA
‘I spend the day spinning’,
(‘The fact that I am spinning takes a whole day’).

(449) a-lu-wo-ç a-mas-ag (2097)
1ss-interior-VB-FAC 3ss-take.all.night-IA
‘All night long I am sad’.

In the following example, the direct object of y(a)ç ‘(to) see’ is a third person singular, so that the form mi-řaç can be interpreted as ‘you see it’ or as ‘you see him’. In this case, the form in -(e)c, i-m-køle-ç ‘(the fact) that he loves you’ functions as a direct object clause:
When the form in -(e)č functions as an attributive extension of the direct object, the subject of the nominalized verb to which -(e)č is attached is co-referential with the object of the main verb, and the object of the main verb is the head of the form in -(e)č.

(451)  
\[a\text{-}pog\text{-}pat \quad i\text{-}ča\text{-}č \quad a\text{-}po\text{-}yčë\text{-}ly (1443)\]  
one-CL:group-INS 3ps-go-FAC 1sa-3po-see-PST  
‘I saw them going in a troop’.

In a similar construction, the nominalized verb in -(e)č can also indicate ‘cause’. Here again, the object of the main verb and the subject of the nominalized verb must be co-referential:

(452)  
\[mitah\text{-}la\text{-}č \quad či\text{-}po\text{-}šayë\text{-}ag (2375)\]  
3so,miss-3pa-FAC 3pa-3po-whip-IA  
‘They whip them, because they miss it’.

The suffix -(e)č can be followed by the ablative case marker -(a)p meaning ‘after’ and preceded by the negation pe-. The suffix combination -pe-č-(a)p is translated as ‘before (that) ...’:

(453)  
\[mi\text{-}ča\text{-}pe\text{-}č-ap, \quad ko \quad ašmag \quad mi\text{-}l-o\text{-}ki (2925)\]  
2ss-go-NE-FAC-ABL this first 2sa-3so-do-IMP  
‘Before you go, do this first!’

(454)  
\[mi\text{-}hil\text{-}mulo\text{-}pe\text{-}č-ap \quad a\text{-}l-o\text{-}l'uk\text{-}iy\text{-}čo\]  
2ss-speak-begin-NE-FAC-ABL 1sa-3so-do-finish-PST-already a-ki-ag (1621)  
1ss-be-IA  
‘Before you began to speak, I had already finished it’.

7.4.6.2. Nominalizer -(k)te ‘infinitive’

The suffix -(k)te is frequently used as a complementizer with the verb men‘(o) ‘(to) want’. The element -k is dropped after a consonant. Examples of nominalized forms in -(k)te occurring as a direct object of men‘(o) are:
The nominalizer -(k)te can be followed by the case marker -he ‘benefactive’; by the anteriority marker -(k)e; and by the case marker combination -man-ap, indicating a comparison.

The combination -(k)te-he indicates a purpose ‘for the sake of’, ‘in order to’:

\[(456)\]  ko  a-l-o-kte-he  m-a-femtap-ap,  mi-fa-kt-ag  
\[\text{this} 1\text{sA}-3\text{sO}-\text{do-INF-BEN} \quad 2\text{sA}-1\text{sO}-\text{help-SEQ} \quad 2\text{sS}-\text{go-F-IA}\]
‘You will go, after having helped me to do this’.

\[(457)\]  ko  kama-pat  ki-kol-pe-kte-he-wa,  inça  yu-wa-m
\[\text{this} \quad 1\text{ps-die-NE-INF-BEN-TOP} \quad \text{what kind-TOP-QM} \quad \text{ki-l-o-kt-ag} \quad 2(843)\]
\[1\text{PA}-3\text{sO}-\text{do-F-IA}\]
‘What shall we do, so that we shall not die from this illness?’

\[(458)\]  ki-amo-kte-he-wa  ki-piyyp-o-l
\[\text{1ps-eat-INF-BEN-TOP} \quad 1\text{ps-work-FN2-RST}\]
‘We just have to work, so that we can eat’.

Forms in -(k)te-he are often found as the complement of a verb of motion:

\[(459)\]  sayapi-te  a-ki-čoh-te-he  a-fw-ap-ko  n'ammak,
\[\text{forest-AD} \quad 1\text{sS-be-walk-INF-BEN} \quad 1\text{sS-go-IA-DEM} \quad \text{each.time}\]
\[\text{kama} \quad a-ki-ag \quad 2(189)\]
\[\text{illness} \quad 1\text{sS-become-IA}\]
‘Every time I go out to walk in the forest, I fall ill.’

\[(460)\]  pakuplew  a-m-e-kte-he  a-na-g
\[\text{passion.fruit} \quad 1\text{sA}-2\text{sO}-\text{give-INF-BEN} \quad 1\text{sS-come-IA}\]
‘I come to give you passion fruits’.

\[(461)\]  trigo  puŋ  a-mis-te-he  a-mohna-g
\[\text{wheat meal} \quad 1\text{sA}-3\text{sO-buy-INF-BEN} \quad 1\text{sS-go.up-IA}\]
‘I go to the mountains to buy wheatmeal (for you)’.

The form in -(k)te-he can furthermore be a complement of the verb men'(o) ‘(to) want’ or, occasionally, of other verbs of thinking. The subjects of the two verbs need not be identical:
The ending -(k)te-ke, described by de la Mata as an optative ending, is used to form an irrealis. It indicates in fact a ‘future in the past’, and it expresses a wish or an event that could or would take/have taken place:

(464) inaham Dios a-pole-kte-ke (738)
EX: lamentation God 1sA-3sO.love-INF-ANT
‘Oh, I wished I had loved God’.

(465) a-n-ut1 a-tap-te-ke m-a-luwe-y (2899)
1sPOS-REL-enemy 1sA-3sO.catch-INF-ANT 2sA-1sO-prevent-PST
‘You prevented me from catching my enemy’.

(466) palow mi-kot-o-ke-wa a-m-pen-a-ke (367)
good 2sS-be-FN2-ANT-TOP 1sA-2sO-want-INF-ANT
‘If you were good, I would want you’.

In section 6.11.3 we saw that a comparison can be formed by means of the suffix combination -man-ap, following a nominal stem. The sequence -man-ap is then translatable as ‘than’. A comparative clause can be formed when -man-ap is attached to a nominalized verb form in -(k)te. The suffix combination -man-ap, translated as ‘rather than’, ‘instead of’ can then be followed by the adverb ašmag ‘first’:

(467) a-n-ut1 a-l-o-kte-man-ap, ašmag a-kol-te
1sPOS-REL-sin 1sA-3sO-do-INF-INES-ABL first 1ss-die-INF
a-men'-ay (1625)
1sA-3sO.want-IA
‘I prefer to die rather than to sin’.

7.4.6.3. Nominalizer -lam ‘future nominalizer 1’
According to Pedro de la Mata the ending -lam corresponds to the Latin ending ‘-rus’. In Latin, -turus is the ending of future of the infinitive or of the future participle, and it indicates that the event expressed by the verb is bound to take place. Forms in -lam are nominal forms referring to an event in the future or an obligation:
Several types of clauses can be formed by means of a nominalized form in -lam:
(i) the suffix -lam can be used to form a relative clause. The forms in -lam are then often left untranslated in the ALC. They can either precede or follow their heads:

\[(468)\]  
a-kot-lam (431, 1051)  
1sS-be-FN1  
‘my future being’, ‘my having to be’, ‘that I shall be’

\[(469)\]  
a-pole-lam (791, 1061, 1768)  
1SA-3sO.love-FN1  
‘my future loving of him/her/it’, ‘my having to love him/her/it’, ‘that I shall love him/her/it’

\[(470)\]  
a-men’o-lam (859, 1057)  
1SA-3sO.want-FN1  
‘my future wanting of him/her/it’, ‘my having to want him/her/it’, ‘that I shall want him/her/it’

(ii) the suffix -lam can also be used to form a direct object clause. The ALC only contains examples of this construction in which the main verb is in the imperative mood:

\[(471)\]  
ko l’tup-mag ki-hcéo-lam-a konfesion-sim  
this immersion-INES 1ps-be.submerged-FN1-TOP confession-EMP  
o-kot-ag (1205)  
3sS-be-IA  
‘This bath is the [sacramental] confession’.  
(lit. ‘This immersion in which we are submerged is the confession’).

\[(472)\]  
mula lum-te ku-tup-lam pana (2316)  
mule top-AD 1ps-walk-FN1 road  
‘a mulepath’ (lit. ‘a road which we have to walk on a mule’)

(iii): forms in -lam often occur in combination with the copula (pa)j(o)t ‘(to) be (there)’. Three types of clauses can then be distinguished:
(a) a subject clause of a main verb *(pa)k(o)t* ‘(to) be’. In this case, subject of the copula is an impersonal third person singular, while the subject of the form in -*lam*, meaning ‘obligation’, is another person:

(475)  
\[
\text{poho \ an-mol-e \ iglesia-te \ ki-ľa-lam \ o-pakt-ay} \quad (1499)
\]

morning one-CL-ANT church-AD 1SS-go-FN1 3SS-be-IA  
‘The day after tomorrow we have to go to church’.

(b) a subject clause of a subordinated verb *k(o)t* ‘(to) be’. In this construction, the subject of the copula is also an impersonal third person singular, while the subject of the form in -*lam*, meaning ‘obligation’, is co-referential with that of the main verb:

(476)  
\[
a-ľa-lam \ a-kot-nap \ a-n'äm-sip-ay \quad (916)
\]

1SS-go-FN1 3SS-be-SEQ 1SS-face-break.off-IA  
‘Because I have to go, I hurry’.

(c) a nominal predicate. In this case, the copula *k(o)t* ‘(to) be’ is marked for person, and the subjects of the copula and the form in -*lam* are identical; -*lam* expresses ‘custom’, and, occasionally, ‘possibility’:

(477)  
\[
tesim \ i-sak \ a-y-la-lam \ e-kt-ay \quad (408)
\]

always 3pPOS-food 1SO-give-3pA-FN1 3pS-be-IA  
‘They always give me their food’.

(478)  
\[
a-n'ut'a \ a-l-o-lam \ a-kt-ay \quad (1502)
\]

1SPS-REL-sin 1SA-3SO-do-FN1 1SS-be-IA  
‘I am in the habit of sinning’.

(479)  
\[
ki-ľa-lam \ ke-kt-ay \quad (1504)
\]

1PS-go-FN1 1PS-be-IA  
‘We can go’.

(iv) by omission of the copula (viz. of the form -*k(o)t-ay*), forms in -*lam* can also function as the predicate of a main clause, equivalent to forms in -*(a)y* ‘imperfective aspect’ or -(i)y/-w ‘past tense’. According to the context, such predicates may indicate an event in the present or in the past:

(480)  
\[
kapak \ mi-kot-nake, \ kas \ male-pale-kia-g \ t'i
\]

power 2SPOS-being-PER wind 3SS.pass.by-pass.by-RE-IA rain  
mit'-pale-kiuh-lam, \ et-pit \ u-ku-per'ô-lam \ (2424)

3SS.pass.by-pass.by-RE-FN1 fire-COR 3SA-1PO-want/warm-FN1  
‘By your power, the wind blows from all parts, the rain falls down from all parts, and the fire warms us from all parts’.
My father gave me permission to give alms to the poor.

(v) nominalizer -lam can be followed by
(a) the benefactive case marker -he. The combination -lam-he is equivalent to the suffix combination -(k)te-he (see the example above), viz. it also expresses a goal or purpose:

(482) Dios kapak kot ċi-o-paso-lam-he, kama-pit God reign being 3PA-3SO-preach-FN1-BEN patient-COR ċi-po-tukiw-o-lam-he, mo-pilm-iy (1581) 3PA-3PO-medecin-do-FN1-BEN 3SA,3PO-send-PST ‘He sent them, so that they would preach the reign of God, and cure the patients’.

(b) the case marker combinations -man-ap ‘from’ and -te-p ‘from’ in order to express ‘avoidance’:

(484) ok a-hil-t-ag, into-n’am yam ki-o-if’-lam-man-ap-a 1s 1sS-say:F-IA which-CMP-QM penance 1ps-do-PAS-FN1+INES-ABL-TOP ki-špo-kt-ap (2847) 1sS-remain.free-F-IA ‘I shall say how we will remain free from penance’.

(485) into mek ku-n-u’a ki-l-o-lam-te-p peh-ču which all 1pPOS-REL-sin 1PA-3SO-do-FN1-AD-ABL flight-DIM ki-o-no-go o-kot-ag (2851) 1ps-do-RFL-FN2 3Ss-be-IA ‘How can we escape from [our] sin?’

7.4.6.4. Nominalizer -(t)jo ‘future nominalizer 2’
The suffix -(t)jo is normally attached to a non-reduced stem: -o after a consonant-final stem and -go after a vowel-final stem. Pedro de la Mata says that the suffix -(t)jo is equivalent to the Latin ending ‘-dus’ (-ndus) of the ‘gerundive’. Forms in
-(y)o refer to a possibility or an obligation and can be used attributively (see also section 6.10). Attributive adjuncts thus formed are marked for first person plural agent and third person object with transitive stems, or first person plural subject with intransitive stems:

(486)  \[ ki-\text{t}a\-\text{o} (1078) \]
\[ 1\text{pA-3sO.see-FN2} \]
lit.: ‘something to be seen by us’ > ‘something visible’
> ‘visible’

(487)  \[ an-\text{t}el \quad ki-o-nano-\text{po} \quad o\-\text{o} \quad kas \quad \text{mek} \quad \text{kot-ma}\y \]
onel:truncal \[ 1\text{pA-3sO-fear-FN2} \quad \text{big wind all water-INES} \]
\[ o\-\text{tapac-iy} (779) \]
3s:arise-IA
‘A fearful big wind arose on the sea’.

(488)  \[ ki-\text{amo-}\text{po} \quad \text{mita-}\text{do} \quad o\-\text{pakt-a} (1519) \]
\[ 1\text{s-eat-FN2} \quad \text{time-already} \quad 3\text{s-be-IA} \]
‘It is already time for dinner’.

The nominalizer -(y)o has much in common with -lam. Both suffixes can indicate ‘obligation’ and ‘possibility’, are often used in combination with the copula (pa\text{k(o)}) ‘to be’, and can function as an attributive adjunct (see the examples above). In addition, like the forms in -lam, those in -(y)o can
(i) indicate a subject clause when the copula is the main verb and the subject of the copula is an impersonal third person singular:

(489)  \[ pa\text{lov} \quad ki-kot-o \quad o\-\text{kat-a} (455) \]
good \[ 1\text{s-be-FN2} \quad 3\text{s-be-IA} \]
‘We have to be good’.

(ii) Forms in -(y)o can indicate a nominal predicate. In this sense there are two possibilities:
(a) The subject of the copula and that of the form in -(y)o may refer to the same person:

(490)  \[ \text{mek hayu} \quad ki-kol-o \quad \text{ke-kt-a} (1522) \]
\[ \text{all men} \quad 1\text{pS-die-FN2} \quad 1\text{s-be-IA} \]
‘All men are mortal’.

(b) The subject of the copula and the object of the form in -(y)o may be coreferential. In this case the sentence has a passive interpretation (see also the remarks about the passive voice in section 7.3.4.6):
(491)  Dios-tu-p  ki-gole-go  o-kot-ag (1514)
God-AD-ABL 1pA-3sO.love-FN2 3ss-be-IA
‘God is to be loved by us’.

(492)  kapi pey  mi-o-ťatipeh-ha-ki,  poho-pat  kef
today clay 2A-3sO-prepare-PL-IMP morning-INS wall
ki-o-ťah-o  o-kot-eč (774)
1pA-3sO-loam-FN2 3ss-be-PURP
‘Prepare the clay today, so that we shall be able to loam the wall
tomorrow’. (lit. ‘Prepare the clay today, so that the wall can be loamed
by us tomorrow’).

A form in -(qio) can then also express ‘dignified/worthy to be’:

(493)  ki-m-tesah-o  me-kt-ag (1517)
1pA-2sO-thank-FN2 2ss-be-IA
‘You are dignified/worthy to be thanked by us’.

(iii) They can indicate a direct object clause:

(494)  čapľog  i-l-o-go  t'am-ag (1609)
pan 3sA-3sO-do-FN2 3ss.know-IA
‘He knows [how] to make pans’.

(iv) Forms in -(qio) can be used as a main predicate (presumably by omission of the
third person singular form -kot-ag, see also -lam section 7.4.6.3). Such forms occur
as a main predicate in exclamations and rhetorical questions:

(495)  a  Dios,  into-n'am  a-m-pako-go  a-kot-o,
INTJ God which-CMP-QM 1sA-2sO-know-FN2 1ss-be-FN2
a-m-yuč-pakna  a-kot-o-tu-p (1521)
1sA-2sO-see-NE.NOM 1ss-be-FN2-AD-ABL
‘O God, how shall I be able to know you, for I can not see you!’

(496)  njita-wu-w-a,  into-n'am  ki-l-o-go (389)
3ss.wild-VB-PST-TOP which-CMP-QM 1pA-3sO-do-FN2
‘If he has fled, what do we have we to do with him?’

(497)  mi-yoyo-ha-k-pit,  into-n'am  a-ki-go (2895)
2s-cry-PL-IMP-IND which-CMP-QM 1sA-do-FN2
‘Cry (p), what does that matter to me?’
‘I would have preferred to have died myself than that my father had died’.

However, in the following example, the form in -(ŋjo) occurs in a clause which is apparently neither an exclamation nor a rhetorical question, although it may have to be interpreted as such:

(499) a-m-a-ym-eh-o a-kot-o (1520)
1SA-2SO-APL-know-CAU-FN2 1SS-be-FN2
‘I shall be able to teach you’.

Like the nominalizer -(k)te, future nominalizer -(ŋjo) can be followed by -(ŋe) ‘anteriority’ (see section 7.4.3). The combination -(ŋjo)-ke, like -(k)te-ke, occurs in de la Mata’s ‘optative’ paradigm. It also indicates that an event could or would take/have taken place, and it is also used to express a wish or a non-realized event. A form in -(ŋjo)-ke can function

(a) as a main predicate:

(500) inam pal ow mi-kot-o-ke-wa, mul-pit pal ow
hopefully good 2SS-be-FN2-ANT INTI
Juan good 3SS-be-FN2-ANT TOP
‘If Juan were good, his son would also be good’.

(b) as a subordinated predicate:

(501) into mek m-a-e-go-ke, pe mek a-m-e-kt-ap (1367)
which all 2SA-1SO-give-FN2-ANT that all 1SA-2SO-give-F-IA
‘Everything you would give me, I shall give you [in return]’.

(502) nuh-mag yušam a-ťap-te-na o-ki-go-ke,
hole-INESS armadillo 1SA-3SO.catch-F-QUOT 3SS-say-FN2-ANT
owlam-t-e p i-ťah-iy (2389)
snake-AD-ABL 3SS-3SO.bite-PST
‘Thinking that he caught an armadillo in his hole, a snake bit him’.

(503) Juan pařow a-kot-o-ke-wa, mul-pit pařow
Juan good 3SS-be-FN2-ANT-TOP 3POS.son-COR good
a-kot-te-ke (368)
3SS-be-INF-ANT
‘If Juan were good, his son would also be good’.

However, in one instance a form in -(ŋj)o-ke seems to express a reality:
Easter being such a big [feast], would there be anybody not attending Mass?

The nominalizer -\(\text{o}\) can furthermore be followed by the following case markers and suffix combinations: man-ap ‘(rather) than’, ‘instead of’; -pat-le ‘till’; -te ‘(at the time) when’; -te-p ‘from (avoidance)’ (cf. -lam-te-p ‘from (avoidance)’, section 7.4.6.3); -tu-p ‘for’, ‘since’; -tu-p(-ham)-pit ‘although’.

I prefer to work rather than to be idle’.

‘How can we escape from [our] sins?’

‘Although we are poor, you are not rich [either]’.
No other instances of *kel* or *gēl* ‘(to) look for’ have been found.
7.4.6.6.1. Nominalizer -ko

Nominalizer -ko ‘this one’ is attached to a present tense form in -(a)ŋ ‘imperfective aspect’. Forms in -(a)p-ko are analyzed as present participle forms in the ALC, and function as headless relative clauses ‘the one who ...’:

(518)  a-kt-ap-ko (436)  (519)  i-pof-ŋ-ap-ko (794)
1sS-be-I-DEM 3sA-3sO.love-I-DEM
‘I who am’  ‘he who loves him/her/it’

(520)  a-men'-ap-ko (861)
1sA-3sO.want-I-DEM
‘I who want him/her/it’

(521)  nonas-na o-ki-ap-ko hakol l-o-it-t-ag
grandeur-QUOT 3sS-say-I-DEM humbleness 3sS-do-PAS-F-I
hakol o-ki-ap-ko őșo o-ki-kt-ag (1470)
humbleness 3sS-say-I-DEM great 3sS-be-F-I
‘He who poses as a great man will be humiliated, he who is humble will become a great man’.

Nominalized forms in -ko can be followed by
(i) the causal case marker - (/nak-)pat:

(522)  pana išiwah o-pakt-ap-ko-pat ma n’ansik-pat
road bad 3sS-be-I-DEM-INS INT difficulty-INS
mi-pahat-iy-ha me-kt-iy-ha (320)
2s-descend-PST-PL 2sS-be-SE-PL-I
‘Because the road was bad, you (p) have descended with much difficulty’.

(523)  i-k-han'-ap-ko-l'ak-pat (2372)
3sA-lpO-feel.affection.for-I-DEM-NF-INS
‘because he feels affection for us’

(ii) the ablative case marker -man-ap, meaning ‘(rather) than’, ‘instead of’:

(524)  a-pa goł'-iy o-kot-ap-ko-man-ap-a.
1sPOS-father 3sS-die-PST 3sS-be-I-DEM-INES-ABL-TOP
ok-e a-kl-iy a-kot-te-he a-men'o-go
1s-ANT 1sS-die-PST 1sS-be-INF-BEN 1sA-3sO.want-FN2 (2784)
‘I would have preferred to have died myself, rather than that my father had died’.

(iii) the comparative case marker -(mi)n'. After the nominalizer -ko, the short form -n’ is used:
(525)  Dios y-a-kal-ap-ko-ñ', a-pa yupey
God 3sA-3S0-order-IA-DEM-CMP 1sPOS-father honour
a-l-o-kt-ap (2852)
1sA-3S0-do-F-IA
‘I shall obey my father, as God ordered me’.

(526)  ki-m-o-ap-ko-ñ' ki-l-o-kt-ap (2321)
1pO-2sA-say-IA-DEM-CMP 1pA-3S0-do-F-IA
‘We shall do it as you order us’.

7.4.6.6.2. Nominalizer -igko

The nominalizing deictic -igko ‘that one’ is attached to a preterite form in -(iy)/-w, a
‘pluperfect’ in -(k)e and a future form in -(kt)-ap. The forms in -(iy)-igko/-w-igko,
-(k)e-igko and -(kt)-ap-igko are analyzed by de la Mata as preterite, pluperfect and
future participles, respectively, and, like those in -ko, they are also translated as
headless relatives ‘the one who ...’. However, the forms in -igko have an alternative
form without this deictic. These alternative forms are apparently nominalized by
means of a zero-marker:

(527)  a-men'o-w-igko (861) cf. a-men'o-w-o (861)
1sA-3S0.want-PST-DEM 1sA-3S0.want-PST-NOM
‘I who wanted him/her/it’ ‘I who wanted him/her/it’

(528)  a-kot-iy-e-igko (434) cf. a-kot-iy-e-o (434)
3sS-be-PST-ANT-DEM 3sS-be-PST-ANT-NOM
‘he who had been’ ‘he who had been’

(529)  i-gole-kt-ap-igko (800) cf. i-gole-kt-ap-o (800)
3sA-3S0.love-F-IA-DEM 3sA-3S0.love-F-IA-NOM
‘he who will love him/her/it’ ‘he who will love him/her/it’

A future ‘participle’ or agentive can also be formed by means of a nominalized form
in -lam, whether or not followed by the demonstrative -igko:

(530)  a-gole-lam-igko (802) cf. a-gole-lam (802)
1sA-3S0.love-FN1-DEM 1sA-3S0.love-FN1
‘I who shall love him/her/it’ ‘I who shall love him/her/it’

Like -ko, -igko can also be used as a relativizer and indicate a relative clause.
The antecedent can be both
(i) the subject:
(531)  mek sina-y-la-igko  i-čiker-eh-no-w (1464)
all 3So.hear-PST-3PA-DEM 3ps-be.frightened-CAU-RFL-PST
‘Everyone who heard it was amazed’.

and (ii) the object:

(532)  kalise a-o-ših-lam-igko mi-o-ših-ha-go-le
chalice 1SA-3So-drink-FN1-DEM 2A-3So-drink-PL-FN2-QM
me-kt-iý-ha-g (1490)
2S-be-SE-PL-IA
‘Can you (p) drink the chalice which I have to drink?’

Forms without -igko, viz. forms which are nominalized by means of a zero-marker or the suffix -lam (see section 7.4.6.3) can also indicate a relative clause. In the former case, the antecedent of the clause can then also be either the subject or the object; in the latter case, the antecedent is the object:

(533)  i-m-sah-iy-ø  čup-a  n'o  mi-po-šk-eypit
3SA-2So-carry-PST-NOM womb-TOP breast 2SA-3Po-suck-PST-COR
pe  mek makhay  če-kt-ap (1472)
that all happiness 3ps-be-IA
‘The womb that carried you and the breast which you sucked, they are happy’.

(534)  ko hil  l-o-ìt-iy-ø  ki-t'as-te (1463)
this word 3SS-make-PAS-PST-NOM 1PA-3So.see-F
‘We shall see the word which has been made’.

(535)  mi-l-o-lam(-igko),  ojom-al'  l-o-k (1489)
2SA-3So-do-FN1(-DEM) idle-RST 3So-do-IMP
‘Do quickly what you have to do’.

Forms in -igko followed by a case marker or case marker combination have not been found.

7.4.6.7. Overview
Table 7.7. presents a survey of the different phrase types formed by means of the stem nominalizers -(e)č, -(k)te, -lam-(y)jo, and the finite form nominalizers -ko and -igko. In this table the following abbreviation is used: attr. ext. dir. obj. ‘attributive extension of the direct object’. Table 7.8. presents a survey of the different types of clauses formed by means of -(e)č, -(k)te, -lam, -(y)jo, -ko when followed by the suffixes -he, -(k)je, -(lak)pat, -man-ap, -(mi)n¹, -(n)ap, -pat-le, -te, -te-p, -tu-p and
Note, however, that the nominalizer -(e)č can only be followed by the case marker -(a)p/-nap, if preceded by the negator -(p(e).

Table 7.7. Phrase types formed by means of -(e)č, -(k)te, -lam, -(y)jo, -(y)ko

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause type</th>
<th>-(e)č</th>
<th>-(k)te</th>
<th>-lam</th>
<th>-(y)jo</th>
<th>-(y)ko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject clause</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct object clause</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attr. ext. dir. obj.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>main predicate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal predicate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causal clause</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative clause</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.8. Nominalizers -(e)č, -(k)te, -lam, -(y)jo, -(y)ko + the suffixes -he, -(k)e, -(l’ak-)pat, -man-ap, -(mi)n’, -(a)p/-nap, -pat-le, -te, -te-p, -tu-p, -tu-p(-ham)-pit and the different clause types formed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>-(e)č</th>
<th>-(k)te</th>
<th>-lam</th>
<th>-(y)jo</th>
<th>-(y)ko</th>
<th>clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-he</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(k)e</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(l’ak-)pat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>main predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-man-ap</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(mi)n’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(a)p/-nap</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pat-le</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te-p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>avoidance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu-p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>avoidance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu-p(-ham)-pit</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>concessive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears that most (ten) of the fourteen phrase types mentioned in Table 7.7 and 7.8 can be formed by means of a nominalization in -(y)jo, whether or not followed by suffixes; that seven can be formed by means of a nominalization in -lam (+ suffixes); five by means of the nominalizer -(e)č (+ -(n)ap); four by means of -(k)te (+ suffixes); four by means of -(y)ko (+ suffixes); and only one, a relative clause, by means of -(y)ko and -(y)ko.
7.4.7. Subordinators

The following suffixes and suffix combinations indicate subordination: ʔ-ḥu, -(k)ḥe, -(n)ap, and -(e)č or -(k)t-eč, i.e. they indicate that the event expressed by the verb is related to another event, and that the verb at issue is subordinated to the verb expressing that other event. The relation indicated by these subordinators may be causal, concessive, consecutive, purposive and temporal. Regularly, -(k)he, -(n)ap and -(e)č-(k)t-eč occur in the same slot as the nominalizers mentioned above, viz. they are also directly suffixed to the verb stem. However, -(n)ap can also be suffixed to the stem extension markers -(i)y/-w and -(e)č (see section 7.4.2.1 and 7.4.2.2, respectively).

Subordinators resemble nominalizers in that both are suffixed to a non-reduced stem (except for subordinator -(e)č, which is attached to a reduced stem) and that both can indicate a subordinate clause, except for nominalizer -(w)uč. They differ from each other in that, unlike some nominalized forms, subordinated forms cannot be used as a noun or adjective, nor as a main predicate. By contrast, the use of the subordinators ʔ-hu, -(k)he and -(n)ap, is explicitly associated with a change or non-change of subject. Subordinator -(e)č-(k)t-eč has a restricted use, as we shall see.

7.4.7.1. Subordinator ʔ-hu ‘different subjects’

The use of ʔ-hu always implies switch-reference (subjects of the subordinate clause and main clause are not identical). The semantic relation between the subordinate clause and the main clause is either causal, or temporal. The following sentences are examples of the use of ʔ-hu as a causal subordinator:

(536) ʔ-ł uču-č ʔ-ʔot-ʔu ʔ-ʔot-ʔu

‘It is warm, because it will rain’.

In the following sentences ʔ-hu functions as a temporal subordinator ‘when’:

(537) p-uł o-ʔap-ʔu ʔ-ʔot-ʔu

‘When you were a teacher, I was your disciple’.

(538) ʔ-ł g-ʔi-ʔu ʔ-ʔot-ʔu

‘You (p) go to church, when they have already said [their] prayers’.

Subordination in ʔ-hu is only found with verbs of class 1 and 2. For other classes (3, 4, 5) this function is supplanted by nominalized forms in -(e)č (see Table 7.6 and section 7.4.6.1). The suffix ʔ-hu must be preceded by a consonant, so that it can neither be suffixed to plural marker -ʔa, nor to the third person plural agent marker -ʔa. After these suffixes an element -(e)č is found instead of ʔ-hu. (De la Mata
puts them in one paradigm). Note, however, that, in combination with this element -č, the second person plural marker -ha occurs after the non-reduced stem of class 1 verbs and is not preceded by a stem extension marker:

(539) a-kot-hu (392) ‘as I am’
(540) mi-kot-hu (393) ‘as you are’
(541) mi-kot-ha-č (396) (*mi-kot-ha-hu) ‘as you (p) are’

(542) i-o-ših-iah-hu (960) ‘as he drinks it again’
(543) ki-o-ših-iah-hu (960) ‘as we drink it again’
(544) ø-ših-iah-la-č (960) (*ø-ših-iah-la-hu) ‘as they drink it again’

(A form, such as me-kt-iy-ha-č, with a reduced class 1 verb stem + stem extension, followed by the plural marker -ha and the ending -č, has been attested. However, in those cases the reduced stem + stem extender + -ha-č indicate ‘purpose’ or ‘result’ (see section 7.4.7.4).

Like the nominalized forms in -(e)č, forms in -hu (i) can be followed by the verbs mas(o) ‘(to) take all night’ and pat(a) ‘(to) take all day’:

(545) a-ť’ip-te a-top-hu a-pat’iy (2094)
1sPOS-house-AD 1sS-be-SR 3sS-take.all.day-PST
‘All day long I was at home’. (lit. ‘The day went by while I was at home’).

(546) ki-ye-pakna ki-top-hu o-mas-ap (2099)
1ps-sleep-NE.NOM 1psS-be-SR 3sS-take.all.night-IA
‘All night long we did not sleep’.

(547) m-a-yac-hu o-pat’a-kia-g (2102)
2sA-1sO-see-SR 3sS-take.all.day-RE-IA
‘You see me constantly’.

(ii) have been encountered in the function of an attributive extension of the object with the verb y(a)čy(a)š ‘(to) see’:

(548) hul e-k, gol-hu mi-taš-te (1603)
pine.cone give-IMP 3Ss.die-SR 2sA-3sO.see-F
‘Give [him] pine cones, [and] you will see him die’. 
7.4.7.2. Subordinator -(k)he ‘simultaneity’
The subordinator -(k)he indicates that the event expressed by the verb takes place simultaneously with the event expressed by the main verb. The semantic relation between both verbs can be
(i) causal:

\[549\] \textit{pałow kot-he, t'amo-č a-kot-t-ay} (405)
\begin{align*}
good & \text{be-SIM} \\
& \text{know-FAC} \\
1s & \text{be-F-IA} \\
\end{align*}
‘Because I am good, I shall be learned’.

(ii) temporal:

\[550\] \textit{an-ťel Phariseo Jesus mučay i-l-o-w.}
\begin{align*}
one-\text{CL}\text{.truncal} & \text{Pharisee Jesus prayer 3sA-3sO-do-PST} \\
a-nek & \text{mi-amo-ki-na ki-khe (776)} \\
1s & \text{POS\text{-}company 2sSS\text{-}eat\text{-}IMP\text{-}QUOT say-SIM} \\
\end{align*}
‘A Pharisee prayed Jesus saying: “Eat with me!”’

A form in -(k)he need not be marked for person when the subject of the stem to which -(k)he is suffixed is identical to that of the main verb (co-reference), see the examples above. When the subjects of the subordinated verb and main verb are not identical, the former is regularly marked for person:

\[551\] \textit{pałow me-k\text{-}teč, i-m-pas\text{-}ap\text{-}sim, mu\text{-}lu\text{-}poh\text{-}he\text{-}piť\text{-}o} (425)
\begin{align*}
good & \text{2sSS\text{-}be-PURP} \\
& \text{3sA-2sO\text{-}advise\text{-}IA\text{-}EMP} \\
& \text{2sSS\text{-}interior\text{-}burn\text{-}SIM\text{-}NE\text{-}FN2} \\
\end{align*}
‘He advises you, so that you will be good, not to abhor you’.

In the following examples, the form in -(k)he is used together with a copula ‘(to) be’. It can then function
(i) as a subject clause, when the subject of the copula is an impersonal third person subject:

\[552\] \textit{ip-ťel mi-ťel\text{-}nik ip\text{-}tip mi\text{-}neg\text{-}nik}
\begin{align*}
two-\text{CL}\text{.truncal} & \text{2sPOS\text{-}foot\text{-}COM} \\
& \text{two-CL\text{:pieces} 2sPOS\text{-}hand\text{-}COM} \\
mi\text{-}kot\text{-}hu & \text{tep\text{-}et-mag mi\text{-}čem\text{-}if\text{-}iy\text{-}o\text{-}man\text{-}ap} \\
2sS & \text{eternally fire\text{-}INES} \\
me\text{-}ť\text{-}ty, & \text{mi\text{-}laś\text{-}iy te putam makhay ka\text{-}la\text{-}mag} \\
& \text{2sSS\text{-}weaken\text{-}PST} \\
& \text{2sSS\text{-}lame\text{-}PST} \\
& \text{high village joy life\text{-}INES} \\
mi\text{-}esteh\text{-}he ašmag & \text{pałow o\text{-}kot\text{-}ay (1632)} \\
2sS & \text{enter\text{-}SIM first good 3sS\text{-}be-IA} \\
\end{align*}
‘It is better for you to enter into paradise weak and lame, than to be thrown with both feet and both hands into the eternal fire’.
(ii) as a copula complement, when subjects of the copula and the form in -(k)he are identical:

\[(553)\] \[ip-ta-pi ayća o-'ūp-he i-top\] (1315)
\[two-CL:firm/stony-AL meat 3SO-eat-SIM 3ps-be.INCOM\]
‘Both are eating meat’.

Subordinator -(k)he can be followed by the following case markers:
(i) ablative -(a)/-nap ‘after’:

\[(554)\] \[mi-ye-y ki-khe-nap, nem o-poho-w (1625)\]
\[2ss-sleep-PST do-SIM-ABL day 3ss-dawn-PST\]
‘After you got up, the day dawned’.

(ii) perlative -nake ‘instead of’ (contrastive), ‘while’:

\[(555)\] \[an-t\] el a-tap-te-na sepeh-he, an-t\] el\]
\[one-CL:truncal 1sa-3so.catch-F-QUOT claim-SIM-PER one-CL:truncal\]
\[i-t-p-ap (2387)\]
\[3sa-3so.catch-IA\]
‘Instead of catching one, he catches another one’.
(lit. ‘While claiming: “I shall catch one”, he catches another one’).

(iii) instrumental -pat:

\[(556)\] \[baptismo-te hayu o-maso-kiah-he-pat ki-Dios-a\]
\[baptism-AD man 3ss-be.born-RE-SIM-INS 1ppos-God-TOP\]
\[mul-iy-piť-o, ni-ča-nik-sim ku-n-af’a\]
\[3ss.be.satisfied-PST-NE-FN2 bit-DIM-COM-EMP 1ppos-REL-sin\]
\[l-o-khe ma at’iw kama ki-ki-go ke-kt-iý\]
\[3so-do-SIM INT often illness 1ps-become-FN2 1ps-be-PST\]
\[o-kot-nap, ťač-ke, […] kamaf’in o-ki-\]
\[3ss-be-SEQ 3so-SIM […] order 3ss-do-PST […]\]
‘Our God was not satisfied with the fact that man was reborn in baptism, seeing the many illnesses we got by sinning ... [and] he ordered ...’

7.4.7.3. Subordinator -(n)ap ‘sequential’ (‘after’) The suffix -(n)ap indicates ‘succession’, ‘sequence’, viz. that the event expressed by the subordinated verb takes place before another event (cf. -(k)e, see section 7.4.3). It can be translated as ‘after’. In forms in -(n)ap, personal reference can be omitted when the subject of the verb is identical to that of the main verb (cf. the forms in -(k)he, section 7.4.7.2, which behave similarly in this respect). The form -ap occurs after a stem in h and, once, after a stem in p; -nap occurs elsewhere: e.g.
(557) *top-če-h-ap* (669)
be-wander-SEQ
‘(after) having wandered’

(558) *ko a-l-o-k-e-he m-a-l emf-a-p-ap, mi-ňa-kt-a-p* (1806)
this 1SA-3SO-do-INF-BEN 2SA-1SO-help-SEQ 2SS-go-F-IA
‘After you have helped me to do this, you will go’.

(559) *meč o-ki-a-p-pit, sukusil čt-an-nap nep-te*
tree 3SS-become-IA-COR bird 3ps-come-SEQ branch-AD
*i-topke-kt-eč* (780)
3ps-sit.down-F-PURP
‘A tree is made, so that the birds come to sit down on the branches’.

(560) *elefante-wa a-tel meč n’an-te pilmoh-no-nap*
elephant-TOP one-CL:trunca] tree face-AD lean.on-RFL-SEQ
*a-n’-a-p* (80)
3ss-sleep-IA
‘The elephant sleeps leant against a tree’.

(561) *hayu gol-nap-a, mu-mpuš-tu-p inča-te-m*
man 3ss.die-SEQ-TOP 2sPOS-riches-AD-ABL thing-AD-QM
*i-mal’ow-ct-a-p* (2903)
3SA-3SO.benefit-VB-F-IA
‘How can your riches be profitable, when a man dies’.

(562) *učawká gita-wo-nap-al’, soldado-tu-p putam t’a-p-ey-la* (2862)
enemy 3SS.wild-VB-SEQ-RST soldier-AD-ABL city 3SO.take-PST-3PA
‘Just after the enemy has fled, the soldiers took the city’.

In two examples -nap is suffixed to a stem in h:

(563) *men’o-kiah-nap* (903)
3SO.want-RE-SEQ
‘(after) having wanted again’

(564) *ka’ok a-t’em-eh-koloh-nap-al’, o-n’anmito*
box 1SA-3SO.know-CAU-finish-SEQ-RST 3sPOS-owner
*i-o-ňa-ah-iy* (2883)
3SA-3SO.take.away-PST
‘Just after I had finished making the box, the owner took it away’.
The form is furthermore encountered after a non-reduced stem followed by the stem extension marker -e(y) (see section 7.4.2.2). We have not found a difference in meaning between -nap and -e-nap:

(565) a-mpuš-nik kot-e-nap, yupey-nik a-kot-t-ag (404)
1sPOS-riches-COM be-SEQ esteem-COM 1sS-be-F-IA
‘Being rich, I shall be esteemed’.

(566) liw ōra-e-nap, a-kul'e-kt-ag (2823)
writing 3sO.see-SEQ 1sS-go.to.bed-F-IA
‘I shall study first and then I shall go to bed’.

The suffix -(n)ap can indicate ‘cause’ when occurring after an impersonal third person singular form of the verb k(o)t ‘(to) be’. The resulting word o-kot-nap has been lexicalized with the meaning ‘because’:

(567) domingo-te misa a-sinah-lam o-pakt-iy o-kot-nap,
sunday-AD Mass 1sA-3sO.hear-FN1 3sS-be-PST 3sS-be-SEQ
ma atem-e-ł' a-f' a-pit'-iy-pit'-o (793)
INT morning-ANT-RST 1sS-go.do.while.passing-by-PST-NE-FN2
‘Because I had to attend Mass on sunday, I did not go out early in the morning’.

(568) ōti-tu-p g-a-lo-y o-kot-nap, kama a-ki-ag (967)
rain-AD-ABL 3sA-1sO-wet-PST 3sS-be-SEQ illness 1sS-be-IA
‘I am ill, because the rain wet me’.

(569) hayu-lol u-n-w' a pe mek ĉe-kt-iy o-kot-nap,
man-PI 3sPOS-REL-sin that all 3PS-be-PST 3sS-be-SEQ
 Dios-tu-p yam mo-o-w (777)
God-AD-ABL punishment 3sA.3PO-do-PST
‘Because the sins of men were that many, God punished them’.

Forms in -(n)ap can be followed by the perlative marker -nake ‘instead of’ (contrastive) (cf. -(k)he-nake ‘instead of’ (contrastive), section 7.4.7.2):

(570) fierro a-mis-te-he-na mis-ch-e-nap-nake,
iron.tools 1sA-3sO.buy-INF-BEN QUOT 3sO.ask-CAU-SEQ-PER
 cinta a-ms-ag (2381)
ribbon 1sA-3sO.buy-IA
‘I falsely asked permission to buy iron tools, [but] I buy ribbons [instead]’.
7.4.7.4. Subordinator -eč’-(k)t-eč ‘purpose’
The suffix -eč’-(k)t-eč is used to form a resultative or a purposive clause. When this suffix is used, the subject of the main verb and the subordinated verb are not co-referential. The form -eč’ is found after reduced verb stems of class 1; -(k)t-eč (which contains the future marker -(k)t(e)) is encountered after non-reduced verb stems of class 2, 3 and 5 (see Table 7.6). (The ending -(k)t-eč is not found with a class 4 verb stem. This may be attributed to a lack of data). The -eč’ forms occurring with class 1 verbs can refer both to a purpose and to a result:

(571) paľ'ow me-kt-eč, i-m-pas-ap-sim, mu(-lu-poh-he-pit’a-o (425)
good 2ss-be-PURP 3SA-2SO-advertise-IA-EMP 2ss-interior-burn-SIM-NE-
FN2‘He advises you, so that you will be good, not to abhor you’.

(572) oyna-čo a-kt-eč, g-a-f’ukiow-o-w (424)
health-already 1ss-be-PURP 3SA-1SO-medicine-do-PST
‘He cured me, so that I am already healed’.

The -(k)t-eč’ forms have only been found referring to a purpose:

(573) kal’sok-he mi-l-o-ki, mi-tesah-la-kt-eč(853)
benevolence-BEN 2SA-3SO-do-IMP 2SO-thank-3PA-F-PURP
‘Do it with benevolence, so that they thank you’.

(574) i-m-kaľ-ap-ko-n’ mi-l-o-ki, Dios-tu-p
3SA-2SO-order-IA-DEM-CMP 2SA-3SO-do-IMP God-AD-ABL
i-m-kole-kt-eč (764)
3SA-2SO-love-F-PURP
‘Do as God orders you, so that he loves you’.

(575) a-m-pen’o-kt-eč (2909)
1SA-2SO-want-F-PURP
‘so that I want you’

7.4.7.5. Overview
Table 7.9 below presents a survey of the subordinators treated above + the different types of clauses indicated by them. In this table the following abbreviations occur:
Table 7.9. Subordinators and clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AEO</th>
<th>CAC</th>
<th>CCO</th>
<th>COC</th>
<th>INS</th>
<th>PURP</th>
<th>RES</th>
<th>SUB</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-hu</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(k)he</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(k)he-nake</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(k)he-nap</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(k)he-pat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4.8. Finite verb forms followed by case markers
A number of case markers occur after present tense forms in -(a)ŋ ‘imperfective aspect’ or preterite forms in -(i)y/-w ‘past tense’. It may be argued that these forms are nominalized by means of a zero-marker (see section 7.4.2.1). This is supported by the fact that the demonstratives ko ‘this here’ and ḵko ‘that there’ can occupy the slot of this putative zero-marker (see section 7.4.6.6). The case markers found after finite verb forms and their usual meanings are
- ūak-ŋap ‘with’, ‘because of’, ‘by’;
- ūak-ŋte-p ‘by’, ‘through’;
- man-ap ‘after’, ‘from’;
- (mi)n 늗‘as’, ‘like’;
- te ‘at’, ‘in’.

In one special case, -(mi)n is also found after a non-reduced stem. The markers mentioned above, occurring after nouns, pronouns or demonstratives, have already been analyzed in chapter six. It is clear, however, that the meaning of these case markers changes when they occur after finite verb forms. In most cases, a spatial meaning changes into a temporal one, and an instrumental into a causal one. The difference in interpretation between the nominal use and the verbal use of these
suffixes is shown in Table 7.10 below. In this table the following abbreviations occur: CAU ‘causal’, CMP ‘comparative’, INS ‘instrumental’, SPA ‘spatial’, TEMP ‘temporal’. With the suffix combination -lak-pat both the nominal and the verbal interpretation are causal. Therefore, it is not shown in Table 7.10.

Table 7.10. Nominal and verbal interpretation of the suffixes and suffix combinations -man-ap, -(mi)n', -pat, -te-p, -lak-te-p, -te

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nominal interpretation</th>
<th>verbal interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAU</td>
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<td>-man-ap</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(mi)n'</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pat</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te-p</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lak-te-p</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4.8.1. Case marker (-lak)-pat ‘because’
In section 6.4.2.9 we have seen that the instrumental case marker -pat is often found in combination with the element -lak-, and that -lak-pat has a causal meaning. When instrumental -pat occurs after nominalized finite verb forms, it also has a causal meaning:

(576) šalam me-kt-a-p-o-pat a-m-ľu-po-y (190)
weak 2ss-beIA-NOM-INS 1slA-2slO-interior-burn-IA
‘I abhor you, because you are weak’.

(577) hayu-lol u-n-u'a pe mek če-kt-ty-o-(lak)-pat,
man-Pl. 3pPOS-REL-sin that all 3ps-be-PST-NOM-(NFI)-INS
Dios-tu-p yam mo-o-w (777)
God-AD-ABL punishment 3sA,3p0-do-PST
‘Because the sins of men where that many, God punished them’.

The suffix sequence -lak-pat, when occurring after nominalized finite verb forms, is synonymous with o-kot-nap (see also section 7.4.6.3):

(578) mita-y-la-o-lak-pat či-po-šay-č-ag (2374)
3sO,miss-PST-3PA-NOM-NF-INS 3pA-3p0-whip-IA
‘They whip them, because they missed it’.

(579) mita-y-la o-kot-nap (2374)
3sO,miss-PST-3PA 3sS-be-SEQ
‘because they missed it’
7.4.8.2. Case marker (-tak)-te-p ‘after’; ‘as’, ‘like’; ‘because’

The suffix sequence -te-p, a combination of the non-personal adessive case marker -te and the ablative case marker -(a)p, can have a temporal meaning when it is suffixed to a zero-nominalized finite verb form:

(580) hayu a-kt-iy-a-te-p (2633)  
man 1sS-become-PST-NOM-AD-ABL  
‘after I became a man’

It can then also mean ‘as’ or ‘like’ and correlate two clauses:

(581) kama’tig mi-ki-y-a-te-p ki-l-o-ag (2360)  
order 2sS-do-PST-NOM-AD-ABL 1pA-3sO-do-IA  
‘We do it as you ordered’.

The suffix combination -te-p can also have a causal meaning. It can then be preceded by -tak (for an interpretation of the element -tak, see section 6.4.2.9, 6.4.3.3, and section 7.4.8.1 above). The sequence (-tak)-te-p can also occur after a nominalized form in -ko. In its causal reading (-tak)-te-p is synonymous with (-tak)-pat and a-kot-nap:

(582) kečvak a-kt-ag-ko(-tak)-pat, a-hñ’em mi-kot-p-ag (411)  
poor 1sS-be-IA-DEM(-NF)-JNS 1sPOS-friend 2sS-be-NE-IA  
‘Because I am poor you are not my friend’.

(583) kečvak ke-kt-iy a-kot-nap, ku-pulua-y-ia (412)  
poor 1psS-be-PST 3ssS-be-SEQ 1pO-abhor-PST-3pA  
‘Because we are poor, they abhorred us’.

(584) a-m-kol’-ag-ko a-kot-nap (1763)  
1SA-2sO-love-IA-DEM 3SSS-be-SEQ  
‘because I love you’

7.4.8.3. Case marker -man-ap ‘after’; ‘besides’; ‘than (in comparisons)’

The suffix combination -man-ap (consisting of inessive -man and ablative -(a)p, see section 6.4.2.1) can have a temporal meaning, indicating that the event takes place before another event (cf. -(k)ak ‘after’, ‘anteriority’, ‘nominal past’, section 7.4.3; and -n(ap ‘after’, ‘anteriority’, section 7.4.7.3), when occurring after nominalized forms in -(iy):
The inessive-ablative case marker combination -man-ap can then also mean ‘besides’:

(586)  
```
owlum Martin i-ťah-ty-o-man-ap    i-mo-ğ (1637)  
snake Martin 3SA-3SO.bite-PST-NOM-INES-ABL 3SA-3SO.burn-IA  
```

‘The snake, besides having bitten Martin, is [also] giving him a fever’.

In section 7.4.6.2 and 7.4.6.4, respectively, we have seen that a comparative clause is formed when -man-ap is suffixed to a nominalized verb form in -(k)te and -(g)jo; and that the form in -man-ap is often used in combination with the adverb ašmaŋ ‘first’. A comparative clause is also formed when -man-ap is suffixed to a zero-nominalized finite form in -(a)ğ of the imperfective aspect or -(i)y/-w ‘past tense’:

(587)  
```
Dios-tu-p hayu castiğan mo-o-w-o-man-ap,  
God-AD-ABL men punishment 3SA.3p-do-PST-NOM-INES-ABL  
ašmaŋ perdonan mo-o-w (1631)  
first forgiveness 3SA.3p-do-PST  
```

‘God rather forgave men than that he punished them’.

(588)  
```
t-o-yo-kt-ap-o-man-ap  ašmaŋ o-maksan-kt-an (1633)  
3SS.cry-F-IA-NOM-INES-ABL first 3SS-rejoice-F-IA  
```

‘He will rather rejoice than that he will cry’.

7.4.8.4. Case marker -(mi)n’ ‘as’, ‘like’; ‘on the verge of’
As stated, the comparative case marker -(mi)n’ can also be suffixed to a nominalized finite verb form, retaining its comparative meaning. With these verb forms, the long form -min’ is always found:

(589)  
```
kamațiŋ mi-ki-y-o-min’ (2320)  
order 2SS-do-PST-NOM-CMP  
```

‘as you ordered’

However, when the nominalized finite verb form + -min’ is followed by the suffix -cö ‘already’, and the form in -min’-cö is used in combination with the verb forms kot-he and o-kot-hu, the suffix sequence -min’-cö can have a temporal connotation and be translated as ‘on the verge of’: 
i-ø-ag-a-min’-čo  a-kot-hu  kuči-wa,  
3SA-3SO-pig-A NOM-CMP-already  3SS-be SR pig-TOP  
ki-o-lam-iy (1560)  
1PA-3SO-kill-PST  
‘As for the pig, being on the verge of giving birth, we killed her’.

This construction is also found with non-reduced verb stems. Assumably, the stem is then also nominalized by means of a zero-nominalizer:

pol-o-min’-čo  kot-he,  i-ø-č-ey (1559)  
3SS-die-NOM-CMP-already  be-SIM  3SA-3SO-pig-PST  
‘Being on the verge of dying, she gave birth’.

7.4.8.5. Case marker -te ‘when’, ‘where’
When the impersonal adessive case marker -te is suffixed to a nominalized finite form, it can have temporal meaning: ‘(at the time) when’, alongside its spatial meaning: ‘in/at (the place where)’:

ki-y-iy-o-te (180)  (593)  ki-Ɂ’a-pit’-iy-o-te (182)  
1ps-sleep-PST-NOM-AD  1ps-go-do.incidentally-PST-NOM-AD  
‘where we slept’  ‘when we incidentally left’

7.5. Impersonal verbs
Pedro de la Mata gives only one example of what he calls an impersonal verb: pak(o)t/ pok(o)t ‘be (there)’. With this verb weather situations can be expressed:

mise ø-pakt-a (2196)  
cold  3SS-be IA  
‘It is cold’.

The ‘irrealis’ forms in -(k)šte-ke and -(g)o-ške (see section 7.4.6.2 and 7.4.6.4, respec-
tively) of the verb k(o)t ‘(to) be’ also have an impersonal use. The verb k(o)t is then an alternative for impersonal pak(o)t/pok(o)t ‘be (there)’:

(595)  a-kt-iy  a-kot-te-ke/  a-pokot-te-ke (377)  
1SS-be-PST  3SO-be-INF-ANT/  3SO-be-INF-ANT  
‘that I had to be’

(596)  a-kt-iy  a-kot-o-ke/  a-pokot-o-ke (377)  
1SS-be-PST  3SS-be-FN2-ANT/  3SS-be-FN2-ANT  
‘that I had to be’
7.6. Neutral verbs
De la Mata says about his so-called neutral verbs ‘verbos neutros’ that they have no ‘pasión’, i.e. no direct object. In Mata’s conception, these neutral verbs appear to be intransitive verbs with an impersonal, zero-marked, third person singular subject, and an applicative object (see section 7.2.5 for the subject markers; and section 7.2.5 for the applicative markers):

(597)  o-m-a-Faw-ag (1816)
      3Ss-2S0-APL-go-IA
      ‘it goes away on behalf of/from you’

(598)  o-ha-tiki-ag (1843)
      3Ss-3S0-APL-become/concern-IA
      ‘it concerns him’

(599)  kače  o-m-a-pakt-ag-le (276)
      maize  3Ss-2S0-APL-be.there-IA-QM
      ‘Do you by any chance have maize?’

(600)  o-k-a-tog (285)
      3Ss-1Po-APL-be.there
      ‘it is there for us’/‘we have’

7.7. Verbs derived from nouns
Verbs can be derived from nouns by means of the suffix -(w)o/-(w)e(h), meaning ‘(to) do’, ‘(to) make’. They then behave like verbs of class 5 (-o > -ø/ _-a / _-e(h)) and class 2 (-eh > -e / _-(a) -e), respectively (see section 7.3.1). The forms -w(o) and -we(h), normally found after a vowel, can also occur after a consonant. (The form -we(h) may be an amalgamation of the verbalizer -(w)o + causativizer -(k)e(h), which can also be used as a verbalizer, see below). The forms -o and -e(h), are only found after a consonant:

(601)  a-čečo-w-ag (2035)
      1Ss-silver-VB-IA
      ‘I make silver’

(602)  a-čečo-we-g (1900)
      1Ss-silver-VB-IA
      ‘I make silver’

(603)  a-pyup-o-ag (1875)
      1Ss-bridge-VB-IA
      ‘I make a bridge’

(604)  a-yip-o-w (1887)
      1Ss-house-VB-PST
      ‘I made a house’

(605)  a-n-eštek-w-ag (2015)
      1Ss-REL-cloth-VB-IA
      ‘I make my cloth(es)’

(606)  a-pulňkiň-w-ag (2055)
      1Ss-gold-VB-IA
      ‘I make gold’
In one example verbalizer -(w)o is used as a verb meaning ‘(to) do’ and translated as ‘(to) count’:

(609) pe mek čę-kt-iy ø-kot-nap, into-n’ ki-po-wo-pakna
that all 3ps-be-PST 3ss-be-SEQ which-CMP 1pa-3pO-do-NE.NOM
čę-kt-ag (60)
3ps-be-IA
‘Since they were that many, they could not be counted [by us]’.

Causativizer -(k)e(h) can also function as a verbalizer. It forms a transitive verb, and it can function as an alternative for (o) ‘(to) do’. In the paradigm of the derived verb n-eštek-(o)/ n-eštek-eh ‘(to) clothe someone’, for instance, both (o) and -(k)e(h) are encountered:

(610) a-ø-n-eštek-ø-a (2064)
1sA-3sO-REL-cloth-do-IA
‘I clothe him/her/it’

(611) a-ø-n-eštek-eh-t-a (2064)
1sA-3sO-REL-cloth-VB-F-IA
‘I shall clothe him/her/it’

A reflexive verb ‘(to) clothe oneself’ is then regularly formed by means of the derivational suffix -n(o) ‘reflexive’:

(612) a-n-eštek-o-n-a (2063)
1sS-REL-cloth-do-REL-IA
‘I clothe myself’.

7.8. Fixed expressions
In the ALC, much attention is paid to constructions consisting of a noun and a verb which together form a fixed or idiomatically expression. Pedro de la Mata gives many examples of these. They are formed by means of the verbs ki ‘(to) be’, ‘(to) become’, k(o)j ‘(to) be’, l(a)w ‘(to) become’, ‘(to) turn into’, t(a)/t(o) ‘(to) do’, ‘(to) make’ and tiki ‘(to) become’. The verbs ki and k(o)j are copula; the verb l(a)w, usually an intransitive verb meaning ‘(to) go away’ (see section 7.3), here also functions as a copula; the verb t(a)/t(o) sometimes functions as a verb with a direct object and an indirect object, i.e. a beneficiary; tiki is the impersonal counterpart of ki. The noun preceding k(o)j and t(a)/t(o) may be accompanied with a possessive
marker. When fixed expressions are formed by means of the verbs \( ki, \) \( l(a)w \) and \( tiki \) the preceding noun or subject complement is never accompanied by a possessive marker:

(613) \( hulum \ a-ki-ag \) (1862)  \( kama \ a-ki-ag \) (1854)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fat(ness)} & \rightarrow 1\text{ss-become-1A} \\
\text{‘I become fat’}. & \rightarrow \text{‘I am ill’}.
\end{align*}
\]

(615) \( kes \ a-ki-ag \) (1860)  \( fok \ a-ki-ag \) (1859)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{age} & \rightarrow 1\text{ss-become-1A} \\
\text{‘I grow’}. & \rightarrow \text{‘I am naked’}.
\end{align*}
\]

(617) \( mise \ a-ki-ag \) (1855)  \( oyna \ a-ki-ag \) (1858)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cold} & \rightarrow 1\text{ss-be-1A} \\
\text{‘I am cold’}. & \rightarrow \text{‘I am healthy’}.
\end{align*}
\]

(619) \( siw \ a-ki-ag \) (1856)  \( u\text{uah} \ a-ki-ag \) (1857)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{need} & \rightarrow 1\text{ss-become-1A} \\
\text{‘I am needy’}. & \rightarrow \text{‘I am warm’}.
\end{align*}
\]

(621) \( yosil' \ a-ki-ag \) (1861)  \( hayu \ a-ki-y \) (1961)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{humble(ness)} & \rightarrow 1\text{ss-be-1A} \\
\text{‘I am humble’}. & \rightarrow \text{‘He became a man’}.
\end{align*}
\]

When the idiomatic expression is formed by means of the copula \( k(o)t \), noun and verb take the same person marker:

(623) \( a-kul'ha \ a-kt-ag \) (1851)  \( yul'ha \ a-kot-ag \) (1852)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1sPOS-life} & \rightarrow 1\text{ss-be-1A} \\
\text{‘I live’}. & \rightarrow 3\text{ss-be-1A} \\
\text{‘He lives’}.
\end{align*}
\]

(625) \( kapak \ a-kul'ha \ a-kt-ag \) (1852)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ruler} & \rightarrow 1\text{ss-be-1A} \\
\text{‘I reign’}.
\end{align*}
\]

In expressions with \( l(a)w \), like in those with \( ki \), the copula complement is not marked for person:

(626) \( pey \ a-law-ag \) (1905)  \( ta \ mi-law-ag \) (1906)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{earth} & \rightarrow 1\text{ss-become-1A} \\
\text{‘I become earth’}. & \rightarrow 2\text{ss-become-1A} \\
\text{‘You become stone’}.
\end{align*}
\]
In compounds with t(a)/ t(o) ‘(to) do’, ‘(to) make’, t(a)/ t(o) can take the beneficiary prefix t- ‘3sB’ (see section 7.2.6) when it concerns a third person singular. The preceding noun does not take personal reference:

(634) kes a-ta-g (2117)  (635) kot a-ta-g (2116)
age 1SA-make-IA  water 1SA-do-IA
‘I breed/ bring up/ raise’.  ‘I fetch water’.

(636) mesa a-ta-g (2115)  (637) Dios mučag a-t-ta-g (2120)
table 1SA-do-IA  God prayer 1SA-3sB-do-IA
‘I lay the table’.  ‘I pray to God for him’.

When the beneficiary concerns another person than a third person singular, t(a)/ t(o) is preceded by an applicative object. The preceding noun is again not marked for person:

In compounds with t(a)/ t(o) ‘(to) do’, ‘(to) make’, t(a)/ t(o) can take the beneficiary prefix t- ‘3sB’ (see section 7.2.6) when it concerns a third person singular. The preceding noun does not take personal reference:

(634) kes a-ta-g (2117)  (635) kot a-ta-g (2116)
age 1SA-make-IA  water 1SA-do-IA
‘I breed/ bring up/ raise’.  ‘I fetch water’.

(636) mesa a-ta-g (2115)  (637) Dios mučag a-t-ta-g (2120)
table 1SA-do-IA  God prayer 1SA-3sB-do-IA
‘I lay the table’.  ‘I pray to God for him’.

When the beneficiary concerns another person than a third person singular, t(a)/ t(o) is preceded by an applicative object. The preceding noun is again not marked for person:
When agent and beneficiary are the same person, the preceding noun takes personal reference. The possessive marker then corresponds to the agent marker:

(641)  $\textit{a-n-eštek a-o-ta-y}$ (2118)
\[\text{iPOS-REL-cloth iSA-3SO-do-IA}\]
\[\text{‘I make my clothes’}.\]

(642)  $\textit{a-yelam a-o-ta-y}$ (2114)
\[\text{iPOS-bed iSA-3SO-do-IA}\]
\[\text{‘I make my bed’}.\]

In expressions formed with the verb \textit{tiki}, the preceding noun is not accompanied by a possessive marker. The verb functions as an impersonal verb and the impersonal third person singular subject is not marked. The person markers which do occur with \textit{tiki} indicate an indirect or applicative object: the person affected by the event. Examples:

(643)  $\textit{a-ťla kama o-a-tiki-ay}$ (1841)
\[\text{iPOS-wife ill(ness) 3SS-1SO.APL-become-IA}\]
\[\text{‘My wife falls ill’}.\]

(644)  $\textit{a-ťeł mise o-ha-tiki-ay}$ (1843)
\[\text{iPOS-foot cold 3SS-3SO.APL-become-IA}\]
\[\text{‘My foot becomes cold’}.\]

(645)  $\textit{ľaka o-k-a-tiki-ay}$ (1844)
\[\text{red/colour 3SS-1PO.APL-become-IA}\]
\[\text{‘We colour’}.\]

(646)  $\textit{ťiťal o-m-a-tiki-y-ha-y}$ (1845)
\[\text{black 3SS-2O.APL-become-SE-PL-IA}\]
\[\text{‘You (p) turn black’}.\]
(647)  
\[ \text{kisna} \quad o-p-a-ha-tiki-ag \]  
\[ \text{blue} \quad 3sS\text{-}3pO\text{-}APL\text{-}PL\text{-}become\text{-}IA \]  
‘They turn blue’.

(648)  
\[ \text{pul'al} \quad o-a-tiki-ag \]  
\[ \text{yellow} \quad 3sS\text{-}1SO\text{-}APL\text{-}become\text{-}IA \]  
‘I turn yellow’.

The noun \text{mu\c{c}ag} ‘prayer’, which we have seen together with the verb \( t(a)/t(o) \) ‘(to) do/make’, can also occur with \text{tiki}. When this is the case, \text{tiki} is synonymous with \( t(a)/t(o) \) and also functions as a ditransitive verb. It is then used personally and can also be preceded by the beneficiary marker \text{t-}:

(649)  
\[ \text{mu\c{c}ag} \quad a-t-tiki-ag \]  
\[ \text{prayer} \quad 1sA\text{-}3sB\text{-}do\text{-}IA \]  
‘I pray/intercede for someone’.

(650)  
\[ \text{Dios} \quad \text{mu\c{c}ag} \quad a-m-a-tiki-y-ha-\eta \]  
\[ \text{God} \quad \text{prayer} \quad 1sA\text{-}2O\text{-}APL\text{-}do\text{-}SE\text{-}PL\text{-}IA \]  
‘I recommend you (p) to God’.

(651)  
\[ \text{Dios} \quad \text{mu\c{c}ag} \quad a-p-a-ha-tiki-ag \]  
\[ \text{God} \quad \text{prayer} \quad 1sA\text{-}3pO\text{-}APL\text{-}PL\text{-}do\text{-}IA \]  
‘I pray for them’.
8. Adverbs
Cholón appears to have a small class of adverbs. Only 29 underived adverbs have been encountered in the ALC (see section 8.1). Other adverbs (section 8.2) are regularly de-rived by means of the restrictive case marker -(a)i ‘only’, ‘nothing else but’ (see section 6.4.5.1). Adverbs occur before the verb phrase or clause-initially.

8.1. Underived adverbs
The underived adverbs found in de la Mata’s data are the following:

1: ampek, empek ‘good’, ‘allright’:

(1) domingo-lol-te fiesta-lol-te-pit ki-piyip-pakna ke-kt-ag.
sunday-PL-AD feast-PL-AD-COR 1ps-work-NE.NOM 1ps-beIA
alum nem-te-a ampek ki-piyip-o ke-kt-ag (1575)
other day-AD-TOP allright 1ps-work-FN2 1ps-beIA
‘On sundays and feasts we may not work, on the other days we may work’.

(2) liman-te a-l’a-po-ke mu-tu a-an-ag
mountain-AD 1ss-go-FN2-ANT 2sPOS-direction 1ss-comeIA
m-a-lu-pokot-te-he empek-le a-l’a-po (2799)
2s-1SO-interior-be-INF-BEN allright-QM 1ss-go-FN2
‘Since I want to go to the mountains, I come to you, so that you can advise me if it is allright for me to go’.

2: ašmay ‘first. With this suffix a comparison can be formed. It then often correlates with -man-ap ‘than’ (see section 6.11.3):

(3) mi-l’a-pe-ē-ap ko ašmay mi-l-o-ki (2825)
2ss-go-NE-FAC-ABL this first 2SA-3SO-do>IMP
‘Before you go, do this first!’

(4) mi-man-ap ok ašmay a-mso-w (1627)
2s-INES-ABL 1s first 1ss-be.born-PST
‘I was born earlier than/ prior to you’. ‘I am older than you’.

(5) ašmay mi-he pał’ow o-kot-ag (1632)
first 2s-BEN good 3ss-beIA
‘This is better for you’.
3: aṭ'iw ‘frequently’:

(6) [...] ma aṭ'iw kama ki-ki-po ke-kt-iy
    [...] INT frequently disease 1ps-become-FN2 1ps-be-PST
    be-SQ [...] (1204)
    ‘because very frequently we contracted diseases’

4: hanap, henap ‘take care’, when followed by an imperative or by an exclamation marker:

(7) hanap mi-pole-k-nik (730) (8) henap-ah (2626)
    take.care 2sA-3sO.love-IMP-NE take.care-EX
    ‘Take care, do not love him!’ ‘Look out!’

(9) henap išiwah mi-kot-čin (339)
    take.care bad 2ss-be-NE
    ‘Beware, do not be bad!’

Elsewhere, henap means ‘by accident’ (hanap has not been found elsewhere). The form henap can then be followed by the restrictive case marker and adverbalizer -al, or by co-ordinator -pit ‘also’:

(10) henap-al (2610) ‘by accident’
(11) henap-pit (2628) ‘by accident’

5: hapit ‘maybe’:

(12) hapit poho-pat Francisco o-nan-t-ag (32)
    maybe morning-INS Francisco 3ss-come-F-I-A
    ‘Maybe Francisco will come tomorrow’.

The adverb hapit can also mean ‘beware’ and express a warning, when used before a negative imperative (cf. hanap and henap above). (-pit may be indentified as the coordinator):

(13) hapit mi-pole-čin (342)
    beware 2sA-3sO.love-NE
    ‘Beware, do not love him/her/it!’

(14) hapit i-pole-k-nik (731)
    beware 3sA-3sO.love-IMP-NE
    ‘Beware, let him not love him/her/it’.
6: *henat* (2744) ‘then’, ‘in that case’ (examples are missing);

7: *i(h)na* ‘thus’. The adverb *i(h)na* is equivalent to *pe-n̓* ‘like that’:

(15) *ihna* (2738) ‘thus’

(16) *ina-Č-he* (2710)

‘they say that [it is] thus’

8: *ina(ha)m* ‘I wish’:

(17) *inam* *pal ow mi-kot-o-ke, atih* (354)

‘Alas, I wish you would have been good!’.

(18) *ina(ha)m* *pal ow a-kot-o-ke* (352)

‘I wish I would have been good’.

(19) *ina(ha)m* *pal ow a-kot-te-ke* (352)

‘I wish I would have been good’.

9: *ihna* ‘quick’:

(20) *ihna-Ču* (1087)

‘Hurry up’.

(21) *ihna k-a-t-hil-u* (2707)

‘Come on, lawyer!’

10: *kapi* ‘now’, ‘today’:

(22) *kapi l’a-k* (2691)

‘Go now!’

---

31 Cf. Quechua *hina* ‘as’, ‘like’
(23)  kapi mi-ľa-kte  mi-ki-po-ke-wa, ampek  mi-ľa-go
     now  2SS-go-F  2SS-do-FN2-ANT-TOP  allright  2SS-go-FN2
     me-kt-ag (387)
     2SS-be-IA
     ‘If you want to go now, allright, you may go’.

(24)  kapi a-pok mek-te patili ŋ-a-pun-ag (2698)
     today one-CL:repeatable all-AD priest 3SA-1SO-examine-IA
     ‘Today [is] the first time [that] the priest examines me in everything’.

11: īem ‘still’:

(25)  īem sač-ag (1177)
     still 3SS.make/cultivate.a.field-IA
     ‘He is still making/cultivating a field’.

12: lumitup ‘intentionally’, ‘on purpose’:

(26)  lumitup o-ki-ag (2757)
     intentionally 3SS-do-IA
     ‘He says [it] intentionally’.

13: ma ‘not’ (presumably pronounced as [ma’], see section 11.1):

(27)  o-ľip-te ma o-pakt-ag (489)
     3SPS-house not 3SS-be-IA
     ‘He is not at home’.

14: ma ‘high degree’. The morpheme ma is an intensifier indicating a high degree:

(28)  ma hulap (1228)  (29) ma pulkap (1233)
     INT wide
     ‘very wide’
     INT midnight
     ‘in the midst of the night’

It is used to form a superlative (see section 6.11.3). A high degree is also expressed by means of the forms maha-ľ, ma-ma, ma-ma-ta, ma pa-te-p and pa-te-p ma, related to ma (see also section 6.11.3):

(30)  maha-ľ (1239)  (31) ma-ma-ta (2697)
     INT-RST
     ‘a lot of’
     INT-INT-CL:form/stony
     ‘many’
15: mæ ‘falsely’ (possibly pronounced as [ma’]) is found in the expression:

(34) ma pa mæ (2689)
INT INT falsely
‘very falsely’

16: malewohček (2682) ‘excessively’ (examples are missing);

17: none ‘yet’ is found in the expression:

(35) ma-le none (2501)
no-QM yet
‘not yet’

18: pahat ‘yesterday’:

(36) pahat ma o-pakt-ap-na o-ki-y, kapi-pit ma
yesterday no 3sS-be-IA-QUOT 3sS-say-PST today-COR no
o-pakt-ap-na o-ki-ap-sim-ad (2743)
3sS-be-IA-QUOT 3sS-say-IA-EM-RST
‘Yesterday he said: “There is nothing”; today as well he says “There is just
nothing at all”.

19: pa’tam’vet’et (2623) ‘the other way round’ (examples are missing);

20: payam ‘almost’ is often found together with the suffix -čo ‘already’:

(37) payam-čo o-pat’a-kt-ap (2543)
almost-already 3sS-be.evening-IA
‘It is almost evening already’.

(38) payam-čo-č-he (1589)
almost-already-REP-IA
‘They say that it is almost there already’.

(39) payam a-puiš-šipe-y (2424)
almost 1sS-fall-nearly.do-PST
‘I almost fell’.
21: pišag ‘thus’:

(40) pe-n’ pišan-na a-haki-aţ (1597)
that-CMP thus-QUOT 1SS-think-IA
‘I think that it is like that’.

22: puyaka (2686) ‘on purpose’ (examples are missing);

23: seke ‘again’, ‘another time’:

(41) awka mi-po-t-ap-te-he, seke mi-ľa-pe-kt-aţ čoti (2821)
enemy 2SA-3po-catch-INF-BEN again 2SS-go-NE-F-IA I.bet
‘I bet, you are not going off again in order to catch enemies’.

24: šipna ‘quick’, a synonym of ihna ‘quick’ above. De la Mata gives four examples of the use of šipna. In these examples šipna is followed by the restrictive case marker and adverbalizer -(a)ť (see section 8.2). Examples:

(42) ma šipna-ť (2669)
INT quick-RST
‘very quickly’
(43) šipna-ť o-nan-t-aţ (2670)
quick-RST 3SS-come-F-IA
‘He will come quickly’.

25: tele ‘constantly’, ‘without stopping’. (It may contain the suffix -le ‘question marker’):

(44) tele mi-ľa-ha-ki (2755)
without.stopping 2SS-go-PL-IMP
‘Go without stopping!’

26: tel’ ‘still’ (cf. řem ‘still’ above):

(45) tel’ sač-a-ag (1177)
still 3SS.field-do-IA
‘He is still making/cultivating his field’.

27: tepat ‘eternally’, ‘for ever’:

(46) [ ... ] a-n-uľ-a-pit a-n’an-man-a a-kot-aţ tepat (2369)
[ ... ] 1SPOS-REL-sin-COR 1SPOS-face-INES-TOP 1SS-be-IA always
‘[ ... ] (and) I always keep my sin in mind’

(47) [ ... ] tepat et-mag mi-čem-if’ét-iy-man-ap [ ... ] (1632)
[ ... ] eternally fire-INES 2SS-ban-PAS-PST-INES-ABL [ ... ]
‘[ ... ] rather than to have been banned into the eternal fire [ ... ]’
28: *tepuč* ‘intentionally’, ‘on purpose’:

(48) *tepuč-al* (2688)

(on.purpose-RST

‘intentionally’

(49) *tepuč* *a-m-a-o-ag* (2758)

(on.purpose 1sA-2sO-APL-do/say-IA

‘I do [it] for you on purpose’.

‘I say [it] to you on purpose’.

29: *tesim* ‘always’. (It may contain the emphasis marker -*sim*):

(50) *i-t’ip-te a-kot-hu, tesim i-sak a-اعتماد (408)

3pPOS-house-AD 1ss-be-SR always 3pPOS-food 1sS-go-FN1

do/IA

‘Since I have been in their house, they always used to give me their food’.

8.2. Adverbalizer -(*a)*

Adverbs can be derived from noun stems by means of the restrictive case marker -
(*a)* ‘only’, ‘nothing else but’, functioning as an adverbalizer31:

(51) *al₃hi-al₇* (2646)

sweetness-RST
gently, softly

In addition, it can be suffixed to
(i) a noun (phrase):

(52) *mi-l-o-lam-* (*i₃k₇o*) ohom-al₇ *l-o-k* /mi-l-o-lam* (inko) ohom-al₇ mi-l-o-ki (1489)

2sA-3sO-do-FN1(-DEM) idleness-RST 3sO-do-IMP/

2sA-3sO-do-FN1(-DEM) idleness-RST 3sO-do-IMP

‘What you have to do, do it immediately’.

(53) *amehe-ke-* (2713)

truth-ANT-RST
‘really’, ‘truly’

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32 Cf. Quechua -*ła* ‘restrictive’
(ii) a verb form in -(k)he 'simultaneity':

(54)  lu-pokot-he-[l] (2639)  (55)  yehono-khe-[l] (2636)
interior-be-SIM-RST  hide-SIM-RST
‘considerately’, deliberately’ ‘secretely’

(iii) adverbial stems:

(56)  mi-l-o-lam(-ipko)  šipna-[l]  l-o-k/ mi-l-o-ki (1489)
2sA-3sO-do-FN1(-DEM)  quickly-RST  3sO-do-IMP/ 2sA-3sO-do-IMP
‘What you have to do, do it quickly’.

(57)  ihna-[l]  ihna-[l] (2709)
quickly-RST  quickly-RST
‘overhasty’

The intensifier maha can also be adverbalized by means of this suffix:

(58)  maha-[l] (1496)
INT-RST
‘much’
9. Interjections
Pedro de la Mata mentions several interjections in his Arte. He also distinguishes a small number of ‘defective verbs’ which we may consider as interjections. The interjections mentioned by de la Mata can be divided into three categories:

1: interjections expressing a physical experience:

- **cold:** \( \text{alew}^{32} \) (2953)
- **heat:** \( \text{u} \cdots \text{u}(u) \) (2935)
- **pain:** \( \text{alaw}^{33} \) (2938)

They occur clause-finally:

1. \( \text{anih} \) into-n\text{-am} a-ki-ag (2779)
   
   INTJ: surprise which-CMP-QM 1sS-be-IA
   
   ‘[Oh] What will befall me?’

2. interjections indicating a state of mind or feeling. They also usually occur clause-finally, but for \( \text{anih} \), expressing ‘surprise’, and \( \text{an} \text{ti} \text{w} \) ‘anticipation’, which are found clause-initially:

- \( \text{heey, alew} \text{na} a-ki-ag(2955) \)
  
  INTJ cold-QUOT 1sS-be-IA
  
  ‘Yes, I am cold’.

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32 Cf. Quechua \textit{ala}låw ‘brr!’

33 Cf. Quechua \textit{ayáw, ayayáw ‘ouch!’}

Interjections which are employed to express a certain feeling are
*aku* (240): lovingness and pity (examples are missing);
*anih* ‘surprise’, see the example *anih, into-n’-am a-ki-ag* ‘oh, what will befall me?’ a-bove. It can also be used to express ‘malicious pleasure’:

(7) *anih,  empek* (2933)
INTJ:malicious.pleasure  good/right
‘Serves you right!’

*a-n’iw*: anticipation, when occurring clause-initially (see the examples above). It can then also be used to express ‘I wish’, ‘I desire’:

(8)  *a-amo-khe  a-n’iw* (2777)  (9)  *a-l’a-khe  a-n’iw* (2778)
1ss-eat-IMP L.wish  1ss-go-IMP L.wish
‘Oh, I wish to eat!’  ‘Oh, I wish to go!’

(10)  *tanta  a-l-o-khe  a-n’iw-na  a-ki-ag* (2944)
bread  1sa-3so-eat-IMP INTJ:desire-QUOT  1sa-say-IA
‘I want to eat bread!’ (lit.: ‘I say: “Yummy!. Let me eat bread!”’).

*a-g* (2951): amazement (examples are missing);

*atih*: distress:

(11)  *inam  pa’ow  mi-kot-o-ke,  atih* (354)
hopefully good  2ss-be-FN2-AN  INTJ:distress
‘I whished you would have been good. [Ah!]’

*iča(ka)y* (2937): disdain (examples are missing);

*ičey* (2956) fear (examples are missing). (It may have been pronounced as [ičiyej];

*iči*: horror:

(12)  *a-n’iw,  ina-ham  mek  ki-kol-t-ag,  iči* (1555)
INTJ:anticipation thus-CE  all  1ps-die-F-IA  INTJ:horror
‘[Oh!] What if we all have to die? [Ugh!]’
(The form *išiw* ‘villain’, considered as an interjection by de la Mata, may be related to *ići*):

(13)  

\[ \text{peh-ça-aḥ, išiw (2950)} \]

distance-DIM-EX villain

‘Go away, villain!’

The noun *išiwah* ‘badness’ is obviously related to *išiw*).

*Onew*: anger (examples are missing). The form *onew* can also mean ‘harm’ and function as a noun:

(14)  

\[ \text{onew-aḥ y-a-a-a-y (2948)} \]

wrong-EX 3SA-1SO-do-IA

‘He harms me!’

*Ur'uu* (2945): admiration (examples are missing).

3: interjections motivated by or reacting to the situation. These interjections occur clause-initially, except for *čoti* ‘I bet!’. Situational interjections include

*a(h)* ‘O!’ ‘Hey!’: to hail someone; ‘Boo!’: to give someone a fright. This interjection can also occur as a suffix and be used as an exclamation marker (see also the word *peh-ça-aḥ išiw* ‘Go away, villain!’ above, and see section 10.2.1):

(15)  

\[ \text{ah, Dios (2930)} \]

O! God

(16)  

\[ \text{ah, a-n’ip-iy-mu-aḥ (2941)} \]

booo! 3SO-touch-PST-NE-EX

‘O God!’

‘Boo, do not touch it!’

*aха* ‘Aha!’ used when catching someone red-handed:

(17)  

\[ \text{aha, ampašleŋ (2932)} \]

aha! scoundrel

‘Aha, scoundrel

*Čoti* ‘I bet!’:

(18)  

\[ \text{ašwa mi-po-lamih-te-he mi-ľa-pe-kt-aŋ, čoti (2820)} \]

fish 2SA-3PO-kill-INF-BEN 2SS-go-NE-F-IA I bet!

‘You will not go out fishing, I bet!’

*Eey, heey, hey* ‘yes!’:
De la Mata also distinguishes four ‘defective verbs’ of which apparently only one form is left. These four forms are used in a certain situation as an exclamation or exhortation, and we may consider them as situational interjections:

1: čim ‘please!:

(23) čim mi-tanta (2184)  please! 2sPOS-bread
‘Please, give me (your) bread!’

(24) čim mi-top-i (2189)  please! 2ss-sit.down-IMP
‘Please, sit down!’

(25) čim mi-amo-ki (2190)  please! 2ss-eat-IMP
‘Please, eat a little bit!’

2: n'amo ‘come!:

(26) n'amo ki-ľa-kte(-ah) (2191)  come 1ps-go-IMP(-EX)
‘Come, let us go!’
3: *akinah(-a)* (2192) ‘wait!’ (examples are missing);

4: *ahwiya-in* (2193) ‘hang on!’ (examples are missing).
10. Discourse markers
This chapter deals with affixes operating at the discourse or sentence level; they include co-ordination, direct or indirect speech, doubt, emphatic speech, exclamation, focus, manner, questions (conditional, disjunctive and wh-questions), reported speech, indication of time, and topic. The discourse markers treated in this chapter are the speech markers -(a)ĉ, -he, -na, the exclamation markers -a(h), -ham, -na, -nah, -nay, the question markers -(a)m, -le, -nam, -wam, the vocative markers -ey and -pey, emphasis marker -sim, and topic marker -wa; the sentential suffixes are the abverbal markers -ate, -ĉin, -ĉo, -ĉot, -hin, -in, -mok, and co-ordinator -pit. They occur constituent-finally. A few of them may also be combined: exclamation marker -a(h) can be suffixed to question marker -(a)m and dubitative marker -hin, question marker -(a)m and dubitative marker -ĉin can be suffixed to temporal marker -ĉo, and topic marker -(w)a can be attached to emphasis marker -sim.

10.1. Speech markers
According to the data, Cholón has three affixes that specify the type of speech: -(a)ĉ, -he and -na. The speech marker -(a)ĉ indicates reported speech, -he an indirect discourse, and -na a direct discourse.

10.1.1. Reportative -(a)ĉ
The ending -(a)ĉ is a reported speech marker, which can be translated as ‘it is said that’, ‘they say that’. It occurs mainly after nominal stems. The form -ĉ is found after vowels and -aĉ after consonants. The speech marker -(a)ĉ is often followed by -he (see paragraph 10.1.2) without a significant difference in meaning. The simple form -(a)ĉ has been found:
(i) after personal pronouns:

(1) ok-aĉ(1317) 1s-REP
‘it is said that I’
(2) sa-ĉ(1319) 3s-REP
‘it is said that he’
(3) ki-ha-ĉ(1320) 1p-PL-REP
‘it is said that we’

(ii) after a noun + agentive marker -tu-p in the following example:

(4) fiscal-tu-p-aĉ i-k-şayšt-ag-na, Estevan
    public.prosecutor-AD-ABL-REP 3sA-1pO-whip-F-IA-QUOT Estevan
    ō-ki-ag (1323) 3sS-say-IA
‘Estevan says that the public prosecutor will whip us’.

The combined form -(a)ĉ-he has been found:
(i) after personal pronouns:

(5)  ok-ač-he (1331)  (6)  mi-č-he (1342)
    1p-REP-IS   2s-REP-IS
    ‘it is said that I’   ‘it is said that you’

(7)  sa-č-he (1343)
    3s-REP-IS
    ‘it is said that he’

(ii) after noun phrases containing a personal pronoun or a demonstrative:

(8)  María-lol či-n-iy, či-ha-sim-al-ač-he angel
    María-PL  3ps-come-PST 3p-PL-EMP-RST-REP-IS angel
    či-po-yč-iy-na ki-khe, ko-lol-ač-he Jesuchristo kinha
    3pa-3po-see-PST-QUOT say-SIM this-PL-REP-IS Jesus Christ life
    o-kot-an-na či-ki-ag (1586)
    3ss-be-IA-QUOT 3ps-say-IA
    ‘The Marías came, saying that they too have seen angels which say that
    Jesus is alive’. (lit. ‘The Marías came, saying that they had seen angels, and
    that these are saying that Jesus is alive’).

(9)  ipko-n'-ač-he (1325)  (10)  pe-n'-ač-he (1325)
    that-CMP-REP-IS  yonder-CMP-REP-IS
    ‘it is said that [it is] like that’   ‘it is said that [it is] like that’

(iii) after adverbs:

(11)  kunču-al'-čo-č-ehe (1589)  (12)  ni-ču-al'-čo-č-he (1589)
     small-RST-already-REP-IS  bit-DIM-RST-already-REP-IS
     ‘They said that little [is missing]’   ‘They said that little [is missing]’.

(13)  payam-čo-č-he (1489)  (14)  ina-č-he (2710)
     little-already-REP-IS  thus-REP-IS
     ‘They said that little [is missing]’   ‘it is said that [it is] thus’

(iv) after or before the speech marker -na (cf. 10.1.3):
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10.1.2. Indirect speech marker -he
The indirect discourse marker -he can be translated as ‘that’. It does not occur with nominal stems. It is only found after finite verb forms, and it can then also be followed by the quotative marker -na (cf. 10.1.3):

(16) lu-pokot-o hayu, yopug-e me-kt-ap-he yopug-al'-pat interior-be-IMP man dust-ANT 2sS-be-IA-IS dust-RST-INS mi-la-kt-aṭ (1973) 2sS-go-F-IA

‘Remember man, dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return’.

(17) a-n-u't'a a-l-o-w-he a-o-lusa-kia-γ (1571) 1SPOS-REL-sin 1SA-3SO-do-PST-IS 1SA-3SO-feel-RE-IA

‘I regret that I have sinned’.

(18) a-po-psah-iy-he-na a-o-lusa-kia-γ (1568) 1SA-3PO-commit-PST-IS-QUOT 1SA-3SO-feel-RE-IA

‘I regret that I have committed them’.

(19) fiscal-tu-p-č i-k-sayš-t-ap-he, Estevan public.prosecutor-AD-ABL-REP 3SA-1PO-whip-F-IA-IS Estevan o-ki-aṭ (1323) 3ss-say-IA

‘Estevan says that the public prosecutor will whip us’.

10.1.3. Quotative -na
In most cases, the suffix -na indicates a direct citation. It regularly functions as such when the word to which it is attached is followed by a verb of communication, e.g., ki ‘(to) do/tell’ and kale/kal ‘(to) order’\(^\text{35}\):

\(^{35}\) Other elements with the shape -na are found after interrogative stems (10.3.3.) and in the pronoun mi-na-ha ‘2p’ (6.4).
(20) *fiscal-tu-p-ač* i-*k-šayš-t-an-na, Estevan
tpublic.prosecutor-AD-ABL-REP 3sA-1PO-whip-F-IA-QUOT Estevan
a-*ki-ag* (1323)
3sS-say-IA
‘Estevan says that the public prosecutor will whip us’.

(21) *an-čēl* Phariseo Jesus *mučān i-*l-o-w,*
one-CL:truncal Pharisee Jesus prayer 3SA-3sO-do-PST
a-*nek* mi-amo-ki-na ki-khe (776)
1sPOS-company 2sS-eat-IMP-QUOT say-SIM
‘A Pharisee prayed to Jesus, saying: “Eat with me!”’

(22) a-*amo-khe-na a-*ki-ag* (169)
1sS-eat-IMP-QUOT 1sS-say-IA
‘I want to eat’. (lit.: ‘I say: “Let me eat”’).

(23) f-*a-kān-na i-*pal-š-ag* (1580)
go-IMP-NE-QUOT 3SA-3sO.order-IA
‘He orders him not to go’. (lit.: ‘He orders him: “Do not go!”’).

(24) palol kamayok a-*tepho-kte-he-na i-*pal-š-ag* (1579)
door keeper 3ss-keep.watch-IMP-IS-QUOT 3sA-3sO.order-IA
‘He orders the gatekeeper to keep watch’.

For an example in which *-na* may refer to indirect speech rather than to direct
speech see the following sentence:

(25) *Maria-lol čē-n-iy,* čē-*ha-sim-ač-še angel
Maria-PL 3ps-come-PST 3p-PL-EMP-RST-REP-IS angel
čē-*po-če-š-iy-na* ki-khe (1586)
3pA-3pO-see-PST-QUOT say-SIM
‘The Marias - they were the ones, according to what is said - came, saying
that they had seen angels’.

In the examples above, the direct speech marker *-na* is suffixed to a verb form. It
can also be suffixed to a word of another class, viz. a noun or an interjection:

(26) *Dios-te amehe-na a-*ki-ag* (178)
God-AD truth/belief-QUOT 1sS-say-IA
‘I believe in God’. (lit.: ‘I say: “The truth [is] in God”’).

(27) ma-*na a-*l-o-ag* (1576)
not-QUOT 1sA-3sO-do/say-IA
‘I say “no” to him’.
As stated, -na can be preceded by the endings -(a)ð-he and -he, and it can also be followed by -(a)ð-he (for examples, see section 10.1.1 and 10.1.2).

10.2. Exclamation markers
Cholón disposes of the following exclamation markers: -a(h), -ham, -nah, -nay. The suffix -(a)h is used to mark an exclamation in general; -ham, -nah and -nay have a specific use.

10.2.1. Exclamation marker -a(h)
The exclamation marker -a(h) can be attached to noun phrases, verb forms, and adverbs: It appears that the two variants -a and -ah are interchangeable:

(29) inðt-m-ah (2719)
thing-QM-EX
‘What [is the matter]!’

(30) ay-te-ah (2195)
back-AD-EX
‘Quiet!’

(31) oh o-n’ip-iy-mu-a (2941)
INTJ 3S0-touch-SE-NE-EX
‘Oh, do not touch it!’

(32) onew-ah a-l-o-a (2947)
 harm-EX 1sA-3S0-do-IA
‘I molest him!’

10.2.2. Exclamation marker -ham
The exclamation marker -ham indicates a hypothetical situation and can be translated as ‘what if’:

(33) ko-ham (2630)
this.ONE-CE
‘What if [it is] this one!’

(34) gol-t-ap-ham (2631)
3S8.die-F4A-CE
‘What if he should die!’

(35) gol-o-ke-ham (2632)
3S8.die-FN2-ANT-CE
‘What if he had died!’

(36) an’iw ina-ham a-ðay-ld-kt-ag, alaw (1558)
inTJ:anticipation thus-CE 1S0-whip-3PA-F4A INTJ:pain
‘Oh, what if they are going to whip me? ouch!’
The exclamation marker -ham can be followed by the co-ordinating affix -pit ‘and’, ‘also’ (see section 12.3). In this combination, -ham loses its conditional meaning. The suffix combination -ham-pit is translated as ‘look (there)!’, ‘there!’:

(37)  amehe-na  mi-ki-pe-č-a  mi-ťaš-t-ąp-ham-pit (2774)
     truth-QUOT 2śś-dʊ-NE-FAC-TOP 2sA-3śSO,see-F-IΛ-CE-COR
     ‘If you do not believe it, look, you will see it!’.

(38)  ok-ham-pit (2775)
     1s-CE-COR
     ‘There I am!’

10.2.3. Exclamation markers -nah and -nay
The suffix -nah is used to attract someone’s attention. It has been found in the following expression:

(39)  a-yαč-o-nah (2465)
     1sO-see-FN2-EX
     ‘Look at me!’

The particle -nay is used to answer a negative question in the affirmative. Like -nah, it has been found in one expression only: into-nay ‘why not? of course’:

(40)  awka  mi-po-ćap-te-he,  seke  mi-ťa-pe-kt-ąp  čoti.
     enemy 2sA-3po-catch-INF-BEN again 2śś-go-NE-F-IΛ  I.bet
     into-nay,  a-ťa-kt-ąp (2822)
     which-EX 1śś-go-F-IΛ
     ‘I bet you are not going again to catch enemies? ‘Why, of course, I shall go!’

10.3. Question markers
The question markers in Cholón are as follows: -(a)m, -wam; -le; -na.

10.3.1. Question marker -(a)m, -wam
A common form to mark a question is -(a)m. It appears after interrogative stems or noun phrases containing an interrogative stem (wh-questions). The form -m is only found after vowels; -am is the only one allowed after a consonant:

(41)  inčαt-m (1347)
     what-QM
     ‘What?’

(42)  ol-(loll)-am (1339, 1360)
     who-(PL)-QM
     ‘Who (p)?’
The form -wam has been found in one example after the vowel u and is apparently a phonetic variant of -(a)m after a back vowel:

(46) inča yu-wam (<ynchayuvam>) (2844)
what kind-QM
‘What?’

cf. inča yu caballu-m ipko-wa (1396)
what kind horse-QM that-TOP
‘What kind of horse [is] it?’

Note also the examples inča yu-am and inča yu hayu-am below, which may represent the same element, although it does not contain <v>:

(47) inča yu-am i-m-o-w (2727)
what kind-QM 3sA-2SO-do-PST
‘What did he do to you?’

(48) inča yu hayu-am ipko-a (1388)
thing kind man-QM that-TOP
‘What kind of man [is] he?’

10.3.2. Question marker -le

The question marker -le occurs after constituents that contain the focus of a question; this is usually the main verb or a noun phrase. Its presence indicates that the speaker asks for an affirmative or a negative answer:

(49) mu-n-uťa konfessan mi-ki-ap-le (2862)
2sPOs-REL-sin confession 2sA-do-IA-QM
‘Do you confess your sins?’
(50) *kuči-le* me-kt-ag, *el mi-l-a-go-wa* (2983)
pig-QM 2Ss-be-IA yucca 2sA-3so-eat-FN2-TOP
‘Are you a pig that you eat yucca?’

(51) *mi-yelam-le-p-a* *atem-e-l*’ *mi-tpačiy-le* (2888)
2sPOS-bed-AD-ABL-TOP morning-ANT-RST 2ss-get.up-PST-QM
‘Did you get up early from your bed?’

The suffix *-le* can also function as a disjunctive question marker ‘or?’. It then occurs on each of the alternatives that are presented:

(52) *čeč-le, őal-le* (1389)
white-QM
(53) *mi-le, ok-le ki-ľa-kt-ag* (2502)
black-QM 2s-QM 1s-QM 1ps-go-F-IA
‘Is it white or black?’

(54) *kaťan-pat mi-čase-p-g-le, amehe-ke-le* *mi-hl-ag* (2969)
words-INS 2sA-play-IA-QM truth-ANT-QM 2sA-speak-IA
‘Are you joking, or do you say the truth?’

10.3.3. Question marker *-na*
The question marker *-na* is mainly used in combination with the interrogative stem *inča* ‘what’:

(55) *inča-na* *sil-a* *a-pakt-ag* (2724)
thing-QM 3sp.word-TOP 3sS-be.there-IA
‘What [kind of] news is there?’

(56) *inča-na, mu-nuf’a-ľak-pat-le* *a-šayčala-go* (2855)
what-QM 2sPOS REL-fault-NF-INS-QM 1sO-whip-3pa-FN2
‘What, because of your fault they are going to whip me?’

Question marker *-na* can then be followed by the question marker *-(a)m*:

(57) *inča-na-m* *mi-mot-nik* me-kt-ag (273)
what-QM-QM 2sPOS-name-COM 2ss-be-IA
‘What is your name?’

(58) *inča-na-m* či-ki-ag (1965)
what-QM-QM 3ps-say-IA
‘What do they say?’
The question marker combination -na-m has also been found after the form ana-pi, consisting of the interrogative stem ana ‘when’ and the allative case marker -pi (cf. section 6.4.2.10 and 6.7.1):

(60)  
ana-pi-na-m (2876)  
when-AL-QM-QM  
‘For when?’

(61)  
ana-pi-na-m mi-hl  
when-AL-QM-QM 2sPOS-friend 2sA-3sO.expect-1A  
‘When do you expect your friend?’

10.4. Vocative markers -ey and -pey; -ma and -pa
Vocative -ey, -pey is only found after personal names and nouns indicating a human being. The form -ey is used to hail male persons, -pey for female persons:

(62)  
Juan-ey (197)  
‘Hey Juan!’

(63)  
Malia-pey (196)  
‘Hey María!’

(64)  
hayu-ey (195)  
‘Hey man!’

(65)  
ila-pey (194)  
‘Hey woman!’

Alternative vocative endings are -ma (male) and -pa (female). They have only been found after the question word inça-m ‘what?’:

(66)  
inça-m-ma (1352)  
‘Hey man, what is the matter?’

(67)  
inça-m-pa (1353)  
‘Hey woman, what is the matter?’

10.5. Emphasis marker -sim
The emphasis marker sim is found after noun phrases and verb phrases. A noun followed by -sim can be used predicatively. Examples:

(68)  
lolše-sim (1389)  
Spanish-EMP  
‘It/he/she/they is/are Spanish/Spaniards’.
This immersion in [which] we are submerged is the sacramental confession.'

‘He advises you so that you will be good, not that you should be abhorred’.

When the emphasis marker -sim is followed by the topic marker -(w)a, the deictic character of the former is accentuated by the latter. De la Mata translates the form sim-a as Veis! ‘Look!’:

‘Look here!’

10.6. Topic marker -(w)a
According to Pedro de la Mata, -(w)a is a nominative ending indicating the agent or subject of the clause. However, the suffix -(w)a appears to function as a topic marker. In the example below, for instance, the suffix -(w)a indicates a topic:

‘We all have to love God’.

Topic marker -(w)a is not only used after nouns, it is also used after pronouns, demonstratives and the discourse marker -sim ‘emphasis’ (see 10.5):

‘I was born before you [were born]’.

‘This is mine’.
'Look here, a big, frightful wind, rose on the sea'.

It is also found after finite verb forms (imperfective aspect forms and preterite forms) and non-finite verb forms:

(76) ok-tu-p a-m-a-ym-eh-ha-kt-ag into-n'-am ko
1s-AD-ABL 1sA-2O-APL-knowCAU-PL-F-IA which-CMP-QM this
n'ansik ki-t'ro-pa-kna o-kot-ap-a,
work 1pA-3S.o.know-NE.NOM 3S-3S-be-IA-TOP
mi-mako-ha-lam-he/ mi-mako-ha-kte-he (2906)
2A-3S.o.understand-PL-FN1-BEN/ 2A-3S.o.understand-PL-INF-BEN
‘I shall explain how to understand the difficulties’. ('Since we do not know how [to do] this work/ Since this work is non-understandable, I, I shall teach you (p) so that you (p) will understand it').

(77) ãta-wo-w-a, into-n'-am ki-l-o-po (389)
3S.S.wild-VB-PST-TOP which-CMP-QM 1pA-3S.o-do-FN2
‘If he has escaped, what can we do?’

(78) ku'ë-le me-kt-ag, el mi-l-a-po-wa
pig-QM 2S-3S-be-IA yucca 2S-3S.o.eat-FN2-TOP/
ku'ë-le me-kt-ag, mal'a mu-a-lup-o-wa (2983)
pig-QM 2S-3S-be-IA something.raw 2S-3S-o.eat-FN2-TOP
‘Are you a pig, [that] you eat yucca? / Are you a pig [that] you eat something raw?’ (lit.: ‘Are you perhaps a pig [that] yucca/ something raw is having to be eaten by you?’).

Topic marker -(w)a is furthermore found after subordinators, after a nominalized verb form in -(k)he and -(n)ap, and after nominalized verb forms ending in -(k)te-he, -lam-he and -lam-man-ap:

(79) hayu yol-nap-a, mu-mpuš-tu-p inča-te-m
man 3S.S.die-SEQ-TOP 2SPOS-riches-AD-ABL thing-AD-QM
i-3S.o.mal'ow-eh-t-ag (2903)
3S-3S.o.good-VB-F-IA
‘How can riches be profitable, when a man dies?’

(80) ko kama-pat ki-kol-čin-he-wa, into-n'-am ki-o-ki-kt-ag (2844)
this illness-INS 1pS.die-NE-SIM-TOP which-CMP-QM 1pA-3S.o-do-FN2
‘What shall we do, [so that] we do not die from this illness?’
(81) *liw* *ki-tmo-kte-he-wa*, *očo n’ansik-pat* *ki-ym-eh-n-ag* (83)
letter 1PA-3S0.know-INF-BEN-TOP big effort-INS 1PS-know-CAU-RFL-IA
‘We learn to read with big effort’.

(82) *ko kama-man-ap* *ki-šip-ch-no-lam-he-wa*,
this illness-INES-ABL 1PS-be.liberated/remain.free-CAU-RFL-FN1-BEN-TOP
into-n’am *ki-o-ki-kt-ag* (2843)
which-CMP-QM 1PA-3S0-do-F-IA
‘What shall we do, in order to be liberated/remain free from this illness?’

(83) *ok a-hil-t-ag*, into-n’am *yam*
1S 1S-say-F-IA which-CMP-QM penance
*ki-o-if-lam-man-ap-a* *ki-špo-kt-ag* (2847)
1PS-do-PAS-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP 1PS-be. liberated/ remain.free-F-IA
‘I shall tell how we are to be liberated/ remain free from punishment’.

Topic marker -(w)a can also mean ‘if’ and indicate a conditional clause (see also the examples [...] *ki-t’mo-pakna* *a-kot-ag-a* [...] ‘[...] since we do not know [...]’ and *yia-wo-w-a* [...] ‘if he has escaped [...]’ above):

(84) *Juan pa’tow a-kot-o-ke-wa*, *mul-pit pa’tow a-kot-te-ke* (368)
Juan good 3SS-be-FN2-ANT-TOP 3SP.son-COR good 3SS-be-INF-ANT
‘If Juan had been good, his son would also have been good’.

(85) *pa’tow me-kt-iy-a*, *ok-pit pa’tow a-kt-iy* a-kot-te-ke (384)
good 2SS-be-PST-TOP 1S-COR good 1SS-be-PST 3SS-be-INF-ANT
‘If you had been good, I would also have been good’.

In a coordinate clause, the suffix -(w)a expresses a contrastive topic:

(86) *Luis Faw-iw*, *Pedro-wa a-t’ip-te* a-tog (78)
Luis go-PST Pedro-TOP 3PS-POS-house-AD 3S-sit/stay
‘Luis went away, but Pedro is/stays at home’.
10.7. Adverbial markers -ate, -čin, -čo, -čot, -hin, -in, -mok
The sentential suffixes -ate, -čin, -čo, -čot, -hin, -in and -mok have adverbial functions. Their use is as follows:

1: -ate ‘then’. This suffix is attached to a past tense form in -(i)y or -ey in order to form a pluperfect (cf. -(k)e ‘anteriority’, section 7.4.3):

(87)  pe-kt-iy-ate (303)  a-pol'ey-ate (697)
   ‘you (f) were then’                      ‘I then loved him/her/it’

2: -čin ‘maybe’ (cf. -čen ‘negator’, section 11.2) functions as a dubitative marker,
   (i) when it occurs in combination with a question word:

(89)  inčat-(pi)t-(čin (2731)  into'-čin (2531/2532)
   thing(IND)-DUB which-CMP-DUB
   ‘I do not know what it is’.              ‘I do not know where’.
   ‘I do not know what you say’.           ‘I do not know how’.

(91)  ana-pi-čin (2489)
   when-AL-DUB
   ‘I do not know when’.

(ii) when attached to a nominal stem:

(92)  mi-čin mi-hint'iv-iy (1328)  Pedro-čin o-kot-ag (1329)
   2s-DUB 2ss-talk-PST Pedro-DUB 3ss-be-IA
   ‘Maybe you talked’.                     ‘Maybe it is Pedro’.

(94)  kapi nem-čin o-nan-t-ag (1330)
   today day-DUB 3ss-come-F-IA
   ‘Maybe he will come today’.

(iii), when attached to a past tense form in -(i)y followed by -čo ‘already’:

(95)  uč-a-úč Dios-te feyč-iy-čo-čin (2890)
   sin-AG God-AD 3ss.be.converted-PST-already-DUB
   ‘Maybe the sinner has already been converted to God’.
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(96) ut'a-uč a-n-uč a-l-o-lam-man-ap-a, yam
sin-AG 3sPOS-REL-sin 3SA-3sO-do-FN1-INES-ABL-TOP amend
ø-ki-y-čo-čin (2892)
3sS-make-PST-already-DUB
‘Maybe the sinner has already made amends’.

3: -čo ‘already’, ‘now’:

(97) t'i mita-čo ø-pakt-ag (2559)
rain time-already 3sS-be-IA
‘It is already the rainy season’.

(98) Juan-wa-čo into-te-m ø-ʃaw-iy (2467)
Juan-TOP-now which-AD-QM 3sS-go-PST
‘Now, as for Juan, where did he go?’

(99) kitačil-ʃ-čo ø-kot-he (354)
wild-RST-now 3sS-be-IMP
‘Let go free now’.

(100) pu-puluč a-nan-t-ap-ʃko-na-pi-wa, it'ak
2sfPOS-husband 3sS-come-FIA-DEM-when-AL-TOP chicha
ø-šo-w-čo ø-kot-i (2880)
2sfA-3sO-do-PST-already 3sS-be-PST
‘When your husband comes home, the chicha has already been made by you’.

The suffix -čo often occurs in combination with the adverb payam ‘almost’:

(101) payam-čo (2423)
amost-already
‘almost [everything] [is] already [there]’; ‘few things are lacking’

4: -čot ‘then’, ‘thus’:

(102) inča-čot (2866) (103) igko-čot (2746)
what-then that-then
‘What then?’ ‘That then/thus’.

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36 Cf. Quechua k'ita and Tarma Quechua kita ‘wild’
(104)  *luyum-sim-čot  ku-lum-sap-o* (2864)  
effort/work-EMP-then 1ps-top-grasp-FN2  
‘It is the effort/work then/thus which we have to embrace’.

5: -*hin* ‘maybe’ is found in one complex expression:

(105)  *into-nª-pit-hin(-ah)* (2463)  
which-CMP-IND-maybe(-EX)  
‘Maybe!’. ‘I do not know!’.

6: -*in* ‘yet’, ‘still’:

(106)  *ma-in(-le)* (2501)  (107)  *ni-nik-in* (2677)  
not-yet(-QM)  bit-COM-yet  
‘Not yet (?)’.  A little bit more yet’.

(108)  *a-tºp-te  a-top-in* (1181)  
3sPOS-house-AD 3sS-be-still  
‘He is still at home’.

(109)  *unšah mi-ki-ey-pit-o-in* (2835)  
health 2ss-become-PST-NE-FN2-yet  
‘Are you not yet cured?’

(110)  *oyna mi-ki-p-ap-in* (2836)  
good 2ss-become-NE-IA-yet  
‘Are you not healthy yet?’

7: -*mok* ‘hopefully’, ‘I wish/ wished’:

(111)  *Dios-mok  a-gole-kte o-kot* (750)  
God-hopefully 1sA-3sO.love-INF 3sS-be  
‘I wished I had loved God’.

(112)  *Dios  a-gole-kte-mok  o-kot* (750)  
God 1sA-3sO.love-INF-hopefully 3sS-be  
‘I wished I had loved God’.

The suffix -*ate* has only been found after the past tense markers -(*i)y and -*ey*; -*čin* has been found after nouns and verbs forms in -(*i)y-Čo; -*čo* has been encountered after nouns, verbs and after the adverb payam ‘almost’; -*čot* has only been encountered after nominal stems; -*in* has been found after nouns, verbs and after the adverb ma ‘no’; and -*mok* occurs after nouns as well as after verbs. When -*čo* occurs after a nominal stem, it can be preceded by a case marker and by the suffix -(*w)a
‘topic marker’; when -in occurs after nominal stems, it can also be preceded by a case marker. The sentential suffixes -cín ‘not’, -mu ‘do not’ and -nik ‘not’, which indicate a negation are treated in chapter 11.

10.8. Co-ordinator -pit
The suffix -pit, meaning ‘and’, ‘also’, ‘or’, is used to co-ordinate constituents and clauses. (In section 6.4.4.5 we have seen that -pit can also function as an indefinite marker ‘wh ... ever’). Co-ordinator -pit can also have a concessive interpretation and mean ‘although’. When -pit co-ordinates constituents it can occur after nouns, pronouns, nominalized verb forms and noun phrases, and it can be attached to the last co-ordinated constituent, or to all of the co-ordinated constituents:

(113) pelcéh-uč u-n-u’t-a-weh-uč-pit o-kot-ag (1469)
    3SO.search-AG 3SS-REL.sin-VB-AG-COR 3SS-be-IA
‘There is the seeker and the sinner’.

(114) mi-pit, Pedro-pit &&co sin’ mi-l-o-w-ha-g (2958)
    2s-COR Pedro-COR money waste 2A-3SO-SE-PL-IA
‘You and Pedro waste your money’.

(115) angel mek spiritu-t &e-kt-ag fep. t él. yo-pit
    angels all spirit-RST 3PS-be-IA flesh bone blood-COR
    o-p-a-ha-kot-p-ag (2975)
    3SS-3PO-APL-PL-be-NE-IA
‘All angels are spirits, they have no flesh, no bones, nor blood’.

(116) mek inča &e-po-hina-y-e-o-te,
    all thing 3PA-3PO-hear-PST-ANT-NOM-AD
    ci-po-yf-iy-e-o-te-pit, Dios mučag l-o-khe (1473)
    2PA-3PO-see-PST-ANT1-NOM-AD-COR God praise 3SO-do-SIM
‘They praised God in everything they heard and saw’.

37 Cf. Quechua -pas ‘too’, ‘whatever’.
‘The sun that burns, the beloved moon that shines, and the stars that twinkle in the blue field of the sky above, God put them [there] for the splendour of this [spinning] world’. (lit. ‘[...] so that they give splendour to this spinning world’).

For clauses co-ordinated with -pit, and for further remarks about the use of -pit and about co-ordination, see section 12.1.
11. Negation
This chapter contains an overview of the different devices used to indicate negation. Cholón has one adverb of negation: *ma* ‘not’ (see chapter 8). (In chapter 9 we have seen that *ma* can also be used as an interjection). However, the use of this adverb is restricted. In addition, the language disposes of the following negators: -*čin*, -*mu*, -*na-pit*, -*nik*, -*p(e)*-. The suffixes -*čin*, -*mu* and -*nik* can be used to form a negative imperative or prohibitive; the suffix combination -*na-pit* is only found in a few expressions; and -*p(e)*- is normally used to form a derived, negative verb.

11.1. Negator *ma*
The adverb *ma* ‘not’ negates the verb *pak(o)t* ‘(to) be (there), and it is only found with a third person singular subject form of the present tense in -*(a)y* ‘imperfective aspect’. The adverb is placed before this form:

(1)  *a-tip-te mol-mag ma o-pakt-ag* (2399)
    1sPOS-house-AD ground-INES not 3ss-be-IA
    ‘He is not in the environment of my house’.

(2)  *tanta o-kot-ag-le ma o-pakt-ag* (490/491)
    bread 3ss-be.there-IA-QM not 3ss-be.there-IA
    ‘Is there bread? There is not any bread.

(3)  *pahat ma o-pakt-ag-na o-ki-y, kapi-pit ma*
    yesterday not 3ss-be.there-IA-QUOT 3ss-say-PST today-COR not
    o-pakt-an-na o-ki-ap-sim-al (2743)
    3ss-be.there-IA-QUOT 3ss-say-IA-EMP-RST
    ‘Yesterday he said that there was nothing, today he also says that there is
    nothing’.

(4)  *ku-lu-wo-lam ma o-pakt-ag* (1500)
    1ps-interior-VB-FN1 not 3ss-be-be-IA
    ‘We do not have to be sad’.

(5)  *ma o-a-pakt-ag* (277)
    not 3ss-1sO.APL.-be.there-IA
    ‘I have not’

The adverb *ma* furthermore occurs in the following expressions. The vowel collision in these examples give evidence that *ma* was probably pronounced with a glottal stop as [ma’]:

(6)  *ma-in* (2501)  [ma’i:n]  ‘not yet’

(7)  *ma-in-le* (2501)  [ma’i:l]  ‘not yet?’

(8)  *ma-al* (2672)  [ma’al]  ‘no more’
11.2. Negator -čin
The suffix -čin ‘not’ is regularly suffixed to a non-reduced stem. It indicates a negative optative or exhortative:

(10) t’i-tu-p g-a-loh-čin-na ki-khe, a-ťip-te
    rain-AD-ABL 3sA-1sO-wet-NE-QUOT say-SIM 1sPOS-house-AD
    a-tg-aj (968)
    1sS-stay-IA
    ‘I stay at home, so that the rain does not wet me’.
    (lit. ‘Saying: “The rain does not wet me”, I stay at home’).

(11) ko kama-pat ki-kol-čin-he-wa inča yu-wam ki-l-o-kt-ap (2844)
    this illness-INS 1sS-die-NE-SIM-TOP what kind-QM 1pa-3sO-do-F-IA
    ‘What shall we do in order not to die of this infection?’

(12) ko kama-tu-p i-k-čap-čin-he-wa, inča-m
    this illness-AD-ABL 3sA-1p catch-NE-SIM-TOP what-QM
    ki-l-o-kt-ap (2845)
    1pa-3sO-do-F-IA
    ‘What shall we do, so that this illness does not catch us?’

The suffix -čin can also negate an imperative. If the stem ends in a vowel the imperative marker -k can be added:

(13) henap išiwah mi-kot-čin (339)
    beware bad 2ss-be-IMP-NE
    ‘Beware, do not be bad!’

(14) hapit mi-gole-o-čin (730)
    beware 2sA-3sO.love-IMP-NE
    ‘Beware, do not love him/her/it’.
    hapit i-gole-k-čin (731)
    beware 3sA-3sO.love-IMP-NE
    ‘Beware, let he/she/it not love him/her/it!’

(15) mi-ľa-o-čin (2506)
    2ss-go-IMP-NE
    ‘Do not go!’
    řa-k-čin-na i-gaľ-ag (1593)
    go-IMP-NE-QUOT 3sA-3sO.order-IA
    ‘He orders him not to go!’
11.3. Negator -**mu**

The suffix -**mu** is always preceded by an extended stem in -(i)y/-w. Forms in -**mu** have no personal reference. They can be followed by a main verb. In this case, the subject of the form in -**mu** is the same as that of the main verb. A possible translation is ‘without ... ing’:

(16) **ye-y-**mu **a-gul-**eč **o-masa-g** (2098)
    sleep-SE-NE 1sS-lie.in.bed-FAC 3sS-take.a.whole.night-IA
    ‘The whole night I have been lying in bed without sleeping’.

(17) **baptisan o-ki-y-**mu **o-kot-ag** (2056)
    baptism 3sS-be-SE-NE 3sS-be-IA
    ‘He is without baptizing’.

(18) **into-pko hayu-pit misa sina-y-**mu **o-ayki-go-le** (2860)
    which-DEM man-IND Mass 3sO-attend-SE-NE 3sS-be-FN2-QM
    ‘Would there be anyone not attending Mass?’

When the verb to which -**mu** is suffixed is a main verb, -**mu** functions as a prohibitive marker ‘do not’. The subject of the form in -**mu** is then a second person singular or plural:

(19) **kot-iy-**mu (481) (20) **l-o-w-**mu (2504)
    be-SE-NE 3sO-do-SE-NE
    ‘Do not!’ Do not do it!’

(21) **angel-pit mo-šl-ey-na-č-he,**
    angel-COR 3sA.3pO-speak-PST-QUOT-REP-IS
    čk-no-w-**mu-č-he-na** mo-hil-**we-y** (1587)
    be.afraid-RFL-SE-NE-REP-IS-QUOT 3sA.3pO-word-VB-PST
    ‘and the angel spoke to them: “Do not be afraid!”’.

11.4. Negator -**na**-

Negator -**na**- has been found in five nominal expressions in combination with the co-ordinator -**pit**; and in one nominalized verb form in combination with the case marker -**pat** ‘because’. In one nominal expression -**pit** is preceded by the benefactive case marker -**he**. The suffix combination -**na(-he)**-**pit** means ‘not even’ (three examples):

(22) **kunča-na-pit** (2612) (23) **an-fel-na-pit** (2613)
    small-NE-COR one-CL.truncal-NE-COR
    ‘not even a little bit ‘not even one’
In two examples the suffix combination -na-pit means ‘neither’, ‘nor’, and is used to co-ordinate two correlated, negative alternatives:

(25)  
\[
\text{maha}-\text{ñ}-\text{na-pit, kunça}-\text{na-pit} (2674) \\
\text{INT-RST-NE-COR small-NE-COR} \\
\text{‘neither much, nor a little’}
\]

(26)  
\[
kunça-\text{na-pit, maha}-\text{ñ}-\text{na-pit} (2675) \\
\text{small-NE-COR INT-RST-NE-COR} \\
\text{‘neither a little, nor much’}
\]

In the nominalized verb form -na- is followed by instrumental -pat ‘because’ (see section 7.4.8.1):

(27)  
\[
\text{Dios kamata'ig o-ki-y sil} \\
\text{God order 3sS-do-PST 3sPOS.word} \\
\text{a-miñ-n-o-na-pat sa gratia-a\# a-\#-\#-\# (2859)} \\
1\text{SA-3sO.breathe-IA-NOM-INS 3s grace-RST 1SA-3sO.be-CA-IA} \\
\text{‘Since I do not break the law of God, I maintain his grace’}.
\]

11.5. Negator -nik  
Negator -nik ‘not’ only occurs with transitive verbs. It is suffixed to the imperative marker -k, and is used to form a second person subject prohibitive:

(28)  
\[
\text{mi-pole-k-nik} (729) \\
2\text{SA-3sO.love-IMP-NE} \\
\text{‘Do not love him!’}
\]

(29)  
\[
\text{mi-l-o-k-nik} (2160) \\
2\text{SA-3sO.do-IMP-NE} \\
\text{‘Do not do it!’}
\]

11.6. The use of -cín, -mu, -nik  
A negative imperative or prohibitive can be formed by means of the suffixes -cín, -mu and -nik as we have seen in section 11.2, 11.3 and 11.5, respectively. They differ from each other in that  
(i) -cín and -mu are used with both transitive and intransitive verbs, whereas -nik has only been found with transitive verbs;  
(ii) -cín and -nik are suffixed to imperative forms, whereas -mu is suffixed to the extended verb stem in -(i)y/-w;  
(iii) -cín occurs with a second or third person imperative and is optionally preceded by the imperative marker -k when used after a vocalic stem; the forms in -mu are not
marked for person; -nik occurs with second person singular imperative, is used with vocalic stems and is always preceded by the imperative marker -k; (iv) forms in -čin can indicate a second or third person singular prohibitive, forms in -mu a second person singular or plural prohibitive, and those in -nik a second person singular prohibitive.

The difference in meaning and use between the suffixes -čin, -mu and -nik is shown in the following table. In this table the abbreviations tr. and intr. stand for ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb form</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-čin</td>
<td>tr./intr.</td>
<td>2s/p, 3s/p</td>
<td>IMP in -o/ C_, IMP in -k/V_ &gt; 2s/p, 3s/p prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>tr./intr.</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>in -(l)y/-w &gt; 2s/p prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nik</td>
<td>tr.</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>IMP in -k &gt; 2s prohibitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.7. Negator -p(e)-

Negator -p(e)- is a derivational suffix used to form a negative verb. Negative verbs formed by means of this suffix may show some special characteristics. Present tense in -(a)y 'incompletive aspect', future in -(k)t-a(y), nominalizations in -(o)e, -(k)te and -lam, and subordination in -(k)he and -(n)ap are formed regularly. In these forms, -p(e)- is attached to a non-reduced stem and followed by the ending at issue:

(30) a-l-o-p-ap (2160) 'I do not do/make it'
(31) a-l-o-p-kt-ap 'I shall not do it'
(32) a-l-o-p-e 'that I do not do it'
(33) a-l-o-p-ke 'that I do not do it'
(34) a-l-o-p-lam 'that I do not have to do it'
(35) a-l-o-p-khe 'as I do not do it'
(36) a-l-o-p-nap '(after) (1s) not having done it'

In one example sentence, -p(e)- was found before the past tense marker -(i)y:

(37) igko-te a-top-pe-y-ate (2386)
there-AD 3s-be-NE-PST-then
‘He had not been there’.

Normally, the past tense is formed in a special way, namely, by means of the preterite form of the verb (with the past tense marker -(i)y/-w) + the ending -pit'-o.
The latter may be analyzed as a negative stem consisting of -p(e) ‘negation’, -it ‘passivizer’ and the nominalizing ending -(t)jo. Like -(t)jo, -p(it)-o can be followed by the nominal past marker -(k)e, and by the suffix combination -tu-p-pit ( -tu-p-pit is only used in combination with -(t)jo, see section 7.4.8.4). The forms in -p(it)-o-ke indicate an unreal (hypothetical) situation; those in -tu-p-pit a concession:

(38)  
\[ \text{gol-iy-pit}^-o \] (125)  \[ \text{a-sina-y-pit}^-o \] (218)  
3sS-die-PST-NE-FN2 1sA-3sO-hear-PST-NE-FN2  
‘he did not die’  ‘I did not hear’

(39)  
alkalde - a-kt-iy-pit’^-o-ke-wa,  mi- \[ \text{fem'tap-la} \] -pakna-ke (558)  
mayor 1sS-be-PST-NE-FN2-ANT-TOP 2sO-help-3pA-NOM-ANT  
‘If I had not been mayor, they would not have helped you’.

(40)  
ok-nik  mi- \[ \text{f} \] -a-kte-he  mi-men’o-w-pit’^-o-tu-p-pit,  
1s-COM 2sS-go-INF-BEN 2sA-3sO-want-PST-NE-FN2-AD-ABL-COR  
ok-a  mi-nek  a- \[ \text{f} \] ^-w-ay (2841)  
1p-TOP 2sPOS-company 1ss-go-IA  
‘Although you did not want to go with me, I go with you’.

In one example negator -p(it)-o is used with a non-past meaning, the ending -w to which it is suffixed only functions as a stem extension marker:

(41)  
a-t’mo-w-pit’^-o  a-kt-ap (2655)  
1sA-3sO-know-SE-NE-FN2 1ss-be-IA  
‘I do not know it’.  
cf.  
a-kt-iy-pit’^-o  a-kt-ap (466)  
1sA-be-PST-NE-FN2 1ss-be-IA  
‘I had not been’

The suffix -p(it)-o can be attached to a subordinated form in -(k)he ‘simultaneity’ to indicate negative subordination:

(42)  
kot-he-pit’^-o (469)  
be-SIM-NE-FN2  
‘as he is not’

(43)  
\[ \text{mu-lu-poh-he-pit}^-o \] (425)  
2sS-interior-burn-SIM-NE-FN2  
‘He advises you, so that you will be good, not to abhor you’.
Negative verbs formed by means of the derivational suffix -(p)e do not have a negative imperative or prohibitive. A prohibitive is expressed by means of the suffixes -eın, -mu, -nik (see section 11.2, 11.3 and 11.5, respectively).

In addition, the negative derivational suffix -(p)e- is not used before the nominalizer -(y)o. A form such as *pe-yo has not been encountered (-pił-o, see above, and -pakna, see below, are used instead). According to de la Mata, negative verbs have a ‘second supine’, viz. a nominalized form in -pakna. (This ending may be a combination of -p(e)-, an unidentified element -ak- and a nominalizing element -na). The ending -pakna is regularly suffixed to a non-reduced stem. It expresses mainly ‘impossibility’ and is usually followed by the verb k(o)/t ‘(to) be’:

(45) mi-kot-pakna me-kt-ag (487)
2sS-be-NE.NOM 2sS-be-IA
‘you cannot be’

(46) ki-o-ćem-pakna o-kot-ag (2809)
1pA-3sO-exile-NE.NOM 3sS-be-IA
‘He cannot be exiled’.

(47) pe mek ě-kt-iy o-kot-nap, into-ń, ki-po-wo-pakna
that all 3ps-be-PST 3sS-be-SEQ which-CMP 1pA-3pO-do-NE.NOM
ě-kt-ag (60)
3psS-be-IA
‘Since they were that many, they could not be counted’.

Sometimes a form in -pakna expresses ‘inadmissibility’:

(48) mi-o-ławoh-pakna me-kt-ag mi-velam-a (1574)
2sA-3sO-carry-NE.NOM 2sS-be-IA 2spOS-bed-TOP
‘You may not carry your bed’.

(49) quaresma alm nem-te-wa, [...] ayča o-ł'up-la-pakna
Lent other day-AD-TOP [...] meat 3sO-eat-3pA-NE.NOM
o-kot-ag (2793)
3sS-be-IA
‘But on the other days of Lent, they should not eat meat’.

Occasionally, the modality of ‘unworthyness’ is expressed by means of -pakna:

(50) ke-o-lusay-pakna o-kot-ag (2806)
1pA-3sO-pity-NE.NOM 3sS-be-IA
‘He does not deserve it that we pity him’. 
In one example the form in -pakna is not followed by k(o)t ‘(to) be’, but by a verb with a similar meaning:

(51) into mek Pasco ø-kot-o-ke, into-ŋko-pit misa
    which all Easter 3sS-be-FN2-ANT which-DEM-IND Mass
    i-sinan-pakna ø-ayki-go-le (2860)
    3sA-3sO.attend-NE.NOM 3sS-be.there-FN2-QM
    ‘[Easter] being such a big feast, could there be anyone not attending Mass?’

Like -piriors, -pakna can also be followed by the nominal past marker -(k)e, indicating an impossibility, and by the suffix combination -tu-p-pit, indicating a negative concession:

(52) iŋko-te o-top-pakna-ke/ o-top-pir-o-ke,
    there-AD 3sS-be-NE.NOM-ANT/ 3sS-be-PST-FN2-ANT
    i-tpe-kte-he o-la-av-iy (2388)
    3sA-3sO.see-INF-BEN 3sS-go-PST
    ‘He could not be there/ he was not there, [and] he went to see him’.
    (lit. ‘Although he was not there, he went to see him’).

(53) mi-l-o-pakna-tu-p-pit (2686)
    2sA-3sO-do-NE.NOM-AD-ABL-COR
    ‘although you do not do it’

Forms in -pakna occur in subject clauses when the subject of k(o)t ‘(to) be’ (or ayki ‘there is’) is a third person singular referring to a third person singular object of the form in -pakna; and in nominal parts of the predicate when the subjects of the forms in -pakna and that of k(o)t are the same (cf. -ŋko, section 7.4.7.4). In the former case, the clause is in the passive voice; in the latter case, it is in the active voice. (A construction consisting of a main verb + k(o)t ‘(to) be’ is passive, when the object of the main verb is subject of the copula, see section 7.3.4.6. The suffix -pakna itself is neutral with regard to voice):

(54) into-n’ ki-l-o-pakna a-kot-ag (390)
    which-CMP 1PA-3sO-do-NE.NOM 3sS-be-IA
    ‘There is no remedy [for that]’. (< ‘It cannot be done by us’).

(55) a-kot-pakna a-kt-ag (486)
    1sS-be-NE.NOM 1sS-be-IA
    ‘I cannot be’

In three examples a form in -pakna functions as a main predicate (that is, occurring without the verb k(o)t ‘(to) be’). In these cases, a verb ‘(to) be’ is understood:
(56)  into-n'  ki-amo-pakna (1616)  
which-CMP  1ps-eat-NE.NOM  
‘It is impossible to eat’.

(57)  mi-čem-it'-iy  mi-kot-t-an-na-wa  ku-ayam-pakna (2904)  
2ss-exile-PAS-PST  2ss-be-F-IA-QUOT-TOP  1ps-doubt-NE.NOM  
‘There can be no doubt that you will be exiled’.

(58)  into-pko  hayu-pit  misa  i-sinah-pakna-le (2860)  
which-DEM  man-IND  Mass  3sA-3sO.attend-NE.NOM-QM  
‘Is there anyone not attending Mass?’

The suffixes -piť'-o and -pakna are similar in that both can be followed by the suffixes -(k)e and -tu-p-pit. In spite of this similarity, they do differ from each other.

As stated,
(i), the former is usually suffixed to an extended stem and used mostly to form a past tense; whereas the latter is attached to a non-reduced stem, functions as a nominalizer and cannot be preceded neither by a stem extender, nor by any other suffix;
(ii), forms in -piť'-o are rarely followed by the verb k(o)t ‘(to) be’; those in -pakna are regularly followed by this copula;
(iii), forms in -piť'-o mainly function as main predicates. They only occur in a subordinate clause when -piť'-o is preceded by the subordinator -(k)he (cf. the example mu-lu-poh-he-piť'-o ‘not because you are abhorred’ above), or followed by the suffix sequence -ke-wa (see the example alcalde a-kt-iy-piť'-o-ke-wa ‘if I had not been mayor’ above). Forms in -pakna, on the other hand, usually do not function as main predicates. In only three examples a form in -pakna is not followed by k(o)t ‘(to) be’ and is used as a main predicate (see the examples above).

The ending -pakna is parallel in use to -(g)jo and can be considered as its negative counterpart. Both suffixes are nominalizers which can be followed by the nominal past marker -(k)e and by the suffix combination -tu-p-pit. In addition,
(i), forms in -pakna, like those in -(g)jo, often occur in combination with the copula k(o)t ‘(to) be’; and they can then indicate a subject clause or a nominal predicate;
(ii), both forms in -(g)jo and in -pakna can occasionally function as main predicates;
(iii), like -(g)jo, -pakna can express different modalities (see above), in positive -(g)jo and in negative -pakna interpretations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-(g)jo</th>
<th>-pakna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>obligation</td>
<td>inadmissibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possibility</td>
<td>impossibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worthyness</td>
<td>unworthyness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, there are also a few differences in the use of -(g)jo and -pakna:
(i), forms in -\textit{go} can occur in an attributive extension of the subject and in object clauses (see section 7.4.7.7);
(ii), -\textit{go} is mainly used to express the modality of ‘obligation’, whereas -\textit{pakna} is more often used to express ‘impossibility’;
(iii), unlike forms in -\textit{go}, which can be used attributively as adjectives or independently as nouns, those in -\textit{pakna} are only found as nominal complements of \textit{k(o)t ‘(to) be’ (unless the copula is left out).}
12. Complex sentences

In this chapter we return to the processes of co-ordination, correlation, subordination, and to nominal predicate + copula constructions. We have already talked about -pit as a co-ordinator of constituents in section 10.8, and about correlation marked by the suffix combination -na-pit in section 11.4. Here we shall, amongst other things, pay attention to -pit as a co-ordinator of clauses (section 12.1), and to other correlators (section 12.2). Subordination has already been examined in chapter 7, where different types of clauses were analyzed, such as the attributive extension of a subject or object, avoidance clauses, causal clauses, object clauses, comparative clauses, concessive clauses, conditional clauses, contrastive clauses, locative clauses, purposive clauses, resultative clauses, subject clauses, and temporal clauses (see Table 7.8, 7.9 and 7.10). A survey of the clauses mentioned above is given in section 12.3, followed by an illustration of relative clauses (section 12.3.1) and a section about constructions containing a copula and a nominal predicate (section 12.4). A section about hypothetical clauses (section 12.5) closes the chapter.

12.1. Co-ordination

Complements and clauses are coordinated by means of juxtaposition or by means of the co-ordinative suffix -pit ‘and’, ‘also’, ‘or’. Juxtaposition is discussed in section 12.1.1; in section 12.1.2, the use of -pit as a co-ordinator of clauses and as a concession marker is discussed (for other uses of -pit see section 10.5).

12.1.1. Juxtaposition

As already stated, constituents and clauses can be coordinated by means of juxtaposition. The following sentence is an illustration of co-ordination of constituents by means of juxtaposition:

(1) Dios t‘amo-ê a-kot-a mita mita mo-o-w, mušak
   God 3sS.know-FAC 3sS-be-TOP time time 3sA.3pO-do-PST sun
   nem-te, pel mahaê-te meletah-lam-he (2974)
   day-AD moon night-AD 3sS.shine-FN1-BEN
   ‘God’s wisdom ordered the times, so that the sun shines at daytime [and]
   the moon at night’.

An illustration of juxtaposition of clauses is given in the following sentences. In the first sentence the clauses ‘Maria ... ki-khe’ and ‘ko-lol-ače ... ĉi-ki-apŷ’ are juxtaposed, in the second example the clauses ‘baptismo-te ... t‘aĉ-he’ and ‘ki-n-anima ... i-k-ã-t‘amoh-te-he’:
'The Marías came, saying that they also have seen angels who say that Jesus is alive'. (lit. It is said that the Marías came, saying that they were the ones that had seen angels, [and] it is said that they (the lattery) say that Jesus Christ is alive'.

‘Our God was not satisfied with the fact that men were born again by baptism, [and] seeing the frequent illnesses that we got by sinning, he ordered a medicine against all [these illnesses, and] from the blood of our father Jesus Christ he made a healthy bath for all the plagues of our soul’. (lit. ‘Our God was not satisfied with the fact that mankind was reborn by baptism, seeing that we made more sins, since we were frequently ill, [and] he ordered a vivifying medicine, to be made from the blood of our father Jesus Christ [and] by submerging it, he would recognize all the blood of our soul’).

12.1.2. Co-ordinator -pit
In section 10.8 we have seen that -pit can be used to coordinate constituents. The suffix -pit, meaning ‘and’, ‘also’, ‘or’, can also coordinate clauses. When clauses are coordinated by means of -pit, it may occur in the first clause, the second clause, or in more consecutive clauses, and it can be suffixed to a verb form, a noun, or a pronoun:
(4) *meč o-ki-ap-pit, sukisil' či-l' a-nap, nɛ-ble*
tree 3SA-be.made-IA-COR bird 3ps-come-SEQ branch-AD
*i-tonle-kte-ɛ* (780)
3ps-sit.down-INF-PURP
‘And a tree is made, so that the birds come and sit on the branches’. (lit. ‘A tree is made, and then come the birds to sit down on the branches’).

(5) *opey-lol mo-hina-ke-y, mo-hila-ke-y-pit* (1584)
dead-and-dumb-PL 3SA.3PO-hear-CAU-PST 3SA.3PO-speak-CAU-PST-COR
‘The deaf-and-dumb, he made them hear and he made them speak’.

(6) *meč o-ki-ap-sim-al y sukisil'-pit či-n-ap, tree 3SS-be.made-IA-EMP-RST bird-COR 3ps-come-IA
nɛ-ble i-toyi-ag* (785)
branch-AD-COR 3ps-sit.down-IA
‘And a tree is made, and the birds come to sit down on the branches’.
(lit. A tree is made, and the birds come and sit down on the branches’).

(7) *ok a-yoy-a y, mi-pit mi-yoy-a sim-al* (2964)
1s 1s-cry-IA 2s-COR 2s-cry-IA-EMP-RST
‘I cry and you cry [also]’.

(8) *into mek o-kot-he-pit, into mek o-kot-hu-pit* (1382)
which all 3ss-be-SIM-COR which all 3ss-be-SR-COR
‘The more he has, the more the other has’.

In the following examples *-pit* means ‘also’:

(9) *pal'ow mi-kot-hu, ok-pit pal'ow a-kot-t-ay* (399)
good 2ss-be-SR 1s-COR good 1ss-be-F-IA
‘Since you are good, I shall also be good’.

(10) *mi-n-iy igko-na-pi', Juan-pit o-nan-iy* (2884)
2ss-come-PST that-when-AL-RST Juan-COR 3ss-come-PST
‘At the same time that you came, Juan came also’.

When *-pit* is used to coordinate two clauses, it can also function as a disjunctive co-ordinator ‘or’, providing that it occurs in both clauses (cf. the use of *-le* as a disjunctive question marker ‘or?’, section 10.3.2):

(11) *fa-k-pit, mi-fa-kiah-i-pit/ f'a-kiah-a-pit* (2959)
go-IMP-COR 2ss-go-RE-IMP-COR/ go-RE-IMP-COR
‘Come back or go!’ (lit. ‘Go or come back!’)
(12) kunča a-kot-hu-pit, maha-l’ a-kot-hu-pit, mek
small 3sS-be-SR-COR INT-RST 3sS-be-SR-COR all
mi-gap-ha-ki (2698)
2A-3sO.take-PL-IMP
‘May there be a little bit or much, take everything’.
(lit. ‘There may be a little bit, there may be much, take everything’).

Co-ordinator -pit can also be used to express ‘concession’ or ‘permission’, notably, when suffixed to an imperative or prohibitive:

(13) mi-yoyo-ha-k-pit into-n’am a-ki-po/ a-ki-kt-ag (2895)
2S-cry-PL-IMP-COR which-CMP-QM 1sS-do-FN2/ 1sS-do-F:IA
‘Even though you (p) cry, what shall I do?’

(14) yoyo-k-pit a-la-kt-ag sim (238)
cry-IMP-COR 1sS-go-F:IA-EMP
‘Even though you cry, I shall go!’.

(15) e-mečah-khe-pit (2869) (16) l-o-w-mu-pit (2678)
3sA-2sO-defeat-IMP-COR 3sO-do-SE-NE-COR
‘Just let him defeat you’. ‘Just do not do it!’

The following examples illustrate that -pit can also indicate ‘concession’ when suffixed to a subordinated form or a nominalized form, with the exception of a form in -(qio) ‘future nominalizer 2’. (After nominalizer -(qio), the ending -tu-p(-ham)-pit is used in order to indicate ‘concession’, see section 7.4.5.4). Examples:

(17) išiwah ki-kot-hu-pit, pal’ow mi-kot-p-ag (402)
bad 1ps-be-SR-COR good 2sS-be-NE-IA
‘Even though we are bad, you are not good [either]’.

(18) mi-men’o-pakna-ke-pit (2681)
2sA-3sO.want-NE.NOM-ANT-COR
‘although you would not have wanted it’

(19) i-gole-č-pit i-o-tesah-p-ag (765)
3sA-3sO.love-FAC-COR 3sA-3sO-thank-NE-IA
‘Even though he loves him, he does not thank him’.

12.2. Correlation
In section 7.4.8.2 we have seen that the suffix combination -te-p ‘as’, ‘like’ can correlate two clauses, and in section 11.4 that the suffix combination -na-pit is used to render the double negation ‘neither ... nor’. (The suffix sequence -na-pit is then
attached to both parts of the negation). In addition, correlative constructions can be formed by means of the following elements: iuko mek ‘that much/many’; iuko-min’-al’ ‘like that’, ‘so’, ‘likewise’; into mek(-al’) ‘as much/many’, ‘that much/many (as)’; -(mi)n’ ‘like’, ‘as’; and pe mek ‘that much/many’. (For the discussion about the elements -(a)l’ ‘restrictive’, ‘only’; into ‘which’; iuko ‘that one’; mek ‘all’; -(mi)n’ ‘comparative’; and pe ‘that one yonder’, see section 6.4.5.1, 6.7.3, 6.6.1, 6.8.4, 6.4.2.4 and 6.6.1, respectively). According to our data, iuko-min’-al’ correlates with -(mi)n’; iuko mek, into mek(-al’), and pe mek with into mek:

(20) mi-pa-ha ē-kt-iy-min’, iuko-min’-al’ me-kt-iy-ha-y (417)
2POS-father-PL 3SS-be-PST-CMP that-CMP-RST 2S-be-SE-PL-IA
‘Like your fathers were, so are you’.

(21) into mek pok mi-he a-lu-pakt-ag, iuko mek pok
which all time 2S-BEN 1sS-interior-be-IA that all time
Dios mučan a-m-a-t-ag (2514)
God prayer 1SA-2SO-APL-do-IA
‘Whenever I think of you, I recommend you to God’.

(22) into mek m-a-y-ag, into mek-al’ a-m-e-kt-ag (2521)
which all 2SA-1SO-give-IA which all-RST 1SA-2SO-give-F-IA
‘Whatever you give me, I shall give you [in return]’.

(23) into mek mi-mohl’-ag, pe mek mi-mišto-ka-y (1365)
which all 2SA-3SO.take-IA that all 2SA-3SO.lose-ICA-IA
‘As much as you take, that much you lose’.

The question word ana ‘how many’ can also be part of a correlation:

(24) ana-m mi-hl-ap-ko-n’, iuko-min’-al’ l-o-k (419)
how.many-QM 2SS-say-IA-DEM-CMP that-CMP-RST 3SO-do-IMP
‘Do what you say!’ (lit.: ‘How much you say, do it likewise!’).

12.3. Subordination
In the data presented by de la Mata we can distinguish several subordinate clauses, such as attributive extensions of the object, avoidance clauses, causal clauses, comparative clauses, concessive clauses, conditional clauses, consecutive clauses, direct object clauses, instrumental complement clauses, locative clauses, ‘not only ... but also’ clauses, purposive clauses, similarity clauses, subject clauses, and temporal clauses. The above-mentioned clauses (but for the conditional clauses, which are indicated by means of the topic marker -(w)a, see section 10.6), can be formed by means of a nominalized verb form, whether or not followed by case markers. They
can also be indicated by means of a subordinating affix on the verb. Some nominalizers and subordinators can indicate different types of clauses. For instance, a nominalized form in -(g)jo can indicate a direct object or a subject clause, and subordinator -(k)he can indicate a causal or a temporal clause. This is because the exact nature of a subordinative relation is not necessarily expressed by means of a particular nominalizer or subordinator, but rather by the context.

In chapter 7 we have seen that verb stems can be nominalized by means of the nominalizers -(e)č ‘factive’ (section 7.4.6.1), -(k)te ‘infinitive’ (section 7.4.6.2), -(l)am ‘future nominalizer 1’ (section 7.4.6.3), -(g)jo ‘future nominalizer 2’ (section 7.4.6.4) and -(u)č ‘agentive’ (section 7.4.6.5); and finite forms by means of the deictics ko ‘this one’ and ijkoko ‘that one’ (section 7.4.7.6), or by a zero-nominalizer (section 7.4.2.1, 7.4.7.6 and 7.4.8). Nominalized forms can be followed by the following case markers and case marker or suffix combinations: -he ‘for (the benefit of)’; -lak-pat ‘because’; -lak-te-p ‘because’; -(man-ap ‘after’, ‘besides/ not only/ on top of’, ‘than (comparison)’, ‘from (avoidance)’; -(mi)n ‘as/like’, ‘on the verge of’; -(n)a/p ‘after’; -pat ‘because’; -pat-le ‘till’; -te ‘when’, ‘where’; -te-p ‘after’, ‘because’, ‘from (avoidance)’; -tu-p ‘for (cause)’; -tu-p(-ham)-pit ‘although’, ‘even though’, a suffix combination consisting of adessive -tu, ablative -p, and the co-ordinator -pit ‘also’. We have also seen that a verb stem can be subordinated by means of the subordinators -(k)he ‘switch-reference’ (section 7.4.7.1), -(k)he ‘simultaneity’ (section 7.4.7.2), -(n)ap ‘sequence’ (section 7.4.7.3), and -(k)t(eč ‘resultative’, ‘purpose’ (section 7.4.7.4). Subordinated forms in -(k)he and -(n)ap can be followed by the case marker -nake, indicating a contrastive clause, and subordinator -(k)he can furthermore be followed by the case markers -pat ‘instrumental’ and -(n)a/p ‘after’. It appears that the different types of subordinate clauses mentioned above can be indicated by means of the following endings:

(i) attributive extension of the object: -(e)č, -hu:

(25) i-l’u-č mi-po-yč-iy-le (1601)
3ps-go-FAC 2sA-3po-see-PST-QM
‘Did you see them going?’

(26) i-tip-te i-top-hu a-po-yč-iy (1599)
3pros-house-AD 3ps-be-SR 1sA-3po-see-PST
‘I saw them in their houses’.

(ii) avoidance: -(lam-man-ap, lam-te-p, -(g)jo-te-p:

(27) a-šayš-la-lam-man-ap a-špeh-no-kt-aŋ čoti (2374)
1sA-whip-3PAFN1-INES-ABL 1ss-liberate-RFL-F-IA 1bet
‘I bet that I shall liberate myself from the whips’.
(lit. ... from them whipping me).
(28) into mek ku-n-u’a ki-l-o-lam-te-p peh-ču which all 1pPOS-REL 1pA-3sO-do-FN1-AD-ABL distance-DIM ki-o-no-go o-kot-ag (2851) 1pS-do-RFL-FN2 3sS-be-IA ‘How can we escape from our sins?’

(29) into mek ku-n-u’a ki-l-o-go-te-p peh-ču which all 1pPOS-REL 1pA-3sO-do-FN2-AD-ABL distance-DIM ki-o-no-go o-kot-ag (2851) 1pS-do-RFL-FN2 3sS-be-IA ‘How can we escape from our sins?’

(iii) causal: -(-e)č, -hu, -(k)he, -ko-(l’ak)-pat, -(n)ap, -(ŋ)o-tu-p, -o-(l’ak)-pat, -o-(l’ak)-te-p:

(30) gita-wo-č sepu-manu muč-iy-la (2376) 3sS.wild-VB-FAC stocks-INES 3sO.put-PST-3PA ‘They put him in the stocks, because he fled’.

(31) i-ći-te a-kot-hu, tesim i-sak a-y-la-lam 3pPOS-house-AD 1sS-be-SR always 3pPOS-food 1sO-give-3pA-FN1 če-kt-ag (408) 3ps-be-IA ‘Because I have stayed in their house, they used to give me their food’.

(32) mulup gôl-hu r’ač-he, lulo-pat gôl-ag (2761) 3sPOS.son 3sS.die-SR 3sO.see-SIM distress-INS 3sS.die-IA ‘He dies of distress, because he sees that his son dies’.

(33) a-n-išiwah a-mak-ap-ko-l’ak-pat, a-n-u’a-pit 1sPOS-REL-badness 1SA-3sO.know-IA-DEM-NF-INS 1sPOS-REL-sin-COR a-n’an-man-a a-kot-t-ag tepat (2369) 1sPOS-face-INES-TOP 1sS-be-F-IA always ‘Because I know my disgrace, I shall always be mindful of my sins’.

(34) pana išiwah o-pakt-ag-ko-pat ma n’ansik-pat mi-pahat-iy-ha road bad 3sS-be-IA-DEM-INS INT effort-INS 2S-descend-PST-PL me-kt-iy-ha-y (320) 2S-be-SE-PL-IA ‘Because the road is bad, you (p) descended with great effort’.

(35) pu-puluč o-nan-iy o-kot-nap, al’hi pe-kt-ag (2649) 2sfPOS-husband 3sS-come-PST 3sS-be-SEQ happy 2sfS-be-IA ‘You (f) are happy, because your husband came’.
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(36) into-n'-am a-m-pako-kt-ag. a-m-yač-pakna
which-CMP-QM 1sA-2sO-know-F-IA 1sA-2sO-see-NOM
a-kot-a-tu-p (1308)
3sS-be-FN2-AD-ABL
‘How shall I know you, for I do not even see you?’

(37) hayu-lol u-n-ut'a pa mek &e-kt-iy-o-(čak-)pat/-čak-)te-p.
man-PL 3pPOS-REL-sin INT all 3ps-be-PST-NOM-(NF-)JNS/-NF-)AD-ABL
Dios yam mo-o-w (777)
God punishment 3sA.3p-do-PST
‘Because the sins of men were that many, God punished them’.

(iv) comparative: -ko-man-ap,-(k)te-man-ap, -(g)no-man-ap, -o-man-ap:

(38) p-o-ym-eh-uč-a i-f'm-e-pko-man-ap-pit
3pO-APL-know-CAU-AG-TOP 3sA.3sO.know-CAU-IA-DEM-INES-ABL-COR
ni-ča-nik meyip-ag (2867)
bit-DIM-COM 3sS.work-IA
‘The teacher works harder than the disciple’.

(39) a-n-ut'a a-l-o-kte-man-ap, a-kol-o a-kt-ag (1626)
1sPOS-REL-sin 1sA-3sO-do-INF-INES-ABL 1sS-die-FN2 1sS-be-IA
‘I will die rather than commit a sin’.

(40) ohom-pat a-kot-o-man-ap-a, ni-nik-sim a-piyip-te-he
idleness-INS 1sS-be-FN2-INES-ABL-TOP bit-COM-EMP 1sS-work-INF-BEN
a-men'-ap (2783)
1sA-3sO.want-IA
‘I prefer to work rather than to be idle’.

(41) Dios-tu-p hayu yam mo-o-w-a-man-ap.
God-AD-ABL man punishment 3sA.3pO-do-PST-NOM-INES-ABL
ašma mošp-e-y (1631)
first 3sA.3pO-liberate-CAU-PST
‘God prefers to forgive men rather than to punish them’.
(lit. God first liberates men, before he punishes them’).

(v) similarity: -ko-n’, -o-min’:

(42) mi-hil-ag-ko-n’ a-te l-o-if'-he (2322)
2sS-say-IA-DEM-CMP 1s-AD 3sS-do-PAS-IMP
‘Let it be done to me as you say’.
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(43)  *kamat’ig mi-ki-y-o-min’* (2320)
order  2ss-do-PST-NOM-CMP
‘as you ordered’

(vi) concessive: -(k)he-pit, -(g)jo-tu-p(-ham)-pit, -pakna-tu-p-pit:

(44)  *mosët kot-he-pit, kes o-ki-kt-ag* (407)
little  be-IMP-COR age 3ss-become-F-IA
‘Even though he is small, he will grow’.

(45)  *šayapi-ke al’ha o-kot-o-tu-p-pit l‘iš-a into-n’-am*
forest-ANT animal 3ss-be-FN2-ABL-COR monkey-TOP which-CMP-QM
*tanta i-l-a-ago o-t’am-ag* (1610)
bread  3sa-3sO-eat-FN2  3sa-3sO-know-IA
‘How does the monkey know bread can be eaten, even though he is an
animal from the forest?’

(46)  *ok-nik mi-‘lak-te-he mi-men’o-w-pit’-o-tu-p-pit, ok-a mi-nek a-‘l-w-ag* (2841)
1s-COM  2ss-go-INF-BEN  2sa-3sO-want-PST-NE-FN2-ABL-COR
1s-TOP  2s-company  1sS-go-IA
‘Even though you did not want to go with me, I do accompany you’.

(47)  *santo č-kot-o-tu-p-ham-pit Dios ø-nano-w-la-γ* (2830)
saint  3ps-be-FN2-AD-ABL-CE-COR God  3sO-fear-SE-3pA-IA
‘Even saints fear God’. (lit. ‘Even though they are saints, they fear God’).

(48)  *mi-‘l-o-pakna-tu-p-pit* (2678)
2ss-3sO-do-NE-NOM-AD-ABL-COR
‘although you do not do it’

(vii) contrastive: -(k)he-nake, -(n)ap-nake:

(49)  *an-‘el a-‘el ap-te-na o-sep-eh-he-nake,*
one-CL:truncal 1sA-3sO-catch-F-QUOT  3ss-pretend-CAU-SIM-PER
*an-‘el i-‘el-p-ag* (2387)
one-CL:truncal 3sA-3sO-catch-1A
‘Instead of catching one, he catches another one’.
(lit. By pretending: “I am going to catch one”, he catches another one’).
fierro a-mis-te-he-na mi-seh-e-nap-nake, sinta iron.tools 1sA-3sO.buy-F-IS-QUOT 2sO-ask-SE-SEQ-PER ribbon a-ms-ag (2381) 1sA-3sO.buy-IA ‘I falsely asked permission to buy iron tools, [but] I buy ribbons [instead]’.

(viii) direct object: -(e)č. -(k)te. -lam, -(g)io:

(51) i-m-kole-č mi-čač-te 7(40) 3sA-2sO-love-FAC 2sA-3sO.see-F ‘You will see that he loves you’.

(52) Dios-tu-p i-k-kole-kte i-men’-ag (17503) God-AD-ABL 3sA-1pO-love-INF 3sA-3sO.want-IA ‘God wants to love us’.

(53) m-a-e-lam e-k (1494) 2sA-1sO-give-FN1 give-IMP ‘Give what you have to give me’.

(54) liman-te mi-ča-go-čo mi-čm-ap-le (1611) mountain-AD 2sS-go-FN2-already 2sA-3sO.know-IA-QM ‘Do you know [how] to go to the mountains?’

(ix) instrumental complement: -(k)he-pat:

(55) baptismo-te hayu maso-kiah-he-pat ki-Dios-a baptism-AD man 3sS.be.born-RE-SIM-INS 1pPOS-God-TOP mul-iy-pič-a (1204) 3sS.be.satisfied-PST-NE-FN2 ‘God was not satisfied with [the fact] that man was born again in baptism’

(x) locative: -o-te:

(56) ke-tip-i-y-o-te (181) 1pS-be-PST-NOM-AD ‘where we were’

(xi) ‘not alone ... but also’: -o-man-ap:

(57) resay ki-ki-y-o-man-ap, misa ki-sina-y (1638) prayer 1pS-do-PST-NOM-INES-ABL Mass 1PA-3sO.attend-PST ‘Besides praying, we have [also] attended Mass’.
(xii) purposive: -(e)či-(k)t-eeč, -(k)te-he, -lam-he:

(58) i-m-kal'-ag-ko-n' kama paťow l-o-k,  
3SA-2SO-order-IA-DEM-CMP patient good 3SO-do-IMP
Dios-tu-p i-m-kole-kt-teč i-m-kole-po a-kot-teč(772/773)
God-AD-ABL 3SA-2SO-love-F-PURP/ 3SA-2SO-love-FN2 3SS-be-PURP
'Take care of the patient, as he orders you, so that God will love you'.

(59) pana-nayme Soledad-te ki-ante-kte-he, Huaylllas-nayme  
road-PRO Soledad-AD 1ps-arrive-INF-BEN Huaylllas-PRO
ki-paľ-ag (2304)
1ps-pass.by-IA
'In order to arrive at Soledad by road, we pass Huaylllas'.

(60) ko kama-man-ap ki-špeh-no-lam-he-wa, into-n'am  
this illness-INES-ABL 1ps-free-RFL-FN1-BEN TOP which-CMP-QM
ki-ki-k't-ag (2843)
1ps-F-IA
'What shall we do to free ourselves from this illness'.

(xiii) resultative: -eeč:

(61) oyna-cō a-kt-eeč, p-a-fukiow-o-w (425)
health-already 1SS-be-PURP 3SA-1SO-medicin-VB-PST
'He cured me, so that I am healthy now'.

(xiv) subject: -(e)č, -(k)he, -lam, -(g)о:

(62) a-l-eč a-paťa-kie-g (2100)
1SA-3SO-give-FAC 3SS-take.all.day-RE-IA
'I give it constantly'.

(63) me-lt-iy, mi-laš-iy te putam makhay kal'ha-may  
2SS-weaken-PST 2SS-be.lame-PST height city joy life-INES
mi-esteh-he ašm'ag mi-he paťow a-kot-ag [...] (1632)
2SS-enter-SIM first 2S-BEN good 3SS-be-IA
'lt is better for you to enter into heaven weak and lame [...]'.

(64) a-ľa-lam a-kot-nap, a-ń'en-šip-ag (916)
1SS-go-FN1 3SS-be-SEQ 1SS-face-break.off-IA
'Because I have to go, I hurry'.
(65) pałow ki-kot-o a-kot-ag (455)
good 1ps-be-FN1 3ss-be-IA
‘We have to be good’.

(xv) temporal: -hu, -(k)he, -(k)he-nap, -(n)ap, -(g)jo-patle, -(g)jo-te, -o-man-ap, -o-te, -o-te-p:

(66) a-mpuš-nik kot-he, yupey-nik a-kot-t-a (404)
1sPOS-riches-COM be-SIM esteem-COM 1ss-be-IA
‘Being rich, I shall be esteemed’.

(67) mi-ye-y ki-khe-nap, nem ø-poho-w (1622)
2ss-sleep-PST do-SIM-ABL 3ss-dawn-PST
‘After you finished sleeping, the day dawned’.

(68) ut’a-uc ke-kt-ap-ko-te-p, ićam-e penitensia l-o-nap, sin-AG 1ps-be-IA-DEM-AD-ABL truth-ANT penitence 3so-do-SEQ
santo ki-ła-kt-ag (1796)
saint 1ps-become-IA
‘From sinners that we are, we will become saints after having done true penitence’.

(69) a-kol-o-pat-le (2246) (70) a-l’a-po-te (2238)
1ss-die-FN2-INS-TERM 3ss-go-FN2-AD
‘till I die’ ‘when he goes’

(71) hayu a-šu-al y ci-kot-te-o-te, a-yipo-kt-ag (2490)
man one-CL-accumulation-RST 3ss-be-F-NOM-AD 1sa-work-IA
‘I shall make [it], when the men are together’.
(lit. ‘I shall work, when the men are together’).

(72) Jesu-Christo sa mul-al ki-napu-te-pit, ko-sim
Jesus Christ 3s 3sspos.son-RST 1ppos-father-AD-COR this-EMP
Espíritu Santo i-t’om-e-y-o-te-p hayu
Ghost Holy 3sa-3so.know-CAU-PST-NOM-AD-ABL man
o-ki-y (1456)
3ss-become-PST
‘and in Jesus Christ, his only son, who became a man by the work of the Holy Ghost’ (lit. ‘and in our Father’s only son, Jesus Christ, who became a man after the Holy Ghost acknowledged him’)

A temporal clause can also be formed by means of the suffix sequences:
(a) -pe-č-ap, consisting of negator -p(e)-, nominalizer -eč and the ablative case marker -(a)p (see also section 7.4.5.1):
(73) kasalag mi-ki-pe-č-ap, mi-l-o-ag-ko, t’ač-č (1635)
marriage 2sS-do-NE-FAC-ABL 2sA-3sO-do-IA-DEM 3sO see-IMP
‘Before you marry, look what you do’.

(b) -o-min’-čo, consisting of a zero-nominalizer, the comparative case marker
-(mi)n’ and the adverb -čo ‘already’, when followed by kot-he/-hu ‘being’ (see also section 7.4.7.5):

(74) meč o-liš-o-min’-čo o-kot-hu, ōmoll-iy-la (1561)
tree 3sS-fall.down-NOM-CMP already 3sS-be-SR 3sO.leave-PST-3PA
‘They left the tree, which was on the verge of falling down’.

(75) a-kot-pe-č-ap-iγ a-kot-iy-iγko, sa-p-sim
1sS-be-NE-FAC-ABL still 3sS-be-PST-DEM 3sS-ABL-EMP
o-kot-ap, a-n-ay o-nan-t-ap-iγko (1458)
3sS-be-IA 1sPOS-REL-back 3sS-come-F-IA-DEM
‘The one who was before I was, that is the one who will come after me’.

(xvi) conditional. As stated in section 10.6, a conditional clause is formed by means of
the topic marker -(w)a:

(76) pa’ow me-kt-iy-a, ok-pit pa’ow a-kt-iγ a-kot-te-ke (384)
good 2sS-be-PST-TOP 1s-COR good 1sS-be-PST 3sS-be-INF-ANT
‘If you would have been good, I would also have been good’.

12.4. Relative clauses
Relative clauses are formed by means of the future nominalizers -lam and -(gj)o, the
nominalizing deictics -ko ‘this one’ and -iγko/-čo ‘that one’, the demonstrative
-ino-γko ‘which’ and the indefinite pronoun ol ‘who’. Forms in -lam and -(gj)o can
be used attributively before (-lam as well as -(gj)o) or after a head (-lam). In the ALC
headless relative clauses also occur. De la Mata analyzes them as ‘particules’. The
head of a relative clause can be the subject or object of the sentence.

As stated in section 7.4.5.3 attributive adjuncts or relative clauses formed by
means of nominalizer -lam may precede or follow the head:

(77) ko ūp-mag ki-hčo-lam-a konfession-sim
this immersion-INES 1ps-be.submerged-FN1-TOP confession-EMP
a-kot-ag (1205)
3sS-be-IA
‘This immersion is the sacramental confession’. (lit. ‘This immersion in
which we are submerged is the sacramental confession’).
Those formed by means of -(g)o precede the head (see section 7.4.5.4):

(79)  ko  posi-f-w-o  putam-te  (2976)
      this  3Ss.go.round-FN2  world-AD
      ‘in this beautiful world’ (lit. ‘in this world which goes round’)

(80)  u-k-kuP ha-weh-o  r'ukiow  (1204)
      3SA-1pO-life-VB-FN2  medicin
      ‘a vivifying medicin’ (lit. ‘a medicin which gives life’)

Headless relative clauses can be formed by means of the nominalizing demonstratives -ko (see section 7.4.5.6.1) and -ipko (see section 7.4.5.6.2), and by means of -lam (see section 7.4.5.6.2). The presence of ko is required in present tense forms in -(a)g, ipko is found optionally with verbs marked for past or future tense, and with nominalizer -lam:

(81)  a-po'l-ap-ko  (795)
      1SA-3S0.love-IA-DEM
      ‘I who love him/her/it’

(82)  a-po'l-iy-ko  (698)  a-po'l-iy-o  (798)
      1SA-3S0.love-PST-DEM  1SA-3S0.love-PST-NOM
      ‘I who loved him/her/it’  ‘I who loved him/her/it’

(83)  a-gole-kt-an-ipko  (801)  a-gole-kt-ap-o  (801)
      1SA-3S0.love-F-IA-DEM  1SA-3S0.love-F-IA-NOM
      ‘I who shall love him/her/it’  ‘I who shall love him/her/it’

(84)  a-gole-lam-ipko  (802)  a-gole-lam  (802)
      1SA-3S0.love-FN1-DEM  1SA-3S0.love-FN1
      ‘I who shall love him/her/it’  ‘I who shall love him/her/it’

In relative clauses in -ko the head of the form in -ko is the subject:

(85)  nonas-na  a-ki-ag-ko  hakol  l-o-it-t-ag  (1470)
      glory-QUOT 3Ss-speak-IA-DEM  humble  3Ss-do-PAS-F-IA
      ‘He who gloryfies himself will be humiliated’.

In relative clauses in -ipko the head can be either a subject or an object:
(86) *pi-man-ap santo maso-kt-ap-ŋko* (1466)
2sf-INES-ABL saint 3ss.be.born-F-IA-DEM
‘He who will originate from you [will be] a saint’.
(lit. ‘The saint that will be born will be from you’).

(87) *i-m-sah-iy čap-a, n’o mi-po-šk-ey-pit, pe 3SA-2SO-carry-PST womb-TOP breast 2SA-3PO-drink-PST-COR that mek makhay &-kt-ap* (1472)
all bliss 3ps-be-IA
‘The womb that carried you, and the breasts that you drank from, they are blissful’.

(88) *intoŋko-pit mučap a-l-o-kt-ap-ŋko sa-p-sim* which-DEM-IND kiss 1SA-3SO-do-F-IA-DEM 3s-ABL-EMP
o-kot-ap, mi-tap-ha-ki (1475)
3ss-be-IA 2A-3SO.catch-PL-IMP
‘Whoever I shall kiss, catch him, he is the one’.

(89) *ko hil l-o-it-i, ki-taš-te* (1463)
this word 3ss-make-PAS-PST 1pa-3SO.see-F
‘Let us see the word which was made’.

The head of a form in *-lam(-ŋko)* is the object:

(90) *mi-l-o-lam(-ŋko) šipna-f mi-l-o-ki* (1489)
2SA-3SO-do-FN1(DEM) quick-RST 2SA-3SO-do-IMP
‘What you have to do, do it quickly’.

A relative clause of which the object is the antecedent, can also be expressed by a syntactic construction in which the demonstrative *intoŋko* or the indefinite *ol* play the role of a relative pronoun:

(91) *ŋko n’alo ol/ intoŋko Jesus i-pof-iy* that disciple who/ which-DEM Jesus 3SA-3SO.love-PST
o-n-ay mit’hu i-t-č-iy, ko-sim mahač
3SPOS-REL-back 3ss.come-SR 3SA-3SO.see-PST this-EMP great
lamolam-te o-hu-f el n’an-te milmoh-no-w (1457)
meal-AD 3SPOS-interior-CL.truncal face-AD 3S,lean.OVER-RFL-PST
‘He saw the disciple whom Jesus loved following him (Jesus), [and] this one rested on his chest at the Last Supper’.
12.5. Nominal predicate constructions

Nominalized forms in -lam ‘future nominalizer 1’, -(g)ö ‘future nominalizer 2’ and -pakna ‘negative nominalizer’ (see the section 7.4.5.3, 7.4.5.4 and 11.7, respectively), can function as a nominal predicate when followed by a copula. In the case of -lam, the subjects of the form in -lam and the copula are then identical:

(92)  a-lu-poh-lam a-kt-ag (1617)
     1ss-interior-burn-FN1 1ss-be-IA
     ‘I used to abhor’.

In the case of -(g)ö and -pakna, the negative counterpart of -(g)ö, the subject of the copula can either be identical to or different from that of the nominalized form in -(g)ö and -pakna. When the subjects are identical, the sentence is in the active voice:

(93)  ašmaj mi-ľa-ŋo me-kt-ag mi-wa (1080)
     first 2ss-go-FN2 2ss-be-IA 2s-TOP
     ‘You have to go first’.

(94)  mi-ľawoh-pakna me-kt-ag mi-yelam-a (1574)
     2ss-carry-NE.NOM 2ss-be-IA 2sPOS-bed-TOP
     ‘You may not carry your bed’.

When the subject of the copula corresponds to the object of the form in -(g)ö or -pakna, the sentence is passive:

(95)  min’ip-őe real Žuaj mi-l-e-ŋo
     four-CL:round quarter.of.a.peseta Juan 2sA-3sO-give-FN2
     a-kot-ag (1516)
     3ss-be-IA
     ‘You must give Juan four quarters of a peseta’.
     (lit. ‘Juan is to be given four quarters of a peseta by you’).

(96)  pe mek ě-kt-ap-ko-ľak-pat, into-n’ ki-po-wo-pakna
     that all 3ss-be-IA-DEM-NF-INS which-CMP 1PA-3PO-do-NE.NOM
     ě-kt-ag (60)
     3pS-be-IA
     ‘They were that many, that we could not count them’.
     (lit. ‘Because they were that many, they could not be done by us’).
12.6. Irrealis or hypothetical clauses
Irrealis or hypothetical clauses are formed by means of the anteriority and nominal past marker -(k)ε, attached to a nominalized form in -(k)ε ‘infinitive’ (see section 7.4.5.2), -(ŋo) ‘future nominalizer 2’ (see section 7.4.5.4), or -pakna, the negative counterpart of -(ŋo) (see section 11.7). We have seen that the endings -(k)ε-ke, -(ŋo)-ke, -pakna-ke express ‘future in the past’ and that they indicate that the event could or could not have taken place, or that it has not been realized:

(97)  *inham pa’ow a-kot-te-ke/ a-kot-o-ke* (352)
I wished good  1sS-be-INF-ANT/ 1sS-be-FN2-ANT
‘I wished I had been good’.

(98)  *a-kot-pit’-o-ke* (467)  (99)  *a-kot-pakna-ke* (485)
1sS-be-NE-FN2-ANT  1sS-be-NE.NOM-ANT
‘I would not have been’  ‘I would not have been’

(100)  *mi-ha-wa mi-l-o-ha-pakna-ke, ok-nake a-l-o-aŋ* (2384)
2-PL-TOP  2A-3sO-do-PL-NE.NOM-ANT  1s-PER  1sA-3sO-do-IA
‘I do what you (p) have not been able to do’.

When a sentence contains two irrealis clauses, viz. when it contains two forms expressing a non-realized or hypothetical event, the form in -(ŋo)-ke precedes the one in -(k)ε-ke:

(101)  *pa’ow mi-kot-o-ke-wa, a-m-pen’o-kte-ke* (367)
good  2sS-be-FN2-ANT-TOP  1sA-2sO-want-INF-ANT
‘If you had been good, I would have wanted you’.

When both sentences are negative, the clause containing the form in -pi’-o-ke precedes the clause with -pakna-ke:

(102)  *yel a-kot-iy-pi’-o-ke-wa, ayeya ki-mti-pakna-ke* (504)
salt  3sS-be-PST-NE-FN2-ANT-TOP  meal  1pA-salt-NE.NOM-ANT
‘If there had not been salt, we could not salt the meat’.
13. Dictionary

13.1. Introduction

The lexicon below (section 13.2) contains the nouns (N), demonstratives (DEM), numerals (NUM), numeral classifiers (CL), pronouns (PRON), indefinite pronouns (INDP), question words (QW), verbs, bound verbs (BV), adverbs (ADV), interjections (INTJ), derived items, such as attributives (ATT), and expressions found in the ALC. Some items have a second, alternative form. Alternative forms are separated by a slash: *ampek/ empek* ‘good’, ‘allright’. Items borrowed from Spanish or Quechua are respectively indicated by means of the abbreviations Sp and QUE, put in parentheses.

In the lexicon, nouns which make a distinction between an absolute form and a relational form are represented in their absolute form, i.e. in the form with a stem-initial vowel or stem-initial *k, p, h, y*. Remember that nouns which begin with a vowel take *n* in their relational forms; stem-initial *k* and *h* change into *g* and *s*, respectively, in the third person singular possessive form; and stem-initial *p* and *y* change into *m* and *t*, respectively, in all the relational forms (see section 5.5). In chapter 5 we have also seen that nouns can be subject to vowel reduction (section 5.4.2) and that the vowel *i* of a person prefix harmonizes with the stem vowels *e* and *u* (section 5.4.1). In the ALC, a small number of nouns only occur in a reduced form, i.e. with a suppressed stem vowel. The identity of this vowel can not be discovered when the person prefix of the noun at issue is a first person singular *a-*, or when the person prefix does not have a copy vowel. Non-identifiable suppressed stem vowels are represented by means of a capital *V*, ‘vowel’, in parentheses: e.g. *h(V)l*y em* ‘friend’.

As regards the verbs, we have seen in section 7.4.1 that a minority of stems retain their full shape under all circumstances. Most of the verb stems can be reduced by means of vowel suppression or consonant suppression: class 1 verbs have a consonantal stem with a suppressable internal vowel (cf. *k(o)t* ‘(to) be’); class 2 verbs have a stem with a suppressable final *h* (cf. *lo(h)* ‘(to) wet’); the stem of class 3 verbs ends in *e* which can be reduced to a non-syllabic palatal sound (cf. *kole/ kol* ‘(to) love’); the stem of class 4 verbs has a suppressable final *a* (cf. *pat(a)* ‘(to) take all day’); class 5 verbs end in *o*, which is suppressed before the imperfective marker *-a(a)o* (cf. *pen(a)* ‘(to) want’). The suppressable elements of the verb stems are also put in parentheses (see the examples above). For a number of verbs, however, the available information is not sufficient, so that we can not decide whether the verb in question has a non-reducible stem, nor to which class it belongs. For instance, the verb ‘(to) cherish’ only occurs as ‘*han’ag*’ in the following form: *ihkan’agko’t* *ak-pat* ‘because he cherishes us’. It may indicate that in Cholón ‘(to) cherish’ is a transitive verb and that it has a non-reducible stem, so that it is obviously not a class 1 verb. However, the form *han’ag* could also be an imperfective aspect form which could be derived of *han’a(h)* (class 2); *hane/ han*’ (class 3); *han’(a)* (class 4); *han’(o)* (class 5); *han*’ (non-reducible stem). In the lexicon, a non-classifiable verb is followed by the numbers of the verb classes to which the verb
Hybrids like \( y(a)m(o) \) ‘(to) know’ (see section 7.3.1), which partly behave as a class 1 verb and partly as a class 5 verb, are indicated by means of the numbers \( 1 + 5 \). A non-reducible stem is indicated by means of the abbreviation ‘NR’ and irregular stems by means of the abbreviation ‘IR’ (see section ‘Irregularities’ 7.3.2, and section 7.3.3.2 for the irregular stems of bound verbs). The numbers of the possible verb classes and the abbreviations ‘NR’ and ‘IR’ are put in parentheses after the bare verb form, viz. the form stripped of its ending \( ap \), suffix -(i)y, nominalizers, or subordinators: e.g.: \( han' \) (2, 3, 4, 5, or NR) ‘(to) cherish’. Some verbs - class 3 verbs, for instance - have two stems. These stems are separated by a slash. Since the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is not clear-cut in Cholón (the stem of an intransitive verb can be part of a transitive verb form, and vice versa, see section 7.2), transitivity is not indicated in the lexicon.

As regards the derived items it should be noticed that not all the derived forms have been listed in this lexicon. Regularly derived verbs, adverbs and expressions with a usual meaning, viz. a meaning that can be expected, have not been listed, but those with unexpected meanings and those derived irregularly, have been included, as are the derived nouns and adjectives, which are few in number. The derived forms occur indented below the item from which they have been derived.

It should furthermore be noticed that the item \( kiš(h) \) ‘(to) cheat’ below has been derived from the irregular imperfective aspect form \( a-gisi-\text{n} \) ‘I deceive’, ‘I cheat’, the only form of this verb found in de la Mata’s data, and, the only imperfective aspect form ending in a palatal nasal. Imperfective aspect forms regularly end in a velar nasal (see section 7.1). The verb \( p(V)n'e(h) \) ‘(to) leave’ also only occurs in one form:

\[
\text{mi-p'n'e-h-la-kt-ag (1366)}
\]
\[
2\text{s}0\text{-}\text{leave}-3\text{pA-F-IA}
\]

‘they will leave you’

The stem \( p(V)n'e(h) \) may have been derived from a hybrid verb \(*p(V)n'(o)\), cf. \( t'(a)m(o) \) ‘(to) know’ (1 + 5) > \( t'(a)me(h) \) ‘(to) teach’ (2). Since the verb has a consonantal stem ending in \( k \), we may assume that it behaves as a class 2 verb.
# 13.2. Lexicon

## A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-/ an-/ at- NUM</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a (NR) V</td>
<td>(to) do, (to) say; (to) eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah! INTJ</td>
<td>interjection to hail someone or to give someone a fright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aha! INTJ</td>
<td>interjection used when catching someone red-handed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahwiyain! INTJ</td>
<td>hang on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akinah(a)! INTJ</td>
<td>wait!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aku! INTJ</td>
<td>interjection expressing lovingness and pity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alkalde (Sp) N</td>
<td>mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alew! INTJ</td>
<td>interjection of cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>algwasil (Sp) N</td>
<td>public prosecutor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aloŋ N</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alum INDP</td>
<td>another, other(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al’aw! (QUE) INTJ</td>
<td>interjection of pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al’ha N</td>
<td>animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al’hi N</td>
<td>sweetness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am N</td>
<td>food; place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amehe N</td>
<td>truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamolam N</td>
<td>meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ampal N</td>
<td>something old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ampašejŋ N</td>
<td>unfortunate; scoundrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ampe(h) N</td>
<td>depth; downside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ampe(h) putam N</td>
<td>underworld, hell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ampek/ empek ADV</td>
<td>good, alright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana QW</td>
<td>how many; when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)n(a) (IR) V</td>
<td>(to) come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
angel (Sp) N
anih! INTJ

anima (Sp) N
an’iw! INTJ

an-t’el INDP
at’ INTJ
ap(a) (4) V
apičak (QUE) N
ašmaq ADV
ašwa N
ate QW
atelpa N
atelpa mulpçu N
atem N
atemel ADV
ath’! INTJ
at’iw ADV
awka (QUE) N
ay N
aye N
ayte ATT
aytel ADV
ayteča ATT
aytečaal ADV
ayča/ curt’a (QUE) N
ayki (NR) V
ayunay (Sp) N

angel
interjection expressing surprise, or malicious pleasure
soul
interjection expressing anticipation, or ‘I wish!’
one, another
interjection expressing amazement
(to) climb
hundred
first
fish
when
chicken
chick
morning
early in the morning
interjection expressing distress
frequently
enemy
back(side)
younger
quiet
quietly
peaceful
secretely
meat
(to) stay
fast
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>Č</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>baptismo/ baptisa</em></td>
<td><em>baptism</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bethl</em> (Sp) N</td>
<td><em>Bethlehem</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bihiliya</em> (Sp) N</td>
<td><em>vigil</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>birheg</em> (Sp) N</td>
<td><em>vigin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>byernes</em> (Sp) N</td>
<td><em>Friday</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Č**

| č(e) (3) V            | (to) give birth       |
| čam N                 | chain                 |
| čap N                 | bundle                |
| -čap CL               | bundled object        |
| č(a)g (1) V           | (to) bind             |
| čapfog N              | pan                   |
| čase(h) (2) V         | (to) chat             |
| ćat'anpat čase(h) (2) V | (to) fool, (to) joke |
| č(a)x(a) (1 + 5) V    | (to) play             |
| če N                  | egg                   |
| -če CL                | round object          |
| čekel' ATT            | excellent             |
| čečč N                | clearness, white      |
| čeččo N               | silver, money         |
| čeččo kamayok N       | silver keeper, money keeper |
| -če(h) (2) BV         | (to) wander           |
| čem (NR) V            | (to) ban              |
| česmin' N             | cedar                 |
| či(h) (2) V           | (to) open             |
| ča(h) (2) V           | (to) win              |
| eča(h) V              | (to) defeat           |
\( \text{đikn(o) (5) V} \)
\( \text{đikno} \text{go} \text{ATT} \)
\( \text{điknehm(o) (5) V} \)
\( \text{đim! INTJ} \)
\( \text{đin}^\text{N} \)
\( \text{đit (1, or NR) V} \)
\( \text{đovol (2, 4, 5, or NR) V} \)
\( \text{đol N} \)
\( \text{đoti! INTJ} \)
\( \text{đow N} \)
\( \text{đul N} \)
\( \text{đup N} \)
\( \text{đup CL} \)
\( \text{đup(o) (5) BV} \)

\( \text{đokrina (Sp) N} \)
\( \text{đokrina leit}^\text{f} \)

\( \text{domingo (Sp) N} \)

\( \text{e/y (2) V} \)
\( \text{(h)eeey!/ hey! INTJ} \)
\( \text{el N} \)
\( \text{elefante (Sp) N} \)
\( \text{es (NR) V} \)
\( \text{espiritu (Sp) N} \)
\( \text{eštěk N} \)
\( \text{nešteka(h) (2) V} \)
\( \text{neštekon(o) (5) V} \)

\( \text{(to) be afraid} \)
\( \text{fearful, fearsome} \)
\( \text{(to) be amazed, (to) be surprised} \)
\( \text{please!} \)
\( \text{gray} \)
\( \text{(to) lose} \)
\( \text{(to) twinkle} \)
\( \text{flash, flicker, light, twinkle} \)
\( \text{I bet!} \)
\( \text{louse} \)
\( \text{mucus} \)
\( \text{belly} \)
\( \text{portable object} \)
\( \text{(to) do tenderly} \)

\( \text{doktrina} \)
\( \text{doktrina leit}^\text{f} \)

\( \text{domingo} \)

\( \text{e/y} \)
\( \text{(h)eeey!/ hey! INTJ} \)
\( \text{el N} \)
\( \text{elefante} \)
\( \text{es (NR) V} \)
\( \text{espiritu} \)
\( \text{eštěk N} \)
\( \text{nešteka(h) (2) V} \)
\( \text{neštekon(o) (5) V} \)

\( \text{doktrina} \)
\( \text{doktrina leit}^\text{f} \)

\( \text{domingo} \)

\( \text{e/y} \)
\( \text{(h)eeey!/ hey! INTJ} \)
\( \text{el N} \)
\( \text{elefante} \)
\( \text{es (NR) V} \)
\( \text{espiritu} \)
\( \text{eštěk N} \)
\( \text{nešteka(h) (2) V} \)
\( \text{neštekon(o) (5) V} \)
et N  fire
et' N  thief
ey N  firewood

F
fiero (Sp) N  ironware
fiesta (Sp) N  feast
fiskal (Sp) N  public prosecutor

G
grasia (Sp) N  grace

H
hač (Sp) N  axe
hač(a) N  field
haki (NR) V  (to) think
hakol N  humbleness
  hakol ki (NR) V  (to) humble oneself
  hakol loit' (NR) V  (to) be humiliated
hanap ADV  taking care
han' (2, 3, 4, 5, or NR) V  (to) cherish
hapit ADV  maybe; beware
haweys N  incorruptible man
hay(a)! INTJ  ‘I do not know!’
hayu N  man
he(e)yi! INTJ  yes!
helak N  relative
henap ADV  taking care; by accident
henat ADV  then
het (4), or NR) V (to) release
hia(h) (2) V (to) wait
hil N mosquito
hil N word
-hil CL speech
h(i)l(a) (IR) V (to) speak, (to) say
hili N fault
hina(h) (2) V (to) hear
hirt’iw/ hint’i (IR) V (to) talk
hirt’iwēka(h) (2) V (to) fool, (to) joke
ho N blood
h(o) (5) V (to) dig
hok N clarity
hospkes) N something large
hostia (Sp) N Eucharist
h(N)Fem N friend
hul N pine cone
hulap N wideness
hulum N fatness, thickness

I

iš/ is/- iš- NUM three
ištako ištako ADV in three
iška(kay)/ INTJ interjection expressing disdain
išam N truth
išk! INTJ interjection expressing horror
iščey!/ INTJ interjection expressing fear
iglesia (Sp) N church
ihna ADV quickly
ila N woman
ila pulupēn N girl
ilačen N little girl
ilo ADV
i(h)na ADV
ina(ha)m ADV
inča INDP, N; QW
inča inča N
inčača N
inčaN
ipkoDEM
insoney N
into QW
ip N
ip- NUM
   iptapi NUM
   iptako iptako ADV
ipt'ok NUM
   ipt'oko ipt'oko ADV
Israel N
išak(i) N
išiw N
išiwah N
i'ak N

K

kabal'o (Sp) N
kačw N
kahapey N
kahapey matiay
kalis (Sp) N
kal'o (5) V
kal'oir'iy N

one by one
thus
I wish
(some)thing; what
things
something small
something minimal
that (one), there
wave
which
kind of edible root
two
   both together
   in two
six
   in six
Israel
difficulty, effort
villain
badness
chichak

horse
cripple
ice, frost
it is freezing
chalice
(to) order
obligation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kal’sok N</td>
<td>willingness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaloc N</td>
<td>plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kama N</td>
<td>evil, harm, illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamat’ip (QUE) N</td>
<td>commandment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamayok (QUE) N</td>
<td>care, control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kandela (Sp) N</td>
<td>candle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(a)p (1) V</td>
<td>(to) catch, (to) obtain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapa (Sp) N</td>
<td>cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapak (QUE) N</td>
<td>authority, power, reign, ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapi ADV</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karesma (Sp) N</td>
<td>Lent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kas N</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kosalay’ kasaraŋ (Sp) N</td>
<td>marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasm(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) snow, (to) storm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kastigay (Sp) N</td>
<td>punishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaša N</td>
<td>needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’aj N</td>
<td>words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’ok N</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kečwak (Q?) N</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kel (1, or NR) V</td>
<td>(to) look for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelčehuč N</td>
<td>searcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kel(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) thicken, (to) put on weight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kel’pak N</td>
<td>surrounding(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kena N</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kes N</td>
<td>age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kešum N</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keta N</td>
<td>wild boar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki (NR) V</td>
<td>(to) do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiče(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) walk, (to)stroll, (to) ramble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki(tha) PRON</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiliš NUM</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilišo kilišo ADV</td>
<td>in seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilº N</td>
<td>wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinha N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kipčito N
danger
kisi(h) (2) V
(to) cheat
kisna N
blue
kiš N
something dry, shriveled or shrunken
kiša(h) (2) V
(to) offend
kišw (1, or 4) V
(to) be angry
kita (QUE) N
savage
kitaw(o) (5) V
(to) flee, (to) escape
kiyok NUM
five
kiyoko kiyoko ADV
in five
ko DEM
this (one), here
kočmi N
water, sea
kočwe N
big, black kind of ape
kol N
hunger
k(o)l (1) V
(to) die
ekol N
death
kole/kol (3) V
(to) love
ųole(lam) N
love
kolewuč N
lover
-k(o)l(oh) (IR) BV
(to) finish
kolol N
almond, pip, stone
 kolw(o) (5) V
(to) feed
konfesap/konfesion (Sp) N
confession
konsegrasion (Sp) N
consecration
kostl(w(o) (5) V
(to) surround
kot N
water
k(o)l (1) V
(to) be
kotlam N
eexistence
ekotuč N
living being
kotčal N
kotpo(h) (2) V
kruš (sp) N
kuči (sp) N
kučil'o (sp) N
kuka (que) N
kul N
kule/kul' (3) V
kulma N
kul'a N
kul'ha N
kun (only found in combination with diminutive -ču, cf. mos and ni) N
kup(e)pen' N
kwatrotemporas (sp) N

Gravel bed, pebble(d) beach
(gravel bed, pebble(d) beach)
(to be)
cross
pig
knife
coca leafs
ball of cotton
(to) lay down
ball
louse
life
something (small)
tepidness

lam(a) (4) V
lamihue'N
lasu' rasu (que) N
laš (3, 4, or NR) V
layam (NR) V
le N
lek NUM
aleko aleko ADV
alek ant'elo alek ant'elo ADV

(to) kill
killing, murderer
hail
(to) be lame
(to) doubt
tooth

ten
in ten
in eleven
underside
season
caterpillar
lik (1, or NR) V (to) weave
liman N mountains, highland
limosna (Sp) N alms
lisensia (Sp) N license
liš (1, or NR) V (to) fall
lite(h) (2) V (to) correct
litehuč N judge
liw N letter, book, painting
   -liw CL
   liwe(h) (2) V multiform/multicoloured object
lo(h) (2) V (to) write
lol N (to) wet
loše N Spaniard
lož N publicity
lopo(h) (2)/ lupo(h) (2) V (to) do/make something
low(V)t (1) V (to) hit
lu N interior, intestines
   luk(o)t (1) V (to) be (in)
lupak(o)t (1)/ lupok(o)t (1) V (to) think, (to) seem, (to) remember
lupo(h) (2) V (to) abhor
luť el N breast
luw(o) (5) V (to) be sad
luwolam N grief
lulo N sadness, effort, difficulty
lum N top
   lumřap(o) (5) V (to) embrace
lumitup ADV intentionally
lunes (Sp) N monday
lusaki/ lusay (IR) V (to) pity
   lusakiyewohn(o) (5) V (to) offend
lusayeuč N merciful person
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>layum</strong> (NR) V</td>
<td>(to) suffer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>layum</strong> N</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>luwe(h) (2) V</strong></td>
<td>(to) prevent, (to) stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>l(V)nt (1) V</strong></td>
<td>(to) weaken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La(h)</strong> (2) V</td>
<td>(to) loam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Faka N</strong></td>
<td>colour, something coloured, red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Faksa N</strong></td>
<td>lightness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fatipe(h) (2) V</strong></td>
<td>(to) prepare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F(a)w/ F a (IR) V</strong></td>
<td>(to) go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fawig N</strong></td>
<td>nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fa(wo)h (IR) V</strong></td>
<td>(to) bring, (to) take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fem (see also tel) ADV</strong></td>
<td>still</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fem't ap(o) (5) V</strong></td>
<td>(to) help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fes N</strong></td>
<td>alfalfa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F(ej) (1) V</strong></td>
<td>(to) be weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fij N</strong></td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flās N</strong></td>
<td>little kind of monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fok N</strong></td>
<td>nudity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fol o N</strong></td>
<td>tintinabulum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fom N</strong></td>
<td>crevice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fu N</strong></td>
<td>peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fuhlam N</strong></td>
<td>purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F(uj)k(oh) (IR) V</strong></td>
<td>(to) finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-F(uj)k(oh) (IR) BV</strong></td>
<td>(to) finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fup (NR) V</strong></td>
<td>(to) eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fupucač N</strong></td>
<td>eater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fup N</strong></td>
<td>immersion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
M

ma ADV
ma! INTJ
mae ADV
maestro N
ma(ha) (cf. pa) N
mahac N
mahač N
mak/ makhay N
makhay/naksay (NR) V
mak haki (NR) V
mala N
malewohček (ADV)
man N
(man)hič(o) (5) V
mas(o) (5) V
m(a)s(o) (1 + 5) V
masowmaško N
mata N
meč N
mek INDП
mečus N
mesa (Sp) N
mi PRON
m(ih) (IR) V
mif'ak N
mif'akwe(h) (2) V
mir'ip NUM
minaha PRON
misa (Sp) N

not
no!
falsey
master
high degree
guard
night
happiness
(to) be happy, (to) rejoice
(to) rejoice
something raw
excessively
equal
(to) be submerged
(to) take all night
(to) be born
birth
body
tree, branch, stick, wood
all
canoe
table
you
(to) sow
neighbourhood
(to) approach
you (p)
four
mass
mise N cold
gita N time
-mita CL time
mo(h) (2) V (to) ascend
mol(h) (5) V (to) go up
pilmo(h) (5) V (to) lean on/against
mol N (solar) day
-mol CL (solar) day
atmole atmole ADV from day to day
mol N ground
mox N back
mos (only found in combination with something (tiny)
diminutive -ču, cf. kun and ni) N
mot N
muč N name
mučap (QUE) N (hot) pepper
mu(h) (2) V honour, prayer
(to) bring into the mouth, (to) taste;
(m)ule (to) bury
mula (Sp) N mule
-mul(o) (5) BV (to) begin
mušak N sun

nalo N disciple
nan (IR) V (to) come
nan(o) (5) V (to) be afraid
napa N parrot
napu N (our) Lord
neit* (NR) V (to) embark
nem N day
nemlup N midday
neg N  
hand, branch

ni (only found in combination with  
comitative -nik and diminutive -çı, cf.  
kun and mos) N  
nothing

nonas N  
grandeur

none ADV  
yet

muh N  
hole

muk N  
box

nun N  
man

N'

n'ače N (cf. çe)  
eye

n'alok N  
ordinary (time)

n'amo! INTJ  
come!

n'ammak INDP  
each

n'ansik N  
effort

n'an(ta) N  
face

n'anmito N  
owner

n'anpuill N (cf. puill ‘(to) fall’)  
shame

n'anšip (2, 4, 5, or NR) V  
(to) haste

n'antum (NR) V  
(to) cover

n'apa N  
parrot

n' (e) (3) V  
(to) sleep

n'(i)k/n'ih (IR) V  
(to) fetch

n'ip (1, or NR) V  
(to) touch

n'o N  
breast

n'u N  
daughter
someone’s mother
someone’s father
something soft

(to) do, (to) make
something big
idleness
immediately
I
nine
who
oil
Extreme Unction
saliva
chatterbox, talker
interjection expressing anger
well, pit
deaf-mute
snake
distance
O.K.!
health
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa N</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa N</td>
<td>high degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paha PRON</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pah(a) (4) V</td>
<td>(to) separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahat N</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahat(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) come down, (to) bring along from the mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pagalaŋ (Sp) N</td>
<td>payment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pak NUM</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pak(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pak(o)t (1) V</td>
<td>(to) be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakupľew N</td>
<td>passion fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palam N</td>
<td>field, square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palantu (Sp) N</td>
<td>banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pale/palľ (3) V</td>
<td>(to) pass by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pale/palľ (3) BV</td>
<td>(to) pass by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palol/ paloľ N</td>
<td>door, gate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palow N</td>
<td>beauty, goodness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan N</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pana N</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangala N</td>
<td>forest turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papayu (Sp) N</td>
<td>papaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasco (Sp) N</td>
<td>Easter, big feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pas(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) advise, (to) preach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pašol N</td>
<td>summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pata N</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p(V)ita (1) V</td>
<td>(to) accompany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pate/patľ (3) V</td>
<td>(to) go out, (to) leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patili N</td>
<td>father, priest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
garbage, litter, waste
night is falling; (to) take all night
the other way round
almost
afternoon
the one yonder, yonder
distance, flight

peanut
moon
lunar month
(to) meet
(to) shine
lighten, there are flashes of lightning
(to) swear
penitence
(to) want
desire, will
desire, liking
lover
pardon
tobacco
earth
hundred
(to) break
year
year
(to) send
space
fyke, net
p(i)š (1) V
pišaŋ ADV
piškam N
pišt(o) (5) V
pišto(h) (2) V
pit (1, 4, or NR) V
pita(h) (2) V
pitek N
p(i)šit (1) V
-pit’ (NR) BV
p(i)šuj (5) V
pišhiuč N
poh (2) V
po(ho) N
-poh(o) (5) V
pok N
-pok CL
poŋ N
-poŋ CL
pot (4, or NR) V
-puŋ CL
p(u)č (1) V
puč(h) (2) V
puč’. (NR) V
puč’iŋ N
-puč CL
pul (1, 2, 4, or NR) V
-pul (NR) BV
pulkup N
pulum N

(to) ask, (to) buy
   thus
   vase
(to) leave
   (to) destroy
   (to) win
   (to) miss; (to) be absent
   truth
   (to) come
   (to) do while passing by
   (to) work
   worker
   (to) burn, (to) give a fever
   morning
   day breaks
   time, turn
   repeatable events
   group
   group of living beings
   (to) come
   completed, full entity
   (to) put down
   (to) fulfil
   (to) fall
   gold
   digestable chunks
   (to) be satisfied
   (to) stop
   midnight
   thunder
pulu(son) N
puluč N
puluč(o) (5) V
puluwa(h) (2\ V\ pulu(o) (5) V
puł N
puño(o) (5) V
pusim N
putam N
puyaka ADV
puyap N
p(N)holơ (1) V
p(N)n’e(h) (2) V
p(N)soah (1) V
p(N)sawohuč N
p(N)saw(o) (1 + 5) V
p(N)ti(h) (2) V
p(N)ti(o) (1 + 5) V

son
husband
(to marry (a man)
(to abhor
yellow
(to ask
reed
village, world
on purpose
bridge
(to obtain, (to) reach
(to leave
(to make, (to) commit
creator
(to) spin
(to) salt
(to) swim

R

rasu (see also lasu) (QUE) N
real (Sp) N
resay (Sp) N

hail
quarter of a peseta
prayer

S

sa PRON
sa N
sabado (Sp) N
sah (1, 4, or NR) V
sak N

he, she, it
something old
saturday
(to) carry
food
sakramento (Sp) N
sak N
santo/ santu (Sp) N
sastre (Sp) N
sayapi/ šayapi N
šeč N
seke ADV
semana (Sp) N
-semana CL
sep (2, 4, 5, or NR) V
  sepek N
sepu (Sp) N
sinta (Sp) N
sin N
siw N
soldado (Sp) N
somok N
s(u)k (1) V
suku(sil) N
sup N
supey (QUE) N

Š

šahan N
šala N
šalam N
šam N
šaš N
šay(o) (5) V
šayš/šayč N

sacrament
all, whole; soul
saint
tailor
forest
head
again, another time
week
week
(to) lie
lie
stocks
ribbon
waste
lack
soldier
wound
(to) laugh
bird
roebuck
devil

first
basket
weakness, lazyness
couple, pair
kind of armadillo
(to) fast
whip
še N  
šel (1, 4, or NR) V  
šep N  
šepos (NR)/ šepos(o) (5) V  
šes N  
š(i)k/ ših (IR) V  
šaka(h) (2) V  
šake(h) (2) V  
šilam N  
šhuč N  
šipe(h) (2) BV  
šipma ADV  
šiptet N  
šokot N  
šor(h) (2) V  
šot N  
šuj N  
šuj CL  
ašugaf* ADV  
š(V)i(o) (1 + 5) V  
kispeluč N  
kispolam N  

hair  
(to) be pregnant  
impotent, sterility  
(to) blow  
seabies  
(to) drink  
(to) get drunk  
(to) let someone get drunk  
drink  
drinker  
(to) nearly do, (to) nearly happen  
quickly  
kind of fruit  
river  
(to) pour  
brother  
village  
accumulation  
together  
(to) be free, (to) be saved  
Our Redeemer  
our redemption  

T  

ta N  
-ta CL  
t(a)/to (IR) V  
taka N  
takla N  
tamše N  

stone  
firm/stony object  
(to) do  
hipbone  
kind of armadillo  
stone on which maize, etc. is ground
tanta (QUE) N
(t(a)pač (1) V
tap (1, 2, 4, or 5) V
teh (h) N
	teh (o) (5) V
tele ADV
tel ADV (cf. ĭem ‘still’)
(te)nom N

tegiš (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or NR) V
tepat ADV
teph (o) (5) V
tepuč ADV
tesa (h) (2) V

te:seña N
tesim ADV
tiki (NR) V
tin (h) (2) V
-tip CL
t(o) (1) V

togče (h) (2) V
togle/ togf (3) V
treço (sp) N
tua N
-tuh Cl.
t(uj) (1) V
t(uj) (1) V
tupuč N
tutuh N
tušam (<yušam) N

bread
(to) rise
(to) be
height, top
(to) fill
continuously
still
bit
(to) spin
always, eternally, for ever
(to) keep watch
intentionally, on purpose
(to) thank
paradise
always
(to) be(come), (to) have
(to) give splendour
(small) piece
(to) hang around,(to) wander around
(to) sit down
wheat
cockatoo
detachable object
(to) say to
(to) walk
walker
eagle
kind of armadillo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t’ala N</td>
<td>married woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’a law(o) (5) V</td>
<td>(to) marry (a woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’a k N</td>
<td>chicha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’a luč N</td>
<td>Ethiopian negro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’(a)p (1) V</td>
<td>(to) catch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ašwa t’a puč N</td>
<td>fisherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’el N</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’el kačw N</td>
<td>handy-legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’el pat kutuplam pana</td>
<td>footpath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t’el CL</td>
<td>truncal object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ep N</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’i N</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’i let N</td>
<td>winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’i mūs (2, 4, 5, or NR) V</td>
<td>(to) drizzle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’iy(V)sit (1) V</td>
<td>(to) clear up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t’i)t’al N</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ipiow N</td>
<td>kind of tree and its fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’i t’a(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) come back (to) return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’or’ok N</td>
<td>trousers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’u(h) (2) V</td>
<td>(to) anoint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ukiow N</td>
<td>medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uč (QUE) N</td>
<td>hot pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>učuah! INTJ</td>
<td>interjection of heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>učuah N</td>
<td>warmth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulukioh N</td>
<td>partridge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
uə̃uk N  (throwing-)spear
un'ep N  wax
un'uaN  health
un'uw' INTJ  interjection of admiration
utpa (QUE) N  baby
ušus/ ušuš N  butterfly
t N  gourd; enemy
ta (QUE) N  sin
tauč N  sinner
tawe(h) (2) V  (to) judge
tawełuč N  judge

W

waka (Sp) N  cow
waliw (QUE) N  something strong/beautiful
waranga (QUE) N  thousand
weha/ weša (Sp) N  sheep
wem N  yam, sweet potato

Y

y(a)č (1) V  (to) see
yah (4, or NR) V  (to) bite
yalp (1, 2, 4, or 5) V  (to) gather
yam N  punishment
yamkuiša N  diligence
y(a)m(o) (1 + 5) V  (to) know
y(a)me(h) (2) V  (to) teach
(kiy)ymesuč N  (our) master, teacher, creator
savant, scholar
wisdom
intelligently, sensibly
(to) leave
kind of quadruped
(to) sleep
bed
secrecy
(to) hide
(to) say; (to) be converted
(to) return
salt
together
every man for himself
laughter
house
(to) purge the stomach
dust
(to) revenge
humbleness
guinea pig
(to) cry
categorie, type
kind of edible plant
esteem
kind of armadillo
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Appendices

1. Maps

Appendix 1 includes the maps referred to in chapter 1 - 3, four in sum. They represent the following areas:

Map I (Roswith Hartmann, 1987, XII, from Kauffmann Doig, 1982): Peru;
Map II (Izaguirre, 1922, VI: 99): the valley of the Huallaga river, the habitat of the Cholón people. The Cholón habitat stretched out, longitudinally, from the town of Juanjui in the north until Santa María del Valle in the south, and, latitudinally, from the Huallaga river to the Marañón river and the eastern slopes of the Andes. In addition to Juanjui and Santa María del Valle, the towns of (San Buenaventura del) Valle, Sión, Tingo María, Cachicoto, Monzón and Huánuco can be found on this map. (All the above-mentioned places were visited by me during my quest for Cholón speakers in 1996). Names of other ethnic groups can also be found on this map, such as the Híbito, i.e. Híbito, and the Tinganese. According to most linguists, Híbito is related to Cholón (see section 1.2); according to Tessmann, Tinganese is another name for Cholón;
Map III (Martínez Compañón, [1783] 1978, I): the former province of Pataz. The map shows the four missions where the Franciscans brought together the Cholón and Híbito people (see section 2.4.1): Jesus de Pajatén (Híbito), San Buenaventura del Valle (Cholón), Jesus de Monte Sion (Híbito) and Pisano or Pampa Hermosa (Cholón). The second mission, San Buenaventura del Valle, is the place where Gerónimo Clota copied de la Mata’s ALC (see section 3.1 and Appendix 2);
Map IV: the valleys of the rivers Huallaga and Ucayali. This map was made by Father Sobreviela in 1790 and corrected by Amedée Chaumette des Fossés in 1830 (see section 2.1).
Map I (Roswith Hartmann, 1987, XII, from Kauffmann Doig, 1982): Peru
Map II (Izaguirre, 1922, VI: 99): the valley of the Huallaga river, the habitat of the Cholón people.
Map III (Martínez Compañón, [1783] 1978, 1): the former province of Pataz.
Map IV: the valleys of the rivers Huallaga and Ucayali
2. Folios
Appendix 2 includes a copy of the beginning (folio 1) and the end (folios 248 and 249) of the *ALC*. We see that the *ALC* classically starts with some remarks about sounds (folio 1).

Folio 248 verso shows the name of the founder of the mission of San Buenaventura del Valle: Friar Francisco Gutiérrez de Porres, and that of the founder of the mission of Jesús de Ochanache: Friar Joseph de Araujo. It also shows the name of the author of the *ALC* (Friar Pedro de la Mata); the date on which de la Mata finished the *ALC* (October 21, 1748); and the name of the place where the *ALC* was written (Trujillo). Pedro de la Mata here states that the symbols which he used to represent the ‘gutural sounds’, viz. velar nasal, are the same as those used by Francisco Gutiérrez de Porres and Joseph de Araujo, and he praises both friars for the fact that they converted Cholones and Híbitos to the faith. This means that Francisco Gutiérrez de Porres and Joseph de Araujo spoke Cholón and Híbito, that they had already produced some writing in Cholón and Híbito, and that Pedro de la Mata made use of their work to write his grammar.

On folio 249 recto Friar Gerónimo Clota states that he copied the *ALC* in the village of San Buenaventura del Valle and that he finished the copy on February 19, 1772.
Arte de la Lengua Cholona

No se pronuncia un s o e, en esta lengua, las letras B, D, H, J y la K. Se pronuncia,
mi suave, la E y la pronunciación entre E y
Y, ( esto es) que no es E clara, ni Y. La O.
La pronunciación entre O y V, la G, en el
principio de los nombres, y verbos, una
vez es la pronunciación como E, y otras como
C. La J la pronunciación como los estrem
entos. La G antes de E y de la Y, la pro
nunciación se sigue. Como J. La H, para
se siga del que de dos veces

La misma iaxón, que después, aumentada de
que la G, solo yez, en las despdel; E,
Y. Una activación cuando se pronuncia
Las otras: E, A, H, y una con la oj. A
ación, A. y no á'n igual me hace, es
nueve sónora, nojio consonante. Al
longa y en la hizque, mázach en la
De la Dedicación del Nombre

Los casos de los nombres, se logran por medio de las vocales. Los A, E, y
la que se pronuncia A, y la, según los fra
ces. Un Corresponde a los nombres.
3. Overview of the Cholón forms and examples encountered in the ALC

This appendix contains all the Cholón forms occurring in the ALC (Appendix 3.1), and an overview of de la Mata’s declination of the noun hayu ‘man’ and his conjugation of the verbs k(o)t ‘(to) be’, gole/gof ‘(to) love someone/something’ and mert(o) ‘(to) want someone/something’ (Appendix 3.2). The spelling employed in the ALC has not been altered. In Appendix 3.1, however, separate words which in the grammar are written as one single word are separated by a triangle (☆); separately written elements and morphemes, on the other hand, which form one single word are joined together by means of a superscript circle (⊙); elements to omit have been put between round brackets, and those to insert between square brackets. Furthermore, abbreviated forms are written in full and the abbreviated elements have been underlined. An exception has been made for the names of the evangelists Ioan. (Ioannis ‘John’), Luc. (Lucas ‘Luke’), Marc., Marci. (Marcus ‘Mark’), Math. (Matthaeus ‘Matthew’) and the name of the Bible book Gen. (Genesis ‘Genesis’); for ecclesiastical forms of address such as Sta. (Santa ‘Saint’) and Sr. Ntro. (Señor Nuestro ‘Our Lord’); and for a few Latin abbreviations, such as C. (Caput ‘chapter’) and I (vel ‘or’). These abbreviations have been left as they are. Occasionally, the structure of a form has been indicated or explained. These indications and explanations have been added to the Spanish and Latin glosses. The contents and the theoretical part of a section have sometimes been summarized. These brief summaries have also been put between square brackets. They usually occur at the beginning of the section in question.

3.1. Cholon phrases, words, morphemes found in the different books, chapters and paragraphs of the ALC

Libro primero: De las letras que no se pronuncian en la lengua cholona y del modo

[guturacion con todas sinco aeiou]

1. gaan : aquel me haze
2. guech : su madre
3. ngix : cosa•seca
4. milongoque : tu lo hizieras
5. guch : su padre &

De la declinacion del nombre

6. a, va : nominativo
7. tup : idem, met

[el genitivo por•los pronombres posesivos]

8. a : primera persona
9. m, p : segunda persona: m para hombres, p para mugeres
10. sa, pe & : tercera persona de singular
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Número</th>
<th>Forma</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>qui, quiha</td>
<td>primera persona de plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>miha</td>
<td>segunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>chi, chiha</td>
<td>tercera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ylou</td>
<td>genitivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>he, ge</td>
<td>dativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>acusativo de movimiento a lugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>acusativo de movimiento a persona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ey, pey</td>
<td>vocativo: ey para hombres y pey para mugeres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ah!</td>
<td>vocativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>te, tep, llactep, pat, llacpat, nic, nec</td>
<td>ablativo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exemplo de la declinacion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Número</th>
<th>Forma</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>jayu, jayutup</td>
<td>el hombre o gente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>jayu•ilou</td>
<td>del hombre o de la gente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>jayu•he/ge</td>
<td>para el hombre &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>jayu•te/tu</td>
<td>al hombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>jayu•ey/pey</td>
<td>ola hombre, ola muger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>jayu•te</td>
<td>en el hombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>nun•tep</td>
<td>ex viro, de varon, por obra de varon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>jayu•pat/llacpat/llactep</td>
<td>por o por amor o por causa del hombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>pat</td>
<td>'con' instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>mech•pat illoutzi</td>
<td>lo apaleo o dio con palo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>mannap</td>
<td>ex vel de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>jayu•nic/(n)nec</td>
<td>de compañia con el hombre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Del numero plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Número</th>
<th>Forma</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>lol</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>xocotlolte</td>
<td>boca, orilla de rio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>chijalol</td>
<td>ad*inbicum, mutuamente o entre si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>nunlol</td>
<td>en la ribera o orilla del rio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>nunlol loula</td>
<td>de los varones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>nunlodge</td>
<td>para los varones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>nunlote/tu</td>
<td>a*los varones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>ah nun!</td>
<td>o varones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>nuney</td>
<td>ola varones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>yl-la•pey</td>
<td>ola mugeres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>nunlote</td>
<td>en los varones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>nunlote/llactep, pat/llacpat</td>
<td>por o por amor o por causa de los varones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>nunlolmannap</td>
<td>de los varones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>nunlol (n)nec</td>
<td>con los varones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
De otras particulas que según su construcción pluralizan los nombres con que se juntan sin la particula lol

47 liman^ñé jayû yzip pusim^pat
(a)inantumilâ chectan
: las casas delos indios de la sierra están cubiertas con paja
48 mec
: omnis et omne
49 mec-micolhactan
: omnes moriemini: todos vosotros morireis
50 pullem
: denota correlacion y union con el otro extremo
51 nguch^pullem
: padre ê hijo
52 mul^pullem
: hijo y padre
53 ngñetz^pulled
: madre ê hija
54 ñu^pulled
: hija y madre
55 mul-luch^pulled
: marido y mujer
56 co^mec, ynce^mec, pe^mec
: quantidad
57 ana^meccam jayu putamte ytton?
: quantos indios ay en el pueblo?
58 ento^mec, pe^mec, pa^mec
: tantos ay (con exageracion)
59 co^mec che[c]tan
: ay tantos como estos
60 pe^mec checti cot^nap, enton
qui^pouo^pacna chectan/pe^mec chectançò^llacpat, enton &
: ay tantos que no se pueden contâr
61 manmiñ, mamontë, matë, matell
: igualdad, calidad, igualdad con accion
62 manmiñ chech chectan
: ygualmente son ò están blancos
63 matë chal-l chectan
: ygualmente son ò están negros
64 manmiñ chim^g[c]ollan
: igualmente se aman
65 matë chipzan
: vienen juntos
66 matell chipiipan
: igualmente trabajan
67 mamontell chipahattan
: vienen bajando juntos
68 allec libra cuca^pat atzochoc amzi
: con diez libras de coca comprê mis calzones
69 xê
: cabellos, lanas ò pelos y plumas
70 axê
: mis cabellos
71 ñachê
: ojos
72 añache
: mis ojos
73 nen
: manos
74 anen
: mis manos
75 anchel xê
: un cabello
76 anzel anente
: en una de mis manos

Explicase la significacion de las particulas de los casos

77 a, uâ
: autem, empero
: el, la, lo
78 Luis llauí, Pedrovâ zipte ton
: Luis se fue, pero Pedro en casa está
79 Pedro llauí, Luis^sâ zipte ton
: Pedro se fue, pero Luis en casa está
402

80 elefante\textsuperscript{\textcircled{v}} vát atchel mec\ñante : el elefante duerme recostado sobre un pilmoh\textsuperscript{\textcircled{n}} nonnap ñan arbol
81 quiimej\textsuperscript{\textcircled{j}} juch Dios\textsuperscript{\textcircled{s}} jayu (mosau)[maso][u])jje\textsuperscript{\textcircled{g}} na\textsuperscript{\textcircled{p}} patall muli\textsuperscript{\textcircled{f}} pizò : nuestro criador Dios no se contentó solo con hacer que el hombre naciesse
82 a, uá : particula exor\textsuperscript{\textcircled{t}} ativativa, condicional
83 liu quitz\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\circ}} mocte\textsuperscript{\textcircled{h}} he\textsuperscript{\textcircled{v}} vá, ochó : aprendemos á leer con grande trabajo ñanjic\textsuperscript{\textcircled{p}} pat quiymeñan
84 mimeñanco\textsuperscript{\textcircled{u}} uá : si quieres
85 mimeñancoque \textsuperscript{\textcircled{v}} vá : si quisieras
86 tup : nominativo, la persona que haze y para distinguir la que haze de la que padece
87 Juan\textsuperscript{\textcircled{t}} tup Pedro ylammi : Juan mató á Pedro
88 lou : meus, mea, meum
89 oc alou : mio
90 mi•milou : tuyo
91 sa•ilou : suyo
92 quiha•quilou : nuestro
93 minaja•milouha : vuestro
94 chiha•loula : suio de ellos
95 ol : pronombre ynterrogativo
96 ol ylouhamco\textsuperscript{\textcircled{â}} ? : cuio es esto?
97 oc álou : mio &
98 oc álou ngallajan : me lleva lo mio ó lo que es mio

Nota [reglas para la practica de los nombres]
Regla primera [pronombre posessivo + n + #a, #e, #i, #o, #u]

99 attellpa : gallina
100 anattellpa : mi gallina
101 minattellpa : tu gallina
102 nattellpa : su gallina
103 quinattellpa : nuestra gallina
104 minattellpaha : vuestra gallina
105 ynnattellpa : su gallina de ellos
106 el : yuca
anel, menel, nel, quenel, menelja, enel
107 yp : cierta raiz comestible, papa del monte
anel, menel, nel, quenel, minelja, enel
108 ollè : saliva
anollè, minollè, nollè, quinollè, minolleha, ynnollè
109 ulluc : chuso ó dardo, lança
anullúc, munullúc, nullúc, cunullúc, munullucja, unnullúc
Regla segunda [en la tercera persona de singular: #c ô #q > #n gà, #n gà, #n gà]

110 camà : enfermedad ô enfermo
111 acamà : mi enfermedad
micamà, n gà, quicamà, micamahà, chicamà
112 cach : maiz
micach, n gà, quicach, micachja, chicach
113 colol : almendra
acolol, micolol, n gàolol, micololahà, chicolol
cot : agua
acot, micot, n gàot, quicot, micotha, chicot
115 cochue : maiz
acochue, micochuë, n gàochue, micochueha, chicochue
cullà : piojo del cuerpo
acullà, mucullà, n gàullà, cucullà, mucullahà, chuculla
quill, quell : quincha, paret
aquill, miquill, n gàuill, quiquill, miquillha, chiquill
118 quexùm : nariz
aquexùm, miquexùm, n gàexùm, quiquexùm, miquexùmha, chiquexùm

Regla tercera [#za, #che, #zi, #zò, #chu]

119 zaluch : negro etiope
azaluch, mizaluch, zaluch, quitzaluch, ytzaluch
chesmiñ : cedro
achesmiñ, mechesmiñ, quechesmiñ, mechesmiñha, ech esiñ
zipiou : una fruta y su arbol
azipiou, mizipiou, chipiou, quichipiou, michipiouha, ytzipiou
zochoc : calzones
azochoc, mizochoc, zochoc, quizochoc, mizochocja, ytzochoc
nallò : discipulo
anllò, minllò, nallò, quinllò, minllòha, ynnallò
sall : alma
azall, mizall, sall, quizzall, mizallha, ytzall
xax : armadillo pescado de rio
axax, mixax, xax, quixax, mixaxha, yxax
sup : corzo ô cerbicabra
asup, musup, sup, cusup, musupha, ussup
tacla : otra especie de armadillo
atacla, mitacla, tacla, quitac, mitacalaha, ytacla
taca : quadril ô hueso de la cadera
atäca, mitaca, taca, quitaca, mitaccaha, ytaca
tamxè : batan de tabla sobre que muelen maiz
atamixe, mitamxhe, tamxè, quitamxè, y otras cosas
mitamxheha, yttamxhe
lles : lucerna pequeña y el rastrojo
404

alles, melles, lles, quelles, mellesha, elles

131 llix : mono pequeño
   allix, millix, llIx, quillix, millixha, yllIx

132 llollô : cascabel
   allollô, millollô, llollô, quillollô, millollôha, yllollô

133 llu : pauji
   allu, mullu, llû, cultu, mulluha, ullu

134 llaca : cosa colorada
   allacà, millacà, llacà, quillacà, millacahà, yllacà

Regla quarta [#p > $m]

135 pacupllêu : tumbo y toda especie de granadillas
   amcupllêu, mumcupllêu, macupllêu, cumcupllêu, mumcupllêuha,
   chumcupllêu

136 pangala : paba del monte
   amangala, mimangala, mangala, quimangala, mimangalaha, chimangala

137 puyup : puente
   amyup, mumyup, muyup, cumyup, sumyupja, chumyup

138 panâ : camino
   amnâ, mimnâ, manâ, quimnâ, minnâha, chimnâ

Excepcion [en la tercera persona de singular: 1: #p > #ng; 2: #p > #m]

139 pa : padre
   apa, mipa, nôuch, quirô, mînahu, chipâ

140 pan : madre
   apan, mipan, ñetz, quipan, mîpanha, chipan

141 pul : hijo
   apul, mupul, mul, cupul, mupulha, chupul

Regla quinta [#y > #z]

142 yap : animal quadrupedo que come lo que
   azap, mizap, zap, quichap, mizapha, siembran en las chacras
   yzup

143 yotz : cui
   azotz, mîtzooz, zotz, quizooz, mîzotzja, ytzooz

144 yuch : racacha
   atuzch, mutuzch, zuch, cuzuch, muzuchja, utuzch

[#y > #t]

145 yuxam : armadillo de tierra
   atuxzam, mutuxzam, tuzxan, cutuxzam, mutuxzanhâ, utuxzahn

146 aziptê acotan : S tengo en casa > Ch tengolo en mi casa
minente macotan: S tienes en la mano > Ch tieneslo en tu mano
zalâ: muger casada
azla, mizla, zala, quizla, mizlaha, ytzalâ
mulluch: marido
apul-luch, pupul-luch, mulluch, cupul-luch, mupul-luchja, chupul-luch
Pedro nextec sâcho cotan: genitivo de possession en la tercera persona: el vestido de Pedro ya está viejo
e, que: expresa la materia de que es o se haze alguna cosa
: especifica personas difuntas
: especifica el tiempo
chêchôque caloch: plato de plata
petz nuc puillquitz: la caxeta de tabaco es de oro
Luisè, Juanaque unu: hija de Luis y de Juana difuntos
ampalè: cosa de tiempo pasado
capique: cosa de tiempo presente, cosa nueva
teca/mec liuê ngap: lleva ó recibe de todo
gle, je: para, dativo de daño ó provecho
cige: para mí
Juanje: para Juan
ynchajem mini?: ut quid venisti?: para que has venido?
atzmoctege, atzmolamge: ut discam: para aprender
yncham mulupactan/pulupactan?: que piensas?
Diosge alupactan: pienso en Dios ó me acuerdo de Dios
cachge actan: tengo necesidad de maiz
mige acotpan: no tengo necesidad de ti
Dios graciage quectan: tenemos necesidad de la gracia de Dios
quihage muchan qui(t-)tocqui: ruega por nosotros
aamocge-na acquian: quiero, estoy aparejado, dispuesto, tengo gusto, voluntad, y gana de comer
llaque: vaia el
yllaque: vayan ellos
te: in
quisipte quetgan: estamos en nuestra casa
putamte alluan: voy al pueblo
cotè: aquí
incotè: allí
petè: aculla
Dios te amehena acquian: creo en Dios
Dios te confessan acquian: me confieso à Dios
quiyitè: donde dormimos
que(c)tnü(t)ii "tê : donde estuimos
quilapitzê "tê : quando nos partimos
Juan"tu alluan : voy donde Juan
Pedro"tu quitontan : estaremos donde Pedro ô en casa de Pedro
pat : "con" instrumental
amonzey"pat ahlan : S hablo con la lengua > Ch hablo con mi lengua
pat, llacpat : propter, por amor ô por causa : qua*re
mipat/mi•millacpat aluyuman : por ti, por tu amor ô por tu causa padesco
ynchapatam/ynchallacpatam malupon? : porque me riñes ô me aborrezes?
xalam mectan"pat/mectanco"llacpat: riñote por que eres floxo amlupon
ah! : ‘a’ exclamativa
ah Dios! : a Dios!, o Dios!
pey, ey : ola: pey para hombres, ey para mugeres
yrapey : ola muger ô á muger
jayuey : ola hombre
Maliapay : a Maria
Juaney : a Juan
tep, llactep : instrumentales : ex vel de
espiritu santo ichmey"tep jayu qui : conceptus est de spiritu santo: fue concebido por obra del espíritu santo
mannap : ex l. de, post, qua*tenus, entre, despues, en quanto, demas &
virgen santa Maria"mannap masôu : natus ex Maria virgen: nacio de Sta Maria virgen
mec ila"mannap ma pallou"sim pectan : eres la mas excelente entre las mugeres ô de todas las mugeres
mi"poti"mannap, olpit (i)mohpan : despues que veniste, no ha venido nadie
quinapu Jesuchristo Dios cot"mannappa goli"pitzzo, jayu cot"mannapp ngoli : Christo Sr. Ntro. no murio en quanto Dios, sino en quanto hombre
oûlum itzaji"mannap imon : demas de averle mordido la vivora, tiene calentura
actàn + mannap : at[ti]net, pertenecer
Dios cot"mannap chectanco"vá, co"sim chectan : los que pertenecen á la divinidad son estos
Jesuchristo Dios quinapu jayû : los que pertenecen à la santa humani
cot’man nap chectanco’vá, cosim
dad de Ntro. Señor Jesuchristo son
chectan
estos
hayu’mannap : en quanto hombre
jayu cot’mannap : en quanto el ser de hombre
nic, nec : ‘con’ de compañía
oc’nic : con”migo
mi’nic : contigo
sanic : con el
Pedro’nic : con Pedro
quihanic, quinec : con nosotros
minahanic, minecja : con vosotros
ynec : con ellos
atû : a•mi
mutu, tu/satu, cutû, mutûha, uttû
hazen agravio
Dios tupat michicnocqui : teme à Dios
tupat majac mionoqui : guardate del

Del modo de suplir los generos

nun : varon ô macho
yla : muger ô hembra
nun jayu, jayu•nun : hombre
yla•jayu, jayu yla : muger
nun pullup : muchacho ô muchachos
yla pullup : muchacha ô muchachas
cuchi nun : puerco
cuchi yla : puerca
atellpa•nun : gallo
atellpa yla : gallina
papayu•nun : papayo macho
papayu•yla : papayo hembra

[con animales del genero epizeno: nun + o, yla + co]

ulluquiou nunô : perdigon
ulluquiou ilaco : perdiz

Del•verbo
De su division, terminacion y romances que tiene. De su terminacion
an, en, yn, on, un : presente de indicativo
atpan : andar
axquen : hazer beber ô dar de beber
añguissiñ : engañar con alevosia
alupon : aborrecer
amun : provar la comida y llevar en la boca
ay, ey, i/yi, oy, ou : preterito perfecto è imperfecto
asimay : yo oí
axquei : di de beber
actí, acten : fui ó estuve
cama acquiî/acquien : estuve enfermo
alupoy : le aborreci
umui, umuyen : llevaba en la boca
ye, ve : preterito plusquamperfecto: preterito perfecto en y > ye; preterito perfecto en v > ve
que : preterito plusquamperfecto: 2a persona de plural y la tercera de plural en la
cutan, htan, ptan, itan : futuro ymperfecto
aschan : ver
atzaxtan, azchiitan : futuros de aschan
atzachian : visitar
apaichan : mirar
apaichi, apiaxtan
atzach, mitzachi(chi) : miralo tu
atzache, mischecqui : vealo tu
acti actan : preterito perfecto del verbo + presente de cotan: yo avre sido
agollactan : yo avrè amado
acotte : obtativo y subjuntivo presente: raiz del futuro ymperfecto + te: yo sea
: presente de infinitivo
: futuro imperfecto
mi’cotte : tu seas
toque, joque, ngoque : primero obtativo y subjuntivo preterito ymperfecto
tequie : segundo obtativo y subjuntivo preterito ymperfecto
acottoque, acotteque : yo fuera
agolengoque, agolecteque : yo le amara
asinajoque, asinachteque : yo le oyera
atzachoque, atasteque : yo lo viera

De los verbos substantivos y su conjugacion
actan : verbo substantivo personal: sum, es, est, fui, ser, aver, estar
pactan : verbo ympersonal
actan + nic : tener
checho+nic actan : tengo plata
ynchanam mi+mot+nic mectan? : quod nomen habes vel quod nomen est tibi?: que nombre tienes ó como te llamas?
Pedro (n)amot+nic actan : llamome Pedro
appactan : < pactan: verbo neutro personal: tener
each mappactan le? heey, appactan : si, tengo
ma appactan : no tengo
acccotan : < actan: tener
menel maccotanle? : tienes yuca?
atgan : estar sentado
aton : < atan: tener
atron : tengo
matton : tienes
jetton : tiene
catton : tenemos &
actan + ziu : sine, sin
checho ziu, puillquitz ziu+pit actan : argentum et aurum non est mihi, Act. Cap. 3: no tengo plata ni oro
m : segunda persona de singular para hombres
p : segunda persona de singular para mugeres
Verbo substantivo actan por ‘ser’
actan : modo yndicativo: presente: yo soy
mectan, pectan : tu eres
cotan : aquel es
quectan : nosotros somos
mectihan : vosotros somos
chetan : aquellos son
acti, acten : preterito imperfecto y perfecto: yo era, fui, he sido y huve sido
mecti, mecten : tu eras, fuiste &
coti, coten : aquel era, fue &
quecti, quecten : nosotros eramos &
mectha, mectihan : vosotros erais &
checti, checten : aquellos eran &
actiyê, actiate : preterito plusquam perfecto: yo avia sido
mectiyê, pectiyêate : tu avias sido
cotîê, cotiate : aquel avia sido
quectiyê, quectiâte : nosotros aviamos sido
mecthaque : vosotros aviais sido
307 chectiyê, chectiâte : aquellos avian sido
308 acottan : futuro ymperfecto: yo serê
309 micottan, picottan : tu serâs
310 cottan : aquel serâ
311 quicottan : nosotros serêmos
312 micothactan : vosotros seréis
313 chicottan : aquellos serân
314 acti actan : futuro perfecto: yo avrê sido
315 mecti/pecti mectan : tu avras sido
316 coti cotan : aquel avra sido
317 quecti quectan : nosotros avremos sido
318 mectha mecthan : vosotros avreis sido
319 checti chectan : aquellos avran sido
320 panâ ixivaj pactanco° pat : por estar malo el camino avreis venido
  mañanzic° pat mipahatiha mecthan
321 cot, micotti : ymperativo: presente y futuro: se tu
322 cotge : sea aquel
323 quicotte : seamos nosotros
324 micothac, micothacqui : sed vosotros
325 chicotte : sean aquellos
326 yncham acotte? : que serâ de mi?
327 acotte : futuro ymperfecto: yo serê
328 micotte : tu serâs
329 cotte : aquel serâ
330 quicotte : nosotros seremos
331 micothacte : vosotros seréis
332 chicotte : aquellos serân
333 acotte° pit : romance permissivo: mas que yo sea
334 micotte° pit : mas que tu seas
335 cotgepit, cotge : mas que aquel sea y sea en ora buena
336 quicotge, quicotgepit : mas que vosotros seamos
337 micothac-ge, micothac-gepit : mas que vosotros seais
338 chicotte, chicottepit : mas que aquellos sean
339 genap ixivaj micot° chin : romance prohibitivo: guar[da]te, mira
  no cosa que seas malo
340 hap° pit etz micotha-chinmiñ : no sea que seais ladrones
341 ap° pit : duvitativa: acaso, por ventura, puede ser
342 hap° pit pojo° pat Francisco nantan : puede ser que venga mañana
  Francisco
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Spanish Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>santo°ge acot, santo acotge</td>
<td>modo obtativo presente y preterito imperfecto: la cosa que se desea + ge ô ymperativo + ge: o•si, ojala yo sea, fuera, seria y fuese santo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344</td>
<td>santo°he micot, santo micothe</td>
<td>o•si, ojala tu seas, fueras &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>santo°he cot, santo cothe</td>
<td>o•si, ojala aquel sea, fuera, seria y fuese santo</td>
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<td>346</td>
<td>santo°he quicot, santo quicothe</td>
<td>o•si, ojala nosotros seamos, fueramos &amp; santos</td>
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<td>347</td>
<td>santo°he micothac, santo micothac-he</td>
<td>o•si, ojala vosotros seais, fuerais, seriais &amp; santos</td>
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<td>348</td>
<td>santohe chicot, santo chicot°he</td>
<td>o•si, ojala aquellos sean, fueran, serian, &amp; santos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>Dios°tup santo gaoc-he</td>
<td>Dios me haga santo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>Dios°tup santo imoc-he</td>
<td>Dios te haga santo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351</td>
<td>ynnaham, ynnam</td>
<td>ojala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>352</td>
<td>innaham pollou acottoque/acotteque</td>
<td>ojala yo sea, fuera, seria y fuese bueno</td>
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<tr>
<td>353</td>
<td>attij, anij, aňiu</td>
<td>expresa mas el deseo</td>
</tr>
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<td>354</td>
<td>innam pallou micottoque attij; ynnaham pallou micotteque aňiu</td>
<td>ojala tu seas, fueras, serias y fueses bueno</td>
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<td>355</td>
<td>acquian</td>
<td>desear</td>
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<tr>
<td>356</td>
<td>na + acquian</td>
<td>para preguntar por el obtativo</td>
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<td>357</td>
<td>santu°he micot°na miquian°le?</td>
<td>desees ser santo hombre?</td>
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<td>358</td>
<td>ynnam pollou micottoque°na miquianle?</td>
<td>desees ser bueno?</td>
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<td>359</td>
<td>innaham santo acottoque aňiu°na acquian</td>
<td>digo que quisiera ser santo</td>
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<td>acottoque, acotteque</td>
<td>optativo llano presente y preterito ym-perfecto: yo sea, fuera, seria y fuese</td>
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<td>361</td>
<td>micottoque, micotteque</td>
<td>tu seas, fueras, serias y fueses</td>
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<td>362</td>
<td>cottoque, cotteque</td>
<td>aquel fuera, seria y fuese</td>
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<td>363</td>
<td>quicottoque, quicotteque</td>
<td>nosotros seamos, fueramos &amp;</td>
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<td>364</td>
<td>micothangoque, micothacteque</td>
<td>vosotros seais, fuerais &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>365</td>
<td>chicottoque, chicotteque</td>
<td>aquellos sean, fueran &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>‘si’ condicional</td>
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<td>367</td>
<td>pallou micottoque°va, ampeňocteque</td>
<td>si fueras bueno, yo te quisiera</td>
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<tr>
<td>368</td>
<td>Juan pallou cottoque°ua, mulpit pallou cotteque</td>
<td>si Juan fuera bueno, su hijo tambien lo fuera</td>
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<td>369</td>
<td>moc</td>
<td>o•si! ojala!</td>
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<td>370</td>
<td>pallou°moc acotte•cot, pallou</td>
<td>preterito perfecto et plusquam perfec-to:</td>
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</table>
acotte moc cot

372 pallou moc micotte cot, pallou micotte moc cot

373 Pedro moc santo cotte cot, Pedro santo cotte moc cot

374 quihamoc santo quiette cot, santo quiette moc cot

375 minah moc, micotte cotte cot, micotte moc cot

376 chiha moc chicotte cot, chicotte moc cot

377 acti cottoque, acti cotteque, acti pocottoque, acti pocotteque

378 mecti cottoque, mecti cotteque, mecti pocottoque, mecti pocotteque

379 coti cottoque, coti cotteque, coti pocottoque, coti pocotteque

380 quielti pocottoque &

381 mectia cottoque &

382 cheiti cottoque &

383 pocottoque, pocotteque

384 pallou mectiya, oc’ pit pallou acti cotteque

385 pitzô + que + va

386 alcalde mectipizoteua, acti cottoque

387 capi millacte misuingoqua va, ampec millangoqueva, ampec millango mectan

388 llavi ye va, entoñam q[u]iloslong cottan, peñallcho cothe

389 nguitta voy(v)a vá, entoñam quilongo?

390 entoñ quilopacna cotan

391 quitalcho cotan

Modo subjuntivo [siendo, en siendo, aviendo sido, como, quando, aunque]

acothu
micothu : siendo, en siendo, aviendo sido, como, 
quando, aunque tu seas, fueras, serias &

cothu : siendo, en siendo aquel &

quicothu : siendo, en siendo nosotros &
micothach : siendo, en siendo vosotros &

chicothu : siendo, en siendo, aquellos &

Romances deste modo

[1: dos oraciones con supuesto distinto]
capitan micothu, misoldado actan : siendo tu capitan, soy tu soldado
pallou micothu, oc`pit pallou acottan : como tu seas bueno, yo también lo seré
Pedro alcalde cothu, nalguacil micottan : quando Pedro sea alcalde, tu serás su alguacil
pit : aunque
yxivaj quicothupit, pallou micotpan : aunque nosotros seamos malos, tu no eres bueno

[2: dos oraciones con uno supuesto]
cotge, cotenap : gerundio de ablativo
ampuhnic cothe/cotenap, yupey`nic : siendo yo rico, seré estimado acottan
callou cothe, zamoch acottan : como yo sea bueno, seré docto
ochô miquinap, mipoñoula micottan: en siendo tu grande, serás querido
mozchû/cunchu cothepit, ques : aunque es chiquito, crecerá quictan
yxippe acothu, tesim izsac allalam : como yo esté en su casa, siempre me suelen dar de su comida
pat, llacpat, tep, llactep, cotnap : ‘como’ causal
cotnap : preterito de infinitivo
quechuac actancô`pat/lacapat, tep/lactep, agllem micotpan : como soy pobre, no eres mi amigo
quechuac quecti cotnap, cupuluaylâ : como fuimos pobres, nos abominaron; porque fuimos pobres, nos abominaron
miñ, iñ, ñ : ‘como’ comparativo
minancoñ, millactan : te iras, como te vienes
tutujmiñ mectan : eres como un aguila
yncomiñ, yncomiñall, yncoñ, incoñisimall, yncoñisimall : ‘como’ en oraciones de correspondencia son sus correlativas
mipaha chectimiñ, yncomiñall mectihan : sicut patres vestri, ita et vos, Act. Cap 7: como fueron vuestras padres, soys vosotros
anam : ‘como’ comparativo
anam mijlancoñ, yncomiñall loc : como hablas, assi obras
420 te, inconapi : cuando
421 paymejhuch mecti°/paymejhuch : cuando fuistes maestro, fui tu
mecti°/inconapi/paymejhuch, discípulo
422 rezan chiqui°/chó cothu, iglesia°/te : venis a la iglesia, quando han acabado
minijan ya de rezar

Segundo subjuntivo [para que, de suerte que]
[1: segundo preterito de indicativo + ch: acten > actech][2: infinitivo + ch: añologue
> angollectech]
423 actech, mectech, cotech, quetch, mecfihach, chectech
424 oynachó actech, gatzuquiovou : me curó, de suerte que ya estoy bueno
425 pallou mectech, impazzan°/sim, mulupoj°/pitzo : te aconseja, para que seas bueno, no
porque te aborrece
426 cote : infinitivo: presente: ser
427 cotnap : preterito: por aver sido
428 acti cotnap : preterito perfecto de indicativo: por aver sido yo
429 mecti cotnap & : por aver sido tu
430 cotlam : futuro: aver de ser
431 acotlam, micotlam, cotlam & : aver de ser yo &

Participios [presente: + co; preteritos: + o/ynco; futuros: + ynco]
432 cotanco, cottiuch : presente: el que es
433 coti, cotiynco : preterito ymperfecto: el que era, fue &
434 cotiye, cotiyeynco : preterito plusquam perfecto: el que avia sido
435 cottan, cottanyynco : futuro: el que será
436 actanco : yo que soy
437 mectanco, pectanco : tu que eres
438 cotlam°/ynco : otro futuro: lo que ha de ser
439 acotlamynco : yo que he de ser
440 micotlamynco, picotlamynco : tu que has de ser
441 cotlamynco : aquel que ha de ser
442 acotlamheme, acottehe : gerundios de genitivo, dativo y
acusativo: de ser, para ser, a ser yo
443 micotlamhge, micottege : de ser, para ser, a ser tu
444 cotlamhe, cottehe : de ser, para ser, a ser aquel
445 quicotla[m]ge, quicottege : de ser, para ser & nosotros
446 micotha(c)lamge, micothactege : de ser & vosotros
447 chicotlamge, chicottege : de ser & aquellos
448 cotge : ablativo: siendo
449 cotennnap : aviendo sido, en siendo
450 acotlamheme, acottehe : supinos: a*ser
451 hach camayoc acotlamhe, : vengo de la sierra de ser chacarero
limanappapa apahatan
452 alcalde acottehe alluan : voy á ser alcalde
453 cotto : segundo supino latino: digno de ser
454 accotto, micotto, cotto, quicotto, micothango, chicotto
455 pallou quicotto cotan : segundo supino + cotan: obligacion:
tenemos obligacion de ser buenos
456 tuppit : aunque
457 quechuac quicotto tuppit, mumpux : aunque nosotros somos pobres, tu no
ziu mectan eres rico
458 acotto actan : segundo supino + actan: possum,
potes: yo puedo ser
459 micotto mectan : tu puedes ser
460 cotto cotan : aquel puede ser
461 quicotto quectan & : nosotros podemos ser

Del verbo negativo ô de las negaciones del verbo
462 acotpan, acotpanco : indicativo presente: ymperativo + pa +
n: yo no soy
463 pitzo : preteritos de yndicativo y futuro per-
fecito; preterito plusquam perfecto de
obtativo y gerundio de ablativo
464 acti°pitzó : yo ne era &
465 actiye°pitzo : yo no avia sido
466 acti°pitzo actan : yo no avre sido
467 acti°pitzoque : yo no huviera sido
468 alcalde actipitzo°que°vă, : si yo no huviera sido alcalde, no te
millemz°aplapacnaque ayudaran
469 cotge°pitzo : no siendo
470 pe : futuro ymperfecto, segundo preterito
ymperfecto de obtativo, tiempo de
subjuntivo, ynfinitivo, circumloquios,
gerundios, primer supino, ynfinitivo
471 acotpectan : yo no seré
472 acotpecteque : yo no fuera
473 acotpech : no siendo yo ô antes de ser yo
474 cotpe : no ser
475 colpennap : no aver sido
476 colpelam : no aver de ser
477 acotpelamhe, acotpectehe : de no ser, para no ser &
478 colpennap : en no siendo, no aviendo sido
479 payatz cotpechap : antes que sea tarde
480 mu, chin : imperativo
481 cotimu micotti, micotchtin : no seas
482 cotchin : no sea aquel
483 quicot’chin : no seamos nosotros
484 pacna : obtativo: primero preterito ymperfecto y segundo supino
485 acotpaquinaque : yo no fuera &
486 acotpaqna actan : yo no puedo ser
487 micot’paqna mectan : tu no puedes ser

Del segundo verbo substantivo y su conjugacion: pactan ‘ser’, ‘estar’, ‘aver’
488 capi domingo pactan, pojopat lunes : oy es domingo, mañana será lunes
489 zipte ma•pactan : no está en casa
490 tanta cotanle? : ay pan?
491 ma pactan : no ay
492 pactan : presente: aquel está
493 pacti, pacten : preterito ymperfecto y perfecto: aquel estaba, estubo &
494 pactiye : plusquam perfecto
495 pacottan : futuro ymperfecto: aquel estará
496 pacti pactan : futuro perfecto: aquel avra estado
497 pocottoque, pocotteque : obtativo: aquel estè, estuviera &
498 pacti pocottoque/pocotteque : preteritos: aquel aya, huviera, huviesse [e]stado
499 pociothu, pactech : subjuntivo: estando &
500 zi•majat’te picothu, uchuaj pactán : porque quiere llover, haze calor
501 ma : negacion de este verbo
502 pitzô : negacion en los preteritos
503 ma•pacti, pactipitzo
504 yel cotipiztoquevâ, aycha quintitj’pacnaque : si no huviera sal, no pudieramos salar la carne

Del verbo atgän y su conjugacion
505 atgän : estar y aver: presente: yo estoy y (aver) [he]
506 metgän : tu estas
507 ton : aquel
508 quetgän : nosotros
509 metgulhan : vosotros
510 yton : aquellos
511 atgui : preteritos: yo estaba, estube &
512 metgui : tu
513  togui : aquel
514  quegui : nosotros
515  metguiha : vosotros
516  yttongui : aquellos
517  atguiye : plusquam perfecto: yo avia estado
518  metguiye : tu
519  tonguiye : aquel
520  queguiye : nosotros
521  metguihaque : vosotros
522  yttonguiye : aquellos
523  atan : futuro ymperfecto: yo estaré
524  mitan : tu
525  ton : aquel
526  quiton : nosotros
527  mitonhaque : vosotros
528  yttontan : aquellos
529  atgui actan : futuro perfecto: yo avrê estado
530  metgui mectan & : tu
531  ton, mitongui : ymperativo: esta tu
tonhe, quitonte, mitonhacqui, ytonhe
532  atongoque, atonteque : obtativo: yo estuviera, estaria &
533  mitongoque, mitontequo,
534  tongoque, tonteque,
535  quitongoque, quitonteque,
536  mitonhangoque, mitonhactequo : vosotros
537  yttongoque, yttonteque : aquellos
538  atgui cottoque/cotteque, : preteritos: yo aya, huviera, avria y
atgui pocottoque/pocotteque : huviesse estado
539  metgui cottoque & : tu ayas, huvieras, huviesses & sido
540  atonhu, atguech : subjuntivo: estando, en estando, aviendo estado, como, quando yo este &
541  mitonhu, metguech : estando tu
542  tonhu, toñguech : estando aquel
543  quitonhu, quitonguech : estando nosotros
544  mitonhach, metguihach : estando vosotros
545  yttonhu, yttonguech : estando aquellos
546  atonlamhe, atontehe : gerundios: de estar, para estar, à estar yo
547  mitonlamhe, mitontehe : tu
548  tonlamhe, tontehe & : aquel
549  tonhe : ablative: estando
tonguenap : aviendo estado
550  atonlamhe, atontehe & : supinos: acusativo: a estar yo
551  tongo cotan : digno de estar
De otros tres verbos que se deriban de los tres precedentes [accotan: < actan; apactan: < pactan; aton: < atañan]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accotan ‘tener’</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>acotan</strong></td>
<td>: yo tengo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>maccotan</strong></td>
<td>: tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>haccotan</strong></td>
<td>: aquel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>caccotan</strong></td>
<td>: nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>macothan</strong></td>
<td>: vosotros</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>pahaccotan</strong></td>
<td>: aquellos</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>accoti, accoten</strong></td>
<td>: preteritos: yo tenía &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>macoti, macoten</strong></td>
<td>: tu</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>hacoti, hacoten</strong></td>
<td>: aquel</td>
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<td><strong>cacoti, cacoten</strong></td>
<td>: nosotros</td>
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<td>: vosotras</td>
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<td><strong>pahacotiye</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>acoti actan</strong></td>
<td>: futuro ymperfecto: yo tendré</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>macoti mectan</strong></td>
<td>: tu</td>
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<td>: aquellos</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>acoti actan</strong></td>
<td>: futuro perfecto: yo avre tenido</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>macoti mectan</strong></td>
<td>: tu</td>
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<td><strong>hacotti cotan</strong></td>
<td>: aquel</td>
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<td>: nosotros</td>
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<td><strong>pahacotti</strong></td>
<td>: aquellos</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>macotti</strong></td>
<td>: ymperativo presente y futuro: ten tu</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>hacotge</strong></td>
<td>: aquel</td>
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<td><strong>pahacotge</strong></td>
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<td><strong>acottoque, acotteque</strong></td>
<td>: obtativo: presente imperfecto: yo tenga, tubiera, tendria y tubiesse</td>
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<td>623</td>
<td>hacotanco</td>
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<tr>
<td>624</td>
<td>acoti’ynco</td>
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<td>625</td>
<td>hactoti’ynco</td>
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<td>626</td>
<td>acotan’ynco &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>627</td>
<td>acotlamhe, acottehe &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>628</td>
<td>acotla[m]he, acottehe</td>
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<tr>
<td>629</td>
<td>macotlamhe, macottehe</td>
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<td>630</td>
<td>hacotto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>631</td>
<td>acotto actan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
macotto mectan : tu puedes tener

appactan : yo tengo
mapactan : tu
hapactan : aquel
cappactan : nosotros
mapactihan : vosotros
pahapactan : aquellos
apacti & : preterito: yo tenia &
appocottan & : futuro

atton : yo tengo
matton : tu
hatton : aquel
catton : nosotros
matto~guihan : vosotros
pahatton : aquellos
attontan : futuro: yo tendre
matontan : tu
hattan : aquel
atongoque : yo tubiera &
atonchen : < atgan: estar vagueando de una parte à otra

atonian : < atgan: sentarse
atochen : yo estoy vagueando
mitochen : tu
tochen : aquel
quitochen : nosotros
mitochenhan : vosotros
ytonchen : aquellos
atonchey, atoncheyiê : preteritos: yo
atonchejan, mitonchejan, : futuro ymperfecto
tonchejan, quitonchejan, ytonchejan
atonchey actan : futuro perfecto
tonchej, mitoncheji : ymperativo
atonchejoque, tonchejteque : obtativo
atonchey*pocottoque/p[o]cotteque : preteritos
atonchejhu, atonchejtech : subjuntivo
atonchejte, mitonchejte : ynfinitivo
Del verbo activo. Qual sea y su conjugacion.

agollan ‘amar’, ‘tener lastima, piedad y compasion’

669 atonchejlamhe, mitonchejtehe, : gerundio
tonchejhe, tonchejjap, atonchejjo
670 atonlian : yo me siento
671 mitonlian : tu
672 tonlian : aquel
673 quitonlian : nosotros
674 mitonliihan : vosotros
675 ytonlian : aquellos
676 ato[n]lii, atonlien; atonliiye : preteritos
677 atonlectan : futuro
678 atonlii actan : perfecto
679 tonlec, mitonlecqui : ymperativo
680 atonlengoque, atonlecteque : obtativo
atonlii cottoque/cotteque
atonlech, atonlectech : subjuntivo
atonlecte, mitonlecte : infinitivo
atonlelamhe, atonlectehe : gerundios
tonle(c)che, tonlenap, tonlengo
atonlengo actan : puedo sentarme

agollan : modo indicatibo: presente: yo le amo
685 mingollan : tu le amas
686 ygollan : aquel le ama
687 quigollan : nosotros le amamos
688 migollihan : vosotros le amais
690 golllan : aquellos le aman
691 agoll, agollen : preterito imperfecto y perfecto: yo amaba, amè, he amado y huve amado
692 migolli, migollen : tu &
693 ygolli, igollen : aquel &
694 quigolli, quigollen : nosotros &
695 migollilha : vosotros &
696 golilia, golllan : aquellos
697 agoliiye, agolleyate : preterito plusquam perfecto: yo avia amado
698 migolliye : tu
699 ygolliye : aquel
700 quigolliye : nosotros
701 migollihaque : vosotros
702 golllilaque : aquellos
agolectan : futuro imperfecto: yo le amaré
migolectan : tu &
ygolectan : aquel
quigolectan : nosotros
migolehactan : vosotros
\~golelactan : aquellos
agoll\*actan : futuro perfecto: yo le avré amado
migoll\*\*mectan : tu
\~gyoll\* cotan : aquel
migoll\*\*qunctan : nosotros
\~gollila chectan : aquellos
golec, migolecqui : ymperativo: presente: amale tu
\~gyollege : aquel
\~quigolecete : nosotros
\~migolehacque : vosotros
\~\~golec\*\*lacte : aquellos
amcolecte : futuro: yo te amaré
ymcolecte : el te amarà
\~gacolecte : el me amará
angolec-he, angolec-he\*\*pit : romance permissivo: mas que yo le ame
migolec\*\*he/pit : mas que tu le ames
\~gyolec-het \~igolec\* hopit : mas que aquelle le ame
\~quigolec:\*\*he\*\*hopit : mas que nosotros le &
migolehac-he\*\*hopit : mas que vosotros le &
\~golela\*\*c\*\*hopit : mas que aquellos le amen
\~mingollec\*\*nic : prohibitivo: no le ames
janap migollecnic, hopit : guar[da]te, mira [no] cosa que le ames
migolech\*\*in
\~happit igolec\*\*chin, hopit : aquel
\~igolec\*\*nic
\~Dios\*he angolec, Dios \~agolec-he : optativo: o\*\*si, ojala yo ame, amara, amaria y amasse a Dios
\~Dios\*he migolec, Dios migolec-he : o\*\*si, ojala tu ames &
\~Dios\*he igolec, Dios igolec-he : o\*\*si, ojala aquel ame &
\~Dios quigolec-he, Dios \~quigolec\* he : o\*\*si, ojala nosotros amemos &
\~Dios\*he migolehac, Dios migolehac-he : o\*\*si, ojala vosotros ameis &
\~Dios\*he golelac, Dios golelac-he : o\*\*si, ojala aquellos amen &
ynaham Dios \~agolengoqo/\~agolec\*\*que : de otro modo: o\*\*si, ojala yo ame, amara, amaria y amasse à Dios
ynaham Dios \~migolengoqo/\~migolec\*\*que : o\*\*si, ojala tu ames &
ynaham Dios ígolengoque/ ygolecteque
: o•si, ojala aquel ame &
ynaham Dios quiígolengoque/ quigolecteque
: o•si, ojala nosotros amemos &
ynaham Dios miígolehanqoque/ migolehacteque
: o•si, ojala vosotros ameis &
ynaham Dios golelangoque/ golefacteque
: o•si, ojala aquellos amen &
agołengoque, agolecteque : presente y preterito ymperfecto llano:
yo ame, amara, amaria,
mígolengoque, migolecteque : tu
ygolengoque, ígolecteque : aquel
quigolengoque, quigolecteque : nosotros
migolehangoque, migolehacteque : vosotros
goelangoque, golefacteque : aquellos
Dios•moc agolecte cot/Dios agolecte•moc•cot
: preterito perfecto y plusquamperfecto llano:
yo ame, amara, amaria,
Dios•moc migolecte•cot/Dios [m]igolecte•moc•cot
: o•ssi, ojala tu &
Dios•moc ygolecte•cot/Dios ygolecte•moc•cot
: o•si, ojala aquel &
Dios•moc quigolecte•cot/Dios quigolecte•moc•cot
: o•si, ojala nosotros &
Dios•moc migolehacte cot/Dios migolehacte•moc cot
: o•si, ojala vosotros &
Dios•moc golelacte•cot/Dios golelactemoc•cot
: o•si, ojala aquellos &
angolli cottoque/cotteque, pocottoque/pocotteque : preterito perfecto y plusquamperfecto llano compuesto: yo aya, huviĕsse amado
migolli cottoque & : tu
angolech : modo subjuntivo: amando, aviendo amado, como, quando, aunque yo ame, amara, amaria y amasse
miğolech : amando tu
ygolech : amando aquel
quligolech : nosotros
migolehach : vosotros
goelach : aquellos
imcallancoñ, milocqui, imcolech : hazlo segun ó como te•lo manda y
mitzachte : veras como te ama
Como corresponden en esta lengua las oraciones de subjuntivo

Precepto 1o
[pedir, rogar, ex[h]ortar y amonestar + ut: L ut + subjuntivo > Ch gerundio de dativo en he]
775 anzel phariseo Jesus muchan ilou, sanic lamalamhe/lamoc-tehe : Luc. C. 7: rogabat Jesum quidam phariseus, ut manducaret cum illo: rogaba á Jesus un phariseo que comiesse con el

[2: L ut + subjuntivo > Ch imperativo + na + gerundio de ablativo quiche < acquian]
776 anzel phariseo Jesus muchan ilou, : un phariseo rogó á Jesus diciendole: anec miamocquina quiche "come con"migo" ó diziendoque comí[c]se con el

Precepto segundo
[L adeo, tam, tantus, talis + subjuntivo > Ch ento•mec, pa•mec, pe•mec + yndicativo]
777 hayulol unutza pa•mec, pe•mec, ento•mec checti•pat/llacpat, checti•tep/llactep, checti cotnap, Dios”tup iam•moou : adeo, tam, tanta, talia fuerunt pecata hominum, ut Deus illos puniverit: fueron tantos los pecados de los hombres, que los castigó Dios: porque fueran tantos los pecados de los hombres, los castigó Dios, ó bien: por aver sido tantos &
Precepto tercero

[L ita + subjuntivo y ita ut ‘assi•que, de suerte que, de•manera•que’ > Ch 2o
subjuntivo]

778  incoñâ, inna : ita
779  cosin’á anzel quinannong ocho
caz•mec•catman tapachii,
ynsoneytup mellus
ñantu(n)m•lactech
780  mech quian’pit, zucusill chiannap,
nente itonlectech

[L ita ut + subjuntivo > Ch pit + indicativo]

781  cosin’á anzel quinannong ochó
caz•mec•catman tapachii
melluspit insoneytup ñantumxipey
782  ñantumlaxipey
783  xipen : casi ó por poco
784  pit : y
785  mech quian’simall zucusillpit
chinan, nente’pit ittonlian
786  angolecet : infinitivo: presente: amar yo
787  migolecet : amar tu
788  ygolecet : amar aquel
789  agollie cotnap : preterito: por averle amado yo
790  migollie cotnap & : tu
791  agolemle : futuro: aver de amar yo
792  migolemle & : tu
793  domingo’te missa asinajlam
pacti•cotnap, ma atemmell
allaçitiz’pitzo
794  ygollanco, goleuch : participio: presente: el que ama
795  agollanco : yo que amo
796  migollanco & : tu
797 ygolli, ygolli̱̱ync: preterito: el que amó
798 agolli, agolli̱̱ynco: yo que amé
799 migolli &: tu
800 (a)i̱̱golectan, (a)i̱̱golectaṉ̱ynco: futuro: el que amará
801 agolectan, agolectaṉ̱ynco &: yo que amaré
802 agolelam, agolelam̱̱ynco: otro futuro: el que le ha de amar
803 agolelamhe, agolectege: gerundios de genitivo, dativo y acusativo: de amarle yo, para amarle yo, a amarle yo
804 golleche: ablativo: amandole
805 golenap: aviendo amado

Segunda conjugacion: ameñan 'querer'
806 ameñan: presente: yo quiero
807 mimeñan: tu
808 ymeñan: aquel
809 quimeñan: nosotros
810 mimeñouhan: vosotros
811 meñoulan: aquellos
812 ameñou: preteritos perfecto e imperfecto: yo quería, quise, he querido y huve querido
813 mimeñou: tu
814 ymeñou: aquel
815 quimeñouha: vosotros
816 mimeñouha: vosotros
817 meñoula: aquellos
818 ameñouve: p[er]terito plusquam perfecto: yo avia querido
819 mimeñouvê: tu
820 ymeñouvê: aquel
821 quimeñouvê: vosotros
822 mimeñouhaque: vosotros
823 meñoulaquê: aquellos
824 ameñoctan: futuro ymperfecto: yo queré
825 mimeñoctan: tu
826 ymeñoctan: aquel
827 quimeñoctan: nosotros
828 mimeñoctan: vosotros
829 meñolactan: aquellos
830 ameñou*actan: futuro perfecto: yo avre querido
831 mimeñou mectan &: tu
832 meñoc, meñocqui: ymperativo: quiere tu
833 ymeñoc-he: aquel
Conjugacion de verbos compuestos

864 agolec : infinitivo de a\-gollan
865 a\-gollan : yo amo á aquel
améñoc 'yo hago que lo quiera'

ameñocan, mimeñocan, ymeñocan, quimeñocan, mimeñoccayhan,
meñoccaylan

ameñocay, mimeñocay, ymeñocay, : preteritos
quimeñocay, mimeñocayha, meñocayla

ameñocayíê, mimeñocayíê, : plusquam perfecto
ymeñocayíê, quimeñocayíê, mimeñocayíêque, meñocaylaque

yê : post, despues
casaran quiyiê, ġoli : murio después de casado
goliyê ſųnijavou : resucito después de muerto

ameñocajtan, mimeñocajtan, : futuro ymperfecto
ymeñocajtan, quimeñocajtan, mimeñocajhactan, meñocajcaytan

ameñocay, mimeñocay, meñocay-he : ymperativo
ameñocaj-joque/ameñocajteque, : optativo
mimeñocaj-joque/mimeñocajteque, ymeñocaj-joque/ymeñocajteque, quimeñocaj-joque/quimeñocajteque, mimeñocaj-hangoque/
ymeñocajhacteque, meñolacaj-joque/meñolacajteque

ameñocay cottoque/cotteque, : plusquam perfecto
mimeñocahhu, mimeñocajtech, : subjuntivo
mimeñocahhu, mimeñocajtech, imeñocajhu, ymeñocajtech, quimeñocajhù, quimeñocajtech, mimeñocajhach/mimeñocajhactech, meñolacajh/mimeñolacajtech

ameñocajte, mimeñocajte, : ynfinite
ymeñocajte, quimeñocajte, mimeñocajhacte, meñolacajte

ameñocay cotnap, : preterito
mimeñocay ˈcotnap &

ameñocajlan : futuro
ameñocanço, ameñocajhuch : participios de presente
ameñocay ˈyngo : preterito
ameñocajtan ˈyngo : futuro
ameñocajlamhe/ameñocajtehe & : gerundios
imeñocajhe, meñocajap : ablative
ameñocajlamhe/ameñocajtehe & : supinos
ameñocaj-jo

[infinitivo ó imperativo + y + an: reiterar la accion de su simple]

ameñocquian : meñoc-i + an: yo vuelvo à querer
ameñoquian, mimeñoquian, ymeñoquian, quimeñoquian, mimeñoquian, meñoquian

ameñoquiay, mimeñoquiay, : preteritos
ymeñoquiay, quimeñoquiay, mimeñoquiay, meñoquiay, ameñoquiayiê, mimeñoquiayiê, ymeñoquiayiê, quimeñoquiayiê, mimeñoquiayiê, meñoquiayiê

ameñoquijtan, mimeñoquijtan, : futuro ymperfecto
ymeñoquijtan, quimeñoquijtan, mimeñoquijtan, meñoquijtan

ameñoquiactan, mimeñoquiactan : futuro perfecto

ameñoquiayiê, mimeñoquiayiê, ymeñoquiayiê, quimeñoquiayiê, mimeñoquiayiê, meñoquiayiê

ameñoquijte, mimeñoquijte, : arretivo presentê
ymeñoquijte, quimeñoquijte, mimeñoquijte, meñoquijte

ameñoquijhe, mimeñoquijhe, : imperativo
ymeñoquijhe, quimeñoquijhe, mimeñoquijhe, meñoquijhe

ameñoquijjoque/ameñoquijteque, : obtativo presente ê ymperfecto
ymeñoquijjoque/ymeñoquijteque, quimeñoquijjoque/quimeñoquijteque, mimeñoquijjoque/mimeñoquijteque, meñoquijjoque/meñoquijteque

ameñoquijte mociot, : preterito perfecto et plusquamperfecto
ameñoquijte mociot mociot, o ssi, ojala yo aya, huviera, huviesse &

ameñoquiactan, mimeñoquiactan, : imperativo
ymeñoquiactan, quimeñoquiactan, mimeñoquiactan, meñoquiactan

ameñoquijtech, mimeñoquijtech, : segundo subjuntivo
ymeñoquijtech, quimeñoquijtech, mimeñoquijtech, meñoquijtech

ameñoquiacte & : ynfinitivo

ameñoquiactan, millui(-)mectan, llavi : futuro perfecto

llac/millacqui, millacqui, millacque, quillacte, : ymperativo
millacqui, millacque
liman-he allac, liman allac-he\textsuperscript{a}na : obtativo: tengo gana ò deseo ir à la acuqian

ynaham allangoque/ allacteque &

allui pocottoque/pocotteque, : perfecto y plusquam perfecto millui cottoque &; oc\textsuperscript{b} moc allactecot &

allach, millach, llach, quillach, : subjuntivo millahach, yllach

dluech/allactech, milluech/: segundo subjuntivo millactech, llavech/lactech, quilluech/quillactech, ylluech/yllactech

allacte, millacte &; allui cotnap & : infinitivo allalam cotnap, añaxipan : por averme de ir, me doy prisa allajan : infinitivo + j + an final: llevar: millajan, illajan, quillajan, presente : yo llevo millajihan, llajlan

oc\textsuperscript{c} moc allavojte cot &

allavojhu, allavojtech, : subjuntivo millavojhu, millavojtech &

allavojte & allaji cotnap, allavojlam : yninfinitivo millavojlam cotnap : por aver de llevarlo tu allajanco & : participios allavojlamhe/allavojtehe & : gerundios llavojhe, llavojap

allavojlamhe/allavojtehe, allavoj-jo : supinos &

allaquian : me vuelvo millaquian, llacquian, quillacquian, millahaquian, yllacquian [& como ameñquian]

[apán]
atpan : yo ando mutpan, tupan, cutpan, mutpihan, uttupan

atpi, mutpi &; atuptan; tup, mutuppi; atuppoque, atupteque; atuphu, atuptech; atupe; atuplamhe/atuptehe, tuphe, tupnap

atpen : 'a' del final \textgreater{} e: hacer andar: yo le mutpen, utupen, cutpen, mutpeihan, hago andar uttupen

atpey, mutpey &; atpejtan, mutpejtan &; tupey, mutpej-ji &; atpej-joque, atpejteque; atpejhu, atpe(c)htech;
431

atpejte, mutpejte &, atpey cotnap, atpejlamhe; atpejti; atpey cotnap; atpejlo;

tupejhe, tupejhap; atpejo, mutpejo

936

mutupian : volver andar: yo vuelvo à andar

mutupian, tupian, cutupian, mutuphaquian, uttupian

atuapiay, mutupiay &, atupiajtan &, tupiaj & como ameñoquian

atzman 'saber'

938

atzman : yo se

mitzman, zaman, quitzman, mitzmouhan, ytzman

atzmou, mitzmou &; atzmocan; zamoc, mitzmocqui;

atzmongoque/atzmoceteque; atzmocet; atzmoch, atzmoctech;

atzmolamhe/achmoctehe, zamoche, zamonnap

atzmocan : hacer saber

atzmoquian : vuelvo à saber

atzmen : enseñar

mitzmen, ychmen, quitmen, michmeihan, zameylan; achmey; achmejtian

atzmej-joque; achmejhu, achmejtech; atzmejte, atzmey cotnap;

atzmej-lamhe; atzmenco, at[z]mey’ inco &;

atzmejlamhe/atzmejtehe, zamejhe, zamejhap

atzmejjian : buelbo à enseñar

atzmoquian : vuelvo à saber

atzmeccan : hazer enseñar

[axcan]

951

axcan : yo bebo

mixcan, yxcan, quixcan, mixquihan, xiqueljan

axquei; axijtan; axij-joque &; axijhu &; axijtech &

axquen : hazer beber

mixquen, yxquen, quixquen, mixquyhan, xiquyeljan

axquey; axquejtan; xiquej; axquej-joque &

axjijian : buelvo à beber

mixjijian, yxjijian, quixjijian, misijhacquian, xijlaquian

axijay, mixijay, yxijay, quixijay, mixijhaquial, xijlaquial

axijajtan, mixijajtan, yxijajtan, quixijajtan, mixijhaquijtan, xijlaquijtan

xijia, mixijiajhi : buelve à beber &

axijaj-joque &; mixijiaj-joque/misijiajteque, yxijaj-joque, quisiijiajteque, misijiajhangoque, sijiajalangoque

axijjahu, axijiajtech, mixijiajhu, mixijiajtech, yxijiajhu, yxijiajtech,

quixijiajhu, quixijiajtech, mixijiajahach, mixijiajahactech, xijiajalch,

xijiajaltech

axijiajte &; axijaay cotnap &; axijialam cotnap &; axijianco &; axijialamhe,

axijiajtehe, xijiajhe, xijiajhap
alon 'mojar con agua'

962  alon  : yo lo mojo
  milon, ylon, quilon, miloihan, loilan

963  aloy, miloi, yloï, miloiha, loila

964  alojtan, milojtan, ilojtan, quilojtan, milojhactan, lojactan

965  alojoque/alojteque, milojoque/milojteque, ilojoque/ilojteque, quilojoque/quilojteque, milojhangoque/milojhacteque, lojlangoque

966  aloju, alojtech; lojte, milojte &; aloy cotnap

967  zitup galoy cotnap, cama acquian: por averme mojado el aguazero, estoy enfermo

968  zitup ġaloj* chin* na quiche, azipte: porque no me moge el aguazero, estoy en casa

969  alojcan: hazer mojar

970  alojian: bolver a mojar

[alupon]

971  alupon: aborrecer

972  alupocan: hazer aborrecer

973  alupojian: bolver a aborrecer

atun 'ungir, untar'

974  atzun: yo unto ô ungo
  mutzun, uchun, cutzun, mutzuihan, zuilan

975  atzuí, mutzui &: preteritos

976  atzujtan: futuro

977  zuj, mutzuj-ji: ymperativo

978  atzujoque: obtativo

979  atzujectan: hazer untar

980  atzujian: bolver a untar

981  santo olio* pat atzui: ya le di el sto oleo

982  yppoc santo oliopat atzuiai: segunda vez le volvi á dar el sto oleo

De•la passiva del verbo activo

[1: con el participio de preterito + actan 'ser']

984  amcolli mecti/mecten: tu fuiste amado por mi

985  a: la persona que haze

986  m: la persona que padece

987  cruz* te llavínloula coten, golen, muila* sim coten: crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus: fue crucificado, muerto y sepultado
[2: ynfinitivo del verbo + itz + an final]

988 alan : hazer
989 aloitzan : soy hecho
990 ameñan : querer
991 apeñotzian : soy querido
992 agoljan : amo
993 acoleitzan : soy amado
994 anam baptismo sacramento°te mec : a la manera que en el sacramento del cunutza perdonan quioitzan°coñ, invitación a la manera que en el sacramento del pecados, de la misma suerte se nos perdonan todos los incomiñ penitencia sacramento°te perdonan quioit(h)°z]an°simall perdonan en el de la penitencia

acolei(c)tzan 'yo soy amado'
995 acoleitzan : presente: yo soy amado
996 micoleichan : tu eres amado
997 goleichan : aquel es amado
998 quicoleichan : nosotras
999 micoleichihan : vosotras
1000 chicoleichan : aquellos
1001 acoleitzi, micoleichi, goleichi, : preteritos quicoleichi, micole(h)i(c)ziha, chicoleichi
1002 acoleitzitan, micoleitzitan, : futuro ymperfecto goleitzitan, quicoleitzitan, micoleitzihan, chicoleitztan
coleitz, goleitzge, quicoleitzte, : ymperativo micoleitzjacqui, chicoleitzge
1003 acoleitoque/ coleitzque, : optativo acoleichque/micoleichtque, goleichtque/goleichtque, quicoleichtque, quicoleichhactequque, micoleichhactequ que, chicoleichwangoque/chicoleich(c)teque
1004 acoleitzhu, micoleichhu, goleichhu, : subjuntivo quicoleichhu, micoleichhach, chicoleich(lach)[hu]

verbo aloitzan 'ser hecho'
1006 aoitzan : yo soy hecho
1007 mioitzan : tu
1008 loychan : aquel
1009 quioichan : nosotras
1010 mioitzihan : vosotras
1011 choitzhan : aquellos
1012 aoitzi : preterito
1013 aoitztan : futuro
1014 aoitzoque : obtativo
1015 aoitzhu : subjuntivo
verbo apeñoitzan 'ser querido'

1016 apeñoitzan : yo soy querido
1017 mipeñoitzan : tu
1018 meñoitzan : aquel
1019 quipeñoitzan : nosotros
1020 mipeñoitzihan : vosotros
1021 chipeñoitzan : aquellos
1022 apeñoitzitan : futuro
1023 apeñoitzoque & : optativo
1024 apeñoitzhu, mipeñoitzhu & : subjuntivo

Libro segundo: De las partes de la oracion. Del nombre. De su division.

[nombre substantivo: nombre propio]
1025 muxac : el sol
1026 pel : la luna

[nombre apellativo]
1027 nun : el varon
1028 xocot : el rio

[nombre colletivo: muchedumbre]
1029 kennà : las estrellas
1030 cotchal : el cascajal

Del uso del nombre substantivo. Del nombre quasi adjectivo
1031 hualiu : cosa fuerte
1032 ñguñà : cosa suave
1033 alhi : cosa dulce
1034 xep : ympotentê ò esteril
1035 oñchaplla : hablador ò parlero, y los semejantes
1036 chel cachiu : patituerto
1037 ixivaj hayu : mal hombre
1038 yamcuila hayulolhe : para los hombres diligentes ò hazendosos
1039 pal-lou lunic : tiene buen natural
1040 yxivaj lunic : es de mala condicion
1041 aytechu hayu : hombre pacifico
1042 ñanzicnic/uoch : trabajoso
1043 xex ‘nic : carachoso &
Del nombre verbal
[nombre verbal: 1: el infinitivo, 2: el infinitivo + alguna particula, 3: el raiz: infinitivo sin te]

1044 cot : < cot: el ser ó essencia
1045 jayu cot : el ser del hombre
1046 cottuch : cot + uch: participio de presente: el que es
1047 cotanco : el que es
1048 lam : el ser ó estar
1049 gullha : vida
1050 gullha cotlam : el estado de vida
1051 acuillus acotlam : mi estado
1052 casaran qui gullha cotlam : el estado de casado &
1053 cotlam : circumloquio segundo, participio de futuro, rus
1054 acotlam’ynco : circumloquio segundo, participio de futuro + ynco: yo que he de ser
1055 micotlam’ynco & : tu que has de ser
1056 acotlamje, acotteje & : je: gerundio de genitivo, dativo, acusativo y el supino
1057 meñ, ameñolam : < ameñan: la voluntad
1058 ameñ : mi voluntad
1059 mimeñ : tu voluntad &
1060 ameñolam’pat : por mi gusto ó gana
1061 agole, agolelam : < aollan: mi amor
1062 acoleuch : mi amador
1063 nicoleuch : tu amador
1064 apeñovuch : mi queredor
1065 mipeñovuch : tu queredor
1066 axcan : beber
1067 xij, axijlam : la bebida
1068 ytzac xijuch : bebedor de chicha
1069 camatzin acquian : governar
1070 camatzin quivuch : el governador
1071 alliten : corregir
1072 llittejuch : el corregidor

[4: supinos en ngo l'jo: verbales en bilis]

1073 apul-luan : abominar
1074 cupul-huongo : abominable
1075 achil(x)c]nan : temer
1076 quichicnongo : cosa formidable, temerosa
1077 azchan : ver
atzacho, mizacho, ytzacho, quitzacho &
1078 quitzacho : visible ò que lo podemos ver
1079 quiolengo : digno de amar
1080 axman millango mectan miva : tu tienes obligacion de ir primero
1081 aamongo actan : yo puedo comer

Del nombre numeral. De su division.
[los cardinales]
1082 anzel : para cosas largas y todo animal
1083 ypzel : dos
1084 yszel : tres
1085 miñipzel : cuatro
1086 quiocezel : cinco
1087 ypzoc’zel : seis
1088 quiiliixel : siete
1089 paczel : ocho
1090 ocoñzel : nueve
1091 al-lec’zel : diez
1092 apichac : ciento
1093 at’guarangà : mil
1094 anzel, ypta, yxta, miñip, quioc, ypzoc, quiili, pac, ocoñ, alic, otres, peyes, sapatos, medias
1095 atche, ypche, yxxê, miñipche, quiocche, ypzoc’che, quiili, pacche, ocoñche, alicche, alicche
1096 anchup, ypchup, yxchup, miñipchup, quiocchup, ocoñchup, al-lec’chup
1097 aathil, yphil, ych-hil, miñiphil, quiocchil, ypzochil, quiili, pachil, ocoñhil, al-lechil
1098 attuj, yptuj, yxtuj, miñiptuj, quiocctuj, ypzoctuj &
1099 attip, ytpip, yxtip, miñiptip &
1100 alliu, ypliu, yxliu &
1101 appoc, yppoc, ychpoc, miñippoc &
1102 appuch, yppuch, ychpuch &
1103 atchan, ypchan, yxchan &
1104 appuc, yppuc, ychpuc &
1105 appimoc, yppimoc, ychpimoc, miñippimoc, quioctimoc &
1106 appon, yppon, ychpon, miñippon &
1107 attuj, yptuj, yxtuj, miñiptuj, quiocctuj, ypzoctuj &
| 1107 | axun, ypxun, ychxun, miñipxun, quiocxun | para pueblos, lugares, puestos & |
| 1108 | miñip`lec | miñip + al-lec: quarenta |
| 1109 | al-lec | diez |
| 1110 | ypleec | veinte |
| 1111 | yxlec | treinta |
| 1112 | miñiplec | quarenta |
| 1113 | quioclec | cincuenta |
| 1114 | ypzoc`lec | sesenta |
| 1115 | quilix`lec | setenta |
| 1116 | pac`lec | ochenta |
| 1117 | ocoñ`lec | noventa |
| 1118 | nic | conjuncion de los numeros |
| 1119 | alec miñip | alec + miñip: catorce |
| 1120 | al-lec anzel | once |
| 1121 | al-lec ypta | doze |
| 1122 | al-lec yxta | trece |
| 1123 | al-lec ipzoc`nic | diez y seis |
| 1124 | pi | igualdad en accion |
| 1125 | ypta`pi milohac | hacetlo los dos juntos |

| Del numeral ordinal [1: ordinal = cardinal + cotmullanco; 2: ordinal = cardinal] |
| 1126 | at`hil | una palabra |
| 1127 | at`cotmullanco hil silan | el primer mandamiento |
| 1128 | yp`hil silan | el 2o |
| 1129 | ych`hil silan & | el 3o |
| 1130 | axman cot`mullanco | el 1o y el que esta primero |
| 1131 | at`hil silan | el primer mandamiento |

| Del numeral distributivo [distributivo = cardinal + o/co] |
| 1132 | yl-lo | de uno en uno |
| 1133 | yptaco iptaco | de dos en dos |
| 1134 | yxtaco yxtaco | de tres en tres |
| 1135 | miñippò miñippò | de quatro en quatro |
| 1136 | quiocco quiocco | de cinco en cinco |
| 1137 | ypchocco ipchoco | de seis en seis |
| 1138 | quiliixsò quiliixsò | de siete en siete |
| 1139 | pacco pacco | de ocho en ocho |
| 1140 | ocoñò ocoñò | de nueve en nueve |
| 1141 | al-leccò alleccò | de diez en diez |
| 1142 | allec anzelo lù al-lec anchellò | de onze en onze & |

| Del nombre compuesto |
De los que se componen de participios [1: participio en co, 2: participio en uch l. juch]

1143 cotanco, cottuch: el que es
1144 ygollanco, goleuuch: el que ama
1145 acolevuch: mi amador
1146 quechuac: el pobre
1147 quechuac golebuch: el amador del pobre, que ama el pobre, caritativo o misericordioso
1148 aycha lluppuch: comedor de carne
1149 axuá lammijuch: matador de pescado
1150 pal-lusayeuch: < al-luzacquian: misericordioso ó piadoso
1151 tuppuch: < atupan: andariego
1152 axuá zappuch: pescador

De otras particulas con que se componen los nombres substantivos
[camayoc, nic l nicall, ziu, all, quell, sall, ll, miñ, miñapô, capoc l capocall, ñanmac, puch]

1153 camayoc: el oficio ó cargo [de]
1154 vexa camayoc: pastor de obejas
1155 baca camayoc: baquero
1156 palol camayoc: portero
1157 checho camayoc: el que tiene el cargo de plata
1158 sastre camayoc, pijijjuch: el sastre
1159 nic, nicall: exceso ó muchedumbre
1160 chulnic, chulnicall: mocoso
1161 chounicall: piojoso
1162 ell, quell: exceso, abundancia de cosas
1163 chequell: muy granado
1164 moquell: todo fruta
1165 se(t)chell: cabezon
1166 taquell pañâ pactan: es camino pedragoso &
1167 ziu: niega la posesion con exageracion
1168 alê ziu: no tengo dientes
1169 sall: niega la posesion con exageracion
1170 el-le sall ziu: del todo estoy desdentado
1171 quisac sall ziu: de todo punto no tenemos que comer ó comida
1172 ll, all, capocall: solum
1173 checholl ampicen: pidote solamente plata
1174 bem all, bem capocall ameñan: no quiero mas que camotes ó solamente quiero camotes
1175 quipalli all: solamente pasamos, esto es, sin detenernos, ni hacer otra cosa
Il, all, tell, llem: + presente: continuación de la acción
sachan’all, tell sachan, llem sachan: todavía chacarea ó está haciendo chacara
tengixanall: todavía esta hilando
yn: todavía
lla(c) pangin: todavía no se va, todavía no se ha ido
zipo tongin: todavía esta en casa
Il: + optativo ó jerundio: precisión
qui’amocoteheva, quipiipoll: para comer, precisamente hemos de trabajar
quixpocteheva, Dios camazin qui sil mahac quilongoll: para salvarnos, necesariamente hemos de guardar los mandamientos de Dios
ñañmac: unas veces haze colectivos a los nombres de tiempo, otras veces singulariza
ñañmac quiaman: cada día ó todos los días comemos
ñañmac hayu itzipo itzotz pahacotan: cada indio tiene cuíes en su(s) casa(s)
ñañmac: + participios: cada
ñañmac, cama acquian caygo enfermo
puch: + numerales: entero o cabal
+ nombres de tiempo: todo
+ vasos, ollas, calabazos, costales, talegas, canastos &: lleno
al-lec’ puch: diez enteros ó cabales
anem’ pu(t) ch atpeii: caminé todo un día
apeluch puttantam atñgui: un mes entero he estado en el pueblo
apotiapap apilui ‘puch’ cho pactan: un año entero ha que vine
chapllo’ man i(c) zac’ puch telan: la olla está llena de chicha
xañaman cuca’ puch luctan: el canasto está lleno de coca
miñ, miñapo: igualdad entre dos nombres quantitativos
attellpo’ che’ miñ/miñapo rasu miulli: cayó granizo tan grande como huevo de gallina
Del modo que se forman los comparativos en esta lengua
nichunic, tupat, mannap: magis, mas
nichunic: magis, mas, exceso de comparativo
nichunic allhi: mas dulce
nichunic zamoch: mas sabio
nichunic puillquitoz imeñan: quiere mas oro
baptismote jayû masoquiajhe "pat, qui "Dios" zà mulipitzo, nichunic 'sim cunutza loche, quiquingo quecki cotnap, tzach "he, quinanima mec gama utupat uccullhavejo zuquiuou camatzin qui, qui "pa Jesuchristo zoque 'llapat zamejhe, manjichoche, gas de nuestra alma quisall zommec icazamojtehe
col lup "man quiycholamma confession" sim cotan
tupat + mannap
mannap
ych 'tep chimsou" mannap, San Juan Bautista tupat, nichunic ocho tapachii "pitzo
cotan
tupat
ton
cutupat
cutuhapat
utupat
tupat xajlan
munnapp	
qui "pa Jesu-Christo Dios
cot "mannapp goli "pitzo, hayu
cot "mannappall goli

ma, patep, mamata, ma patep,
ma : excesso superlativo
ma hualiu : fortissimo
ma julap : larguissimo
ma nem’te : muy de dia
ma piatz, ma*payatz : muy tarde
ma*majach : muy de noche
ma*nemlup : muy á medio dia
ma*pulcup : muy á media noche
ma zitzall : muy obscuro
ocho : cosa grande
ma + ocho : excesso quantitativo
ma ocho guelou, ma ocho lleti : ha engordado mucho
majall : mucho en cantidad, cantidad numeral
majall aycha ullupan : come mucha carne
majall axà cotman chectan : ay muchos peces en el agua
mamata mumpuchnic hayu cotanco : es hombre que tiene muchas riquezas
mamata sac”nic : tiene muchissimas comidas
patep chihachan : hacen muchissimas chacaras
patep quigolengo : amabilissimo ô muy amable
patep quichinongo : temerosissimo ô muy temeroso
patep ma pallou : bonissimo con grande excesso
patep uccullhavejo : muy saludable
patep : + quantidad: excesso de comparacion
patep mamata checho : muchissima plata con grande excesso
patep ma*majall mech : muy muchissimos arboles &
mec’mannap patep zamoch : omnium doctissimus, doctissimo entre
todos ô el mas docto de todos
mec’mannap patep ma*hualiu : fortissimo entre todos
mec allhà’mannap patep ma ocho : entre todos los animales el elefante es
elefante’vá cotan grandissimo

De los nombres diminutivos

cunchu, chu : particulas con que se disminuyen
todas las cosas
cunchu : cosa pequeña
cunchu, nichunic cunchu, ma*cunchu : parvus, minor, minimus: pequeño,
menor, mínimo
ocho, nichunic ocho, ma ocho : magnus, mayor, maximus
yla´chu : mugercilla
nun pul’chu : mozuelo
nun*pullup´chu : muchachillo
ila pullup´chu : muchachilla
nun´chu : hombrecillo
moschu : poquito
1264 nichunic moschu : mas poquito
1265 ma cunchu : muy poquito
1266 atellpa mullup’chu : pollito
1267 cuchi mullup’chu : cochinito

Del pronombre. De su division
1268 oc, mi, sa : pronombres primitivos: yo, tu, el: ego, tu, ys

Del plural destos primitivos
1269 quija : nosotros
1270 minaja : vosotros
1271 chiija : ellos

De•los pronombres posessivos
1272 a : meus
1273 aczoc : mi caja
1274 m : tuus para hombre
1275 miczoc : tu caja
1276 p : tuus para muger
1277 piczoc : tu caja
1278 Juan gazoc : suus = genitivo de posession: la caxa de Juan

Plural:
1279 quija quiczoc, quiczoc : nuestra caja
1280 miczoc-ja : vuestra caja
1281 chic-zoc : la caja dellos
1282 oc alou : pronombre primitivo + la particula lou: mio
1283 mi•milou : tuyo
1284 sa ilou : suyo del
1285 quiha quilou : nuestro
1286 minahâ*(mi)milouha, mi•milouha : vuestro
1287 chiha loula : suyo dellos
1288 ol : nombre ynterrogativo
1289 ol ilou, ol ilouam? : cuyo es?
1290 oc alou : mio
1291 Juan illou : de Juan

De•los pronombres demostrativos
1292 co : este de aqui
1293 ynco : aquel de alli
pe : aquel de aculla
oc alou co‘uâ : esto mio ó esto es mio
mi•milou ynco‘uâ : aquello tuyo
sa ilou pe‘vâ : aquello suyo
coc alou : esto es mio
tup : egomet, yo mismo
oc‘tup : yo mismo
mi‘tup : tu mismo
sa‘tup : el mismo
qua‘tup : nosotros mismos
minajatup : vosotros mismos
chija‘tup : ellos mismos
Juantup : Juan mismo
Dios‘tup jayu itzmei : Dios ó Dios mismo crio al hombre &
entoñam ampaocotan, amiachpaclna : tup + obtativo = pues: como te cono-
cotto‘tup : ceré, pues no te puedo ver
al-lum : los otros ó algunos
anzel‘sim : es otro
ache ipman tonlii : posó en otra casa
pi : + numeral: ambo
Pedro Juan‘nic ypta‘pi illahuan : Pedro y Juan, ambos á dos van juntos
yxta jayu atemmê chipalli : tres hombres juntos passaron de
mañana
ypta‘pi aycha llupilan, ypta‘pi : ambos á dos estan comiendo carne
aycha lluphe iton, ypta‘pi zep llupilan

De algunas particulas que se usan con los pronombres primitivos
ach, ch : diz•que
oc‘ach : diz•que yo
mich : diz•que tu
sach : diz•que el
quihiach : diz•que nosotros
minahach : diz•que vosotros
chihach : diz•que ellos
fiscaltupach icxaixtanna/he, Estevan : Estevan dize que el fiscal nos ha de
quian azotar
yncoñ, peñ : assi
yncoñachge, peñachge : assi dize que es, assi dizen que es
chin : quizas
oc‘chin asepan : quizas yo miento
michin mijinziui : quizas tu hablaste
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1329 Pedro’chin cotan : quizas es Pedro
1330 capi nem’chin nantan : quizas vendrá oy
1331 oc’achge : dice que yo ó dicen que yo
1332 michge : dice que tu
1333 sachge : dize que el &

Del nombre relativo è interrogativo
1334 ol, olam : quis, quien
1335 ynhâ, ynhâm : quid, que cosa
1336 yntonco, yntoncopit, yntoncom : quisquis, quilibet, qual ó cualquiera
1337 olpit, entoncopit : quicumque, qualquiera
1338 ynhapit : quodcumque, qualquiera cosa que

Del uso destos relativos [+ interrogativos]
1339 ol, olam : pregunta de persona
1340 ol/olam mipzan? : quien viene?
1341 apangá olam, axottâ ol-lolam : Math. C. 12: quae est mater mea? et
  chectanpit?: quien es mi madre
  y quienes son mis hermanos?
1342 yntonco, yntoncom : qualis, qual: preguntas de persona y de
  cosas
1343 entonco/entoncom llactan?: qual irá?
1344 yntonco zip’t manpit tonlec-he : en qual casa dormirá?
1345 yntoncotelpit llac-he : vaya cualquiera?
1346 yntonco zip’manpit tonlec-he : posse en cualquiera casa
1347 ynhâ, ynhâm : pregunta [de] cosas
1348 ynhâm yncor’uâ?: que es esso?
1349 ma : nada
1350 ynhâm maccotan : que tienes?
1351 ynhapit (mâ) /yncha´chupit/
  ynhâ’yupit mâ acotpan : no tengo nada
1352 ynhamama?: : que dices ó que quieres hombre?
1353 inchampa?: : que dices ó que quieres muger?
1354 mec : omnis
1355 mec•incha : toda la cosa
1356 ynhachu : cosa pequeña
1357 yu : cualidad
1358 ynhâ•yuam co’â?: : que ó de que calidad es esto?
1359 ol-lolam?: : quienes?
1360 entoncololam?: : quales?
1361 mec ynhâ•yncha : todas las cosas
1362 mec ynhâ•incha, mec
  ynhâ•ynchupit : todas las cosas minimas
1363 mec incha•yncha•yu : todo genero y calidad de cosas
ynto•mecam  : quanto, cosas de cantidad ó cantidad
ynto•mec mimojllan, pe•mec  : quanto hallas, tanto pierdes
mimixtocan
ynto•mec inchà maccotan, mec  : quanto tienes, todo te lo quitaran
incha•pit miphëjlectan
ynto•mec maengoque, pe•mec  : quanto me dieres, tanto te daré
amectan
cò•mec, ynco•mec, p(à)[e]•mec  : tauts
ynto•mecam?  : quanto?
ynto•mec'chin  : no se quanto
cò•mecall  : tanto como esto, no mas
mi, oc mec mectan  : tu eres de mi estatura ó tamaño
ynto•mec  : quan, quan
ynto•mec pallou Dios cotan/  : quan bueno es Dios
ento•mec pallou cotan Dios'zà
ynto•mec mac-jai mectan  : quan dichoso eres
ynto•mec ixivaj cotan sepec'cà  : quan mala es la mentira
ynto•mec + tenom  : menos
ynto•mec tenom  : tanto menos
ynto•mec'pit  : quanto quiera y quanto quiera que
ynto•mec nichunic  : cuanto mas
ynto•mec nichunic axua  : cuanto mas pescado cogieras, sera
mitzappoque,
ynto•mec cothepit, ynto•mec  : a lo mas mas
cothupit
yntonam?  : de que tamaño?
cònñap, çonappo  : deste tamaño
cònñapall  : deste tamaño, no mas
peñappall  : de aquel tamaño solamente
yncha•yù  : para preguntas de calidad de personas
y cosas
yncha•yu hayuam ynco'zà?  : de que especie, laya, condicion, suerte
ò calidad es esse hombre?
le, zal'le?  : es blanco ó negro?
lolxe'zim  : es español
zamoç cotan  : es sabio
huatu jayu'zim  : es hombre fuerte
xal-am jayu'zim  : es floxo, perezoso
yxivaj jayu'zim  : es hombre malo &
ñál-loç hayu'zim  : es indio ordinario
yncha•yu caballum ynco'úá?  : de que laya ó color es esse caballo?
zal-le'? chiñ'le?  : es negro ó tordillo?
Pucala te'và yntcha•yu peyam pactan?
zal pey pactan : es [tierra] negra
llaca pey pactan : es tierra colorada
pull pey sim : es tierra amarilla
yncha yu chem co uâ : que grano ó huevo es este?
cuch ché sim : es grano de maíz
llù ché sim : es huevo de paujil
anna meccam? : quántos en numero
anna mecam jayu chectan : quántos hombres son ó estan?
anna mecam il lactan? : quántos iran?
anna mazel mecham? : quántos arboles?
anna mec xiptetam : quántas anonas?
anna mese ochauam : quántos caymitos?
anna mec ateltpachem? : quántos huevos de gallina?
anachem atelpa? : quántas gallinas?
anachem zipnic puttam mâ cotan? : quántas casas tiene el pueblo?
annachupam axua chipillte : quántos pezes cayeron en la nasa chepulli?
anachupam menextec matton? : quántos vestidos tienes?
anachupam mihachnic mectan : quántas hachas tienes?
Dios camatzin quii sil : quántos son los mandamientos de Dios?
allec jil-all : solamente diez
anna mecum tipam aycha mullupi? : quántos pedazos de carne comiste?
anamatjum? : quántos ñudos ó junturas?
ananliuam menextec câ : de quántas colores es tu vestido?
ñappâ analiuaam chectan : quántas especies ay de papagayos?
anam meclivam chectan tua â : quántas castas ay de loros?
anapocam munuta milou? : quántas veces has pecado?
ynto mec : tantas veces
majallpoc, mamatapoc : muchas veces
pliu ñanmac anapucham : quántas chacaras hazeis cada año?
mihachouhan?
mahall puch : muchas
cach puch, peim puch : de maní
am puch : de todo genero de comidas
annac chaqam candela vâ? : quántos mazos ay de velas?
anac mecum chagam veyià munchan : quántas haszes has puesto de leña?
achchan : uno
ypchan : dos
anna mecum pucam mengâlajtan? : quántos vocados tragarás?
appuc : un vocado &
anna mecm pimocam menextec : quántas ropas vistes?
memel-lan?

1440 annapimoc° nic mizip° pâ : quantos quartos tiene su casa?
1441 annapimocam zentâ chectan : quantos cielos ay?
1442 annapongam quetâ° â mipoichi? : quantas manadas ô tropas de jabalies has visto?
1443 apon° pat illach apoichi : los vi ir de tropa
1444 anna•mec° sugam putam naime mipallilha? : por quantos pueblos aveis passado?
1445 anna• puttamtem mectija? : en quantos pueblos estubisteis?
1446 anna•mec xocotam mulumchiquiha : quantos rios aveis passado en el camino?
1447 anna• llom? : quantas quebradas?
1448 anna•mec° xumgâm mimmollayha? : quantos montones aveis juntado?
1449 axxum : uno
1450 anna•xam? : quantos pares?
1451 anna•mec° iel-lom illactan? : de quantos en quantos iran?
1452 yel-lo iel-lo, yel-loll iel-loll, yel-tell : cada uno de por si iel-tell, yel-pat iel-pat, yel-patall iel-patall
1453 yiptaco iptaco : de dos en dos
1454 yññamacco anzel palantu : dales â cada uno un platano mipoecqui
1455 mamonte mamonte : uno tras otro

Del modo de usar y suplir â qui, quae, quod

Precepto 10 [por el pronomne demostrativo co]
1456 Jesu-Christo sa mulall : y en Jesu-Christo, su unico hijo, el quinapû° te' pit, cosim Espiritu Santo itzme'y° tep jayu qui quial se hizo hombre por obra del Espiritu Sto

Precepto 20 [por los relativos ol l yntonco]
1457 ynco nallô, ol l yntonco Jesus igolli : Ioan. C. 21: vidit illum discipulum, nai mitiju izchi, co° sim majach quem diligebat Jesus, sequentem, qui lamolam° te luchel ñante recubuit in coena super pectus eius: vio milmojnou â aquel dicipulo, â quien amaba Jesus, que le seguia, el qual se recostò sobre su pecho en la cena
Precepto 3o [por el participio de futuro y de preterito]

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Precepto 3o [por el participio de futuro y de preterito]

1458 acot° pechap° in cotiinco, sap° sim : Ioan C. 1: ipse est qui post me
cotan, anay nantan° ynco venturus est, qui ante me factus est: el
mismo es, el que vendrá después de mi, mismo es, el que vendrá después de mi,
el qual fue antes que yo fuese el qual fue antes que yo fuese

1459 nantan° ynco : participio de futuro
1460 cotiinco : participio de preterito
1461 mec uga Belen° te itoñi° inco, qui erant in Bethl[eh]em: mato todos
molammi los niños de leche que estavan en Belen

Prosigue la propia materia

Precepto 1o [qui es nominativo: la oracion se haza por los participios]

1462 axijlam ec ymanco : participio de presente: Ioan. C. 4 v.
10: qui dicit tibi: da mihi bibere: el que
te dice: dame de beber

1463 co jil loitzi, quizaxte : Luc. 2 v. 15: et videamus hoc verbum,
quod factum est: veamos esta palabra
que fue hecho

1464 mec sinaylâyynco, ichicnejnou : preterito perfecto: Luc. C. 2: omnes
qui au-dierunt, mirati sunt: todos los
que oyeron, se admiraron

1465 Ġoliyêinco ojomal matiei : preterito plusquam perfecto: Ioan. C.
11: statim prodii qui fuerat mortuus: al
punto salio el que avia estado muerto

1466 pimannap santo masoctanynco : futuro: Luc. C. 1: quod nascetur ex te
santum: lo que nacerà de ti santo

1467 pimannap° sim camatzin quiobuch actu montem Isa\[e\]ael
iålloctehe (subjuntivo) [gerundio]: Math. 2: ex te
enim exiet dux, qui regat populum
meum Isra[el]: de ti saldrà el capitán o
gobernador, que rija mi pueblo de
ysra[el]

1468 apatian : salir

1469 Ġuelchejuch, unutzavejuch° pit
cotan : Ioan. 8: est qui quae\[r]at, et iudicet: ay
quien busque y juzgue

1470 nonasna quianco, hacol-loitz\[t]an, hacol quianco, och\[o] qui\[c]tan : futuro: Mat.: qui autem se exaltaverit,
humiliabitur; et qui se humiliaverit, ex-
altabitur: empero el que se engrandecie-
era, será humillado y el que se humillare,
se engrandecerà
Precepto 2o

[el relativo qui es acusativo ó caso de verbo: la oracion se haze por los mismos participios]

1471 ynhca ynhca mipoychihanco, chipoichanco ñachelol’lā, pe macjai chectan

: presente: Luc. C. 10 v.: beati oculi qui vident quae vos videtis: bienaventurados los ojos que ven las cosas que vosotros veis

1472 ymsahi chup’pā, ñō mipoxquei’pīt, peme macjai chectan

: preterito perfecto: Luc. 11 v. 27: beatus venter qui te portavit et ubera quae suxisti: bienaventurado el vientre que te tuvo en si y los pechos que mamaste

1473 mec ynhca chipohinaie’tē, chipoitziyte’pit, Dios muchan loche

: preterito plusquam perfecto: Luc. C. 2 20: laudantes Deum in omnibus quae audierant et viderant: alabando á Dios en todas las cosas que avian oido y visto

1474 yntonco’pit muchan alocanynco, sap’ sim cotan, mitzaphacqui muchan

: futuro: Math. C. 26: quemcumque osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum: cualquiera que besare, el mismo es, prendedle

1475 alolamynco, mitzaphacqui, sap’ sim cotan

: futuro en lam: quemcumque osculatus fuero &

1476 caliz axijlamynco mixijhangole meetihan?

: participio futuro en lam = rus: Math. C. 20: potestis bibere calicem, quem ego bibiturus sum: podeis beber el caliz que yo tengo de beber?

Suplemento al participio

1477 acolebuch

: infinitivo + uch/buch: amator, amador

1478 axpen

: salvar

1479 axpejuch

: mi salvador

1480 anutzaven

: jusgar

1481 anutzavejuch

: mi juez ó jugador

1482 pallou alan

: hago bien

1483 pallou aobuch

: mi bienhechor

1484 anutzavejuch mectan

: eres mi juez

1485 pallou aobuch cotan

: es mi bien’echor

1486 mi(qui)ymejuch cotan Dios’sā

: Dios es tu criador

1487 quixpejuch quinapu Jesu-Christo cotan

: nuestro salvador es N.S. Jesu-Christo

1488 amcollanco actan

: yo soy el que te amo
De los romances de circumloquio. Del circumloquio en rus
[formace con el participio en lam + posessivos y transiciones]

1489 milolam/milolamynco, xipnall/ : quod facturus es[t], fac citius: lo que
ojomall loc/milocqui : has de hazer, hazlo presto
1490 caliz axijlaminco, mixijhangole : Math. C. 20: podeis beber el caliz que
mectihan? : yo he de ò tengo de beber?
1491 amehena acquilam, aymej : enseñame lo que he de creer
1492 alolam atun : dime lo que he de hazer
1493 atonlelam aychoj : muestrame donde he de posar ò
aposentarme
1494 maelam, ec : dame lo que me has de dar
1495 lam + apactan, acotpan : tener que hazer
1496 quilolam mahall cappactan : tenemos mucho que hazer
1497 alolam accotpan : no tengo que hazer
1498 lam + pactan, cotan : deber ò tener obligacion
1499 pojò atmolle yglesia òte quillalam pactan/cotan : pasa(n)do mañana tenemos que ir á la
glesia ò debemos &
1500 culuvolam ma ò pactan : no ay de que tener pesadumbre
1501 lam + actan : suelo, tengo costumbre
: possum, poder
1502 anutza alolam actan : yo suelo ò tengo costumbre de pecar
1503 meetzolam mecti & : tu solias ò tenias costumbre de hurtar
1504 quillalam questan : nosotros podemos ir
1505 millahalam : vosotros podéis ir
1506 acotto actan : supino en to, ngo l jo, chô: possum, poder: yo puedo ser
1507 allaquiao actan : yo me puedo bolver
1508 atzacho actan : yo puedo ver
1509 allango actan : yo puedo ir &
1510 lam : si
1511 alolam cothu ò uâ, aloctan : si tuviere que hazer, lo hare
1512 aamolam cothu ò, âamoctan : si tuvieres que comer, comerè
1513 confessan miquilam cothu ò uâ, confessan quic

Del circumloquio en dus [dus = 2o supino]

1514 Dios qui golengo cotan : 2o supino + cotan = obligacion: Deus
amandus est nobis: Dios deve ser ama-
do por nosotros
1515 Juan pagalan imoongo cotan : Juan le debe pagar
1516 mihipche real Juan milengo cotan : tu debes dar á Juan quatro reales
1517 quintesajo mectan : 2o supino + actan = dignus: eres digno
ò mereces que te lo agradescamos
1518 mixaichlangõ mectan : mereces que te azoten
quisamongo mittacho pactan: 2o supino + pactan + cho: el tiempo de hacer la cosa que el verbo significa: ya es tiempo de comer

amaymejo acotto: 2o supino = possum: yo podre enseñarte

a Dios, entoñam ampacongo acotto: como te podré conocer Dios mio, pues no te puedo ver?

mec jayu quicol-lo quectan: 2o supino = bilis: todos los hombres somos mortalis

De los romances de me, te, se

na: me, te, se

acolenan: yo lo amo

micolenan: tu te amas

ngolenan: aquel te ama

quicolenan: nosotros nos amamos

micolenouhan: vosotros os amais

chicolenan: aquellos se aman

yupey aonan: yo te estimo

yupey mionan: tu te estimas

yupey lonan: aquel se estima

yupey quionan: nosotros nos estimamos

yupey mionouhan: vosotros os estimais

yupey chionan: aquellos se estiman

ayojnan: purgar el vientre

azcan: me rio

muzcan: te ries

uscan: se rie

cuscan: nos reimos

muzquihan: vosotros os reis

zuquilan: aquellos se ríen

yosill acquian: me hago mesquino

na: mihi

ayiponan: yo hago casa para mi

miyiponan: tu hazes casa para ti

ajachonan: yo hago chacara para mi

mijachonan: tu hazes chacara para ti

ajachan: hago mi chacara

ayipan: ago mi casa

miyipan: hazes tu casa &

Romances del modo potencial
[añiu ynajam + futuro ymperfecto + ynterjeciones: que he de, que es posible que]

ychi: ynterjeccion de temor
1553 uchû : ynterjeccion de calor
1554 aleû : ynterjeccion de frio
1555 añiû ynajam mec quicoltan ychi? : que todos hemos de morir?
1556 añiû ynajam limante amojetan aleu? : que es posible que he de ir á la sierra?
1557 añiu ynajam ampe•puttamman apattan uchû? : es possible que me he de condenar?
1558 añiû ynajam axaix“lactan allau? : que me han de açotar?

Romances de "estando para"
[infinitivo + míñ + actan en gerundio de ablativo ô en subjuntivo: estando para]
1559 gol“miñchó cothe, ychei : estando para morir, pario
1560 ychan“miñchó cothu cuchiˇvâ, quilammi : estando para parir la puerca, la matamos
1561 mech lix“miñchó cothû, zammolliˇlá : dexaron el arbol estando para caer

Romances impersonales
1562 chipiypan : trabajan
1563 chian : duermen
1564 chiquian, chijlan, etzeitzian : dicen
1565 yllahuan : vanse
1566 yllaquian : buelvense
1567 mecˇtup Diosza quigolenˇgohotan : 2º supino = obligacion: todos tenemos obligacion de amar á Dios

Del uso del infinitivo
Precepto 1º [dolerse, pesarse, holgarse, maravillarse, espantarse & + ge l gena]
1568 apopsajige/gena alusacquian : Gen. C. 6: p[œ]nitet me fecisse eos: pesame que los hize
1569 apopsajancoge aluvan : pesame que los hago
1570 co iolactangen alusacquian : pesame que ha de hazer ô hará esto
1571 anuza alouge alusacquian : pesame de aver pecado
1572 yxivaj mectancogena achichejnan : me espanto ô maravillo de que seas malo
1573 apuilliˇgena [mi]mac-(mi)hacquii : alegrasteˇte de que cai
Precepto 2o [convenir, vedar, prohibir + pacna y actan]

1574 millavojpacna mectan miyelam’má : Ioan. C. 5: non licet tibi tollere l. ut tollas gra[b]atum tuum

1575 domingololte, fiestaloltepit quiipiippacna quectan, al-lum nem’má ampec quiipiippo quectan : no te es licito que lleves tu cama: los domingos y fiestas no nos es licito trabajar, pero los demas dias nos es licito: los domingos y fiestas no podemos trabajar, pero los demas dias bien podemos

1576 mana alan : vedar ó prohibir

1577 llacchin’na alou : mandele ó dixele que no fuese

1578 mana alan : digole que no

[mandar + gerundio de dativo]

1579 palol camayoc tepjoctegença ingallou : Marc. C.: janitori pr[a]ecepit, ut vigilaret: mandò al portero que velase

1580 llacchin’na ingallan : mandale que no vaya

Precepto 3o [primer supino ó gerundio de acusativo + verbos de movimiento]

1581 Dios capac cot chipazzolamhe, : Luc. C. 9: misit illos pr[a]edicare camapit chipotzu’quiovolamhe, [regnum Dei] et sanare infirmos: mopilmi enbiolos que predicassen el reyno de Dios y que sanasen los enfermos: enbiolos á predicar y á sanar los enfermos

Precepto 4o [la raiz + j l k + en: hazer]

1582 ajinnaquen : hazer oir

1583 ajil-laquen : hazer hablar

1584 opeylol mojinacquei, mojil-lacquei’pit : Marci. C. 7: surdos fecit audire, et mut[u]os loqui: hizo que oyessen los sordos y que hablasssen los mudos

Precepto 5o

1585 achge, ch : dezir, referir

1586 Marialol chini, chiha°simall’achge angel chipoichina quiche, cololachge Jesuchristo quinja cotan’na chiquian diciendo : Luc. 24: venerunt, dicentes se etiam visionem angelorum vidisse, qui dicunt eum vivere: vinieron las Marias, que ellas tambien avian visto angeles, los cuales dicen que vive Jesu-Christo
Precepto 6o

1590 na + aschan : videor, videris, parecer, ver
1591 Dios migollanna amaichan : pareceme que amas á Dios
1592 ampal pallou hayu mectina amaichi : antes pareciome que eres bueno, pero capi’vá’cho ixivaj mectanna amaichan : aora veo que eres malo
1593 alupactan : pensar, parecer
1594 meclan’na alupactan : pareceme ô piensó que te mueres
goltan’na mulupactan : parecete que morira?
eey, goltanna ajacquian : si, jugo, imagino, piensó, sospecho, a lo que me parez, morirá
1597 peñ•pixan’na ajacquian : assi me parece que es
1598 aschan : ver
1599 ytzip’te ittonhu, apoichi : vilos estar ô que estaban en casa
1600 yllach, mipoichile?: vistelos ir?
1601 heey, chihach’te illach apoichi : si, vilos ir á sus chacras
1602 golhu mitaxtan : lo veras morir
1603 jul-l•ec, golhu mitaxte : dale piña y veras como se muere

Precepto 7o

1604 aamocte acquian : acquian + infinitivo presente > voluntad: quiero comer
1605 allacte ameñan : infinitivo + ameñan 'querer': quiero irme
1606 millalamje/millactege ameñan : ameñan + gerundio de dativo = querer que: quiero ô pretendô ô gusto que vayas
1607 llactege/llalamje ameñan : quiero que vaya
1608 acolpat acquii, macolvouha, anexii : 'dar' + transiciones = hazer ô dar + maxqueiha
1609 chapl(t)on il(i)[a]ñgo zaman : segundo supino en go l jo + atzman = saber + infinitivo: sabe hazer ollas
1610 xayapique allja cotto’çup’pit liix’â : como siendo bestia ô animal del monte
entoñam tanta ilango zaman el mono sabe comer pan
1611 liman te millango chô mitzmanle? sabes ya ir á la sierra?

Precepto 8 [supino en no ljo &: poder, facilitar]
1612 ajinzingo actan puedo hablar
1613 mijiinzingo mectan & puedes ó te es facil hablar
1614 llangoll cotan supino + ll = facilidad ó frecuencia: vase frecuentemente ó facilmente
1615 quipahatpacna quectan no podemos vajar
1616 entoñ quiamopacna entoñ + supino + pacna > ympossibilidad: es impossible comer ó que lo comamos

[participio de futuro en lam y los supinos en no + actan: suelo ó tengo costumbre]
1617 alupojlam actan suelo aborrecer o tengo costumbre de aborrecer
1618 chumlupojo chectan tienen costumbre de aborrecerse ad invicem
1619 alupojlam actan lo suelo aborrecer de quando en quando
1620 chumlupojo chectan supino = mas frecuencia, mayor costumbre: se aborrecen muy frecuentemente

Precepto 9 [antes que, despues que, antequam l priusquam, posteaquam l postquam]
1621 mijilmullopechap alollucqui/ : pe + gerundio de ablativo en ap/nap =
alocol-li chô actan antes que: antes que comiences á hablar, ya yo lo avre acabado de hazer
1622 miyeiquichenap, nem pohou : gerundio de ablativo = despues•que:
despues que te levantaste, amanecio: postquam surrexisti, dies illuxit
1623 mannap [...] axman : primero [...] que, antes [...] que, quam
1624 axman : primero, antes
1625 anutza aloctemannap, axman acolte : primero quiero morir que pecar
1626 anutza aloctemannap acol-lo actan : primero he de morir que pecar
1627 mimannap oc axman ansou oc câ : yo naci primero que tu
1628 axot mannap, xahannê actan : de mis hermanos yo soi el mayor ó el•primero
1629 axot mannap, ayyê actan : yo soy menor que mis hermanos ó el menor de mis hermanos
1630 Pedro mannap, mi ua ques cho mectan : tu eres mayor ó mas viejo que Pedro
1631 Dios個tup jayu castigan : antes perdonô Dios que castigô á los moou個mannap, axman perdonan hombres
moou/Dios個tup jayu yam\moou\mannap, axman moxpei

1632 ipzel michel\nic iptip(nen) : Math. C. 18: bonum est tibi ad vitam
minenc\nic, microthu, tepat et\man michemiczi\mannap, mel-ltí,
mi laxi te\putt am macjai mitti in ignem aeternum: bien es para ti
cullha\man miestege axman mige entrar al cielo flaco ó cojo que teniendo
pallou cotan dos pies ó dos manos ser arrojados al fuego eterno

1633 choyoctan\mannap axman : antes se olgarâ que llorarâ
maacsiantan

1634 maacsiquianco\mannap axman zoyan : antes llo ra que se alegra

1635 casalan miquipechap, milanco zach : antes que te cases, mira lo que hazes
1636 mannap : demas de

1637 oulum Martin ytzajii\mannap imon : demas de averle mordido la vivora á
Martin, tiene calentura

1638 rezan quiquií\mannap, missa quisinnay : demas de rezar, oymos misa

Libro tercero
De otra construcion del verbo activo y de los neutros, compuestos y defectivos

Del verbo transitivo: Que sea verbo transitivo y del numero de las transiciones
1639 a : la primera persona de singular
1640 m, ma : la segunda para hombres
1641 p, pa : para mujeres
1642 y, e, u & : la tercera
1643 q, c : la primera de plural
1644 m, ma : la segunda
1645 pa, po, mo & : la tercera
1646 amcollan : transicion de singular á singular: yo te amo
1647 mi\tup majian : tu me aguardas
1648 gajian : aquel me aguarda
1649 ymajian : aquel te aguarda
1650 ajiajnan : transicion à la misma persona = n: yo me aguardo
1651 quicolenan : nosotros nos amamos
1652 quijiajnan : nosotros nos aguardamos
1653 acolenan : yo me amo
1654 nicolenan : tu te amas
1655 quimajiayhan : transición de plural → plural: nosostros os esperamos
1656 minaha"tup quimajiayjan : vosotros nos esperais
1657 quipojian : nosostros los esperamos
1658 mipojijian : vosotros los esperais
1659 quiayylan : aquellos nos esperan
1660 mijialajan : aquellos os esperan
1661 chipojian : aquellos los esperan
1662 amupchijan : transición de singular → plural: yo os pongo
1663 apopchan : yo los pongo
1664 mitup quimcollan : tu nos amas, cf. quimcollan: nosotros te amamos
1665 quipcollan : tu nos amas: a muger
1666 mipocollan : tu los amas
1667 mocollan : aquel los ama
1668 i(n)[c]collan : aquel nos ama
1669 quiha"tup quimcollan : transición de plural → singular: nosotros te amamos
1670 mapchihan : vosotros me poneis
1671 allajilan : aquellos me llevan
1672 millajilan : aquellos te llevan

De otros verbos que tienen alguna diferencia en las transiciones
1673 aschantan : ver
1674 atzachan : ver lo que tiene
1675 majall much amatzachan : veo que tienes mucho aji
1676 majall pamô amatzachan : transición de singular → singular: veo que tienes mucha fruta o veote mucha fruta
1677 majall pamô matzachi/patzachi : tu me viste mucha fruta
1678 Pedro majall cach gatzachi : Pedro me vio mucho maíz
1679 minattellpa imatzaxtan, pinattellpa : aquel te verà tus gallinas
1680 mijantaja quimatzachijâ : transición de singular → plural: nosotros os vimos vuestras caras
1681 minaja"tup qui°hach quimatzachijâ : vosotros nos aveís visto nuestras chacaras
1682 qui°sac catzaxlactan : aquellos nos veran nuestras comidas
1683 majall utz quipajatzachi : nosotros les vimos muchos zapallos
1684 yzip mipajatzachiactan : vosotros les vereís sus casas
1685 majall chicach chipajatzachi : aquellos los vieron mucho maíz
1686 mizipja matzachlajactan : aquellos os veran vuestras casas
apáchan < amchan 'poner': yo os pongo la comida

ysac apahapuchan : yo les pongo su comida
quisac quimapu(che)an : tu nos pones nuestra comida
ysac mipajapuchan : tu les pones su comida
quisac icapuchan : aquel nos pone nuestra comida
misac-ja imapuchijan : aquel os pone vuestra comida
ysac majappuch(j)an: aquel les pone su comida
asac apuchilan : transicion de plural â singular:
apellidos me ponen mi comida
misac mapuchihan : vosotros me poneis la comida
misac mapuchilan, pisac papuchilan: aquellos te ponen tu comida
sac hapuchihan : aquellos le ponen su comida
acolec, macolecqui : transicion de ymperativo de singular â
sicular: amame tu

gacolec-he : ameme aquel
ymcolec-he, ipcolec-he : amete aquel
quimcolehacte : transicion de plural â plural: nosotros
os amemos
quipocolec-he : amemos â aquellos
quimcolehayacqui : amad´nos vosotros
mipocolecqui : amad vosotros â aquellos
quicolelavec-he : amen´nos aquellos
micoleslachac-he : amen´os aquellos
chipocolec-ge : amense aquellos entre si
amcolehacte : transicion de singular â plural: ame´os yo

apocolec-he : ame´los yo
quimcolechqui, mitup quimcolec : ama´nos tu
mipocolecqui : amalos tu
ymcolehac-he : ameos aquel
icolec-he : amenos aquel
mocolec-he : ame´los aquel
quimcolecete : transicion de plural â singular:
amemos´te nosotros
macolehacqui : amadme vosotros
acolecac-he : amen´me aquellos
micolecac-he : amente aquellos

Nota [n = la misma persona; l > ; m > p; p > p; ll, tz > y; ll > ll; s > j; no > co]
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1722 a : yo
1723 a.1-ma.2-an.3 : l > : yo.1 te.2 hago.3
1724 a.1-pa.2-an.3 : a muger: yo.1 te.2 hago.3
1725 m.1-a.2-an.3 : tu.1 me.2 hazes.3
1726 p.1-a.2-an.3 : a muger
1727 amajatan : traer de arriba
1728 liman.2 nap.1 caxà.6 : de.1 la sierra.2 te.3 he.4 traido.5
a.4-ma.3-ppajatti.5 : agujas.6
1729 ameñan : quiero
1730 a.1-m.2-peñan.3 : m > p: yo.1 te.2 quiero.3
1731 apeñan : codicio
1732 a.4-chechò.5 m.1-a.2-peñan(5)[3] : p > p: tu.1 me.2 codicias.3 mi.4 plata.5
1733 apenchijnan : jurar
1734 ache.8 attel-lpa mullup.9 : yo.1 juro.3 te.2 por Dios.4 que.5 te.6
amectan.7+[6]”na.5 Diospat.4
a.1-ma.2-renchijnan.3
darè.7 un.8 pollo.9
1735 allan : dar
1737 azmen : enseñar
1738 resan aquictehe.4 m.1-a.2-ymen.3 : tz > y: tu.1 me.2 enseñas.3 a•rezar.4
1739 allajan : llevar
1740 Pedro’ tup mullup ymallajan
1741 asinnan : oir
1742 amjinajpan : s > j: no te oygo
1743 asettan : desatár
1744 yncha’pit pey ñante michantanyynco,: quod cumque ligaveris super terra, erit
tesentálopite mipochehuy cottoń, solutum et in caelis
ynchapit pey ñanté mipojetan’ynco,
tesentalo’té mipojeti cottoń’simall
1745 amcolecte ameñan : modo infinitivo < anollan: no > co: yo
quiero amarte
1746 macolecte mimeñan : tu quieres amar’me
1747 angolecte ameñan : yo quiero amar a aquel
1748 ngacolecte imeñan : el quiere amarme
1749 Dios qui-ngolecte quimeñan : queremos amar a Dios
1750 Diosput iccolecte ymeñan : Dios nos quiere amar
1751 quimolecte quimeñan : queremos amarte
1752 quimolecte mimeñan : tu nos quieres amar
1753 quimochehacte quimeñan : nosotros os queremos amar
1754 quimochehacte mimehouhan : vosotros nos quereis amar
1755 quipocolecte quimeñan : queremos amarlos
1756 quicolacte meñoulan : ellos quieren amarnos
1757 mipochehacte mimehouhan : vosotros quereis amarlos
1758 micolelāhacte meñoulan : aquellos a vosotros
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1759 acolelacte meñoulan : ellos me quieren amar
1760 micolelacte meñoulan : aquellos te quieres amar
1761 apocolecte ameñan : yo los quiero amar
1762 mipocolecte mimeñan : tu los quieres amar
1763 amcollanco cotnap : preterito: porque te amo
1764 macolli cotnap : porque me amaste
1765 quicoleche cotanco cotnap : porque nos esta amando
1766 acoleche cectancotnap : porque me están amando
1767 micoleche cecticotnap : porque te estaban amando
1768 acolelam : futuro: aver de amarle yo
1769 micolelam : aver de amarme tu
1770 amcolelam : aver de amarte yo
1771 ngacolelam : aver de amarme aquel
1772 mipocolelam : aver de amarlos tu
1773 amcollanco : participio: yo que te amo
1774 amcollanco/acollanco actan : yo soy el que te amo
1775 quicollilla, quicollilaynco : los que nos amaron
1776 apsavojhuch mectan : tu eres mi criador
1777 quipsavojhuch mectan : tu eres nuestro criador
1778 quinapu Jesu-Christo quixpejhuch cotan : Christo nuestro Señor es nuestro Redemptor
1779 pallou aovuch mectan : eres mi bien healoch
1780 pallou miouvuch actan : yo soy tu bien healoch
1781 pallou miouvuch cotan : aquel es tu bien healoch
1782 pallou lovuch mectan : tu eras su bien healoch
1783 acoleuch mectan : tu eres mi amador
1784 acoleuch cectan : aquellos son mis amadores
1785 micohechauch actan : yo soy vuestro amador
1786 chicoleuch mectan : tu eres su amador de ellos
1787 micolectan "ynco : futuro: tu que los amarás
1788 micolectan "ynco : yo que os amaré
1789 micolectan "ynco : vosotros que me amareis
1790 yccolectan "ynco : aquel que nos amará
1791 ngacolectan "ynco : el que me amará
1792 nigolectan "ynco : los que me amarán
1793 mijachà amapahat(to)lamge : gerundio de genitivo: vengo de la liman nap apa(t)jatan sierra de traerte tu acha
1794 axua alluptege ameñan : gerundio de dativo: quiero el pescado para comer
1795 limàn allacteje ameñan : acusativo: queiro ir a la sierra
1796 micoleche actan : ablativo: yo te estoy amando
1797 ngcolecche actan : yo le estoy amando
1798 micolejache actan : yo os estoy amando
1799 pocoleche actan : yo los estoy amando
1800 acoleche mectihan : vosotros me estais amando
1801 acoleche chectan : aquellos me estan amando
1802 micoleche chectan : aquellos te estan amando
1803 ngocoleche chectan : aquellos le estan amando
1804 quicoleche chectan : aquellos os estan amando
1805 chimcoleche chectan : aquellos se estan amando, ad invicem
1806 macolejache mectihan : vosotros os estais amando, ad in[v]i-
1807 eo aloctege mallemzappap, : segundo gerundio: en ayudandome á
1808 amcolenap : en amandote, amandote, en amadote,
1809 m(i)[a]colenap : amandome, en aviendo amado,
1810 Dios ngacolenap, mac-jai acottan : amando Dios ô amandome Dios, sere
1811 pacupleu amectege anan : supino: vengo de darte granadillas
1812 trigo pum amiztege amojnan : voy á la sierra á comprarte arina de
1813 tanta amapiztege alluan : voy á comprarte pan
1814 a°Dios, amcolen mectan : Dios mio, tu eres digno que yo te ame
1815 allahuan : vaseme como pollo, perro, enferme-
1816 allahuan : presente: vaseme
1817 mallahuan : vase°te
1818 hallahuan : vaste
1819 callahuan : vasesos
1820 mallaviihan : vasesos
1821 pahallauan : va°se°les
1822 allavi : preterito: fue°se°me
1823 allaviyè : plusquam perfecto: avia°se°me ido
1824 allavitan : futuro: yraseme
1825 allavi actan : perfecto: avrase°me ido
1826 mallavec-ge : ymperativo: vaya°se°te
1827 allavecte : obtativo: yvasame

Del verbo neutro
1828 allahuan : vaseme como pollo, perro, enferme-
1829 mallahuan : vase°te
1830 hallahuan : vaste
1831 callahuan : vasesos
1832 mallaviihan : vasesos
1833 pahallauan : va°se°les
1834 allavi : preterito: fue°se°me
1835 mallavii, hallavi &
1836 allaviyè : plusquam perfecto: avia°se°me ido
1837 mallaviy, hallaviy, callaviy, mallavihaque, pahallaviy
allangoque/allvecteque, : preterito ymperfecto: fueraseme, mallangoque/mallavecteque, yriaseme y fuesseme hallangoque/hallavecteque, callangoque/callavecteque, mallahangoque/ mallahavecteque, pahallangoque/pahalla[ve]cteque

oc moc allavecte cot/ allavecte’mo[c]•cot, : preterito perfecto y plusquamperfecto: o sí, ojalá se me aya, huviera, avria y huviesse ido
mimoc mallavecte cot/ mallavecte’mo[c]•cot, : 2a
pe moc hallavecte cot/ hallavecte’mo[c]•cot
quiha moc callavecte cot/ callavecte’mo[c]•cot,
minaja moc mallavheacte cot/ mallavheacte’mo[c]•cot,
chiamoc pahallavecte cot &
allav vector, hallavecte, callavecte, mallavihacte, pahallavecte
allavecte : ynfinitivo: yrseme
mallavecte, hallavecte, callavecte, mallavi-hacte, pahallavecte &
ampalla majall misaçaja : (aora) [antes] días os vi muchas amatzachihia, capi va tenom comidas, pero aora menos os veo amaichihan

camà : enfermedad
camà attiquian : me cae enfermo, como el hijo, la mujer &
azlá camà atticquian : me cae enferma mi muger
missè : frío
achel mise hatiquian : se le enfria la pierna
llaca cattiquian : se nos haze ó vuelbe colorado
zizall mattiquiihan : se os haze ó buelve negro
quizna pahattiquian : se les buelve azul
pullall attiquian : se me buelve amarillo &
muchan atticquian : [n]terceder

del verbo compuesto y derivativo

qual sea y de quantas maneras se componga [1: verbo + nombre]
gullha : vida
ngullha + actan : vivir
1852 acullha·actan : yo vivo
mucullha mectan, ngullha cotan, cucullha quectan, mucullhaha mectihan,
chucullha chectan
1853 capac acullha actan : reynar
1854 acquian : hazerse, dezir, ordenar, mandar
1855 cama acquian : estoy enfermo
1856 misse acquian : tengo frio
1857 ziu acquian : tengo necesidad, carencia desto ò del otro &
1858 uchuaj acquian : tengo calor
1859 oyna acquian : estoy con salud
1860 lloc acquian : estoy desnudo
1861 quez acquian : cresco &
1862 yosill acquian : hagome mezquino
1863 jùlum acquian : engordo ò hagome gordo
1864 jayu qui : hizose hombre
1865 eeýna chiquian : dicen que si
1866 qui"pa Jesu-Christo mec sacramento: Jesu-Christo N.S. ordenò todos los
sacramentos
1867 mec incha Dios camatzin quiancò : todo lo que Dios manda
1868 acquian, miquian, quian, quiqian, miquijan, chiquian
1869 acqui, miquii; acquiiye : preteritos
1870 acquicatan, miquicatan & : futuro ypmerfecto
1871 acqui actan & : futuro perfecto
1872 quic/miquiqui, quic-he, quiqicte & : ymperativo
1873 aquingoke, aquicteque & : obtativo
1874 acquicte, miquicte, quiote : infinitivo
1875 acquioctehe/acquilamhe, quichche, quinnullap

[2: nombre + an, uan = hazer para si + nombre]
1876 appiupan, ou, poctan : hago mi puente
1877 apnauan : hago mi camino
1878 aniglesiauan : hago mi iglesia
1879 mi Pedro mectan, co ta ñante : tu es Petrus et super hanc petram
aniglesia"uoctan [a]edificabo ecclesiam meam
1880 aney : mi leña
1881 aneyan : hago mi leña
1882 zala : muger
1883 mulluch : marido
1884 aslauan : mi caso, uxorem duco
1885 apul-luchan : casarse la mujer, marito nubó
1886 aipan : pr[a]esens [de yip-an]: hago mi casa
miipan, zipan, quiipan, miiepoujan, chiipan
1887 aipou, aipouve & : preteritos
1888 aipoctan, miipoctan; aipo[u•a]ctan & : futuros
1889 iip-oc/miipocqui, chiipoc-he & : ymperativo
1890 aipongoque, aipoceque & : op[t]ativo
1891 oc•moc aipoce cot, : preteritos
aipocte-mo[e]•cot &
aipou pocottoque/pocotteque &
1892 aipoch, miipoch & : subjuntivo
1893 aipoce : ynfinivo
1894 aipocehe/aiopoamge, chipoche, ziponnnap
1895 amnaychan : aguaitar o vigiar camino
amnaychi, amnnai(o)[a]c[h]tan
1896 liu : la pintura ô la letra
1897 alven : pintar ô escrivir
1898 liu alven : yo escribo ô pinto
1899 checho : plata
1900 achechouen : checho + ven: yo plateo
1901 puillquitz : oro
1902 apuillquitzuan : yo doro
1903 alluan : + nombre: volvere ô convertirse en lo que el nombre significa
1904 alluan : ir
1905 pey alluan : me convierto ô buelvo tierra
1906 ta milluan : te buevles piedra
1907 leu uxus llahuan : el gusano se buelve mariposa
1908 utzauch quectiye, santo quilluan : de pecadores que eramos, nos hazemos santos
1909 javey milluijan : os bolveis palos incorruptibles
1910 santo illahuan : se buevlen santos
1911 llauan : + cosas que se liquidan: derrertirse
1912 cot : agua
1913 yel-l cot llahu[an] : la sal se derrite ô haze agua &
1914 acqian : convertirse
1915 tanta cotiye, consegraci[o]n jil”pat : de pan que avia sido ô que antes era, Christo mata quií con las palabra[s] de la consegracion se convirtio en cuerpo de Christo
1916 camà hallavi•cho : ya se•te quito el mal

[3: ynfinivo + e l c l que: hazer hazer]
1917 ayoyan : yo lloro
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Año</th>
<th>Forma</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>ayou &amp;</td>
<td>preterito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>ayoctan &amp;</td>
<td>futuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>yoyoc</td>
<td>imperativo: llora tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>azyoyen</td>
<td>yo le hago llorar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>azyoyen</td>
<td>preterito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>azyoyejan</td>
<td>futuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>zoye, mitzoyeji</td>
<td>imperativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>allupan</td>
<td>como carne, pescado, maiz, maní y otras cosas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>allupan</td>
<td>yo como carne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>allupi &amp;</td>
<td>preterito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>allupitan</td>
<td>futuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>llup</td>
<td>imperativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>allupen</td>
<td>llup + en: hagole comer carne ó doyle a comer carne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>allupenen</td>
<td>presente: hagole que coma carne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>alluppey &amp;</td>
<td>preterito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>alluppeyeyan</td>
<td>futuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>llupej &amp;</td>
<td>imperativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>amenan</td>
<td>querer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>meñoc</td>
<td>imperativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>amenoccan</td>
<td>hagole que lo quiera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>alan</td>
<td>hago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>aloc</td>
<td>&lt; aloc: hagole que lo haga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>alocan, millocan, yo locan, quilocan, millocayan, locayan</td>
<td>presente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>alocajtan</td>
<td>(preterito) [futuro]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>locaj, millocajhi</td>
<td>imperativo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>palou alan</td>
<td>cuydolo ó tengo cuyدادo del</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>alan</td>
<td>dezir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>pitteca allamaan</td>
<td>: digote la verdad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Otro modo de compuestos **

Del verbo compuesto y deribativo. Qual sea y de quantas maneras se componga

Modo primero [con nombres]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Año</th>
<th>Forma</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>cullja</td>
<td>la vida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>acullja actan, acullja acopon</td>
<td>yo estoy vivo ó vivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>mu/pucullja mectan/micotpon</td>
<td>tu vives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>ngullja cotan/cotpon</td>
<td>aquel vive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cucullja quectan/quicotpon, mucullja mectihan/micotpojyan, chucullja chectan/chicotpon
1950 capac acullja actan : reyno
1951 capac mucullja mectan : tu reynas &
1952 acquian : hazerse, dezir &
1953 cama aquian : estoy enfermo
1954 oyna micquian : estas con salud
1955 missè quian : tiene frio
1956 uchuaj quiquian : tenemos calor
1957 ziurmicquieijan : estamos pobres necessitados
1958 lloc chiquian : estan desnudos
1959 ques acquian : creci o he crecido
1960 yosill miquii : te hiziste o volbiste miserio, mesquino
1961 hayu quiui : se hizo hombre
1962 camatzin aquian : mando, ordeno

1963 qui pa Jesu-Christo mec sacramento: N.S. Jesu-Christo ordeno, ystintuyò camatzin quiui todos los sacramentos
1964 mec yncha Dios camatzin quianco : todo lo que Dios manda
1965 ynchanam chiquian? : que dicen?
1966 heeyna chiquian : dicen que si
1967 acquian : convertir
1968 hostia tanta cotiye, consagracion : la hostia de pan, que avia sido o que jil pat, qui pa Jesu-Christo mat À qui era antes, con las palabras de la conse- gracion se convirtio en el cuerpo de Christo
1969 alluan : voyme
1970 putam te alluan : voy al pueblo
1971 anapim millactan? : cuando te iras?
1972 pey alluan : me convierto o vuelvo tierra
1973 lupocot jayu, yopunne mectan he, yopummall pit millactan : memento quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris
1974 ta milluan : te vuelves piedra
1975 leu uxus llahuan : el gusano se convierte en mariposa
1976 utzauch quectanco tep, ychamme : de pecadores que somos, haziendo penitencia lonap, santo quillactan verdadera penitencia, nos volbemos santos
1977 javey millajactan : os volveréis palos incorruptibles
1978 javey millajapectan : no os volveréis palos incorruptibles
1979 paleu uxux illahuan : los gusanos se convierten en mariposas
1980 yl-l cot llahuan : la sal se derrita o vuelbe agua
1981 uñep cot llavi : la cera se derrito

Otro modo [ymerativo en i + an: reiterar la accion: re-]
1982 actan: yo soy
1983 (a)cot, micotti: se tu
1984 acottian: yo vuelbo á ser
micottian, cottian, quicottian, micottijan, chicottian
1985 agollan: yo le amo
1986 ngolec, migolecqui: amale tu
1987 agolecquian: yo le vuelbo á amar
migolecquian, ygolecquian, quigolecquian, migolecquiyjan, ngolelacquian
1988 atzmen: le enseño
1989 zamej, mitzmehji: enseñale tu
1990 atzmejian: yo le vuelvo á enseñar
mitzmejian, itzmejian, quitzmejian, michmejiyhan, zamejiylan
1991 alon: hagolo
1992 loc, milocqui: haslo tu
1993 alocquian: vuelbo á hacerlo
milocquian, iloquian, quilocquian, milocquiayhan, loccajlacquian
1994 alon: mojar
1995 loj, miloji: mojalo tu
1996 alojian: yo le vuelvo á mojar
milojián, ilojián, quilojían, milojiayhan, lojilajian
1997 allupan: como carne, pescado &
1998 llup, millupi: come tu
1999 allupian: yo le vuelvo á comer carne &
mullupian, ullupian, cullupian, mullupiayhan, llupiaylan
2000 ayoyan: lloro
2001 yoyoc, miyoyoocqui: llora tu
2002 ayoyoquian: vuelvo á llorar
miyoyoquian, zoyoquian, quyoyoquian, miyoyoquiayhan, chiyoyoquian
2003 ayoyoquiay &: preterito
2004 allan: le doy
2005 lec, milecqui: dale tu
2006 alecquian: vuelvo á darle lo que me dio, vuelbole
lo que me dio y tambien restituyole lo que es suyo
2007 meetzounyco, ñanmitto: volviste lo que hurtaste á su dueño?
milequiay’le?
2008 aman: siembro
2009 [a]migian: reciembro

Otro modo [nombre + an, uan: hazer lo que el nombre significa]
2010 puyup: puente
2011 apyupan: hago mi puente
mipyupan, pu(p)yupan, cupyupan, mipyupouhan, chipyupan
2012 panâ: camino
2013 amnauan : hago mi camino
mimnavan, imnavan, quimnavan, mimnavouhan, chimnavan
2014 extec : vestido
2015 anextecuan : hago mi vestido
menextecvan, nextecvan, quenextecvan, menextecvouhan, nextecvoulan
2016 aniglesiauan : hago mi iglesia
2017 mi Pedro mectan, co ta ñante : tu es Petrus et super han[e] petram
aniglesiauoctan aedificabo ecclesiam meam: tu eres Pedro y sobre esta piedra edificaré mi iglesia
2018 ney : leña
2019 aneyan : hago mi leña
2020 zala : muger
2021 muluch : marido
2022 azlavan : me caso, uxorem duco
2023 apuluchan : marito, nubo
2024 mislavan : tu te casas
zalavan, quislavan, misla[v]ouhan, ytzalavan
2025 apuluchan : yo, muger, me caso
2026 pupuluchan : tu te casas
2027 muluchan : aquella se casa & cupulucchan, mupuluchouhan, cupuluchan
2028 azipan : hago me casa
2029 mitzipan : hazes &
2030 amnaychan : exploro ô vigio el camino
mimmaychan, manaychan, quimmaychan, mimnaychihan, chimnaychan; amnaychi, amnaye[ch]tan
2031 liu : libro, escrito, pintura
2032 alven : pintar, escribir
2033 liu alven : pinto
milven, ilven, quilven, milveyhan, liveylan; ylvey, quilvehtan &
2034 checho : plata
2035 achechovan : plateo
michechovan, chechovan, quichechovan, michechouvouhan, ychechovan; achechovou, aechechovoctan &
2036 puillquitz : oro
2037 apuillquizzuwan : yo doro
mipuillquizzuwan, puillquizzu, quipuillquizzuwan, mipuillquizzuouhan, chipuillquizzuwan &

Otro modo de compuestos [ymperativo absoluto + an: mandar ô hazer hazer]
2038 alan : agolo
2039 loc : hazlo tu
2040 alocan : < loc + an: hago que lo haga o mando
milocan, ylocan, quilocan, que lo haga
milocayhan, locaylan
2041 ameñan : lo quiero
2042 meñoc : quierelo tu
2043 ameñocan : hago que lo quiera
mimeñocan, quimeñocan, mimenocayhan, menocaylan

[an > en]
2044 axcan : bebo
2045 axquen : doyle de beber ó mamá
mixquen, ixquen, quixquen, mixqueyhan, xiqueylan
2046 axacan : me embriago
2047 axaquen : embriago ó otro
mixaquen,ixaquen, quixaquen, mixaqueyhan, xaqueylan
2048 allupan : como carne, pescado &
mullupen, ullupen, cullupen, mullupeyhan, llupeylan
2050 atupan : ando
mutupan, utpan, cutupan, mutupihan, tupilan
2051 atpen : hagole andar
mutpen, utpen, cutpen, mutpeyhan, tupeylan
2052 ahlan : hablo
2053 asinzivecan : hazer burla
mi(n)sinzivecan, ysinzivecan, quisinchivecan, misinzivecayhan, sinzivecaylan
2054 aaman : como
miaman, laman, quiaman, miamouhan, chiaman
2055 alammen : hagole comer
milamen, ilamen, quilamen, milameyhan, lameylan
2056 angoluan, angolvey, angolvantan
2057 alammam : matole, maltratole, aporreole
milammam, ylamman, quilaman, milamihan, lammilan
2058 alammacan : mandar ó hazerle matar
milammacan, ilammacan, quilammacan, milammacayhan, lammacaylan
2059 anglehan : le mato ó hago morir
menglehan, englehan, quinglehan, miglejihan, (e)mg[o]lejilan; golejilan
2060 ayo yan : lloro
miyoyan, zoyan, quiyoyan, miyoyouhan, chiyoyan
2061 atzoyen : hagole llorar
mitzoyen, ytzoyen, quitzoyen, zoyeylan
atzoyeytan; choyeg, mitzoieghi
2062 atzoyegjian : otra vez le hago llorar
miho yegjian, ycheyjian
2063 anexteconan : yo me visto
Quinto modo de compuestos [pronombres + p/m + verbo: reciprocacion, ad invicem]

- anextecan: yo le visto
- menextecan, nextecan & anextecquehtan; nextecqueh/menextecqueh-ji

 Sexto modo de composicion con algunas particulas

- allan: le doy
- alequian: le torno á dar
- alecan: le hago á mando dar
- aenan: me doy, me entrego, me ofresco
  - mienan, lenan, quienan, mienoujan, cheenan
  [emperativo + mullan: principiar la accion]

- alomullan: empiezo ó comienzo á hazerlo
- axihmullan: empiezo á beber
- axinahmullan: comienzo á oir
- amenomullan: empi[e]zo á quererle
- sehmullan: empi[e]za á nacer lo sembrado
  [emperativo + col-lan: concluir ó acabar de hacer la accion]

- alocol-lan: acabo de hazerlo
  - milocolan, ilocolan, quilocolan, milocolihan, locolihan
  - aloclo(o)[h]tan
- axihcolan: acabo de beberlo
- asinahcolan: acabo de oirlo
- mec ytzzac quixihcolliicho: ya acabamos de beber todala chicha
  [emperativo + pitzan: accion de passada ó á la propartida]

- atzachpitzan: lo veo de passada
- atunpitzan: le digo á la despedida ó propartida
- axihpitzan: bebo de passada
- asinahpitzan: oygole de pasada
misinahpitzan, ysinahpitzan
asihpitzi, misihpitzi
2090 paleche, atzachpitzan : passando lo acabo de ver

[emperativo + xipen: hazer casi ò por poco]
2091 atzapxipen : casi ò por poco lo cojo
atzapxipey
2092 atzachxipen : casi lo veo
2093 asinnahxipen : casi lo oýgo

[subjuntivo + patzan: continuacion de la accion por espacio de un dia]
2094 azipte atonhu•patzan : hasta la noche estoy en mi casa ó todo atonhu•patzi, atonhu•patzactan el dia
2095 apxavoch•patzan : todo el dia ê estado hilando
2096 miyech•patzan : todo el dia duermes

[subjuntivo + masan: continuacion de toda una noche]
2097 aluvoch•masan : toda la noche estoy triste y pesaroso
2098 yelmu agullech•masan : toda la noche (â) [ê] estado acostado
sin dormir
2099 quiyepacna quitonhu•masan : estamos sin poder dormir toda la noche

[subjuntivo + patzaquian: continuar la accion sin intermission]
2100 alech pachaquian : le doy continuamente
2101 atzachju•patzaquian : lo veo frequentemente
2102 amiachju•patzaquian : te veo continuamente
2103 mayachju•patzaquian : me ves frequentemente
2104 acullha acothu•patzaquian : vivo siempre
2105 capac acullha acothu patzaquian : reyno siempre
2106 capac nuguinha cothu patzaquiaytan : reynara para siempre
2107 cunutzha quiloch•patzaquian : continuamente pecamos
2108 achasoch•patz[2]aquian : siempre, continuamente juego

[ymperativo + chupan: disminuir la accion]
2109 agolechupan : le amo tiernamente, hagole amoritos
2110 amelochupan : lo quiero con ternura
2111 alochupan : lo hago con gusto
2112 asinahchupan : lo oýgo un poquito
2113 agolechúpan, migolechúpan, ygolechupan, migolechúpouhan, nãolechúpan
agolechupoctan; nãolechúpoc/migolechúpocquí

[nombres + atan: la accion de ellos]
2114 ayelam atan : hago la cama
messa atan : pongo la messa
2116 cot attan : traigo agua
2117 ques attan : le crio
2118 anextec attan : hago o compongo mi vestido
2119 zip attan : hagole o compongole su casa

2120 Dios muchan attan : ruego por el á Dios, le encomiendo á Dios
2121 Dios muchan amattan : te encomiendo á Dios
2122 Dios muchan amattiquihan : os encomiendo á Dios
2123 Dios muchan apahattiquian : ruego por ellos &
2124 Dios muchan quimattan : rogamos por ti
2125 Dios muchan ngattan : aquel ruega por mi
2126 muchan imattan : por [t]i
2127 muchan icattan : aquel por vosotros
2128 imattiquijan : aquel por vosotros
2129 muchan mahattiquian : aquel por aquellos
2130 muchan quimattoctan : por vosotros
2131 muchan quetottoctan : por aquel
2132 muchan quimattachan : por vosotros
2133 muchan quimattahactan : por aquellos
2134 muchan aticquian : ruego, intercedo por el
2135 ahl : hablo
2136 ahitlan : ahlan + t: intercedo
2137 attan : anan + t: digole

2138 alan : yo le hago
2139 milan, ylan, quilan, milouhan, loulan
2140 alou : preterito ymperferfecto: yo le hacía, hize
2141 alouve : plusquamperfecto: lo había hecho
2142 aloctan : futuro: le haré
2143 loc, milocqui : ymperativo: hazlo tu
2144 alocte, alocge : agalo yo
2145 alongo que, alocteque : obtativo: yo lo hiziera, haría y hiziesse
2146 alou cottoque/cotteque : preterito plusquamperfecto: yo lo huviera, avría y huviesse hecho
2147 aloch : subjuntivo: haziendolo, aviendo hecho, cuando lo haga, en haziendolo &
2148 alocte : infinitivo: hazerle
2149 alou cotnap : por haverlo hecho
2150 alolam : aver de hazerlo
2151 alolam cotnap : por aver de hacerlo
2152 alou, alouinco : participios: yo que lo hago
2153 alouve, alouveinco : yo que lo hize, yo que lo avia hecho
2154 aloctan ynco : yo que lo hare
2155 alolamync : yo que lo he de hazer
2156 alocotehe, alolamhe : gerundios: para hazerlo, de hazerlo y a ha[ce]lo yo &
2157 lochhe : haziendolo, en haziendolo &
2158 lonnap : aviendo ó en aviendo hecho
2159 alongo : factible ó lo que yo puedo hazer
2160 alopan : no lo hago
    aloupitzo, alouvepritzo; alopectan, aloupitzo actan; loumu/milacnic/milochin, alopecte, alopecge;
    alopacnaque/alopezcteq; aloupitzo cottoque/cotteque; alopech; alopecte; alopecanhe/alopeztehe,
    lochhe pytico, lopennap; quilopacna
2161 aloitzan : yo soy hecho
    miloitzan, loitzan, quiloichan, miloitziyan, (loitizlan) [iloitzan]
    aloichi, aloichiye; aloichant, aloichi actan; loich, aloichte, aloiche;
    aloichoque/ alochique, aloichi cottoque/coteque; aloich; loichte; [o]ich;
    aloichlamhe, aloichge, loitzanap
2162 alocan : hazer que lo haga, mandarlo hazer
    milocan, ylocan, milocayhan, locaylan
    alocai, alocayye, milocayye, ylocayye, quilocayye, milocayhaque, locaylaque
    alocanhe, alocay actan; locah/milocaheji, alocayhe, alocayhege;
    alocayhejoque/alocahejohe, alocaylanap; quilocaylan; locahjuch
2163 alocquian : rehazerlo, bolver a hazerlo
    milocquian, ylocquian, [quilocquian], (qu)[m]ilocquiayhan, lolocquian
    aloquiay, aloquiayye; aloquiahntan, aloquiay actan; loquiah/milolquiahji,
    aloquiahte, aloquiahge;
    aloquiahjoque/alochiohque, aloquiay cottoque/coteque; aloquiahju;
    aloquiahhtan, aloquiahactan; loquiahhe, locahe, locahgenap;
    quilocaylan; locahjuch
2164 Dios muchan alanco : reverencio, venero y adoro á Dios
    milanco, ilanco, quilanco, milouhanco, loulanco
    alouinco; alocan
2165 aonan : me hago
2166 pallou mionan : te hazes bueno
2167 yxivah lonan : se hace malo
    quionan, mionouhan, chionan
aonou, aonouve; aonoctan, aonou actan; aonongque/aonocteque; aonou cottoque/ cotteque; aonocge, onoc/mionocqui, aonocte; aonoch; aonolamhe/aonoctehe, onoce, ononnap

2168 alocol-lan : concluir ó acabar de hazer lo comen-
milocollan, ilocol-lan, quiloc[ol]lan, zado
milocolihan, lo(lo)colilan
alocoli; aloclohtan; aloclohjoque/aloclohteque, alocoli cottoque/cotteque;
alocloju &

2169 aloclojju &
alochupan : hagole poquito
milochupan, ylochupan, quilochoqupan, lochupoulan
alochupou, alocupouve; alocupoctan, alocupou actan;
lochupoc/milochupocqui, alocupocte,
alochupoce; alocupongoque/alocupocteque, alocupou
cottoque/cotteque; alocupoch; alocupocte;
alochupolamge/alochupoct[el]he, lochupoche, lochuponap

2170 alupon : [hazer]

2171 mulupon : tu? 
ylupon, quilopon, milopoyhan, lopoylan
alupoy, alupoyye; alopohtan, alopoy actan; lopoh/mulpohji, alopehte,
apolohge; alopehjoque/apollohteque,
alopoy cottoque/cotteque; alopehju; alopehte; alopehlamhe, alopehteh

2172 alomullan : comienzo ó empiezo â hazerlo
milomullan, ylomullan, quimullouhan, lolamullan
alomullou, alomullouve; alomuloctan, alomullou actan;
lomullo/milomullouqui, alomulocote, alomulloge;
alomullongque/alomullocteque, alomullou cottoque/cotteque; alomulloch;
alomulocote; alomullolamhe/almomulloctehe, alomulocge, alomullonap;
alomullovuch

2173 alollucan : concluyo, acabo de hacerlo
milollucan, ylollucan, quilloquihan, lolollucan
alolluqui, alolluqiye; alollucohtan, alolluqui actan; lollucoh/milollucohji,
alollucohte, alollucohge;
alollucojque/alollucohtequy, alolluqui cottoque/cotteque; alollucojju;
alollucoht; alollucohlamhe/alollucohte[ge]; alollucohj; lollucohge,
lollucohgenap; lollucovuch

2174 alopul-lan : descanso, ceso ó dexo de hazerlo
milopul-lan, ylopulan, quiloquihan, lolapulan
alopuli, alopuliyi; alopultan, alopuli actan; lopul, milopul-li;
alopuloque/alopulteque, alopuli cottoque/cotteque; alopulte, alopulhe;
alopulhu; alopulte; alopul-lamhe/alopultehe, lopulhe, lupul-lennap

2175 alochen : lo ando haziendo
milochen, quilocen, milocheyhan, lolachen
alochez, alocheeye; alocheztan, alocheh actan; locheh/milochej, alochehete, alochehge; alochehjoque/aloochehteque, alocheh cottoque; alochehju; alocheheme; alochehge; alochehjuch

2176 alopitzan : hagolo de passado â• la despedida
milopitzan, ylopitzan, milopitzihan, lolapichan
alopichi, alopichiye; alopitztan, alopichi actan; lo(c)pich/milo(c)pitzi,
alo(c)pit(x)[tz]te, alopichge; alo(c)pitxoque/alo(c)pit(x)[tz]teque, alopichi
cottoque/ cottoque; alo(c)pitz; alo(c)pichlamhe, alopi(x)[tz]tehe; alopicho;
alopitxe, alopitzennap; lo(c)pichju(ch)

2177 alopaleqian : lo ando haziendo de aqui para alli
milopalequian, ylopadlueqian, milopalequian, milopalequiayhan,
lolapalequian
alopalequiay, alopalequiaiye; alopalequijtan, alopalequiay actan; lopalequi-
aj/ milopalequiahji, alopalequiayhete, alopalequiayhge;
alopalequiahjoxef/ alopalequiayhteqte, alopalequiay cottoque/cottoque;
alopalequiahjux; alopalequiayhete; alopalequiayhlanhe, alopalequiayhetehe;
alopalequiahjox; lopalequiahge, lopalequiahgennap; lopalequiahjuch

2178 aloclojian : concluyo ò acabo de rehazerlo
miloclohjian, yloclohjian, miloclohjiayhan, loclohiyalan
aloclohjiay, aloclohjiayye; aloclohjiaytan, aloclohjiay actan;
loclojiyah/miloclojiayhji, aloclohjiayhte, aloclohjiayhge;
aloclohjiayhoque/aloclohiayhteqte, aloclohjiay
cottoque/cottoque; aloclohjiayhjux; aloclohjiayhete;
aloclohjiaylamhe, aloclohjiayhetehe; aloclohjiayju; loclohjiayhge,
loloclohiaygennap; loclohjiayhjuch

2179 aloch•patzaquian : lo hago continuamente
miloch•patzaquian, yloch•patzaquian, quiloch•patzaquian, miloch•patzaquiayhan, loloch•patzaquian
aloch•patzaquiy, aloc•patzaquiyay; aloc•patzaquiytan,
aloch•patzaquiy actan; loch•patzaquiah/miloch•pachquaunhi,
aloch•pachquaunhe, aloc•patzaquiah; aloc•patzaquiahjoxef/ aloc•pachquaunhteqte, aloc•pachquaun cottoque/cottoque;
aloch•pachquaunhu; aloc•pachquaunhete; aloc•pachquaunlamhe,
aloch[h]•pachquaunhehe; aloc•pachquaunju; iloch•pachquaunhe;
iloch•pachquaungennap &

2180 aloch•patzan : lo hago todo el dia
miloch•patzan, yloch•patzan, quiloch patzan, miloch•patzihan,
loloch•pachan
aloch•pazi, aloc•patziye; aloc•pachactan, aloc•pachi•actan;
loch•pachac/miloch•pachacqui, aloc•pachac, aloc•pachacge;
aloch•pachangoque/aloch•pachacque, aloc•pachi cottoque/ cottoque;
alo•ch•patzach; alo•ch•pachacte; alo•ch•pachac-lamhe, alo•ch•pachactehe;
aloch•pachango; loch•pachage, loch•pachagenap

2181 aloch•masan : lo hago toda la noche
miloch•masan, yloch•masan, quiloche•masan, miloch•masouhan,
lolach•masan
alo•ch•masou, alo•ch•masouve; alo•ch•masoctan, alo•ch•masou actan;
loch•masoc/miloche•masocqui;
alo•ch•masongoque/aloch•masocque, aloch•masou cottoque/cottaque;
alo•ch•masoch; aloch•masongo;
alo•ch•masocque; aloch•masolamhe/aloch•masoctehe, loch•masoche,
loch•masochenap

Del verbo defectivo que ay en esta lengua
2182 chim : dame
2183 chim menel : dame tu yuca
2184 chim mi•tanta : dame de tu pan
2185 allan : doyle
2186 chim mitanta ec/maecqui : dame pan
2187 chim mitantaha ma(c)[e]hacqui : dame de vuestro pan
2188 jay, jaya, entoñpitjina : no se
2189 chim mitongui : estate ô sientate un poco
2190 chim miamocqui : come un poco
2191 ñammo quillacte/quillacteâ : vamos
2192 aquinajjâ : esperame
2193 ajuiain : espera todavia
2194 ayte : calla
2195 ayteaj : callad vosotros
2196 misse pactan : haze frio
2197 muxac maichan : haze sol
2198 zi•mahattan : llueve
2199 zimusan : llovizna ô está lloviznando
2200 casmanc : ventea ô ventisca
2201 lasu•muillan : n[l]eva ô graniza
2202 cajapey matian : yela
2203 pulum jilan : truena
2204 pachol-lan : relampaguea
2205 pellip•llepan : lo mismo
2206 zisitan : escampa ô dexa de llover
2207 paxlan : haze verano
2208 zi•mitta pactan : tiempo de aguas
2209 zi•let : ybierno
477

2210 paxol-let : verano
2211 uchuah pactan : haze calor
2212 misse acquian : tengo frio
2213 uchuah acquian : tengo calor
miis mi/piquian, quian, quiqian, miquihan, chiqian
2214 alon : le mojo
2215 ñgaloy, zitup ñgaloy : el aguacero me mojô
2216 zitup im/ploy : te mojô
2217 zitup iloy : le mojô ó le llovio
2218 zitup icloy : nos mojô
2219 zitup imlohya : os llovio
2220 zitup moloy : el aguacero los mojô
2221 amon : le quemo
2222 muxac ñgapon : el sol me quema ó abrasa
2223 ymon : le quema
2224 ympoy : te quemô
2225 amon : tener calentura
ngapon, ymon, ypon, icpon, impoyhan, mopon
ñgapoy, ympoy &
2226 atzan : me yelo de frio
mitzan, tazan, quitzan, mitzihan, yttassan
atztan; tas, mitazi
2227 caz ngaxeposan : me da el viento, me ayreo
cas imxeposan, cas yxeposan, icxeposan, ymxepozihan, mozeposan
ngaxepossi; ngaxepostan
2228 jay, jayya : no se ó ignorar
2229 axeposan : soplo el fuego
mixeposan, xeposan, quixeposan, mixeposijan, xsepadosan
aseposou, axepossi; axepostan; xepos, mixepossi
2230 amallouven : aprovechalo ó le hago bien
mimallouven, ymallouven, quimallouven, mimalloveyhan, chimallouven
2231 zuquiou ymallouvehpan : no le aprovecha al enfermo el remedio

Libro quarto

De las quatro partes restantes de la oracion. De la posposicion
2232 te : acusativo de movimiento, ablativo de quietud: en
: + participio: quando
2233 palam°te alluan : voy a la plaza
2234 alonte : a fuera
2235 te•putam°te : en el cielo
2236 co putam°te : acâ en la tierra
2237 millavite : cuando te fuiste
llan-go-te : cuando se vaya
minen-te : en tu poder
Dios nen-te mec quetgan : todos estamos en poder ó en las manos de Dios
mahach.2-te.1 mellus.6-man.5 : 1.a la 2.noche 3.se entro ó embarco
Pedro.4 neitzi.3 : 4.Pedro 5.en 6.la canoa
le, patle : usque, tenus, hasta
liman-le, liman-patle : hasta la sierra
Truxillo-patle : hasta Truxillo
acol-lo-patle : hasta que yo me muera
le, patle : donec, quantum, inquantum, dum
nguinha cotto-patle : dum vixerit: mientras viva ó mientre viviere
aquinha acotopatle : dum vixer : mientras yo viva
patle + ll : coarta la accion o prescribe el termino
millango-pat-lell : hasta que te vayas no mas
xocot-patlell : no mas que hasta el rio
tep : correlativa [de patle]
mi-tep oc-patle : desde ti hasta mi
anamol-patlegem milluan? : por quantos dias te vas?
yp-semana-patle : por dos semanas
ych-pep-patle : por tres meses ó lunas
apilliu-patle : por un año
capi nem-tep ipztoc-mol-patle : desde oy en seis dias
pojo-pat at-mol-le : pasa(n)do mañana
anapel-patlem miloclohtan? : en quantos meses lo acabaras de hacer?
appel-patle : en un mes
annapatlem? : hasta quando?
annapeltem : en quantos meses?
annapilutem : en quantos años?
outu : procul, peregre, lejos
outu puttamte alluan : voy á lejas tierras
co-tep outu : lejos de aqui
cou-tep ma outu pactan : está muy lejos de aqui
outup, outuque : de lexos
outu puttam-teque cotan : es de lexas tierras
e, que, teque : ex I de, la materia de que es la cosa
puillquitz-é cham : cadena de oro
chechoque pixcam : vaso de plata
taque : de piedra
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<tr>
<td>2277</td>
<td>mech´tchê</td>
<td>: de madera ó de palo</td>
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<td>2278</td>
<td>puillquitz´té at´cham acotan</td>
<td>: tengo una cadena de oro</td>
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<td>2279</td>
<td>Limateque</td>
<td>: soy de Lima</td>
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<tr>
<td>2280</td>
<td>España´tque actan</td>
<td>: soy de España</td>
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<td>2281</td>
<td>Ochanach´tchê</td>
<td>: de Ochanache</td>
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<td>2282</td>
<td>limanne</td>
<td>: de la sierra</td>
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<tr>
<td>2283</td>
<td>coteque actan</td>
<td>: soy de aquí</td>
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<tr>
<td>2284</td>
<td>eo putamteque</td>
<td>: de este pueblo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2285</td>
<td>Luissè Maria´tque chupul</td>
<td>: hijo de Luis y de María difuntos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2286</td>
<td>ñanman + te</td>
<td>: coram, delante, enfrente, en presencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2287</td>
<td>ocñañnamante´te</td>
<td>: delante de mí ó en mi presencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2288</td>
<td>miñañnamante´t</td>
<td>: delante de ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2289</td>
<td>atzip ñanman´te Juan zip taptan</td>
<td>: la casa de Juan está delante ó en frente de la mia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2290</td>
<td>ñanman´tall</td>
<td>: presencialmente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2291</td>
<td>Dios ñanman´t</td>
<td>: en presencia de Dios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2292</td>
<td>mon + te</td>
<td>: retro, post, pone, tras ó detrás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2293</td>
<td>amonte</td>
<td>: detrás de mí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2294</td>
<td>mi/pimonte</td>
<td>: detrás de ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2295</td>
<td>monte mitzan</td>
<td>: viene tras el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quimonte, mimonhate, chimonte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2296</td>
<td>amonte (i)mohnman</td>
<td>: detrás de mi viene subiendo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2297</td>
<td>monte llactan</td>
<td>: yrase tras el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2298</td>
<td>mon + nay</td>
<td>: por [detrás]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2299</td>
<td>chimon•nay chipzan</td>
<td>: vienen por detrás de ellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2300</td>
<td>yglesia monte Juan zip taptan</td>
<td>: detrás de la iglesia está la casa de Juan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2301</td>
<td>nay</td>
<td>: post, per, por detrás, por</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2302</td>
<td>anay mitzan</td>
<td>: viene en pos de mi ó detrás de mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minay, nay, quinay, minayha, ynay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nay, nayme</td>
<td>: per, por, per viam, por el camino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2303</td>
<td>pana nayme Soledad´t</td>
<td>: para llegar à la Soledad, passamos por</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quianetectehe, Huaylillas nayme quipallan</td>
<td>Huaylillas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2304</td>
<td>lumte, ñante</td>
<td>: super, supra, sobre, encima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2305</td>
<td>añante</td>
<td>: sobre mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2306</td>
<td>miñante</td>
<td>: sobre ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2307</td>
<td>lapan</td>
<td>: trepa sobre si ó se sube encima de si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2308</td>
<td>mesa ñante</td>
<td>: sobre la mesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2309</td>
<td>quianante</td>
<td>: sobre nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2310</td>
<td>miñantha´t</td>
<td>: sobre vosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2311</td>
<td>yñante</td>
<td>: sobre ellos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2312</td>
<td>alunte</td>
<td>: sobre mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2313</td>
<td>mulunte</td>
<td>: sobre ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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2315 mech lumte : sobre el árbol o madero
culumte, mulumhate, ulumte
2316 mula•lumte cutuplam pana : camino de mulas
2317 quichel¹ pat cutup-lam pana : camino de a•pie
2318 mula lumte cutuplam pana pactan : ay camino de mulas
2319 miñ, ñ : secundum, segun
2320 camatzin miquii®miñ : segun mandaste û ordenaste
2321 qui”maancoñ quiloctan : haremos’lo segun ô como nos lo
mandas
2322 miñlancoñ ate loitzge : Luca. 1: fiat mihi secundum verbum
tuum: hagase en mi segun tu palabra
2323 mallusaicqui, á®pa Dios, mi®ocho
mipcolelam’miñ; mahall
mipcolelammiñpit anixivah
mapixtohi
2324 miñ, ñ : instar, a semejanza ô a modo
culma®c®ten cul®miñ
2325 : redondo, como ovillo de algodon
2326 quizna cotan, zenta®miñ
2327 : esta azul, como el cielo
2328 llaczà zucu®miñ
2329 : ligerito como pajaro
etz®miñ aitechu mitzan
2330 : viene â escondidas como ladron
cuchillo®miñ igñitan
2331 : corta como cuchillo
2332 a®pa®tu mipaha®tu®pit amohnan
2333 : ascendiendo ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem
vestrum: asciendo â donde mi padre y
vuestro padre
2334 tu + p : de donde
2335 tu + pe : lo que es nuestro, de nuestra
compañía, nacion, parentela
2336 chipahattanco quiha®tuppé
chectan®lé?
2337 minaha®tuppe
2338 chihatuppe
2339 oc®tuppe
2340 tup
2341 oc®tup
2342 mi®tup
2343 sa®tup
2344 ay
2345 mitzan : viene detras
2345 anay minan : vienes detrás de mi
minay, nay, quinay, minayha, nay
2346 anay mas tan : es menor que yo
2347 anay masou : naciste después de yo
2348 ayall : finalmente
2349 ayall quilocollan : finalmente lo acabamos de hacer
2350 xahanne : el que nace primero
2351 ayè : contrario de xahanne
2352 axahanne axot : mi hermano mayor
2353 axayye axot : mi hermano menor
2354 he, ge : + dolerse & de de qué
2355 amquixajige aluzaquievohnan : pesame de que te ofendí de averte ofendido
2356 tep : a, ab, ex, de, per, propterea, post, secundum
2357 Dios"tep : de Dios
2358 Dios"tep quicotlam quinpgii : de Dios o por virtud de Dios hemos recibido el ser
2359 Juan"tep xeli cotan : esta preñada de Juan
2360 camatzin miqii"tep, quilan : hacemoslo como o según lo mandaste
2361 cotep : desde aquí
2362 capitep : desde ahora
2363 capi nem"tep : desde hoy
2364 Pisanatep : desde Pizana
2365 Lima"tep : desde Lima
2366 llacpat : ob, propter, propterea, quia, quoniam, por, por causa, por amor
2367 Dios"llacpat : de amor de Dios
2368 mimilllacpat : por amor de ti o por tu causa
2369 anixivah amacanco"llacpat, anutzap pit añanman"ná accotan
llacpat : Psalm. 50: quoniam iniquitatem meam
eogocognosco, et pec[clatum meum
contra me est semper: porque conosco
mi iniquidad, tengo presente mi pecado siempre
2370 ymcollanco"llacpat : participios de presente + llacpat = porque: porque te ama
2371 ypeñanco"llacpat : porque nos quiere
2372 icjañanco"llacpat : porque nos tiene cariño
2373 llavi cotnap : preterito + cotnap = participio de presente + llacpat: porque se fui
2374 mitayla"llacpat/cotnap
chipoxai(c)chan : los azotan porque faltaron
2375 mi[tuh]lach chipoxaichchan : porque faltaron, los azotan
ñittavoch, zepu’muchila : porque se huyo ó por cimarron lo pusieron en el zepo
cotnaque : por industria, disposicion, providencia, en vez de, en lugar de
capac micotnaque, caz•malépalequian, caz•mitzpalequiahlan, caz•pit uccuperhohlam mecot, xocotloltit, cochmi ngullha•cotlam
mitup mumuchehpalequian : por ó con tu poder, providencia, disposicion, soplan por todas partes los vientos, por todas partes llueve, y el fuego nos nos calienta y llenas los rios de pezes
micotnaque oyna axua apolamman : por tu causa ó consejo mato bastante pescado
micotnaque oyna amsan : por tu industria ó direccion hago buena compra
fierro amiztege’na misenge-napnaque, cinta amsan : en lugar ó en vez de comprar fierro, compra cintas y ropa
fierro’cotnaque cinta’pit, nextecpit : pedi licencia con engaño y mentira para ir á comprar fierro, y compro cintas
quihava quilopacnaque, minaque milan : lo que nosotros no pudieramos hazer, tu lo hazes
minahava milohapacnaque, ocnaque: lo que vosotros no podeis hazer, hagolo yo
mihil’naque, ayeilan : por lo que tu hablaste ó dixiste, me riñen
minaquel alupoylan : por tu causa me aborrecen
anzel azapte’na sepeh-ge’naque, anzel ytzpan : por coger uno, coge otro ó queriendo coger uno, coge otro
ynco’tte tonpeyá’te/tonpacnaque/togui’pitzo’que, ytzpectege llavi : sin que huviesse estado allí ó sin aver estado allí ó sin qué pudiese estar allí, lo fue á ver
nuhman yuxam âzaptena quingoque,: pensando ó pareciendole que prendia oulam’tup itzahi : sin qué, ni para qué, sin causa ni razon padeceis
culuyum’pacnaque muluyummihan : sin qué, ni para qué, sin causa ni razon padeceis
quihiilpacnaque mihlihan : hablais lo que no se debe
quellpac : alrededor
aquellpac chiqui(ch)en : andan alrededor de mi
man : intus, inter, intra, dentro, entre
iglesiaman : dentro de•la iglesia
minahaman : entre vosotros
culuman : intra praecordia, dentro de las entrañas
mol : solar ó ambito de la casa
2399 azip molman ma•pactan : no está en el plan de mi casa
2400 xàllàman luctan : está dentro del canasto
2401 mimillac : cerca

2402 xocot mimillac : cerca del río
2403 oc amimillac te majall jill chiquichen: cerca de mi andan muchos mosquitos
2404 amimillacven : acercarse
mimillacven, yminillacven, quiminillacven, miminlla[c]veyhan, mimillaceylan
2405 amimillac[c]vehtan : futuro
2406 pi : azia
2407 copi•pitz : ven aquí ó aca
2408 coñpi : como azia aquí
2409 copi : azia aquí
2410 pe•ampi : acia alla, acia aculla
2411 ampepi : acia ávajo, acia lo profundo
2412 tehpi : azia arriba
2413 cop•ñan : de esta parte ó banda
2414 pep•ñan : de otra parte ó banda
2415 xocot cop•ñan : de esta banda del río
2416 xocot pep•ñan : de otra banda del río
2417 lec : sub, subter, debajo
2418 alecte : debajo de mi
2419 milecte : debajo de ti
2420 messa lecman ó lecte : debajo de la messa
2421 chaplron lec“man : debaxo de la olla
2422 payam : casi ó por poco
2423 payamcho : ya falta poco
2424 payam apuillxipey : casi ó por poco me cai
2425 xipey : significa lo mismo
2426 acolxipey : casi ó por poco me mori
micolxipey, ngolxipey, quicolxipey, micolxipeyha, chicolxipey

Del adverbio. De los de lugar

2427 ynto : ubi, donde
2428 yntote : unde, de donde
2429 yntote : quo, adonde
2430 yntonaymem : qua, por donde
2431 yntotepi : quorsum, acia donde
2432 m : pregunta
2433 entotem cotan? : donde esta?
2434 cote : aquí esta
2435 yncote ton/cotan : allí esta
2436 zipte ton : esta en casa
yntotepam minan? : unde, de donde vienes?
yglesia tiq o Dios zip o mammam anan: de la iglesia o de la casa de Dios
ahach tiq anan : vengo de mi chacara
yntotem milluan? : quo, a donde vas?
mech man alluan : voy al monte o a la montaña
liman te alluan : voy a la sierra
aguchistehe alluan : voy a pasear
ytonaymem metz ejitziy? : qua, por donde volviste?
liman naym ejitzsian, ay, ajt: por la sierra
yntotepim milluan? : quorsum, acia donde vas?
puyuptepi alluan : voy hacia la puente
mumutamha te alluan : voy hacia a vuestro pueblo
yntotepipam minan? : de hacia donde vienes?
Pisanapip anan : de hacia Pisana
Pucalatepip anan : de hacia Pucará

De otros adverbios y modos de hablar con nombres y verbos a que se juntan
acú : de amor, de cariño, de lastima
acúna yman : te dice que te ama o acaricia
tesim, atziu : continuamente, frecuentemente
ñammó quillacte : vamos
ñanmac : cada
dia
ñanmac : cada noche
ñanmac : cada semana
ñanmac : cada mes o cada luna
ñanmac : cada año
jai, jayah, yntoñpitjin, yntoñpitijinah: de dudar, no se
nah : ea
ayachon nah : ea mirame
acho : empero
Juan llavi, mi acho intotem mectan? : Juan se fue, pero tu, donde estas?
ayte : quieto, quedo
ayte ton : estate quieto
aytell : quietecito
aytell micothacqui : estaos quietecitos o queditos
ayte chu, ayte chuall : a escondidas, de secreto
chu : diminutivo
aplup chu : mi hijito
ayte chu : de espacio
ayte chuall : a escondidillas, de secreto
napi : cuando
anapim cote mitontan? : quando estarás aqui?
micotto napi : quan[do] tu estès
anapi chiha

anna•mittatem : en algún tiempo
anapipit ilopectan : no lo hará nunca
anapichin : no se en qué tiempo
anapipit : nunca jamás
anapipit alopectanallehó : ya nunca más lo haré
anapichom yam•mi’ quictan? : ¿cuándo en qué tiempo te has de enmendar?
ynconapi : entonces
te : cuando
atem miipoctan : ¿cuándo harás tu casa?
annapichin : no se cuando
jayu axungall chicotte•te, aipoctan : harela, cuando la gente este junta
annatepit : cada y cuando
anam : así como
miñ, iñ, coñ, yncoñ, miñall, incoñall; de la misma suerte, modo, manera incoñsimall
anam milancoñ, oc’pit aloctan : así como tu lo hazes, yo también lo haré
anam Dios tupat cunutza quilou : así como nosotros queremos que nos perdone Dios nuestros pecados, de la misma manera hemos de perdonar las ofensas que nos han hecho nuestros próximos
tupat : contra
atupat nguixuan : se enoja o esta enojado contra mi
atupat miquix(x)ui mectan’lé? : estas enojado conmigo?
lé : [n]terrogativo y disyuntivo
ma : negación
malé nonne, main, mainlé : todavía no, aun no
milé, oclé? : tú o yo?
mu, nic, chin : de prohibir
lou’mu : no lo hagas
munutza mil(a)[o]le’nic : no peques
millachin : no te vayas

Diferentes modos de preguntar y responder
annapatlem? : hasta cuando?
annapatle’chin : no se hasta cuando
annapichin : no se cuando
annapocam? : quantas vezes?
appoc appoqege : algunas veces
appocall : una vez solamente
appoc : una vez
ynto•mec poc mige alupactan, : quantas vezes me acuerdo de ti, tanto
inco•mec poc Dios muchan amattan u otras tantas te encomiendo a Dios

anna•mecam? : quanto? quantos en numero?
ynto•mec : tantos
ynto•mec pit, ynto•mec chin : quanto quiera
ynto•mec nic : quanto mas
ynto•mec pallou cotan qui° Dios° sà : quan bueno es nuestro Dios y Señor
ynto•mec macjai° nic mectan? : quan dichoso eres?
ynto•mec mayan, into•mec° all amectan : quanto me das, te dare

ynto•mec ixivah cotan? : tan malo que malo es?
ynto•mec tenon : tanto menos
yntoñam? : como?
yntoñam ymou? : que te hizo?
yntoñam maocstan? : que me haras?
yntoñam maongo? : que me harias o hizieras?
yntoñapam? : de que temano?
confap : de este porte o tamaño
tenap : como aquel &
ynto? : que es de ello, donde esta?
yntoñ° chin : no se donde
yntoñ° chin : no se como, dudando
yntonco? : qual
tenoncom cotan? : qual es?
yntoncopit : qualquiera
yntotepam minan? : de donde vienes?
yntoteque° pit : de cualquiera parte
yntotepam mectan? : de donde eres?
ynto puttamte° pam? : de que pueblo?
yntoñam mectan? yntoñam miquian?: como estas o te sientes?
yntoñom pactan? : que hora es?
payamcho pazactan : breve de aqui a poco anochecerá
yntonco mimoñlanco : qual tu quisieres

ajacquian : a mi parecer, a lo que mi parece
ajacqui, ajacquictan
quilongo pixin° na ajacquian : a lo que me parece que se puede hacer
yxxac : dificil, trabajoso
yxxacqui° pat llucan : apenas, con dificultad se acaba
yxxac° qui° pat cullcoj(in)ap, zi° mahat° mullou : aviendo acabado con trabajo, empezó a llover
ampal : cosa antigua, de tiempo pasado
2551 ampal-le haju cotan : es hombre de la antiguedad
2552 ampeh : abajo
2553 ampetepi : hazia abaxo
2554 ampeh : ondo, ondura
2555 oncxu ampeh soula : zanja ó pozo hondo
2556 ampim miquian? : que hazes? desvarsias? loqueas?
2557 atmol-le atmol-le : de día en día, de mañana en mañana
2558 at’smita : una vez
2559 zi•mita•cho pactan : ya es tiempo de aguas
2560 paxol•mita : verano
2561 capi mitta pactan : aora es tiempo de pescar, de fruta &
2562 capill : aora, aorita
2563 ma capill : en este instante
2564 capi•nomall : aora poco á aora no mas
2565 capi•nom : aora poco á
2566 capi•tep : desde aora
2567 capi•teppâ : de aqui adelante
2568 capitep anamoltem? : de aqui á quantos dias?
2569 cotepep inemte/...patle : de aqui á dos dias
2570 capique : cosa nueva, de nuevo
2571 capocall : solamente ó meramente
2572 alumanall, aluman capo•all alupacti: en mi interior solamente lo pense
2573 chiha yptapi : ellos dos juntos
2574 chiha yptall : ellos dos solos, no mas
2575 cote : aqui
2576 copi : acia aqui
2577 copi pitz : ven aca
2578 cotepep : desde aqui
2579 cochute : cerca
2580 ma cochute : muy cerca
2581 co : (esto) [este], esta, esto
2582 cotepep : despues de esto
2583 cö•montep : demas de esto
2584 cosillvoch(ch)e cosillvoch(ch)e : andando alrededor
2585 acosilluan : andando a la redonda
2586 acosillvo, acosillvoctan
2587 acqulpac : cerca redondando
2588 cuchute, cochuap : de cerca
2588 outup, outuppê : de lexos
2589 coteque : de aqui, de aca
2590 comannap : despues de esto
2591 comannap nichunic pallou : mas bueno que esto
2592 coque : de esto
2593 coque ngap : coge de esto
cotepepepatle: de aqui hasta alli
coño: de esta manera
coño simall, ynceño simall: asii tambiien, de la misma suerte
copi? nom: un poco cerca
coichi? nom: mas cerquita ô poco mas cerca
comiñ: como esto
coñ: E simall, yncosimall: assi tambien, de la misma suerte
collpitzosim: no esto solamente
collpitzosimmâ: no solo esto
collacpat: por esto
cor?mecall: tanto como esto no mas
yntonaymem?: por d(a)[o]nde?
cor?nayme: por aqui
pe?nayme: por alli
ampeh?nayme: por abaxo
teh?nayme: por arriba
culupacti? pitzo tell: sin pensar, de repente
genappall: casualmente
cunchu: poquito, pequeiiio, pequeiiito
cunchu napi?t: ni un tantito, ni un poquito
anzel napi?t: ni siquiera uno
cunchu cunchuall: un poquito no mas
nichupat: por poquito
ma?nichu? pat: por muy poco
ma nicher?pat atzapipey: por poquito lo cogi ô agarre
ngupeñ: tibia, medio caliente
cot ngupepeñ: agua tibia
nguppeñ nom: algo tibia
cech cot: agua clara
pojocpat pactan: estâ claro y manifiesto
patzañuetzet: al rebes
jocpat alomte: claramente, a las claras
alom?te pactan: es publico
genapah ô henapah: mira lo que hazes
genapâh: ya lo vez, amedrentando ô reconvi-niendo
genap?pit, henapitt, chin, jappit: quizas
ham: mas si es
coham: mas si es esto
ngoltan?jam: mas si se morirâ
ngolloquejam: mas si se muriera, muriesse
jayu acti? tep: desde que tengo ser de hombre
jonc: cosa ancha
jon ques cotan: e[s]tâ ancho
yejonopatall, yejonochell: a escondidas
zamochell : sabiamente
macochell : conocidamente, consideradamente
lupocothell : pensadamente
maçaichell : alegramente, dichosa, bienaventuradamente
pallou : cosa buena
amallou : mi bien ó provecho
mimalou, mallou, quimallo, mimallouha, chimallou
pallouvall : bienamente
amallouven : me aprovecha
allhi : cosa alegre, contenta, dulce, sabrosa
allhiall : dulcemente
allhiall ixcan : bebe con gusto
allhi allhiall : dulcemente
pupuluch nani cotnap, allhi pectan : estas contenta, porque vino tu marido
mipaha limannap mahati cotnap, ma allhi mechitan : estas muy contentas, porque vuestro padre vino de la sierra
allhi actan : estoy contento
ma allgi actan : [estoy] muy [contento]
allhi alupactan : estoy gustoso
mu : sin
atzmou *pitzo actan : estoy sin saberlo, sin noticia, lo ignoro
baptizan quii *mu cotan : està sin bautismo ó sin bautisarse
patep : de puro
patep Dios ngoleche, ngoli : murio de puro amor de Dios
patep chenche : de puro temor
ñan puilhe : de verguenza
xalamochche, xalampat : de floxo
mec *tup chijilhu, coll silpan : estando todos hablando, este solo no habla ó calla
al-liu : cosa diferente, diversa
alliu cotan : es otra cosa, diversa, diferente
mahall *liu : muchas cosas diferentes
mayachge : mirandose unos á otros
ojomall : luego
xipnall : presto
ma xipnall : muy presto
xipnall nantan : presto vendrà
ma : nada
maall : nada más
ma *all *cho : ya no ay mas
majallnapit cunchunapit : ni mucho, ni poco
cunchunapit mahallnapit : ni poco, ni mucho
ninic : mas
ninicqin : aun mas
lou´mu´pit, milopacna´tup´pit : mas que no lo hagas
milopan´in ´le? : no lo hazas toda´via
alopan´in : todavia no lo hago
mimeño´pacnaque´pit : aunque no quieras
malevojchech : demasiadamente, excesivamente
pechhu mipahac : apartaos un poco
mipatehac : salid á fuera
mipatehaqui : lo mismo
puyacca, tepuch : adrede, de proposito
te´puuchall : adredemente
ma´è : falsamente
mapa•maè : muy falsamente
capi : aora

capi llac : vete aora
ojomall llac : vete luego
ma capill llac : vete aora en este instante
ma atemme : muy de mañana
ma´ma•majach´all : muy á escuras
pojo´pechah : antes de amanecer
mahall mupuch´nic/mamata : es rico, abundante en todo
yncha´nic cotan
cu(i)nchu cothupit, mahall cothupit, : aya poco ó mucho, coged lo todo
mec migaphacqui
mahall cotto´tup´pit, mec quiqaptan : aunque aya mucho, todo lo cogeremos
ó recibiremos
mon : detras
amon´te (y)mohnan : viene subiendo detras de mi
mimonte, monte, quimonte, mimonhate, chimonte
mamonte mamonte : unos detras de otros
mon´man : detras
mol : solar, pavimento ó espacio que ocupa
una casa
zip molman : dentro de su casa
yhna, xipna : aprisa, eca•pues
yhna cathil-luch : ca•pues, abogada nuestra
yhna´chu : aprisita
yhna•chnall : apresuradamente
ynachge : esso ó assi dize
pe(m)[ñ]achge : assi, de essa manera
yhamme, amehe : de verdad
yhammell, amehequell : verdaderamente
amehe´pat´le? : es creible, es verdad?
yhamme : verdad es
yncha : algo
yncha cotpan : nada ymporta ô no ymporta
yncham “ma? : que dices?, preguntando al que llama ô grita
yncham “ah? : que es?
ynchapit : cualquiera cosa
ynchachu “pit : cualquiera cosita
yncha cotpan “le? : ay algo de nuevo?
yncha cotpan : no ay nada
yncha na silla pactan? : que novedad ay?
yncha asinay “pitzo : nada ê oido ô no ê oido cosa
yncham mimeñan : que quieres? que es lo que quieres?
incha*yuam ymou : que te hizo?
yncham amaan, entoñam amaan? : que te hago?
yncham ymasian? : que te duele?
ynchayunam amoet mimeñan? : que quieres que te diga
ynchachin, ynchachit “chin : no se lo que es, no se lo que te digas
yncha “lapatam? : por que?
yncha “patam? : con*que?
ynoc*haloc, ynconapi : entonces
quicol-lam ñall-locte : en la hora de nuestra muerte
yncha”tepi xoh/mixohgi : derramalo, viertalo ô trasiegalo en alguna cosa
yncha”te”pit much/muchecqui : ponlo en alguna cosa
yjna, peñ : assi
ynconña : del mismo modo, manera, suerte
yjna cotan : assi es
yncoñ amehe, incoñ “sim cotan : assi es por cierta, sin duda
yncoñ “simall : assi*es tambien
pahat ma pactan”na quii, capi “pit, ma pactan”na quian”simall : ayer dixo que no avia ô no estaba y oy tambien dice que no ay ô que no esta chot, henat : pues
ynco”l lacpat : por esso
ynco”chot, incollacpat “chot : por tanto
yncoñ : assi es
ynco*mecall cotan : no es mas, ni menos
yncoñ : aquello no mas, aquello solamente
ynconapip : desde entonces
yncoquell lec/milecqui : dale de esso solamente
yncopall : continuamente, sin cesser
yncopall extec liche mitonquí : estate tejiendo seguidamente, sin parar
te-lected : continuamente
te-le millahacqui : i[d]os ô caminat sin deteneros
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2756 lumittup, tepuch : adredemente, de intento, de proposito
2757 lumittup quian : lo dice adrede o de proposito
2758 tepuch amaan : de proposito te lo hago ó digo
2759 lulò : pena
2760 lulò pat nquíinha cotan : vive penando
2761 mullup ngolhu zachge, lulòpat : se muere de pena, por ver que se muere su hijo
2762 mullup hacolhu zachge, luvoupat ngolan : muerese de pesar, por ver que se le muere su hijo
2763 nichù nic : un poco mas
2764 nichù nic’in : aun un poco mas
2765 nichùnic lee/milecqui : dale un poco mas
2766 nichù nic tenom : un poco menos
2767 ninic : mas
2768 ma’ni nic : mucho mas
2769 ninic ninic : mas y mas
2770 te nom : menos
2771 tenom cho : y es menos
2772 ampaxlen, añiu : de lastima y compassion, de pena ó malaya
2773 jampit : alla lo veras, tu lo veras
2774 amehena miquipech chà : si no lo crees, alla lo veras ó tu lo veras
2775 ocjampit : ves aî que yo &
2776 añiu : de deozo
2777 aamocge añiu : ojala comiera
2778 allage añiu : ojala me fuera
2779 añih/ añiu entoñam, peñ aquian, entoñam conñ aquian? : que me sucede esto? que me sucede?
2780 añih entoñam conñ miquian? : que te acontece ó sucede?
2781 añih : ymper[altivo de verbo añcan: sacamelo
2782 ñih/miñih : sacalo tu

Modos de hablar en castellano, reducidos à esta lengua
2783 ojompat acotto ‘mannap’ pá, ninic’ sim apiiptege ameñan : en comparacion de estarme ocioso, elegire trabajar: a mas quiero trabaxar que estar ocioso
2784 apa ngoli cotanco ‘mannap’ pá, ocque aclí acottenhe ameñongo : en comparacion de que mi padre aya muerto, quisiera averme muerto yo: mas quisiera averme muerto yo, que no que mi padre aya muerto
la primera vez que ò una vez que
[apoc, yppoc, & + mec + supino en no, jo, to + te]

la sexta vez que fui á la sierra,
empece á ver negros

nunc, tunc

aquel la fue la quarta vez que el padre
me preguntó la doctrina

esta es la primera vez que el padre me
pregunto

de parte de mi padre

de parte de mi madre

del padre ay ò tengo aquí

muchos parientes

licet, licebat [supinos en ngo, jo, to, cho, po:
licet, licebat, ser lícito, poderse, tener obligación ó deber hacerla]

quienes estan obligados á ayunar en
los viernes de sabado y en
la vigilia de la natividad del Señor

pero en los dias de quaresma,
viernes del año, quatro temporas y
vigilias, aunque no tienen obligacion de
ayunar, estan obligados á no comer
carne

accion licita: los
demasi dias pueden y les es lícito comer
carne

dar

mi padre me daba licencia de que yo
disse limosna á los pobres

pedir licencia

vengo donde ti, para que veas ó
consideres si yrè ô podre ir á pasear,
cazar &

quiero ir á la sierra y vengo, para que
veas si puedo ir?

bien puedes ir, ve en buena hora

es factible, posible, facil de hacer, dificil, impossible &
[supinos en no, jo &: es digno, merece &]

2801 quilongo cotan : es factible ó se puede hazcer
2802 agolengo cotan, miqolengo cotan & : es amable ó digno de que yo le ame ó que yo le estime ó que le tengo lastima
2803 kitzmejho cotan : se puede enseñar
2804 quixaicho cotan : merece que lo azotemos
2805 puttam tep quichemmo cotan : que lo hechemos ó desterremos del pueblo
2806 quigolepacna cotan, quel-lusaipacna: no merece que le tengamos lastima, cotan compassion
2807 quitzmehpacna cotan : no se puede enseñar
2808 quixaichpacna cotan : no merece que le azotemos
2809 quichempacna cotan : no se puede desterrar

[ymerativo + ante + pacna: dificil ó imposible]

2810 utzauch nixivah hacotan co5va,
qui hilepante pacna sim cotan

[4] a que, a que fin ó à fin de que, en orden á que, para que
[1: ynchahem? yncha lluhlam? nicam?: 2: por el gerundio de dativo]

2811 ynhahem/yncha lluhlam/nicam/
yncha milohactehem, cote mipahattihan?
2812 cuca quimiztehe quipahattan : venimos á comprar coca: venimos =
mañanzic pat
veñimos de arriba
2813 ynhahem minaehan : a que o para que venis?
2814 quimiaxtehe quinan : venimos á verte
2815 iglesia te quilluan, patili doctrina : vamos á•la yglesia, a•que ó en orden
leizan iccaymehtehe a•que ó àfin de que ó para•que
el•padre nos enseñe la doctrina
2816 apitan : ganar
2817 apitan + choti : como, que te gana, a•que te gana
2818 ympitam choti : mas que te gana
2819 ngapiti choti : mas que me gano, apostemos
2820 axua mipolamihtehe, millapectan
choti : mas que no vas ó apostemos que no
vas á pescar
2821 auca mipotzaptehe, seque
millapectan choti? aucas?
2822 entonai, allactan : como que hombre, si ire

[5] antes ó antes bien
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2823 liu tzachenap, acullectan : antes estudiare y luego me acostare:
    ante studebo, moxque acumbam
2824 caloch peyte muchenap, matuppi
    minen'pat palon chih : pon antes el plato en el suelo y abre la
    puerta con las dos manos
2825 millapechap, co axman milocqui
    nihunic'sim : antes que te vayas, haz esto primero
2826 anapipit anuch alupohtan,
    nihunic'sim angolectan : nunca aborrecere al enemigo, antes ó
    antes bien le amare: nunquam inimicum odero, imjal potius l. quin potius
diligam

[6] aun y aun no [verbo + in: aun, ad-huc, continuacion de tiempo]
2828 cama aqian'in : aun estoy enfermo: ad-[h]uc aegroto
2829 tuphampit : exageracion, vel o etiam
2830 santo chicotto'tup'hampit Dios
    nannoulan/ Dios tichinna : aun los santos temen á Dios: vel
    san[c]ti o etiam san[c]ti Deum timent
2831 tuppit : quamvis

2832 anuch amelengo'tuppit,
    ayoque tejno pectan : aun encontrando ó aunque encontre á
    mi enemigo, no me vengare: quamvis
    of[endam inimicum meum, ne-quaquam ulciscar
2833 ayoquete hnan
    mioquete hnan, zoquete hnan, quiyo quete hnan, miyo quete hnohan,
    chiyoque te hnan
    ayoquete hnoctan &
    ma'in : aun no, non dum
2834 uñuah miquei pit[z]o'in
    uñuah miquipangin, oyna
    miqui'pangin
    oyna miquian'cho'le? : ya estas bueno?
    nahe'pit : vel nec ó ne quidem
2835 liman'patle maptatehe amipsei,
    putuppalell napetapi maptati'pitzo
    nimehó'pitzo'tup'pit, occa
    minec minec alluan
    [7] como y como que
2840 tuppit : aunque no, quamvis non
2841 ocnie/anec millactehe
    nimeñou'pitzo'tup'pit, occa
    minec minec alluan
    entoñan utzava quilopacnavacottan?: de que modo podremos no pecar?
como se evitara el pecado?
quomodo l. quopacto peccatum vitatur?

2843 co cama°mannap quixpehnolamheva,: que haremos para librarnos de esta
entoñam quiquictan/yncham
enfermedad ó epidemia?
quioloctan?

2844 co cama°pat quicolpectehe°va/
quicolchinheva, ynhayuvam
quioloctan/loctan/entoñam quiquictan?

2845 co cama°tup iczaphin°heva,
ynham quioloctan?

2846 coñ/yncoñ/peñ uzava quilopacna
cotan

2847 oc ahiltan, entoñam
yam•quioitzlam°mannappa

2848 incha°llacpatam/yncha cothum/
yncha ma°cothum munutra milou?

2849 munutza lou°mull, mixpoutan/
mixpocntan

2850 ynham Francisco liu izchan?:
como Francisco lee?: quid Franciscus

2851 ento•mec utza°tep pejchu quionongo:
como debemos huir del pecado: quam
cotan? ento•mec cunutta
quiulongo°tep/quiulolam°tep pejchu
quionongo cotan/ pejchu quionongo
cotan/quiulavongo cotan?

2852 Dios ngacallancoñ, ápa yupey
aloctan/ ápa amegen a aquictan

2853 munucha ziu cothe, quichitto°man
miantectehe michic°napan

2854 chechoua michtgepit

2855 entoñagem? ynchana?
munutra°llacpat°le axaichlango?

: como que, por tu culpa me han de
azotar?: quid, culpa tua vapulaturus
sum?
con que

maestro tup ympazanco/ ymaymenco, sinnah : atiende los consejos con que el maestro te instruye: atiende consilia quibus magister instruit te: oye, lo que te aconseja ó enseña tu maestro

mi mhil-li(m) mimac cao inco l lacpat, yam miquingo cho cotan : has conocido tu yerro, con que ya debes emmendarte: cognovisti errorem tuum, yam ergo debes te corriger e

yncha patam quicalloitzi quiloam mà cumuchehtan quiloctan : con que cumpliremos nuestra obligacion?: qua ratione munus nostrum implebimus

Dios camatzin quii sil amilehin na pat, sa gratia all angten/conservo su gracia: cum non violém legem divinam, Dei gratiam conservo: con que ayas conservado la gracia de Dios, avras logrado el favor divino: dummodo Dei gratiam conservaveris, divinum favorem obtinueris

[8]

[9] pues, pues que, supuesto que, ya que

ento mec ocho Pasco cotoque, : pues avia alguno de dexar de oir entoncopit/ entonco hayupit misa misa?: Nunquid ullus l sacrum?: por ysinahpaca le ysinah pacna/ ysinah pacna/ sinay mu ayquingo/ ysinah pacna cotole?: ventura ô es posible que, siendo una fiesta tan grande, se avia de quedar alguno ô alguna persona sin oir missa?

eey jey amehe : ita est ô ita quidem

munucha confessan miquile : confessaste tus pecados?: confessus fuisti peccata tua?

sey, hey amehe : pues: ita est, ita quidem: si ciertamente

luyum pat.1 macjai putam.3 : con los trabajos.1 se alcança.2 la quimjollo.2 ñanzic pat macjai putam te quiantengo, luyum.4 sim chot ñanzic sim chot labores igitur ampectendì sunt culumzappo luyum pat sim chot ñanzic pat sim chot allhi macjaiche quicotto

macjai putam te mimohtehe mimefan chot, yncha pallou ma(t) quipolam cotanco loche cot : pues ó supuesto que, ya que, pues que deseas el premio, no dexes de trabajar: si quidem l quando quidem pr[al]emium exoptas, labora

ynchachot : pues que? quid ergo?
[10] mas que y por mas que

2867 paymejhuch°chá : el maestro trabaxa mas que el
itzmenco°mannap°pit nichunic
meipan : discipulo: magister laborat magis quam
discipulus
2868 mechiahlacge°pit : mas que te vençan, vincaris
2869 emechiahge°pit : mas que te vença
2870 millaque°pit : mas que te vyayas
2871 axaichlalam°mannap : mas que me libro de los azotes:
axpehnoctan°chotti : apostemos que me libro de los azotes:
machiahlacge : deponamus vel spondeamus me liberari
pit : mas que te
2872 ma mi[x]pehnopectan : no te libraras
2873 axpehnoctan : si, me librape
2874 ninic mipiippo°tuppit, ynchapat : por mas que procuras la honrra, no
macotpan/ mimjollpan/migappan : hallarás occasion: quantumvis conaris l.
nynic mipiippo : nullo pacto
macione : aunque mas
trabajes, nada tienes, hallas, recibes,
tomas ò cогes
2875 ninic tuppit : quantumvis, aunque mas


2876 anapinam?, anapihem? : para quando, ad quod tempus?
2877 anapinam/anapihem mihllem : para quando aguardas á tu amigo? ad
missian? : quod tempus expectas amicum tuum?
2878 anapinam mihllem nantan? : para quando vendrà?
2879 ynconapi : quando, cum ó quando
2880 pupuluch nantan°ynconapi°va, yztac: para quando venga tu marido, ya avras
pilou°cho coti : hecho chicha
2881 mupul ocho quictan°ynconapige, : para quando tu hijo este grande, te doy
coca capa amayán esta capa

[12] luego que, al punto que, assi•que, al mismo tiempo que
[gerundio + all, ynconapill ò inconatupºñal-local: luego que &, ubi, statim o sta-
timºate, ut, ut primum ò quam primum]

2882 uch/auca ñgitavonapall, : luego que ó assi que ó al tiempo que el
soldado°tup puttam zapeila : enemigo huyo, los soldados cogieron la
ciudad: ubi inimicus fugit, milites
expugnaverunt civitatem
2883 catzoc atzmeh[co]ohnapall, : luego que, assi•que, al punto, ynstante
ñamnitò illagi que acabé de hazer la caxa, la llevo ó se la llebó su dueño
2884 mini ynconapill, yncotup ñal-loc°all : al mismo tiempo que tu veniste, vino
Juan°pit nani Juan
mañaloc all minihan: a un mismo tiempo venís
mini ynconapil, yncotup ñal-local: al mismo tiempo que tu veniste, vino también yo
mañal-local que lluey: a un mismo tiempo nos fuimos

[13] quiças, porventura
miyelam tep pà atem mell mitpachile?: por ventura te levantaste oy temprano?
le: nunquid, an, utrum ó ne
utzauh Dios te zeichchi cho chin: ya por ventura el pecador se convirtió:
chin: por fortuna tus padres, fortassís ó forsit[n]

[14] que y que no
quisoldado chiquitavo pectán choti: que nuestros soldados (ó apostemos que nuestros soldados) no huyan:
spondeamus milites nostros non fugere
choti: apostar
miyoyojac pit/miyoyohangutuppit, entoñam aquingo entoñam acquitan oc ge ñanloc cotan: que llores, que se me da á mi?: fletis, ad me?: mas que llores, nada se me da ó se me dará
yoyoc pit allactan sim: que llores, me ire
yjesia tep Pedro imitay pitzo pixanna ajacquian: justo que no faltó Pedro á la yglesia
Francisco iglesiate coti pixanna ajacquian: justo ó me parece que estuvo Fran cisco en la yglesia
anuch atzapteque maluvey/mana maou: estorbaste que no hiriesse á mi enemigo: impediste me, ut ne vel quominus ferirem inimicum meum
ahach te allacteque maluvey: estorbaste que el pecador no fuera á mi chacara
apoctehe allacteque, apatup ngaluvey/mana ngaou: me estorvo mi padre que no fuese á nadar

[15] de que, de que modo, de que manera, del modo que ó de la manera que
ynchatem: de que, quid
jayu ngolnappá, mumpux supynchatem ymallouvehtan?: de que aprovecharan las riquezas, quando el hombre muera? quid divitiae proderunt cum homo moritur?
[que = verbo + na]

2904 michemi(c)zi micottannava : de que o que seras desterrado, no ay
culayampacna : duda
dutoñam : de que modo, de que manera?
2905 entoñam : quomodo o qua ratione o quo pacto
culayampacna : duda
2906 oc o tup amaymehjaictan entoñam co
ñanzic quitzmopacna cottianna,
mimacohalamhe/mimacohacthe
entoñam : de modo, de como?
entoñam : de modo, de como?
2907 amtesahtech/amtesa(c)jo cottech
ampeñoctech : de suerte que te lo estime
2908 : de suerte que te quiera
2909 La variedad de las terceras personas de plural [...] en las transiciones
2910 mo : transition de tercera persona de
mocollan : aquel-los ama
singular a tercera de plural
2911 po : transicion de las demas personas a
apocollan : yo los amo
la tercera de plural
2912 apocollan : yo los amo
mipocollan : tu
2913 quipocollan : nosotros
mipocollijan : vosotros
2914 mipocollan : tu
2915 quipocollan : nosotros
mipocollijan : vosotros
2916 chipocollan : aquellos
2917 chipocollan : aquellos
2918 pa : otra cosa que se incluye en la que
ychac apajapuchan : yo les pongo su comida
padece
2919 mipajapuchan : tu
2920 mpa(pajapuchan : aquel
2921 quipajapuchan : nosotros
2922 mipajapuchan : vosotros
2923 mpuajapuchij(act)an : aquellos
2924 chipajapuchan : aquellos
2925 la : tercera de plural a cualquiera otra
pa : otra cosa que se incluye en la que
persona que no sea tercera de plural
padece
2926 acollilan : aquellos me aman
acollilan, ngollilan, quimgollilan, micollilajan
2927 chi : tercera de plural a tercera del mismo
: tercer de plural a tercera del mismo
numero
2928 chipocollan : aquellos los aman
De la interjeccion
2929 ah : exclama o ynvoca
2930 ah Dios! : a Dios!
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2931 aha : interjección del que coge haciendo cosa mala
2932 aha*[a]mpaxlen miquian! : a pobre, desdichado que te pondré!
2933 anij empec, ma empec : del que se alegra del mal que acaeze a otro: bien empleado, me alegro!
2934 ampaxlen : interjección de lastima y pena y compassion
2935 uchuuu : interjección del que se quema o tiene calor
2936 acú : interjección de cariño y tambien de lastima y compassion
2937 ychay, ychacay : interjección de abominacion y desprecio
2938 allau, attih : interjección de dolor
2939 oy : interjección del que assiente o concede lo que dicen
2940 ah : también sirve para amedrentar a los niños
2941 ah ñipimuâ! : no lo toques!
2942 añiu : interjección de gana o deseo
2943 tantahe añiu! : tengo gana de pan!
2944 tanta alacge añiu*na aquian! : deseo comer pan!
2945 uñuu : interjección de alabanza o aficion de alguna cosa*hermosa o curiosa
2946 oneu : interjección de enfado o fastidio
2947 oneuah alan! : le molesto, doy pena, enfadó!
2948 oneuah ngaan! : me haze daño!
2949 yxiu : malvado!
2950 pechhâaj ixiu! : quitate malbado!
2951 an : interjección de admiracion
2952 an! : que es así?!
2953 aleu : interjección de frío
2954 aleu*na miquian*le? : tienes frío?!
2955 heey, aleu*na aquian! : interjección de pavor
2956 ichiei

De la conjuncion

2957 pit : et y vel: también
2958 mipit, Pedro°pit chechô : tu y Pedro desperdiciás el dinero
2959 siñ•milouhan
2959 ilac°pit, millaquiahji°pit/ llaquiah°pit : buelve ó vete
2960 mi°le, oc°le? : tu ó yo?
mipit : tu también
simall : conjunción de verbos: quoque, también
pei mutuppan mimman simall : ara y siembra
oc ayoyan, mi pit miyoyan simall : yo lloro y tu también lloras
a, va : sed o autem
col ocho ixivah cotan, utza va col imitan : la muerte es grande mal, pero el peca
le : que, vel
mi lê, oc lê quillactan : tu ó yo iremos
catzan pat michacen lê, amehequelê : burlas ó hablas de veras?
uacho : et, autem, sed
oc allactan, minaha uacho : yo me ire, mas vosotros os estareis en
mumuttanha te : vuestra pueblo
miñip hite uacho : y el quarto mandamiento
Juan uacho intotem llavi? : y Juan, donde se fue?

Libro quinto
De la colocacion, acento, pronunciacion y orthografia de esta lengua

De la colocacion [genitivo - nominativo - caso del verbo]
Dios zamoch cot tâ muxacz nem te, pel mahach te meletahlamhe, mita mita camazin mouu; Dios zamoch cottâ mita mita camazin mouu, muxacz nemte, pel mahach te meletahlamhe

[m nominativo - verbo]
mec angellâ/angel mec câ espiritull : los angeles todos son espiritus y no chectan, itze p ziul ychel ziu, chijo tienen carne ó huessos, ni sangre ziu pit chectan; angel mec espiritull chectan, zep, chel, jô pit pahacotpan

los participios se anteponen y posponen, los substantivos y quasi adjectivos se ponen en un mismo caso

ymonco muxacz pit, quimeñongo pel: el sol que abrasa, la luna hermosa que meletancopit, te senta quiza palam te ychocholanco Dios para hermosura del mundo
kenna nic pit, co ngossillvo putam te tíñhejlactege, Dios t up mopchi
[adverbios: unos se anteponen y otras se posponen]

2977 puillquitz, checho’pit co cullha : aunque el oro y la plata se estima tanto cot(l)amte patep yupei en esta vida, pero en muriendo, nada loitzzo’ tup’ pit, colheva, ynchapit llevamos, todo se queda quillavohpan, mec’sim ayquian

2978 puillquitz, chechopit co ncuilha : aunque estimamos tanto el oro y la cot(l)amte enthoca mec yupey plata en esta vida, pero en muriendo, quipoongo’tuppit, colhe’a choco, nada llevamos, todo lo dexamos yncchapit quillavohpan, mec inchapit quipoyam(m)|p|ollan

Del acento [1: en la ultima siylaba]

2979 mallâ : cosa cruda
2980 llín : cosa verde
2981 patôx : desecho
2982 llêz : rastrojo y lucerna pequeña

[2: en la penultima en algunos tiempos]

2983 cuchi’le mectan, el-l milangova/ : eres puerco que comes yuca cruda? mallâ mul[l]uppo’va?

De la pronunciacion [guturaciones: nga, ngue, ngu, nguo, ngu]

2984 amot ngappiptocan : aquel me quita mi honrra
2985 ngappixtocquei : me la quito
2986 etzge ngaou : me levantô falso testimonio
2987 ngot : su agua ò el agua de aquel
2988 ngach : su maiz
2989 ngolol : su almendra
2990 ñeetz : su madre
2991 ñix : cosa seca, enjuta
2992 âgan : yo estoy
2993 ângten : yo le sustento ò mantengo
3.2. Declination of the noun *hayu* ‘man’ and conjugation of the verbs *k(o)t* ‘(to) be’, *po*le/*po* ‘(to) love someone/something’, and *men(o)* ‘(to) want someone/something’

This appendix presents
(i) a survey of de la Mata’s declination of the noun *hayu* ‘man’ (*ALC*, fol. 3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominativo</td>
<td><em>hayu</em>/<em>hayu-tup</em></td>
<td>‘el hombre o gente’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitivo</td>
<td><em>hayu i-l-o-w</em></td>
<td>‘del hombre o de la gente’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dativo</td>
<td><em>hayu-he</em></td>
<td>‘para el hombre o [para la gente]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acusativo</td>
<td><em>hayu-te/-tu</em></td>
<td>‘al hombre’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocativo</td>
<td><em>hayu-ey/-pey</em></td>
<td>‘olá hombre, olá muger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablativo</td>
<td><em>hayu-te</em></td>
<td>‘en el hombre’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nun-te-p</td>
<td>‘ex viro’, ‘de varón o por obra de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>hayu-pat/-λak-pat/-λak-te-p</em></td>
<td>varón’, ‘por o por amor o por causa del hombre’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-man-ap</td>
<td>‘ex/ de’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>hayu-nik/hayu nek</em></td>
<td>‘de compañía con el hombre’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) a survey of his conjugation of the verbs *kot* ‘(to) be’, *po*le ‘(to) love someone/something’ and *men(o)* ‘(to) want someone/something’. This survey is followed by an overview of the endings of the moods and tenses distinguished by de la Mata. For convenience sake, only the forms of second person singular and plural are represented in the survey of the conjugation of the verbs mentioned above. The paradigm of imperative, however, is represented in its entirety. The forms of ablative of gerund which are not marked for person are also listed in the survey.

Present participle has an alternative form which ends in the agentive marker -(w)uč:

- *o-kot-uč* ‘a being’, ‘the present person’
- *o-po*le-uč ‘lover’
- *o-men(o)-wuč* ‘lover’

This form has not been listed, because it is not considered as a verb form, but as a derived noun (see section 6.10). The forms between square brackets are forms which do not occur in Pedro de la Mata’s conjugation of the verb in question, but which were constructed by analogy with the corresponding form of the verb below or above, or with that of another verb, for example, *(o)* ‘(to) do/make’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood/Tense</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td><em>me-kt-ag</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>mi-gol-ag</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>mi-men-ag</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p</td>
<td><em>me-kt-iy-ha-γ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>mi-gol-iy-ha-γ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>mi-men(o)-w-ha-γ</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>me-kt-iy</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mi-gol'-iy
mi-men'o-w

2p: me-kt-i-y-ka
mi-gol'-iy-ka
mi-men'o-w-ka

2: 2s: me-kt-e-g
mi-gol'-e-g

- 

2p: me-kt-i-y-ka-g
[mi-gol'-iy-ka-g]

pluperfect: 1: 2s: me-kt-i-y-e
mi-gol'-i-y-e
mi-men'i-o-w-e

2p: me-kt-i-y-ke
mi-gol'-i-y-ke
mi-men'i-o-w-ke

2: 2s: me-kt-i-ate (m)
pe-kt-i-ate (f)
mi-gol'-e-ate (<i-e-g)

future: imperfect: 1: 2s: mi-kot ø-t-aŋ
mi-pole-k ø-t-aŋ
mi-men'o-k ø-t-aŋ

2p: mi-kot-ha-k ø-t-aŋ
mi-pole-ha-k ø-t-aŋ
mi-men'o-ha-k ø-t-aŋ

2: 1s: mi-kot-te
[mi-pole-kte]
[mi-men'o-kte]

2p: mi-kot-ha-kte
[mi-pole-ha-kte]
[mi-men'o-ha-kte]

future: perfect: 2s: me-kt-i-y me-kt-aŋ
mi-gol'-i-y me-kt-aŋ
mi-men'i-o-w me-kt-aŋ

2p: me-kt-i-y-ka me-kt-i-y-ha-g
mi-gol'-i-y-ka me-kt-i-y-ha-g
mi-men'i-o-w-ka me-kt-i-y-ha-g

imperative: present: 1s: a-kot-te
[a-pole-kte]
1: 2s: kot
gole-k
men'o-k

2: 2s: mi-kot-i
   mi-gole-k-i
   mi-men'o-k-i
3s: o-kot-he
   i-gole-khe
   i-men'o-khe
1p: ki-kot-te
   ki-gole-kte
   ki-men'o-kte

1: 2p: mi-kot-ha-k
   [mi-gole-ha-k]
   [mi-men'o-ha-k]
2: 2p: mi-kot-ha-k-i
   mi-gole-ha-k-i
   mi-men'o-ha-k-i
3p: ci-kot-he
   gole-la-khe
   men'o-la-khe

future:
2s: mi-kot-te
   mi-gole-kte
   [mi-men'o-kte]
2p: mi-kot-ha-kte
   mi-gole-ha-kte
   [mi-men'o-ha-kte]

permissive:
2s: mi-kot-he(-pit)
   mi-gole-khe(-pit)
   [mi-men'o-khe(-pit)]
2p: mi-kot-ha-khe(-pit)
   mi-gole-ha-khe(-pit)
   [mi-men'o-ha-khe(-pit)]

prohibitive:
1: 2s: mi-kot-cin
   mi-gole-cin/mi-gole-k-nik
   
2: 2s: kot-iy-mu
   [gol'i-y-mu]
dubitative:  

hapit 'may (it) be!' +  

2s: mi-kot o-t-aŋ  
    mi-pole-k o-t-aŋ  
    mi-men'o-k o-t-aŋ  

2p: mi-kot-ha-k o-t-aŋ  
    mi-pole-ha-k o-t-aŋ  
    mi-men'o-ha-k o-t-aŋ  

optative: present/imperfect:  

1: 2s: mi-kot(-he)  
    mi-pole(-he)  
    [mi-men'o-k(-he)]  

2p: mi-kot-ha-k(-he)  
    mi-pole-ha-k(-he)  
    [mi-men'o-ha-k(-he)]  

2:  

in(ha)m 'I wished!' +  

2s: mi-kot-o-ke, mi-kot-te-ke  
    mi-pole-po-ke, mi-pole-kte-ke  
    mi-men'o-po-ke, mi-men'o-kte-ke  

2p: mi-kot-ha-po-ke, mi-kot-ha-kte-ke  
    mi-pole-ha-po-ke, mi-pole-ha-kte-ke  
    mi-men'o-ha-po-ke, mi-men'o-ha-kte-ke  

(plu)perfect:  

1: 2s: mi-kot-te(-mok) kot  
    mi-pole-te(-mok) kot  
    mi-men'o-ha-te(-mok) kot  

2p: mi-kot-ha-ke(-mok) kot  
    mi-pole-ha-kte(-mok) kot  
    mi-men'o-ha-ha-kte(-mok) kot  

2: 2s: me-kt-iy ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø-(po)kot-te-ke  
    mi-gol'-iy ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø-(po)kot-te-ke  
    mi-men'o-w ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø-(po)kot-te-ke  

2p: me-kt-iy-ha ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø-(po)kot-te-ke  
    mi-gol'-iy-ha ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø-(po)kot-te-ke  
    mi-men'o-w-ha ø-(po)kot-o-ke/ø(po)kot-te-ke  

subjunctive:  

1: 2s: mi-kot-hu  
    mi-pole-č  
    mi-men'o-č  

2p: mi-kot-ha-č  
    mi-pole-ha-č  
    mi-men'o-ha-č  

2: 2s: me-kt-e-č
mi-gole-kte-č
mi-men’o-kte-č

2p: me-kt-iy-ha-č
mi-gole-ha-kte-č
mi-men’o-ha-kte-č

infinitive: present: 2s: [mi-kot-te]
mi-gole-kte
mi-men’o-kte

2p: [mi-kot-ha-kte]
mi-gole-ha-kte
mi-men’o-ha-kte

preterite: 2s:
me-kt-iy ø-kot-nap
mi-gol-iy ø-kot-nap
mi-men’o-w ø-kot-nap

2p:
me-kt-iy-ha ø-kot-nap
mi-gol-iy-ha ø-kot-nap
mi-men’o-w-ha ø-kot-nap

future: 2s:
mi-kot-lam [(ø-kot-nap)]
mi-gole-lam [(ø-kot-nap)]
mi-men’o-lam (ø-kot-nap)

2p:
mi-kot-ha-k-lam [ø-kot-nap]
mi-gole-ha-k-lam [(ø-kot-nap)]
mi-men’o-ha-k-lam (ø-kot-nap)

participles: present: 2s:
me-kt-ap-ko
mi-gol-ap-ko
mi-men’-ap-ko

2p:
me-kt-iy-ha-p-ko
mi-gol-iy-ha-p-ko
mi-men’o-w-ha-p-ko

imperfect: 2s:
me-kt-iy(-iyko)
mi-gol-iy(-iyko)
mi-men’o-w(-iyko)

2p:
me-kt-iy-ha(-iyko)
mi-gol-iy-ha(-iyko)
mi-men’o-w-ha(-iyko)

pluperfect: 2s:
me-kt-iy-e(-iyko)
[mi-gol-iy-e(-iyko)]
[mi-men’o-w-e(-iyko)]

2p:
me-kt-iy-ha-ke(-iyko)
[mi-gol-iy-ha-ke(-iyko)]
[mi-men’o-w-ha-ke(-iyko)]

future: 1: 2s:
mi-kot ø-t-ap(-iyko)
mi-gole-k ø-t-ap(-iyko)
[mi-men'o-k o-t-ap(-ipko)]

2p: mi-kot-ha-k o-t-ap(-ipko)
    mi-pole-ha-k o-t-ap(-ipko)
    [mi-men'o-ha-k o-t-ap(-ipko)]

2: 2s: mi-kot-lam-ipko
    mi-pole-lam-ipko
    mi-men'o-lam-ipko

2p: mi-kot-ha-k-lam-ipko
    mi-pole-ha-k-lam-ipko
    mi-men'o-ha-k-lam-ipko

gerund: genitive, dative, accusative:

2s: mi-kot-lam-he/mi-kot-te-he
    mi-pole-lam-he/mi-pole-kte-he
    mi-men'o-lam-he/me-men'o-kte-he

2p: mi-kot-ha-k-lam-he/mi-kot-ha-kte-he
    mi-pole-ha-k-lam-he/mi-pole-ha-kte-he
    mi-men'o-ha-k-lam-he/mi-men'o-ha-kte-he

ablative: 1:

    o-kot-he
    o-pole-khe
    o-men'o-khe

2: o-kot-te-nap
    o-pole-nap
    o-men'o-nap

2s: mi-kot-te-nap
    [mi-pole-kte-nap]
    [mi-men'o-kte-nap]

2p: mi-kot-ha-k-te-nap
    [mi-pole-ha-k-te-nap]
    [mi-men'o-ha-k-te-nap]

supine: 1:

2s: mi-kot-lam-he/mi-kot-te-he
    mi-pole-lam-he/mi-pole-kte-he
    mi-men'o-lam-he/mi-men'o-kte-he

2p: mi-kot-ha-k-lam-he/mi-kot-ha-kte-he
    mi-pole-ha-k-lam-he/mi-pole-ha-kte-he
    mi-men'o-ha-k-lam-he/mi-men'o-ha-kte-he

2: 2s: mi-kot-o
    mi-pole-po
    mi-men'o-po

2p: mi-kot-ha-po
    mi-pole-ha-po
    mi-men'o-ha-po
The endings of the different moods and tenses are as follows:

**indicative:**
- present: \(-(a)n\)
- (im)perfect I: \-i/y/-w\)
- (im)perfect II: \-(e)-n\)
- pluperfect I: (im)perfect I + \-(k)e\)
- pluperfect II: (im)perfect in \-i/y or -i/y + \-ate\)

**future:**
- imperfect I: \-(k)t-a\)
- imperfect II: \-(k)te\)
- perfect: (im)perfect I + ø-kot-a\)

**imperative:**
- present 1s/p: \-(k)te\)
- present 2s I: \-o/-k\)
- present 2s II: \-(k)i\)
- present 3s/p: \-(k)he\)
- future: \-(k)te\)

**permissive:** \-(k)he\)

**prohibitive:** \-(k)he\)

**dubitative:** \(\)i/y-a\)

**optative:**
- present I: \-(k)he\)
- present II: \-(k)te-ke\)
- pluperfect I: \-(k)te + ø-kot\)
- pluperfect II: (im)perfect I of indicative + ø-(po)kot-o-ke, ø-(po)kot-te-ke\)

**subjunctive I:** \-hu, -(e)č\)

**subjunctive II:** \-(e)č, -(k)t-eč\)

**infinitive:**
- present: \-(k)te\)
- past tense: (im)perfect I of indicative + ø-kot-nap\)
- future: -lam (+ ø-kot-nap)\)

**participle:**
- present: present of indicative + \-ko\)
- imperfect: (im)perfect I of indicative \(+ i glyko)\)
- pluperfect: pluperfect of indicative \(+ i glyko)\)
- future: imperfect I of future of indicative \(+ i glyko)\)

**gerund:**
- genitive: \-lam-he, -(k)te-he\)
- dative: \-lam-he, -(k)te-he\)
- accusative: \-lam-he, -(k)te-he\)
- ablative I: \-(k)he\)
ablative II  -(k)te-nap
supine I   -lam-he, -(k)te-he
supine II  -(y)ø

4. Vowel positions and consonant clusters
This supplement contains Cholón words showing the occurrence of vowel symbols before and after a consonant symbol in one syllable (Appendix 4.1). It also contains an overview of consonantal boundary clusters (Appendix 4.2). As stated in Table 4.13, section 4.2.6, the vowel symbols occurring before and after a consonant symbol are i, e, a, o, u. The consonant symbols and variants - separated from each other by a slash - are p, t, c/k/quis, tz, ch, s/z, x, g/hij, m, n, ŋ(u), l, ll, b/hui/uw, /y, representing the sounds [p], [t], [k], [tʃ], [ʃ], [s], [x] or [h], [m], [n], [ñ], [ŋ], [l], [l̃], [w], [y], respectively.

4.1. Examples with vowel positions
Table I below contains Cholón words with vowel symbols appearing before a consonant symbol. The occurrences of vowel symbols after a consonant symbol can be found in Table II. In these tables, only non-borrowed words have been used as examples, loan words have been left out. As regards the examples that have been bracketed and for further explanation, see the remarks after Table 12 in section 4.2.6.

Table I: The vowel symbols i, e, a, o, u, occurring before the consonant symbols p, t, c, tz, ch, s, z, x, g, h, j, m, n, ŋ, l, ll, u, i, y within a syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cholón word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yip</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuntep</td>
<td>‘from the man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilamannap</td>
<td>‘from the woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apopchan</td>
<td>‘I put down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satup</td>
<td>‘he himself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puillquitz</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petz</td>
<td>‘box’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payatz</td>
<td>‘late’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yotz</td>
<td>‘guinea pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utz</td>
<td>‘gourd’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quizna</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quez</td>
<td>‘age’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caz</td>
<td>‘wind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happit</td>
<td>‘maybe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jayupat</td>
<td>‘by the man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cot</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutpan</td>
<td>‘you walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mich</td>
<td>‘it is said that you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mech</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cach</td>
<td>‘maize’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zamoch</td>
<td>‘wisdom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puch</td>
<td>‘whole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngix</td>
<td>‘something dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xexnic</td>
<td>‘with scabies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xax</td>
<td>‘armadillo’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II: The vowel symbols i, e, a, o, u, occurring after the consonant symbols p, t, c, tz, ch, s, z, x, g, h, j, m, n, ŋ, l, ll, u, i, y within a syllable.

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<tr>
<td>puch</td>
<td>‘whole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngix</td>
<td>‘something dry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quotations:
- choyeq! ‘let him cry!’
- cf. mihllem ‘your friend’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mozchu</td>
<td>‘small thing’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moxpey</td>
<td>‘he liberated them’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murcan</td>
<td>‘you laugh’</td>
<td>uxux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anih! ‘exclamation of desire’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zamehji! ‘learn!’</td>
<td>nef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aythea! ‘quiet!’</td>
<td>yam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>millavohji! ‘bring it!’</td>
<td>ilom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mahman! ‘in his hole’</td>
<td>lumte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>llin ‘green’</td>
<td>chesmiñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acten ‘I was’</td>
<td>peñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pan ‘mother’</td>
<td>pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alon ‘I wet’</td>
<td>coñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mun ‘man’</td>
<td>cuñchu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sil ‘his word’</td>
<td>capill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pel ‘moon’</td>
<td>aytell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zal ‘black’</td>
<td>ayall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lol ‘mouth’</td>
<td>coll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pul ‘son’</td>
<td>culha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quiimejuch ‘our creator’</td>
<td>quiymehnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pei ‘earth’</td>
<td>pey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nai ‘behind him’</td>
<td>nay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miloi ‘you wet’</td>
<td>aloy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atzui ‘I anointed’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II: The occurrence of the vowel symbols i, e, a, o, u within a syllable after the consonant symbols p, t, c, k, qu, tz, ch, s, z, g, h, j, m, n, ñ, n~g(u), l, ll, b, hu, u, v, i, y.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pit ‘and’</td>
<td>tip ‘piece’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pel ‘moon’</td>
<td>numep ‘from the man’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan ‘mother’</td>
<td>tacla ‘kind of armadillo’</td>
<td>caz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poc ‘turn’</td>
<td>ton ‘he stays’</td>
<td>cot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pul ‘son’</td>
<td>tuñ ‘joint’</td>
<td>culha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitzmehjo ‘that we teach’</td>
<td>quizna ‘bleu’</td>
<td>atzip ‘my house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kemà ‘star(s)’</td>
<td>quell ‘wall’</td>
<td>izep ‘their flesh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yzall ‘their soul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>itzoch ‘their trousers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>utzuch ‘their edible plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicnan ‘to fear’</td>
<td>sil ‘his word’</td>
<td>zip ‘his house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chesmïh ‘cedar’</td>
<td>senta ‘heaven’</td>
<td>zenta ‘heaven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cham ‘chain’</td>
<td>sall ‘soul’</td>
<td>zall ‘soul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chounic ‘with fleas’</td>
<td>lochmasoc ‘do it the whole night!’</td>
<td>zotz ‘his guinea pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chup ‘stomach’</td>
<td>sup ‘deer’</td>
<td>zucu ‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xij ‘drink!’</td>
<td>allgi/allhi ‘sweet’</td>
<td>hil ‘word’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xep ‘sterile’</td>
<td>jayuje ‘for the man’</td>
<td>jayuhe ‘for the man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xax ‘armadillo’</td>
<td>pangala ‘wild turkey’</td>
<td>hach ‘field’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xor ‘brother’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>poho ‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xum ‘heap’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>axihu ‘that I drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jil ‘word’</td>
<td>mimllac ‘near’</td>
<td>jayunic ‘with the man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llalamje ‘that he goes’</td>
<td>meñ ‘wish’</td>
<td>nem ‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jach ‘field’</td>
<td>aaman ‘I eat’</td>
<td>anai ‘behind the man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pojo ‘morning’</td>
<td>mot ‘name’</td>
<td>nom ‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aloclojiu ‘that I finish doing it’</td>
<td>mul ‘his son’</td>
<td>nue ‘box’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>żih! ‘take it’</td>
<td>ngix ‘something dry’</td>
<td>liu ‘letter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uhep ‘wax’</td>
<td>nguech ‘his mother’</td>
<td>leu ‘worm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋan ‘he sleeps’</td>
<td>ngach ‘his maize’</td>
<td>alan ‘I make it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meñoc! ‘love!’</td>
<td>ngor ‘his water’</td>
<td>lol ‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋu ‘daughter’</td>
<td>nguch ‘his father’</td>
<td>lumte ‘above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llin ‘green’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ller ‘alfalfa’</td>
<td>bem ‘sweet potato’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llac ‘go!’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>llahuan ‘he goes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llom ‘abyss’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alluc ‘lance’</td>
<td>gölebuch ‘lover’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llau ‘he went’</td>
<td>llavi ‘he went’</td>
<td>iipoc ‘make a house!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allu ‘I went’</td>
<td>llaven ‘he went’</td>
<td>iel-lo ‘together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimeñancoua ‘if you want it’</td>
<td>Pedrova ‘Pedro (topic)’</td>
<td>ian ‘punishment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aniglesiauocatan ‘I shall’</td>
<td>a chechovocatan ‘I shall’</td>
<td>anmaioctan ‘I shall’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
build a church’     make silver’     watch the way’
goleuuch ‘lover’     acoleuuch ‘my lover’ -
yip ‘house’
yel-lo ‘together’
yam ‘punishment’
ayoyoctan ‘I shall cry’
yuch ‘edible plant’

4.2. Overview of consonant clusters
This supplement presents an overview of consonantal boundary clusters found in the
data of de la Mata, together with a form in which they occur. As stated in section
5.3, this overview, since it only contains forms attested in the $ALC$, is not
exhaustive. For instance, the clusters $n\imath\imath$ and $n\imath\imath\imath$, which do not occur in the $ALC$, and
which, therefore, do not figure in the survey below, can very well be constructed by
combining the numeral $okon\imath$ + the numeral classifiers $tuh$ ‘detachable object’ and
$\imathu$ ‘accumulation’, respectively.

|pp | ippok | ‘two times’ |
| tp | kotpaŋ | ‘he is not’ |
| qp | ičpok | ‘three times’ |
| kp | -lakpat | ‘for the sake of’ |
| rp | r‘i mitspalekiŋ | ‘the rain comes down from everywhere’ |
| sp | me{l}uspit | ‘and the boat’ |
| šp | kišpoktehewa | ‘in order to liberate/save us’ |
| hp | mohpaŋ | ‘he has not come’ |
| np | ohompat | ‘with idleness’ |
| npp | nunpulu | ‘boy’ |
| nji | kor‘pi | ‘till here, not any further’ |
| gp | agpiy | ‘I got him’ |
| lp | olpit | ‘whoever’ |
| ḫp | kel‘pak | ‘surrounding(s)’ |
| wp | luwowpat | ‘with sorrow’ |
| yp | asinaypit‘o | ‘I did not hear it’ |

<p>|pt | atuptaŋ | ‘I shall walk’ |
| tt | akotte | ‘I shall be’ |
| čt | mahače | ‘at night’ |
| kt | aktaŋ | ‘I am’ |
| ḥt | čkolei‘taŋ | ‘they will be loved’ |
| st | amistehe | ‘that I buy’ |
| št | neštek | ‘his cloth’ |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ht</td>
<td>'I shall drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mti</td>
<td>'in the village'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>'banana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nti</td>
<td>'I hold', 'I maintain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lt</td>
<td>'in how many days?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'pi'te</td>
<td>'in their fyke net'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wt</td>
<td>'far away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yt</td>
<td>'quiet!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pč</td>
<td>'two round things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tče</td>
<td>'one bundle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kče</td>
<td>'five round things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sče</td>
<td>'little', 'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šče</td>
<td>'seven round things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hče</td>
<td>'a little bit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mče</td>
<td>'you gather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nčče</td>
<td>'what?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'čče</td>
<td>'I don’t know where/how'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lče</td>
<td>'little boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'čče</td>
<td>'there is no more'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yčče</td>
<td>'he is converted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pk</td>
<td>'you (f) love us'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sk</td>
<td>'I laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šk</td>
<td>'jar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hkc</td>
<td>'I finish drinking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mk</td>
<td>'diligent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tk</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lk</td>
<td>'late at night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'k</td>
<td>'gold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wk</td>
<td>'enemy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yk</td>
<td>'is there someone who ...?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pť</td>
<td>'six'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kť</td>
<td>'five truncal objects'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sť</td>
<td>'three truncal objects'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šť</td>
<td>'seven truncal objects'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mť</td>
<td>'they would not have helped you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nť</td>
<td>'one truncal object'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nťt</td>
<td>'nine truncal objects'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wt</td>
<td>'he hit him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yť</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps</td>
<td>'that I committed them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- The table above lists abbreviations and their meanings, where the meanings are in quotation marks. This is typical for scientific or technical documents where abbreviations are common and their definitions are necessary for clarity.
- The abbreviations are organized in a way that suggests they are part of a larger system or classification, possibly related to a specific field or language.
- The meanings of the abbreviations range from general to specific, including concepts like 'drinking', 'village', 'banana', and more technical terms like 'seven round things'.
ks maksayataŋ ‘he will be rejoiced’
ms čiṃsow ‘they were born’
ns amonseuy ‘my tongue’
r’s inkominiŋ simal ‘entirely so’
l’s kal-sokhe ‘with pleasure’
pš ipšuŋ ‘two heaps’
cš ičšuŋ ‘three piles, heaps, settlements’
kš kiokšuŋ ‘five piles, heaps, settlements’
hš asinahšipeŋ ‘I scarcely hear it’
mš tamš ‘grindstone’
nš an’anšipag ‘I make haste’
lš lols ‘Spaniard(s)’
lšu aqulšipey ‘I nearly fell’
ph iphil ‘two words’
th kothu ‘that he is’
čh -(a)čhe ‘it is said that’
kh makhay ‘felicity’
r’h loî’he ‘may it be done’
sh meš esha ‘your alfalfa’
št mišašha ‘your (p) armadillo’
hh aloklohi ‘that I finish doing it’
mh mikešumha ‘your (p) nose’
nh pålha ‘his life’
n’h česmin’ha ‘your (p) cedar’
ph torghu ‘that he is seated’
lh kolhe ‘that he dies’
l’h al’hi ‘happiness’
wh mumkupl ewha ‘your (p) passion fruit’
yh mitoqe hyper ‘you (p) wander’

pm l’upmag ‘in a bath’
 tm kofmag ‘in the sea’
čm kočm ‘sea’
km lekman ‘underneath’, ‘at the bottom’, ‘at the lowerside’
šm k’it’me ‘our work’
sm česmin’ ‘cedar’
šm ašmap ‘first’
hm ašihušulag ‘I start drinking’
mm inčamma ‘what is the matter, man?’
nm n’amman ‘in the sight/face of’
lm munloolmanap ‘of the men’
wm masowmaško ‘birth’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ym</td>
<td>-nayme</td>
<td>‘behind’, ‘via’, ‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pn</td>
<td>šipna!</td>
<td>‘hurry up!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln</td>
<td>kotmap</td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěn</td>
<td>mihačnik</td>
<td>‘with your axe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kn</td>
<td>-pakna</td>
<td>‘negative nominalizer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn</td>
<td>kisna</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šn</td>
<td>šešnik</td>
<td>‘with scabies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn</td>
<td>amohnag</td>
<td>‘I climb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn</td>
<td>amna</td>
<td>‘my road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln</td>
<td>čulnik</td>
<td>‘with mucus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řn</td>
<td>mahačnapit</td>
<td>‘not much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn</td>
<td>čownikal</td>
<td>‘lousy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yn</td>
<td>oyna</td>
<td>‘health’, ‘healthy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tp</td>
<td>atpiy</td>
<td>‘I was seated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kŋ</td>
<td>kekpiťyte</td>
<td>‘where we were’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěŋ</td>
<td>mipočpiy</td>
<td>‘you released them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>șplek</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl</td>
<td>šokotolte</td>
<td>‘in the mouth of the river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěl</td>
<td>mišayďago</td>
<td>‘that they whip you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kl</td>
<td>takla</td>
<td>‘variety of armadillo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řl</td>
<td>yam kioštłam</td>
<td>‘punishment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sĽ</td>
<td>asla</td>
<td>‘my wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šľ</td>
<td>șšliw</td>
<td>‘three different things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hl</td>
<td>ahlagů</td>
<td>‘I speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ml</td>
<td>amlpopů</td>
<td>‘I laugh at you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nl</td>
<td>mainle</td>
<td>‘not yet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nľ</td>
<td>čeńle</td>
<td>‘is he dapple?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěľ</td>
<td>megelhagů</td>
<td>‘I shall bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll</td>
<td>řalle</td>
<td>‘is it black?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řľ</td>
<td>mahačliwů</td>
<td>‘many different things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wl</td>
<td>sowla</td>
<td>‘they dug it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yľ</td>
<td>kupulawayla</td>
<td>‘they humiliated us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plč</td>
<td>čapľoŋ</td>
<td>‘pan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slľ</td>
<td>Diosľakpat</td>
<td>‘because of God’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hľľ</td>
<td>mihľem</td>
<td>‘your friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nľľ</td>
<td>amľő</td>
<td>‘my pupil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řľľ</td>
<td>amitřľakte</td>
<td>‘around me’, in my neighbourhood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lľľ</td>
<td>munľľakpat</td>
<td>‘because of the men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yľľ</td>
<td>čektyľakpat</td>
<td>‘because they were’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Corpus of Spanish and Quechua loan words

This appendix contains the Spanish and Quechua loan words found in the ALC:

Spanish loan words:

alkalde 'mayor'
algwasil 'police officer'
angel 'angel'
anima 'soul'
ayunač 'fast'
baptismo/baptisač 'baptism'
doktrina 'doctrine'
domingo 'sunday'
elefante 'elephant'
espiritu 'spirit'
fiero 'iron'
fiesta 'feast'
fiskal 'public prosecutor'
grasia/gratia 'grace'
hač 'axe'
hostia 'Eucharist'
iglesia 'church'
kabal'o 'horse'
kalis 'chalice'
kandela 'candle'
kapa 'cape'
karesma 'Lent'
kasaraj/kasalaj 'marriage'
kastigaj 'punishment'
konfesač/konfesion 'confession'
konegrosion 'consecration'
kruz 'cross'

Quechua loan words:

ćw kočwe 'variety of monkey'
kw aneštekwaŋ 'I make my clothes'
r'w apuiľ'kid'waŋ 'I gild'
św aśwa 'fish'
hw ahwiyain 'hang on!'
mw ah! n'ipimwa 'don’t touch!'
lw makołwowha 'you (p) fed me'
l'w al'waŋ 'I go'
py mipyupan 'you make your bridge'
my amyup 'my bridge'
kuči 'pig'
kuči'o 'knife'
kwatrotemporas 'Ember day'
lisensia 'licence'
limosna 'alms'
lunes 'monday'
mesa 'table'
frica 'mass'
mula 'mule'
oio 'oil'
pagalaŋ 'payment'
palantu 'banana'
papayu 'papaya'
Pasko 'Easter'
patili 'father'
penitensia 'penance'
perdoñ/perdonan 'pardon'
real 'coin', 'money'
resañ 'prayer'
sabado 'saturday'
sakramento 'sacrament'
santo/santu 'saint'
sastre 'tailor'
semana 'week'
sepu 'stocks'
sinta 'ribbon'
soldado 'soldier'
trigo 'wheat', 'grain'
waca 'cowherd'
weha 'shepherd'
wiernes 'friday'
wigilia 'vigil'
wirgen 'virgin'

Quechua loan words:
añaw! 'exclamation of pain'
apiccañ 'hundred'
avka 'enemy'
ayca, eit'a 'meat'
kamañt'ang 'order'
kamayok 'keeper'
kapak 'ruler'
kita 'wild', 'savage'
kuka 'coca leaves'
lasu, rasu  
mucaγ  
opey  
supey  
tanta  
uč  
uja  
ut'a  
waranga  
yupey

‘hail’  
‘honour’  
‘deaf-mute’  
‘devil’  
‘bread’  
‘hot pepper’  
‘baby’  
‘sin’  
‘thousand’  
‘honour’

6. Index of proper names and geographical names in the ALC
This appendix lists the proper names, the names of friars and the names of places occurring in the ALC. Some of the geographical names occur with a Spanish translation:

Proper names:  
Estevan  
Francisco  
Juan  
Juana  
Luis  
Malia/Maria  
Martin  
Pedro

Friars:  
Araujo, Joseph de  
Clota, Gerónimo  
Gutierrez de Porres, Francisco  
Mata, Pedro de la

Names of places:  
Apizoncho (Ch)  
Belem  
Chalamuy (Ch) ‘Junta de Tigres’  
Chillancay (Ch)  
Chillonya (H) ‘Arbol’  
España  
Huayllillas  
Israiel  
Izuit (Ch)  
Jallipíñatch (Ch) ‘Cerro de Palo Fuerte’  
Jopaye (Ch) ‘Tierra como Sangre’  
Juanfui (H)  
Lima  
Ocháñaché (H)  
Pisana  
Pucala  
Putonya (H) ‘Arbol’  
San Buenaventura del Valle  
Soledad  
Truxillo  
Uchinaman (Ch) ‘Palma Real’  
Xenquíman (Ch) ‘Yervas’  
Xañante (Ch) ‘Pacaya’  
Zalcot (Ch) ‘RioMaria Negro’  
Ziumich (H) ‘Palmas’
7. Word lists
Appendix 7 contains the word lists of Martínez Compañón (7.1) and Tessmann (7.2), the data of Greenberg (7.3), and the lists of words and expressions given by Mrs. Aurelia Gutiérrez Cerquera and Mr. José Santos Chapa Ponce (7.4). For the sake of completeness, the word list of Loukotka (7.5) has been added as well.

The transcription of Cholón in the lists of Martínez Compañón, Tessmann, Greenberg and Loukotka has been left unaltered. As regards the value of the symbols used to transcribe the utterances of Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Chapa, see Table 4.24. In addition to those symbols, the following symbols have been used in the transcription of Mrs. Gutiérrez’ and Mr. Chapa’s words: j and ñ. The former symbolizes a voiced palatal plosive, the latter a glottal stop. Length is represented by means of the colon, nasalization by means of a tilde, and accent by means of an acute accent. Note that accent is only indicated when it is not word-final.

7.1. Word list of Martínez Compañón

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Cholón</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dios</td>
<td>Dios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hombre</td>
<td>Num</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muger</td>
<td>Yla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alma</td>
<td>Xall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuerpo</td>
<td>Acho-quez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corazon</td>
<td>Aluñach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carne</td>
<td>Chep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hueso</td>
<td>Chel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padre</td>
<td>Appa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madre</td>
<td>Appan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijo</td>
<td>Apul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hija</td>
<td>Añu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermano</td>
<td>Azot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermana</td>
<td>Aquiñiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comer</td>
<td>Amoc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beber</td>
<td>Xig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reir</td>
<td>Chasam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llorar</td>
<td>Yo-yam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morir</td>
<td>Ngoli-cho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gozo</td>
<td>Allgiluvactan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolor</td>
<td>Ysiam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muerte</td>
<td>Micol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cielo</td>
<td>Centa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Musac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luna</td>
<td>Peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estrella</td>
<td>Que-nac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuego</td>
<td>Vet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Viento  Mam
Pasaro  Zuccill
Tierra  Lluspey
Animal  Animal
Arbol  Mees-ngup
Tronco  Sangoch
Rama  Puchup
Flor  Nuhap
Fruto  Quenyya
Yerva  Pullo
Agua  Quõt
Mar  Socotlol
Rio  Quõt-ysoquõt
Olas  Ygixsimam
Lluvia  Llisiac
Pez o Pescado  Asua

7.2. Word list of Tessmann

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German:</th>
<th>Cholón:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tscholon</td>
<td>Sseeptsá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Zunge</td>
<td>kinonzéi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Zahn</td>
<td>kulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Auge</td>
<td>kinjelsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ohr</td>
<td>mikitiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kopf</td>
<td>mutsitsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Hand</td>
<td>kinén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Wasser</td>
<td>köta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Feuer</td>
<td>utmõö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sonne</td>
<td>musäpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Mond</td>
<td>pel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Erde (Erd)</td>
<td>peïj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Stein</td>
<td>tä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Haus (Wohn)</td>
<td>hip (hipo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Topf (Koch)</td>
<td>tsapliön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Kanu</td>
<td>melies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Mann</td>
<td>lino (lun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Frau</td>
<td>hilá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Huhn</td>
<td>ateljwá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Hund</td>
<td>aljgó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Jaguar</td>
<td>hũu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Tapir</td>
<td>sas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Kaiman</td>
<td>- [lagarto]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23. Stock  
24. Maniok  
25. Mais  
26. Plante  
27. Tabak  
28. eins  
29. zwei  
30. drei  
31. weiss  
32. schwarz  
33. rot  

7.3. Data of Greenberg

"Andean Etymologies", pp. 100 - 106

arrow  
aunt  
bad  
bird  
brother  
come  
die  
earth  
eat  
father  
food  
hurt  
inside  
laugh  
leg  
man  
mouth  
nose  
sea  
see  
sister  
star  
sweet  
water  
worm  

"The Dictionary", pp. 194 - 267

black
belly kulu ‘guts’
daughter aňu, fiňu
come a-na-n
dry paxo-let ‘dry season’
tooth kulu
hair pe
fire a-mo-n ‘burn’
hate a-puňu-an
hear a-simm-an
all mek
saliva olle
shine nem ‘day’
short kunču ‘small’
sit a-tg-an ‘be seated’
sun kenna ‘stars’
two ip
wind kaz, kas, kaš
wish men

"Grammatical Evidence for Amarind", pp. 271 - 320
p. 285 -kot ‘water’
a-kot ‘my water’
mi-kot ‘thy water’
not ‘his, her water’
p. 286 pe ‘that’
p. 288 ok ‘I’
ki- ‘our’
p. 303 -te ‘from’ (separative)
p. 310 -n- (present)

7.4. List of words and expressions given by Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Chapa
A large part of the words and expressions given by Mrs. Gutiérrez (7.4.1) and Mr. Chapa (7.4.2) were not elicited. Both Cholón descendants spoke freely, rambling from subject to subject. In the lists below their words have been ordered thematically and alphabetically. The Híbito words given by Mrs. Gutiérrez have also been listed. It should, furthermore, be noticed that Mrs. Gutiérrez’ and Mr. Chapa’s utterances show that a modifier can be preposed as well as postposed. The words ges ‘old’, mexlam/ mexľam ‘female’ and šalam/ šalaľ ‘lazy’ can, for instance, occur in preposed position as well as in postposed position. The other modifiers are only used postpositionally.

What is striking, when we compare the word lists of both speakers, is that Mrs. Gutiérrez and Mr. Chapa give a different meaning to the word ėamyo. According to the former ėamyo means ‘tiger’, according to latter it means a ‘red kind of monkey’.
7.4.1. List of words and expressions of Mrs. Aurelia Gutiérrez Cerquera

Hails and exclamations:

ay, kibak tios! ‘exclamation to hail a friar’, ‘exclamation to frighten someone’
inēa milan mišoktek! ‘come and drink some chicha!’
kigolole apl’up! ‘what a beautiful baby!’
kipheʔ? ‘the fan!’ (please)
hil’ak mišoktek! ‘come and drink some chicha!’
mōnte kilaktejo ţane ţane! ‘let’s go to the forest to make love!’
mišiktek kot! ‘come and drink some water!’
waliw! ‘how beautiful!’

Man and nature:
apl’up ‘son’
hila ‘woman’
kot ‘water’
mušak ‘sun’
nun ‘man’
pey ‘tierra’

Body parts:
aliŋ loli ‘prepuce’
miliŋ šuš ‘fester penis’
cēgonće ‘testicles’
cel ‘foot’
cuće ‘head’
kitiw ‘ear’
lip ‘penis’
lipituʔ ‘neck’
loŋ ‘mouth’
monťey ‘tongue’
n’ačɛ ‘eyes’
n’ašloʔ n’ašloʔ ‘eyes’, ‘mouth’
n’ōwi ‘eyes’
n’āču ‘eyelash’
peš’tey/peš’tiw ‘penis’

Domestic animals:
al’go ‘dog’
atelba/ atelba ‘chicken’
atelba muľup ‘poul’
atelba nun ‘cock’
kal’gał ‘turkey’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kal'gal' hilaʔ</td>
<td>‘female turkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal'gal' moľ up</td>
<td>‘small turkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal'gal' mun</td>
<td>‘male turkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuči</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuči muiľ up</td>
<td>‘piglet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'yuʔ</td>
<td>‘turkey poult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangala</td>
<td>‘turkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waga</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-domestic animals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayôkuta/ peykutaʔ</td>
<td>‘tapir’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cëmyo</td>
<td>‘tiger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ças</td>
<td>sachavaca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habok</td>
<td>‘snail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huľɛgo</td>
<td>‘opossum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>košwe</td>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mošta</td>
<td>‘toad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liš</td>
<td>‘small white kind of monkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o: ṭum</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sôbelaʔ</td>
<td>‘butterfly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sup</td>
<td>‘deer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamu</td>
<td>‘agouty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yap</td>
<td>‘boar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yušam</td>
<td>‘armadillo’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aquatic animals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ašwa</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laľ pi</td>
<td>‘kind of freshwater fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poľ</td>
<td>‘kind of freshwater fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaš muiji</td>
<td>‘small aquatic kind of armadillo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suhabi</td>
<td>‘kind of freshwater fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toloʔ</td>
<td>‘kind of freshwater fish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Flora:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pantu</td>
<td>‘banana’ (&lt; Sp. plátano)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kis</td>
<td>‘kind of fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u: l</td>
<td>‘yueca’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Household and feasts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čapľ oň</td>
<td>‘earthenware pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kibak tios</td>
<td>‘God’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéna</td>
<td>‘sort of drum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koxlam</td>
<td>‘small jar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
koxlam nun ‘big jar’
piškam ‘bowl made of the rind of the ‘kis’ fruit’
pixwánu ‘sort of flute’
šaok ‘venom (used for fishing)’
tuš ‘earthenware bowl, plate’
tapyal ‘house’
t: ‘candle’

t: ‘candle’

Híbito:

alkusew ‘kind of fish’
ane ane boroktek mónte kilaktejo! ‘let’s go to the forest to make love!’
(cf. Cholon: mónte kilaktejo ʔane ʔane, above)
kóšwe ‘medicinal plant (used against rheumatism)’
kotokčék ‘kind of fish’ (cf. Ch. toloʔ)
muʔuŋ hila! ‘hail when addressing to a girl with the intention to court her’
n’áwli ‘eyes’
palánča ‘(mountain) pass’, ‘crevice’
péyne ‘carrier bag with four sticks to carry a baby’

7.4.2. List of words and expressions of Mr. José Santos Chapa Ponce

Hails and exclamations:
abisl ʔay kumali! ‘see you soon, friend!’ (< Sp. ‘hasta luego comadre!’)
háne, háne, haboktek mónte kilaktejo! ‘let’s go to the forest to make love!’
hisak miši kumbati! ‘come and drink some chicha, friend!’
kilaktejo! ‘let’s go!’
øy! ‘o.k.!’
šíxya! ‘drink!’

Man and nature:
ašot ‘brother’
ges nun ‘old man’
hila ges ‘old woman’
kot ‘water’
palán ‘Francisco’
yul ‘salt’

Body parts (+ infirmities and characteristics):
aliŋ ‘penis’
'prepuce'

'festeriling penis'

'skin (of limbs) like the tail of a fox', 'skin with white blotches'

'head'

'nose'

'ear(s)'

'neck with knobs'

'neck with a cicatrice'

'mouth'

'vagina'

'eye(s)'

'longing eyes'

'oblique eyes'

'mucus, slime'

'grey hair'

'pan'

'earthenware jar'

'bowl made of the rind a particular fruit (see kis, Mrs. Gutiérrez) or a gourd'

'mouth of the 'kis' bowl or gourd bowl'

'(earthenware) bowl, plate'

'flower'

'banana' (< Sp. 'plátano')

'yucca'

'dog'

'lazy dog'

'chicken'

'male turkey'

'female turkey'

'pig'

'turkey' (also called 'forest bird' by the speaker)

'turkey poult'

'caiman'

'red kind of monkey'
čas  ‘sachavaca’
habok  ‘big kind of snail’
hɔ:w  ‘jaguar’
kaŋʃik/katsik  ‘bat’
košweʔ  ‘big kind of monkey’
kuš  ‘leech’
kutak/k’utaʔ  ‘wild boar’
liš  ‘small kind of monkey’
loŋkatsik  ‘ant’
migijiw  ‘tick’
seykutaʔ  ‘peccary’
sup  ‘deer’
yamuʔ  ‘agouty’
yamu hila  ‘female agouty’
yap  ‘boar’
yušam  ‘armadillo’

Aquatic animals:

ašwa  ‘fish’
l’aypi  ‘kind of freshwater fish’
poŋ̂  ‘kind of freshwater fish’
šajiw  ‘crab’
šaš  ‘aquatic armadillo’
šaš mujiʔ  ‘small aquatic armadillo’
sunabi  ‘kind of freshwater fish’
taŋkla  ‘kind of freshwater fish’

Terms of abuses:

aliŋ mondages pápa  ‘penis like a peeled potato’
saŋ aŋ gaŋ’a  ‘lazy people’
waga mex’amusa!  ‘cow with a big vagina!’

7.5. Word list of Loukotka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>fleuve</td>
<td>kot-ysokot</td>
<td>père appan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbre</td>
<td>frère</td>
<td>azot</td>
<td>pleurer yo-yam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boire</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>keniya</td>
<td>pluie lliniak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciel</td>
<td>gai</td>
<td>augilubaktam</td>
<td>poisson asua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coeur</td>
<td>aluñac</td>
<td>herbe</td>
<td>pullo rameau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dieu (espagnol)</td>
<td>homme</td>
<td>num</td>
<td>régner casam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>douleur</td>
<td>ysiam</td>
<td>lune peel</td>
<td>soeur akiñiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eau</td>
<td>kot</td>
<td>manger amok</td>
<td>soleil musak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
étoiles  ke-nac  mer  sokotlol  terre  lluspey
femme   yla     mère  appan  tronc  sangoc
feu     vet     mort  mikol  vent  mam
fille   añu     mourir  ñgoli-co  viande  cep
fils    apul    oiseau  zuksill
fleur   ñuñap   ondes  ypixsimam
Samenvatting

Het Cholón vormt samen met het Híbito een kleine taalfamilie die in het algemeen als geïsoleerd zijnde wordt beschouwd (hoofdstuk 1). Het Cholón werd in Noord-Peru in de vallei van de Huallaga rivier gesproken. De Huallaga is een brede, snelstromende zijrivier van de Marañón (Amazone). Het taalgebied van de Cholones is tamelijk groot. Longitudinaal gezien strekt het zich uit vanaf de plaats Juanjui in het noorden tot aan het ongeveer 600 km. zuidelijker gelegen Huánuco; in de breedte strekt het zich uit vanaf de oostelijke hellingen van de Andes in het westen tot aan de Cordillera Oriental, die de grens vormt tussen de departementen San Martín en Loreto, in het oosten (hoofdstuk 2).

De enige bron van uitgebreide taalkundige informatie die van het Cholón overgeleverd is, is een grammatica uit de achttiende eeuw: de Arte de la lengua cholona (ALC) (hoofdstuk 3). De ALC werd in 1748 in Trujillo, een plaats aan de Noordperuaanse kust, geschreven door een franciscaner monnik, Pedro de la Mata genaamd. In 1772 werd de grammatica in de nederzetting San Buenaventura del Valle door Fray Jerónimo Clota getranscribeerd. Het manuscript ligt nu in de British Library in Londen. Aangezien de taal mogelijk uitgestorven is, is de huidige beschrijving van het Cholón gebaseerd op dit manuscript.

In hoofdstuk 4 wordt, na analyse van de in de ALC gebruikte spelling en van de opmerkingen over weergave en klanken, gepoogd het klanksysteem te reconstrueren. Hoofdstuk 5 behandelt de morfonologie. Hierin wordt onder andere aandacht besteed aan syllabestructuren en aan fenomenen zoals vocaalsuppressie en -harmonisatie en stam-initiële consonantveranderingen.

bijzinnen. Bijzinnen kunnen ook gevormd worden door middel van een nulnominalizer gevolgd door een casus markeerder en door middel van een subordinator. Een subordinator kan tevens aangeven of het onderwerp van de hoofdzin en de bijzin naar dezelfde persoon verwijst of dat het om verschillende personen gaat (switch-reference).

Naast naamwoorden en werkwoorden, de twee belangrijkste woordcategorieën, kent het Cholón een gesloten categorie van adverbia (hoofdstuk 8) en interjecties (hoofdstuk 9). In hoofdstuk 10 worden de discours markeerders behandeld (vraagmarkeerders en uitroepmarkeerders bijvoorbeeld). Hoofdstuk 11 is gewijd aan de ontkenningszinnen. In hoofdstuk 12 wordt een overzicht gegeven van de verschillende bijzinnen. Het taalkundig gedeelte wordt afgesloten door een lexicon (hoofdstuk 13).

De appendices, die op het register en de bibliografie volgen, bevatten kaarten van het Cholóngebied en verschillende woordenlijsten, waaronder de lijsten met woorden en uitdrukkingen van Mevrouw A. Gutiérrez de Porres en Mijnheer J. Santos Chapa Ponce, afstammelingen van het Cholónvolk.
Curriculum vitae